

EDUCATION FOR BLACKS Higher Education

Considerable growth has taken place at the five universities established by the Government to offer higher education for Blacks. Black Review 1972 dealt with various Acts of Parliament which brought about the creation of these institutions, which are commonly known as tribal colleges, basically because of the nature of their composition. They are meant to accommodate Blacks according to ethnic groups or origin.

Perhaps one can say that, of these five established universities, Fort Hare observes the ethnic origin policy much less than any other. The main reason for this has been observed to be that, it being the oldest of the lot, it has gone a couple of steps ahead of others in academic development.

1. Enrolment

The numbers of black students registered for higher education have been growing every year. According to available figures, there were 7512 black students registered at all the 5 tribal universities in South Africa. Figures for each university were as follows1:-University of Fort Hare 1029 University of Zululand 1004 University of the North 1512 University of Durban-Westville 2432 1535 University of Western Cape 7512

These universities offer courses in the fields of Arts, Science, Law, Theology, Economic Sciences, Education and Agriculture. There are still several fields which are not catered for at these universities one of which is medicine, which is offered at only one university which provides for Blacks in South Africa, the University of Natal Black Section (U.N.B.).

According to the 1974 annual report of the University of Natal, the total number of medical students at the University was 593.

In an interview with *Black Review* in March 1975 the Dean of the Medical Faculty of Natal University, Professor Smythe, reported enrolment figures for the Medical School as follows:

	Africans	Coloureds	Indians	Total
1st Year	43	3	34	80
2nd Year	56	5	66	127
3rd Year	40	5	61	106
4th Year	36	7	49	92
5th Year	27	6	33	66
6th Year	12	5	43	60
Total	214	31	286	531

2. Degrees Awarded at Universities for Blacks

The Ministers in the various departments controlling black education gave figures of degrees and diplomas awarded at the tribal universities as follows:

University of Zululand: 1974²

	Degrees	Diplomas
Arts	77	7
Science	11	
Law	7	26
Theology		
Economic Science	5	
Education		68
Agriculture		
Total	100	101

Degrees

94

11

9

5

130

163

University of the North: 1974³

Arts Science Law Theology Economic Science Education Agriculture

Totals

Diplomas 13

37

52

University of Fort Hare

	1973		1974	
	Degrees	Diplomas	Degrees	Diplomas
Arts	53	1	57	. —
Theology			8	
Law	5	3	17	1
Science	20		33	
Education	8	48	3	36
Econ. Science	4	1	8	1
Agriculture	2	—	2	1
Totals .	92	53	128	39

The Fort Hare figures were given to Black Review by the Registrar of the University of Fort Hare, Mr H. van Huysteen.

University of Western Cape: 19744

- 2
3
4
68
11
86

University of Durban-Westville: 1974

Figures of degrees and diplomas conferred and awarded at this university in 1974 were not given according to departments and faculties. In reply to a question asked in Parliament, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn reported that there were 39 post-graduate degrees, 232 bachelors' degrees, 28 post-graduate diplomas and 64 non-graduate diplomas.⁵ According to information disclosed by the Minister of National Education Senator J.P. van der Spuy (medical education for Blacks is not under the various Government departments controlling the rest of black education), the following numbers of students completed their courses in 1974 at the Natal Medical School.

	Prelim	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5tn	6th
African	26	year 30	year 33	year 37	year 25	year 10	year 19
Indian	23	29	58	50	32	37	40
Coloured	1	3	5	7	6	5	8
Totals	50	62	96	94	63	52	667

The Minister of National Education further revealed that 28 other black students (11 Indians and 17 Coloureds) qualified for the degree M.B. Ch.B., at white medical schools at the end of 1974.

During 1974 two senior medical degrees were conferred on Blacks, one Master of Medicine and one Doctor of Medicine.

3. Academic and Administrative Staff at Universities for Blacks

Almost all universities established for black education have openly stated a positive attitude to increasing the number of blacks on the lecturing and administrative staff. In a letter written to *Black Review*, the Fort Hare registrar clearly stated:

"The policy of the University is positively one of Africanisation of staff, particularly academic staff. Where there is a suitable African applicant for a teaching post, he will be appointed in preference to a better qualified white applicant.

"In an attempt to boost the influx of Blacks into the academic staff the University has now created 14 new posts of Graduate Assistant. A Graduate Assistant must register for an Honour's or Master's degree, and gets free tuition plus a bursary of between R500 and R750 p.a.

On obtaining an Honour's or Master's degree, he becomes eligible for consideration for appointment as lecturer, provided he also has the required personal qualities".

As far as administrative staff is concerned, Fort Hare has categorised their staff into senior and junior staff. No Whites are appointed to junior posts, which are reserved for Blacks. In senior posts the registrar said that they appoint the best available man, irrespective of his race.

Interviewed by *Black Review*, the Rector of Zululand University, Prof. Maré stressed the policy of his university as being that of Africanisation.

The Dean of the Medical Faculty of Natal University, Prof. Smythe, told *Black Review* that his university was interested in appointing Blacks to senior academic positions, although the University would not necessarily appoint a black man against a more qualified white man. Clearing up a query about the controversial appointment of Dr Kenneth Margolis as head of the Department of Gynaecology and Obstetrics over the more experienced Black, Dr Ephraim Mokgokong, Prof. Smythe explained that Dr Margolis' appointment was a temporary one and that the real head appointed by the University and the Natal Provincial Administration was Professor Hugh Philpott.

Dr Margolis had only joined the University a year earlier, and had been a specialist for 17 months, while Dr Mokgokong had been with the University for many years.

The Medical Graduates Association called a special meeting which condemned the appointment of a "relatively junior consultant over and above a consultant who has held a senior post in the Department for a number of years". The Association further charged that the appointment was contrary to the repeated assurances of certain senior members of the University staff that no appointments were made on racial basis.⁶

The Association's president, Dr M. J. Naidoo said: "Dr Mokgokong would have been the most obvious choice for the post. It is even sadder when one realises that the (appointed) consultant has been a recent post-graduate pupil of Dr Mokgokong, who has been with the Department for 13 years".

Medical students staged a demonstration in front of the administrative offices of the school, in protest against the non-appointment of Dr Mokgokong.

Black Rector for University of Western Cape

For the first time in South African history, a black rector was appointed for a university in 1974. The man, Dr Richard Ernest van der Ross, assumed duties at the beginning of 1975.

Dr van der Ross, described by *Trust* of June 1975 as a former hot fighter of apartheid was alleged to have once urged the Coloured community to align themselves more with the Africans, for "the African will rule South Africa in my lifetime. We must start building a friendship with them now. They are among the finest people in the world".

One of the key founders of the Coloured Labour Party, he was later expelled from the Party for allegedly changing his political complexion. This started when Dr van der Ross accepted a senior Government post in the Department of Coloured Affairs—Assistant Education Planner.

Commenting on allegations that he had 'sold out' to apartheid, Dr van der Ross said: "I would say in this matter, as in all matters, that I have in the end only one final arbiter and that is my conscience. I have been in education all of my life and I can only ask that I am judged by what I do and not by what other people will think I will do". However the appointment of Dr van der Ross came as a direct result of the U.W.C. 1973 call for a black rector for the university. His appointment can also be seen to be heralding the Colouredization of the majority of the staff at the university. A stir was made by Professor C. Ramfol, head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Durban-Westville, and the first Black to hold a professorial post at the university, when he criticised individuals and newspapers which called for Indianisation of UDW in his speech at the graduation ceremony for Blacks qualified through the University of South Africa.

The Indianisation call came as a reaction to the announcement of a Coloured name as Rector of the Western Cape University. In his address, Prof. Ramfol had said that there had been disturbing signs that certain elements, both Indian and White, had pressed for preference to be given to Indians in appointments and promotions in the University.

Added to this, he went on, was the implication that this should be done even if the Indians were not the best available. Prof. Ramfol declared, "Now, the person that the Indian community wants as the next rector of the university is not the best Indian available, taking all circumstances into account."

Indian academics in Durban reacted angrily. A spokesman for the South African Indian Teachers' Association said, "At all times my association has consistantly asked for appointments on merit because it believes that Indian teachers in South Africa are capable of holding their own against any colleague from anywhere".⁷

A leading lawyer said that the speech was "nothing but unashamed propaganda from start to finish" for the University of Durban Westville, and that Prof. Ramfol appeared to be going out of his way to make a case for continued "White domination" at UDW.⁸

Describing Prof. Ramfol's speech as "most unfortunate", Mr Y. S. Chinsamy, executive member of the South African Indian Council said that his SAIC colleague, Dr M. B. Naidoo was a distinguished educationist with vast university experience in Natal and the United States. "But his colour becomes the overriding factor when high education appointments are made, and so he loses out". Mr Chinsamy added that speeches like the one the professor made undermined the intelligence and capabilities of Indians. (Dr Naidoo referred to is the man who was included in the South African delegation to the United Nations in 1974).

Composition of Senate/Council at Universities for Blacks. University of Fort Hare⁹

University of Fort	lare	
	Whites	Blacks
Senate	. 51	7
Council	15	4
University of the N	orth	
	Whites	Blacks
Senate	46	5
Council	13	5
University of Zulul	and ¹⁰	
	Whites	Blacks
Senate	11	4
Senate	38	2
Council	11	4

University of Western Cape¹¹

	Whites	Blacks
Senate	45	1
Council	11	5

University of Durban-Westville¹²

	Whites	Blacks
Senate	44	4
Council	11	4

5. Academic staff—salaries

The Minister of Bantu Education revealed in Parliament that his Government was taking steps to close the gap in salary scales of Whites and African members of the teaching staff of Universities for Africans.

According to the Minister, salary improvements granted with effect from July 1st 1974 entail the introduction of the same keyscales for White and African members above the R4200 notch, and a more favourable ratio for African members compared to the scales for Whites.¹³

He further disclosed the current salary scales which were in force in 1975 for staff at all the universities for Africans. The figures given indicate that the parity referred to in the above paragraph was not yet operative by 1975. The figures read as follows:

Professor:	White -R10800 ×450-12600 ×600-13800
	Black -R8820 × 360-9900 × 450-11700

Senior Lecturer:

Lecturer:

White —R6300 × 360—9180 Black —R5340 × 240—6300 × 360—7740

Junior Lecturer:

White —R4920—5100 × 240—6300—6660 Black —R4050—4200 × 180—5100—5340

The Minister of Indian Affairs reported that new salary scales had been introduced as from 1 July 1974, which brought about some narrowing of the gap between White and Indian salary scales. He further disclosed that the University Council was further authorised to supplement the salaries of Indian teaching staff from its own funds, up to parity.¹⁴ Professor:-

rioressor		
	White:	R10800 ×350-12600 ×600-13800
	Black:	R9900 ×450-12600 ×600-13200
Associate P	rofessor:-	
	White:	R10800 × 450-12600-13200
	Black:	R9900 ×450-12600-13200
Senior Lect	urer:	
	White:	R8460 × 360-9900 × 450-11250
	Black:	R7740 × 360-9900-10350
Lecturer:-		
	White:	R6300 × 360-9180
	Black:	R5820×240—6300×360—8460
Junior Lect	urer:-	
	White:	R4920-5100 ×240-6300-6660
	Black:	R4560×180—5100×240—6060

The Minister of Coloured Relations also disclosed that a decision had been made that the University of Western Cape should use its own funds to supplement the salaries of Coloured teaching staff, approved with effect from 1st July 1974, to bring them on a par with the salaries of their White colleagues.

Operative salary scales were given as follows:

Professor:-

Associate Professor:-

White: R10800 × 450—12600—13200 Black: R9900 × 450—12600—13200

Senior Lecturer:-

White: R8460 × 360 – 9900 × 450 – 11250

Black: R7740 × 360-9900-10350

Lecturer:-

White: R6300 × 360—9180 Black: R5820 × 240—6300 × 360—8460

Junior Lecturer:-

White: R4920—5100 × 240—6300—6660 Black: R4560 × 180—5100 × 240—6060

6. Matters Relating to Various Universities

(a) The University of the North (Turfloop)

Over the recent years, students on this campus have always been quite conscious of their natural ties with the rest of the black community. A great sense of belonging to the rest of the community has been in evidence since the days of the famous graduation ceremony 'Tiro affair' of 1972, which led to country-wide student disturbances. (See *Black Review* 1972 pages 174-180).

(i) Tiro's Death-Campus Reactions.

When Ongkopotse Ramothibi Tiro was killed by a parcel bomb sent to him in Botswana, where he was living in exile as President of the Southern Africa Students' Movement, the Students' Representative Council unanimously adopted a resolution which stated that those responsible for Tiro's death should be made aware "that this is only a way of intensifying our efforts towards the achievement of the liberation of all Africa".

In a further tribute to Tiro on March 21, a date observed by black organisations as Heroes' Day to commemorate all Blacks who have fallen in the course of the struggle, the students resolved to collect contributions to donate to the Tiro family and to "condemn whoever perpetrated this act of wanton murder and attempt at terroristic intimidation; and further condemn the act of those who scek to take from us our leaders and thus try to subvert our struggle for liberation in Africa".

(ii) The Pro-Frelimo Rally—The Aftermath on Campus.

Events at Turfloop on September 25, 1974, the eventful day of the pro-Frelimo rallies have already been discussed in Chapter 4 on 'Arrests, Detentions, Political Trials and Bannings'.

One of the after-effects of the 'Frelimo' episode was the racial flare up which led to open declaration of sides between some white members of teaching staff and students, with some black staff members indicating remote support. This led to some cars belonging to white staff members being stoned by students.

Talking on the whole issue soon afterwards, the Rector, Professor J. L. Boshoff said: "When the Government closed the open universities to black students in 1959, and created all-black universities, it was warned that these all-black universities would become hotbeds of black nationalism".¹⁵

"What we experienced this week was naked, satanic, anti-white racism. If this does not pull us up short, I don't know what will bring us to our senses", added Dr Boshoff.

The Rand Daily Mail, commenting on the Rector's statement, said, "What Professor Boshoff is saying, whether he realises it or not, is that the fault lies in segregation; that the anti-whiteism comes from the heart of the black community, its black schools and black universities". It further commented: "The creation of segregated black universities was one of the most dangerous, irresponsible acts ever taken by the Nationalist Government".¹⁶

When 3 student leaders were detained by the Secret Police, namely Pandelani Nofelovhodwe, Kaborane 'Kaunda' Sedibe and Cyril Ramaphosa, the rest of the student body decided on a sit in and boycott of classes, in a bid to pressurise the university to take positive action to secure the release of the detained leaders.

After an attempt made by the Black Academic Staff Association (BASA) to persuade the students back to classes had failed, the authorities agreed to take appropriate steps as soon as the striking students had gone to lectures.¹⁷ However, the strike went out on its own.

Thereafter the students decided on building up a fund which would cover the legal costs in the event of their detained leaders being charged.¹⁸ After their first appeals, a total of R1500 was realised. R500 was obtained from the lecturing staff, and R1000 from the student body.

(iii) The Snyman Commission

The Rector of the University of the North, Professor Boshoff, the S.R.C. representatives, representatives of the Black Academic Staff Association, members of the South African Police etc, gathered in Pretoria, subpoened to give evidence before the one-man commission of inquiry into the unrest at the university in September 1974. The lone Commissioner was Mr Justice Snyman.

The investigation (its report had not yet been released at the time of going to print) which lasted some months into 1975, catalysed quite interesting points raised in argument during the hearings.

The Rand Daily Mail of March 5, 1975 reported Mr Gessler Nkondo, senior lecturer at the university and president of BASA, describing the grievances which he claimed had caused the unrest. Mr Nkondo said that discrimination against Blacks was entrenched at the university. This he described as a major source of grievance, "which manifested itself on the 25th (September 1974)". He submitted that there were also dissatisfactions arising from the status and conditions of Blacks in the rest of the country.

"There is a transitory dignity accorded to Blacks on the campus. Outside the campus there is humiliation", said Mr Nkondo. He added, "such a set up must cause bitterness and it has a tendency to destroy faith if such discrimination is perpetuated".

In his evidence, Prof. Boshoff told Judge Snyman that he had received two letters, one from BASA and the other from the SRC. Both the letters blamed the police for the outbreak of violence. Quoting the BASA letter, Prof. Boshoff read, "given the peaceful nature of the celebration, which consisted of speeches and songs culminating in the African National Anthem, we contend that police intervention was uncalled for".¹⁹

BASA strongly refuted the claim that the occasion was a veiled SASO affair. The letter further added, "we challenge the allegation that the police baton charge was a reaction to a stone assault on a policeman; ironically, it was precisely at that time when students were dispersing, obeying police orders that batons, police dogs and teargas were let loose". The police on the other hand had claimed that they acted in reaction to a stone which was thrown at a constable.

Subsequent to the events at Turfloop, 5 Whites resigned from the teaching staff. They were Prof. H J. Oosthuizen, head of the Department of Applied Mathematics; Mr F. C. de Beer, Lecturer in the Department of Classical Languages; Mr Z. Postma de Beer, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy; Mr A. K. Roodt, Senior Lecturer and head of the department of Linguistic Literary Science and Mr L. V. le Roux, Lecturer in Department of Classical Languages.

The only reason given in each case, according to the Minister of Bantu Education, is that they had accepted appointments elsewhere.²⁰ The Minister took further opportunity to explain that it should be expected that Whites will now and again have to leave the tribal universities, "in the process of 'Nationalisation'." "The process takes place in a properly planned manner...", the Minister said.

(iv) SASO Banned on Campus

The Star of February 18, 1975 reported that the operation of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) was banned on the campus at Turfloop "until further notice". The news was released to students in an information sheet. The SRC was also dissolved by decree, because the remaining members of the SRC "did not form a legal quorum in terms of the SRC constitution".

Subsequent attempts by the authorities to promote an SRC on campus failed. Students interviewed by *Black Review* claimed that they were suspicious of the motive behind the move. They claimed that a list of 'acceptable' names had been circulated to be considered for nomination by the students. When the actual day of nominations came, two staff persons were appointed to act as electoral officers, which the students found anomalous because previously the matter had always been purely a student affair. *Black Review* learned that quite a few students had disappeared from the campus, especially those in leading positions (hence the SRC quorum crisis). Speculation was high that most of them could have left for Botswana, where a number of young black refugees had already collected in the past two years. In 1973, students at the North had voted overwhelmingly in favour of automatic membership of SASO on campus. They declared that by virtue of being a student of the University of the North, a person was *de facto* a member of SASO. This was apparently discouraged by the university authorities.²¹

The Bantustan Governments of Gazankulu and Lebowa condemned the ban on SASO. The two governments said the ban on SASO appeared to be *sub judice* in that the whole question of student unrest at the university was still being investigated by the judicial commission of inquiry.

In a press statement by SASO it was revealed that Prof. Boshoff not only banned SASO activities, but he had also refused to readmit active SASO members or any relatives of active people.

The Sunday Times of February 25, 1975, commenting on the issue said: "The test for admission to Turfloop, surely should not be a person's political views, but his academic qualifications. But we have different standards here". It added, "To show an interest in politics and to discuss or speak up for one's ideals is a dangerous business because one is obviously seen to be an 'agitator'."

Relations between SASO and the university authorities had not yet been improved at the time of going to press.

(b) The University of Fort Hare

(i) **Growth:** 1974 and 1975 saw remarkable extensions to the university buildings and the construction of new structures both for academic and residential purposes. According to official speculation Fort Hare (with registration just over 1000 in 1974), would possibly hit the 3000 mark by 1981. In view of this the university reports that it has a R10 million capital development programme for the coming five years, and is hoping that it will succeed in obtaining the money.

(ii) SASO on Campus

The operation of this student movement has been more or less discouraged at Fort Hare, although it was never actually banned. Since the student disturbances of 1972 and the further confrontation at Fort Hare which led to mass walk-outs by disgusted students from the university in 1973, the authorities appeared to be bent on removing the SASO flag from the campus.

The Rector, Dr de Wet, in a letter to the SASO local committee in June 1974, wrote: "There is ample proof that it is the outspoken policy of SASO to endeavour to effect the closure of black universities. To corroborate this statement, I refer you to

 (a) various articles published by your leaders in SASO's official newsletter,

- (b) press statements and declarations issued by leaders and conferences e.g. the so-called 'Alice Declaration' of 1972. (see Black Review 1972 page 176).
- (c) the report of the one-man commission of enquiry (Judge Van Wyk) in regard to the role played by SASO during the unrest at the University of the Western Cape (see section on the University of Western Cape below), whereby the academic careers of hundreds of students were ruined, and
- (d) the role played by SASO leaders during the 1972 and 1973 unrest at the University of Fort Hare, during the course of which the careers of many of our own students were similarly ruined"

The Eastern Cape Regional Secretary of SASO Mr Silumko Sokupa, commenting on Professor De Wet's allegations mentioned above, explained to *Black Review* that SASO had been misunderstood by many people. "We are not out to destroy any university. All we stand for is the upholding of the black man's human dignity in every sphere of life. We also seek to make students aware of the needs of their community, which they are supposed to serve with their education. It is a pity that our message has been misinterpreted by so many. We are planning to clear up matters with all the people concerned," Mr Sokupa said.

At the beginning of 1975, there were some reports that the majority of SASO leaders on the campus had been excluded from the university, apparently as a result of frozen relationships between the organization and the university authorities.

However, a student from Fort Hare confirmed that the organization was still operating on campus, "although we are having to maintain a low profile until a change of attitude is evident. We still fear for careers of our membership. Many of us feel that open membership to SASO should be encouraged, but as it is now we just cannot voice what we want".

(iii) Fort Hare Expands into Federal Theological Seminary

On November 26, 1974, the Government issued an expropriation notice assuming powers over the use of the land occupied by the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice.

According to a statement circulated by the Fort Hare rector Dr J. M. de Wet to the members of the university staff, the action of the Government followed a long period of negotiation between the University and the Seminary over the land, which started with a letter from Professor de Wet on March 17, 1971.

In his statement, which was intended "to relate the correct facts concerning this matter to the staff", Dr de Wet explained that Fort Hare needed land badly for the expansion of its academic establishment. He was therefore empowered by the Minister of Bantu Education to put the university's case to the Seminary with the intention of buying the Seminary land.

Failure to reach an agreement with the Seminary authorities over the period of negotiation was reported to the Department of Bantu Education which took action to expropriate the land in November, 1974.

Statements of condemnation of the Government action came from all directions in Christian circles. On February 3rd a delegation from the Seminary went to see the Minister in Pretoria, in a last minute bid to persuade the Government to reverse the order. This was not successful, and the Minister only promised that the takeover would be exercised with the minimum of inconvenience for the Seminary.

This was followed shortly by the following telegram from the Department of Bantu Education to the Seminary:

"The properties expropriated in terms of expropriation notice dated November 26, 1974 will be made available to the University of Fort Hare on Friday, 7 February, 1975 and if you want to temporarily rent part of the property you must please inform the Principal of the University by 10 February, 1975, who will decide what part of the property can be let to you".²²

On the 7th of February senior representatives of the Seminary went to see the university officials, apparently on the advice of the Minister in his telegram.

After the discussions at this meeting had not yielded an agreement, Professor de Wet later wrote a letter to the Seminary, disclosing a decision taken by the university as regards the sharing of the expropriated property of the Seminary. According to the decision the Seminary was to be granted the use of the Administrative Block including the classrooms therein, the Library, Adams College and John Wesley residential quarters, St. Peter's Chapel building and some staff houses. Such an arrangement would mean that both institutions would live on the same land, with students from the two colleges whose residences would be used by Fort Hare, St. Peter's and St. Columba's also living at the two granted colleges, John Wesley and Adams.

It was supposed to be the arrangement for 1975 during which the Seminary would have to find alternative permanent or temporary accomodation. The conditions as set up by Fort Hare would be that the Seminary authorities would have to make it known to their staff and students that during their stay in 1975 they should refrain from making provocative statements or actions including incitement aimed at causing confusion and disaffection amongst students of the university. Failure to observe this would compel a termination of the contract before its normal expiry.

Rather than take the Fort Hare offer, the Seminary decided to move as a whole "under protest" to a camp in Umtata in the premises of the St. John's parish of the Anglican Church, where the St. Bede's Anglican College is situated. They communicated their decision to the Minister of Bantu Education with a notice that they would only be able to move *en bloc* March 10, three weeks after the date on which Fort Hare expected them to have moved, February 17.

(iv) The Seminary Exodus

On March 10, the day of the massive Seminary removal, ten theological students blocked the way of the furniture removal trucks and delayed their departure by about two and half hours.

When the expropriation order was released, students had already gone home for the summer vacation, and all the arrangements, to finality were made in their absence. When they did arrive on February 15, the Seminary authorities had already announced plans of moving to Umtata. The students' leadership, which included SASO acting President, Rev. Gwebelentlanzi Mposelwa felt that if Seminary authorities were totally opposed to the take over of the property by the Government on behalf of Fort Hare they should have refused to make a voluntary concession by offering to move on a certain date. They felt that they should rather have stayed on until the Government used force to uproot them. The students felt that the Seminary was allowing itself to be bought with the alleged R60 000 compensation for inconvenience, which was outside the actual figure of the land valuation.

Meanwhile it was reported that the Seminary President, Dr Simpson, was busy persuading groups of students, especially Anglicans (Dr Simpson was himself principal of the Anglican wing of the Seminary). to make the 'trek' as smooth as possible without incidents. Apparently this tactic met with a measure of success in the Seminary but for the few die-hards who formed the core of the defiant activists who caused a stir by blocking the removal action for two and half hours. The students lay down on the tarmac at the entrance gate. Seminary officials cut wire fencing in an attempt to make another entrance. Some of the students immediately lay down there.²³ At this stage some members of the staff, and some right-wing students removed them bodily and they were carried away and confined in a seminary building which had to be used as 'a gaol cell'; and the warder was a local Anglican priest who was entrusted with the keys.

Other than this incident there was complete peace during the exodus which arrived in Umtata in a 'crusade' procession singing 'Onward Christian Soldiers". An eye witness said he was reminded of the first arrival of the Israelites in Jericho, at the end of the Biblical Jewish e xodus.

(v) Matanzima threatens Seminary

The Seminary, barely three weeks in the Transkei capital, was plunged into war with the Chief Minister, Kaizer Matanzima who threatened to close down the Anglican Diocese of St. Johns, which accomodated the Seminary in its parish, and all its mission stations unless the church "expels" the Federal Theological Seminary.

Apparently the Seminary students had organised a rally according to the customary tradition of SASO and BPC to hold commemoration services on March 21 for Blacks who had been killed in the course of the struggle for liberation—'Heroes Day'.

At this service, which was held at the Ngangelizwe location in Umtata, pamphlets relating incidents commemorated were distributed. Chief Matanzima referred to the pamphlet entitled "On the way to Sharpeville"—as "a most obnoxious document".²⁴

Attacking the students, he said "They are determined to incite people to rise against their constitution, it is no wonder there were so many strikes at Fort Hare. And it is no wonder the Government gave them such short notice to leave Alice"...He added: "These so-called students of theology are bent on eliminating chieftainship".

The response of Rev. Canon Robin Briggs, principal of St. Bede's, the actual hosts of the Seminary, was that of concern at the thought of the whole diocese, which includes all the Anglican missions in the Transkei, being expropriated. The Canon thought that there could be "international repercussions", on which he would not elaborate. The Chief Minister later explained that he had written his statement under provocation, and that he did not mean to act against the whole diocese, but against St. Bede's college, "if it continues to harbour these people". The reaction of the Seminary was perhaps that of panic. Their President, Dr Theodore Simpson hastily had a meeting with the Chief, after which he reported that the matter would be handled between the authorities of the Transkei and the Seminary. "In my view some of the remarks in the document are offensive" said Dr Simpson. "The Seminary authorities completely dissociate themselves from these offensive remarks, and deeply regret that any members of the Seminary community may have in any way been associated with them" added the president.25

Another senior official of the Seminary, Rev. J. F. Bill, the principal of St. Columba's College was quoted by the *Daily Dispatch* of April 10, 1975 as having pointed out that the Seminary had not been involved in the "Black Heroes" service—only a few individual students. "On the whole our students are a responsible lot. They are older and have come with a clear vocational commitment and remained responsible to the churches which had sent them. They could not all be lumped with the few who had definite radical views", summed up Mr Bill.

As the storm seemed to subside, the students who had participated in the controversial service were tossed around some more at the Seminary, with the authorities summoning them to some commission of inquiry into the matter. The students refused to attend it and they alleged that the report of this commission would be handed over to the Transkei Government, and that the authorities were prepared to sacrifice them rather than stand firm by the truth like true Christians.

"What is evil about commemorating your dead heroes if there is nothing wrong with celebrating St. Paul and relating the death of St. Stephen? This institution is now ready to see evil in this simply because the oppressive powers are at the door-step, the chips are really down" one student exclaimed.

c) The University of Zululand

In the whole of South Africa, this is the only university which has enjoyed peace for the past two years—these were the words of the Rector of Unizul, Dr Maré during an interview with *Black Review* in March 1975.

The Rector attributed this to the good relations his administration had with the student body, as well as the staff. His good relations were perhaps demonstrated when a few months later, the administration joined hands with the students against Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu.

Chief Buthelezi had publicly attacked the morals of the University students, alleging that they were living a loose life on campus which was not stopped by the Rector He called for the replacement of Professor Maré with a black man, apparently because a black man would feel obliged to uphold the cultural values of his society, which were emphatically against the kind of things the Chief alleged were happening at Unizul.

After an angry reaction from the students, and the Council of the University condemned Chief Buthelezi for his allegations which they insisted were unfounded.

SASO and Campus

During 1974 and 1975 the South African Students' Organization has been operating well at UniZul, although a near division of the campus in 1974 nearly jeopardized the standing of the organization.

In 1974 a cultural organization called 'Kuvumbua Mlimo' was set up through the efforts of Mr John Vusumuzi Mchunu, a senior student at the university, who had been a minister of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, and later associated with the Independent African Churches.

The movement came with a strong 'back to Africa' revival accent, revolutionalising many things, including worship services, to suit the African cultural background. Many students, especially SASO followers supported this movement as a step in the correct direction.

The problem arose when Mr Mchunu and his lieutenants started lobbying against SASO. Some of their key points were that whereas UniZul was a Zulu University, SASO on the campus was dominated by students who had come from the Transvaal, and were therefore not Zulu.

The second point, on the part of Mchunu was a simple loyalty to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, whom he felt was unduly attacked by SASO for "operating within the system". Mr Mchunu told *Black Review*: "No one in this country can claim to be operating outside the system. If anyone does not want to operate within the system, he must leave the country, and therefore operate outside the South African system".

Hereafter, differences took a heightened pitch, with the SASO leadership occasionally being threatened with violence by the 'Usuthu faction', as the Mchunu group had come to be known, after the Zulu royal salute—Usuthu.

Vusumuzi Mchunu personally denied that Kuvumbua Mlimo was tribally oriented, he claimed that it was a purely African matter and for that reason he had actually chosen a Swahili name for it, 'to be completely neutral'. He claimed that his differences with SASO were purely ideological. "I am hoping that we can spread this movement to other black universities as well", he told *Black Review*.

The steam subsided in 1975 when the energetic Mchunu left the campus. The Rector, on the other hand had remained completely neutral. He said "SASO is not banned on this campus, I shall not ban it, the students can operate their organization freely". However some students on campus did not believe that Dr Maré was neutral on the matter. This they based on the unexplained expulsion of SASO oriented SRC President Thami Makhaya and another key SASO figure George Nene, both from Johannesburg. The general feeling of the students interviewed was that these students were victims of the administration's sympathy for the 'Usuthu' faction.

(d) The University of Western Cape

(i) Growth

In March 1974, the acting Rector of the Western Cape University announced that the university was embarking on a R5 million expansion scheme in the coming year.²⁶ The university was aiming at accommodating an expected 10 000 students by 1990. It had an enrolment figure of 1535 students in 1974. Professor Monton added that in 14 years, the university had increased seven-fold.

(ii) The Van Wyk Commission: (See section on SASO in Black Organizations Chapter). The report of the one-man Van Wyk Commission, which was appointed to investigate the 1973 disturbances at the University of Western Cape was made public on March 1st, 1974.

In his report, Judge Van wyk, the Judge-President of the Cape recommended that the following activities at all South African Universities be made punishable by law:

 Disruption of classes or interference with the activities of members of staff.

• Incitement by anyone towards disrupting classes or preventing staff members from carrying out their duties.

 Any other conduct aimed at disrupting the normal function of the university, for example by encouraging students or lecturers to boycott classes.

Having outlined its findings, the Commission wrote: "The only important and justified objection was in relation to the autonomy of the University and the salaries of Coloured staff members". The Commission added in general that it was obviously desirable that attention should be given to changing attitudes and practices that created dissatisfaction in the Coloured Community and to effect fitting legislation from time to time.

The one recommendation of the commission which was speedily effected by the Government was the appointment of Dr R. E. van der Ross as rector.

Reacting to the key recommendation of Judge Van Wyk, to make disruption of order at universities punishable by law, Mr Adam Small said: "It could very easily become legislation to legislate universities, in the true sense of the word, out of existence." Mr Small was the head of the Philosophy department of the Western Cape University until his resignation during the time of the 1973 unrest. He identified 3 criteria as hall-marks of a 'true' university—unimpeded search for the truth, complete independence of thought, and absolute freedom to formulate and live out ideals—all would be imperilled by the proposed legislation, he said.²⁷ Referring to the suggestion that SASO had caused the trouble at the UWC, Mr Small said," It is true that SASO ideology played a big role, but it is a mistaken view that SASO was completely responsible. It is a view which completely underestimates the feelings that were running in the Coloured community last year and are still running. It implies that they are easily misled...the question is why...why was the agitation there, why did the students follow SASO? People never really get down to this grassroot question because deep down there is a fear of it, because deep down the answer is known already".

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Sonny Leon, and Mr Albertus Pop, a leading member of the Social Democratic Party in Johannesburg, endorsed Mr Small's warning against legislation to curb "agitators" and his view that it was an oversimplification to hold SASO responsible for the unrest.²⁸

(iii) SASO on Campus

The mass walk-outs of students in 1973 drained the campus of a good number of leading students in the SASO ranks. This resulted in a lull lasting for most of 1974. Students reorganised themselves at the beginning of 1975, and some of them played a big role in the campaigning against the CRC election.

The feelings of the students were heightened against Governmentcreated political bodies like the CRC. This was manifested when the Labour Party leader, Mr Sonny Leon was pelted by students during an address at the University.

An organised branch of SASO was constituted and the local branch invited the national executive of SASO to visit them. A visit by Publications Director, Norman Dubazana, who addressed the students, and Thambi Zani, Secretary General in June marked the seal of SASO establishment on the campus.

At the time of going to print, the students were making preparations for the annual General Students' Council (SASO conference), which was to be held at Hammanskraal in the Transvaal in July.

(e) University of Durban-Westville

(i) The Medical School decision

The Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, revealed plans of establishing a medical school at the University of Durban-Westville.²⁹ Mr Steyn said an interdepartmental committee had been set up to examine ways of implementing the decision. He added that the Natal Provincial Administration which controls hospitals in Durban, would be closely consulted on the scheme.

(ii) Boycott of Graduation Ceremony

The 1974 graduation ceremony which was addressed by the Prime Minister Mr Vorster was boycotted by a number of students who decided to graduate 'in absentia'. This was decided on as a mark of personal protest against apartheid in education. Among the reasons advanced by the students were that academic freedom was virtually nonexistent and that students' rights were extremely limited. "Like the other Black 'Universities', this institution is a creation of apartheid, a system which for many decades has oppressed and exploited the majority of the people of South Africa", said one of the boycotters. "This institution can never cater for the needs of the community it is supposed to serve, for its primary purpose is to perpetuate and consolidate apartheid; and it cannot serve two masters," he said.³⁰

(iii) Students' Dissatisfaction

The Sunday Tribune of March 31, 1974 reported complaints of resident students at UDW, who felt that their hostel was "more like a concentration camp than a university residence". They said they were treated like prisoners and not students. The students, who asked the Sunday Tribune not to reveal their names for fear of victimisation, revealed that:

- A pass system had been imposed on residence students to identify them in the hostel and at meals.
- No day-students or friends could be entertained in a student's room and parents could only be invited to rooms with the permission of the warden.
- Men students had to be in residence by 11 o'clock every night, and women by 11.45 at weekends.
- Several students were interrogated individually by the academic registrar, Mr M. van Niekerk, about protest meetings in the residence. They were told they had to sign a document saying they recognised the authority of the house committee and that they would not engage in contentious matters.

The students said the house committee of the residence was elected on a boycott poll—109 of the 150 students eligible to vote, placed blank sheets in the ballot box. It was reported that a student who criticised the presence of the warden, Professor B. Ranchod at the meeting held to discuss the grievances was later expelled from residence.

(iv) The Students' Representative Council

At the beginning of 1975 the students came back to the campus with intentions to press for an SRC constitution acceptable to them. They pledged to boycott all facilities and functions unless their demands were met.³¹

The SRC had been disbanded in 1972 after students and authorities clashed over the constitution. Since then, sporting and other facilities,

said to be the best for Blacks in South Africa, have remained unused. The only Olympic sized pool for Indians, the athletic track, football fields and tennis courts have not been in use on a competitive basis. The university spokesman Mr Nico Nel blamed the students for the non-existence of student bodies. "We are prepared to have them but the students refuse to co-operate".

In a bid to settle the issue, the rector, Professor S. P. Olivier called on the students to meet him to form an SRC. Commenting on the call by Prof Olivier, Professor Leonard Gering, former professor of law at the university said: "Self-respecting students at Durban-Westville University would regard a Students' Representative Council whose constitution was drawn up by the university authorities as puppet representation".

"The constitution for an SRC should be drafted in consultation with the students themselves. The terms of its constitution should not be unilaterally dictated by the university authorities," Professor Gering said. "Self respecting students cannot be expected to agree voluntarily to serve on a body that is meant to represent them if its powers are clearly inferior to those of other universities", he added.

(v) SASO on Campus

For the past couple of years, the Westville branch of SASO has been operating from outside the actual university campus. The main reason for this was given as that a great majority of Westville students were day scholars, and the absence of student structures like SRC on the campus discouraged the establishment of proper on-the-spot organization.

The Durban-Westville branch has however been very active in Durban, especially during the time of the SASO crisis late in 1974. Members of this branch worked hard to raise funds which came in very handy in relieving the financial pressure on homes of detainees who had been key bread winners before detention.

(f) The University of Natal Black Section

(i) The University stops preliminary year

During 1974, it was announced that the Medical school at Natal would no longer admit post-Matric students to the traditional orientation preliminary year, which was arranged to uplift the standard of black matriculants to suit the standard of qualifications to start the courses in medical training.

The main reason attached to the stoppage was that the medical students residence, Alan Taylor, at Wentworth could no longer accommodate these 50 odd students without prejudicing the chances of admission of more senior students. The President of the SRC, Mr Radebe Ralph Mgijima, told *Black Review* that the feeling of the students was that the university was attempting to reduce the number of post-matric freshers, which would most certainly result in a reduction of Africans at this only university which accepted Africans in medical training.

Mr Mgijima said it was clear that the majority of African applicants would never have the necessary high standard because of the wellknown low standards of education at high schools.

Considering that the main source of African applicants would then be the three universities, Fort Hare, Zululand and the North, whose B.Sc graduates could be admitted into 2nd year at Natal, Mr Mgijima said: "How many students will ever come from that end. Can you imagine the number of students who will ever qualify with all the odds at these tribal institutions directed against the interests of the black community? I can only say that this medical school will be closed down, especially with all the talk of another school being established at Durban-Westville and the Indian component of this campus will be withdrawn. That will result in the break up of this student community".

When *Black Review* presented Mr Mgijima's argument to the Dean of the Medical faculty, Professor Smythe, the dean emphatically denied that the university had the prejudice of African students as a motive for discontinuing the course. "But we cannot continue to assume the duties of someone else by taking ill-qualified applicants and prepare them for qualification even if it is to the disadvantage of the more qualified students", said the dean.

He added, "You must understand that it is not our fault that the majority of African applicants experience difficulties which result from the unsuitable education system they have to go through. We do our best to improve the situation".

"This medical school is in fact maintained for the benefit of the African community." Professor Smythe explained that the space problem at the residence was a genuine one. In his 1974 annual report, the principal of the University of Natal, Professor Francis Stock said: "The greatest need for the Medical School at the present time is a new residence for students, designed for this purpose and situated conveniently close to the Medical School (Alan Taylor is approximately 10 km from the school)...During 1974 the University has made a number of attempts to find alternative sites near the Medical school, but so far without success".

The main problem was said to be that the Medical School is situated in an area zoned for Whites, and therefore black students could not dwell there.

The Alan Taylor Residence, inconveniently situated away from the school, consists mainly of war-time hutments adjacent to a large oil refinery. It has a substantial police unit virtually within the campus. "The latter is highly provocative as there are no barriers between the police and the university buildings, and road access is shared", said Professor Stock in his report.

Professor Smythe further reported that the University was planning to increase the number of students to be admitted into 2nd year from 120 to 160, and that the excess would be set aside for the benefit of Africans.

(ii) The proposed 4 year course for medical training

The controversial idea of supplementing the output of African medicos by providing a crash 4-year medical course to produce medicalaids was rejected by several medical academics in the country in 1974. Most objectioners pointed out that this would be degrading the standard of medical training for Africans. The feeling was that this measure was not necessary. The more desirable action would be to open more proper medical schools for Blacks.

The Dean of the Medical Faculty at Natal University, Professor Smythe expressed doubt that the diploma idea would actually be implemented. "The only way I think it could work would be if nurses were trained in the proposed way, to be of better assistance to doctors", the dean said. "Personally I think that this category of nurse would make a great contribution to health".

He cited that this method was used, and that it was working well in America. He further revealed that there had been a proposal from the Medical and Dental Association to have medical students writing final examinations at the end of their 5th year, instead of their 6th year, and the 6th year being used as first year internship year; which would suggest two years of housemanship.

Professor Smythe said that his university had not accepted that procedure because "we believe that the 6th year is important revision

year".

General Matters Relating to Black Higher Education

The universities which have been established by the Government for Blacks in South Africa still cannot offer the black man much for a developing nation. The majority of students qualifying from these universities are mainly in the field of education and humanities. No emphasis is laid on the importance of technical courses which offer skills in fields like engineering, electronics etc. By and large, higher education for Blacks still remains education for subservience. This has resulted in most educated Blacks having to depend on civil service employment for their main livelihood, which makes them and their educational wisdom and experience completely useless for the real development of the community from which they come. This cannot be surprising because any meaningful involvement in real community development almost invariably incurs the disfavour of the powers-thatbe.

In the past, as is still the case to some limited extent even today, black people wanting to take serious occupational careers would either have to apply to white universities inside the country or apply to universities outside South Africa.

In 1975 there were 3 Coloured, 15 Indian and 9 African dentistry students registered with the white University of Witwatersrand.³² The 9 African students were the only African dentistry students in the whole country, whereas the University of the Western Cape accommodated some 23 Coloured and 17 Indian dentistry students.³³

The above figures suggest that in 1975 there were 67 Black students in dentistry training in South Africa, against 777 white students (404 Pretoria, 115 Stellenbosch, 258 Wits) in the same training in the same year.³⁴

On September 24, 1974, the various Ministers in control of Black education disclosed in Parliament the numbers of black students (i) who had applied to register at white universities and (ii) who were admitted, from 1960 to 1973.

Africans	Applied	Admitted
1960	i*	4
1961	*	7
1962	*	7
1963	*	1
1964 ·	i —* •	1
1965	` 9	
1966	6	1
1967	13	4
1968	7	1
1969	63	6
1970	29	3
1971	45	15
1972	47	10
1973	96	21

*Information not available

Indians	Applied	Admitted
1961	- 4	4
1962	165	143
1963	238	222
1964	476	408
1965	318	281
1966	414	367
1967	461	416
1968	537	495
1969	691	644
1970	784	694
1971	802	694
1972	213	130
1973	249	120

In 1975, the Minister of Indian Affairs reported that 138 Indian students had applied for registration at open universities, and of these, a total of 85 was admitted.³⁵ The Minister further explained that generally speaking, applications are refused if suitable facilities are available at the University of Durban-Westville or at the correspondence University of South Africa.

Coloureds	Applied	Admitted
1970	381	323
1971	298	222
1972	378	298
1973	300	234

The figures from the years 1960 to 1969 were not available. However in 1975 the Minister of Coloured Relations reported that during the years ending March 31, 1974 and March 31, 1975, there were 343 and 416 Coloured students who applied to open universities; of these 52 and 41 respectively were not admitted.³⁶

Circumstancial Drop-outs from University

There are many South African black students who are currently stranded in the country with respect to furthering their education. Most of these are victims of the after effects of the recent years' mass walkouts from black campuses. Most of these students cannot be registered with the correspondence University of South Africa which demands a certificate of 'good conduct' to be supplied by the previous university, prior to the registration of the applicant.

It is never likely that a previous university from which one has walked out on a point of a principle that one holds dear, will still recommend one for another university. This has resulted in hardships, especially because most of these students have had no rest from the security police since they got to their homes. Job opportunities have been as hard to come by.

Drum magazine of July 8, 1974 featured cases of such students. One of them decided to try her luck with the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, but when she went to the Johannesburg Bantu Affairs Commissioner's Office to have her travel document endorsed, she was told that this could not be done. "They told me that they had a list of students from Fort Hare who could get travel documents. Is an exit permit the only hope?" she asked.

Another student had apparently been registered already when he received a letter from the University of South Africa, cancelling his registration because the certificate of good conduct would not be issued by Fort Hare. "Since getting the letter I have been visited by the police, who questioned me about the disturbances at Fort Hare last year and threatened that they could prevent me from getting a job, now that I could not study", said the student.

To this Fort Hare just said: "These students vowed to destroy this university and finally walked out. We don't want them back. If they want to go to another university very well. But we would have to give them certificates of good conduct, and if we don't state that they were ringleaders of the rioting here, we will be withholding information".

The Registrar Mr van Huysteen said that Fort Hare had nothing to do with the refusal of travel documents.³⁷

Students from Abroad at South African Universities

The Minister of Bantu Education disclosed that in 1974 there were 27 foreign students who studied at South African universities. The majority of those students came to study Theology, Pharmacy and Arts.

A total of 19 were registered at the University of the North, 4 at Fort Hare, 2 at Zululand and 1 each at the white Universities of Potchefstroom and Natal (the number for Natal excludes any students who could have been registered at the black section for Medicine).

The one of Potchefstroom (Mr T. L. Muturiki) was registered for a Th.B degree while the Natal one (Mr M. Malefane) was registered for a B. Arch. degree.³⁸

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