



BLACK REVIEW

1972

**PUBLISHED BY
BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES**

a

BLACK REVIEW

1972

THE BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES

The goals of the Black Community Programmes are:

- to help the black community become aware of its own identity;
- to help the black community to create a sense of its own power;
- to enable the black community to organise itself, to analyse its own needs and problems and to mobilise its resources to meet its needs; and
- to develop black leadership capable of guiding the development of the black community.

The Black Community Programmes seek:

- to co-ordinate the work of and co-operate in a meaningful way with black groups, organisations and institutions;
- to enable them to create a consciousness of identity as communities;
- to develop a sufficient number of individuals conscious of this identity and belonging;
- to acquire and use resources needed to achieve the goals of unity, self-determination, collective work responsibility, purpose and creativity.

The Black Community Programmes is a co-ordinating and enabling agency. It does not seek to establish projects on its own, but rather co-operates with, encourages and helps persons and groups, organisations and institutions working in the areas of Education, Welfare, Church, Culture, Art and Sport in the black community.

The B.C.P. achieves this by providing relevant information, publishing relevant literature and when invited, by assisting organisations, individuals and groups in the areas of leadership training, skills training and programme planning.

The Black Community Programmes has its head office in Durban and a Programme office in Johannesburg.

Inquiries should be addressed to:

The Director
Black Community Programmes
86 Beatrice Street
Durban. Phone: 67558

BLACK REVIEW

1972

EDITOR
B.A. KHOAPA

PUBLISHED BY
BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES

ISBN 0 86975 001 1

**Printed by Ravan Press (Pty) Ltd.,
Pharmacy House, 80 Jorissen Street,
Braamfontein, Johannesburg.**

CONTENTS

Chapter

	Introduction	1
1	Black Organisations: Political Groups	5
2	Black Organisations: Educational and Cultural Groups	16
3	Black Organisations: Religious Groups	30
4	Spread of Black Consciousness	40
5	Government-created platforms: Bantustans	55
6	Government-created platforms: Coloured Peoples' Representative Council	80
7	Government-created platforms: S.A. Indian Council	94
8	Black Workers	103
9	Political trials and detention	127
10	Education for Blacks: Primary and Secondary	144
11	Education for Blacks: Teacher training, Vocational and Technical	162
12	Education for Blacks: Higher education	169
13	Youth and Student Organisations	181
14	Sport and Recreation	190
15	Arts and Entertainment	201
16	Namibia	212
	Index	224

Dedicated to
Steve Biko
and
Bokwe Mafuna

INTRODUCTION

AS THIS COUNTRY moves deep into the 1970's, it is important to recognise that history will record the era of the past few years as one in which the tempo of change has been more rapid than ever before. Of even greater importance for everyone however is the recognition of the fact that the pace will continue and intensify in the 70's. At least two major trends will continue during this decade:

1. The black man, having discovered his true identity, will turn to doing 'black business', that is, engaging the problems of his community instead of trying for white. He will continue to place major trust in his ability to do things for himself instead of sitting around expecting someone he doesn't even know to come along and pull him out of the 'mess'.
2. More important he will continue to address his black brother and sister because the events and the rich heritage that are their history have not been made fully available to them in the usual way in which a society informs its membership about the significant aspects of its development.

Blacks want to know, and must know, more about who they were and who they are if they are seriously concerned about *whom* they intend to become. In answer to these questions lies the purpose of this publication. More specifically, the purpose of *Black Review* is to project present

trends in the Black Community in order that leaders can assess these directions in the light of societal conditions predicted for the future, determine which trends should be changed and identify the kind of interventions necessary to effect such changes.

Thus *Black Review* is a factual report of events and trends in the Black Community in South Africa designed to inform the Black Community about who they are, what they did and what happened to them during the year under review so that the leaders in looking ahead can focus sharply on desired changes.

This is our first publication of this nature, but whatever its shortcomings, we hope that this survey enables us to make available to a wider black audience a number of 'pieces' heretofore virtually inaccessible or extremely difficult to obtain - whether because they were in mimeographed form or lodged in relatively obscure publications and places.

The publication will have achieved one of its purposes if it succeeds in encouraging an appreciation of the kind of 'life' the Black man leads in South Africa and also encourage further dialogue and debate about some of the issues raised in 1972.

That *Black Review* is a welcome addition to an increasingly crucial field of communication is perhaps obvious, what is not always obvious is that collecting all this data involved hard work by the editor of this work and his assistants and a great deal of financial resources which are not easy to come by. We hope that the same kind of enthusiasm from those that helped us to make this publication possible will enable us again to produce *Black Review* for 1973.

B.A. Khoapa,
DIRECTOR.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Review is the result of tireless efforts by a team of researchers that assisted me in collecting and collating the material needed for a publication of this kind. A particular word of thanks should therefore go to Messrs Welile Nhlapo, Tebogo Mafole and Ben J. Langa.

The co-operation shown by black organisations and Universities was also extremely welcome. The libraries of the *Rand Daily Mail*, *Natal Mercury* and *Daily News* also offered a lot of valuable assistance.

A word of thanks is also extended to the staff of the Ravan Press for their valuable suggestions on arrangement and lay-out and their general co-operation in the production of this book.

Editor.

As this book was going to press, during March 1973, news was received that eight young black leaders who are mentioned in it had been banned by the South African Government. They are:

Steve Biko

Bokwe Mafuna

(both field workers with the
Black Community Programmes)

Drake Koka

Jerry Modisane

Saths Cooper

Strini Moodley

Harry Nengwekhulu

Barney Pityana

These bannings will obviously affect in various ways many of the organisations described in this review, including SASO, Black Allied Workers Union and Black Peoples' Convention.

Chapter One

BLACK ORGANISATIONS

POLITICAL GROUPS

THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS (NIC)

Historical Background

THE NIC HAS a long history dating back to the end of the last century. The account given here is a condensed account covering only a few highlights in the history of NIC.

The NIC was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894 as a political organisation to champion the cause and aspirations of Indians who had come to South Africa both as indentured labourers for the sugar fields of Natal and as ambitious traders and artisans. It was under the banner of the Natal Indian Congress that Mahatma Gandhi first began his civil resistance campaigns in Natal in the form of protests against the discriminatory measures implemented at the time by the British against Indians.

In 1946, the leadership of NIC passed to young University graduates with Dr Monty Naicker assuming presidency. From that time onwards, NIC became more activist oriented, joining hands with other groups sometimes or picking up issues on its own where necessary. Pieces of legislation that were used as direct targets included the Asiatic Land Tenure Act and the Indian Representation Act.

Co-operation with African and Coloured political organisations heightened from 1950 with NIC taking an active part in the 1952 Defiance campaign and ultimately participating in the formation of the Congress Alliance and the Kliptown Freedom Charter.

By 1962 almost all articulate leaders of the NIC were either banned, house arrested, or still worse, in Robben Island. Because of tremendous police vigilance and persecution, the NIC went defunct though not formally banned.

In 1971 Mewa Ramgobin, fresh from a five year banning order, immediately launched a successful campaign to revive the NIC. After campaigning for a few months Mr Ramgobin and his ad hoc committee received a mandate to revive Congress from a meeting attended by some 600 people in Durban. On the 2nd October, 1971, the first Convention of the Natal Indian Congress was held at Phoenix Settlement and here the NIC was formally revived.

Shortly before the Convention, on September 20th, Mewa Ramgobin was banned and house arrested following a visit with Charles Diggs to the sugar industry, thus exposing the living conditions of workers. This was followed by a spate of protest meetings throughout Natal but mainly in Durban. These meetings were organised by the Natal Indian Congress under the leadership of Mr George Sewpersadh who was elected at the Convention.

Towards the end of 1971, some NIC executive members were once more subjected to police attention, interrogation and raids. Those involved were Dr D. Naidoo and Mr G. Sewpersadh, General Secretary and President of the NIC.

Activities in 1972

At the beginning of 1972 the NIC was faced with the reality of the existence of the Black People's Convention. For a time before this, the all-Indian stance of NIC had been criticised by people inside and outside the NIC. The Durban Central Branch of the Natal Indian Congress had been particularly vocal on this issue, believing that the mandate given to the initial ad hoc committee towards revival of the NIC was specifically in the spirit that NIC would be open to all. This branch, under the leadership of people like Saths Cooper and Strini Moodley, was also a strong advocate of the Black Consciousness approach.

At the beginning of the year, NIC officials attended a meeting with BPC in Lenasia, Johannesburg, but no real agreement was reached between the two bodies either towards a common stance or an amalgamation. It was at this stage that the leadership of the Durban Central Branch completely defected towards BPC leading to a virtual collapse of the Durban Central Branch, till then by far the biggest and most active branch of the NIC.

In April the NIC held a two-day conference at which were discussed a number of issues central to the existence of the organisation. Amongst

these were the question of participation in possible elections of the South African Indian Council, the possibility of becoming non-racial and the acceptance or rejection of Black Consciousness.

The NIC rejected the SAIC and opted to operate completely outside this institution. The Executive was instructed not to take any part in so-called politics of the SAIC. This closed a long chapter of speculation that the NIC had been revived amongst other things to be able to participate in an eventual election of the South African Indian Council.

Regarding the possibility of going non-racial, attitudes were extremely divided within the NIC. A number of people felt that the 'all-Indian' stance of the NIC was contradictory to the whole philosophy to which the NIC had committed itself by joining the Congress Alliance and accepting the Freedom Charter. On the other hand some advocates of a 'go-slow' approach were convinced that there was still a place in South African politics for the NIC as presently constituted. Some people argued that it would be arrogant of an all-Indian organisation to perfect its machinery first and then declare itself open to other groups. In the end a compromise agreement was reached through a resolution mandating the Executive to 'investigate' the possibility of the organisation becoming both non-racial and national.

The debate on Black Consciousness was a sequel to a symposium on Black Consciousness organised by the Durban Central Branch in December, 1971. At that symposium the division in the ranks of the NIC on the topic had been thoroughly demonstrated. Following this, the issue was picked up by the Executive which ruled that it rejected Black exclusiveness. Attitudes at the Conference did not differ much from the stance taken by the Executive, although the division was once more apparent. The debate was based on an anti-Black Consciousness paper presented at the Conference by Dr Jerry Coovadia, an Executive member of the NIC.

A side effect of the debate on Black Consciousness was the straining of relationships between NIC and SASO. This was occasioned by libellous statements about SASO made at an Executive Meeting of the NIC by a certain Mr Ramesar. These related to comparisons between the SASO and the Pan African Congress policy. SASO demanded an apology from NIC at the threat of a possible legal suit. The NIC initially refused to apologise but instead, through a statement by Mr Sewpersadh, almost reiterated the earlier statements. SASO then went on to carry out the threat but later withdrew following discussions with NIC officials and other personalities. However relations between the two organisations remained strained and could not compare with the enthusiastic reaction from SASO ranks when intentions about NIC revival were initially announced.

Further attempts at reconciliation between NIC and BPC were shattered at the BPC Conference in July in Maritzburg where officials of the NIC were made to feel unwelcome by some of the BPC delegates. It appeared that the resentment of the exclusive NIC stance had built up to a pitch in many circles amongst BPC ranks. The NIC delegates left the conference of their own accord.

Following their April conference the NIC hierarchy committed itself to the production of fact papers on a number of topics including education, housing, trade unionism and economics. These were designed to heighten the level of social awareness and involvement of the people served by NIC. In an attempt to bear witness to their policy, NIC increasingly identified itself with existing trade unions and assisted in the establishment of Benefit Societies.

Towards the end of the year the NIC participated in the massive bus protest at Chatsworth in Durban. After an unsuccessful meeting organised by the Local Affairs Commission, the NIC organised its own meeting at which the grievances of the commuters were discussed. At this meeting a one day bus boycott was decided upon in an attempt to demonstrate the people's rejection of the 'no bus' decision.

BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION

Background

The Black People's Convention is a newly established political organisation set up to cater for the interests of black people. It was preceded by a number of conferences attended by several organisations in 1971.

The first conference was held in Bloemfontein on 24th April, 1971. At this conference the main theme was co-operation between, and co-ordination of the work of, several black organisations that had a national outlook at the time. The main organisations represented at that conference were ASSECA, SASO, IDAMASA, AICA, YWCA.

It was decided as an outcome of this conference to elect an ad hoc committee to invite more people and organisations to a bigger conference.

A two day conference was then called in Maritzburg in mid-August which drew over 100 representatives from welfare, religious, educational, sporting and student organisations. Meeting around the central theme of 'Development of the African Community', the conference was addressed by several speakers amongst whom were Drake Koka, Steve Biko, Mrs Mabiletsa, Mrs E. Kuzwayo and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The main decisions from this conference were:

1. That all African organisations be asked to join in the formation of a confederate organisation.
2. That these work in conjunction with other black groups towards realisation of the black man's aspirations.
3. That the proposed organisation operates outside the system but keeps contact with well-oriented blacks inside the system.
4. That the proposed organisation devotes itself to representing African opinion on a political basis and to promoting community development programmes on education, economic and cultural aspects.

The meeting further elected another ad hoc committee, this time to draw up a draft working document for the establishment of the organisation envisaged in the confederation plans approved by the conference. This ad hoc committee was under the chairmanship of Mr M.T. Moerane. The Ad Hoc Committee immediately adopted for themselves the name National Organisations Conference which was meant to be an interim name. The Ad Hoc Committee was given a time period of 4 months during which to draft a constitution, draw up blue prints for and call a conference for the establishment of a national confederation to embrace all African organisations.

The subsequent conference called by the Ad Hoc Committee was held in Soweto on the 17th - 19th December, 1971. It was preceded by a national day of prayer at Jabulani Amphitheatre where 400 people were addressed amongst others by Dr W.F. Nkomo and Drake Koka. At this rally Dr Nkomo bitterly attacked the policy of dividing Africans into different ethnic groups and called upon Africans to be united and not be deceived by outsiders who wished to see them divided.

At the actual conference where about 40 actual delegates were present, the Ad Hoc Committee presented its findings to the conference and fierce debates ensued as to the nature of the new organisation to be formed. Two views were prevalent; on the one hand, some people opted for an umbrella culturally oriented organisation that would act as a parent organisation to all African organisations; on the other, some people, particularly the younger members of the conference, felt that the black people had lived for too long in the doldrums and needed a vibrant political mood to be infused by a direct political organisation. The SASO delegation under the leadership of Mr Harry Nengwekhulu, SASO Permanent Organiser, was at the helm of this viewpoint and ultimately

swung opinion their way. The students piloted a motion through conference calling for an *all-inclusive* black political organisation to be established through which blacks would realise their aspirations.

The Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee is reported to have said that though he was not basically against the idea he felt that it was a wrong platform from which to operate (2). On the other hand the SASO stand was supported by people like Mrs W. Kgware who spoke against the establishment of any further supra-cultural organisations. Ultimately the motion calling for a political organisation was adopted by a comfortable majority of 40 votes with only three abstentions but no votes registered against. The people who abstained explained that they had come to represent organisations and could not cast votes in favour of this new move without consulting their organisations.

At the end of the conference a 10-man Ad Hoc Committee towards the Black People's Convention was elected under the chairmanship of Mr Drake Koka, a trade-unionist.

Activities

As early as 14th January, 1972, the BPC Ad Hoc Committee issued a press statement announcing the establishment of a black people's political movement under the banner of Black Consciousness. Amongst other things the statement said: (3)

It is the inalienable birthright of any community to have a political voice to articulate and realise the aspirations of its members.

In this our country, Africans, Coloureds and Indians comprise the Black Community which has been deprived of this inalienable right; and for too long there has been a political vacuum in the black community.

False impressions have been created that it is illegal and unlawful for blacks to found political movements and to engage in political activity unless such activity has been created as prescribed and approved of by white society and its government.

The Ad Hoc committee is therefore working towards the formation of a Black People's political movement whose primary aim is to unite and solidify black people with a view to liberating and emancipating them from both psychological and physical oppression.

Our interests therefore lie within the black community and our sole aim will be directed towards realising its needs, which needs will coincide with those of all Black people throughout the world.

It is therefore essential and imperative that all black people, individuals and organisations, should pool their resources together in order to achieve their aspirations. Their future destiny and ultimate happiness is in their hands.

The chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee explained through the press that the new movement was a movement for black people and that it did not recognise tribal affiliation or ethnic groupings. He further said: 'at present we have no attitude towards the whites. They are irrelevant' (4).

Once the draft constitution had been drawn up and accepted, the new movement would hold mass meetings and issue statements on current issues in an effort to set up a countrywide organisation. The BPC would not resort to 'negative forms of expression' such as demonstrations and protest marches unless the occasion required it.

Between the beginning of the year and July (the deadline set in its terms of reference), the Ad Hoc Committee organised symposia particularly on the Reef and in Durban, and consulted with several organisations like NIC, Labour Party people, SASO and others to try and obtain a consensus of opinion on the role to be played by the new movement.

Support for BPC came from a wide range of people of different backgrounds. Speaking at a BPC symposium in May at Orlando in Johannesburg Mr Don Mattera, public relations officer of the Labour Party, told the meeting:

'Never has democracy been suppressed and crushed as in this country ... It is only when all Black groups - Coloured, African and Indian - can come together in a common brotherhood that there will be any hope for us' (5).

On the 8-10 July, 1972, the Black People's Convention had their conference in Pietermaritzburg (6). The conference was attended by more than one hundred Africans, Coloureds and Indians from a variety of political backgrounds. The conference adopted the constitution and formally launched the organisation. The ground work for the conference was prepared by several commissions that looked into:

general planning and organisation
 urban and rural politics
 economic development
 black education
 community work programme
 financial and legal affairs
 black communalism.

Also decided upon at the Conference were the following aims: (7)

- to liberate and emancipate blacks from psychological and physical oppression;
- to create a humanitarian society where justice is meted out equally to all;
- to co-operate with existing agencies with the same ideals;
- to re-orientate the theological system with a view of making religion relevant to the aspirations of the black people;
- to formulate, apply and implement the principles and philosophies of Black Consciousness and Black Communalism;
- to formulate and implement an education policy of blacks, by blacks for blacks.

The BPC resolved unanimously to work outside government-created institutions such as Bantustans, the Coloured Peoples Representative Council and The South African Indian Council.

It pledged itself to establish and promote black business on a co-operative basis including establishments of banks, co-operative buying and selling, flotation of relevant companies, all of which would be designed as agencies for economic self-reliance for black people as a corporate unit and not for individuals.

In the field of labour, the BPC resolved to apply itself fully behind attempts to fully establish trade unions for black people, particularly directed at co-ordinating and unifying all trade unions.

On the political front, BPC resolved

- to stimulate formation of community groups that shall strive to

redirect political thinking of black people;

to form residents vigilante committees, for the protection of the interests of the community in their residential areas;

to make known to black people that there shall be no co-operation with government institutions.

Regarding planning and organisation of the movement, BPC resolved

to operate openly as an overt peoples movement;

to establish branches throughout the country;

to work on a membership drive towards a target of 1 million in 3 years.

The conference decided to treat itself as an interim conference, believing that a proper conference could only come about after an intensive membership drive had been put into effect, particularly directed at the grass roots.

At the end of the conference, the following were elected to the interim executive:

Mr A. Mayatula	President
Mr M. Shezi	Vice President
Mr D.K. Koka	Secretary-General
Mr S. Cooper	Public Relations Officer
Mr A. Dlamini	National Organiser

Following the July conference, BPC applied itself particularly in areas like: Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Coast, Cape Town, in all of which areas branches have already been established.

The issues picked up by BPC have to date depended a lot on spontaneous reaction by black people to their various situations, e.g. bus strikes in Johannesburg and Durban and the dock workers' strike in Durban.

Following the banning of buses in Chatsworth, by the Durban City Council, the BPC in a statement said: (8)

It is important to remember at a time like this, that these acts of racism against us are not isolated. They are part of a master plan by the white man to keep us in perpetual servitude and to seal the shackles that bind us in bondage. It was only a while ago that our brothers and sisters in Gelvandale, Port Elizabeth, were affected similarly by transport hurdles imposed by the white man. The people of Gelvandale preferred to walk to Port Elizabeth and back rather than sell their souls to the cut-throat price of the white man ... Let us not forget that the government is not here to please us at all. The government is out on a deliberate campaign to destroy us physically and spiritually. The government is definitely not on our side'.

On 16 to 17 December, 1972, the BPC held their actual conference at Hammanskraal in the Transvaal. Here BPC consolidated their policy on many fronts, including foreign investments, trade unions, youth, sport, etc. At the end of the conference Mrs W.M. Kgware was elected president.

While the BPC Conference was in progress, Mtuli Shezi, till then vice-president of BPC, was lying very ill in hospital following a mysterious 'accident' at the Germiston station.

According to various people who went to see Mr Shezi in hospital and also confirmed by a report in *Sunday Times*, 24 December, before Mr Shezi died, he related events that led to the 'Accident'. According to his account, he had originally quarrelled with some white employees of the Railways following their unacceptable treatment of some black women at the station some days before the fatal 'accident'. On a subsequent occasion on the 12 December, while passing through the Germiston station, he was apparently spotted by one of the white men he had quarrelled with. This man apparently gave chase and caught up with him and following a short scuffle, pushed him onto the rails in front of an on-coming train. After being knocked down and dragged by the train, Mr Shezi sustained a number of injuries including a dislocated hip, fractured pelvis and ruptured bladder. Five days after he had been taken to hospital, Mr Shezi died following excessive bleeding.

No real official explanation was given by the authorities and at the time of writing the case was still under investigation by the police. The police were reported as having said at the time that they did not suspect foul play.

REFERENCES

1. SASO Newsletter, September 1971, Vol. 1, No. 4.
2. *Rand Daily Mail*, 21.12.71.
3. BPC Press Release, 14.1.72.
4. *Star*, 22.1.72.
5. *Rand Daily Mail*, 1.5.72.
6. *Rand Daily Mail*, 11.7.72.
7. BPC Conference report, 8-10 July.
8. Pamphlet by BPC.

Chapter Two

BLACK ORGANISATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL GROUPS

ASSOCIATION FOR THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL
ADVANCEMENT OF AFRICAN PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA
(ASSECA)

Background

ASSECA WAS ESTABLISHED in 1967 through the efforts of the late Mr P.Q. Vundla and Mr M.T. Moerane. Initially Asseca was designed to operate mainly in the Reef area but the leadership soon saw the need for such an organisation to be established on a national basis.

Asseca operates on a city/town branch basis. According to reports tabled at the 1972 Asseca Conference, the organisation has 19 branches in the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Eastern Cape and Western Cape whilst new branches are in the process of being formed in Natal. Each year these branches send delegates to a conference which is the supreme policy-making organ for Asseca.

The Conference elects an Executive of 9 members. The present Executive is headed by Mr M.T. Moerane as President.

Activities

In 1972 Asseca consolidated its drive to interest African people in the education of their children. A point by point account of the work done by Asseca in this field is dealt with in the chapter on Primary and Secondary Education (see Chapter 8).

One of Asseca's goals is the establishment of a R1 million fund for

scholarships for African children. Although, according to some reports, not many scholarships were given at the beginning of the year, the 1972 Asseca Conference decided to give a total of 100 bursaries to each branch at R20 per scholarship. This is regarded as an interim measure whilst the R1 million fund is being built up.

Asseca is a beneficiary from Polaroid's recent decision to pour some funds into black efforts. The First National City Bank has also made some donations to Asseca. At home, Asseca claims to have been mainly responsible for some grants to African education made by the South African Breweries. Representatives of Asseca are involved in the administration of these funds. In addition the *Star* of Johannesburg has started a fund, TEACH, also earmarked for use in African education around that area. The *Argus* in Cape Town has a similar fund, LEARN.

In April, 1972, Asseca held its annual conference at Port Elizabeth. Due to the work load and to some poor planning, the conference could not be finished and had to be adjourned till July in Bloemfontein where it was finished. The opening speaker for the 1972 Asseca Conference was Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in the United States. Dr van Zyl, Secretary for Bantu Education was also a guest speaker at the conference. Dr van Zyl was booed by the crowd at several points in his speech but particularly when he stated that in South Africa everybody has a vote but it is a complicated matter and it would probably take a long time to explain.

The major decision taken in Bloemfontein was that administration of funds arising out of branch efforts would be decentralised to allow branches to make allocations of scholarships to pupils and students from their areas. The branches are still free to recommend to the National Executive any needy cases from their areas.

In the elections at the end of the conference, Messrs. Moerane, Mehloimakulu, Kweyama, Mabiletsa, Mokoditsoa, Angoma, Khumalo and Mesdames Mabiletsa and Phakathi were returned to office as Executive members. The Executive now has the discretion to determine whether conference will be held annually or biennially.

Natal Workshop for African Advancement (NWA)

NWA is a new organisation established on the initiative of some African professional people in the Durban area. The organisation is a few months old and its constitution was adopted on the 19 November, 1972 at Lamontville, Durban. Membership to NWA is open to all Africans above 21 and residing in the geographical areas of Natal, Zululand and Kwa-Zulu.

According to its constitution, NWA aims at two main functions: to carry out research into problems affecting the educational, social and economic development of Africans in its area of operation and drawing up relevant programmes designed at alleviating the conditions or eradicating the causes responsible for limitations in the fields mentioned above.

The President of NWA is Mr H.J. Bhengu. Branches of NWA are currently being organised throughout Natal.

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANISATION (SASO)

Background

The following historical background has been extracted from SASO's 1972 information pamphlet (1):

The emergence of SASO was a manifestation of a mood which had been spreading in the black campuses ever since the collapse of other black students' organisations which preceded SASO.

The complexity of the South African scene makes it impossible to have a pluralistic organisation that satisfies the aspirations of all member groups. Social and political stratifications in the country coupled with preferential treatment of certain groups results in different aspirations prevailing in the different segments of the community. Thus it often becomes almost impossible to show allegiance to both sides of the colour line. Attempting to keep both opposing segments more often than not results in internal strife within the organisation. This is the mood in which black students have decided on several occasions to go it alone.

Dissatisfaction with the white-dominated NUSAS led to the establishment of several black student organisations. The Durban Students' Union and the Cape Peninsula Student's Union who later merged to form the Progressive National Students' Organisation, were fanatically opposed to NUSAS initially and adopted the emotional slogan of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) - 'non-co-operation with the collaborators'. The CPSU refused to co-operate with NUSAS in their protests and other forms of activity. They saw NUSAS as a student wing of the imperialist front whose interest was to control the blacks.

In 1961 and 1962 the African Students' Association (ASA) and the African Students' Union of South Africa (ASUSA) were established. Both ASA and ASUSA were concerned much more with national issues and saw themselves as student wings of the national movements. The differences between ASA and ASUSA were ideological. Attempts to unite the two organisations failed. Perhaps the fact that the blacks never attained a strong solidarity on the campus was attributable to these divided loyalties. Lack of co-ordination prevented progress in any recognisable direction as the various groups were bound to compete with each other. Moreover at the time NUSAS was by no means a spent force on the black campuses and commanded quite a following which capitalised on the differences of opinion between ASA and ASUSA. The fact that this was coupled with intimidation and victimisation of the individual leaders of these organisations served to hasten the collapse of both ASA and ASUSA.

A period of isolation of the black campuses followed the collapse of ASA and ASUSA. The new University Colleges which had been established in 1960 for blacks were born into a tradition of restriction. Their SRC's were under strict surveillance and served more the function of a prefect body than that of student representatives. Not one of the Colleges was allowed any interaction with NUSAS although branches existed underground on some of the campuses. In the meantime NUSAS assumed the role of being a spokesman for these campuses. More often than not this accompanied debates on the 'Separate Universities' Act.

The formation of the University Christian Movement in 1967 gave black students a greater chance of coming together. Because of its more radical stance and also because at that stage it had not developed a 'bad' complexion politically in the eyes of the black campuses' authorities, UCM tended to attract more black students to its conferences and this opened channels of communications amongst the black students.

Amongst the black students, one of the most talked about topics was the position of the black students in the open organisations like NUSAS and UCM. Concern was expressed that these were white-dominated and paid very little attention to problems peculiar to the black student community. In fact some people began to doubt the very competence of a pluralistic group to examine without bias problems affecting one group, especially where the unaffected lot is from the oppressor camp. It was felt that a time had come when blacks had to formulate their own thinking, unpolluted by ideas emanating from a group with lots at stake in the status quo.

At the 1968 UCM Conference about 40 blacks from Fort Hare, Ngoye, Bellville, theological seminaries, Turfloop, UNB (University of Natal, Black Section) and teacher training colleges resolved themselves into a black-caucus and debated the possibility of forming a black student organisation. The UNB group was asked to investigate the chances of holding a conference of black student leaders that same December.

Back at home the UNB representatives openly argued the case for a closer co-operation amongst the black centres and as a result the student body mandated the SRC to convene the Conference.

SASO was ultimately formed at the 1968 December Mariannahill Conference of black student leaders and inaugurated at the 1969 July SASO Conference at Turfloop. At both conferences the student leaders were faced with a complex problem. On the one hand there were accusations by the right wing elements on the black campuses to the effect that the move to establish a blacks-only student organisation was a manifestation of conformism. This attitude was more expressed in liberal white circles.

Then, too, there were several warnings from the middle-of-the-roaders that SASO wouldn't survive for long and therefore its establishment did not warrant the breaking of old ties.

In the face of this the SASO leadership adopted a cautious approach to the 'relations' question. While still maintaining their recognition of NUSAS as a National Union, SASO constantly took a very critical stand regarding NUSAS and refused to consider the possibility of affiliation to the organisation. They maintained their distance from NUSAS and gradually explained themselves to their black campuses with whom they quickly found favour.

At the 1970 SASO Conference the attitudes that had been carefully hidden came to the surface. At once SASO withdrew its recognition of NUSAS as a National Union believing that 'the emancipation of the black peoples in this country depends on the role the black peoples themselves are prepared to play (and) ... aware that in the principles and make-up of NUSAS, the black students can never find expression for aspirations foremost in their minds'. Since the 1970 Conference SASO has been much more positive in its outlook and is working towards a much more intimate involvement with the black community.

1971 saw SASO rapidly increasing her membership and gradually consolidating her position within the black community. The statement that 'we are *black* students and not black *students*' was thoroughly substantiated as SASO set about consulting with many black community organisations in an effort to completely weld the student efforts with those of the rest of the community in this great surge towards attainment of the black man's aspirations. Black Consciousness was highly stressed by SASO as the philosophy and approach to be adopted.

To date SASO has come to be accepted as one of the most relevant organisations in this search for the black man's real identity and of his liberation. The involvement of students with the community by way of community development projects remains a testimony of the oneness of the two, both in plight and in efforts.

On the broader student scene a new and welcome pride is developing amongst black students; a pride in themselves and their achievements; a pride in their own community and a strong faith in the righteousness of their struggle. It is this pride that has ultimately led NUSAS to grudgingly concede that SASO is the only organisation that can effectively represent black students. It is the same pride that has led the black community to welcome the emergence of SASO and to willingly work together with SASO in the setting up of programmes designed to build a self-reliant and a politically conscious black community'.

SASO has mainly been instrumental in the spreading of the philosophy of black consciousness through its projects, publications and papers delivered by its leaders who consistently relate all issues affecting the black man in this country to the need for black people to face these through black consciousness and black solidarity. The slogan 'black man you are on your own' expresses the attitude black students and indeed most black people have now adopted in fighting for survival in this country.

Activities and Events

The May student revolts

For a long time black students at South African universities have al-

ways expressed their rejection of the educational system given to blacks by the South African regime. The full account of the May student revolts is given in the Chapter on Universities (see Chapter 10).

On 13 May student leaders meeting at a SASO seminar in Alice drew up the famous Alice declaration which was mainly to the effect that black students as a sign of protest against the oppressive and racist education they were being given should force the institutions they were studying in to close down by a mass walk-out.

Shortly thereafter the President, Mr Temba Sono, issued a statement to the press communicating this decision to the members of the organisation. Following this declaration a series of protest demonstrations erupted on black campuses all over the country.

Most of the black universities in an attempt to quell these protests decided to close much earlier than scheduled.

The expulsion of the students was subsequently picked up as an issue by a number of parents' committees who sought to liaise with university authorities on behalf of the students. In a sense the attention of the whole population was focussed on the type of educational system operative at black universities.

In a post mortem following the student crises Mr Ben Khoapa, Director of Black Community Programmes wrote (2):

Black students are increasingly resisting efforts to get them to co-operate in their own educational genocide. No longer can they be contained by white rhetoric; nor can they be seduced into rejecting the interests of their own people. They have learnt what a large number of black people are beginning to learn from our young people that the revolution is not over and it is not just beginning, it's continually with us. The struggle is the educational struggle ... Our job is to assist them in becoming men and women we never became and still love them.

Harassment by the white oppressive forces

(i) Passport refusals

Passport snags prevented 3 top SASO leaders from fulfilling invitations to take part in student conferences and educational tours overseas (3).

Mr Nyameko Barney Pityana, Secretary-General of SASO, early in the year was refused a passport to tour the U.S.A. at the invitation of the Department of State's Education Travel Programme.

Mr Strini Moodley, Administrative Assistant of SASO, had to abandon a trip also to the U.S.A. after waiting for 5 months in vain for a passport. His trip was scheduled to take place between 28 June and 12 August.

Mr Rubin Phillip, immediate past vice-president of SASO, applied at the beginning of the year for a passport in order to attend the All Africa Conference in Kumasi, Ghana. No word about his application had been received by November although the conference was held in July.

(ii) Nengwekhulu arrested

Mr Harry Nengwekhulu, Permanent Organiser of SASO, was arrested at his office by officials of the Non-European Affairs Department. According to Mr Nengwekhulu these officials were in the company of security police (4). He was charged under Section 29 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act as an 'idle or undesirable Bantu'. Friends managed to locate him at the Modder B prison 28 hours after his arrest and paid his bail fixed at R100,00

Mr Nengwekhulu claims that at the prison he was questioned for nearly an hour by security policemen. In a subsequent court hearing on 31 July, Mr Nengwekhulu's case was dismissed.

(iii) Mr Jerry Modisane

Mr Modisane, newly elected President of SASO, was arrested at the station in Cape Town in September and charged with trespassing at the university of the Western Cape. Members of the Western Cape branch had to pay on behalf of Jerry an admission of guilt of R50,00 (5).

This followed an earlier attempt by police to arrest Mr Modisane inside the campus where students heavily protected him and arrest by the police became impossible.

(iv) Mr Henry Isaacs

Henry Isaacs, the vice-president of SASO, and 14 other members of the

Western Cape SASO Branch were detained and interrogated at great length by the police both before and after Modisane's visit.

Further to this the security police have issued threats and open accusations 'all levelled at intimidating and frightening us from our resolve' (6).

(v) *Banning of the SASO T-Shirt*

Two designs for the SASO T-Shirt have to date been banned by the Publications Board.

The first one, a black fist with a circle around and the slogans Power and Solidarity and SASO, was banned when the firm that prints the T-Shirts submitted the design for approval.

The second design, a black fist and the letters SASO, was banned in September after about 1 000 skippers had been sold and issued to members.

In a statement in their September/October newsletter SASO said:

'The whole intimidation campaign being conducted by white South Africa comes at a time when SASO and the black consciousness movement are sweeping the country. All attempts to kill the movement cannot succeed to any great degree - black people are coming out of their trance and the philosophy of blackness cannot be intimidated'.

(vi) *SASO Conference Guest Speaker debarred from S.A.*

Prof. Robert Williams of the Union Theological College, New York, invited as guest speaker to open the 3rd General Students' Council of SASO, was at the last moment refused a visa.

Prof. Williams revealed this information in an express letter to SASO a few days before conference. In a statement to conference he said: 'I send you greetings from black people in the U.S.A. and wish your conference a success. I can assure you the black people in America are watching with pride and interest the work of our black brothers in South Africa' (7).

Sono Expelled

In a dramatic move at their conference in July at Hammanskraal, SASO expelled their 1971-1972 President, Mr Temba Sono.

This followed a speech by Mr Sono who replaced Prof. Williams as opening speaker. In his speech Mr Sono made the following points:

that SASO had to learn to be flexible in its approach that they had to avoid stagnating in the 'Servitude of ideology' that they should be elastic and learn 'to talk even to our enemies'.

He then called for open-mindedness towards Bantustan leaders, white liberals and even towards security police.

Sono argued that by carrying passbooks and attending universities established by the government they had already compromised themselves and hence it meant that 'we have to accommodate even contradictions in our struggle'.

At first SASO unanimously dissociated itself from the speech made by the President. It was argued that the speech was contradictory to the SASO policy and very dangerous and that it could be regarded as more than the opinion of the President (8).

On the following day a more drastic motion expelling Sono from conference was again unanimously accepted by conference. The motion was moved by Strini Moodley and Barney Pityana. The movers argued that Mr Sono's speech was calculated to mar the image of the organisation and to confuse rank and file membership of the organisation on these crucial issues. This claim was made much more valid by the fact that Mr Sono had not consulted his own executive in spite of his knowledge that this would be a complete about-face by SASO on these issues. It was further felt that choosing that particular occasion during which publicity was concentrated on the movement, was calculated to publicise his utterances as widely as possible to the detriment of the organisation.

Following his unanimous rejection, Sono then left conference and subsequently left the country for the U.S.A. where he is currently studying at Pittsburg.

Community Projects undertaken by SASO

SASO's community projects are aimed at realising one of the aims in their constitution:

'to heighten the sense of awareness and encourage them (students) to become involved in the political, social and economic development of the black people'.

The projects are in various parts of the country, mainly in rural and semi-rural areas, e.g. Winterveldt, in the Transvaal, near Pretoria;

Dududu on the Natal South Coast; and some parts of the Eastern Cape.

Projects so far undertaken involve the following:

Literacy campaigns which are given priority because of the high rate of illiteracy in the black community.

Health projects which take the form of assistance by students at already established clinics and attempts to establish new ones.

Physical projects, e.g. building of schools, clinics, community centres.

Home Education Schemes which take the form of assistance to literate adults who want to obtain higher educational certificates.

Black Press Project

At the SASO conference in July, 1972, delegates adopted a resolution instructing the Secretary-General to arrange a seminar on 'The Role of the Black Press in South Africa'.

This seminar was ultimately held on 9-10 October in Johannesburg where black pressmen, businessmen, relevant black organisations, and professional men discussed the role, establishment and management of a black press.

One recognises the overall intention of the white press as a whole: to suppress relevant news and lend a deliberate bent to general news. But when existing so-called black newspapers also seem part of this calculated campaign of news distortion, and continued adopting and emulating white news standards, then there is very real necessity for a representative black press based on the raison d'être: A black press of the black people, only for the black people and totally by the black people (9).

At the end of the Seminar a Black Press Commission was elected consisting of:

Howard Lawrence
Man Lenamile
Harry Mashabela
Bokwe Mafuna
Ben Langa (Publications Director of SASO)

These men were charged with the responsibility to float a private company the objects of which shall be:

to establish and publish a newspaper, initially a monthly;
to establish a printing house;
to establish a publishing house;
to establish the company as manufacturers and distributors of paper and paper articles.

The Black Press Commission has a mandate to complete their business by the beginning of 1973.

THE BLACK WORKERS PROJECT

The SASO Conference in July 1972 adopted a resolution mandating the Permanent Organiser to look into the effectiveness of establishing a Black Workers' Council.

This stemmed from a feeling by delegates that it is a universal understanding for workers to negotiate in a united voice for those conditions they regard as essential to their survival. Yet in South Africa black workers by various legislative enactments and sheer practice have been dissuaded from establishing and belonging to trade unions.

It was further felt that the complexity of the race situation in South Africa, however, does require that this sector of great importance to South Africa's economy should claim adequate representation.

The objects of the Black Workers' Council shall be:

to act as a co-ordinating body to serve the needs and aspirations of black workers;
to unite and bring about solidarity of black workers
to conscientise them about their role and obligation toward black development;
to run clinics for leadership, in-service training and imbue them with pride and self-confidence as people and about their potential as workers.

In an effort to achieve this purpose SASO has set up a Black Workers' Project and together with the Black Community Programmes they have seconded two men to the project to do all the necessary spade work for the establishment of the Black Workers' Council.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

SASO's stand regarding foreign investments is contained in a resolution adopted at their 1971 Conference. The essence of the resolution was a complete rejection of foreign investments on the following grounds:

that foreign investors profit from such exploitation and end up with a vested interest in its maintenance;

they make it possible for South Africa to spurn world opinion to maintain her racist regime;

they boost South Africa's international image and make South Africa an ideal land for investment whilst the social evils practised by the regime are lost sight of;

they give South Africa an economic stability that enables her to gain diplomatic and economic acceptance in the international scene.

Using this as a basis, the SASO Executive had interviews with a number of foreign firms that indicated interest in the stand SASO had taken. These include:

IBM

Volkswagen

Ford Foundation

Anglo American

Anglo Vaal

General Motors only sent an inquiry about the stand.

Other groups and individuals interested in this stand who were interviewed by SASO are:

President Nixon's Advisory Council on Africa and this resulted in one of the members of the group, Mr Edwin

Munger, addressing a symposium of the African Studies Association on the stand taken by SASO as opposed to that adopted by people like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

An American Church Mission that conveyed SASO's stand to their congregations in U.S.A.

U.S.A. Congressman Charles Diggs.

REFERENCES

1. SASO '72, Historical Background.
2. SASO Newsletter May/June, 1972, Vol. 2 No. 3.
3. SASO Newsletter September/October, 1972, Vol. 2, No. 4.
4. *Rand Daily Mail*, 19.7.72.
5. SASO Newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 4.
6. SASO Newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 4.
7. Press statement at SASO Conference.
8. *Rand Daily Mail*, 3.7.72.
9. Report on Black Press Conference (Prepared by SASO).

Chapter Three

BLACK ORGANISATIONS

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Interdenominational African Ministers' Association (IDAMASA)

Historical Background (1)

Originally known as TIAMA (Transvaal Interdenominational African Ministers' Association), IDAMASA was founded in 1915 at a time when the African National Congress was just beginning to pick up momentum. Under the able leadership of ministers like Mpitso, Chalata, Mahabane and many others, TIAMA spread its work into other provinces, hence the foundation of similar regional organisations in Natal, Free State, and Cape Province. Amongst the early projects of TIAMA were the establishment of the Mendi Memorial Scholarship Fund that helped several students through Fort Hare.

The various regional organisations met in 1945 at Bloemfontein and decided to amalgamate into the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF) with the purpose of encouraging unity and goodwill amongst African ministers. The various ministers who were members of IDAMF joined the Federation as individual members and not as representatives of their churches and this had the effect of slowing down progress through paucity of funds. IDAMF existed as such from 1945 to 1965 during which time it applied itself to the solution of all problems relating to Africans.

In 1965 IDAMF was transformed into IDAMASA through the adoption of a constitution that changed the organisation from a federation to an association and from then the position of the

organisation improved and it became possible to employ permanent staff.

The permanent staff, i.e. General Secretaries, were periodically seconded by their churches to this post. IDAMASA has to date seen 3 general secretaries: Rev A.L. Ncube of the Methodist Church, Rev B.N.B. Ngidi of the Congregational Church, and now Rev B.B. Radebe of the Anglican Church.

Activities of IDAMASA involved interest in African education, scholarships, research into African customs and traditions, youth work, promotion of activity amongst women, representations to local and national governmental bodies and creation of rapport amongst the various church or religious organisations.

IDAMASA today

IDAMASA has 117 branches and a membership of more than 1 000. It is still an association of individual ministers and operates completely independently of the individual churches.

The President of the organisation is Rev F. de Waal Mahlasela who is at the head of an executive of six.

IDAMASA has a sister organisation, IDAMWASA (Interdenominational African Ministers' Wives Association of South Africa).

Activities

The 1972 Conference of IDAMASA was held in Umtata in September. From the report presented at Conference, it became clear that IDAMASA had taken a new direction in its involvement in social issues in the country. The various regions of the organisation had been commissioned by the Programmes Director to undertake the creation of workshops, each to tackle at least one major social issue in their localities.

From the report given at Conference, it became clear that a variety of issues had been handled by the branches. These included:

- Faction fighting
- scholarships
- educational syllabi
- unity
- building of centres
- nursery schools
- experimental farming

In his opening speech to conference, Rev de Waal Mahlasela, President, emphasised the need for Africans to dedicate themselves to the crystallisation and propagation of Black Theology.

Affiliations

IDAMASA is affiliated to the South African Council of Churches and to the All African Council of Churches.

African Independent Churches

According to estimates made in 1960 the distribution of religious affiliations amongst Africans is as follows:

Independent Churches	18.6%
'Orthodox' Churches	32%
No churches	49.4%

At present it is estimated that no less than 4 million Africans belong to the Independent Churches.

There are several associations and groupings amongst the Independent Churches, the most well known being:

- African Independent Churches Association (AICA)
- Reformed Independent Churches Association (RICA)
- Assembly of the Zionitic and Apostolic Association (AZASA)

(a) AICA

In 1964 a small group of leaders of the African Independent Churches approached the Christian Institute of Southern Africa for advice and guidance in the field of theological training for ministers of these churches. This was occasioned by a restriction by the government in 1960 on the recognition of ministers of Independent Churches who were without training.

It was therefore felt by the leadership of the Independent Churches that a concurrent establishment of a strong association to look after the interests of the Independent Churches would be to their advantage. Consequently at a Conference in Queenstown in 1965 the African Independent Churches Association was established. Rev J.R. Mthembu

was the first president. He and his executive then slowly built up the membership of the organisation. To day after 8 years AICA has 467 member churches. It is estimated that there are some 3 000 independent churches in South Africa.

Projects

- (i) *Correspondence Course:* AICA has a correspondence course designed to give simple theological tutelage to the various ministers in charge of the independent churches. The course deals mainly with Biblical principles and the message from the scriptures.

At present the course has a staff of six, two directors and three programmers and an administrative officer, and caters for 133 correspondent students. The Principal of the College, Rev E.B.M. Maqina, is also the president of the Association.

Funds for the course have to date come mainly from donations from churches in Germany, Holland and Switzerland. The students themselves are charged R20 a year.

Examinations for the Diploma in Theology offered by the course are organised by ASATI (Association of South African Theological Institutions) and the diploma is recognised by all the churches which are members of ASATI.

- (ii) *AICA Theological Seminary:* In addition to the correspondence course AICA also runs a theological seminary in Alice. The College is administered under the Theological Educational Committee which is elected by the AICA conference.

At present there are 31 students studying at the seminary under a permanent lecturing staff of 3.

Events

- (i) *Splits within AICA:* The progress of AICA has been temporarily hampered by a number of splits which have occurred in the organisation's recent history.

In 1969 a small band of churches broke off from AICA to form RICA. They complained about finances in the organisation,

particularly relating to the role played by the Christian Institute who had all along been advisers to AICA. RICA then sought help from the Dutch Reformed Church and now seems to be established with its own theological training centre administered as a project of the Department of Bantu Education.

In 1971 at their Bloemfontein Conference, AICA member churches were sadly divided on the validity of the conference following some alleged mal-administration and absence of major reports to the conference. Here, too, blame was imputed to the Christian Institute, one of whose staff members was a returning officer in the elections that further widened the rift between the 2 different groups.

A number of delegates refused to recognise the validity of the conference and insisted on a special conference being called to clear up issues and to elect a proper executive.

On 14 April, 1972, the special conference met in White City, Jabavu, with representatives of the 216 member churches who had petitioned the conference.

Amongst other things, the conference

- challenged the validity of the election of Rev E.B.M. Maqina as president;
- in fact challenged the authority of the whole conference;
- confirmed an original 'suspension' of Rev Maqina;
- elected its own executive with Bishop Manana as President.

In July at the time of the usual annual conference of AICA, two conferences were in fact held, one at Springs and another in Cape Town.

The conference in Springs was held by the breakaway group on 27-30 July, 1972 and this conference resolved (2):

- to immediately open dialogue with 'splinter groups' of the Independent Churches;

- to take whatever action was deemed necessary to guarantee the smooth running of AICA and the first and immediate step

would be to deal firmly with any organisation which took it upon itself to oppose this line of action;

to advise the Christian Institute and all other bodies that were previously advisers of AICA that this position would be taken by an adviser who would be an African;

to appoint a new all-African board of trustees that would take care of all movable and immovable property of AICA;

to see that the college (see below) was opened and that the students who had courses to complete be given a fair chance to do so.

The other AICA conference was held in Cape Town and the following major resolutions were taken (3):

that reconciliation with the dissatisfied groups who had broken away from AICA be sought as priority by the President;

that the AICA advisers (Christian Institute) be requested to continue in this capacity for the reason that AICA did not know as yet its financial resources;

that letters be written to AICA donors to send donations to AICA directly and that the advisers furnish AICA with all addresses of AICA donors;

that the theological seminary be opened forthwith with the condition that the principal should no longer continue with his duties.

This conference, though being the more direct continuation of AICA, was attended by fewer delegates, partly because the venue was so far away.

(ii) *Attempts at Reconciliation:* In September 1972 the 2 opposing AICA Presidents, Rev Maqina and Bishop Bengeza (who was elected President following Bishop Manana's death) and their boards met in Johannesburg in an attempt to arrive at conciliation. The meeting was organised apparently by the break-away group. Not much ground was covered at this meeting as both sides were still insisting on recognition of their stands.

At the time of going to press the two AICA Boards were moving nearer each other with reconciliation being handled by some black groups with whom AICA had for some time been involved. By then it had become quite clear that both groups saw as their common problem 'manipulation and control' by their advisers.

(iii) *Disturbances at the AICA Theological College:* Following accusations by the students against the Principal of the College, Mr Allan Socikwa, and unrest amongst students who refused to accept his authority, the theological college was closed down and the students were told to leave. It turned out that the college was closed as a result of a decision by the Board, following consultations with their advisers. About half of the students refused to leave the campus although facilities, including meals, were withdrawn.

The students denied that any communication other than from the lecturer, Mr T.S. Monyana, had been given to them to confirm closure of the college. In an interview with the press on the 7 September, Mr J.J.R. Makhase, one of the students, said that Rev Brian Brown of the Christian Institute had telephoned Rev T.S. Monyana and told him that the college had been closed a week before and the students had been given 2 days within which to leave (4).

Mr Makhase disclosed that the trouble at the college started in May when the students raised complaints against their principal, Rev A.L. Socikwa, but that the Theological Education Committee did not go into a thorough investigation of their complaints.

Because of the disagreement with the students, the committee closed the college on 24 May and decided that it would be re-opened on 4th July.

On 5 July the committee told the students to choose between the college continuing as it had been before any investigations started, or having the college activities suspended until investigations were completed.

The students said lectures should continue under the following conditions:

that the principal leave the campus;

that the committee to investigate the complaints be composed of people other than those belonging to the Theological Education Committee (TEC);

that alternatively if the TEC were to investigate, then students should be represented on the committee;

that all employees (cooks and maids) who had been dismissed be allowed to return and be paid for the time they had not been at the college;

that all findings of the investigations be tabled before the start of the annual AICA conference in Cape Town on 26 July.

The committee then decided to close the college for an indefinite period in complete disregard of the students' views, and when conference met, no information was received about the closure of the college from the TEC, but the matter was raised by individual delegates at the conference.

The conference then decided to reopen the college on 23 August and to suspend the principal, Rev A.L. Socikwa.

Rev T.S. Monyana confirmed that the statement made by Mr Makhase was correct, but pointed out that when Mr Brown phoned him, he had informed him of a decision.

In a statement to the press, Rev E. Maqina, President of AICA, deplored the action of those who had closed the college, referring to them as a group who were doing all in their power to disrupt the smooth running of the AICA College. He denied knowledge of any meeting of the TEC, which could have decided to close the college, suggesting that the decision must have been taken by the AICA Board which had no power to close the college.

By November the college was still open and lectures were going on smoothly, but the principal, Rev Socikwa, was still absent.

The Lay Ecumenical Centre

Background

The Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre is situated six miles south of Pietermaritzburg in the Makholwa Tribal Area which includes a full range of Africans from rural to sophisticated town dwellers. It serves the 3rd largest African community in the province of Natal. Being the only Ecumenical Centre in South Africa administered by Africans, its services extend to the whole South African community.

The Centre is a symbol of African initiative. The site was purchased and the centre is partly supported by Nzondelelo, an African organisation within the Methodist Church in Natal. The trustees, who are dynamic

and educated African representatives of various churches' (5), hold freehold rights to the property under the Chief of the Edendale Makholwa Tribe, the Edendale District being one of the few remaining areas close to an urban complex in which African people enjoy freehold property rights.

The advantage of this situation is that all racial groups can meet on the premises.

Objectives

Set within the social network of a divided and apathetic society, it aims to create the type of informed Christian leadership that is prepared to take community responsibility and leadership seriously.

The project aims at bringing together people from different professional and racial groups to develop their awareness of responsibility for community leadership, and to explore ways in which this leadership can be exercised with mutual concern.

The present situation of a professional elite who have become alienated from their fellows causes anxiety in African communities where belonging to each other is an important component of African personality. This project aims at attempting to bridge the gap, and to integrate this leadership into the African community and confront professional people of other racial groups with the contribution they could make to the welfare of the whole community.

In addition to providing Christian education for laymen, it aims to serve the emerging African industrial workers and urban dwellers. The centre believes that the African is a community man who has to regain his awareness of himself as a human and social being in a time of rapid transition in a closed society.

Available Facilities

The Centre owns land to the extent of 10,7003 acres. On this has been built a centre with the following facilities:

- 2 sleeping units capable of housing 48 people
- a hall used as meeting and dining hall with a capacity of 200
- an administration block with 5 offices.

The centre has a staff of 5 people under the directorship of Rev Enos Sikakane.

Programmes

The Centre has a dual system of programmes:

- (a) its own programmes
- (b) programmes run at the Centre by other organisations.

The Centre's programmes consist of the following:

Youth Programmes, mainly revolving around action training, skills training, leadership courses

Women's programmes, also revolving around the area of skills and consultation.

The centre is used by a variety of organisations, e.g. teachers' organisations, religious groups, women's groups, cultural organisations, youth groups, students' organisations.

All leadership training courses run by SASO for its own membership have been held at the Centre. The Black Community Programmes used the Centre for 5 of its major conferences during 1972. Also notable is the fact that Black People's Convention used the Centre as its conference site during its formative stages.

Affiliations

The Centre is affiliated to the South African Council of Churches.

REFERENCES

1. Report by Rev B.B. Radebe to 1970 IDAMASA Conference.
2. AICA Springs Conference report and minutes.
3. AICA Cape Town Conference report and minutes.
4. *Daily Dispatch* 6.9.72, 7.9.72, 9.9.72.
Rand Daily Mail 6.9.72.
5. Undated pamphlet from Lay Ecumenical Centre.

Chapter Four

SPREAD OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

IN 1972 the debate about Black Consciousness increased tremendously in both black and white circles in South Africa whilst protagonists of the philosophy gained major successes through wider and more general acceptance of the Black Consciousness approach by many black organisations and institutions.

Definition

The direct protagonists of Black Consciousness in South Africa were originally the South African Students Organisation and later the Black Peoples' Convention and other groups in the fields of theatre and drama, music, youth groups etc.

SASO's definition of the Black Consciousness philosophy seems to be the working basis for all black efforts in the country. This definition is contained in the SASO Policy Manifesto adopted at their 2nd General Students Council in July, 1971. We reproduce in part the SASO Policy Manifesto to bring out the definitions contained in it:

SASO believes that:

- 3.(a) South Africa is a country in which both black and white live and shall continue to live together;
- (b) that the white man must be made aware one is either part of the solution or part of the problem;

- (c) that, in this context, because of the privileges accorded to them by legislation and because of their continual maintenance of an oppressive regime, whites have defined themselves as part of the problem;
 - (d) that, therefore, we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards realising our aspirations, whites must be excluded;
 - (e) that this attitude must not be interpreted by blacks to imply 'anti-whitism' but merely a more positive way of attaining a normal situation in South Africa;
 - (f) that in pursuit of this direction, therefore, personal contact with whites, though it should not be legislated against, must be discouraged, especially where it tends to militate against the beliefs we hold dear.
4. (a) SASO upholds the concept of Black Consciousness and the drive towards black awareness as the most logical and significant means of ridding ourselves of the shackles that bind us to perpetual servitude.
- (b) SASO defines Black Consciousness as follows:
- (i) Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.
 - (ii) The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.
 - (iii) The black man must build up his own value systems, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others.
 - (iv) The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness by the black people of the power they wield as a group, both economically and politically, and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black Consciousness.

- (v) Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the black community.
 - (c) SASO accepts the premise that before the black people should join the open society, they should first close their ranks, to form themselves into a solid group to oppose the definite racism that is meted out by the white society, to work out their direction clearly and bargain from a position of strength. SASO believes that a truly open society can only be achieved by blacks.
5. SASO believes that the concept of integration cannot be realised in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Integration does not mean assimilation of blacks into an already established set of norms drawn up and motivated by white society. Integration implies free participation by individuals in a given society and proportionate contribution to the joint culture of the society by all constituent groups. Following this definition therefore, SASO believes that integration does not need to be enforced or worked for. Integration follows automatically when the doors to prejudice are closed through the attainment of a just and free society.
 6. SASO believes that all groups allegedly working for 'integration' in South Africa ... and here we note in particular the Progressive Party and other liberal institutions ... are not working for the kind of integration that would be acceptable to the black man. Their attempts are directed merely at relaxing certain oppressive legislations and to allow blacks into a white-type society.
 7. SASO, while upholding these beliefs, nevertheless wishes to state that Black Consciousness should not be associated with any particular political party or slogan.

Debate on the name

The first issue to be picked up by the public, particularly the white public, was the usage of the term 'black' in place of 'non-white'. Following upon their positive assertion of blackness, SASO people ruled that black people are those who are 'by law or tradition, politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South

African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspirations'. In essence this definition carried with it a double set of criteria - first, those relating to oppression because of skin colour and, second, those relating to the willingness of the oppressed individual to identify with fellow oppressed people against the oppression. In the SASO glossary the term 'black' is used when referring to the broad population of African, Coloured and Indian people and the term 'non-white' is specifically used in a derogatory sense to refer to 'sell-outs' or 'collaborators' or 'lackeys'.

The argument that people must be referred to in a positive manner and not as negatives of others seems to have been received well by most blacks. To date all well-known political, educational and most sports groups use the term 'black' and reject the tag 'non-white'.

The greatest opposition to the usage of the term 'black' as an all-inclusive reference has been shown by some white newspapers, who argue that Coloureds and Indians may be offended by the term. In essence there has not been much evidence to support this view except for predictable individual reactions from some quarters.

The Natal Indian Congress which is the most outspoken 'all-Indian' political group uses the term 'black' freely. So does the Labour Party which is 'all-Coloured'.

Because of this and also because of some strong arm tactics by groups like SASO and BPC in their conferences, some institutions have made drastic revision of their attitudes towards blacks. The Institute of Race Relations after attempting to carry out a 'survey' on possible alternatives to the term 'non-white' decided ultimately to scrap the term 'non-white' and to accept the term 'black'.

The *Rand Daily Mail* in July changed attitudes in a period of one week over the same issue. At the beginning of the SASO Conference when the press was warned about usage of the term 'non-white', the *Rand Daily Mail* arrogantly asserted its right to use the term. A week later, following expulsion from the SASO Conference, resignation of a disgusted reporter and public reaction from groups and newspapers like *Post*, the *Rand Daily Mail* capitulated and took a policy decision to use the term 'black':

In the meantime, other newspapers, notably *The World*, *Post*, *Drum*, *The Leader*, and the *Daily News* long ago on their own decided to use the term 'black' both in news coverage and in editorial columns.

Some Manifestations of Black Consciousness

The definition of Black Consciousness in terms of efforts towards self-reliance and non-dependence on white initiative and support has manifested itself in many aspects of black life in South Africa, particularly in 1972.

Mention has already been made of groups amongst blacks who have consolidated their work towards greater contribution to self-reliance of the black community.

Groups referred to in this regard were ASSECA, IDAMASA, BPC, AICA, SASO and some youth groups. The notable aspect of the work of all these groups is the change in direction from offering service to members to offering service to the community as a whole. In addition to these, there are a few other attempts worth mentioning.

(i) *Breakthrough in newspaper and literary world*

Sensitivity of the black community has been highest in respect to 'biased reporting' of events within the black community. Concern has been expressed by most groups that blacks will never communicate effectively until they control their own medium. It was also noted that the white-controlled press tends to give priority either to events that occur within the white world or to those aspects of black life that make good reading for the white readership of newspapers.

The Black Press Conference already referred to in Chapter 2 decided to work hard towards the establishment of a Black Press. The Ad Hoc Committee elected was given a mandate to start even with a monthly publication but to work towards a more regular means of communication.

Besides the attempts at establishing a Black Press, a number of agencies within the black ranks are making strides in the area of publications. The SASO Newsletter, started in 1970, has been consolidated and now commands a respectable position as an opinion-maker. In the meantime SASO is launching its first actual book, *Creativity and Development*, which is a collection of essays delivered at the SASO Conference Symposium on the same topic.

Other publications include *Essays on Black Theology* edited by Mokgethi Motlhabi and published by the Black Theology Project of the University Christian Movement and *Black Viewpoint* published by the Black Community Programmes. *Essays on Black Theology* was banned on 28 July, 1972, and according to the UCM dissolution conference report, will now be published by C. Hurst and Co., London, who have acquired exclusive world rights to publish it.

A new notable feature is attachment developed by blacks to poetry written by their own poets and also the apparent increase in sensitivity by poets to real issues affecting the black world. No longer are blacks apologetic when they write about the townships and slum areas, about

crime and murder in their areas, about new pride in self rediscovery. A new generation of poets is coming up but few of them have managed to have their works published. These are *Yakhal 'inkomo* by Wally Serote and *Sounds of a Cowhide Drum* by Oswald Mtshali, both published by Renoster Books, and *Cry Rage!* by James Matthews and Gladys Thomas, published by Spro-cas. All these are selling much more widely in the black community than any other current publications of literary value. In the meantime the SASO publications are being extended to become a fully fledged publishing house to take care of the mushrooming interest by blacks in publications.

(ii) *Black Workers*

Elsewhere in this book we discuss in detail the position amongst black workers and the latest developments in this area. Traditionally, the worker field has been handled by groups who are highly resistant to so-called polarisation amongst groups. However latest developments point out to an increase in awareness amongst worker ranks of the need to assert one's humanity first before fighting for common humanity. The slogan 'workers of the world unite' is being scrutinised closely in the South African context. There is a growing belief that in the classical sense white workers cannot be regarded as genuine workers as long as they hide behind job reservation, discriminatory wages, discriminatory recognition of their trade unions and the general pool of privileges open to whites in South Africa. Black workers are beginning to realise how the system rests squarely on their shoulders while giving back just enough to enable them to come to work the following day.

As a result of this, the Black Workers Project and the Black Allied Workers' Union (formerly Salesman and Allied Workers Association) are making strides in their attempts to bring black workers together. The classical western elements of trade unionism have had to be modified to accommodate the fact that black worker interests extend beyond the factory; they extend to the ghetto where black workers stay together in hostels under squalid conditions; to the crowded trains and buses that carry workers in and out of town often at the risk of serious accidents; to the absence of amenities for black workers in and around town; to the stringent, irksome and humiliating application of influx control laws that result in a lot of blacks losing their job opportunities; to lack of proper channels whereby people could equip themselves with basic skills like reading and writing; to exposure to 'technical arrests' because of pass and curfew laws. These are aspects that are now being given considerable

attention over and above the orthodox western approach to trade unionism.

(iii) Arts and Entertainments

In the field of arts and theatre there is also a new re-awakening as described elsewhere in this book. A new studio, the Black Arts Studio, has been opened in Durban. At their first exhibition, BAS displayed art from several black artists throughout the country. Black artists, some of whose emotionally linked creativity was stunted by criticism from controlling white art galleries, have now found an opening for their work and hence BAS is gaining a tremendous following. In addition, the black public, though still on a limited scale, is beginning to respond to creative expression by black artists. BAS hopes to open new galleries in major cities of South Africa.

More noticeably, drama and theatre groups are beginning to pick up the trend of Black Consciousness and to give expression to it through their work on stage. To date several groups like Theatre Council of Natal (TECON), Serpent Players (Port Elizabeth), Mihlothi Black Theatre (Johannesburg) and the Soweto Black Ensemble (Johannesburg) have taken on what is generally known as Black Theatre. This hinges around a proper enunciation of the feelings, emotions and hopes of ghetto dwellers through the medium of drama. In addition these groups have consolidated their strength by forming a union of their own - the South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU). In Johannesburg, a local confederation of all black theatre and musical groups, Mdali, has been formed to keep a lively link amongst black theatre groups and to promote black theatre, art, music and literature.

On a much more diffuse basis music lovers throughout the country have shown a tremendous liking for groups like OSIBISA of Nigeria, various black artistes in the United States and a recent feature is the skyrocketing rise in popularity of singers like Letta Mbuli and Hugh Masekela (South Africans in exile).

Pop and jazz festivals throughout the country are no longer complete without a demonstration of Black Power signs by the crowds. At a massive music festival 'Pina-Culo' held at Umgababa on the 2-4 September, crowds waved and shouted Black Power slogans whilst a number displayed slogans on their dress. More noticeable was the increase in participation of black-oriented music groups like 'Dashiki'. Similarly at the Pop and Jazz Festival organised by the Black Arts Studio

at Curries Fountain in Durban, crowds turned the occasion into a black revival meeting with their Black Power demonstrations.

What seems to be happening in the music world is that the black 'superiority' in music, of which blacks have condescendingly been told by white tourists and liberals for a long time, is now being used effectively as a means of communication, often running deeper than words.

(iv) Sports

In the field of sports too, apartheid seems to be boomeranging on its architects. Originally black people were withheld from participation in big-time sport by a number of factors amongst which were inadequate training facilities and lack of proper organisation at the top. As a result the only heroes black people knew in the sports they loved best were white people whom they saw in white events and in films. With the coming of greater organisation in soccer, tennis, rugby and other sports and the banning of black people from some white sports fields, blacks are beginning to develop an allegiance towards their own kind and no longer are young blacks very taken up by what they read of white sport in newspapers.

On the other hand, in a more positive way, the non-racial sports unions, most of whom are functionally black, have started consolidating African, Coloured and Indian sport and have now formed an association to which more than 10 unions are affiliated. Figures like Hassan Howa are commanding a lot of respect and following particularly because of their 'no-compromise' stand against white racist sport.

(v) General

Generally speaking, 1972 saw Black Consciousness gaining momentum in many aspects of black people's lives. The tremendous reaction that came from white society is itself indicative of the change in attitude by blacks - away from an acceptance of white trusteeship and guidance and in the direction of self-reliance and self-help.

The attack launched by blacks on traditional white values, including the 'condescending' attitude of whites of liberal opinion, has in a sense been responsible for the widespread reaction from the white community. Quite predictably, warnings about the dangers of Black Power and Black Nationalism came not so much from conservative traditional white

quarters as from liberals. In the meantime black consciousness advocates have consistently refused to be drawn into debate with whites on the pros and cons of black consciousness. The central message of black consciousness is regarded by them as the rejection of the monopoly by whites of truth. This is what has led to an independent assessment by blacks of value systems in the political, economic and social fields. Hence any authoritative evaluation of black consciousness by whites is regarded as a further manifestation of the same monopoly of truth and moral judgment that is a fault in our society.

On the other hand within the black ranks themselves fierce debates have arisen on aspects of black consciousness. Almost all political forces, including those operating within the system, have at one stage or the other assessed their attitudes towards black consciousness. Whilst points of friction over interpretation of 'policy' do exist, it can be generally said, for all black groups, that they see the advent of black consciousness as a healthy and positive development and have no quarrel with its basic principles. As a result of this there has been greater cohesion and consultation amongst black groups this year than before.

White Reactions to Black Consciousness

The philosophy of Black Consciousness and the call for Black Solidarity evoked a variety of reactions from white people. The following newspaper and publication excerpts indicate this.

Towards the end of her paper on the occasion of the E.G. Malherbe Academic Freedom Lecture at the University of Natal, Nadine Gordimer examined Black Consciousness and its implications in the South African situation. She saw Black Consciousness as a revival of the philosophy of Negritude propounded by Aime Cesaire and Leopold Senghor, and as an essential step towards liberation. She therefore viewed the rejection of whites by blacks, particularly on the student front, and the determination of black students to 'go it alone', as a sign of 'healing negritude' (1).

Referring to the role of the liberals, she said: 'We shall need to see our efforts not so much as attempts to right wrongs on behalf of blacks as to set our society free of the lies upon which it is built. The role of proctor, honourable though it may have seemed, and great courage though it undoubtedly showed in certain individuals at certain times, is one of those lies'.

Reaction to Black Consciousness by traditional liberals is epitomised in the attitude expressed by Dr Alan Paton, last president of the now defunct Liberal Party. Reacting to an address given at a Black Theology Seminar in Pietermaritzburg by Mr Steve Biko, a former president of SASO, Alan Paton made the following points:

Pride in white skin and pride in black skin are, to him, both vulgarities, but that while the first is inexcusable, the second is not and contains elements not vulgar at all.

Black Consciousness obviously wants to change the order of things but the order of things cannot be changed without power. He therefore wanted to know how long the young zealots would be satisfied with a mush of culture, mysticism, lyricism and going round saying 'haven't I a lovely skin?'

SASO is directing its fire against the politically unarmed, viz. the liberals. Alan Paton therefore asked whether it was expected of liberals to leave the country; keep silent forever more; be trained as guerilla fighters or just lie down and die.

He believed that Black Consciousness might just become 'a refusal to believe, on principle, that any white man can speak the truth, and might end up being a twin of white nationalism' (2).

Alan Paton was also quoted as having said that Black Power was an inevitable consequence of white power and that if it were to be met with police vigilance some of the advocates of Black Power might go into exile and this would result in an intensification of external pressure and guerilla warfare. In his opinion the only way to adequately prevent this would be to create a just order of society. He also made the point that it was rather too early to make authoritative pronouncements about Black Power but he believed that the young blacks were the people to resolve the ambivalence between Black Consciousness and Black Power. He predicted that black voices were going to be heard more loudly and more often and more compellingly, and that they would not be saying 'Ja Baas' (3).

The following paragraphs have had to be deleted since they quote Dr Richard Turner, who has been banned (4).

Another typical white reaction to Black Consciousness opened with the phrase 'Black Power', which it said had rather a sinister connotation and yet was a phrase which reflected very much the attitude and thinking of many African intellectuals with whom whites would now have to come to terms (5). It said further that this view was supported by the Institute of Race Relations which drew attention to various manifestations of this consciousness, the call to blacks to go it alone, etc.

The article supported this new consciousness, but with reservations. The writer continued that a slogan like 'Black is Beautiful' was fine, but that those things had a tendency to go too far and instead of 'Black is Beautiful' there would always be some who would take this to mean that 'Black is always right' and that would be just as silly (and dangerous) as those who thought the same about whites.

Whites in their reaction to Black Consciousness, did not confine themselves to the political significance of this philosophy; they also concerned themselves with its theological aspect, Black Theology. This was evidenced by a report which appeared in *Die Transvaler* (6). According to this report, about 350 people, including ministers of religion and missionaries from the northern provinces and Rhodesia, attended a conference of ministers, which coincided with the opening of the faculty of theology in Pretoria.

In his opening address, Prof. Carel Boshoff stated that Black Theology originated in America and that if its full implications could be accepted by the black man in Africa, communication between blacks and whites would be very difficult. He conceded that Black Theology was situational and that the area which received full attention was the humanity of black people. This, he said, was understandable. He noted, however, that in the

process, unchristian methods were used and he therefore felt that Black Theology was not a true theology.

Another opinion on Black Consciousness came from René de Villiers, former editor of the *Star* and a columnist for *The Argus*. René de Villiers said that he was intrigued that the Nationalists were surprised at the decision of black students to 'go it alone'. He viewed this development as a natural consequence of 24 years of Nationalist rule. For 24 years people had been told to develop separately and it was therefore understandable that the message finally got through, he said (7). René de Villiers also expressed concern over Black Consciousness and warned that if two distinct nationalisms were created in one geographic area, a confrontation would definitely arise. Like Alan Paton, he noted that liberals have been singled out as Black Awareness targets.

The *Daily Dispatch* also joined the chorus of critics of Black Consciousness, expressing the feeling that this philosophy was a natural consequence of Apartheid. The writer also maintained that a case could be made out for SASO (advocates of Black Consciousness) if one's concern was the achievement of ends, but he felt strongly that means could never be separated from the end.

He stated that many whites did not fully understand the implications of Black Consciousness, even Nusas who supported 'in principle' the standpoint of the blacks only South African Students Organisation. In his opinion there could be no justification for 'supporting or condoning in blacks what we condemn in whites - exclusivity'. All racial programmes were, according to him, 'inclined to get out of hand and the temporary expedient invariably becomes the lasting madness' (8).

Whilst liberals pointed accusing fingers at the government for having encouraged Black Consciousness, the Deputy Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr van der Merwe, entered the arena and blamed the 'militant anti-white tendency among 'non-white' students' on the hypocrisy of white liberals. Dr van der Merwe felt that this new move by black students was in line with government policy except that the government favoured friendly dialogue between groups. He felt that the hypocritical action of 'leftist whites' had forced blacks into rejecting dialogue completely. He also pointed to the example of the government which, as he saw it, had meaningful dialogue between itself and the homeland leaders and between itself and most Coloured leaders. He regretted, though, that the Coloured Labour Party was consistently refusing to co-operate with the government (9).

Another warning to black students who advocated Black Consciousness came from Mr Allister Sparks' column in the *Rand Daily Mail*, in which he volunteered to clear the apparent 'confusion' that had

been brought about by the emergence of Black Consciousness. Mr Sparks advanced the opinion that although Black Power may have started off as a good thing, it ran the danger of going out of control. He quoted the example of the Afrikaner who at the turn of the century had suffered the humiliation of having lost a war, his country and had feared he would lose his culture and identity, which resulted in Hertzog breaking away from the Smuts-Botha coalition, with the idea of having the Afrikaner establish himself and fuse back into society. As was expected Afrikaner nationalism turned out to be a political machine which generated its own momentum.

Mr Sparks concluded by sounding a note of warning to black students not to go creating a racist monster that they would not be able to control in the years ahead (10).

The political commentator of the *Sunday Times*, Mr Stanley Uys, took it upon himself to warn white society, especially the opposition political parties, that Black Consciousness was becoming a major political factor in this country, and that there was little time to mend bridges across the colour-line.

Stanley Uys saw Black Consciousness as a preparatory stage to Black Power and he also distinguished between Black Consciousness and Black Nationalism. He said that the outstanding characteristic of Black Nationalism of the 50's and early 60's was that it was prepared to work with whites whereas Black Consciousness was characterised by its rejection of whites by blacks.

He noted that Black Consciousness was growing from strength to strength and he illustrated this by quoting the recent developments in the black world, including the expulsion of a *Rand Daily Mail* reporter from the SASO Conference in July, 1972, when the Daily Mail persistently referred to Coloured, Indians and Africans collectively as 'non-whites' instead of 'black'. This expulsion, he believed, influenced the *Rand Daily Mail* to announce that the term 'black' would be used in future (11).

Perhaps the most representative example of the attitude of whites to Black Consciousness came from an open letter to SASO by the editor of *Deurbraak*, which started off by saying that he sympathised with the attempts by SASO to spread Black Consciousness, to confront the white man and to expose the discrimination that was practised by whites against blacks. The editor stated, however, that he could not sympathise with SASO's militant stance. He pointed out that it was the white man who was wielding political power and that if the black man wanted to share this power, he would have to persuade him to give away certain powers. The editor believed that the only way of achieving that was by co-operating with the white man. But if the black man wanted to take over

this power he would do well to remember that the white man would only allow it over his dead body. The editor further 'advised' SASO not to scream at the white man because this would only serve to convince whites that the black man was determined to chase them into the seas and therefore make him more adamant to cling to his power.

The editor also observed that blacks had been complaining that whites were always talking about them and not with them, but that when the whites now wanted to talk, the blacks were shunning them. He concluded by warning SASO that this attitude might get them into trouble (12).

An editorial in *Pro Veritate* illustrates yet another common trend in the reaction of whites to Black Consciousness. In that article the editor supported this movement and saw it as a political strategy (13).

He submitted that the recent dissolution of the University Christian Movement had been caused not only by government persecution but also by the rejection of white or multi-racial bodies by blacks.

The writer regarded this movement as a 'working method to achieve definite objectives' and the emergence of this movement, he said, was the result of the apartheid policy which had not allowed blacks to develop fully. He also stated that Black Consciousness viewed the 'homeland' policy as a bluff and that the government and opposition would do well to take 'due consideration of this rising black power'.

In an article entitled 'White Liberals and Black Power' in *The South African Outlook*, Gerald Stone submitted that Black Power was here to stay. He appealed to white liberals not to condemn it but rather to have faith in the blacks who had taken the responsibility in the struggle for freedom. He urged the whites to assist in whatever way they could, lest control of the movement fell into the hands of the advocates of hatred within it. He also warned the white liberals not to stand in the way of this movement, because if they really believed in justice they would not insist on dominating the black struggle for freedom (14).

The Rev Dr Robert McAfee Brown, an American theologian, viewed Black Consciousness as a reaction to the tendency by whites of 'partially accepting black people only if they are servile to white middle-class values'. He maintained that Blacks had been partially accepted in spite of their black skins and not because of it, with the result that many people were developing a black identity as an alternative. He urged whites to affirm the importance of Black Consciousness and at the same time promote racial contact and understanding, the task being to manifest the 'oneness' of humanity more fully. He expressed a strong desire that multi-racial contact be pushed to the edge of what was legally possible. He encouraged whites to continue with the effort to have multi-racial gatherings in spite of the fact that blacks might reject them either because

of the risk involved or because the genuineness of white concern was suspect (15).

REFERENCES

1. *Reality*, November 1972.
2. *Reality*, March 1972.
3. *The Star*, 14 August 1972.
4. *Reality*, July 1972.
5. *The Friend*, 11 January 1972.
6. *Die Transvaler*, 23 February 1972.
7. *The Argus*, 15 July 1972.
8. *Daily Dispatch*, 17 July, 1972.
9. *The Star* 22 July 1972.
10. *Rand Daily Mail* 22 July 1972.
11. *The Sunday Times* 23 July 1972.
12. *Deurbraak* August 1972.
13. *Pro Veritate* 15 August 1972.
14. *The South African Outlook* September 1972.
15. *Natal Mercury* 20 September 1972.

Chapter Five

GOVERNMENT-CREATED PLATFORMS BANTUSTANS

Background

THE BANTUSTANS in South Africa are administered under the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. To date eight Bantustans have been set up and are at various stages of 'constitutional development'.

Over the period 1970-72, South Africa has intensified its scheme of total segregation of the African population into ethnic groups living apart, educated apart and having separate political rights.

In terms of the separate development policy, all Africans are citizens of one Bantustan or another in spite of the fact that only 7 million out of a total of about 15 million Africans actually live in the Bantustans. All urban Africans are thus legally described as temporary sojourners in the 'white' areas, who may only live in these areas for as long as they are employed in these areas.

SIZE AND SCOPE OF BANTUSTANS

There are at present eight officially instituted Bantustans in South Africa. These may be described as follows:

Transkei and Ciskei

- (a) Transkei lies between the Mzimkhulu and Kei rivers and is constituted of 2 pieces of land in which several white spots are found;

the districts of Elliot, Maclear, Matatiele, Mount Currie, Umzimkhulu and Port St. John are all white spots and have been the subject of land disputes between the white government and the Transkei's Chief K.D. Matanzima;

the total Transkeian territory consists of 4 680 578 hectares;

the 'capital' of Transkei is Umtata;

together with Ciskei, Transkei has 2 206 691 Xhosas living in these areas, whilst a further 1 723 231 live in white areas;

- (b) Ciskei lies mainly within the Border region but stretches out towards the Eastern Cape (Peddie etc.) and North Eastern districts;

the actual historical boundaries of the Ciskei are the Kei on the East, the Fish on the West and the Orange in the North;

the Ciskei consists of 17 pieces of land carved out of an areas which is predominantly white;

the total Ciskeian territory consists of 867 987 hectares;

the 'capital' of the Ciskei is Zwelitsha, near King Williams Town.

KwaZulu

Kwa Zulu is the homeland designed for Zulus. It lies mainly in Northern Natal and has a few spots around Durban and in the Natal South belt;

the 'capital' of KwaZulu is at present Nongoma;

KwaZulu consists of 29 pieces of land which are currently in the process of consolidation by the Bantu Administration Department;

the total KwaZulu area consists of 3 182 642 hectares;

a total of 2 135 448 Zulus live in KwaZulu while a further 1 890 634 Zulus live in white areas.

Bophuthatswana

stretches roughly from Kuruman through Zeerust and Rustenburg and includes parts of North Western Transvaal;

the 'capital' of Bophuthatswana is Mafikeng;

Bophuthatswana consists of 19 pieces of land;

a total of 610 528 Tswanas live in Bophuthatswana whilst a total of 1 107 980 Tswanas live in white areas;

the total areas of Bophuthatswana consists of 3 305 965 hectares.

Lebowa

Lebowa includes areas in Sekhukhuniland lying between Pietersburg and Lydenburg and extending to the Kruger National Park;

the 'capital' of Lebowa is Seshego near Pietersburg;

Lebowa consists of 3 pieces of land;

a total of 1 001 181 Pedis (Northern Sothos) live in Lebowa while a further 602 349 live in white areas;

the total areas of Lebowa consists of 1 773 360 hectares.

Gazankulu (Machangana)

Gazankulu is thrown between Bophuthatswana on the North East Transvaal south of Vendaland and Lebowa and borders on the northern boundary of Swaziland;

the 'capital' of Gazankulu is Giyane in Louis Trichardt district;

Gazankulu consists of 4 pieces of land;

a total of 392 910 Shangaans live in Gazankulu whilst a further 344 068 live in white areas;

the total area of Gazankulu consists of 891 910 hectares.

Vendaland

stretches from east of Messina nearly to Tzaneen in the North-Eastern Transvaal;

the 'capital' of Vendaland is Sibasa in Louis Trichardt district;

a total of 251 235 Vendas live in Vendaland whilst a further 10 640 live in white areas;

Vendaland consists of 3 pieces of land;

the total area of Vendaland consists of 804 146 hectares.

Basotho Qua Qua (Basotho ba Borwa)

situated just outside Lesotho extending into the surrounding areas of the Free State;

a total of 144 060 Southern Sothos live in Basotho Qua Qua whilst a further 1 309 294 live in white areas;

the 'capital' of Basotho Qua Qua is Witsjieshoek (Qua Qua);

Basotho Qua Qua consists of 1 piece of land.

STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

The Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act (No. 26 of 1970) was promulgated to provide, inter alia, for citizenship of certain Bantu Homelands, issue of citizenship of 'Bantu persons' and for the promulgation of regulations in consultation with the Homeland governments. This Act has been used in speeding up the process of 'political development' of the Bantustans, except for the Transkei which had its own Transkei Constitution Act (No. 48 of 1963).

The pattern of 'development' of all Bantustans, except for the Transkei, has been made similar by usage of the Act referred to above. The first step is the creation of a Territorial Authority with limited powers over a wide range of topics. These are listed as follows:

educational institutions

construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, drains, dams and furrows considered necessary for proper sanitation, for satisfactory water supply and prevention of soil erosion.

etc.

The next step is creation of the 'first phase' of semi-self-rule. In this stage the Territorial Authority is transformed into a Legislative Assembly which is completely nominated and has no real powers. The Executive of the Bantustan is then given some executive powers over a range of topics. Each of the 'semi-independent' departments is headed by one of the Councillors of the Executive. Normally these are:

Authority Affairs and Finance
Community Affairs
Justice
Roads and Works
Agriculture
Education and Culture

The third step is the creation of the 'second phase' of semi-autonomy. In this stage the Legislative Assembly is partly elected and partly nominated (usually fewer elected members). It is further given 'full control' over some departments and a Cabinet with ministers in control of each department.

Usually the departments concerned are:

Chief Minister and Finance
Interior
Justice
Roads and Works
Agriculture
Education and Culture

Transkei

The Transkei Legislative Assembly came into existence in 1963. Unlike other Bantustans, Transkeian 'development' is in terms of the Transkei Constitution Act of 1963. The Act provided for a Legislative Assembly

consisting of 64 chiefs and 45 elected members. Paramount chiefs retained their seats indefinitely whilst the other chiefs, according to the 1967 amendment to the Act, are elected by the chiefs themselves and retain their seats for the duration of the Legislative Assembly, normally for 5 years. The Assembly elects a cabinet consisting of the 'Chief Minister' and 5 other ministers. Chief Kaizer Matanzima is the Chief Minister of the Transkei.

The Legislative Assembly has powers over portfolios of:

- Finance
- Justice
- Interior
- Education
- Agriculture and Forestry
- Roads and Works

The Republican parliament still retains control over:

- Defence
- Prisons
- External Affairs
- Postal Services
- Security
- Currency, banking, customs and excise
- Railway
- Health and Hospitals
- Immigration
- Information

and in addition also has authority over the Transkei constitution itself.

According to two Bantu Laws Amendment Bills piloted through Parliament by the Deputy Ministers of Bantu Administration and Development, Piet Koornhof and A.J. Raubenheimer, additional powers for the Transkei have been proposed. These cover the following:

- Handing over of Prison and Health services to the Transkei government

- Transfer of prisoners between South Africa and the Transkei (not extradition)

Legal Aid Schemes

Control of horse-racing and other racing

Control of tourism

Control of housing schemes

Control of libraries, museums, auctions and cemeteries

Application of entertainment taxes.

Ciskei

The Ciskei Legislative Assembly was opened in April 1972 in Zwelitsha by Chief Justice Mabandla, who is its Chief Councillor.

Ciskei is at the 'second phase' of its development, i.e. it has its own constitution, a Cabinet with ministers, a Legislative Assembly which is partly elected and partly nominated and 'complete' control over some portfolios.

KwaZulu

KwaZulu is at the 'second phase' of its development and has been rapidly up-graded in terms of the Bantu Homeland Constitution Act of 1971 to acquire a Legislative Assembly having authority over a limited number of portfolios.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly was formally inaugurated at Nongoma on 1 April, 1972 and consists of 130 members: 55 elected and 75 nominated from tribal authorities. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is the Chief Councillor.

Bophuthatswana

The Tswana Legislative Assembly became self-governing on the 1 June, 1972, with 72 members - 24 of them elected. Chief Lucas Mangope is the Chief Councillor.

Bophuthatswana is in the 'second phase' of its development.

Lebowa

The Lebowa Legislative Assembly met for the first time in July, 1972, and expects Transkei-type autonomy by 1974. Chief Maserumule Matlala is the Chief Councillor.

Lebowa is in the 'second phase' of its development.

Gazankulu

The Gazankulu Legislative Assembly was opened in April, 1972. Professor H.W.E. Ntsanwisi is the Chief Councillor.

Gazankulu is still at the 'first phase' of its development.

Vendaland

The Venda Legislative Assembly met for the first time in Sibasa in May, 1972. Chief Patrick Mphephu is the Chief Councillor.

Venda is at its 'first phase' of development.

Basotho Qua Qua

Basotho Qua Qua was constituted as a Territorial Authority on a federal basis in 1969 for the two Southern Sotho Tribal Authorities. Basotho Qua Qua was instituted into a Legislative Assembly at the beginning of 1972. It is still at the 'first phase' of its development, is the newest and least 'developed' of the Bantustans.

Chief W.S. Mota is the Chief Councillor.

ACTIVITIES BY LEADERS

The leaders of the various Bantustans have, particularly over the past year, increasingly demonstrated a willingness to test the commitment of the Nationalist government to their policy of separate development. This has taken the form mainly of demands for more land, demands for more powers and independent planning for possible black coalition amongst them at a later stage.

KwaZulu

(a) Public Statements

As early as the time of his election, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had spelt out the following as what the government should do to make separate development meaningful to Africans, particularly the Zulus of whom he was head:

- more territory for the Zulus
- representation of urban Zulus
- more pay and rate for the job
- tolerance in application of influx laws
- free and compulsory education
- war on malnutrition and disease.

Since then Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has consistently been critical of the application of the separate development policy and the tendency by the 'all powerful Republican government' to want to retain as much power as it can.

Speaking at Nongoma on 29 February, 1972, he said (1):

'We think that it is vital, despite all the doubts many Zulus have, that we should establish Zulu solidarity as 4 250 000 people, so that we can speak with one voice. Once this happens, we citizens of KwaZulu can then be in a legal position to foster bonds of union with other blacks in exactly the same way that whites have established bonds amongst themselves, in spite of different language and cultural barriers. We have no doubt that once that stage is reached, we will be in a position to speak to white South Africans as equals, and our combined voice will then have reached such a volume that they will no longer be able to ignore our voice about our rights and our future'.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has demonstrated during his term of office an unorthodoxy unparalleled amongst any of the Bantustan leaders through his acceptance of speech engagements from all segments of the community. To date he has spoken to Zulu political gatherings, black political gatherings, black university students, white university students, white political parties, youth groups, women's clubs, Jewish clubs, Chambers of Commerce, welfare organisations and a host of others.

To all groups the message seems to centre around 3 main points:

an attack on the government and its application of the separate development policy;

a plea to whites of liberal opinion to accommodate black demands and attempts at self-reliance;

a plea to blacks to come together and stand as a solid bloc.

This latter issue has been confused by the fact that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, as a Bantustan leader, is first and foremost a leader of the Zulu ethnic group and often has to speak from that platform.

(b) Constitutional conflict with the Monarchy

One of the first issues that faced KwaZulu was constitutional conflict between the Paramount Chief (now King) Goodwill Zwelithini and the Chief Executive Councillor, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. The controversy was sparked off by initial moves made by the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M.C. Botha, who warned Buthelezi that: 'No member of your government should consider his own position to be more important and exalted than that of the Paramount Chief. Precaution should be taken to make sure that he is not relegated to a mere figure head' (2).

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi then publicly accused the South African government of trying to have him removed and of negating the principle of self-determination.

The issue was then raised at the January 1972 meeting of the Territorial Authority which supported Buthelezi by unanimously voting to exclude the Paramount Chief from the political structure of KwaZulu and merely to make him a constitutional monarch.

In September, speaking to a crowd of about 10 000 people at a Shaka's day celebration, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi once more spelt out to the King Goodwill Zwelithini that he must always remain 'above the heat and dust of politics'. This outburst was occasioned by a difference in views between Chief Gatsha and the King as to how the celebrations should be run. Concessions eventually had to be made by both sides to reach a proper settlement. King Goodwill Zwelithini sat in stony silence as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi spelt out the role of a monarch as he saw it (3).

Earlier on in the same meeting King Goodwill Zwelithini had stated that he had every confidence in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and in Chief Buthelezi.

(c) Creation of opposition in KwaZulu

The establishment of an opposition party in KwaZulu hinged closely on the role of the monarch in that 'state'. The man behind the establishment of the Opposition is Mr Lloyd Ndaba, a strong supporter of the monarch system who feels that the Paramount Chief ought to be 'Head of State' and the Prime Minister should be under him. He also urged the Zulus not to allow the Prime Minister to 'chase the king all over the veld'. This viewpoint was revealed in a circular sent by Mr Lloyd Ndaba to all the chiefs in KwaZulu.

The issue of establishment of the Opposition was discussed in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in May 1972 where Chief Gatsha heavily

attacked Mr H. Torlage (Chief Commissioner of the Zulus) for supplying addresses of Zulu chiefs to Mr Lloyd Ndaba.

Chief Buthelezi in stating his views regarding the Opposition said: 'It would be childish and ludicrous to create an opposition which would merely lead to petty bickering. At this embryonic stage we should not dissipate our energies in mutual recriminations by creating opposition parties'.

It is difficult to assess the strength of the Zulu National Party (the Opposition) but indications are that it is experiencing great difficulty in getting off the ground.

(d) Oaths of Allegiance

Attempts by the South African government to have the members of the KwaZulu Territorial Authority take an oath of allegiance to the South African government itself met with stiff opposition from the Territorial Authority members. The Territorial Authority unanimously rejected the oath and retained only the oath to honour the State President.

(e) Plans for Consolidation of KwaZulu

On the 6 June, 1972, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development revealed, in a statement, the government's massive homeland consolidation programme (4).

Regarding KwaZulu the plan was to reduce the existing 24 Zulu areas in Northern Natal into 3 large areas and 1 small area.

Area 1 would include the entire area from just north of Sodwana Bay to the Mozambique border and across to the Swaziland border.

Area 2 would include the area combining Hlabisa and Ulundi and stretching from just north of Mtonjaneni across towards Empangeni but not including this town and then north towards the Swaziland border.

Area 3 stretching from Eshowe but not including it towards Greytown but not including it and up past Dundee towards Newcastle.

Area 4 a small existing Zulu area bordering Richards Bay.

The implication in these proposals was that 530 000 hectares of 'white' land would be exchanged for 449 000 hectares of black land. The Umfolozi Game Reserve would be incorporated into KwaZulu. The Mdumo Game Reserve would probably later be incorporated in KwaZulu.

In his statement Mr M.C. Botha stressed that these proposals were not final and were subject to the representations to be made by the various affected groups. For this reason a Bantu Affairs Commission on the KwaZulu consolidation proposals was appointed to listen to representations by the affected parties.

The Commission sat in Dundee, Eshowe, Pietermaritzburg and Harding and listened to representatives from interested persons including:

Natal Agricultural Union
 KwaZulu Legislative Assembly
 Natal Indian Cane Growers Association
 Representatives of affected companies
 Natal Southern District Chamber of Commerce
 Dalton Farmers Association
 Eshowe Town Clerk.

The people of KwaZulu, who would be most affected by the proposals, were not allowed to make personal representations. The Legislative Assembly of KwaZulu presented a memorandum to the Minister of Bantu Administration, otherwise the hearings were all all-white affair with the only blacks (Natal Indian Cane Growers Association) being allowed to make representations through a white attorney.

Points which came out during the hearings according to the Natal Agricultural Union were (5):

that the consolidation would cost at least 250 million rand.

343 000 Africans, 8 400 Indians, 2 500 Coloureds and 6 157 whites would have to move;

16 000 hectares of established timber land would be lost to the white areas;

affected white and Indian cane growers have an aggregate quota of 196 962 tons of sugar cane a year and this would fall drastically if the land went to Africans;

important communications would be jeopardised and there would be a deterioration in the public good will.

Speaking at one of the hearings, Mr J.E.P. Stevenson of the Ntumeni Planters Association said: 'We have unanimously decided that Ntumeni should remain white ... it would be quite irresponsible to expect blacks to practise agriculture in this type of country ... the country could ill-afford economical or social upheavals ... it would be an embarrassing and irresponsible blunder to turn Ntumeni black ...' He further added that a sophisticated white society had worked the area for 70 years and could not expect an unsophisticated black society to even maintain the norm.

Ultimately the proposals were rejected by all groups although for different reasons. As Gatsha Buthelezi put it, speaking for blacks, 'we are not interested in proposals hatched by whites in favour of whites only; we do not want to soil our hands by negotiating over proposals designed for the benefits of whites'.

It is expected that the proposals will be amended to accommodate the views of the various affected parties before definite legislation can be formulated.

(f) Demands for more land

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has refused to contemplate independence until his 'State' is consolidated. 'There cannot be a State without boundaries', he said.

Ciskei

(a) Public Statements

As early as April, 1972, Chief Justice Mabandla made a strong plea to the government to decide soon on the proposed new boundaries for the Ciskei. This has to a large extent been the main issue, i.e. the re-drawing of boundaries in this historically disputed border territory now consisting of 17 pieces of land.

Chief Mabandla's claim has been mainly that the boundaries for the Ciskei stretch from the Fish River to the Kei River and from the sea to the Orange River (6). He claimed in July that if the government could agree to these boundaries then East London would be developed as a harbour for the Ciskei. Subsequent to this claim an SABC news report on 3 August, 1972, denied that Chief Mabandla had made this claim. In reaction to this, Chief Mabandla reiterated his claim for vast areas of white-

owned land in the Eastern Cape on 4 August, 1972 (7).

(b) Plans for Consolidation of the Ciskei

In terms of the 1936 Land Act, the South African government is committed to extending the territory controlled by Africans in the Eastern Cape.

On the 19 April, 1972, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M.C. Botha, laid proposals before Parliament for the declaration as released areas of 185 385 hectares of land for the better consolidation of the Xhosa Ciskei homeland.

The areas are situated in the districts of Cathcart, E. London, King Williams Town, Peddie, Queenstown, Stutterheim and Victoria East. This was meant to be in part settlement of the land owed by the government in that area and this would leave still another 235 798 hectares of land still to be given.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr A.J. Raubenheimer, said that the whites in the proposed released areas should not panic, the acquisition of land was of necessity a gradual process and the land would not immediately be transferred to the Ciskei Homeland. The whole process would take anything from 10-15 years 'if not longer' (8).

Reactions from whites were quick and sharp. The chairman of the Hamburg Village Board in the Peddie area stated: The whole matter becomes not only confusing but even ridiculous when releases are given first making Hamburg black, then white, then black again, which ultimately and conceivably will not only bring about physical colour blindness, but conceivable loss of faith and political blindness' (9).

(c) Preparation for elections

The Ciskei will have its first elections in February 1973 and already about 500 000 voters have been registered. There are 20 elected and 30 ex officio seats to be filled in the Legislative Assembly.

Already there are rumours of a major surprise for Chief Justice Mabandla, the Territory's Chief Minister. There is evidence to support the view that Mr Sebe is the favourite of the clandestine Rarabe-led opposition movement which wants to fight the elections on tribal lines to oust Chief Justice Mabandla who is a Fingo.

Soon after Mr Sebe's arrival from the United States, in October, rumours spread that he was due for dismissal from the Cabinet. Mr Sebe had already been demoted from the 'powerful' Education portfolio and

was given the Agriculture portfolio. Chief Mabandla, however, discounted rumours as mere mischief-making.

According to observers, in the actual elections Mr Sebe will rely on the Rarabe chiefs including Paramount Chief Mxolisi Sandile while Chief Justice Mabandla will rely mainly on the Fingo chiefs in the Peddie, Alice and Keiskammahoek districts.

Bophuthatswana

(a) Public Statements

In Bophuthatswana two figures emerge as the centre of political activity. On the one hand is Chief Lucas Mangope, head of Bophuthatswana and on the other is Chief Thidimane Pilane, originally allied with Mangope and now head of the opposing Seoposegwe Party.

Chief Lucas Mangope is a firm believer in the policy of separate development. Time and again he has declared that the people of Bophuthatswana are as a group in favour of apartheid.

The first controversial issue in which Mangope got himself involved was the collection of 10c from each of the citizens of Bophuthatswana in an effort to build up a fund to 'combat terrorism'. In an address to the Tswana Legislative Assembly, the Republican Minister of Police, Mr L. Muller, stated that an amount of R3 014 had been collected by the Tswana people towards this purpose.

Speaking at a ceremony at Mafikeng to mark the territory self rule on June 1 1972, Mangope once more stated that separate development was the only policy that would give the Tswana people a say in their own affairs. In the meantime the rift between Chief Mangope who is regarded as a strong pro-apartheid leader and Chief Pilane who is the more radical of the two, continued to grow and to express itself in more definite terms.

A second issue in which Mangope has expressed a very keen interest has been the establishment of a Tswana University. Again it was announced on 21 March, 1972, at the Tswana Legislative Assembly that a handsome amount of R50 000 had been collected by Tswanas towards this project.

On several occasions Mangope has been accused of being a stooge of the South African government, mainly by supporters of the Pilane approach. Speaking at a ceremony at the offices of the Commissioner-general of the Tswana people on 1 June, Chief Mangope denied allegations made by politicians that he was a stooge and said that he would never become one. He predicted that the consolidation of land would be a burning issue in Bophuthatswana politics.

(b) Creation of Opposition

On 29 July the *Rand Daily Mail* reported that Chief Pilane had launched an opposition party, Seoposengwe Party, at Rustenburg. Mr Molele, P.R.O. of the party, said that the new party would follow a policy similar to that of Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, i.e. one of accepting separate development as the only practical alternative and trying to force the government to match theory with practice.

On 30 July Chief Pilane, leader of Seoposengwe, accused Chief Mangope and his supporters of intimidating the Tswana people to support them. He further accused Mangope of using unfair tactics to be elected the first Chief Minister of the Tswana Homeland.

Early in August in preparation for the elections, Chief Pilane challenged Mangope to a public debate where their policies would be discussed. The challenge was refused.

(c) Elections

On 4 October, Tswana throughout the country went to the polls to elect 24 members to the Tswana Legislative Assembly. The election was fought on party political lines between Mangope's group and Pilane's group.

Chief Mangope's party won 16 of the contested constituencies. Four constituencies returned unopposed candidates all regarded as supporters of Chief Mangope. The other 4 seats went to Pilane.

When the Legislative Assembly met at the beginning of November, Chief Mangope was elected as Chief Minister.

From 1 November onwards Bophuthatswana operated with South African government backing under a Transkei-type system of partial self-government.

Lebowa

(a) Public Statements

Outlining his hopes and aspirations regarding the homeland policy, in July 1971 Chief Matlala mentioned the following points (10):

The ultimate dramatic step of independence for South Africa's Bantustans may be in the form of a federation of black homeland territories;

his homeland was working towards achievement of self-government as soon as possible with representations at the United Nations;

he didn't favour membership of the O.A.U. because although the O.A.U. hit at segregated bodies, it was itself practising segregation.

Speaking in Cape Town in 1972 after consultations with the Prime Minister and Mr M.C. Botha, Chief Matlala said: 'It is necessary that we have more land, but it will only be known how much after certain statistics have been made available' (11).

Addressing the Legislative Assembly on 14 August, 1972, Chief Matlala said: 'We intend being loyal to the honourable Minister, the government and South Africa ... I want to assure the Minister that we stand foursquare behind him'. On this occasion both the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M.C. Botha and the Minister of Defence, Mr P.W. Botha, and observers from foreign countries had attended the session of the Legislative Assembly.

Defending the homeland's policy and the piecemeal rate at which minor concessions were being granted to South Africa's Africans, Chief Matlala, in his message when Lebowa became self-governing on 2 October, said that an unbiased evaluation of South Africa's policies disclosed that it was not out of step with what was happening elsewhere on the African continent. He said that the only difference was that independence was coming to blacks in an orderly way. This was contrary to the way in which independence was achieved by the former colonies of Belgium, France and Britain (12).

(b) Proposals for consolidation

On 16 November, 1972, a closed commission sitting in Pietersburg in the Tom Naude Technical High School listened to reactions by affected farmers to the proposed consolidation plan for Lebowa and Venda.

The proposals include incorporation of about 80 white-owned farms around Pietersburg and Louis Trichardt. They comprise about 200 000 hectares of land including Soutpansberg near Louis Trichardt, the rich Levubu fruit-growing district east of the town and the land east of Bandolierskop. A large portion of white land in Gilead district north of Potgietersrus is also to be incorporated in Lebowa. Nuanetsi, on the Rhodesian border, is to become part of Vendaland and a small section near Steilhoop, on the Botswana border, will complete the western section of Lebowa.

Evidence was heard from farmers' associations, the Transvaal

Agricultural Union, local Sakekamers and the regional development association.

The fears expressed were that industrial growth and development near Pietersburg would be stunted if homeland borders were drawn too near the town, but others opposed and the proposals because they were going to lose their rich citrus, vegetable and cattle land.

The commission's chairman, Mr P.Z.J. van Vuuren, is reported to have said: 'No one was against consolidation in principle; it was a question of individuals resenting the loss of their land'.

Blacks living in the area who are also going to be affected, were not consulted on the issue.

Gazankulu

Public Statements

Opening the first session of the Machangana Legislative Assembly on 12 April 1972, Prof. Ntsanwisi made the following 3 points (13):

- the South African government's approach to development of his territory was lamentably slow;
- the government interfered with decisions taken by homeland leaders;
- blacks were as insecure in the homelands as they were in urban areas.

He further said: 'Our homeland is economically unviable and unless this deficiency is put right, it cannot be a natural habitat of its people. It will remain a dormitory for the labour needs of white areas'.

Prof. Ntsanwisi has openly declared himself in favour of a policy of federation and closer unity of the homelands in South Africa. 'We can only be a success if we learn from those who have broken the path before us. I believe in black solidarity, but not in direct confrontation', he said (14).

Venda

Public Statements

Chief P.R. Mphephu from the beginning has always declared himself solidly behind the principle of separate development and has stated that the Venda people will never accept a system whereby a white man re-

presents them in Parliament.

After Chief Mphephu's consultation with the Prime Minister and Mr M.C. Botha on the constitutional development of the homeland, Mr M.C. Botha pointed out that Chief Mphephu had stressed to the Prime Minister the desirability of maintaining good co-operation with the government of the Republic and in this context he had singled out the 'terrorist threat'. (It will be remembered that Sibasa was the area that was chosen by the South African Defence Force for practice exercises against possible armed infiltration across nearby borders).

Transkei

(a) Public Statements

Chief Kaizer Matanzima, Transkeian Chief Minister, has always accepted the policy of separate development and has been quoted as saying: 'I have no doubt that there is no turning back, the policy must be applied. I have not heard one single Transkeian citizen who has repudiated the existence of the Transkeian government' (15).

Most of Matanzima's militant statements have been associated with land demands. On several occasions he has demanded the districts of Elliot, Maclear, Matatiele, Mt. Currie, Umzimkhulu and Port St. Johns. These demands have been constantly refused by the white government and have led to the announcement in the South African Parliament by the Prime Minister that the Bantustans were free to become fully independent before consolidation and before the boundaries were finalised.

In January and again in April 1972, Matanzima suggested that he would not accept independence before the land claims were met. On one occasion he is known to have issued what some people regard as an ultimatum, mainly to the effect that if no progress was made on the land claims, his government would refuse to accept back 'Transkei citizens' regarded by the white government as superfluous to its labour needs.

Following his return from a visit to the U.S.A., Chief Matanzima seems to have decided to be most outspoken on issues relating to the position of the Bantustans and also the black man at large. His 'new deal' plan for a federation of Bantustans as one big solid black bloc is evidence of this.

(b) The Opposition

Mr Knowledge Guzana still remains the leader of the Democratic Party, official Transkei 'opposition'. His party stands for multi-racialism

not only in the Transkei, but throughout the Republic.

Mr Guzana's party has in the past advocated that, rather than allow for the balkanization of South Africa, the Transkei should merely be governed by blacks as another province of the country.

Mr Guzana is known to have opposed the land claims made by Chief Matanzima on the grounds that Matanzima's 3 points on which the land claims are based would make a weak case i.e.

an 1880 map of the area

a photograph taken at a conference of magistrates in the Transkei which included representatives from Matatiele, Kokstad and Maclear

the needs of the Xhosas.

Mr Guzana said in Parliament 'to bring us an outmoded map of 1880 and to seek to define definite boundaries in 1972 is merely to forget the fact that boundaries change from period to period'.

It is known that several members of the heavily outnumbered Opposition Party have wavered in their support of the stand made by their leader against the districts being ceded to the Transkei.

Early in 1972 a rift threatened in the ranks of the Democratic Party and this resulted in a determined bid by a powerful faction of Thembu rebels to depose Mr Knowledge Guzana. It is suspected that the basis for the rift was the policy on the land issue and the unrealistic stance of calling for full political and human rights for Transkei citizens in South Africa while participating on a separate development platform.

It was first reported on 3 March in newspapers throughout the country that the opposition leader had been ousted and the party executive suspended. The party's Deputy leader, Chief Sabata Dalindyabo, would then be interim leader until the opposition conference met on 8 April where a new executive would be elected.

Mr Guzana however refused to recognise this decision, which was taken at a regional conference at Sithebe, on the grounds that the constitution did not allow regions to make decisions of this nature. Specific allegations against Mr Guzana were that:

he was not active enough in party politics: he had not replied favourably to invitations to address public meetings in urban areas;

he was being paid as leader of the party while his predecessor Chief Victor Poto was never paid;

the 3 year term of office for the Executive had expired the previous year (1971) and new elections should have been conducted then.

There was also a dispute between the breakaway group and the party leadership about the venue of the April conference with Guzana insisting on Qumbu while the other group wanted Umtata as venue.

At the subsequent congress of the Democratic Party, Guzana re-asserted his dominance and for a while seems to have healed the rift that threatened the party. In a press interview at the end of the conference, Mr Guzana said 'I haven't patched up the differences with Paramount Chief Dalindyebo. He surrendered by refusing nomination'.

(c) Voting Strength in the Legislative Assembly

At the 2nd general election held in 1968, the following were the figures:

	Chiefs	Elected Members	Total
Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP)	56	28	84
Democratic Party (D.P.)	8	14	22
Independents	-	3	3
	64	45	109

(The TNIP is Chief Matanzima's party).

GENERAL ISSUES REGARDING BANTUSTANS

(a) Calls for closer unity

Following his return from the U.S.A., Chief K.D. Matanzima issued a

statement to the effect that he was in favour of creating a greater Xhosaland in which whites and blacks would have equal rights in a new superstate stretching from the Fish River to the Natal border. This call was quickly picked up and magnified by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in a call for a confederation of black 'states' in Southern Africa. 'Unless blacks of all ethnic groups adopt a common strategy there is no future for us under this policy', he said, referring to the separate development policy as planned by white South Africa.

Mr Knowledge Guzana supported Chief Matanzima's call on the grounds that it was 'a confession at the altar of multi-racialism'. Chief Mangope, shortly after the victory of his party in the Bophuthatswana elections, stated that his victory showed that the Tswana people favoured separate development, 'and unconditional rejection of unity amongst black people'. Chief Mabandla of the Ciskei has adopted the attitude that amalgamation of the Transkei and Ciskei is inevitable, but beyond this he has not made any clear-cut statement of his stand. Prof. Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu is known to have endorsed the stand. He has said that if homelands don't stand together then they do not constitute a nation. He further affirmed his belief in black solidarity.

In spite of the apparent agreement amongst most of the leaders of the Bantustans, there has been no immediate follow-up of this trend of thought to its logical conclusion.

(b) Investments in Bantustans

Following repeated statements by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive Officer of KwaZulu, that certain overseas countries had made offers of assistance to the Zulu homeland, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr A.J. Raubenheimer, said: 'The government certainly welcomes any offers of aid - foreign or local - to the developing homelands. My department is at present busy working out a formula whereby offers of aid can be co-ordinated and channelled to the homelands'.

Mr A.J. Raubenheimer further said that in terms of existing legislation, there was no way of handling aid 'apart from through the Bantu Development Corporation' (16).

GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS AGAINST BANTUSTANS

Reactions to the establishment of Bantustans and to the acceptance of Bantustans have been expressed by several groups and individuals in the black world. These reactions range from opposition to involvement in

Bantustan politics on the grounds that they are a waste of time anyway to a rejection of the fragmentation of both the country and its people by a foreign minority.

(a) *The South African Students' Organisation (SASO)*

Of all groups and individuals, SASO has been most outspoken on the Bantustan philosophy. They have consistently rejected the philosophy as a whole and those who propagate it either consciously or subconsciously.

The following points are raised by SASO against Bantustans:

that these are institutions of oppression designed to cheat people into believing that they have communication links with Pretoria;

that whites have no right to balkanise the country and allocate any percentage of it to blacks;

that artificial division of blacks into ethnic groups is aimed at the fragmentation of the struggle by the blacks towards emancipation;

that participation in Bantustan politics is merely aimed at cheating the outside world into believing that there is validity in the multinational policy of the white nationalists;

that the whole philosophy of separate development is a 'solution' mooted by the same people who have created the problem.

SASO has gone on to argue against participation in Bantustan politics even by those people who believe that they can be exploited in the interests of the black man. Here SASO argues that the architects of the system know it best and hence are always ahead of any black infiltrators in terms of planning. As the SASO columnist says in their newsletter: 'If you want to fight your enemy you don't accept the unloaded of his 2 guns and then challenge him to a duel (17).

SASO spokesmen have accused the white press of trying to make Bantustans appear an accomplished fact by giving extensive and often suggestive publicity to the pronouncements by leaders of the Bantustans whilst not giving publicity to opposition to the Bantustan philosophy.

(b) Black Student Representative Councils (S.R.C.'s)

S.R.C.'s of Universities of Natal Black Section and Zululand have communicated the feelings of black students on their campuses to the 'leaders' of Bantustans. They have expressed the opinion that participation in Bantustan politics is a way of 'selling out' on the black cause. They have also requested these people to stop regarding themselves as leaders of the black community.

(c) Black Peoples Convention (BPC)

One of the basic tenets on which BPC was founded is a complete rejection of government-created platforms.

In a statement issued on 13 January, 1972, BPC called upon all the black people of South Africa to join hands as a solid black unit in the quest for their emancipation and to reject all government-created platforms.

(d) Individuals

Opinion on Bantustans is fairly unanimous in rejection of separate development and all its agencies particularly by urban Africans. Where opinions tend to differ is in appreciation of the theory that one can work within the system to destroy the system. This debate has been highlighted particularly in 1972 where some Bantustan 'leaders' have begun openly to attack the limitations of their platform.

REFERENCES

1. African Bureau Fact Sheet 21, July 1972.
2. African Bureau Fact Sheet 21, July 1972.
3. *Rand Daily Mail*, 25.9.72.
4. *Daily News*, 6.6.72.
5. *Rand Daily Mail*, 12.9.72.
6. *Rand Daily Mail*, 2.8.72.
7. *Star*, 4.8.72.
8. *Rand Daily Mail*, 20.4.72.
9. *Rand Daily Mail*, 20.4.72.
10. *Star*, 27.7.71.
11. *Rand Daily Mail*, 24.2.72.

12. *Rand Daily Mail*, 3.10.72.
13. *Rand Daily Mail*, 13.4.72.
14. *Rand Daily Mail*, 18.9.72.
15. *Rand Daily Mail*, 4.11.71.
16. *Natal Mercury*, 31.1.72.
17. SASO Newsletter Sept./Oct. 1972, Vol. 2. No. 4, article by 'Frank Talk' on 'Let's Talk about Bantustans'.

Chapter Six

GOVERNMENT-CREATED PLATFORMS

COLOURED PEOPLES' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

Establishment

THE C.R.C. was established in accordance with Section 1 of the Coloured Persons Representative Council Act (No. 49 of 1964). The State President determined by Proclamation 77 of 3 April, 1969, that the C.R.C. of the Republic of South Africa be established on 1 July, 1969. This new political development resulted in the dissolution of the former Department of Coloured Affairs on 1 July, 1969, and the establishment of the Administration of Coloured Affairs on the same date.

Constitution

Sections 1 and 2 of the Act laid down that the Council shall be constituted as follows:

	Elected	Nominated
Cape Province	28	12
Transvaal	6	2
Natal	3	1
Orange Free State	3	1
Members especially representing the following groups:		
Griquas	-	2
Malays	-	2
	40	20

The results of the 1969 elections were as follows:

Party	Seats Contested	Seats Won
Labour	35	26
Federal	37	8
Republican	17	1
National	16	1
Conservative	10	-
Independent	8	1

The total percentage poll was 48,7%. The percentage ranged between 66,6 and 81% in the three northern provinces, but was below 30% in 7 urban constituencies of the Cape, the lowest figure, for a Cape Town seat, being 16,4%. The percentage was higher in the rural areas of the Cape. It would appear that large numbers of the urbanised Coloureds in that province boycotted the elections.

The Council

The term of office of members of the council is five years. The Chairman of the Council is nominated by the State President. His duties are to ensure that the correct procedure is observed during sessions of the Council; and also to take charge of financial management.

In interim periods, affairs of the CRC are in the hands of an executive of five. The chairman is nominated by the State President, the remaining 4 members are elected by members of the Council from among their own ranks.

The Council and the Executive operate within the Department of Coloured Affairs and have their powers and functions prescribed by the Act that set up the C.R.C.

Administration of Coloured Affairs

The Administrative machinery is known as the Administration of Coloured Affairs. In view of the fact that the Council and the Executive require administrative machinery for the performance of their functions, the Act provides that the Minister of Coloured Affairs may make officials and employees available to the Council for this purpose.

The Administration of Coloured Affairs is organised on the basis of four directorates who have direct contact with the member of the Executive designated to deal with the matter, i.e. either finance, education etc. The directorates are controlled by the Commissioner of Coloured Affairs, in order to co-ordinate their activities. He is assisted by a Deputy Commissioner who is in charge of the Directorate of Finance and Auxiliary Services.

The Commissioner for Coloured Affairs assists the Chairman of the Executive administratively in co-ordinating the activities of the Executive and in particular in so far as he has to deal with financial matters.

Activities of the C.R.C.

Speaking at the 2nd Research Workshop conducted by the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-racial Studies at the University of Cape Town in January, 1972, Mr David Curry, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, charged the government with having a policy of 'political domination'

over C.R.C. He said: 'The members of the executive, to my way of thinking, are just mere administrative clerks. The white officials are the real decision makers'.

When the government proposed legislation to amend the C.R.C. Act to give the Minister of Coloured Affairs powers to approve the Council's budget even if the Council rejects it, there were different reactions from members. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, described the proposed legislation as 'public admission by the government that they lost faith in their own creation, the Council' On the other hand, Tom Swartz, leader of the Federal Party, says the reason for the proposed legislation was that he could not guarantee to muster a majority in the Council. He believed the legislation was 'necessary to ensure that essential services are maintained, such as payment of teachers' salaries, even if there is a possible breakdown on the political front'.

In February, members of the C.R.C. met Vorster to discuss the future of the Council. The main item on the agenda was a request by the C.R.C. for an amendment to the C.R.C. Act of 1964 so that all 60 members of the Council would be elected in future. This arose from the great resentment at the government's 'loading' of the C.R.C. with pro-apartheid members who had lost in elections in 1969, in spite of the fact that the anti-apartheid Labour Party won the majority of contested seats. In May, the Deputy Minister of Coloured Affairs said in the House of Assembly that the government accepted in principle the decision by the C.R.C. to become a fully-elected body. However, he said because of certain practical problems, it would be impossible to implement this decision at the next elections for the C.R.C.

On the 20 June, the *Natal Mercury* reported that the C.R.C. would demand two 'revolutionary' changes in its relations with the government during its session in August. The first concerns a revision of the controversial liaison system between the Council and Cabinet, which Coloured leaders and many white politicians, particularly in the opposition, feel is inadequate. The second concerns complete filling of senior posts in the Department of Coloured Affairs by Coloureds.

Mr Tom Swartz said he fully supported a move to include all white parties in the liaison procedure, through a statutory standing body made up of select committees of both the C.R.C. and Parliament. At that time the liaison concerned only members of the government.

In August Tom Swartz said there were indications from Western countries to invest money to help develop Coloureds. In a motion, he called for representations to Mr Loots, Minister of Coloured Affairs, with a view to obtaining government approval. Mr David Curry supported the motion which he described as a motion of no-confidence

in the government's Coloured Development Corporation. He warned foreign investors that if they practise discrimination they should quit.

The C.R.C. made the following demands for parallel development:

The provision of travel facilities similar to those available to Whites, to Coloured people throughout the Republic and South West Africa.

Opportunities for Coloured men to qualify as pupil pilots and for other related jobs in civil and military aviation, and for Coloured women to be trained and employed in South African Airways without discrimination.

More land to be made available to the Coloured people to build their own houses.

The abolition of all forms of discrimination against black medical practitioners and surgeons in hospitals and operating theatres.

The abolition of ambulance apartheid.

Pressure on all municipalities in South Africa to provide the necessary amenities in all townships.

Bursaries for Coloured graduates for post-graduate study with a view to filling lecturers' post at the University of the Western Cape.

Latest Legislation

A government Bill published 24/5/72 will enable Loots to by-pass the C.R.C. if it refuses to adopt its R86 million budget. The main provision of the Bill lays down that if the C.R.C. fails to pass the annual budget, the necessary appropriation of funds can be made by the executive. If the executive fails to act 'for whatever reasons', the Minister can make the appropriations himself.

The Bill is a precaution against the possibility that anti-government Council members might have control of the Council and refuse to pass the budget in an attempt to damage the government's plans for the Council.

Parties

The C.R.C. has 7 parties, namely:

- (a) The Federal Coloured People's Party.
- (b) Labour Party.
- (c) National Coloured People's Party.
- (d) The Republican Party.
- (e) Coloured People's Party (Tvl.).
- (f) Independent Party for Coloureds.
- (g) The Social Democratic Party.

(a) Federal Coloured People's Party

1. Background

The Federal Party was formed on 30 August 1964 in Cape Town. The leader is Mr Tom Swartz. The party stands for parallel development, believing that the Coloured people are a nation with an identity of their own. This party accepts the policy of separate development but wants eventual equality with white people.

Since its launching, the party made its support for the policy of separate development very clear. According to the first manifesto at the launching of the party in 1964, the party committed itself to seek to make use of the opportunities offered by the government's policy of separate development and to make the Coloureds independent. This stand was subsequently demonstrated by the party's resolutions throughout the years.

The government also demonstrated support for the party after the 1969 elections, when it nominated 20 of the party's members who were defeated at the polls, to the C.R.C. This resulted in the party being in the majority in the C.R.C.

2. Activities during 1972

In March the Transvaal branch of the Federal Party drew a vast plan to consolidate White, Coloured and African areas to the South West of Johannesburg into an autonomous Coloured city. This caused vehement reactions from the Coloured and White communities. However this plan could not succeed because of strong opposition from politicians and government officials.

At their National Congress in Port Elizabeth the party passed the following resolution: 'The Congress puts forward the point of view that, in view of the fact that the possibility of a separate homeland for the Coloured people of South Africa has been totally rejected, the Coloured

people are part of the South African nation. As such the present policy of parallel development can only be seen as a means towards the achievement of full political, civil and social rights'.

The Federal Party denied a Labour Party accusation that it is working in league with SABRA. A statement by the provincial leader of the Federal Party, Mr J.A. Rabie, said: 'at no time did the Federal Party have any link with any white organisation, let alone carrying out their policy. The Federal Party is the only party born out of the Coloured people for the Coloured people. Ever since its inception it has busied itself with the liberation of the Coloured people. The latest of its demands was for an autonomous municipality. The Federal Party never asked for a Colouredstan'.

When addressing a meeting of the Federal Party in Durban on 30 April, Tom Swartz said the Coloured people were being oppressed by the Whites, Blacks and Indians in South Africa (1). The only way in which the Coloureds would achieve political recognition was to 'hold their heads high' and work within the present framework which the government offered them.

(b) *The Labour Party*

1. *Background*

The Labour Party was formed in 1968, and stands for one-man-one-vote, with direct Parliamentary representation for all South Africans, whatever their racial group. The party accepted the C.R.C. as a stepping stone to full democratic rights because it offered the 'only' means of political expression that was available in the interim to the Coloured people.

The party professes to be four-square against apartheid. This has been subsequently demonstrated in their resolutions since its inception. It won the majority of seats during the 1969 elections of the C.R.C.

The party has been running smoothly except for numerous forced and voluntary resignations of their national and regional leaders. A common reason for most resignations is that the party is becoming too 'radical'. The government is accused of having a hand in thwarting the party's efforts.

2. *Activities during 1972*

The Labour Party representatives refused to attend talks between the

Prime Minister and the C.R.C. in February. Explaining the reasons for their not attending the talks, Mr Don Mattera said no formal invitation was extended to the Labour Party leader and his executive. 'It was not upon the Prime Minister's invitation, but a stipulated procedure between the Federal Party's executive and the government', he said.

He further explained that the party was opposed to the composition of the liaison committee which has a majority of nominated pro-government members. Any resolutions made by the party to the Minister of Coloured Affairs could be out-voted, and the Labour Party would have to face public embarrassments at having been part and parcel of the outcome of such liaison.

'Liaison to us is a farce, in view of the latest move whereby the Minister of Coloured Affairs could veto the budget whether the C.R.C. accepted it or not' (2).

At the Transvaal Congress of the party held at Reiger Park, near Boksburg, which was attended by about 30 delegates from all over the Transvaal, a decision was taken to quit the C.R.C. as soon as possible and work independently of all apartheid institutions. The delegates said the Labour Party was working on a non-racial basis and there was no reason why it should have representation on an apartheid institution like the C.R.C.

Mr Don Mattera said: 'We want political involvement with all oppressed people. We cannot look at ourselves as better than any other racial group. When the C.R.C. was elected in 1969, we wanted to show, as the Labour Party, that the people reject apartheid. We have shown that by the overwhelming majority of seats that we got. Now is the time to show the government that apartheid doesn't work - by leaving the C.R.C. It's the only way' (3).

In reaction to this move, the national leader of the party, Mr S. Leon, said the Labour Party's presence in the C.R.C. was essential, as it provided the party with the legal instruments to express the desires of the people. However, he said the move reflected the general consensus that the C.R.C. was a meaningless institution.

In April, the Labour Party wrote an open letter to the President, the Prime Minister and the government of South Africa, asking for all political prisoners to be released. The letter was written because the party is concerned about the state of affairs in the country. It calls for the repeal of 'all statutes of arbitrary imposition and laws of detention without trial, which halt the free flow of political interaction, as defined in the Charter of Human Rights. The letter asks that all political prisoners' be released, all banning orders be lifted and that 'audience' be given to requests for clemency and reprieve for all exiles (4).

During May, the Labour Party planned a nation-wide boycott and

picketing campaign against petty apartheid. Tens of thousands of stickers 'This is Petty Apartheid' would that month be placed in the vicinity of government buildings, shops and offices which had separate entrances for the various racial groups or which did not have facilities for blacks, such as special toilets.

In pamphlets, whites as well as blacks would be asked not to support businesses - to be named - which do not provide amenities for all race groups or which have separate entrances.

Banning of Dempsey Noel

On 3 May, Mr Dempsey Noel, Natal Provincial Leader of the Labour Party, was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. The banning was a second one in the life of Mr Noel and followed a spate of activity during which Mr Noel demonstrated welcome leadership for Natal Labourites.

The Labour Party immediately planned to petition the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice and other political leaders in protest at the banning.

Mr Mattera said he and Sonny Leon were drawing up representation to Mr Vorster, Mr Pelsler, Sir de Villiers Graaff and Mrs Helen Suzman. He confirmed that Mr Noel had been planning the party's campaign against 'petty apartheid' when he was banned for 5 years.

'We view the banning of Dempsey Noel as a direct hit at the party. This is a direct vendetta against us and makes a farce of the C.R.C.', Mr Mattera said. Two protest meetings against Mr Noel's banning were held in Durban.

Plans for National Convention

The Labour Party took the initiative in calling for a summit conference of various parties in South Africa with a view to 'negotiating an agreement whereby to confront the powers-that-be from a basis of unity'.

The invitation to attend the conference in Kimberley on 3 June, was signed by Labour Party leader, Mr Sonny Leon. The invitation called for delegates with a maximum of 10 members per Party, and made it clear that a neutral chairman would be elected at the first sitting of the meeting, which would also draw up the agenda.

In a memorandum attached to the invitation, the Labour Party said it presupposed 'that all parties attending the inaugural talks, do so with the intention of forging a basis of political unity'.

That political summit laid the foundation of a coalition in the C.R.C. - a step which could unite the major coloured parties for a confrontation with the Nationalist Government. Delegates of the 4 main parties -

Labour, Federal, Social Democratic and National - approved the plan.

They also approved a resolution which said: 'This summit meeting recommends that during the sitting of the C.R.C. the caucus meet to formulate its discussions without resorting to measures that reflect division among representatives, and that by common agreement all motions submitted will be supported without divisions and amendments'.

At the meeting the parties rejected calls to scrap the council and decided to use it as a 'short term' weapon for gaining full franchise for the Coloured people in the central Parliament (5).

(c) The National Coloured People's Party (NCPP)

1. Background

The NCPP was founded in October 1966. The Party is four-square in support of the policy of separate development. Their first leader, Dr C.L. Smith, 'resigned' from the party after being attacked for attending a Labour Party Youth Organisation. The present leader is Mr Clarence September.

During the 1969 elections, the party won only 1 seat in the C.R.C. It sees the Coloureds as a separate racial group and also supports the Immorality Act. Through its activities and subsequent resolutions, the NCPP has shown its support for the policy of separate development.

2. Activities during 1972

Very little has been reported by newspapers about this party's activities.

In March, six members of the executive held discussions with the Commissioner of Police, General G.J. Joubert, and other police officials in Pretoria. The talks were on crime in the Coloured townships in and around Johannesburg. The six members were the party's leader, Mr Clarence September, Mr McBain-Charles, Mr J.E. Fredericks, Mr M. Roper and Mr A. Roux. On the 28 March, Mr McBain-Charles was quoted by the *Rand Daily Mail* as having said that the discussions were 'very fruitful' and that crime and various other grievances of the Coloured community were discussed.

The party also took part in the discussions called by the Labour Party in May. According to a statement issued by the secretary of the Party before the discussions, 'the NCPP representatives will attend the talks with an open mind. We do not agree with the spirit of the talks ... We hope all interested individuals and political parties, irrespective of beliefs will attend ... We hope, too, that a Coloured political party will emerge that will put bread and butter issues first and politics later'.

*(d) Social Democratic Party**1. Background*

This Party was formed at a Conference on 16-18 December, 1971 in Cape Town. The present leader is Mr Edward G. Rooks (former Labour Party Natal leader). The convenor of the first National Conference, the late Abe Domingo, said he had launched the party because he felt the time had come for him to work for his people.

The leadership is mainly composed of former Labour Party leaders who have been kicked out or resigned. They include Mr E. Rooks of Durban, Mr M.D. Arendse and the late Mr Abe Domingo, all C.R.C. members. Other members of the C.R.C. who had joined the party were Mr L.C. du Preez, Mr Solly Essop, Mr Allie Pop and Dr Clifford Smith.

The objects of the party are:

- to unite the Coloureds into a formidable political force;
- to strive for the effective utilisation of the Coloureds' labour potential;
- to bring about a closer and more effective liaison between the intelligentsia, the trade union movement and the masses;
- to prepare youth for future responsibilities and leadership;
- to attain equal educational facilities at all levels;
- to strive for direct representation at all levels of government - local, provincial and central;
- to foster dialogue between all inhabitants of the country.

The party says it will seek close liaison with government departments to attain its objects, and 'all legal platforms will be utilised to the full.

The party accepts the C.R.C. and is prepared to work in it.

2. Activities during 1972

Speaking at the inaugural conference of the Party at the Bosmont Hotel on 7.4.72, Mr Rooks paid tribute to the founder and leader-elect of

the party, Mr Abe Domingo, who died a week before, after a heart attack.

He told the 200 delegates from the Transvaal and Natal that the South African Government had the things Coloureds wanted, which had been taken away from them; 'with your support, I will strive to get them back. This cannot be done if we do not speak. Dialogue with all races in the country is a very important weapon'.

The other main activity of the Social Democratic Party was the forming of branches. By March the party had formed branches in Bosmont, Riverlea, Newclare and Coronationville. On the 9 March, a branch was formed in Potchefstroom and another in Randfontein on the 14. In Natal the party had already formed 4 branches.

'We have more than 200 members in the Transvaal and this, I think, is phenomenal because, since the formation of the party, we have not run an extensive campaign', said Mr Domingo (6).

3. *Opposition to the S.D.P.*

On the 22 March, 1972, Mr Sonny Leon, National leader of the Labour Party, said the S.D.P. was racialistic and bent on uniting the Coloured people to the exclusion of other black races. He said: 'It is outlined in their constitution to unite the Coloured people. The oppression of other blacks is of no concern to them. The Coloured group only should receive preference. Dr Clifford Smith's alliance with the party is sufficient proof that the S.D.P. is racialistic and members of the Indian and African community should take note that a new witch-hunt could be instituted to safeguard the interests of the S.D.P. members' (7).

He said members of the S.D.P. should bear in mind that the Coloureds were offspring of all the nations that inhabit the country.

(e) *The Conservative Party*

The Conservative Party also advocates parallel development, aiming at unifying the Coloured people, making them politically conscious, and gaining political experience through the machinery of the C.R.C. It aims at equal opportunities with those of whites, and equal pay.

During the 1969 C.R.C. elections, the Party was the only one which did not win any seat in the C.R.C. This party has not been very active.

(f) *The Republican Party*

The Republican Party, led by Mr Tom le Fleur, also advocates parallel

development and describes itself as a moderate group working for Coloured unity, which it believes can be sought apart from the whites. It advocates an Immorality Act to prohibit intermarriage between Coloureds and other blacks (Indians and Africans).

During the 1969 C.R.C. elections, the party won only one seat.

(g) Independent Party

This party also advocates parallel development. During the 1969 elections, the party won one seat in the C.R.C. No intensive press coverage was given to this party.

Groups and Individuals against the C.R.C.

There have been vehement black reactions to the creation and acceptance by some Coloured 'leaders' of the C.R.C. These have been expressed both by organisations and individuals.

Objection to the creation of and participation in the C.R.C. is that the C.R.C., like other government-created platforms, is, as it has often been described in the past, a 'toy telephone' designed for 'window dressing' for the international scene and to divide blacks.

SASO has consistently rejected the C.R.C. as an institution that is created by the government for the Coloureds to work against them (Coloureds). Consequently those who participate in the C.R.C. also suffer rejection.

The BPC constitution spells out very clearly that it will function outside the government-created institutions. The BPC called for the unification of all black people and a complete rejection of all government-created platforms (C.R.C. included).

The Labour Party professes to be against the C.R.C. 'because it is a farce' whilst it also participates in it. Their reason for participation in the C.R.C. is that it gives them a legal ground for registering the sentiments of the people.

Individuals have expressed a fair amount of resentment towards the C.R.C. This has been manifest particularly in the boycotting of elections and joining hands with organisations working outside the C.R.C.

Opinion in the Western Cape, where the percentage poll was lowest, is fairly strong against participation by the Coloured people in C.R.C. politics.

REFERENCES

1. *Rand Daily Mail*, 1.5.72.
2. *Rand Daily Mail*, 25.2.72.
3. *Rand Daily Mail*, 13.3.72.
4. *Rand Daily Mail*, 4.4.72.
5. *Sunday Times*, 4.6.72.
6. *Rand Daily Mail*, 8.3.72.
7. *Rand Daily Mail*, 23.3.72.

Chapter Seven

GOVERNMENT-CREATED PLATFORMS S.A. INDIAN COUNCIL

Background

MATTERS RELATING to the Indian population in South Africa are handled mainly by the Department of Indian Affairs of which Sen. O.P.F. Horwood is the Minister. This department was instituted as a full department in 1961 and since then has ramified its work to cover social, welfare, educational, political and economic fields in the lives of the Indian people.

Working under the Minister of Indian Affairs is the South African Indian Council. The SAIC was established through the South African Indian Council Act (No. 31 of 1968) which came into operation on 1 July, 1968. The Act provides for a Council of not more than 25 members nominated by the Minister for a period of three years on a provincial basis in such a proportion as the Minister may deem equitable. The Council elects its own chairman. In addition, affairs of the Council in interim periods between meetings are handled by an Executive Committee of five, the Chairman of whom is appointed by the Minister and the other four members elected by the Council.

Composition

The first statutory South African Indian Council was appointed in 1968 and distributed as follows:

Natal	15
Transvaal	7
Cape	3

The seat of the Council is in Durban where meetings are usually held in February, June and October. The Executive Committee meets more regularly.

The Chairman of the Council is Mr H.E. Joosub from the Transvaal and that of the Executive Committee is Mr A.M. Rajab of Natal.

Functions

The functions of the Council as defined in the Act setting it up are:

to advise the government at its request on all matters affecting the economic, social, cultural, educational and political interests of the Indian population of the Republic;

to receive and consider recommendations and resolutions of the Education Advisory Council established under Section 31(1) of the Indian Education Act (No. 61 of 1965);

to make recommendations to the government in regard to all matters affecting the economic, social, cultural, educational and political interests of the Indian population of the Republic;

to make recommendations to the government in regard to any planning calculated, in the opinion of the Council, to promote the interests of the Indian population;

generally to serve as a link and means of contact and consultation between the government and the Indian population.

In all negotiations between the Council and the government, the Secretary for Indian Affairs represents the government. In actual terms consultation with regard to the following matters has been held:

proclamation of group areas

the provision of public amenities in group areas

housing

resettlement of Indian traders

beach facilities for Indians

local government for Indians

training and employment of Indians in various fields

economic development of Indians

radio programmes

educational matters.

As the Council 'matured' it became necessary to break down its structure for specialisation in certain areas. A system has now been introduced where matters are referred to specific ad hoc committees under the chairmanship of each of the Executive Committee members for investigation before a full report is considered by the Executive Committee for consideration by the Council.

New Powers for Indian Council

Towards the end of 1971 and early in 1972 there was speculation about the possibility of the Council getting increased powers from the government.

In his New Year message to the Indian population, Mr A.M. Rajab, Chairman of the Council, stated that the Council would see a change in its constitutional development from a fully nominated Council to a partly elected Council. He hoped to see compulsory education being introduced for Indian children (1). (It was reported in January 1973 that education for Indian children enrolled in class 1 would henceforth be compulsory) (2).

In matters such as education and social welfare, the Council would be granted greater control and more direct responsibility.

In anticipation of the increased powers, the Council created 5 portfolios distributed as follows:

Rajab	group areas and health;
Reddy	housing, amenities, local government and labour;
Joosub	commerce and industry;
Naidoo	education, culture and religion;
Chinsamy	welfare, agriculture, sport and recreation.

In March a Bill was introduced in Parliament, to amend the SAIC Act of 1968. This inter alia:

provided for an increase in the number of members of the SAIC (from 25 to 30);

provided for election of certain members of the Council;

entrusted certain additional functions to the Council and its Executive Committee;

further defined the qualifications of members;

made provision for the number of elected members to be increased by the State President after consultation with the Council;

provided that the qualifications for candidates and voters can be laid down by proclamation;

gave power to the minister to determine the period of membership of the SAIC.

Apparent from this legislation was the fact that the 5 additional members would be elected to represent Natal, Transvaal and Cape 'in such a proportion as the Minister may deem equitable'.

Issues taken up by SAIC

1. Meeting with Mr B.J. Vorster

It was reported in January that 'leaders' of the Indian community were to meet Mr Vorster to discuss, amongst other things, the following (3):

abolition of the inter-provincial barriers which necessitated Indians to obtain permits to visit other provinces;

the future voting of Indians at national level;

introduction of military training for South African Indians.

Following this meeting Mr Rajab issued a statement to the effect that the meeting produced 'a welcome reassurance of a place under the sun' for the country's 600 000 Indians. He was quoted as saying 'our future in South Africa is absolutely assured and I can now see no reason why we should worry too much'.

2. Representations made by the SAIC to the Government

In reply to a question in Parliament, the Minister of Indian Affairs revealed that the following representations have been made by the SAIC to the government in the period between 1970 and beginning of 1972 (4):

- (a) that restrictions placed on Indians travelling through the Transkei be lifted;
- (b) that a Medical School for Indians be established at the University of Durban-Westville;
- (c) that the Executive Committee of the SAIC be afforded an opportunity to discuss the question of the resettlement of Indian traders with the Ministers of Indian Affairs, of Community Development and of Planning;
- (d) that the Ministers of Indian Affairs and of Planning be requested to state clearly what the government's policy was in regard to the deproclamation of group areas;
- (e) that the appreciation contribution payments on the sale of

affected properties be abolished or suspended;

- (f) that the restrictions on the inter-provincial movement of Indians be eased;
- (g) that consideration be given to the conversion of the South African Indian Council to an elected body with certain executive powers;
- (h) that new premises for the Indian market stallholders be provided by the Durban City Council;
- (i) that the necessary steps be taken by the government for beaches and beach amenities to be provided for Indians;
- (j) that the difference in the salary scale applicable to whites and Indians in the government and provincial services be eliminated immediately or, alternatively, progressively over a period of ten years;
- (k) that committees consisting of members of the SAIC be set up to advise the Department of Community Development in regard to the resettlement of Indian traders in the larger complexes.

Of these representations only (c) (d) (e) (k) and partly (g) were accepted. Rejected outright was the plea to have free movement of Indian persons through the Transkei and decision on the rest of the requests was reported as pending.

Referring to one of the issues mentioned above, the Chairman of the SAIC commented as follows: 'In regard to the Council's representations to the authorities for the re-zoning of the beaches for Indians, the Council noted with gratification that legislation was about to be introduced in parliament to enable the Provincial Council to do this'.

3. Talks on Indian Traders

During a meeting with 3 Cabinet Ministers, Mr F.W. Waring (Indian Affairs), Mr J.J. Loots (Planning) and Mr Blaar Coetzee (Community Development), the SAIC made the following requests:

that there be provision of free trading areas where Indians could continue to trade with all racial groups;

the resettlement of displaced traders in Indian group areas in small rural towns;

encouragement to Indian traders to resettle themselves in industrial growth points.

4. *Formation of a Cultural body*

The formation of a national cultural organisation by the SAIC was reported in March 1972. The organisation includes representatives from all religious groups, viz. Hindus, Tamils, Gujeraties, Urdus and Telugus. Mr Rajab said that the government would be asked for financial assistance (5).

The main aims of the organisation are:

to promote Indian cultural activities

to arrange for distinguished musicians and artists from India to visit South Africa for exchange of views on Indian culture.

5. *Plea for control of towns in Indian areas*

Following on the institution of South Africa's 2nd all-Indian local authority at Isipingo on 1 August, 1972, appointed by the administrator of Natal, Mr Ben Havemann, SAIC Executive member, Mr J.N. Reddy, pleaded for Indians to be 'masters in their own areas' by establishing Indian Local Authorities. He further suggested that the minimum qualifications for Indian Town Clerks be the B.Comm. degree (5).

6. *Chatsworth Bus transport controversy*

The decision by the Natal local transportation board not to renew bus licences of Indian bus owners who have been commuting Indian workers to and from town, met with resistance from both the Chatsworth community and the bus owners and other members of the black community. The reason given for this move by the local transportation board was that the SAR is running enough trains to cater for the transport needs of the Chatsworth community.

The SAIC questioned this decision and Mr Rajab suggested that the question of the Chatsworth bus owners' certificates be referred to the Secretary for Transport and the Secretary for Indian Affairs who would together consider all aspects of the issue and come with a solution that would be fair and reasonable to all parties concerned (6). He further suggested that an extension of 3 months be given to the bus owners while awaiting the outcome of the investigation.

It was also stated that SAIC was satisfied that the people of Chatsworth were not particularly concerned as to whether the present Indian bus operations should be permitted to remain or not; all the people wanted were buses because they were much more convenient than trains.

The final decision on this issue was taken in November and the bus operators have been given up to February to terminate their services.

Criticism of SAIC

Criticism levelled at SAIC by NIC (Natal Indian Congress) and other members of the Indian community mainly revolve around the following points:

because SAIC is a nominated body it can never claim to represent the interests of the Indian community;

the leaders of SAIC are stooges of the government and avoid forthright criticism.

These criticisms were endorsed by a *Daily News* editorial and this prompted Mr Rajab to defend the SAIC. The defence was basically that:

half a loaf is better than no bread;

there is democracy in SAIC.

The SAIC also indicated that it favours press coverage to offset another criticism that the Council worked in secret.

Other groups opposed to the SAIC are BPC and SASO. These two groups reject in principle all system-created platforms and argue that these are merely extensions of the system into the black ranks.

REFERENCES

1. *Natal Mercury*, 1.1.72.
2. *Rand Daily Mail*, 13.1.73.
3. *Daily News*, 15.1.72.
4. Hansard Book 3 p. 349.
5. *Natal Mercury*, 18.3.72.
6. *Natal Mercury*, 3.6.72.

Chapter Eight

BLACK WORKERS

Introduction

ALTHOUGH THIS CHAPTER deals with all black workers, in this introduction we will concentrate on African workers and their organisational problems, particularly because they are 'legally' defined differently.

African workers are affected by various laws which prohibit them from normal participation in the economic life of the country. Among these laws are the Influx Control laws, which are designed to curtail and control the movement of Africans from the rural to urban areas and also between urban areas. Thus African workers cannot sell their labour to the highest bidder. These laws also lay down stringent conditions for qualifications to reside in urban areas and thousands of Africans are prosecuted every week for contravening these laws.

Thousands of workers are recruited through 'Bantu' labour bureaux from the 'homelands' and rural areas through a contract system. Such contracts are signed between the worker and the prospective employer through the Department of 'Bantu' Administration and Development or 'homeland' authority. The contract has to be renewed every year. Workers recruited in this fashion are forbidden to stay with their families in the urban areas and they are housed in compounds and 'single' men's and women's hostels. They are generally referred to as 'migratory' workers.

The Industrial Conciliation Act, designed to control and regulate relations between employers and employees, and for the prevention and

settlement of industrial disputes, excludes Africans from the definition of an 'employee'. The effect is that Africans are deprived of membership of registered trade unions and cannot bargain with employers about their wages and working conditions like other workers.

The 'Bantu' Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 as amended in 1955 also defined the term 'employee' to exclude all Africans. It prohibits strikes and lock-outs of African workers and the instigation or incitement towards strikes. It provides for the establishment of works committees, 'Bantu' regional labour committees whose chairmen are 'Bantu' labour officers (whites) and a 'Bantu' Labour Board (consisting of whites). Members and officials of the 'Bantu' Labour Board attend Industrial Council meetings and negotiations as well as Wage Board hearings to 'represent' the interests of African workers. They are also entrusted with the handling of labour disputes. This Act also prevents the collection of trade union fees from Africans through stop orders by employers.

The Wage Act is operative in most industries not covered by Industrial Council agreements (some of whose provisions are extended to cover Africans by the Minister of Labour) but wages laid down by the Wage Board are usually below R10 per week for unskilled workers. African unions or interested parties are allowed to make representations at Wage Board hearings. But the Wage Board determinations are often reviewed only after long periods - ranging between three and seven years.

One of the most vicious laws operating in South Africa is the Masters and Servants Act which applies to domestic workers and farm labourers. This law effectively binds black workers to their employers under pain of prosecution if they 'desert' their employment. Thousands of workers are shackled to their masters by this law.

For the millions of black workers in the so-called 'homelands' who cannot find contract labour in the mines and industrial centres, border industries exist on the doorsteps of their residential areas. No laws laying down wages and working conditions operate in these areas; wages range from R3 to R10 per week; trade unions do not exist and the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act of 1967 prohibits the establishment of a new industry in the metropolitan areas if it is practicable for such an industry to be sited in a border industry. The wage scales in the latter areas are usually 5 times lower than in the urban areas.

Apart from this law there is the Bantu Laws Amendment Act which empowers the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to prohibit the performance of work by, or the employment or continued employment of African workers in specified areas, specified classes of employment, trade or in the service of a specified employer or class of employers.

Added to this are the job reservation determinations barring Africans from certain categories of work in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Mines and Works Act. Africans are also debarred from apprenticeship in most industries except building and then only in order to work in 'Bantu' areas at rates of pay far lower than those applicable to whites.

Faced with this myriad of repressive laws and a host of other disabilities like standards of education, low wages, poor housing and inadequate transport, African workers have consistently struggled to organise themselves into trade unions, with all the odds against them.

The history of trade unionism among Africans stretches back to the days of the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) which was founded in 1918 by Mr Clemens Kadalie, and which claimed 50 000 members at its height in 1925.

More trade unions and co-ordinating bodies came and went, most important among them being the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), whose leaders were harassed and rendered ineffective through banning, imprisonment and banishment and the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa (FOFATUSA) which has also gone out of existence.

Prior to this was the 'Non-European' Trade Union Federation, the Joint Committee of African Trade Unions and the Council of 'Non-European' Trade Unions, all of which had thousands of members at the peak of their strength.

A few African trade unions still exist, some of the most notable being the National Union of Clothing Workers of South Africa (a past affiliate of SACTU, FOFATUSA and even TUCSA), and the Engineering, Metal and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa. This union also used to be affiliated to TUCSA until the adoption of TUCSA's non-African membership policy in 1969. The National Union of Clothing Workers has a paid-up membership of about 17 000. The Engineering Union has not increased its membership for a long time, and it remains at approximately 400. The former enjoys the support of its counterpart white unions, whereas the latter does not.

Other smaller unions have been struggling for existence in the leather, glass, motor, tobacco, laundry and dry cleaning trades, as well as in the textile, chemical and retail trades. But a resurgence of trade union activity in many other industries is evident though white trade unions and government circles are not expected to welcome nor to encourage an independent, vital and vigorous trade union movement among Africans. Nevertheless unrest is growing among all ranks of black workers and a greater realisation of their strength and the need for solidarity is manifesting itself increasingly.

Statistics on the Employment Situation of Black Workers

The following information on the employment situation of black workers was extracted from the Bulletin of Statistics, December, 1972, released by the Department of Statistics. The information relates to the estimated number of Coloureds, Indians and Africans employed in the various trades. These figures are monthly averages and are based on the average number of workers during June 1972.

	Coloureds	Asians	Africans	Total
Mining and quarrying	6 944	555	560 219	567 718
Manufacturing	203 800	77 300	662 400	943 500
Construction	46 900	5 600	275 100	327 600
Electricity (private establishment and ESCOM)	600		16 300	16 900
Laundries and Dry Cleaning Services	4 000	1 200	13 000	18 200
Control Boards	80	-	497	577
Licensed Accommodation establishments	6 300	5 400	32 200	43 900
Wholesale trade	19 900	9 700	81 700	111 300
Retail trade	31 500	16 600	111 500	159 600
Motor trade	10 200	2 900	50 100	63 200
Insurance companies	2 826	642	3 820	7 288
Banking Institutions	1 353	351	5 205	6 909
Building Societies	278	119	1 572	1 969
Transport: S.A. Railways and Harbours	15 855	1 279	99 521	116 655
Communications: Post, Telegraphs and Telephones	2 017	521	5 288	7 826
Post Office: Engineering division	2 207	56	9 392	11 655
Central Government	32 648	7 816	128 677	169 141
Provincial Administration	14 523	2 310	83 194	100 027
Local Authorities	18 800	3 900	121 400	144 100
Trading Departments	3 900	500	32 400	36 800
Universities	1 609	453	5 103	7 265

The Building Trade

Replying to a question in Parliament on 14 February, 1972, the Minister of Labour disclosed statistics relating to the number of people in each race group employed in the building trade during 1971 (1):

Whites	23 532
Coloureds	37 384
Asiatics	10 096
Africans	123 810

According to the Minister, the available figures relate only to areas covered by Industrial Council agreements and have been extracted from statistics submitted by the Industrial Councils as at the time of publication of their agreements.

On the question of African workers in the building trade, the Minister of Labour on 25 February, 1972, informed Parliament that 5481 Africans had completed training under the Bantu Building Workers Act at the end of 1971 (2). The numbers of Africans who qualified in various building trades are given below:

Blocklaying	74
Bricklaying	2 817
Bricklaying and plastering	338
Carpentry	1 060
Carpentry and Joinery	54
Electrical wiring	23
Joinery	1
Painting	338
Plastering	334
Plumbing	382
TOTAL	5 421

The Minister further informed the House that 1010 apprenticeship contracts in respect of Coloureds, and 397 contracts in respect of Asiatics, in the building trade, were registered during 1971 (3).

South African Railways and Harbours

The following information, in connection with the number of Whites, Coloureds, Asiatics and Africans respectively, employed in harbour services during 1971, was given by the Minister of Transport in Parliament on 15 February, 1972 (4).

	Whites	Indians	Coloureds	Africans
Durban	2 783	492	6	5 100
East London	1 202	-	6	810
Port Elizabeth	1 874	-	218	1 086
Cape Town	3 357	-	756	1 639

Present staff shortage in respect of each race group:

	Whites	'Non-Whites'
Durban	1 026	-
East London	42	24
Port Elizabeth	208	64
Cape Town	465	50
	1 741	138

The statistics on workers employed by the Railway Administration in connection with railways, harbours, airways and pipelines were given by the Minister of Transport on 9 March, 1972 (5):

	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Africans
Railways	97 050	14 121	909	89 006
Harbours	9 312	1 134	492	8 698
Airways	5 951	None	133	1 188
Pipelines	145	None	None	221

The Minister also gave statistics on the number of Coloureds, Asians and Africans respectively who were temporarily employed on work normally performed by white-graded staff.

	Number	Minimum wage per day	Maximum wage per day
Coloureds	261	R2,25	R4,79
Indians	142	R1,70	R4,79
Africans	1 912	R1,60	R4,03

The figures of 'non-whites' performing work formerly done by unskilled and ungraded white workers are as follows:

	Number	Minimum wage per day	Maximum wage per day
Coloureds	156	R1,95	R2,70
Indians	None	R1,50	R2,00
Africans	400	R1,40	R1,90

The Minister stated that this information was determined as at 31 January, 1972.

According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, 96 642 Africans were employed by the South African Railways and Harbours during 1971 in accordance with regulations in terms of the Bantu Labour Act (6).

Department of Post and Telegraphs

Replying to a question in Parliament on 21 March, 1972, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs said that 200 Coloured, 208 Indian and 439 African postmen were, as at 31 December, 1971, employed in posts for whites because whites were not available to do the job (7).

He further disclosed that there were 700 Coloured, 86 Indian and 193 Africans in other posts. The latter figures, he said, related to people employed in authorised posts of postmen for the respective racial groups.

Regarding the administrative division of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, there are, according to the information given by the Minister,

4 Indians, 5 Coloureds and 23 Africans employed in this division (8). The table below reflects the capacities in which they are employed and their salaries.

Capacity in which they are employed	No. in each capacity	Highest salary or wage scale	Lowest salary or wage scale
Indians			
Postmaster Grade III	1	R4 320	R3 840
Postmaster Grade IV	3	R3 720	R3 240
Coloureds			
Postmaster Grade III	2	R4 320	R3 840
Postmaster Grade IV	3	R3 720	R3 240
Africans			
Postmaster Grade III	3	R3 240	R2 880
Postmaster Grade IV	19	R2 790	R2 430
Superintendent	1	R2 790	R2 430

Contracts of Apprenticeship registered

During 1971, 1 596 Coloureds and 604 Asiatics were registered as apprentices in terms of the Apprenticeship Act (9).

The specific trades to which these contracts relate were given by the

Minister on 25 February, 1972. These stand as follows:

	Coloured	Asiatics
Building	1 010	397
Printing	74	11
Hairdressing	-	1
Jewellers and Goldsmiths	6	-
Metal (Engineering)	135	18
Furniture	196	83
Motor	161	89
Government undertakings	12	-
Sugar manufacturing and refinery	2	5
	1 596	604

Unemployment

Information on unemployment in respect of Coloureds and Indians was given by the Minister of Labour on 25 February, 1972 (10). The Minister stated that in all the inspectorate areas, there were 2 423 Coloureds and 1 624 Indians registered as unemployed at the end of 1971. The breakdown on these figures is:

	Coloureds	Indians
Johannesburg	274	44
Cape Town	751	1
Durban	350	1 542
Pretoria	73	22
Port Elizabeth	408	1
Bloemfontein	55	-
East London	164	11
Kimberley	320	3
George	28	-
Windhoek	-	-
	2 423	1 624

The 2 423 Coloureds and 1 624 Indians were registered in employment categories reflected below:

	Coloureds	Indians
Administrative and clerical	108	308
Commercial	74	144
Skilled trades	264	138
Services	147	54
Transport	117	125
Operative and semi-skilled work	726	569
Unskilled	982	280
Other occupational categories	13	6
	2 431	1 624

Some Incidents amongst Workers

Recent developments in the labour sector indicate that the black worker is increasingly becoming impatient with South Africa's discriminatory labour laws. Lack of proper machinery, such as trade unions, led the workers to seek and act upon whatever remedial methods they deemed fit in order to have their voice heard and their grievances redressed. This can be illustrated by some of the notable incidents which occurred during 1972.

The PUTCO Bus Drivers' Strike

A number of PUTCO (Public Utilities Transport Company) bus drivers from Faraday, Ikhwezi, Kliptown and Martindale depots held a meeting with the management at the Faraday Depot on 2 June, 1972, and demanded an increase in their wages. The starting wage for drivers was R27,26 and it reached a maximum of R36,77 after 26 years of service. If a bus inspector found a passenger without a ticket, R5 was taken off the driver's wages for 26 weeks (11).

The drivers demanded R60 per week and this demand, according to Mr T.H. Frith, managing director of PUTCO, was totally ridiculous, unrealistic and unjustified and therefore could not be met (12). When the management failed to satisfy the demands of the drivers, one driver stood up and announced that as from that moment, the drivers were on strike. The PUTCO officials took this lightly stating that such a thing had never happened in the history of PUTCO.

The drivers then posted some men at the entrances and no buses were allowed to leave the depot. By three o'clock in the afternoon there were no more buses travelling, except a few from the Alexandra, Pretoria and Edenvale depots. Meanwhile the number of drivers at the Faraday depot had swelled to more than 300, and at 6 pm the drivers dispersed after agreeing to return the following morning.

On Saturday 3 June, 1972, the strike spread to all depots, except Pretoria. The drivers from Faraday, Ikhwezi, Martindale and Kliptown, and a few from Evaton had reassembled at Faraday. At about 10 am police swooped on the strikers and arrested more than 300 men and took them to John Vorster Square, Johannesburg. Other drivers who had arrived later with the intention of attending the strikers' meeting demanded to be detained as well. Relatives of the arrested drivers were refused permission to bring the prisoners clothes and food. In the meantime PUTCO officials, Labour Department officials and the police started negotiating with the other drivers and appealed to them to abandon their

demands. This appeal by officials fell on deaf ears.

On Sunday, dozens of the striking drivers in a demonstration of solidarity with their 308 arrested colleagues arrived at John Vorster Square at various times and asked to be locked up (13).

The drivers said that they were off-duty on Saturday when their colleagues were arrested. 'We want to be with our brothers', said one driver, 'We asked the police to lock us up, but they would not. They said they did not know what to charge us with'. Reacting to Mr Frith's threat that if the drivers did not go back to work they would be fired, the drivers retorted: 'He can fire us, we are fighting for our rights'. The drivers held on up to Sunday night.

On Monday morning, 5 June, 1972, PUTCO officials, with members of the South African Police, raided the private hostels (rented by PUTCO for their workers) in Alexandra and Thembisa townships, and forced drivers back to work. Others were rounded up from their homes and hordes of police were stationed at bus stops and police cars patrolled the bus routes after the buses had started operating.

At about 8 am crowds of wives, relatives and friends of the arrested drivers started gathering at John Vorster Square. These people, who at one stage numbered about 500, stood there the whole day without food and police vans and riot trucks waited nearby.

At 1 pm Mr T.H. Frith announced that the strike was over and that the drivers would be released. About 100 policemen crowded the entrance to John Vorster Square as the last batch of drivers was released at 8 pm, the first batch having been released at about 6.15 pm.

The drivers had, however, been charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and were out on bail of R5 which was paid by PUTCO. The released drivers were scheduled to appear in batches in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on 3, 10, 17, and 24 August, 1972. All charges were subsequently withdrawn against the drivers. Three drivers failed to appear at the last hearing and warrants of arrest were issued against them for contempt of court.

Results of the strike

The strike affected about 120 000 commuters and cost PUTCO between R40 000 and R45 000 per day (14). Factories throughout Johannesburg nearly closed as a result of this strike.

On 9 September, 1972, Mr T.H. Frith announced that an increase for PUTCO drivers and all its black staff, would cost the company R1 500 000 in the next year. This increase became effective as from September 6.

Starting wages for new drivers were lifted from R27,26 to R35 a week

and the ceiling was lifted from R36,77 to a flat R45 a week. Drivers would reach the maximum rate after 10 years instead of 26 years.

The pay rise for PUTCO men followed a fare increase at the beginning of September. The people who were hardest-hit were the people using the Johannesburg-Evaton route. These people paid, as a result of the fare increase, 40c instead of 25c per single trip. Commenting on the fare increase, Mr T.H. Frith said: 'We are not being unkind. People must understand that the price of oil, petrol, spares and tyres has gone up. My staff need increases too'.

The most significant result of the PUTCO bus drivers' strike can, perhaps, be seen in the decision by the drivers to form a trade union. The move to establish a trade union by a group of drivers was motivated by the realisation of their insecurity as workers and the lack of proper machinery that would make representation to the management on their behalf.

According to Mr John Nhlapo, chairman of the drivers' committee that was formed in May, the news of their intention to form a union was not received happily by PUTCO management. He and several members of the committee were summoned before Mr A. Carleo, a director and major shareholder in PUTCO, and told that unless they abandoned this idea, they and about 40 others would be fired (15). Mr Carleo subsequently denied this allegation to newspaper reporters. The drivers had meanwhile sought legal advice and established that such an act by an employer constituted a lock-out and was forbidden by law. They therefore resolved to proceed with the formation of a trade union.

In addition to a union, the drivers decided to apply for the establishment of a statutory works committee through which the union leaders could put their case to the management with the help of the Department of Labour.

The Dockworkers Strike

On 23 October, 1972, more than 2 000 African stevedores in Durban went on strike for higher wages and better working conditions. This strike brought work in the harbour virtually to a standstill as 20 ships lay idle.

The strike was precipitated by a new five-day working week that had been introduced a week earlier. On the 23 October more than 2 000 workers crowded the street outside their employers' offices, the Durban Stevedoring Labour Supply Company in Southampton Street, and demanded an opportunity to air their grievances.

Amongst other grievances, they claimed that:

1. Their basic wage of R8,40 per week was not enough.
2. Their new working hours were too long. They worked twelve and a half hours per day with only a break for lunch between 12.30 pm. and 1.30 pm.
3. They did not know how much was deducted from their wages each week for income tax and compound fees as they did not get pay slips.
4. Many of them had to work 7 days a week for months on end without a full day's break.
5. They received only R6 leave pay per year.

The stevedores demanded a minimum basic wage of R18,50 per week.

The manager of the Durban Stevedoring Labour Supply, Mr W.S. Dreyer, addressed the angry workers and appealed to them to return to their jobs. The workers fired questions at him and amongst other things they demanded to know were:

why it was taking the Wage Board so long to decide on their wages since it had heard evidence on salaries in July, 1972;

why the salaries had not been increased when working hours were lengthened;

why their pay envelopes did not contain pay slips.

After failing to be convinced by Mr Dreyer's replies, the workers refused to return to their jobs. On the second day of the strike, the workers were told by Mr Dreyer that his company could not accede to their demands and that a new wage determination was being considered by the Wage Board. He gave them the ultimatum that they either return to work immediately or collect the pay owing to them and leave. A large contingent of police stood by watching the situation very closely. Fourteen men chose to collect their pay and belongings and leave. A railway bus provided by the company took them to the Durban station.

Within a period of two weeks after the strike, more than 15 stevedores were dismissed by the Stevedoring Labour Supply Company. The men told the *Natal Mercury* that their dismissal was directly connected with their having given evidence at the Wage Board hearing. This was denied by a spokesman for the Company.

Expulsion of Workers from a Benoni factory

On 26 October, 1972, a Benoni textile factory, Fibres, Spinners and Weavers (Pty.) Ltd., fired more than hundred-and-fifty (150) of its workers.

According to one of the men Mr Joseph Matsobane, this expulsion was the result of the workers refusing to work longer hours. Mr Matsobane informed the press that workers used to get R13,00 a week for working from 7.15 am - 4.30 pm. In June 1972, the workers asked for more wages and in mid-October, 1972, they were granted an increase of R1,30 but a change was introduced in the working hours. The workers were told that they would have to work from 6 am - 6 pm.

Several hundred workers refused to work the extra hours but most of them were 'persuaded' to do so by the factory officials. More than 150 workers were, however, adamant in their resolve not to work for twelve (12) hours.

The result was that the factory decided to fire more than 150 of its employees. The workers preferred to lose their jobs rather than be forced to work for twelve (12) hours a day.

The factory manager declined to comment on this matter. He would neither confirm nor deny the workers' allegation. All he would say was 'we've had no trouble. And there's no comment'.

The Cape Town Stevedores' Walk-out Protest

At 5 pm on 24 October, 2 000 stevedores in Cape Town harbour downed their tools and quietly went home. This was the beginning of their 'stop-at-five' protest which was to last for thirty-one (31) days. The workers were dissatisfied because their new system of work which had recently been introduced shortened their overtime by an hour a day and they claimed their pay was reduced, and there was no break between normal working hours and overtime. From lunch at 1.00 pm they had to work up to 8 pm. Overtime on Saturdays was done away with (16). The mass walk-out by the Coloured and African stevedores halted all loading and unloading of cargo. Crane drivers and fork-lift truck operators and other harbour staff had to call it a day and go home.

Meetings were held between government officials with representatives of the stevedoring firms and leaders of the 2 000 strong stevedoring labour force. These meetings proved, however, fruitless as the stevedores were adamant that they would not work later than 5 pm.

On the 27 October, Captain F. Cobb, chairman of the Cape Town Stevedores' Association (an organisation of stevedoring firms employing the dockworkers) gave the dockworkers an ultimatum that they either return to normal working hours or employers would have to review the

situation and take drastic action. Normal working hours meant 7.30 am to 12.30 pm, lunch from 12.30 to 1.30 and then work again until 5.30 pm. Overtime was from 5.30 pm. - 8 pm. By 1 November, some dockworkers had started to work until 8 pm. but hundreds of them still held on to the 'stop-at-five' campaign (17).

After exactly thirty-one (31) days the 2 000 - strong force of workers decided to return to normal overtime at the Cape Town docks. It appeared that the dockworkers had been made aware, through press reports, of the suggested increases in their wages by the Wage Board and as a result indicated a willingness to negotiate.

The Diamond Mine Strike

The Sover Diamond Mine near Windsorton was a scene of unrest on 25, October, 1972 when 142 miners downed their tools. The miners stopped working because they were dissatisfied with their bonus payments. They demanded more attractive bonus payments and the resignation of the mine manager, Mr P.J. Nel. They also demanded the cancellation of their contracts.

Despite repeated appeals by the mine authorities to go back to their jobs, the miners held on to their strike and on 27 October, police walked onto the scene and arrested twenty (20) workers. The compound manager Mr P.I. Swanepoel later claimed that these twenty workers were the main trouble-makers.

On 6 November, 1972 the twenty miners appeared in the Barkly West Magistrate's Court and were convicted. They were all sentenced to eighty (80) days' imprisonment each. Their contracts were cancelled and after serving their sentences, they would be repatriated to Mozambique.

The African Bus Services Strike

About 200 drivers employed by the African Bus Services stopped work on 5 December, 1972. Trouble started when the drivers demanded that an inspector of the Company, who had been involved with a driver in a fight, be dismissed.

On 21 December, the same problem arose at the Company's Boom Street depot. About 150 bus drivers stopped work. The drivers demanded the immediate dismissal of an inspector. The men were addressed by the Department of Labour officials as well as by the District Commandant of Police, Colonel Buurman van Zyl, and the head of the Flying Squad, Lieutenant-Colonel A.J. Wandrag.

About 100 drivers returned to their posts. When the rest refused to do so, 57 drivers were arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act. They were

taken to a police station in three car loads.

By December, 1972, the case was still proceeding.

The Soweto Doctors' walk-out Protest

During October 1972, ten African doctors employed by the Johannesburg City Council in Soweto clinics, without warning staged a walk-out protest against low salaries.

The doctors were being paid R1,30 per hour, as opposed to their white counterparts who received R4,98 per hour. The African doctors maintained that they would not return to their jobs unless they received equal pay with whites. On 30 October, Mr Monty Sklaar, Chairman of the Council's Health Amenities, after a special meeting, announced that black doctors would be paid the same as white doctors. Needless to say, this move by the black doctors had dealt a crippling blow to the City Council's health services in Soweto.

General

The protests by black workers quoted above should not be construed as the only protests. Perhaps to get a better view of the picture, statistics on strikes and work stoppages, given by the Minister of Labour in Parliament on 13 April, should be considered (18).

The Minister disclosed that during 1970, 28 strikes by Africans occurred, 10 of which were caused by dissatisfaction with wages. During the same year, there were 35 work stoppages involving Africans.

During 1971 there were, according to the Minister, 22 strikes and 42 work stoppages involving Africans. It is significant that 8 of these strikes were caused by dissatisfaction with wages.

Further information on the question of strikes by blacks was given by the Minister of Police in Parliament on 26 May, 1972. According to the Minister, during 1970, 70 Africans were arrested for striking and during 1971, 250 Africans were arrested.

According to the Minister of Justice (Parliament 2.6.72) the Department of Statistics gave the following information: during 1969-1970, 34 Africans were charged with illegal strikes and related conduct, and only 1 African was convicted. During 1970-1971, 2 Africans were charged with similar charges and both of them were convicted.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN BLACK LABOUR ORGANISATION

The Black Workers' Project

The Black Workers' Project emanates from a resolution which was taken at the 3rd General Students' Council of SASO at Hammanskraal in

July, 1972. This resolution was born out of the realisation of the plight of the black worker who, although constituting almost 80% of the labour force in South Africa, was open to exploitation by employers because of his lack of proper machinery to cater for his interests.

Thus the resolution mandated the Permanent Organiser of SASO to look into the effectiveness of establishing a Black Workers' Council. In line with this resolution, an agency called the Black Workers' Project was established to work towards the establishment of this council, the purpose of which would be, as succinctly described in the relevant SASO resolution:

to act as a co-ordinating body to serve the needs and aspirations of the black workers;

to unite and bring about solidarity of black workers;

to conscientise them about their role and obligation toward the black development;

to run clinics for leadership, in-service training and imbue them with pride and self-confidence as people and about their potential as workers.

The Black Community Programmes, also realising the dire need for the establishment of a council of this nature, undertook to co-sponsor this project. The project is thus run jointly by seconded staff people from SASO and Black Community Programmes.

The modus operandi used by the Black Workers' Project is to identify trade unions (that have anything to do with black workers), approach them, establish new trade unions wherever necessary and meet employers. All this is done with a view to establishing a council by June 1973. It is envisaged that this council will be much wider in scope than a trade union, although organisation will stem from the formation of industrial unions.

Once established, the envisaged council will concern itself with all areas of the black workers' existence. A few examples of intended projects are: collective bargaining in matters relating to the workers' wages, hours, benefits and protest against ill-treatment and prejudice; in-service training to improve the skills of workers; literacy programmes in conjunction with voluntary student groups to enable the worker to read simple documents and thus understand his situation better;

conscientisation programmes through seminars on leadership and dissemination of material on workers' rights and responsibilities; recreation facilities and culture; representations could be made about problems facing the worker, e.g. housing, transportation, etc. A counselling service will be established to advise the worker on legal matters, health education etc. Benefits include W.C.A., sick fund, co-operative discounts, travel discounts, funeral benefits and a social welfare service for the workers and their families.

According to a report on B.W.P. which covered its progress since it was incepted on 1 September, 1972, the two field workers were mainly concerned with organisational work. Contact was established with leaders of existing trade unions dealing with blacks. These include inter alia the National Union of Clothing Workers, the Engineering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa, and the African Laundry Workers' Union (a Coloured union). The responses from these unions to the Black Workers Council proposal varied between indifference and enthusiastic acceptance.

A number of unions with a Coloured/Asiatic membership have also been approached and some have indicated their willingness to involve themselves with the organising of African unions. Some of them are affiliated to the Trade Union Council of South Africa (which expelled its African affiliates in 1969) but none have definitely committed themselves to a Black Workers Council 'whilst still with TUCSA'. Most have adopted a 'wait-and-see' attitude.

Weekly lectures on trade unionism and industrial legislation are conducted at the BWP's offices and a reference library covering wages and working conditions relating to most industries has been compiled.

According to this report, contact has also been established with workers from various industries with a view to having them establish either unions or workers' associations or committees, and indications are that about seven unions are going to be formed in the first quarter of 1973.

The Black Workers' Project operates from an independent office in Johannesburg. Originally there were two field-workers in charge of this office, viz. Mr Bokwe Mafuna from Black Community Programmes and Mr Mthuli Shezi from SASO. Mr Mthuli Shezi has since died in the struggle for the liberation of black people (see Chapter 1, BPC).

The Black Allied Workers' Union

The Black Allied Workers' Union was founded on the 27 August, 1972, at the St. Johns Berchman R.C. Mission Hall, Orlando East, Johannesburg.

Its establishment followed a meeting of workers on that day at the

same place called by Mr Drake Koka, Secretary of the Sales and Allied Workers' Association (S.A.) founded in June, 1971. The general workers' meeting in Orlando East mandated the Sales and Allied Workers' Association to found an 'UMBRELLA TRADE UNION that would cater for and embrace all workers in various job categories (crafts) - the Black Allied Workers Union'. The Sales and Allied Workers' Association then passed a resolution accepting the mandate and thus BAWU was born.

The Black Allied Workers Union includes, as its aims, the following:

to organise and unite all black workers into a powerful labour force that would earn the respect and de facto recognition by both employers and government;

to consult existing black trade unions to effect the calling of a 'Black Workers' Conference' where the Black Workers' Council shall be elected;

to improve the workers' knowledge through general and specialised (occupational) educational programmes, thus bettering workers' skills and know-how by conducting:

- (a) leadership courses,
- (b) labour seminars,
- (c) lectures and specialised commercial courses;

to be spokesman for black workers in any matters that affect them in the work field.

In the budget drafted by the Sales and Allied Workers' Association for the Black Allied Workers' Union, it is estimated that R30,000 per annum would be required for its sound administration. Letters of appeal for financial assistance have been sent to various individuals and organisations. It is also hoped that through an intensive membership drive a substantial amount of money could be received from subscription fees.

Activities since establishment

A survey of trade unions was carried out by means of a questionnaire which was prepared by the Sales and Allied Workers' Association. A

pamphlet explaining the black workers' situation and giving a rationale for BAWU was also prepared and circulated. Contact was established with various trade unionists and an attempt towards gaining a large membership is also being made. Lunch-hour meetings are held at the Sales and Allied Offices at which lectures on trade unionism are given by Mr Drake Koka.

BAWU operates from an office in Johannesburg. Mr D. Koka, the head of BAWU, is the secretary general of a seven-man executive. BAWU also has a consultative Planning Committee consisting of seven men, including people like Messrs. M.T. Moerane, L.B. Mehlomakhulu and Tekane.

The Black Travellers' Association

The 'non-white' Travellers' Association was founded on 18 June, 1972, at the Planet Hotel. This was a result of the realisation by commercial travellers and salesmen of the need to unite and found a body through which they could speak from an official platform.

The aims of this organisation are:

to unite and be a body that can speak with one accord, to be able to assist the traveller in everything that affects his life;

the association will also encourage travellers to study and be qualified salesmen.

The association recently changed its name by discarding the term 'non-white' and substituting 'black' in its stead. A branch of the association was established in Pretoria. It is the intention of the association to establish branches in all the major cities in the country. The Johannesburg-based club anticipates joining forces with the African National Chamber of Commerce.

On 14 November, 1972, the travellers held a fund-raising braaivleis at the home of W. Tshabalala in Soweto.

The five-man executive is headed by Mr M.J. Kumalo, who is chairman and organiser. Other members of the executive include Mr S. Makhere, Secretary, and Mr J. Tshabalala, Treasurer.

REACTION FROM WHITES

It is perhaps at this stage essential to determine the attitude of whites, both in and out of the country, towards this explosive labour question

and how they hope to solve this problem, because their decision will to a lesser or greater extent affect the black workers.

The International Metal Workers' Federation

After a study tour of the labour situation in South Africa early in 1972, the International Metal Workers' Federation, on 22 October, 1972, released a 39 page report, which stated that the IMF:

rejected the idea of segregated African trade unions but concluded that under present laws in South Africa, it was possible to establish unions for Africans;

charged the existing trade unions with the task of getting such unions established.

The report also urged the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) to re-establish a co-ordinating office for the organisation of black workers, like the one they had until 1968; that this office should help unions affiliated to TUCSA to organise blacks and intervene where the individual unions did not undertake such efforts. The report further warned of a revolt if the legal, political and economic situation of the black worker in South Africa did not change.

TUCSA

The general secretary of TUCSA, Mr Arthur Grobbelaar, said that the IMF report was moderate and should be welcomed with relief by trade unions and the government. He said that the consequences could have been serious had the IMF decided instead on a get-tough policy on South Africa. On 14 April, the Vice-President of TUCSA, Miss Anna Scheepers, had warned that withholding trade union and collective bargaining rights from African workers would eventually precipitate labour unrest in South Africa.

CMBU

Six unions belonging to the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions, which is affiliated to IMF, have accepted the IMF's report. Mick McCann, chairman of the CMBU, said that the CMBU would endeavour to carry out the recommendations.

Support for the view that blacks be organised into a union also came from the Building Industries Federation of S.A. (BIFSA). An editorial in

The South African Builder, an official magazine of BIFSA, said that BIFSA would 'not stand in the way of qualified recognition of 'Bantu' trade unions'.

The Federation denounced the argument that the effective operation of the 'Bantu' Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act was good reason to deny black workers the right of self-expression through trade unions. The Federation, however, expressed doubt on whether the black labour force was equipped in all respects for its emergence at present to full participation in industrial self-government.

Government

The attitude of the government to this topical subject is cut-and-dried. The Minister of Labour, Mr Marais Viljoen said in *Vereeniging* on 17 October, 1972, that the government would not allow either full membership or affiliated membership of blacks in trade unions.

Reacting to the recent unrest amongst black workers, Mr Allister Sparks, assistant editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, made certain observations. In his column on 4 November, 1972, entitled 'Coming Power of the Black Workers', Mr Sparks viewed the recent developments as signals of a new form of pressure. He concluded by stating that this new pressure on South Africa 'will not come from abroad this time but from within; not from whites but from blacks. It will not be temporary this time but will go on growing irresistibly, slowly at first then rapidly later. And as it does so the processes of change will begin to move again'.

REFERENCES

1. Hansard 3, Col. 181.
2. Hansard 4, Col. 352.
3. Hansard 4, Col. 351.
4. Hansard 3, Col. 215.
5. Hansard 6, Col. 501.
6. Hansard 4, Col. 341.
7. Hansard 8, Col. 644.
8. Hansard 2, Col. 175.
9. Hansard 4, Col. 351.
10. Hansard 4, Col. 368.
11. *The Star*, 12 September, 1972.
12. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 5 June, 1972.
13. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 5 June, 1972.
14. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 3 June, 1972.
15. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 24 November, 1972.
16. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 31 October, 1972.
17. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November, 1972.
18. Hansard 10, Col. 814.
19. Hansard 17, Col. 1137.

Chapter Nine

POLITICAL TRIALS AND DETENTION

THE MARITZBURG TRIAL (JUNE 1971 - APRIL 1972)

ACCUSED: Kader Hassim, Joseph Bransby Vusani, Mogani Josiah Moeng, Mofolwene Mbele, Pindiso Zimambane, Dam Gideon Mahanjane, Ncikwa Naki Vimba, Max Bantwini Tabata, Frank Anthony, Robert Cedric Wilcox, Albert Kwezi Tshangane, Surinayan Kala Venkatratham, Montford Mozoli Mabuto and Joseph Tshukudu Maleka (1).

INDICTMENT: The men faced charges under the Terrorism Act. They were alleged to have endangered the maintenance of law and order and with the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA) and the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), sought to overthrow the government by force of arms, and with foreign assistance.

COURSE OF THE TRIAL: Mr Cecil Rees, appearing for the state, led evidence that during about 1963 Mr Tabata and the majority of the leaders of the APDUSA, including Dr Limbada, Tsotsi and Jane Gool (all co-conspirators) left the Republic secretly and established a headquarters of the Unity Movement in Lusaka. Dealing with the 1970 alleged conspiracy, Mr Rees said that the leaders of APDUSA and NEUM in Zambia were engaged in preparation for sending four persons to South Africa to revive APDUSA and to recruit persons to undergo military training. The four persons were Leonard Nikane, Edward Ncala, Ernest Jama and Diliza Lande. At least 200 recruits were required. Mr Rees

further said that there was a matter of urgency in the preparations because Mr Tabata indicated that the United Arab Republic was prepared to accept recruits for military training and that there was a possibility that the recruits might be accepted by the O.A.U. for training (2).

JUDGMENT: The Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice James found all the accused guilty on 2 or more counts. Mfolwane Mbele, Pindiso Zimambane, Dam Gideon Mahanjane and Ncikwa Vimba were found guilty on the main count of conspiracy.

Mr Justice James found all the four accused mentioned above also guilty of attending secret meetings connected with a military recruitment campaign and guilty of inciting, instigating, aiding or encouraging persons to undergo military training.

Mr Justice James dismissed the allegations by some of the accused of ill-treatment at the MkaMbathi forest camp in Pondoland. Dealing with the evidence of the accused relating to the alleged assaults by the police, the judge said that in a case of this sort where it was obvious that the police would wish to get information on what appeared to be a dangerous situation developing in Pondoland, the temptation to take short-cuts by applying third degree methods must have been strong but that on the other hand there was no doubt that the temptation in the way of the accused to make false charges against the police in an endeavour to cast doubt upon the truth of the evidence against them, would have been a real one (3).

SENTENCE

Kader Hassim
Joseph Vusani

8 years imprisonment 1st count, 8 years on 2nd count and 5 years on the 4th count. Sentences on count two and four to run concurrently.

Mogami Moeng

8 years on 1st count, 7 years on 2nd, and 5 years on 3rd. Sentences on count 2 and 3 to run concurrently with count 1.

Mahanjane and Vimba

7 years on 1st count, 7 years on 2nd count and 5 years on 3rd count. Sentences on count 2 and 3 to run concurrently with count 1.

Mbele and Zimambane	8 years on 1st count, 8 years on 2nd count and 5 years on 3rd. Sentences on count 2 and 3 to run concurrently with sentence on count 1.
Tabata, Tshangane and Mabuto	5 years on 1st count and 5 years on 2nd count. 2nd term runs concurrently with the first.
Anthony, Venkatratham and Wilcox	6 years on first count and 6 years on 2nd count. 2nd term runs concurrently with the first.

COST OF TRIAL: At the beginning of the trial the cost was estimated at R50 000. The wives of three of the accused men made appeal for financial aid to various people, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Michael Ramsey, U Thant, Indira Gandhi, Senator Edward Kennedy, and the Secretary of the International Commission of Jurists (4).

APPEAL: The accused in this Maritzburg Trial were granted leave to appeal and their case is not expected to appear before the Appellate Division until next year. Bail has been granted to three of the accused, viz. Mabuto, Tabata and Tshangana. Attempts are being made to raise a total of R9 000 for their freedom (5).

THE ESSOP TRIAL (JUNE - NOVEMBER 1972)

ACCUSED: Mohammed Salim Essop, Amina Desai, Indrasen Moodley and Yusuf Hassem Esack.

INDICTMENT: The four accused appeared on the main charge under the Terrorism Act and on three alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

COURSE OF TRIAL: Mr J.E. Nothling led the prosecution team. The hearing was based on the activities of the A.N.C. and the South African Communist Party, (SACP) both banned organisations. Mr Nothling said that despite the bannings, the activities of these organisations continued and that the aim of these organisations was to overthrow the government by violent means (6).

It was alleged by the state that the organisations distributed pamphlets through the post and through explosive devices which were accompanied by the broadcast of a speech. Even gramophone records came into the country under the cover of Christmas labels to propagate the cause of these organisations.

The state alleged that in the boot of the car in which Mr Timol (who died whilst in police custody) and Mr Essop were travelling, were found hundreds of copies of *Inkululeko*, and 787 copies of the leaflets '*Sons and daughters of Africa*', and 447 copies of '*The African National Congress says to Vorster and his gang: Your days are numbered*'. It was further alleged that the police had also found a number of letters to 'Dear Ahmed', 'My dear Ahmed' and 'My dearest Ahmed' with a secret text on the back which was invisible and could only be brought out by chemical means. One of the messages, Mr Nothling said, was a request from 'CC' for a list of people to whom the pamphlets would be sent. They alleged that Timol supplied 8 000 names. Another message contained a formula for manufacturing gunpowder while another said that Mr Timol would receive a 'present'. This was a box of Fortnum and Masons Darjeeling Tea, which contained pamphlets for distribution in South Africa. The pamphlets were said to have been found by police in Mr Timol's car on 23 October 1971.

Later the police had found in Mr Essop's room in Roodepoort a list of 583 names and addresses and 287 addressed envelopes. The state alleged that this list was for the purpose of distributing documents for the benefit of SACP and/or ANC.

The admissions before the court included methods of propaganda by use of postal services, the 'bucket bomb system', street broadcasts, records, and smuggling literature in South Africa. Included in the 'bucket bomb system' were explosions which took place in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth in August 1970 and August 1971. In 1970 the explosions were followed by pre-recorded tapes with a message from the ANC. The message was from the pamphlet entitled '*The ANC says to Vorster and his gang: Your days are numbered*'. The recording said that the ANC defied Vorster, his laws, his bannings, his prisons and his police thugs, to bring a message of the freedom struggle; the message of freedom for our people.

With regard to records the admission states about 1 200 recordings were distributed to 'selected citizens' and were seized or handed to the police. The distribution is acknowledged in the ANC organ '*Seshaba*', Vol. 4, No. 4 of April, 1970, page 11. Also included in the admission was the fact that various ANC pamphlets - among them, '*The ANC calls you to Action*', '*We are at War*', '*These men are your brothers*' - were seized

while general cargo was unloaded from ships in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

The admission also included the fact that the car in which Timol and Essop were travelling when they were stopped by police belonged to Mrs Desai or was in her lawful custody.

JUDGMENT: Mr Justice Snyman convicted all four accused on the main charge of participating in terrorist activities. Because of the conviction on the main count the judge said it was not necessary to deal with the alternative counts. Justice Snyman said that the accused had conspired together with Ahmed Timol and the outlawed SACP and ANC to promote the cause of the organisations (7).

SENTENCE: All four accused were each sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. Justice Snyman subsequently refused to grant them leave to appeal (8).

THE MZIMELA TRIAL (MARITZBURG: NOVEMBER 1972)

Accused: Fana Cletus Mzimela

INDICTMENT: The first count related to leaving and entering the country secretly without official travel documents, undergoing training in welfare, guerilla warfare and espionage, entering Rhodesia bearing arms and participating with other persons in armed fighting against the Rhodesian security forces with the intention of making his way through Rhodesia to the Republic so as to organise, encourage, support and participate in armed revolution in the country, entering the country with falsified identity documents and attending the Morogoro Conference.

The second count related to undergoing training in warfare, guerilla warfare, methods of revolution, communism, propaganda and methods of secret communication during or about 27 June, 1962 and 28 September, 1972 (9).

COURSE OF THE TRIAL: Mzimela pleaded guilty on both counts. A witness (who could not be named, by court order) described how he became disenchanted with PAC and had then joined ANC in 1963 in Tanzania. The witness told the court that Joe Modise, Commander-in-chief of Anti-South Africa guerilla forces, took him and a contingent of others for military training. The group first went to Odessa, Russia. The witness said he first met Mzimela in Odessa and that Mzimela was going under the name of Malinga. The witness told the court that Mzimela specialised in politics, infantry tactics, chemical weapons and self-

defence. The training course was completed in the winter of 1964. The witness said that he returned to Tanzania and stayed there until the end of 1964.

In 1965, according to the witness, after the leadership of ANC came to their camp, Oliver Tambo administered an oath which the witness and others, including Mzimela, took. The oath was of allegiance to ANC.

The witness told the court that in 1969 he met Mzimela who told him that he had attended the Morogoro Conference in Tanzania, the purpose of which was to investigate complaints from the ANC and to 'fix up things that were blocking the struggle'. The witness also described how he had met Mzimela at Moscow airport and how they had travelled, together with others, to East Berlin to undergo military training.

Another witness, Mr Leonard Nkosi, 'a Moscow-trained terrorist' who deserted his group, gave a graphic description of two skirmishes between his group and the Rhodesian Security Police.

JUDGMENT: Mzimela was found guilty and sentenced by Mr Justice Henning on 21 November to 15 years imprisonment on the first count and 5 years imprisonment on the second count. The sentences were to run concurrently (11).

THE MOUMBARIS TRIAL

Six men, viz. Mr Alexander Moumbaris, an Australian of French extraction; Theophilus Cholo, an African from the Transkei, Justus Mpanza and Petros Aaron Tembu, both Africans from Natal, Gardner Kitchener Sejaka, an African from the Transkei, and John William Hosey of Northern Ireland appeared briefly on 24 November, 1972 in the Pretoria Supreme Court on charges under the Terrorism Act.

They were not asked to plead and were remanded to January 15, 1973.

DETENTIONS UNDER SECURITY LAWS

Persons convicted in 1971

Replying to a question in Parliament on 27 May, 1972, the Minister of Community Development (for the Minister of Police) gave the following information relating to persons convicted under the security laws in 1971.

	Whites	Coloureds	Asian	'Bantu'
Section 21, General Law Amendment Act of 1962	-	-	-	-
Suppression of Communism Act	3	-	-	13
Unlawful Organisations Act	-	-	-	-

Persons serving sentences

The Minister also gave the following information about persons serving sentences imposed under the security laws. The statistics are:

	Whites	Coloureds	Asian	'Bantu'
Section 21, General Law Amendment Act of 1962	5	9	13	248
Suppression of Communism Act	4	1	1	23
Unlawful Organisations Act	-	-	-	109
Terrorism Act	-	1	-	50

Persons arrested in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act on 24 and 25 October, 1971

On 4 February, 1972, the Minister of Police, replying to a question in Parliament, confirmed that a number of persons were arrested on 24 and 25 October, 1971. The Minister, however, refused to disclose the exact number of people arrested.

The Minister also mentioned that two of the detainees had made representations to him. In one case there was a request for medical treatment, which was granted. The same person requested to be released. This

request, according to the Minister, was refused, but the detainee was released a month after he had made the application.

In the other case the request was to be released, which was refused. According to the Minister, all the detainees were visited by a magistrate at least once a fortnight.

The Deputy Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs (for the Minister of Police), on 11 February, when asked whether any of the detained persons had been charged, replied in the affirmative and said that the offence they were charged with was contravention of Section 11 (e) of the Suppression of Communism Act and of Section 83b of Act 91 of 1964.

The Minister further stated that since 25 October a number of people had been arrested and detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, but declined to give the exact number of those still detained and those that had been released. He did, however, mention that four of the people arrested since 25 October had been charged. One was charged with contravention of Section 2 (1) of the Terrorism Act, alternatively, contravention of the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act. The three other people were charged with contravention of the Suppression of Communism Act. Before being charged, one person was, according to the Minister, detained for 85 days, two others were detained for 37 days and the fourth was detained for 36 days.

Replying to a question in Parliament on 21 March, the Minister of Justice and Prisons (for the Minister of Police) disclosed that 5 of the people arrested in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act on 24 and 25 October, 1971, had been subsequently detained in terms of Section 215 bis of Act 56 of 1955; and that 8 had been charged: 4 with contravention of Section 2 of the Terrorism Act with alternative charges in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, 3 with contravention of Section 11 (a) of the Suppression of the Communism Act and contravention of Section 83 of the Customs and Excise Act.

The names of these people were revealed by the Minister of Police on 11 April in Parliament. The names of the five ex-detainees under the Terrorism Act who were subsequently held in terms of Section 215 bis of Act 56 of 1955 were:

Jacob Varachia
Dennis Naik
Benjamin Zwane
Sidom Tilotsane
Martin Cohen

The four people charged with contravention of Section 2 of the

Terrorism Act, with alternative charges in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act were:

Mohomed Salim Essop
 Amina Desai
 Indhrasen Moodley
 Quentin Jacobsen

Persons charged under the Terrorism Act and held in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act

In Parliament on 8 May the Minister of Police gave the following statistics relating to people charged under the Terrorism Act during 1971:

	Not Guilty	Guilty
Whites	1	-
Coloureds	-	3
Asian	-	2
'Bantu'	1	9

N.B. These trials were only concluded in 1972. After these trials were concluded, the two people who were acquitted were, according to the Minister, held under the Terrorism Act. The white was held for 9 days and the African was held for 160 days.

Persons in detention in terms of Proclamation 400 of 1960

Replying to a question in Parliament on 18 February, 1972, the Minister of Police disclosed that as at 1 April, 1971, nobody was held in terms of Proclamation 400 of 1960 but that regarding those who were in detention at that date, 20 people were released without being charged and 4 were charged.

The periods of detention of those who were released without being charged were, according to the Minister:

1 for 103 days
 3 for 168 days

1 for 179 days
 2 for 182 days
 1 for 197 days
 1 for 207 days
 1 for 213 days
 5 for 235 days
 1 for 242 days
 1 for 283 days
 2 for 301 days
 1 for 303 days

Of the 4 people who were charged, one was detained for 146 days before being charged, and the other three were detained for 177 days. The trial of the four people charged had not yet been concluded by 18 February.

After 1 April, according to the Minister, six more people were arrested and subsequently released. The period each spent in detention before release:

1 for 16 days
 1 for 68 days
 1 for 114 days
 1 for 149 days
 2 for 167 days

DEATHS IN DETENTION

Death of persons detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act

Ahmed Timol

Mr Ahmed Timol, a 30-year-old Roodepoort teacher, fell to his death from the tenth floor of John Vorster Square police headquarters in Johannesburg on 26 October, 1971. Major-General C.A. Buys, the chief of the C.I.D., in giving an account of the last minutes of Mr Timol's life, said Timol had not been threatened or assaulted. In the office on the tenth floor there was the most relaxed atmosphere one can imagine in such circumstances. He said that Ahmed Timol had been sitting calmly on a chair on the tenth floor when he suddenly sprang up and ran to his death.

The dead detainee's father, Mr Yusuf Timol, described General Buys's account as 'absurd'. 'No Moslem would commit suicide. He would be out of Islam', he said (12).

The *Sunday Express* reported that a few weeks before his death, Mr Ahmed Timol, speaking about a political detainee who had fallen to his death from the seventh floor of Security Police headquarters in Johannesburg in 1964, had said: Everyone knows that no-one with any sense would have been that stupid to commit suicide (13).

The death of Timol was followed by mass protest meetings held all over the country. In the wake of these meetings, Brigadier Piet Kruger, deputy head of the security Police told a Nationalist newspaper that Mr Timol was a 'hero' of the Communists. 'We who know the Communists', he said, 'know that when they want to resort to violence, they make people swear an oath to commit suicide rather than reveal the names of their comrades. They are taught to jump out rather than be questioned'.

An inquest into the death of Timol was held on 1 December, 1971, at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. The Regional Magistrate, Mr J.L. de Villiers refused an application by Mr I.A. Maisels, for the Timol family, for documents and information at the start of the inquest. An application was made to the Supreme Court to challenge that ruling. On 28 January, the Supreme Court ruled that the Regional Magistrate had erred in refusing the documents.

The inquest into Timol's death resumed on 24 April, 1972. During the inquest, evidence was led to the effect that Timol's body had abrasions and bruises which were sustained before his death. The state pathologist and the pathologist instructed by the Timol family, Dr Gluckman, disagreed on the age of the injuries. The findings of the inquest were given by Mr J.J.L. de Villiers on 22 June, 1972. The Regional Magistrate found that nobody was to blame for Timol's death (14).

Death of persons detained in terms of Proclamation 400 of 1960

Two people died during their detention in terms of the Act mentioned above. This was disclosed by the Deputy Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs on 11 February in response to a question in Parliament (15). The two people were Nogeni Gaga and Pongolo Hoyo, who were reported to have died on 7 and 8 May 1965 respectively. Both of them died, according to the Minister, of natural causes.

Death of persons in detention other than detention in terms of the Terrorism Act, during 1971

According to the information given in Parliament on 8 February, 1972, by the Minister of Police, a total of 42 people died in detention other than detention in terms of the Terrorism Act (16). These deaths can be analysed as follows:

No. of people reported to have died of suicide:	16
No. of people reported to have died of natural causes:	12
No. of people who died neither of suicide nor natural causes:	12
No. of people who died but post mortem proceedings had not been completed by 8 February, 1972:	2
TOTAL	42

Terrorism Act: Actions for damages settled out of court

In reply to a question in Parliament on 5 May, 1972, the Minister of Police disclosed that 8 of the people who had been detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act had brought actions for damages against him and/or any member of the police force (17). One case was settled out of court, and the plaintiff, Mrs G. Haron, was paid the sum of R5 000,00. The seven other actions were pending, the Minister said.

Suppression of Communism Act: Advocates and Attorneys struck off the roll

The Minister of Justice, replying to a question in Parliament on 21 March, 1972, said that two advocates and 4 attorneys had been struck off the roll in terms of Section 5 quat of the Suppression of Communism Act. The two advocates were M.D. Naidoo and A.P. O'Dowd. The four attorneys were: L. Baker, J. Cohen, R.I. Arenstein, and Mrs S. Muller (born Movshowitz) (18).

Feeding of persons detained in police cells

Replying to a question in Parliament on 5 February, 1972, the Minister of Police gave the following information relating to the scales of rations in respect of the feeding of persons detained in police cells (19).

No ration scales were prescribed for whites and 'non-whites', while the following scales per meal apply:

Coloureds and Africans

8 ounces mealie-meal

one-third ounce fat

one-sixth ounce salt

The mealie-meal may be substituted by beans.

Asians

8 ounces rice

one-sixth ounce fat

The rice may be substituted by beans.

According to the Minister, these scales were laid down in 1927 and apply to persons who are, in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act, to appear in court within 48 hours, and who are thereafter removed to prison. The Minister added that in practice the prescribed scales were not being strictly adhered to and supplementary food like bread, coffee, etc., with at least equal nutritional value, is provided.

The daily costs permitted for feeding prisoners were given as follows:

Whites and Coloureds	60c per day
Africans	15c per day
Asians	30c per day

In respect of persons detained as witnesses or for purposes of questioning, in terms of current legal provisions, the daily costs permitted for feeding them were given by the Minister as follows:

Whites	R1,50
Coloureds and Asians	75c
Africans	45c

The Minister of Police also added that the revised ration scales would become operative on 1 April, 1972.

The daily costs of rations before 1 April, 1972

The Minister informed the Assembly that in respect of those ration items which had to be purchased, the average cost was approximately R0,17 per prisoner per day, but that this amount of R0,17 did not include vegetables, in respect of which the department was self-supporting, whilst large quantities of meat, fruit, honey and dairy products were also produced. In the Western Province gaols, the department also supplied poultry and eggs produced by itself.

Revised scales of rations for prisoners as from 1 April, 1972; daily costs permitted in respect of feeding.

The Deputy Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs (for the Minister of Police) gave the following information in Parliament on 17 March, 1972, (20) relating to the revised scales of rations:

Whites

Breakfast

57g. mealie-meal or 114g. brown bread
57g. brown bread or 114g. brown bread
28ml. tea or coffee
43g. sugar
43g. milk
57g. jam or syrup

Lunch

57ml. soup consisting of 28g soup powder
and 57g. vegetables
227g. brown bread
57g. syrup or jam
8g. fat or margarine

Supper

142g. meat
227g. brown bread
227g. vegetables
28ml. tea or coffee
28ml. milk
14g. sugar
14g. salt per person

Asians and Coloureds*Breakfast*

Scale A

170g. brown bread
15g. brown sugar
2½ g. coffee

Scale B

225g. mealie-meal
15g. brown sugar
2½ g. coffee
5g. salt

Lunch

Scale C

225g. rice
15g. soup powder
5g. salt

Scale D

225g. mealie-meal
5g. salt
15g. soup powder

Supper

Scale E

225g. mealie meal
15g. soup powder
5g. salt
2½ g. coffee
15g. brown sugar

Scale F

170g. brown bread
15g. soup powder
5g. salt
2½ g. coffee
15g. brown sugar

Africans*Breakfast*

Scale G

170g. brown bread
15g. brown sugar
2½ g. coffee

Scale H

225g. mealie-meal
15g. brown sugar
2½ g. coffee
5g. salt

Lunch

Scale I

225g. mealie-meal
5g salt
15g. soup powder
50g. 'magon'
powder

Scale J

170g. brown bread
15g soup powder
50g. 'magon' powder
5g. salt

Supper

Scale K

225g. mealie-meal
5g. salt
15g. brown sugar
2 ½ g. coffee
15g. soup powder

Scale L

170g. brown bread
5g. salt
15g. brown sugar
2 ½ g. coffee
15g. soup powder

The Minister further informed the Assembly that the new daily costs to be permitted had not yet been determined but that the matter was being considered and would be submitted to the Treasury in due course.

REFERENCES

1. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 17 June, 1971.
2. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 10 March, 1972.
3. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 6 April, 1972.
4. *The Sunday Times*, 25 July, 1971.
5. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 24 May, 1972.
6. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 14 June, 1972.
7. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 31 October, 1972.
8. *The Star*, 1 November, 1972.
9. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 20 November, 1972.
10. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November, 1972.
11. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 22 November, 1972.
12. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 11 November, 1971.
13. *The Sunday Express*, 31 October, 1971.

14. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 23 June, 1972.
15. Hansard 2, Col. 164.
16. Hansard 2, Cols. 88-90.
17. Hansard 13, Col. 978-979.
18. Hansard 8, Col. 646.
19. Hansard 3, Col. 207-208.
20. Hansard 7, Col. 582-584.

Chapter Ten

EDUCATION FOR BLACKS

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY

1. Control

(a) Africans

Education for Africans is all centralised under the Department of Bantu Education with the exception of medical training and training in certain specialised professions, e.g. engineering.

The Department consists of 9 'homeland' departments, 5 regions in 'white' areas, an inspection circuit in the Caprivi, 3 fully-fledged academically 'autonomous' universities and a section for special education for the handicapped.

The 9 'homeland' departments have been given varying control over the education portfolio. Almost all of them follow the same basic pattern in terms of syllabuses prescribed by the Bantu Education Department, except that in matters like medium of instruction, some of them have preferred to use English as from Standard Two, viz. Transkei and of late KwaZulu.

At local level part of the control over each circuit lies with the school board and over each school with the school committee. This control has nothing to do with curricula and content of education, but is restricted to minor topics like appointment of additional staff and control of school premises. Some 'homeland' governments have instituted some re-organisation at this level, e.g. in KwaZulu school boards have been

abolished and school committees have increased powers. In all cases the circuit inspector, who is an employee of the Department, wields considerable power in affairs relating to the schools.

All external examinations are set by the Department and marking is supervised by the Department.

(b) Coloured

Coloured Education is in the hands of the Department of Coloured Affairs. At the head of the Education sub-division is the Commissioner under whom there is the Director of Education. Under the Director there is the Directorate of Education which is served by 2 wings, i.e. one for planning and one for administration. Also under the directorate is the education control division served by an Assistant Director and a Chief Inspector in each region.

With the increasing powers given to the Coloured Representative Council, control of Coloured education to a large extent also falls under this body.

(c) Indian

Education for Indians is in the hands of the Department of Indian Affairs under the Director of Indian Education, under whom falls: Primary Education, Secondary Education, Special Education for the deaf and dumb, teacher training, education planning, administrative plans at schools and institutions, professional education services. The University of Durban-Westville by virtue of a special Act is directly under the Minister of Indian Affairs.

Control of education for Indians is strictly held in Departmental hands by Departmental officials and there is very little community participation in it.

2. Enrolment Statistics

Details of enrolment statistics for pupils from Sub A to Std. 10 (excluding pupils in teacher training, technical and vocational schools) for blacks were given to Parliament in 1972 as follows by the various ministers (1):

(a) Africans

ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS, 1971

Class	Republic	Transkei	E. Caprivi	S.W.A.	Total
Sub A	570 982	105 335	1 127	28 976	706 420
Sub B	441 622	69 602	1 058	17 223	529 505
Std. 1	385 835	65 844	885	13 857	466 424
Std. 2	289 532	54 104	712	10 572	353 920
Std. 3	236 706	46 236	617	8 546	292 105
Std. 4	176 900	31 214	380	5 408	210 902
Std. 5	136 767	23 549	266	3 755	164 337
Std. 6	128 102	20 272	375	3 339	152 088
Form 1	44 505	9 100	95	843	54 543
Form 2	35 446	7 063	47	607	43 163
Form 3	24 041	5 759	24	344	30 168
Form 4	6 248	1 585	5	101	7 939
Form 5	3 253	812	4	40	4 109
	2 476 937	439 480	5 595	93 611	3 015 625

According to these figures, the number of pupils in Form 5 (Std. 10) are 0.6% of those in Sub A. It will be noted that there is a large drop in the number of pupils in the early years, almost 100 000 per year. Particularly noticeable is the drop between Std. 6 and Form 1 (about 70%) and between Form 3 and Form 4 (about 74%).

(b) Coloured

ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS, 1971				
Class	Republic	Transkei	S.W.A.	Total
Sub A	100 565	692	3 597	105 754
Sub B	83 188	486	3 149	86 823
Std. 1	75 025	558	2 899	78 482
Std. 2	62 502	456	2 465	65 423
Std. 3	54 509	432	2 061	57 002
Std. 4	45 805	397	1 808	48 010
Std. 5	35 062	290	1 426	36 778
Std. 6	27 150	170	1 179	28 499
Std. 7	19 988	53	553	20 594
Std. 8	10 250	45		10 338
Std. 9	3 908	4	92	4 004
Std. 10	2 110	4	51	2 165
	515 992	3 587	19 523	539 102

Here again there is a sharp drop in the number as one goes up. The number of pupils in Std. 10 is less than 2% of those in Sub A.

The drop becomes drastic between Std. 7 and Std. 8 (about 50%), between 8 and 9 (about 50%), and 9 and 10 (about 50%).

(c) Indian

ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS, 1971

Class	Natal	Transvaal	Cape Province	Total
Class 1	18 165	2 290	87	20 542
Class 2	17 141	2 135	86	19 362
Std. 1	15 471	2 092	103	17 666
Std. 2	13 301	1 853	97	15 251
Std. 3	13 460	1 958	106	15 524
Std. 4	15 916	2 311	76	18 303
Std. 5	14 701	2 220	71	16 992
Std. 6	13 714	2 162	56	15 932
Std. 7	9 214	1 909	58	11 181
Std. 8	7 132	1 686	-	8 818
Std. 9	3 823	968	-	4 791
Std. 10	2 964	579	-	3 543
	145 002	22 163	740	167 905

The above totals do not include pupils studying in schools set aside for Coloured students.

Unlike African and Coloured pupils, the drop in numbers is in this case not so sharp. The number of pupils in Std. 10 is about 11% that in Class 1.

(d) General

The figures given above imply that there are 3 722 632 black pupils studying within the context of the syllabuses designed by the 3 departments (Indian, Coloured and Bantu). It should be noted that these enrolment figures were given as in 1971.

(e) Double-session System

It was revealed in parliament that the double-session system still operates in schools for blacks. The number of pupils involved was given as follows (2):

	African	Indian
Sub A and B	886 475	7 335
Std. 1 and 2	48 485	4 606
Std. 3 and 4	-	2 250
Std. 5 and 6	-	300

No figures were given for children at Coloured schools.

3. Examinations

In the case of internal examinations, each school examines its own pupils. In the case of external examinations, each department sets examinations for the relevant classes except in the case of matriculation examinations, which are set by the National Senior Certificate and the Joint Matriculation Board (non-departmental bodies).

Supervision and correction of scripts is carried out by each department for external examinations although there is close liaison with the examining bodies.

Examination results for the year 1971 were given as follows (3):

(a) Africans

Standard 6

Entered:	131,172	
Passed:	106,724: broken down as follows:	
	Qualified for J.C. i.e. (1st and 2nd):	64,528
	3rd Class	42,196
	Failed	25,448

Junior Certificate

Entered:	27,800
Passed:	20,983

Senior Certificate

Entered:	3,779
Passed:	2,372: broken down as follows:
	University Entrance
	(1st and 2nd) 1,232
	School Leaving 1,140
	Failed 1,407

(b) Coloureds

Std. 6

Entered:	29,844
Passed:	unavailable

Junior Certificate

Entered:	10,478
1st class pass:	548
2nd class pass:	6,525
Failed:	3,405

Senior Certificate

Entered:	2,243
1st class pass:	99
2nd class pass:	1,325
Maturity exemption:	491
Failed:	819

(c) Indians

Std. 6

Entered:	14,700
Passed	
(Advanced Grade):	6,065
Passed	
(Ordinary Grade):	4,286
Failed:	2,168

Junior Certificate

Entered:	7,885
Passed	
(Advanced Grade):	2,597
Passed	
(Ordinary Grade):	3,017
Failed:	2,041

Senior Certificate

Entered:	3,350
Passed - Merit:	56
A Grade:	946
O Grade:	933
Maturity exemption:	400
Failed:	1,418

(d) Students required to rewrite

Irregularities were experienced in the case of a number of students who wrote Senior Certificate examinations at the end of 1971. On 8 March 1972, the *World* reported that the Natal Regional Director of Bantu Education, Mr A.A. Allison, had confirmed that more than 100 students had been ordered to rewrite either part or all of their examination.

All 72 students who wrote and passed Senior Certificate at Ohlange High School in Inanda were ordered to rewrite Biology and Physiology. Another group of private candidates who wrote at a school in Umlazi were ordered to rewrite the entire examination.

The Principal of Ohlange stated that his pupils had already gone for studies in the various universities and others were already working. He did not know the reasons for the move and was afraid of the inconvenience the students would suffer.

Asked to explain, Mr Allison stated 'those were orders from Pretoria and I cannot comment further as the matter is being investigated'.

Asked in Parliament about the matter, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education stated that the order concerned was directed at 72 students from Ohlange who were required to rewrite Biology and 57 from the same school required to rewrite Physiology. He denied that any group of students were ordered to rewrite the whole examination and stated that

34 private candidates who wrote at Umlazi were required to write only some subjects.

The reason given to Parliament by the Minister was that certain irregularities were suspected. Too many of the candidates had obtained distinctions in the subjects concerned. The number was 'unrealistically high'. In addition there were also rumours that the question papers were offered for sale in and around Durban before the examination. Police were called in to investigate the matter (4).

4. Teachers

Black schools still suffer from two major problems regarding staff. First, there are not enough teachers thus making the teacher-pupil ratio extremely bad; second, a lot of the teachers have inadequate qualifications.

Part of the problem is the complaint by teachers that they are not paid adequately. Observers point out that positions in industry and commerce are much more attractive in terms of pay to the teachers.

Below we give a panoramic view of the number of teachers employed in schools designed for blacks and their qualifications (5).

(a) Africans

Total number of teachers in Republic, Namibia and Transkei is 51 565, broken down in terms of qualifications as follows:

Professional

(a) Degree and U.E.D.	752
(b) Matric and Teacher Diploma	5 294
(c) Junior Certificate and P.H.	36 082
(d) Standard VI and L.P.H.	
(e) Other qualifications	99

Non-Professional

(f) Degree only	50
(g) Matric only	382
(h) Technical and other vocational qualification	69
(i) Below matric and without P.H.	8 837

These figures are as at end of 1971.

From the list above it will be seen that the second largest single group of teachers, (i), are those who have no professional qualifications, no technical qualification and have not attained matriculation.

(b) Coloureds

Total number of teachers is 17 451 broken down as follows in terms of qualifications:

Professional

(a) Degree and U.E.D.	645
(b) Degree and Teachers' Diploma	3 771
(c) J.C. and P.H.	12 084
(d) Other qualifications	-

Non-Professional

(a) Degree only	102
(b) Matric only	1 282
(c) Technical and vocational qualifications	72
(d) Below Matric	495

These figures are as at March 1972.

(c) Indians

Total number of teachers in the Republic is 6 140 broken down in terms of qualifications as follows:

Professional

Degree and U.E.D.	860
Matric and Teacher Diploma	3 667
J.C. and Teacher Diploma	1 183
Other qualifications	-

Non-Professional

Degree only	36
Matric only	150
Technical and Vocational Training only	4
Below matric and without professional qualification	240

These figures are as at March 1971.

(d) Salaries

Asked in Parliament about salaries for teaching staff, the Ministers of the various departments concerned with education for blacks gave the following information (the various salary scales have been condensed) (6):

AFRICANS

Salary per annum

	Male		Female	
	Minimum	Top Notch	Minimum	Top Notch
Primary School (J.C. and P.H.)	R 720	R1 620	R 576	R1 350
Secondary School (Matric and Diploma)	R1 080	R2 640	R 900	R2 160
Secondary School Degree and U.E.D.	R1 350	R2 880	R1 260	R2 400

COLOURED

	Male		Female	
	Minimum	Top Notch	Minimum	Top Notch
Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate	R1 260	R2 640	R1 080	R1 920
Matriculation + 3 year Diploma				
Primary Assistant	R1 800	R3 360	R1 620	R2 880
Secondary Assistant	R2 040	R3 360	R1 800	R2 880
Degree + UED				
Primary Assistant	R2 160	R3 750	R1 920	R3 240
Secondary Assistant	R2 400	R3 750	R2 160	R3 240

INDIANS

	Male		Female	
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
J.C. and Professional Qualifications	R1 260	R2 640	R1 080	R1 920
Matric and Teacher Diploma	R1 806	R3 360	R1 620	R2 880
Degree + UED	R2 160	R3 750	R1 920	R3 240

In all the above cases attainment of the top notch is spread over a number of years, sometimes stretching up to 15 years.

The average times for attainment of the top notch are as follows:

Africans	12 years
Coloureds	11 years
Indians	12 years

African teachers who have newly joined the profession often complain about the delay in the payment of their salaries. When the Minister of Bantu Education was asked about this in Parliament he claimed that there were no such delays for teachers employed by his department. He pointed out, however, that such delays were experienced in respect of teachers employed by the 'homeland' governments and 'state-aided' schools.

Reasons provided by him for this were that:

appointment documents submitted by employers concerned were either received late, or incomplete and incorrect and hence had to be sent back for correction;

additional work was placed on the shoulders of his department through the conversion of 3 270 privately paid teachers' posts into subsidised posts with effect from 1 October, 1971. In addition new revised salary scales for 'Bantu' teachers were introduced at the same time (7).

Members of the teaching profession have continually complained about the low salaries they are paid. At a teachers' conference of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA) held at Berolong High School on 11 March, 1972, Mr Lekalake, President of ATASA, attacked the salary rates on which African teachers were paid. He said that the average African teacher found it difficult to meet the necessities of life and as such could not improve his educational standard through private studies.

5. Financing of Education

(a) African

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Piet Koornhof, in March gave notice of legislation to abolish the separate 'Bantu' Education account and to introduce a new system whereby education for Africans would be financed.

In terms of the new system, the separate Bantu Education Account will disappear and Bantu Education expenditure will be met from consolidated revenue - some of the funds will go to the 'homelands' and the rest will go towards the financing of 'Bantu' education in the 'white' areas.

He said that the total amount spent on 'Bantu' education would well be within the amount which the government calculated was collected from Africans in the various forms of taxation.

Dr Koornhof gave the following as reasons:

in the first place the South African taxation system had changed radically since 1954 and Africans were now paying taxes on a 'P.A.Y.E.' system, and in addition they contributed considerable sums of money in the form of sales tax and excise duties;

secondly the constitutional development of 'homelands' meant that 'homeland governments' were taking an increasing share of the responsibility for the education of their people.

Dr Koornhof stressed that the government was not departing from the policy that blacks should finance their own education.

Observers believe that the new system will give the government greater flexibility when it comes to the financing of 'Bantu' Education and that this will enable it to steadily increase the level of expenditure even though that will never approach the per pupil expenditure for other races.

According to figures given in Parliament, the total amount estimated for expenditure on 'Bantu' education for the 1971-72 year was R81 361 700 made up as follows (8):

Bantu Education account	R57 160 000
Special Education account	807 000
S.W.A. Account	3 425 000
Transkei	9 626 000
Salaries of white staff attached to 'Homeland' Education	533 000
Capital provision for erection of buildings	9 810 700

It should be noted that this amount includes expenditure on University Education. Regarding per capita expenditure on education for Africans, the Minister gave the following amounts (calculated on an average basis for the 1970-71 year) (9):

Sub A - Std. 10	R 18, 37 per child per annum
University Education	
Ordinary degree	R 1 384 per annum
B.Sc. (Pharmacy)	R 1 603 per annum

(b) Coloured

For the same year (1971-72) the expenditure on education for Coloured people was estimated as follows (10):

See Table A on Page 159

The unit costs calculated on the basis of the 1970-71 financial year were given as follows (11):

Primary School	R 83,89
High School	R113,29
Training College	R409,93
University	
Ordinary degree	R831,28
B.Sc. (Pharmacy)	R722,00

(c) Indian

For the same year expenditure on education for Indians was estimated as follows (12):

See Table B on Page 159

The unit costs calculated on the basis of the 1970-71 financial year were:

Primary School	unavailable
High School	unavailable
Technical Education	unavailable
University Education	
Ordinary degree	R785,46
B.Sc. (Pharmacy)	R945,46

6. Government Bursaries for Blacks

The Department of Bantu Education granted to African students or pupils in 1971 a total amount of R89 414 non-repayable and R78 670 repayable bursaries. These were given to the following groups.

TABLE A

Type of Education	Revenue Account	Loan Account	Total
General Education	R48 874 500	R5 660 700	R54 535 200
Technical Education	R 105 300	R 240 000	R 345 300
University Education	R 1 090 000	R 30 000	R 1 120 000
		Total	R56 000 500

TABLE B

Type of Education	Revenue Account	Loan Account	Total
General Education (Primary and Secondary)	R19 288 700	R2 765 200	R22 053 900
Technical and Vocational Education	R 1 093 000	R 90 000	R 1 183 000
University Education	R 2 611 000	R3 418 000	R 6 029 000
		Total	R29 265 900

- (i) 396 school pupils;
- (ii) 365 students at teacher-training institutions;
- (iii) 753 (653 loans) students at Universities;
- (iv) 14 others.

The Department of Coloured Affairs granted in the same year a total of R389 470 non-repayable and R540,00 repayable bursaries to Coloured students and pupils.

- (i) none to school pupils;
- (ii) 1 448 students at teacher-training institutions;
- (iii) 194 (3 loans) to University students.

The Department of Indian Affairs granted a total of R442 843 non-repayable and R150 repayable bursaries to Indian students and pupils in 1971.

These were given to the following groups:

- (i) 1 894 school pupils,
- (ii) 783 students at teacher-training institutions;
- (iii) 225 (1 loan) University students;
- (iv) 135 others.

7. Organisations concerned with education

ASSECA

The Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa has already been referred to in Chapter I.

In a statement on the work done by ASSECA to help in education for the African children, Mr L.B. Mehloimakulu, General Secretary of the organisation, informed the *World* (14.1.72) that ASSECA had:

established branches throughout the country to mobilise African people in self-help;

been instrumental in having the *Star's* summer school programme extended to help African matric students with expert tuition;

succeeded in getting a firm in the Eastern Cape to donate R15 000 to African education in 3 urban areas where it operates;

established a Trust Fund that has awarded 500 scholarships to deserving students;

instituted a campaign in Soweto to have more schools and classrooms built;

succeeded in getting the British Cultural Attaché to award overseas scholarships to African teachers, and to supply books and teaching aids to African schools.

ASSECA appealed at the beginning of the year to all authorities to put available accommodation at the disposal of African schools so that no child could be denied schooling because of lack of accommodation.

Indian Parents

In Natal, attempts to make parents' committees attached to Indian schools have greater say in the running of the schools culminated in a summit meeting of these committees in Durban in November. At this meeting the committees, under the leadership of Dr M.B. Naidoo, resolved to make immediate representations to the Department in an attempt to obtain official status and greater powers for these committees.

REFERENCES

1. Hansard 4, Col. 364, 9 Cols. 736-737.
2. *Ibid*, 3 Col. 251 and 288-289.
3. *Ibid*, 4, Cols. 361-362, 5 Cols. 415-416, 6 Cols. 494-495.
4. *Ibid*, 9 Cols. 710-711.
5. *Ibid*, 3, Col. 188, 8 Col. 642, 11 Cols. 908-909.
6. *Ibid*, 3 Cols. 290-291, 4 Col. 365, 11 Cols. 911-912.
7. *Ibid*, 14 Cols. 1040-1041.
8. *Ibid*, 14 Cols. 1014-1017.
9. *Ibid*, 7, Cols. 533 and 590.
10. *Ibid*, 13 Col. 933.
11. *Ibid*, 14 Col. 1001.
12. *Ibid*, 11 Col. 839.

Chapter Eleven

EDUCATION FOR BLACKS TEACHER TRAINING, VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL

1. TEACHER TRAINING

Because of the competition put up by industry through more attractive salaries and working conditions, more and more blacks who have trained and are training as teachers tend to switch over to industry. As a result, and also for other reasons, the turnover from teacher training colleges is not increasing as fast as it should to meet the ever-increasing demands made on the profession by an education-conscious society.

(a) Enrolment

Latest available enrolment figures are as follows:

African	8 789
Coloured	3 624
Indian	1 169

(b) Results

The number of teachers who qualified at the end of the 1971 exams are given below (1):

Africans

Lower Primary Teachers' Course	128
Higher Primary Teachers' Course	3 331
Junior Secondary Teachers' Course	169
Secondary Teachers' Diploma	1 113
U.E.D. (non graduate)	3
U.E.D. (graduate)	57
Arts and Crafts Teachers' Course	33
Home Crafts Teachers' Course	36
Trade instructors	8
	4 878

Coloured

Lower Primary Teachers' Course	720
Specialist course after LPTC	92
Higher Primary Teachers' Course	330
Primary Teachers' Diploma	18
Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma	13
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (non-graduate)	14
Adaptation classes Teachers' Diploma	6
Post-graduate degree in Education	4
Commercial Teachers' Course	2
Technical Teachers' Course	6
	1 205

Indian

Primary School (full-time)	256
Primary School (in-service)	6
Academic High School	24
Commercial subjects	10
Technical subjects	-
Remedial Education	5
Special Education	5
Arts	-
Physical Education	10
Home Economics	10
	323

2. TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION

Africans

Officials of the Department of Bantu Education have themselves revealed that commercial and technical education for Africans is sadly lacking.

There is a total of 5 schools in the country providing technical secondary school courses and 40 schools providing commercial courses. 66 students qualified in Technical Junior Certificate and 2 in Technical Senior Certificate in 1971. In the same year, 915 students qualified in the Commercial Junior Certificate and 159 in the Commercial Senior Certificate.

In addition to the technical and commercial schools mentioned above there are 18 trade schools where Africans may train as artisans. Enrolment in certain categories at these schools is as follows:

Welders	28
Electricians	194
Carpenters	618
Motor Mechanics	376
	1 216

Training of Africans in any trade is at the moment on a non-statutory basis in all the Bantustans. In the Transkei this is as a result of Section 37 (3) of the Transkei Constitution Act which invalidates the conditions prescribed by the Apprenticeship Act, 1955. The other Bantustans still have to pass special legislation to make the Apprenticeship Act conditions operative in their areas. For the time being they also operate on a non-statutory basis.

Meanwhile, though legally speaking, Africans can be trained as apprentices in any trade in the 'white areas' of the country, government policy is against such a practice.

All African artisans who have acquired skills in certain trades are required to practise their trades either in Bantustans or in 'Bantu' residential areas of what are prescribed as 'white areas'.

Facilities

Asked in Parliament whether there has been any increase in facilities

for the training of Africans in technical, trade, vocational and industrial occupations since 1970, the Minister of Bantu Education gave the following details (2):

Technical Senior Certificate has been introduced at the Umlazi Vocational School and at Edendale.

Regarding Trade and Vocational Training the following centres provided the listed facilities:

Umlazi	Facilities for concreting, bricklaying and plastering have been doubled and a crash course in welding has been introduced.
Amanzimtoti	Course in painting and glazing.
Edendale	Facilities for concreting, bricklaying and plastering have been doubled and a course in General Mechanics has been introduced.
Nongoma	Course in General Motor Mechanics.
Lovedale	Courses in General and Motor Mechanics and General Mechanics.
Polokwane (Pietersburg)	Facilities for carpentry, joinery and cabinetmaking, and concreting, bricklaying and plastering have been doubled.
Giyani	Courses in General and Motor Mechanics, panel beating and motor upholstery, and plumbing, drainlaying and sheet-metal work.
Fnyazwande (Sibasa)	Facilities for carpentry, joinery and cabinet-making and concreting, bricklaying and plastering have been doubled and a course in panel beating and motor upholstery has been introduced.
Welwitschia	Courses in carpentry, joinery and cabinet-making and concreting, bricklaying and plastering.
Rundu	Course in concreting, bricklaying and plastering.
Ongwediwa	Course in General Motor Mechanics; concreting, bricklaying and plastering, carpentry, joinery and cabinet-making; and plumbing, drainlaying and sheet metal work.
Mdantsane	Short courses for dressmakers have been introduced.

Regarding industrial training, ad hoc industrial schools for training of factory operators were registered in the case of 12 firms and actual Industrial Schools where crash courses are offered were registered at Babelegi and Sithebe with crash courses in welding, woodwork and polishing, bricklaying and plastering and sheet metal work.

Coloureds

Comprehensive information regarding technical and vocational education for Coloured people could not be obtained before publication.

Technical training for Coloured apprentices is offered in schools in Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg and Kimberley. This is in accordance with the Apprenticeship Act of 1944 as amended. Apprentices are prepared for examinations leading to the National Technical Certificate parts 1, 2 and 3. It was reported that 3 033 people attended departmental classes whilst 148 attended continuation classes.

Regarding National Technical Certificate examinations the following results were obtained:

	Enrolled	Passed
N.T.C.I	1 622	734
N.T.C.II	914	417
N.T.C. III	325	82

Courses leading towards Technical Junior and Technical Senior Certificates are offered at multilateral high schools and in the 1971 examinations, 93 students passed the Technical Junior and 12 the Technical Senior Certificates.

Indians

Technical and Commercial education courses for Indian students are offered at some departmental schools but mainly at the M.L. Sultan Technical College in Durban and Maritzburg and at the M.L. Sultan State Indian School in Stanger.

As far as could be ascertained the number of students registered in Junior and Senior technical Certificates for 1971 was 445 at the M.L. Sultan College and 44 at departmental schools whilst that of students

REFERENCES

1. Hansard 6, Cols. 510-511; 4 Cols. 365-366; 11 Cols. 911-912.
2. Hansard 7, Col. 578-580.

Chapter Twelve

EDUCATION FOR BLACKS

HIGHER EDUCATION

HIGHER EDUCATION for blacks in South Africa is offered at 5 universities which came into existence as a result of the Extension of University Education Act (No. 45 of 1959) to provide education for blacks along ethnic lines.

Originally Colleges of the University of South Africa, all these universities were granted 'autonomy' as from 1970 in terms of several Acts passed in 1969.

Thus we have:

The University of Fort Hare Act, No. 40 of 1969

The University of Zululand Act, No. 43 of 1969

The University of the North Act, No. 47 of 1969

The University of Durban-Westville Act, No. 49 of 1969

The University of the Western Cape Act, No. 50 of 1969

Growth pattern

A limited yardstick by which to measure the growth pattern of these Universities is to look at the intake figures over a period of 5 years, i.e. the number of students registered for the first time with each University since 1968 (1).

STUDENTS REGISTERED

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
University of Fort Hare	107	189	229	248	326
University of Zululand	126	176	293	250	280
University of the North	247	244	305	365	445
University of Durban-Westville	318	503	403	430	702
University of the Western Cape	268	325	403	381	450

STUDENTS ACTUALLY ENROLLED

	1970	1971	1972
University of Fort Hare	613	777	948
University of Zululand	599	701	838
University of the North	810	901	1 146
University of Durban-Westville	1 654	1 707	2 041
University of the Western Cape	936	975	1 219

At the beginning of 1972, the University of Durban-Westville was moved from the old site at Salisbury Island to its new site at Westville. Facilities at the new site are such that it can accommodate many more students than at the old site.

In the meantime the other universities are going on extensive building programmes to accommodate the growing demands placed on them by larger application lists. In addition the universities are adding new faculties to the existing list in order to be fully-fledged. At present, none of the universities offer courses in Medicine, Dentistry and Engineering. Some but not all offer courses in Agriculture and Pharmacy.

Where enrolment is limited at, or courses are not offered by a specific university to which a particular race group is assigned, the student concerned may, with the permission of the relevant Minister, study at a university otherwise set aside for white. In many cases this is granted to Coloureds and Indians for Medicine, Dentistry and Engineering. In very few cases this has been granted to Africans for Engineering and Dentistry.

The Natal Medical School, which is run as a faculty of the University of Natal offers the degrees M.B. and Ch.B. but not dentistry to blacks. This is the only university campus in the country where blacks still study side by side. At the beginning of 1972, enrolment figures at the Medical School were as follows (2):

	Africans	Indians	Coloured	Total
Preliminary year	30	26	4	60
1st year	33	33	10	76
2nd year	43	42	8	93
3rd year	16	38	7	61
4th year	19	44	8	71
5th year	22	29	1	52
6th year	18	33	3	54
Totals	181	245	41	467

Results

In 1972, the following number of degrees and diplomas was awarded to blacks at the various universities (3):

University	Degrees	Diploma
Fort Hare	112	53
Zululand	74	93
North	92	78
Durban-Westville, Western Cape and White Universities**		
(a) Coloureds	40	9
(b) Asians	189	40
(c) Africans	100	38

**Including the University of South Africa.

Teaching Staff

The following schedule is a breakdown of the teaching staff at the various universities (4):

See Table on Page 173

Criticism of educational system

More than the other institutions, the 'non-white' universities have been subject to the greatest criticism from black students studying under their wings. The major points around which the criticism revolves are the following:

that the universities, by virtue of their links with the Departments of Bantu, Indian and Coloured Education, are intended to 'educate' blacks for a subservient role in society;

	Professors		Senior Lecturers		Lecturers		Junior Lecturers		Total
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	
Fort Hare 1972 Calendar	2	28	2	33	9	29	4	1	108
North 1972 Latest information	5	26	3	33	21	33	6	-	127
Western Cape 1971/72 Calendar	-	17	1	24	3	26	-	-	70
Zululand 1971 Calendar	1	17	2	40	6	16	-	-	82
Westville 1971 Calendar	1	23	5	46	24	56	12	10	177
	9	111	12	176	63	160	21	11	563

too much control rests in the hands of whites even in institutions supposedly meant for blacks;

curricula for blacks needing education towards development, self-reliance and a re-discovery of identity cannot be faithfully drawn up on a white model by unsympathetic whites.

This strong resentment of 'racist education' was the direct cause of the May/June student revolts which rocked South Africa and led to the declaration of a virtual 'state of emergency' over certain parts of the country in June and July. The detailed account of what happened is given below.

May-June Students' Revolt

During the months of May and June, black students went on a protest which, in extent and scope, far outweighed any previous protest ever staged by black students on South African campuses.

The protest dates back to the graduation ceremony of the University of the North on 29 April, when Mr Onkgopotse Ramothibi Tiro delivered a talk on behalf of the 1972 graduands. Mr Tiro, a former SRC President at the University and, at that time, studying for the University Education Diploma, delivered a scathing attack on the educational system designed for blacks, relating his talk particularly to the University of the North.

In his speech Mr Tiro made the following points:

that what was needed was real education for all South Africans and not the compartmentalised 'education' for Coloureds, for 'Bantus' and for Indians;

that even in institutions set aside for blacks by the system, control still rested in white hands and blacks were not consulted regarding decisions in respect of curricula or even the medium of instruction; the Advisory Council to the university is not elected by parents but appointed by the system. In addition it is made up to a large extent of people with no University experience and who do not understand the system of 'Bantu' Education.

White students from other universities are given vacation jobs at the university in preference to poor black students from the same university.

Black parents were relegated to the back of the hall and even locked out whilst whites were seated in front on an occasion to mark achievement by black students.

To those who wholeheartedly support the policy of Apartheid I say: Do you think that the white minority can willingly commit political suicide by creating numerous states which might turn out to be hostile in future? We black graduates, by virtue of our age and academic standing, are being called upon to greater responsibilities in the liberation of our people. Our so-called leaders have become bolts of the same machine which is crushing us ... of what use will be your education if you can't help your country in her hour of need? If your education is not linked with the entire continent of Africa, it is meaningless ...

'Let the Lord be praised for the day shall come when all men shall be free to breathe the air of freedom and when that day shall come, no man, no matter how many tanks he has, will reverse the course of events ...'

The account of the events which followed this address by Mr Tiro has been assembled from press reports, from the SASO newsletter and from interviews with student leaders throughout the country. University authorities did not reply to requests for specific information and one put the condition that their account would be given only if it would be published unaltered. This condition was regarded by us as unrealistic.

Following Mr Tiro's address, which was given on 29 April, a staff meeting was called on Monday to discuss the address. It appears a deadlock was reached and the matter was referred to the Disciplinary Committee. That Wednesday, Mr Tiro was expelled and escorted out of campus.

Student reaction to the expulsion was quick. Mr Mokoena, the SRC President, on inquiry was told of the expulsion at about lunch time on Wednesday whereupon he and his SRC decided to call a mass meeting of the student body on the issue. That evening that student body decided to boycott all lectures until Mr Tiro was recalled. A resolution to this effect was delivered to the administration the following day by a procession of students. After delivering the resolution, the students continued with their sit-in whilst waiting for the administration's response.

That afternoon, the administration responded by bringing in buses and issuing students with 'declaration' forms. Those who wanted to stay on the campus were required to sign the declaration and resume orderly behaviour; the others would then have to board the buses and leave. The students ignored these. Later on in the day the University authorities cut off essential services like water etc. and closed the kitchen. The students

congregated in the hall till midnight, whereupon they went to their respective sleeping quarters.

The following day students continued their boycott until the afternoon when, having heard that the University was officially closed, they had to leave. It was stipulated that all of them would have to re-apply.

First phase of response from other campuses

The first University campus to express solidarity with the University of the North was the Western Cape. Here students decided to go on a symbolic boycott of lectures on Tuesday 9 May.

The Natal Medical School followed suit. At a meeting called on 10 May it was resolved by the student body to go on a 3-day lecture boycott in an attempt to express solidarity with the expelled students at Turfloop and also with their grievances in respect of racist education.

Shortly thereafter, at a meeting of the SASO National Executive held during the SASO National Formation School in Alice, discussions were held by the student leaders on the nature and content of the education system meant for blacks. These discussions culminated in the famous 'Alice Declaration' which sparked off the second phase of boycotts on campuses throughout the country. The declaration stated:

That this Formation School noting:

1. the series of expulsions from various black Universities/ Institutions;
2. the oppressive atmosphere in the black institutions of higher learning as demonstrated by the expulsion of the Turfloop student body;
3. that the 'wait and see' attitude, if adopted by other black institutions, will be a betrayal to the black man's struggle in this country;
4. that the black community is anxiously and eagerly waiting to learn and hear of the stand taken by black students on other campuses who invariably are subjected to the same atrocities and injustices suffered by the Turfloop students; and believing:
 - (a) that this cannot be viewed as an isolated incident;
 - (b) that black students have long suffered under oppression;
 - (c) that this can be escalated into a major confrontation with the authorities.

THEREFORE RESOLVES

that all black students force the institutions/universities to close down by boycotting lectures;

that the date when a simultaneous boycott of all classes be effected be on 1 June when it is expected that all Turfloop students will be returning to University.

Second phase of response

Whereas the first phase was purely an expression of solidarity with Turfloop, the second phase was a result of a combination of the Turfloop events and also some amount of soul-searching by students at large as to their attitudes to their own institutions in which manifestations of adverse control and tuition had been obvious for so long.

Soon after the Alice Declaration, Mr Temba Sono announced the Declaration through the press. The first university to respond was Fort Hare. Fort Hare students rather than heed the specific SASO call decided to call a mass meeting to consider several grievances they had. These were:

unjustifiable expulsion of students there (six students had by then been expelled since the beginning of the year);

the dictatorial attitude of the Rector towards students;

the rector's attempts to split the student body; and

police activities on the campus.

The students made a number of demands on their administration and resolved that they would stay away from lectures until their demands were met. This decision was taken at a meeting of 700 students shortly after the Alice meeting of student leaders. The students here stayed away for 8 days from lectures and the issue was ultimately resolved through the intercession of some black lecturers at the university who managed to forge a compromise between the students and the administration over the major issues. A commission of inquiry was promised by the administration and student representation in this was guaranteed.

In the meantime students at the University of Durban-Westville at a

meeting at the Vedic Hall in Durban on the 28 May decided by an overwhelming majority to go on protest until demands of black students throughout South Africa were met. The students elected an Action Committee to manage their affairs during the boycott period. A mass meeting of parents and students held at Orient Hall, Durban, elected a Parents Committee to handle negotiations between the students and the University authorities.

At the University of Zululand, M.L. Sultan Technical College, Springfield College of Education and the Transvaal College of Education, decisions were taken by the Student bodies to go on protest on the dates prescribed by SASO, i.e. from 1 June.

Meeting of SRC Presidents

On 31 May a meeting was called of all SRC Presidents by the University of Natal, Black Section (Natal Medical School). The meeting was held in Johannesburg and had representatives from all the major institutions of higher learning. The student leaders here decided to formulate a new strategy for protest. The goals of all the protesting campuses were synthesised into a single document 'Minimum Student Demands'. It was resolved that this would act as a guide for the future course of the protests and communication links amongst the various campuses were strengthened through the creation of a structureless alliance called the 'Council of SRC Presidents'. The only official of the Council was the Convenor. The meeting elected Mannie Jacobs of the Action Committee of the University of Durban-Westville as the Convenor.

The 'Minimum Demands' were in fact dealing with basic student issues like definition of education, control measures over students, student participation in University Government etc. It was an amalgamation of demands expressed by students at Bellville (Western Cape), Durban-Westville, Medical School, and Turfloop, and a few additional clauses.

Following the meeting of the Council of Presidents, the student revolt took a different turn. No longer were campuses individually oriented. In places like Durban and Johannesburg mass meetings of students irrespective of campus of origin were held.

Also discussed at the meeting was the Turfloop situation. Student leaders from Turfloop reported that a call had been made to all students to return to campus on 5 June and to see what further action to take once at campus. A number of students regarded their being sent home as merely 'an interruption of their boycott'.

A meeting held at the YWCA in Dube, Johannesburg, was addressed by all the SRC Presidents who had attended the Council meeting. Here students from Turfloop were told of events on other campuses and they in

turn reported their resolve to continue fighting for what they regarded as right.

On return to Turfloop, students discovered that 22 students had been refused permission to go back to the University. These were mainly SRC and SASO Local Committee members. A quickly prepared petition by the students said that they had noted with concern that several students had been excluded from the University. They demanded re-instatement of the students by 2.30 pm. failing which they would all leave. The Rector, Professor J.L. Boshoff, took the petition and said he had noted it and would investigate but before he could reply more than 500 students angrily left the campus, to be followed in dribs and drabs by others.

On his return to Durban, Mr Mannie Jacobs, Convenor of the Council of Presidents, addressed a large gathering of some 4 000 students at the Natal Medical School. Here the 'Minimum Demands' were adopted as a working document by the students who came from all the Natal black campuses.

Following the return of the Turfloop students to the Rand area and also the arrival of students from other campuses in their area, a large parent-student mass meeting was held in Johannesburg. Here a Parents' Committee was elected and sent to Professor Boshoff to negotiate with him on the basis of the student demands. Professor Boshoff was not responsive to these representations.

In the meantime SASO also sent a delegation to Professor Boshoff to place before him representations on behalf of the students. The only response was a promise by him to place SASO's memorandum before a Senate meeting. Later on SASO was invited by the Commission set up to look into the causes of the revolt to give evidence by way of a memorandum.

In the meantime a deadlock was nearly reached between the parents and student leaders at Durban-Westville. The parents, eager to bring the boycott to a close, called upon students to compromise on their stand and go back to lectures on the grounds that agreement had been reached with the Rector. After a period of accusation and counter-accusations the students decided to go it alone irrespective of what the parents were saying. Concern was expressed by the students that the 'so-called' agreement between parents and rector was a sellout manoeuvred with the full knowledge of the rector. On the other hand the parents were of the opinion that the students should rather walk back to the campus 'with their heads high' after a tactical victory than wait for eventual defeat by the system.

After this, the course of the black student revolts was largely affected by the decision by white student campuses to join the bandwagon. There

was a drop on further publicity on the black student activity whilst newspapers concentrated on the protests by white campuses.

On 2 June police charged a number of white students protesting outside St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town. The publicity showered around the incident virtually drowned the black student revolt. The matter was discussed in Parliament and shortly thereafter a ban was placed on meetings in all areas where institutions for higher learning were situated. The ban was to operate till 8 June.

Results of the revolt

Although minor concessions were made by the universities, the major result of the boycotts was a determination by some students to leave the campuses for good and to strive to create for themselves a better educational environment within which to study free of restrictions by the system. Hence at the SASO Conference in July a defiant declaration called the 'Black Students' Manifesto' was drawn up. Later on in the year in December it was followed by the drawing up of elaborate plans for a 'Free University', a correspondence and tutorship system where students will feel free to make additions to the curricula, calculated to develop a proper social conscience and a commitment to the larger goals of the black people in South Africa.

REFERENCES

1. Information condensed from several different columns of Hansard and also from the various universities.
2. Information supplied by SASO.
3. Figures supplied by the Department of Bantu Education and also from Hansard.
4. Figures partly from SASO Newsletter Vol. 2, No. 1 and from some universities.

Chapter Thirteen

YOUTH AND STUDENT ORGANISATIONS

High School Youth and Student Organisations

Natal Youth Organisation (NYO)

On the 19 and 20 August, 1972, a youth leadership conference was held at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre in Pietermaritzburg, sponsored by the Black Community Programmes. At this conference there were youth clubs mainly from Durban and Pietermaritzburg. After general and group discussions, it was felt that there was a need for the unity of youth clubs in Natal.

Their constitution spells their aims and objects as follows:

to promote contact and unity among all the youth of Natal;

to heighten the sense of awareness and involvement of the youth in the political, social and economic development of their community;

to project positively the African culture through literature, art, music, poetry, drama etc.;

to represent the youth on all issues that affect them in their community.

Transvaal Youth Organisation (TRYO)

This organisation was formed on the 7 and 8 October, 1972, at a conference held at St. Ansgar's in Roodepoort. It was organised in accordance with the wishes of the youth groups and also in pursuit of SASO and Black Community Programmes' plans regarding the field of youth. The purpose of this conference was to bring together the leadership from the various youth groups operating on the Reef. At the end of this conference a need was felt to unite and co-ordinate all youth activities, hence the formation of TRYO.

South African Student Movement (SASM)

SASM was founded by students of the Soweto high schools. It was first named the African Student Movement but was later changed with the aim of making it an all-black high schools' students' movement. The main aim of SASM is to co-ordinate activities of high school students.

Their other main areas of operation are their informative programmes concerning injustice in society and in schools and their campaign to preach black consciousness. SASM is an affiliate of TRYO.

Black Youth Cultural Association (BYCA)

BYCA was formed early in 1972. The main aim of this association is to combine all youth movements into a union. So far BYCA has done little towards the implementation of its aims. It is also one of the founder-members of TRYO. It has succeeded in contacting some cultural associations on the Reef.

League of African Youth (LAY)

This organisation was formed in July 1972 at Umtata. It is open to all African youth and is intended to be a National Youth Movement. From the 8 to the 10 December, 1972, LAY had a successful conference at St. Bede's College at Umtata, where their first executive was chosen.

Their constitution lists their objectives as follows:

to spell out the most essential elements in an African education and to prepare and guide the youth to this goal;

to create a spirit of fraternity among the African youth and to establish an extensive co-operation between the youth and the rest of the community;

to combat illiteracy and undertake projects on community development.

Junior African Students' Congress (JASCO)

This congress was formed at Inanda Seminary during May and June 1971.

Its aims were inter alia:

to inculcate Black Consciousness into the students;

to encourage students to learn more even in the face of obstacles and to be more aware of current events.

Before this congress was introduced to other High Schools, it was banned by the principal, Mr R. Aylard, thus breaking the initiative of black students in their efforts to relate positively to the broader community. Some students unsuccessfully tried to revive the broken morale at Inanda over this issue, but were thwarted by the overbearing fear of expulsion amongst students.

Society for African Development (SAD)

SAD was also founded by high school students in Soweto. Unlike SASM, SAD concerns itself with the development of social awareness among the African youth and the spreading of the message of black consciousness. This they do by means of organising symposia, group discussions and 'conscientisation' picnics.

SAD is also a founder-member of TRYO.

Local Students Associations

Pretoria Students' Association

This Association was formed in mid-1972 by Pretoria students (university and high school). It could only take ground after the approval of their constitution by the Pretoria City Council, which in turn provides accommodation, facilities and funds. The paramount aim of the association is to promote togetherness and to co-ordinate students' activities and also organise debates, symposia etc.

Springs Students' Association

This was also formed by local university and high school students. Their constitution had to be approved by the Springs City Council for the provision of funds, accommodation and facilities by the said council. The major aim here too is to organise local students into a unit. Their other undertakings are group discussions, indoor-games, picnics, symposia etc.

Sharpeville Students' Association (S.S.A.)

This Association was formed late in 1972 by local students. Its membership is open to all Sharpeville students, and other persons who identify themselves with the aims and objectives of the association.

Their constitution spells out their aims and objectives as follows:

to promote a spirit of togetherness and brotherhood amongst students of Sharpeville;

to promote healthy co-existence and co-operation between students and parents by way of joint meetings to discuss common problems;

to broaden the students' perspective of, and outlook to life, by way of: educative tours, debates, film shows and symposia;

to organise school lessons during winter vacations;

to co-operate with Sharpeville Cultural and Health Club in their projects as outlined in their constitution;

to contact local bodies such as the U.B.C. with a view to establishing relations between such bodies and S.S.A.

Religious Youth Groups

The Light Bearers

This group was founded and is based in Soweto. This group aims at promoting Black Theology and combating excessive drinking in the black community.

Youth Alive

This group is mainly operative on the Reef. It is a strongly religious association based on scriptural principles. Its main areas of operation, inter alia, are bible discussions and preaching the teaching of scripture.

University Student Groups

South African Students' Organisation (SASO)

The history of SASO has already been given in Chapter 2. SASO is a federation of Students' Representative Councils and has branches in cities all over the country. The highest policy-making body for the organisation is the General Students' Council. It meets once a year during the winter vacation. It is composed of delegates from different centres and branches.

Apart from the General Students' Council, SASO has an executive council which is made up of the President, Vice President, Secretary-General, Permanent Organiser, Publications Director, SRC Presidents and Branch chairmen of affiliated centres (campuses) and branches.

The current executive committee, which is in charge of the day-to-day running of SASO affairs, is composed of the following: President - Leteane Modisane, a former Fort Hare student; Vice President - Henry Isaacs, a student at the University of the Western Cape; Secretary-General - Nyameko Pityana, a Unisa student; Permanent Organiser -

Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu, a Unisa student; and Publications Director - Ben J. Langa, a former Fort Hare student.

Their constitution spells their aims and objectives as follows:

to promote contact, practical co-operation, mutual understanding and unity among all black students in South Africa;

to represent the interests of students on all issues that affect them in their academic and community situation;

to heighten their sense of awareness and encourage them to become involved in the political, economic and social development of the black people;

to project at all times the black consciousness image culturally, socially and educationally;

to become a platform for expression of black opinion and represent these internationally.

Student Benefits

Apart from other activities SASO provides the following benefits to students.

Leadership Training: SASO offers regular leadership training programmes to students. These are designed to make students efficient not only in running their own committees but also for future participation in creative black community programmes.

Vacation Employment: For the winter and summer vacations provision is made for students to obtain opportunities for employment in situations that enable students to live and work amongst workers and therefore be able to study the conditions and find their relevance to the situation or to use specialised skills in relevant situations. For really needy students remunerative employment is also arranged.

Bursaries and Scholarships: SASO distributes to all centres and branches information on possible sources of bursaries and scholarships; SASO has also recommending powers to a few scholarships.

A SASO Bursary Fund has been established and will be available to students by mid-1973, depending on how much money will be raised by the executive, centres and branches.

Dialogue: SASO offers black students the opportunity to meet and share experiences and ideas. This happens at conference and seminars which are open to all black students.

University Christian Movement (UCM)

History

Although the U.C. M. was in essence a multi-racial organisation at the beginning, it has been included here because towards its dying stage it had become a predominantly black organisation and to some extent affected the trend of events on the campuses. The following information is condensed from the report given at its dissolution conference by the General Secretary, Chris Mokoditsoa.

Late in 1966 at Bishop's Court in Cape Town, Archbishop Selby-Taylor called a meeting of church leaders to found a new student movement which would fill the gap created by the demise of the multi-racial Students' Christian Association. The latter had ceased to be multi-racial and the churches' emphasis was on ecumenism and multi-racialism.

A unique type of constitution drafted by church leaders was endorsed by student representatives. It was unique in the sense that it built into its structures not only students, but also academic staff, post-graduates and founder churches (Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic, Anglican and Congregational).

Although the UCM got off to a slow start on the campuses, at Rhodes it became very active. During 1967 - 1968 events unplanned-for radically affected the future of the UCM. The founding churches did not give much support on the campuses. Instead of denominational societies on campuses phasing into the UCM to bear a united, ecumenical christian witness, these societies continued unchanged. On the other hand, the SCA remained a comfortable home for the theological conservatives. At this stage NUSAS was banned on all black state-controlled campuses, thereby isolating the black student from the white student.

It was not surprising, therefore, to find that the constituency at the 1968 UCM Conference at Stutterheim was very different from the one at Grahamstown the previous year. The majority of those who came to this Conference were those whose ties with their particular denominations

were weakening and who were therefore far less conservative theologically.

It was at this conference that a black caucus was formed out of which grew SASO, the spearhead of Black Consciousness. A confrontation between black and white students took place leading to a shift in focus from intercommunion as an issue to more social and political issues. This marked the UCM as a radical student movement. The result of this shift was that it frightened many white members and further loosened the ties with the founding churches.

At the Conference at Stanger, 1969, the sharpness of this confrontation between black and white increased and in 1970 at Roodepoort the move was in the direction of polarisation. Projects such as Black Theology and literacy were by their nature not to allow for much white involvement.

By the time of the Eston Conference in 1971 the UCM had in effect become a federation of projects. On the white students' side emerged the Women's Liberation and the White Consciousness projects, and on the black student side, Black Theology and literacy projects, all of which were independent. This required that the old executive be converted into a co-ordinating committee to inter-relate the four independent projects.

The UCM officials were raided on several occasions and the Security Branch confiscated their documents. At rapid intervals, Mr Justice Moloto, formerly President for two years and General Secretary for two months; Dr Basil Moore, Acting General Secretary and first President; and thereafter Mr Sabelo Ntwasa, who appeared on the scene for a year as Black Theology Director, were within a six months period, banned and restricted under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Another happening was the appointment of a Parliamentary Select Commission to look into the affairs of the UCM amongst other organisations.

Projects

Black Theology: This project concerned itself mainly with the implementation of the organisation's resolutions which mandated the Director to organise regional seminars and produce publications. This was done; various seminars were held and a publication *Essays on Black Theology* (since banned), was published. These were mainly due to the tireless efforts of Mr Sabelo Ntwasa who was subsequently banned after his return to the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice to complete his training.

Mr Mokgethi Motlhabi took over as acting Director and editor of the *Essays on Black Theology*. At the 1972 UCM Conference, Mokgethi was

mandated to call a national conference in November where black clergy, laity and students would hammer out the structure of Black Theology. However, this could not be held and was postponed to February, 1973.

Literacy: This project was set up at the 1970 Conference in Roodepoort. During that year, a literacy campaign was run at Zululand and lasted until mid-1971. Since then there has been intensive training of instructor/co-ordinators which revolved much around investigations, compilation of emotive words and words which have existential meaning to given communities. However, literacy classes could not be started due to the lack of accommodation and manpower. Only one motivation day was held in Springs on 9 May, 1972.

After dissolution, the UCM Committee appointed in terms of resolution 2/72 had discussions with the SASO Executive. These resulted in the project being transferred in its entirety to SASO.

Dissolution of the U.C.M.

The UCM was formally dissolved by its president in terms of Resolution 12/72, in accordance with Article XII of the UCM constitution, which requires ninety days' notice of a proposal to dissolve. The motion was drawn by the executive and sent to all members of the Council for decision at their 'Black 72' and 'Alternatives 72' Conferences which were held from the 10 to 16 July, at St. Ansgar's and Wilgerspruit respectively.

At this Conference it was unanimously resolved to dissolve UCM for the following reasons:

that the UCM itself had over the past few years advocated the need for black-white polarisation;

that the Methodist and Presbyterian churches had finally withdrawn their support from the UCM without giving their reasons fully and clearly to the UCM in spite of the avenues that have existed for that;

that the UCM has had to operate against increasing pressure from the government and power structures in the universities.

REFERENCES

1. Information condensed from several different columns of Hansard and also from the various Universities.
2. Information supplied by SASO.
3. Figures supplied by the Department of Bantu Education and also from Hansard.
4. Figures partly from SASO Newsletter Vol. 2, No. 1 and from some Universities.

Chapter Fourteen

SPORT AND RECREATION

Background

NON-RACIAL SPORT in South Africa is non-existent and whatever non-racialism there is, is confined to either black or white. On the 17 September, 1970, the black-controlled non-racial sports organisations met at the Himalaya Hotel, Durban, to try and find effective and meaningful ways of promoting non-racial sport in this country. This was on the initiative of the South African Soccer Federation who had found their plans and schemes towards promotion of non-racialism thwarted by intervention from the Group Areas Staff of the S.A.P. In fact certain games had already been cancelled at various sports stadia.

The following were represented at this meeting:

- South African Soccer Federation;
- South African Amateur Swimming Federation;
- South African Amateur Athletic and Cycling Board of Control;
- South African Amateur Weightlifting and Bodybuilding Federation;
- South African Table Tennis Board;
- Southern Africa Lawn Tennis Union;
- S.A. Women's Hockey Union;
- S.A. Senior Schools Sports Association.

The organisation formed there was called 'The South African National Non-Racial Sports Organisation (SASPO). This organisation has pro-

duced a booklet, 'Problems Confronting our Sport'. One of the problems they deal with extensively is sponsorship. The pamphlet states that sponsors are unwilling to promote non-racial sport. It makes mention of the fact that racial sport (white) gets 20 times more sponsorship than black sport. The pamphlet states that SASPO decries this because, it maintains, these business houses are made financially viable by blacks who contribute more in so many ways.

It further argues that the only black sports that enjoy any particular favour are racial organisations like 'Bantu' football, tennis and cricket, 'Coloured' and 'Bantu' rugby and other 'Indian' codes. The author maintains that even with these 'non-white' racial organisations sponsorship is not extensive or satisfactory.

International Affiliation

At the SASPO Conference, all sporting organisations were urged to seek international recognition from their respective world governing bodies. The swimming federation has managed to 'persuade' FINA to send a fact-finding commission some time in 1973. The tennis fraternity has made attempts to gain international recognition, and they have put up a spirited battle against the decision of the Davis Cup Nations in allowing South Africa to participate. It is reported that after the secret Federation Cup 'trials' at KwaThema, Springs, SALTU sent in evidence to prove the mala fide intentions of the white body.

On the soccer field, there is ample evidence of Federation pressurising FIFA, the world body, to take a stand on the side of non-racial soccer, and that FIFA should recognise SASF and not FASA (Football Association of South Africa) as the only body that is promoting non-racialism in soccer and therefore the legitimate soccer body.

SASPO takes a very dim view of multi-national tournaments because they feel multi-national tournaments are meant to deceive the governing bodies and the outside world that all things are fine in South Africa. They decry mixed trials at any level except if they start at club level and regard them as a farce aimed at international consumption.

Facilities

A major problem facing black sport is lack of proper facilities. The non-racial organisation is aware of a total neglect for black sport and maintains that there is no truth in the pronouncements of the then Minister of Sport, Frank Waring, or the Prime Minister, John Vorster, about the existence of 'equal' facilities for all.

It cites the example of black golfers who do not have a single championship-sized course anywhere in the country. Black golfers depend on the

'charity handed out to our golfers' by white golf clubs for their annual events. Soccer, tennis, rugby, cricket and a host of other codes suffer the same fate. Police are known to have put pressure on municipalities to close down grounds, and whatever facilities there are, are subject to police intervention and interference by municipalities.

Victimisation of officers of non-racial sports bodies

Quote from Memorandum to the IOC: 'In order to silence and thwart non-racial bodies, officers and representatives of these bodies are being regularly victimised by the authorities'.

Examples

Mr George Singh - Attorney-at-law and veteran sports administrator, founder and secretary of the South African Soccer Federation, was banned in 1965 for five years. He was barred from attending any gathering where there were more than two persons, confined to Durban and had his passport withdrawn. He couldn't make any press statements - therefore he was silenced.

Mr Norman Middleton - president of SASF was convicted and fined for quoting Mr George Singh. Recently his passport arrived two months after he was due to leave for overseas.

Mr M.N. Pather - President of the South African Amateur Swimming Federation, was dismissed from his place of employment in June, 1972. He had just published his Federation's application for membership to FINA.

Officials of non-racial bodies throughout South Africa are being regularly visited and quizzed by members of the Security Branch.

Passports - Sportsmen of non-racial organisations have been refused passports time and again. The non-racial South African Table Tennis Board, which is a member of the International Table Tennis Board, has repeatedly been refused passports for its players and officials. Several people have suffered a similar fate even for private visits.

Conclusion

In their list of frustrations the non-racial organisation cites the lack of publicity as a major drawback. It says the white-controlled news-media and the radio are not prepared to make any substantial coverage, and if the radio makes any commentary it is usually African soccer and boxing.

One other thorny issue is the separation of black groups. They maintain that it is bad enough for sportsmen to be split into black and white groups, but becomes a little absurd separating black from black. They claim that in an attempt to keep an eye on them, the authorities send in police to their sports meetings. But in spite of all this the non-racial organisation believes it is going to win in the end.

SOUTH AFRICAN SOCCER FEDERATION

Background

The South African Soccer Federation caters for both professional and amateur soccer. In 1951 the SASF was launched though the first seeds were sown in 1948 by Mr A.J. Albertyn. Several meetings were held between then and 1951 and the first officials of the Federation were:

President	S.L. Singh
Vice-President	Adv. A. Christopher E.G. Rooks and R. Ngcobo
Hon. Secretary	George Singh
Hon. Treasurer	A. Harry Naidoo

The initial pattern was inter-race matches comprising Indians, Africans and Coloureds. As the years went on inter-race sport lost favour and in 1962 the structure of the Federation changed. From racially composed units it changed to non-racial provincial affiliations and the Head Office was in Cape Town. The Cape Town office experienced difficulties arising from 'home and away' system of play and the fact that professionalism was making steady progress thus affecting amateur soccer. Another problem was the non-availability of grounds to non-racial bodies in the Transvaal.

In 1964 Headquarters went to Durban and Norman Middleton was elected President - and has been president to date. The last tournament to be staged in Cape Town was in 1968 when there was a triple-tie for the Kajee Cup. This year the Kajee Cup tournament was held in Johannesburg.

Life members of the Federation are S.L. Singh, George Singh, E.G. Rooks, R.A.V. Ngcobo, H.C. Maggot and Dan Twala. The patron-in-chief is Chief Gatsha M. Buthelezi.

Structure and Composition

The SASF is made up of 8 provincial units that control their own district associations. The Federation meets bi-ennially, the Conference taking place two days before the start of the Kaje Cup tournament. Tournaments are held from centre to centre and at each meeting an affiliated unit is allowed two delegates.

Federation is administered by a Cabinet consisting of :

President	Norman Middleton
Vice President	R.K. Naidoo
Secretary	Dharam Ramlall
Ass. Secretary	A. Hulley
Treasurer	S.K. Chetty

and a delegate from each of the 8 affiliated units, a member of the Referees Association and a representative of the professional league.

*Affiliated Units**(a) Amateur*

See Table on Page 195

(b) Professional

To the professional league is affiliated at the moment 9 teams, but there is provision for three more teams. Teams presently affiliated are:

Glenville

(League and Cup Champions) Cape Town

Cape Town Spurs

Cape Town

Maritzburg City

Pietermaritzburg

Lincoln City

Pietermaritzburg

Aces United

Durban

Provincial Unit	Centre	Associations	Teams	Grounds
W. Province Soccer Board	Cape Town	10	1 133	62
E. Province Soccer Board	Port Elizabeth	2	100	5
Border Soccer Board	East London	2	29	2
Tvl. Soccer Board	Johannesburg	6	610	27
Griqualand West Soccer Union	Kimberley	1 Senior 1 Junior	52 Senior 50 Junior	3
Griqualand East Soccer Board	Kokstad	2	24	2
Northern Natal Soccer Board	Dundee	8	135	11
Southern Natal Soccer Board	Durban	12	313	25

Berea United	Durban
Manning Rangers	Durban
Verulam Suburbs	Verulam
Bluebells United	Johannesburg.

These teams play matches at Curries Fountain (Durban), Northdale Stadium (Pietermaritzburg) and Athlone Stadium (Cape Town). Due to lack of enclosed grounds in the Transvaal teams like Bluebells United have had to incur heavy financial losses as a result of playing almost all their matches away from home. Of late they have been using the Queenspark grounds in Vrededorp. Should suitable enclosed ground be found there will be inclusion of two more teams from the Transvaal. Cape Town United has been included for the 1973 season.

SASF Professional League runs the league and the Mainstay Cup tournament. There is also the pre-season Champion of Champions series.

Policy

The SASF has a non-racial stand, which means that teams and clubs are open to anybody irrespective of race or colour, and this obtains at all levels. Their stand on teams from South Africa is that they must be chosen on merit, and they reject multi-national tournaments because they maintain these are mere tokens and are geared towards deceiving the international world. SASF believes that FASA (Football Association of S.A.) is a farce, it bars Africans from most FASA - controlled grounds even as spectators, and that the 'Bantu' Association (South African Bantu Football Association) represents a minority of Africans as most Africans do not subscribe to this separation. 'Bantu' officials do not control soccer but are mere officials and it is the white body that controls almost all facets of 'Bantu' soccer.

In a memorandum accompanying application for membership to FIFA, they laid down their non-racial stand and even pointed out that FASA is not non-racial, citing the example of Smiley Moosa (alias Arthur Williams) who played for Berea Park, but was later discovered to be black and therefore not qualified for white soccer.

To date the only international links that exist are local players going overseas for trials with other teams in the English, Scottish or American Leagues.

SOUTH AFRICAN AMATEUR SWIMMING FEDERATION

Background

Born on the 6 April, 1966, and was termed South African Amateur Swimming Federation. Preliminary meetings were held in Cape Town and on the 3 January, 1965, representatives from the Eastern Province, Griqualand West, Western Cape, and Natal, agreed to start working towards realising this goal of amalgamation. Then in April 1966 at a meeting in Asherville, at the David Landau Community Centre, the goal was realised and Mr A.W. Paulse was elected president. Mr Eric Barlow was elected Secretary and Messrs. A.L. van Breda and R. Abrahams filled the posts of treasurer and records-clerk respectively. In 1969 headquarters were taken to Natal (Durban) and Morgan Naidoo was elected President.

Structure and Composition

There are 5 units viz.:

Eastern Cape Amateur Swimming Association, Griqualand West Amateur Swimming Union, Amateur Swimming Union of Natal, Transvaal Amateur Swimming Union, Western Cape Amateur Swimming Association and two associate affiliates in the South African Senior Schools Sports Association and the South African Primary School Sports Association. The President of the federation is Mr Morgan Naidoo.

Policy

According to the Constitution, membership is non-racial and 'any person, irrespective of race, creed or colour may join and enjoy full benefits of membership'. Federation has no ties with the all-white South African Amateur Swimming Union. SAASF has applied to FINA for recognition and a FINA commission is coming out in 1973 to investigate the position. At present SAASF is contemplating affiliation to CANA (African Amateur Swimming Confederation), and already there has been favourable response from the Continental body.

This federation believes in non-racial selection of teams and maintains that teams coming into this country should play against non-racial teams. It states that the 'non-whites' in the so-called S.A. Non-White Olympic Committee serve there because they are officials of a few racially composed sports bodies, and accept subservience.

SOUTHERN AFRICA LAWN TENNIS UNION

Background

The Southern Africa Lawn Tennis Union is one of two national tennis organisations in the black world, the other being the South African National Lawn Tennis Union, which is mainly an African tennis body, and which is affiliated to the South African Lawn Tennis Union, the white body. Southern Africa is non-racial, and plans to have it formed were hatched in 1957, and only came to fruition in 1963 when the first tournament was held in Cape Town. David Samaai was crowned men's singles champion and Dhiraj runner-up. Samaai has won this trophy 4 times and Dhiraj 3 times.

Administration and Affiliates

The highest decision-making body is the Council, made up of Cabinet and a member each from the affiliated units. The president of the Union is Mr M.K. Naidoo.

Affiliates

Border Tennis Union
 Boland Lawn Tennis Union
 Eastern Province Tennis Board
 Griqualand West Tennis Union
 Northern Natal Lawn Tennis Union
 Northern Transvaal Lawn Tennis Union
 Southern Natal Lawn Tennis Union
 Southern Transvaal Lawn Tennis Union
 South Western Transvaal Lawn Tennis Union
 Western Province Lawn Tennis Association
 Western Transvaal Lawn Tennis Union

Activities

Application to ILTF for membership was first lodged in 1969, and the battle is still raging. The Secretary of the ILTF, Basil Reay, came to South Africa to see things for himself. To the Southern Africa L.T.U. 'mixed trials' are a farce, because, they maintain, these are meant to appease international demands and ease pressure on the white South African L.T. Union. The trials held in Springs were not welcome because of the inadequacy of facilities for blacks. Southern Africa runs a number of tournaments like the Natal Winter Open, the Border Championships,

Eastern Province and Western Province Championships. Their premier tourney is the South African Championship, held in rotation from centre to centre. Promising youngsters are given added incentive by being offered coaching by top class players and also by being sent overseas for experience. The present champion, Alwyn Solomon, is an example.

Like all non-racial bodies, funds are hard to come by.

SOUTH AFRICAN GOLF ASSOCIATION

Composition and Affiliation

The National body controlling golf is the South African Golf Association. Its Executive is composed of: President - Mr Louis Nelson; Secretary - Mr S. Maduramuthoo; Treasurer - Mr Lionel Thuys, and 6 committee members.

There are 6 units affiliated to SAGA and they are: Transvaal Non-European Golf Association; Western Province Golf Association; Griqualand; Border; Orange Free State; Natal Golf Association.

Tournaments

The South African Golf Association runs the South African Open which incorporates the Gary Player Classic. This is a professional-amateur event. Members of the Durban Golf Club are banned from playing in this tournament. The reason is understood to be the fact that the Durban Golf Club is not affiliated to the South African Golf Association which is seeking affiliation to the white body.

At provincial level there are several tournaments, e.g.: the Natal Open. Again members of the Durban Golf Club are barred from participating in this tournament for the same reason as with the National body. The President of the Natal body is also president of the National body. Other tournaments are the Western Province Open, the Transvaal Open, the Orange Free State Open, and the Griqualand Open.

All these tournaments are run by amateur bodies. Professional tournaments presently are: Coca-Cola 750 - organised by the Natal Professional Golfers' Association; Louis Luyt Classic - organised by the Transvaal Professional Golfers' Association; Oris Watch Stroke Play - organised by the Transvaal Professional Golfers' Association.

Activities

The national body (amateur) is trying to seek affiliation to the white

body and this has led the Durban Golf Club to sever all relationships with the South African Golf Association. It is further understood that the national president has been suspended through a Supreme Court order; the suspension is from the Durban Golf Club.

The Durban Golf Club advised its professionals to form a Professional Golfers Association. This body was called the Natal Professional Golfers Association. In the Transvaal, a similar body was formed, out of which two bodies arose, the other being the South African Professional Golf Players Association. The national president of this body is Martin Jacobs. This group is still in the process of preparing a constitution.

The Transvaal Union controls 36 clubs and about 524 players. They staged the Transvaal Open at Ohenimuri Country Club, and Ellerines sponsored the tournament. Other fixtures are Golfers Memorial, Transvaal Fourball Betterball, 'The World' Club event, Viking-Stableford and the Transvaal Invitation.

Facilities

There are very few championship-sized courses for blacks, and even those that exist are in bad shape. There are only two 18-hole courses, in Cape Town and Umlazi. The Durban Golf Club runs a much better course though it plays only 9 holes.

Most championships are played on white courses though white clubs are not often happy to have blacks use some of their facilities.

Chapter Fifteen

ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT

Drama

THERE HAS BEEN a decided escalation of black theatre in this country. Theatre groups were moving away from the 'traditional' Shakespeare theatre that has been holding stage all through the years. From theatre that spoke of their ills and tribulations there evolved theatre that spoke to black people about ways and means that could be employed to bring change to their situation. From theatre of hopeless murmurs it became theatre of determination - theatre that taught self-reliance and brought about a new awareness.

Because of the new turn of events some theatre groups broke away completely from white management and patronage. Some groups like TECON even barred whites from attending their shows. On the Reef there was a big storm when *Black and Blue* was shown to white audiences first - the reason for the grumble being that this production was totally irrelevant and misplaced for a white audience. Black drama groups are catching on to the philosophy of Black Consciousness and Black Solidarity. This is the reason for productions like *Requiem for Brother X*, *The Coat* and others in similar vein. Most drama groups are shedding the mantle of being mere entertainment and are now becoming agents of change. It has now become common to refer to black theatre as Theatre of Liberation.

South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU)

Background

The South African Black Theatre Union was formed in Durban on the 9 July, 1972, at the conclusion of the 2nd TECON Drama Festival. Its formation was a culmination of the realisation that black theatre needs to be organised and that black creativity and endeavour must be channelled towards the goals of the Black struggle. One of their aims is to implement workshop projects in the major centres of the country in the near future with a view to a greater involvement with the black community at large.

Structure and Composition

The General Council is the highest decision-making organ of SABTU, and it is made up of two delegates from each theatre group and members of the National Executive. The present executive is:

President	Strini Moodley
Vice President	John Kani
Secretary	Monde Mbikwana
Treasurer	Errol Theron
Director	Saths Cooper
Add. Member	Aubrey Lamour

Affiliated groups at present are:

Dramsoc (Western Cape), Dramsoc (Fort Hare), Theatre Council of Natal, Community of St. Stephens, Sowai, Luyolo, Chatsworth Arts and Theatre Organisation, Shah Theatre, Serpent Players, Oceanview, Nakasa.

Activities and Future Plans

The drama festival in Cape Town from 11-15 December, 1972, was the first under SABTU. Running concurrently with the festival was a planning conference. At this meeting, a programme for 1973 was put forward. In July there will be a conference and festival in Cape Town, the theme of which is 'Black Soul Search'. Again in December another

festival is scheduled for Durban and the theme is 'Theatre to the People'. Several regional workshops and arts weeks are scheduled to take place in the various regions simultaneously.

Problems

SABTU's progress is being checked by lack of finances. According to their officials, certain groups are not meeting their financial obligations and are making things difficult for the organisation. That groups are failing to meet their targets is seen as evidence of the amount of exploitation that they have experienced over the years.

Another problem faced by SABTU is the lack of suitable venues for drama festivals because there are no proper theatres in black circles.

Activities of some SABTU Affiliates

(a) *TECON*

A founder member of SABTU, based in Natal and very instrumental in the formation of SABTU. TECON put on *Requiem for Bro X* during their festival in July and during the national drama festival in Cape Town in December. Around Durban circles they have put up a pre-view of *Black on White* which they hope to show in the new year. Apart from drama, they concern themselves with other shows like a Black Music Disco which ran for two days. TECON is presently contemplating a major thrust in theatre circles around Natal and hope to bring about greater public involvement in theatre development.

(b) *Dramsoc (University of the Western Cape)*

Dramsoc is an amateur group from the University of the Western Cape. They are not students of drama, but are very enthusiastic in their approach. They took part in the Drama Festival organised by SABTU in December. Adam Small was the author of the play titled *Kanna hy kô hystoe*.

(c) *Serpent Players*

A drama group from New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. They took

part in the national festival in Cape Town, with their presentation of *The Coat* Serpent Players are convinced that meaningful theatre can only be based on dialogue between spectators and actors in a subject of immediate concern'. At Fort Hare they presented *The Just*. At present their two leading actors, Winston Ntshona and John Kani, are busy on the presentation *Sizwe Banzi is Dead*.

MDALI

Mdali is short for Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute and is based in Johannesburg. It was formed on the 11 May, 1972, at the DOCC in Orlando. Present at this meeting were:

The Seapearls Dramatic Society
 Aquarius Drama Group
 Ebony Theatre Effort
 Mihloti Black Theatre
 Soweto Black Ensemble and a host of other interested theatre and art personalities.

At this meeting a few aims were suggested, some of which were:

to promote self-determination, self-realisation and self-support in theatre and the arts;

to create a theatre-going public;

to work towards formation of an actors' union, etc.

Attitude and Relationships with other Organisations

Mdali rejects the concept under which the South African Theatre Organisation (mainly white) was formed. SATO was meant to be multi-racial and multi-representative though, allegedly, no black groups were invited to the inaugural meeting where Dan Poho, an active employee of the white-run Phoenix Players was elected to the Committee.

Relations with SABTU are not clearly defined. Mdali believes in having regional groups first and then a national body. SABTU believes that it is important to have a super-body to co-ordinate and give direction and uniformity in the theatre world. Of multi-racial organisations Mdali is clear that it has nothing to do with them, and will not at any time co-operate with them.

Activities of Mdali Affiliates

(a) *Mihloti*

An influential group in the formation of Mdali and about the most active of all Mdali-affiliates. During 1972, they had two shows around Johannesburg, workshops on poetry, writings and speeches by blacks. A feature of their shows was their mixing with the audience after the performance for an exchange of ideas and views. To encourage literary talent, Mihloti runs a newsletter to which people from all walks of life can submit articles, poems and pieces of drama.

(b) *Soweto Black Ensemble*

They produced *Black and Blue*, and this play raised a storm in theatrical circles in that Mdali feels its principles were violated when the producers of this production got involved with Phoenix Players, a group run on multi-racial lines and under white management. It is understood that because of this breach of Mdali principles a number of actors left the group.

Other drama groups

(a) *Phoenix Players*

Phoenix Players are a group of artists from Johannesburg. Unlike Mihloti they are under white management. They featured in *Phiri* which collapsed a week after starting a tour of the Republic. *Isintu* is another production in which they featured. Their involvement in *Black and Blue* with some people from the Soweto Black Ensemble caused a big row in theatre circles leading to a number of players leaving the SBE. Phoenix Players are affiliated to SATO (South African Theatre Organisation).

(b) *Imita Players*

This group hails from East London. Early in the year they made a countrywide tour with their production of *Oedipus Rex*. This play was highly rated wherever it went. Then they

presented 'The Trials of Bro Jero', which they later took to the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice.

UMabatha

This is a Zulu adaptation of Shakespeare's *MACBETH*. The adaptation and translation was done by Welcome Msomi, but production and direction was handled by the Natal Theatre Workshop Company, a white theatre group. *UMabatha* was a resounding success with local and overseas white audiences, but did not raise as much interest with black audiences. Observers feel that it owed much of its success to the fact that it was a curiosity and also because it had relevance to white audiences.

Music

The field of music is very extensive and an independent survey on each group would entail a whole volume on its own. There have been several happenings in the musical sphere, dissatisfaction from artists and breakthrough in new sounds. What is remarkable is the impact of Afro sounds which reached a new pitch in 1972. Another interesting feature was the rise in popularity of exiles, the likes of Hugh Masekela, Letta Mbuli, Miriam Makeba and Dudu Phukwana and his friends in the 'Brotherhood of Breath'.

(a) Masekela

His musical life dates back to when he was 13. From that time he has never looked back. In 1960 he won a scholarship to the Royal Academy of Music in London. Whilst in London he was offered another scholarship at the Manhattan School of Music in the U.S. His music began to show a synthesis of Afro and American sounds. Success was mounting and he formed Chisa Records. He achieved his greatest breakthrough with the single 'Grazing in the Grass'. Hugh and Chisa Records encountered some difficulties because they refused to have UNI prostitute their music and ideology. And after about 2 years 'dormancy' he came out with the 'Reconstruction', which set him once again on the popularity trail.

(b) Letta Mbuli

Letta comes from Soweto and was 'assisted' by Miriam in trying her luck in America. Letta is married to Caiphus Katse

Semenya. In 1972, Letta, the former *King Kong* star, took everybody by storm with her 'down to earth, soulful, raw' and simple presentations. Letta also starred in a film produced by Sydney Poitier, *A Warm December*, in which she plays opposite Harry Belafonte. Back home, her two long plays are raves and her single is in the LM hit parade. She is a mother of one child, Monto, who plays the piano.

MUSIC FESTIVALS

Pina-Culo

This big musical happening lasting 3 days was held at the Umgababa Holiday Resort from the 2-4 September. It was promoted by Algijew Promotions and had groups from all over the country participating. There was a variety of music from soul to gospel and from jazz to mbaqanga.

Jazz Ministers opened the show with an instrumental presentation of 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika'. Guest artists to this occasion were the Minerals, the Ionian Choir and the Jazz Ministers. Dashiki from Pretoria played Malombo-style sound, and were well-received by the crowd. This whole happening was filmed.

Other Festivals and Happenings

Apart from Pina-Culo there have been other festivals and contests all over the country. Hundreds of groups took part in a contest called Groovy Group '72 and the honour went to Malombo's from Pretoria.

The Jazz Ministers won 1st prize (jazz section) in a festival organised by the Traditional and Modern Ingoma Association; Queue sisters won the mbaqanga section and Young Lovers won the soul section.

Philip Tabane and his malombo-drummer, Gabriel Thobejane, left for America early in the year. Whilst in America they have hit the American local scene and have featured in some of the world's leading jazz shows. They appeared at Newport in a concert billed 'Spiritual Concert'. This programme was produced and directed by Ace drummer, Max Roach.

A new show-promoting organisation called 'Mission Impossible' hopes to promote lesser-known groups and put them on the show scene. This group came about when a Pretoria soul group approached the organiser of this group and asked her to manage them. She then caught on to this idea of promoting lesser-known groups.

On the mbaqanga scene about 50 musicians walked out of recording rehearsals. The upheaval is a result of an allegation of 'white interference' in the artists' recording. Included in the squad is Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens. The group belongs to the BaMahotella Entertainment Society and their recording is handled by the Mavuthela Music Company. It is alleged a petition was circulated in 1966 on a similar issue, and the artists are adamant - they align themselves fully with the spirit and provisions of that petition.

Poetry

Because of obvious limitations black poets do not come out in force. Poetry that is published is mostly protest and lament. Poets who write in the more forthright and challenging vein, find hardships because publishing houses are white-controlled. Certain poets have complained that they have had their works changed or have had their works refused because they were not in 'good taste'. Despite these handicaps there is an 'undiscovered' batch of 'revolutionary' poets. At present, they are making attempts to reach the black populace. Magazines like *Ophir*, *Bolt*, *Classic*, to some extent, the SASO newsletter and campus magazines, do carry Black poetry that is more intense and unapologetic.

During the year two books of note came out: *Yakhal' inkomo* by Mongane W. Serote, published by Renoster Books and *Cry Rage!* by James Matthews and Gladys Thomas, published by Spro-cas.

Mongane was born in Sophiatown in 1944, but grew up in Alexandra. He has had his poetry published in several magazines including *Playboy*. Recently his poems were read over the BBC. Apart from writing poetry he writes short stories, and he is co-author of the unsuccessful musical, *Phiri*. His book contains 43 poems.

Cry Rage! is a book of poetry 'dedicated to the children of South Africa who will become one family - brothers and sisters'. It is a book of poetry that speaks 'rage' as James Matthews says:

'It is said
that poets write of beauty
of form, of flowers and of love
but the words I write
are of pain and of rage'.

A look through this book emphasises the difference in tone from other books of poetry that we know. There is no apology, the poetry seeks to

infuse in the people a sense of 'rage' at their own self-inflicted inadequacy.*

Another poet of note is Mafika Pascal Gwala, who, though he has not published a book, is widely read from *Ophir, Classic*, the SASO Newsletter and other publications. His poetry is directed mainly at the blacks and their situation. It seeks to awaken a sense of pride and dignity in them and make them seek to live like human beings apologising to no one for their blackness.

Two other 'unknown' poets, Eugene Skeef and Mandlenkosi Langa, are contemplating a book of poetry. Mandla has had some of his poetry published by *Ophir*. There is also another poet, little known because of lack of right opportunities, Mathe Diseko, who has had his poetry appearing in the SASO Newsletter. These are all poets in the new mould, and not protest poets. But their material cannot easily reach the 'grass-roots' because of lack of publishing houses that can accept some of their works.

Art

For a long time black art has been in the hands of whites who have arranged exhibitions, sales and even determined the type of art to be exhibited. This led to black artists gradually finding themselves in a conflict because in actual fact they were not being 'allowed' to be original. 'Free' expression was controlled and the themes were narrowed to landscapes, portraits and similar 'non-involved' fields. It is only recently that blacks have taken an interest in their own art and this is the reason for the birth of organisations like Black Art Studios and Culcom. Other artists have had to leave the country to study overseas because of the limited chances that exist in this country. To some artists, it has dawned that art could be a vehicle of societal and environmental change, and the best way to achieve this is to hold art exhibitions in townships and ghettos, and not place a prohibitive price on the articles.

Black Art Studios (BAS)

The idea to have a central place for art was conceived when Revelation Centre was opened in Durban. Then on the 14 October, 1972, Black Art Studios came into operation. Black Art Studios is an organisation without a rigid structure. Their main objective is to organise black artists into some form of body wherein they shall have a say in their destiny.

To date BAS has organised an exhibition by black artists featuring work from artists like Omar Badsha, Paul Sibisi, R.M. Govender, Mohamed Timol, Percy Marimuthu, Tembe Cele, Welcome Koboka and a host of others who have been languishing on the brink of frustration and total obscurity. Another exhibition is planned for 1973 where there

will be people like Thami Mnyele, who made the cover picture for *Yakhal'inkomo*, Serote's book of poetry.

Black Art Studios also organised a music festival to try and raise funds for the running of the organisation. At that festival they had groups like Malombo, Dashiki, The Vampires, Purple Haze and a lot of others.

Culcom

This was formed at the SASO Conference at Hammanskraal in July 1972. The realisation that 'culture is tied-up with the aspirations of a people' prompted students to commit themselves to forming a committee that would deal specifically with the awakening and heightening of cultural awareness and the involvement of the black people in their struggle for identity, self-respect and liberation.

It pledged itself to try and found:

A writers club;

Film, Music and Art Studios;

Theatre Council to cater for poetry, music, drama, fine arts and films.

At present they have not come up with any real results but have made contacts with music groups who have expressed dissatisfaction in the running of their affairs, and had complained of blatant exploitation. Many projects are lined up for 1973 in which period many of their envisioned ideals are expected to reach fruition.

Dashiki Art Museum

This is a brainchild of the Dashiki, an indigenous sound jazz group based in Ga-Rankua, near Pretoria. They live together and their house is an art centre where they rehearse and create. Lefifi Tladi says 'I want to preserve my art for the development of black youth. They know about Michaelangelo but not about their own artists'.

The centre is managed and manned by:

Rankobeng Mokou

vibes - artist

Lefifi Tladi

Afro Drums - artist - poet

Gilbert Mabale

flute and soprano sax

Lawrence Moloisi

guitar

Their name 'Dashiki' comes from the 20-century old African dress worn all over independent Africa.

Film

It cannot really be said that there is black film-making in this country. What really happens is that black artists are asked to play 'non-white' roles in white films, and are usually cast in inferior or meaningless roles. At present there is a film comprising an all-black cast that has been shot. It boasts of people like Ken Gampu, of *Dingaka* fame, Cocky Thlothlalemajoe, Abigail Kubheka, Dan Poho, Soul Fingers and Joe Lopez.

Apart from this there is a film that was shot at the 3-day Music Festival, Pina-Culo at Umgababa in September.

**Cry Rage! was banned by the Publications Control Board on 9 March 1973, after the first edition of 4 500 copies had been almost sold out.*

Chapter Sixteen

NAMIBIA

THE OVAMBO STRIKE

Background (1)

THE OVAMBOS number 270 000, over 50% of the total black population, and they provide 70% of the labour required by the modern, white-owned and white-managed industries in the south of the country and 90% of the mine work-force. This area, constituting two-thirds of the 318 000 square miles of Namibia, is designated for exclusive white settlement. Following the recommendations of its own commission in 1964, the South African government have been carrying out the forcible re-settlement of the approximately 80 000 African and Coloured inhabitants from their traditional reserves to ethnic 'homelands', reducing the overall status of the indigenous majority to that of temporary migrant labourers.

Conditions of Work:

The contract labour system was run by the South West African Native Labour Association (SWANLA) established in 1933, and staffed by representatives of the government and mining industry. This organisation recruited workers at a fixed rate for the job, for a temporary period of 12 or 18 months, for work in the Southern part of Namibia, generally known as the Police Zone. This was the only means of employment for men outside the boundaries of the 'homelands'. While working in the urban centres (white areas) they have to live in 'bachelor' quarters in Apartheid townships, such as Katutura outside Windhoek, zoned on a tribal basis, or in compounds close by the mines.

Workers are allowed out of townships or compounds only on a company pass. All public meetings within the townships can be banned by the white township superintendants. No dependents are allowed to accompany the contract worker to his place of employment; the compound outside Windhoek is a typical example of accommodation with eight men to a room. An ordinance of January 1970 prohibited wives from residing with their husbands in Katutura (housing 30 000 Africans) unless they had been born in Windhoek or lived on the location with permanent employment for 10 years.

Prospective employees report to the recruiting office in Ovamboland, and if accepted are sent to the railhead at Grootfontein, where they are graded according to physical fitness and age into categories A, B, C and 'picannin' (children under 18) for work in mines, industry, agriculture and live-stock farming. Minimum wages are laid down for each class, ranging from R10 a month for an unskilled mineworker, R9,75 for a class A farm labourer, to R3,75 for a 'picannin'. While some employers pay more than the minimum wage, the average is around R20 a month.

The system forbids the forming of trade unions, the organisation of strikes, and the right to break contracts before their expiry. By contrast, employers who break contracts unilaterally are rarely punished. At a congress in Windhoek, one farmer said that he always withheld the wages of his employees until their contract had expired, and recommended this to other farmers as a way of ensuring that workers stayed to the end of their contract. Though publicly advocating a breach of contract on the part of employers, no action was taken against him. For an employee to make a complaint he must report to the police, or nearest magistrate. If, however he leaves his place of employment without his employers' permission, he is liable to be charged with desertion. The workers are not free to choose their employers or the type of work they are to do, but must accept the employers to whom they are assigned.

The Strike (2)

The immediate cause of the nationwide protest was the reply of Mr Jannie de Wet, the Commissioner-General for the indigenous people of S.W.A., to Lutheran church criticism of the labour system; in an open letter to the South African Prime Minister and in meetings with local officials, they denounced the system as 'slavery'. De Wet stated that contract labour could not be described as slavery, because the Ovambo people accepted it voluntarily, and did not hesitate to sign contracts.

At two meetings in Walvis Bay and Windhoek, the strikers made the

point that, to show their rejection of the system, they were freely handing in their contracts and opting out together by demanding repatriation to the North.

The residents at the municipal compound at Windhoek held a meeting at which it was decided to strike the following day. On the Monday, the vast majority of the 6 000 workers did not leave the compound to go to work - halting municipal services, construction and commercial activity. The strike was not initially effective at Walvis Bay, but by the end of the week most of the 3 000 work-force were on strike and the strike spread to the Tsumeb mine, the largest base metal mine in Namibia. Production was also affected at the Klein Aub, Oamites, and Seeis copper mines, the Berg Aukus lead mine, and the Oranjemund diamond mines, following a walkout by most of the 11 000 black mine employees.

The Effects of the Strike (3)

The day after the strike started in Windhoek, special police were flown in from South Africa, and the municipal compound was surrounded. Half the African police force were reported to have been dismissed in Walvis Bay and Windhoek for showing sympathy with the strikers. Thirteen men - 12 Ovambo and a Coloured - were charged at Windhoek Magistrate's court with ring-leading the mass walk-out at Katutura. Ten thousand Ovambos were repatriated, on their own request to the North. The minister for Bantu Administration, Mr M.C. Botha, stated that new labour arrangements would be announced at the end of January, in consultation with the homelands governments and employers, but the apartheid aspects of the system would not be altered.

The South Africans acted relatively flexibly, both due to the spotlight of world attention focussed on the country since the world court ruling on Namibia in July, 1971, and to the signs of a developing national resistance by the Namibians to South African rule.

The spontaneity of the strike is obvious: both SWAPO and church leaders have stated that they had little role in starting it: it spread by radio to remote parts of the country, indicating a general and spreading dissatisfaction with conditions under South African rule, and a high feeling of solidarity.

While the contract system would not be fundamentally changed while the South Africans continue to rule, the effect on Ovamboland, the image of which the South African Government have assiduously cherished, and which plays a crucial role in the Apartheid plans for the country, will be far-reaching. It was estimated that R1 000 000 would be lost by the workers opting out, shattering the myth that the area can be 'economically independent' within the existing apartheid framework.

THE UNITED NATIONS' SECURITY COUNCIL MANDATE

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, was mandated under the terms of the UN Security Council's resolution to investigate means of obtaining independence for the former German territory.

Dr Kurt Waldheim in Namibia (SWA)

The Secretary General of the UN, Dr Kurt Waldheim, indicated that he was satisfied he had met all shades of opinion during his short visit to Ovamboland.

'I have had the opportunity to talk to a cross-section of the people and their leaders', he said, 'and I am therefore in a better position to judge the situation'.

He said he was not free to reveal details of his discussions with African leaders 'because I must first report to the Security Council'. He had talks with the Ovambo Legislative Council's executive committee and church leaders. He also met the Kavango Legislative Assembly leader at Grootfontein. In Grootfontein, a petition with a suggestion that SWA be divided into different homelands and that the whole territory then be administered on a federal basis, was handed to Dr Waldheim.

When asked what was the point of establishing dialogue with South Africa when she (S.A.) had no intention of withdrawing from South West Africa he replied, 'The aim of the South African Government is to grant self-determination to Namibia'.

In talks with the UN Secretary-General, in Windhoek on the 9 March 1972, the National Convention of black political parties demanded the 'immediate removal of the S.A. regime from Namibia'. They demanded the establishment of a Namibian government in S.W.A. in the shortest possible time (4).

In a petition to Dr Waldheim, the convention also demanded the unconditional release of all Namibian prisoners in S.A. jails and the immediate return to S.W.A. of all Namibian refugees. The petition said the black parties were united in their efforts to get rid of the 'racist' South African Government and were conscious of their responsibility to persist in their attempts to make the government obey the resolutions of the UN.

Dr Kurt Waldheim in South Africa

On the 10 March, 1972, Dr Waldheim held a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster and Sir de Villiers Graaf in Cape Town. On arrival, in a press conference, Dr Waldheim said there was a deep gulf between the UN's idea of self-determination and South Africa's view. But there

would be further visits if South Africa showed any willingness to make concessions, Dr Waldheim said.

He further said his presence in South Africa and the fact that he had been able to establish contact with Mr Vorster and his government was a most important development and a breakthrough.

Speaking at a dinner given in his honour by the Prime Minister in the city's historic castle, he said he was looking forward to continued contact with South Africa with a view to solving the problems confronting the country and the UN. He was sure his visit would help and he thanked Mr Vorster for his assistance.

Reaction to U.N. Plans by Nationalist M.P.

Mr 'Pik' Botha, Nationalist M.P. for Wonderboom, and a member of the South African legal team at the International Court of Justice in the Hague last year, warned (11 March, 1972) that the unification of the various nations in S.W.A. could only bring trouble and possibly rebellion (5).

He said several of the national entities in S.W.A. had indicated they would not be prepared to amalgamate in a unified S.W.A. The only possible solution to the dispute between the UN and South Africa over the administration of S.W.A. would be the recognition of the self-determination of these nations by the world body.

There is a basis for the UN accepting this. After the Auden-Clarke commission visited South Africa and S.W.A. in the 1950's, it suggested in its report to the UN that the possibility be investigated of allowing the different nations to obtain self-determination ... Although the South African Government did not accept the idea at the time, it said it was willing to investigate the proposal. However, the UN rejected the idea out of hand without investigating its merits.

Dr Waldheim's Report

While in Namibia, the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim told the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, that any useful discussions concerning the future of the territory would have to be based on self-determination and independence of the people of the territory as a whole. This was revealed in the UN report on S.W.A. issued to the Security Council on 20 July, 1972 (6).

After outlining the results of his contacts thus far with the South African Government, Dr Waldheim said in his conclusion the next step would be to appoint a special representative in consultation with South Africa and the other parties concerned. He said the task of the

representative of the Secretary-General would be to assist in achieving the aim of self-determination and independence.

The South African Government would co-operate in the discharge of the representative's tasks by providing him the requisite facilities to go to South Africa and to S.W.A. as necessary and to meet all sections of the population.

It was understood that the representative would have his headquarters in New York and would travel to S.W.A. and South Africa as necessary. He would be assisted by the necessary staff. Diplomatic observers of the UN said that fundamental differences between the UN and the South African Government over the future independent status of the territory, whether as a fragmented group of countries or as an integrated whole, which the world body wants, were likely to present the most serious difficulties during continuing talks.

The UN is adamant on the need to maintain the territorial integrity of S.W.A. The South African Government is equally convinced that tribal differences do not make this feasible.

Mr Vorster's Reaction to Dr Waldheim's Report

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, made an immediate statement in Pretoria to counter the accusation by Dr Waldheim that South Africa was endangering an acceptable settlement by pushing ahead with separate development plans for tribal 'homelands'.

The quickness of Mr Vorster's reaction indicated that the topic was a delicate one. He emphasised that 'no irrevocable step had yet been taken' in the constitutional development of the S.W.A. homelands.

'The choice will be theirs', he added, 'We, for our part, have never in the past been prepared to ignore the wishes of the people. Nor can we do so now. For if we did, we would make a mockery of the principle of self-determination - a principle to which the South African Government, as well as the UN and the Secretary-General, are firmly committed'.

He also said that South Africa would make it possible for the UN representative to act as a 'go between' and no obstacles would be placed in his way to meet all sections of the territory's population. He finally said 'trust and confidence' were the essentials for a solution.

Reaction to Report by an overseas group

The American Committee on Africa, a private anti-Apartheid group, has come out strongly against a proposal for the UN Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to appoint a personal representative to conduct negotiations with South Africa over the future of S.W.A.

The committee said the proposal, expected to be discussed by the

Security Council soon, 'legitimates' or appears to legitimate the illegal South African occupation of Namibia (SWA).

Reaction of Security Council to Report

With China abstaining, the Security Council approved by 14 votes to nil, Secretary-General Dr Waldheim's proposal that a special representative be appointed to continue on his behalf the dialogue with South Africa over the future of Namibia.

The voting followed indications by the Black African countries that they favoured this course.

Dr Alfred Escher's Visit

Dr Escher arrived in South Africa on the 10 October, 1972 and had talks with the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie. The following day he had his first round of talks on S.W.A. before he visited the territory.

Besides going broadly into the thorny international issues of how S.W.A. should move towards independence and under whose guidance, the men were expected to reach an agreement (which they did) on Dr Escher's tour management in South Africa and S.W.A. With him was Mr M. Pedanou of Togo, Mr M. Charks of India and Mr J. Noel of France.

Dr Escher in S. W. A.

On the 12 October, 1972, the UN envoy, Dr Alfred Escher, arrived in Windhoek amid political conflict and confusion. He started talks almost immediately with S.W.A. black leaders.

Before his arrival the Federal Coloured People's Party sharpened the confusion with two controversial announcements. It switched its position from acceptance of the official policy of parallel development for coloureds to a demand for a separate 'homeland'. It proposed an alliance of moderate black parties provisionally called the S.W.A. Non-European Unity Movement as a rival to the radical National Convention.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the S.W.A. Legislative Assembly, and Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General for S.W.A., met Dr Escher at the J.G. Strijdom Airport. Mr Mudge accompanied Dr Escher while he was in the white-ruled part of S.W.A. and Mr de Wet accompanied him on his visits to the homelands.

Dr Escher started a two-day round of talks with black leaders in Windhoek before his departure for the homelands. No fewer than 19 political parties and official bodies wanted to meet Dr Escher. Black politicians were generally confident that the UN and South Africa would reach settle-

ment, but they mostly saw Dr Escher's visit as a last ditch try with time running out for a peaceful settlement.

On the 13 October, a group of 24 business men, teachers and clergymen told the UN envoy in a petition in Windhoek that an interim international Government should take over S.W.A. (7).

The petition to Dr Escher was handed to him on behalf of the petitioners by Canon Richard Wood of the St. George's Anglican Cathedral. The group said it supported the W.C.C. in its stand against racism. It rejected South African rule and demanded 'a unified land with freedom, opportunity and the chance to develop to the fullest'. Blacks accepted the responsibility of sharing in the government of S.W.A. on an equal basis. The petitioners suggested that the interim government should train the people (whites included) to take over the government on a basis of equality.

They said Nationalist supporters and officials victimised and intimidated people who spoke against the South African Government. The white community rejected such people and called them communists and fellow travellers.

'No non-white can seriously support the policy of separate development', they said, 'as it places them in a position of continual humiliation'. They listed 27 forms of discrimination against blacks on political, economic, social, educational and medical grounds.

The petitioners singled out the South African Police for special mention. The police misused their 'authority' and treated blacks in a despicable manner, they said. 'They terrorised people under the official policy of racism ... Non-whites see the police in the same light as the whites see the guerilla fighters on the borders'.

On the 14 October the black 'homeland' of Owambo was troubled and tense as Dr Escher arrived for a two-day visit. On the eve of his flight from Windhoek to Odangwa, police broke up a riot in the Kwayama tribal ward. Demonstrators held aloft posters and threw stones in Kalongo when they angrily rejected the official policy of separate development. The incident took place at a meeting of the Ovambo government's constitutional committee which was preparing proposals for full self-government elections.

A crowd of about 200 shouted down the speakers and held up posters which said 'Go away with your homeland policy'. They threw stones at the police, but nobody was reported hurt. Newspaper-men were refused permission to accompany Dr Escher into Owambo. Quasi-emergency regulations were in force in Owambo with provision for arbitrary arrest and indefinite detention.

Dr Escher was due to hold talks with the executive of the legislative

council. He was also due to visit Oshakati State hospital, Ongwediva College and development projects.

On the 17 October, leaders of S.W.A.'s second largest tribe, the 65 000 Damaras, told Dr Escher that they accepted self-government on the homelands pattern provided the South African Government acceded to their land demands.

In September, the Damara Council of tribesmen had threatened to throw a spanner into the works by rejecting the government's proposal for a unified Damaraland with an Ovambo-type administration. Damara leaders claimed the area mapped for the proposed homeland was no more than 'a chicken run'.

Their qualified acceptance then limited self-government made it that much easier for Dr Escher to promote his organisation's plan for independence for SWA as one unit.

The Damara statement contained one phrase of hope for Dr Escher. The leaders, after a three-hour discussion, indicated they thought the Bantustan type of administration need only serve as an interim system to unified administration for the territory. A spokesman for the council of headmen, Mr Justus Geroeb, told Dr Escher the tribe would be 'quite prepared' at a later stage to enter into a free federation of the various S.W.A. groups - if all the other groups agreed.

Before his arrival at Welwitschia, the envoy talked for four hours at Ohopoho with Kaokoveld leaders and then addressed a spontaneous gathering of 300 people.

On the 19 October Dr Escher held discussions with black political leaders, the Walvis Bay member of the legislative assembly, Mr de Jager, as well as the Mayor, the town clerk and a representative of the Chamber of Commerce. A memorandum was handed to Dr Escher on behalf of the Consultative Committee of the Manoville Coloured Township.

It said the committee feared chaos which erupted in African states after independence, would also break out in S.W.A. if the territory became independent under a majority government of indigenous nations. The memorandum also said the Committee was grateful for attempts by the South African Government to guard the borders of the territory against the incursions of terrorists. The committee was disappointed that the UN was giving a sympathetic hearing to terrorists.

Dr Alfred Escher's travelling opinion poll on the 18 October recorded another strong 'yes' vote for an independent S.W.A. The Council of Chiefs of the territory's 50 000 Hereroes told the UN envoy at the tribal capital of Okakarara that South Africa should be immediately forced to relinquish all control over S.W.A.

A line of placards all carried the same message: 'We want

independence'. Although it is not recognised officially by the South African Government, the Herero Council of Chiefs has a clear majority following in the tribe.

There was only a mild ripple of applause when he told a gathering of more than 700 Hereroes at the local community hall: 'We will try to come to a settlement with South Africa which will provide a peaceful solution to the difficulties at the moment'.

Clashes between Dr Escher and the South African Government

According to newspaper reports, the dialogue on S.W.A. between the South African Government and the UN came dangerously close to breaking point. As the UN envoy flew out of Swakopmund to diamond-rich Oranjemund, it was questionable whether the discussions would survive his visit to the mandated territory (8).

The crisis between the parties came into the open on the 19 October when the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, spoke against a background of intrigue in which private statements by Dr Escher appeared to have been deliberately leaked to the SABC.

Dr Escher denied that he had made any statement which could be interpreted in the way Mr Vorster had done. An aide told newsmen that opinions expressed behind closed doors could not be called statements. Dr Escher reportedly said this was South Africa's last chance to come to a peaceful settlement with the UN. He also said change must come as apartheid was bad.

Dr Escher was quoted as saying: 'The inhumanity of the apartheid policy is not tolerated in the rest of the world. It should not be tolerated in S.W.A.'.

A South African Government official told newsmen that Dr Escher was exceeding his mandate with such statements. His brief was simply to look and listen in S.W.A. and report back to the Secretary-General. It was learnt that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, and the Department's Secretary, Mr Brand Fourie, would be flying to Oranjemund to join the UN party. It was not known if they would discuss the dispute.

The clash of views between the UN and South Africa was illustrated again on the 26 October when Dr Escher refused an invitation to watch the machinery of separate development in action in remote Kavangoland. Dr Escher forcefully showed his attitude to the homelands policy.

He indicated that he had no intention of being party to that special session of the Kavango Legislative Council at which the Transkei-type Government for the homeland was to be officially announced.

The question of whether the envoy would accept the S.A. Govern-

ment's invitation to attend the Council meeting, which had been hanging in the air since the itinerary was announced, was finally resolved in an atmosphere of obviously strained relations between the UN party and government officials conducting the tour.

The offer was made and rejected during the meeting with the executive members. Dr Escher gave as reason for the boycott that his feelings on the subject had been clear for some days.

Had he accepted the invitation, he might well have compromised on the stand of the UN - which regards all the S.W. 'homeland governments' as illegal since it claims the South African authorities have no power to bestow such freedom on the various ethnic groups.

Dr Escher in South Africa

On the 30 October, Dr Escher met Mr Vorster that afternoon for what were almost certainly important discussions of his S.W.A. mission. Present at that meeting with the Prime Minister was Dr Hilgard Muller, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

They held a three-hour discussion about his recent tour of the mandated territory. At the same time, his principal adviser, Mr Mangalan Charks of India, held separate discussions in an adjacent office with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie.

Report-back meeting between Dr Escher and Dr Kurt Waldheim

On the 6 October, 1972, Dr Escher conferred with the Secretary-General of the UN, to give a verbal report on the progress made in South Africa and South West Africa.

Security Council's Reaction to Dr Escher's Report

Serious misgivings were reported among UN diplomats on 14 November, 1972, about Dr Escher's findings (9). The search for a solution to the dispute appeared to be entering a precarious stage as details of Dr Escher's report spread through the UN grapevine. Many delegates, especially the Africans, were said to be disappointed with the results of his visit to South Africa and South West Africa.

Diplomats were reported to be pessimistic about the chances of the Security Council extending Dr Waldheim's mandate to seek a solution to the dispute. But this pessimism was seen by other delegates as premature, since the full details of Dr Escher's report were not yet widely known. The final report of the Secretary-General himself remains even more of a secret. According to diplomats closely involved in the briefings on Dr Escher's report, many Africans took the view that he had brought back

nothing from Pretoria to justify further consultations with the South African government.

Some Africans were said to have felt there was nothing in Dr Escher's report to warrant his statement in Pretoria that progress had been achieved in his talks there. They were also said to take exception to his reported statement to Dr Waldheim that he accepted the S.A. view that self-determination in the territory should be approached on a regional basis.

The Africans, it was said, felt that would be contrary to the principles laid down by the UN and that Dr Escher had no right to accept any such view. One African diplomat said he was 'shocked' by this passage in Dr Escher's report.

SAPA-Reuter reported that an African member of the Security Council had predicted that Escher could find himself in diplomatic 'hot water' with the majority of the council when Dr Waldheim issued his report. The diplomat based his objections on study of a two-page summary of the results of the conversations between Dr Escher and Mr Vorster, which had already been circulated among Council members.

He commented privately: 'There is no need for a new interpretation by South Africa of self-determination. We know what it means. They have in mind a delaying tactic'. He also described as 'totally unacceptable' a section of the summary saying Mr Vorster 'believed that experience in self-government was an essential element for self-determination', and adding that he felt this could 'best be achieved on a regional basis'.

REFERENCES

1. African Bureau Fact Sheet No. 18, February, 1972.
2. Africa Bureau Fact Sheet No. 18, February, 1972.
3. Africa Bureau Fact Sheet No. 18, February, 1972.
4. *The Star*, 9.3.72.
5. *Sunday Express*, 12.3.72.
6. *Rand Daily Mail*, 21.7.72.
7. *The Star*, 13.10.72.
8. *Rand Daily Mail*, 27.10.72.
9. *The Star*, 15.11.72.

INDEX

- AICA** (see African Independent Churches' Association)
- ASA** (see African Students' Association)
- ASSECA** (see Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of African People of South Africa)
- ASUSA** (see African Students' Union of South Africa)
- African Independent Churches' Association** 8, 32-37
- African National Congress** 129, 130-132
- African Peoples' Democratic Union of South Africa** 127
- African Students' Association** 19
- African Students' Union of South Africa** 19
- African Teachers' Association of South Africa** 156
- American Committee on Africa** 217, 218
- Art** 46
- Arts and Entertainment**
Art 209-210
Drama 46, 201-206
Music 46, 47, 206-208
Organisations 202-205, 209-211
Poetry 208-209
- Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of African People of South Africa** 8, 16-17, 160-161
- BAS** (see Black Art Studios)
- BAWU** (see Black Allied Workers' Union)
- BPC** (see Black People's Convention)
- Bantu Administration and Development**
Deputy Minister of, 60, 68, 76, 156, 157
Minister of, 64, 65, 66, 68, 214
- Bantu Education** (see Education)
- Basotho Qua Qua** 58, 62
- Bhengu, Mr H.J.** 18
- Black Allied Workers' Union** 45
- Black Art Studio's** 209, 210
- Black Community Programmes** 121, 122, 181
- Black Consciousness** 182, 183, 185, 187, 201
- Black People's Convention** 6, 8-14, 39, 40, 78, 92, 101
- Black Theology** 32
- Black Travellers' Association** 124
- Black Workers' Council** 27, 28, 121, 122
- Black Workers' Project** 45, 120-122
- Bophuthatswana** 57, 61, 69-70
- Boshoff, Prof. Carel** 50, 51
- Buses** 100, 101
- Buthelezi, Chief Gatsha** 8, 29, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 76
- C.R.C.** (see Coloured Peoples' Representative Council)
- Christian Institute of Southern Africa** 32, 34
- Ciskei** 56, 61, 67-69
- Coloured Affairs,**
Administration of, 82
Deputy Minister of, 51
- Coloured Peoples' Representative Council** 12, 80-92
- Congress Alliance** 5, 7
- Conservative Party** 91
- Cooper, Saths** 6, 13
- Culcom** 210
- Curry, Mr David** 82, 83
- Defiance Campaign** 1952, 5
- de Villiers, René** 51
- Diggs, Charles** 6, 29
- Drama** (see Arts and Entertainment)
- Dutch Reformed Church** 34
- Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre** 37-39, 181
- Education**
Bursaries 158, 160-161, 185-186
Double-session System 148, 149
Enrolment figures 146-148, 162-164, 166, 167, 170, 171
Finance 156-160
- Employment Statistics** 106, 107, 108, 109, 112
- Escher, Dr Alfred** 218-223
- Essop, Mohammed Salim** 129-131

Federal Coloured Peoples' Party 83, 85, 86
 First National City Bank 17
 Foreign Investments 28, 29

Gandhi, Mahatma 5
 Gazankulu 57, 62, 72
 Gordimer, Nadine 48
 Guzana, Mr Knowledge 73, 74, 75, 76

Homelands

(see Bophuthatswana, Buthelezi, Ciskei, Gazankulu, KwaZulu, King Goodwill Zwelithini, Lebowa, Mabandla, Mangope, Matanzima, Matlala, Mota, Mophephu, Pilane, Ntsanwisi, Transkei, Vendlana).

IDAMASA (see Interdenominational African Ministers' Association)
 Interdenominational African Ministers' Association 8, 30-32
 Independent Party 92

Joosub, Mr H.E. 95, 97
 Journals (see Press)

Kgware, Mrs W.M. 10, 14
 Khoapa, Mr Ben 22
 King Goodwill Zwelithini 64
 Kliptown Freedom Charter 5, 7
 Koka, Drake 8, 9, 10, 13, 123, 124
 Kumalo, Mr M.J. 124
 KwaZulu 56, 61, 62-67, 144

Labour (see Employment, Wages, Strikes)
 Labour Party 11, 43, 51, 81, 83, 86-89, 92
 Learn fund 17
 Lebowa 57, 61, 70-72

Legislation

Bantu Homeland Citizenship Act (No. 26 of 1970), 58
 Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act (No. 49 of 1964), 80
 Extension of University Education Act (No. 45 of 1959), 169
 South African Indian Council Act (No. 13 of 1968)
 Transkei Constitution Act (No. 48 of 1963) 58, 59, 60

Leon, Mr Sonny 83, 87, 88

MDALI (see Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute)

Mabandla, Chief Justice 61, 67, 68, 76
 Mafuna, Mr Bokwe 122
 Mahlasela Rev. F. de Waal 31, 32
 Mangope, Chief Lucas 61, 69, 70, 76
 Maqina Rev. E.V.M. 33, 34, 35
 Masekela, Hugh 206
 Matanzima, Chief K.D. 56, 60, 73, 75, 76
 Matlala, Chief Maserumule 61, 70, 71
 Mattera, Mr Don 87, 88
 Matthews, James 208
 Mayatula, Mr A. 13
 Mbuli, Letta 206, 207
 McAfee Brown, Dr Robert 53, 54
 Mehlomokulu, Mr L.B. 160
 Migrant labourers,
 conditions of work 212, 213
 Modisane, Mr Jerry 23
 Moerane, Mr M.T. 9, 16, 124
 Moloto, Mr Justice 187
 Moodley, Mr Strini 6, 23, 25, 202
 Mota, Chief W.S. 62
 Mphephu, Chief Patrick R. 62, 72, 73
 Music (see Arts and Entertainment)
 Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute 204, 205

NIC (see Natal Indian Congress)

NUSAS (see National Union of South African Students)

NWA (see Natal Workshop for African Advancement)

Naicker, Dr Monty 5

Namibia

Ovambo strike 212-214
 United Nations Security Council Mandate 215-223

Natal Indian Congress 5-8, 11, 43, 101

Natal Workshop for African Advancement 17-18

National Coloured Peoples' Party 89

National Union of South African Students 18, 19, 20, 21

Ndaba, Mr Lloyd 64

Nengwekhulu, Mr Harry 9, 23

Newspapers and Journals (see Press)

Nkomo, Dr W.F. 9

Noel, Mr Dempsey 88

Non-European Unity Movement 18, 127

Ntsanwisi, Prof H.W.E. 62, 72, 76

Nzondelelo 37

- Passport refusals 22
 Paton, Dr Alan 48, 49
 Pilane, Chief Thidimane 67, 70
 Pityana, Mr Nyameko Barney 23, 25
 Polaroid 17
 President Nixon's Advisory Council on Africa 28, 29
 Press,
 Black 26, 27, 44,
 Newspapers and Journals
 Argus, The 17
 Daily Despatch, The 51
 Daily News, The 43, 101
 Deurbraak 52, 53
 Drum 43
 Leader, The 43
 Natal Mercury, The 83
 Post 43
 Pro Veritate 53
 Rand Daily Mail, The 43, 51, 52, 126
 South African Outlook, 53
 Star, The 17
 Sunday Times, The 14, 52
 Transvaler, Die 50
 World, The 43
 Progressive Party 42
 Publications, Black 44, 45

 RICA (see Reformed Independent Churches' Association)
 Radebe, Rev B.B. 31
 Rajab, Mr A.M. 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101
 Ramgobin, Mr Mewa 6
 Reddy, Mr J.N. 97, 100
 Reformed Independent Churches' Association 33, 34, 35
 Republican Party 91, 92
 Rooks, Mr Edward G. 90, 91

 SABRA (see South African Bureau for Racial Affairs)
 SABTU (see South African Black Theatre Union)
 SAIC (see South African Indian Council)
 SAIRR (see South African Institute of Race Relations)
 SASO (see South African Students' Organisation)
 SWANLA (see South West African Native Labour Association)
 SWAPO (see South West African Peoples' Organisation)

 Salaries (see Wages)
 Serote, Mongane W. 208
 Sewpersadh, George 6, 7
 Shezi, Mr Mthuli 13, 14, 122
 Sikakane, Rev Enos 38
 Social Democratic Party 90, 91
 Sono, Mr Temba 177
 South African Black Theatre Union 202
 South African Breweries 17
 South African Bureau for Racial Affairs 86
 South African Communist Party 129, 130
 South African Indian Council 7, 12, 94-101
 South African Institute of Race Relations 43
 South African Students' Organisation 7, 8, 11, 18-29, 39, 40-43, 77, 92, 101, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 184-186, 210
 South West Africa (see Namibia)
 South West African Native Labour Association 212
 South West African Peoples' Organisation 214
 Sparks, Mr Allister 51, 52, 126
 Sport 47
 Sports Unions
 South African Amateur Swimming Federation (SAASF) 197
 South African Golf Association 199-200
 Southern Africa Lawn Tennis Union 198, 199
 South African National Non-Racial Sports Organisation (SASPO) 190-193
 South African Soccer Federation (SASF) 193-196
 Statistics (see Employment or Wages)
 Strikes and Work stoppages 114-120, 213-214
 African Bus services strike 119, 120
 Cape Town stevedores' campaign 118-119
 Diamond Mine strike 119
 Dockworkers strike 116-117
 Doctors' walk-out protest 120
 Putco bus drivers strike 114-116
 Statistics 120
 Student revolts 22, 174-180
 Swartz, Mr Tom 83, 85, 86

 TEACH fund 17
 TECON 201, 203
 Timol, Ahmed 130, 131, 136-137
 Tiro, Ongopotse Ramothibi 174, 175
 Trade Unions 105, 122, 123, 125, 126
 African Laundry Workers' Union 122
 Black Allied Workers' Union 122, 123
 Engineering, Metal and Allied Workers'

Index

- Union of South Africa 105, 122
- Rederation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa 105
- National Union of Clothing Workers of South Africa 105, 122
- Sales and Allied Workers' Association (S.A.) 123
- South African Congress of Trade Unions 105
- Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) 105, 125
- Transkei 55, 56, 59-61, 73-75, 144, 146, 157
(see also Matanzima, and Guzana)

- UCM (see University Christian Movement)
- Unemployment figures 112, 113
- UMabatha 206
- University Christian Movement 19, 20, 186-188
- Uys, Mr Stanley 52

- Van Zyl, Dr H.J. 17
- Vendaland 58, 62, 72-73
- Vorster, Mr B.J. 217, 221, 222
- Vundla, Mr P.Q. 16

- Wages 109, 110, 111, 115, 116, 117, 213
 - Black teachers' salaries 154-156
- Waldheim, Dr Kurt 215-218

- Young Womens' Christian Association 8



ISBN 0 869