

BLACK REVIEW

1974/75

Talk to Blacks in SA,
rster told

Police Pounce on SASO, B.P.C.

VILJOEN NO
TO AFRICAN
UNIONS

Dog pack breaks up Rally.

A's PROBLEM
OF DETENTION
WITHOUT TRIAL

Nip SASO in bud says Minister.

Editor:
Thoko Mbanjwa

REWELL
ERVICE

'Free Apartheid
Prisoners'

OR
EMINARY

Authentic
Black Theatre
Grows

BLACK REVIEW

1974/5

EDITOR
THOKO MBANJWA

ISBN 0 86986 041 0

PUBLISHED BY
BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES
1975

Contents

Chapter		Page
	Introduction	v
	Acknowledgements	vii
1	Government Created Political Bodies:	1
	Bantustans—	
	Kwa-Zulu	11
	Transkei	17
	Bophutha-Tswana	23
	Basotho Qwaqwa	29
	Lebowa	32
	Vendaland	38
	Gazankulu	40
	Ciskei	41
2	Government Created Political Bodies:	56
	Coloured Persons Representative Council	
3	Government Created Political Bodies:	70
	South African Indian Council	
4	Arrests and Detentions, Political Trials and Bannings	76
5	Black Organisations:	108
	Political Pressure Groups	
	Natal Indian Congress	115
	The Black People's Convention	117
	Self-Help and Religious Groups	120
	The Association for the Educational and Cultural Development for Africans—(ASSECA)	123
	Idamasa	126
	The Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre	127
	Association of Self-Help (ASH)	128
6	Black Consciousness	131
7	Education for Blacks—	140
	Primary and Secondary	
8	Education for Blacks—	158
	Teacher Training, Technical and Vocational	
9	Education for Blacks—	162
	Higher Education	
10	Black Labour	190
11	Sport	196
12	Arts and Entertainment	211
13	Namibia	215
	Index	225

Introduction

In June 1975, I got the opportunity of listening to someone explaining to others who had inquired, what *Black Review* (which they had roughly heard about) was all about. Before I could clear my throat to answer, a senior lecturer at the Federal Theological Seminary, Rev. S. M. Mogoba butted: "Please, do let me give you my experience of *Black Review*". After describing the nature of the publication, Mr Mogoba went on to relate how he had found *Black Review* very useful whenever he and his colleagues had to talk about any field of black experience in any gathering. "*Black Review* is like the Bible" concluded Mr Mogoba.

Perhaps Stanley Mogoba's use of this publication can be confirmed by many people, but Black Community Programmes, which established *Black Review* seeks to promote a Black Community that is master of its own destiny. Therefore the knowledge that this is a Black effort at presenting goings-on in the Black Community; presented with a Black perspective which naturally comes out of Black experience should be more gratifying to us.

We record these events, hoping that Black people will not just keep them in their libraries but use them to improve the future. This is prompted by the sincere belief that we need to occasionally stop to take stock of our activities in the past—evaluation.

Black Review has always been published at the beginning of the year immediately following the one under review. However, a Black Community Programmes staff resolution of October, 1974 recommended a change of the publishing date to mid-year. In that way, *Black Review* year would be from June to June the following year. This issue is the first one to follow that order. Although it covers events from the beginning of 1974 it does not exceed June 1975.

The next issue should therefore start from July 1975 to June 1976. All things being equal, the book should be in circulation by August 1st. This logic therefore suggests that we are late with our publication this year, and I take opportunity to duly apologise to our readers.

At the end of this book we have listed a number of books published during the period under review. This is by no means an exhaustive list of such books. The list has been given to us by the courtesy of the Ravan Press and we hope to cover a wider field in the future.

Thoko Mbanjwa,
Editor.

Acknowledgements

On behalf of the Communications Department of the Black Community Programmes, I wish to convey most sincere gratitude to all people who have shown co-operation in the preparation of this work. It is not possible for me to count each and every one of them, with the limited space available for this purpose.

However, a special word of thanks should go to the staff and administration of the Lovedale Press, who printed this book and offered valuable assistance in the arrangement of the publication, Ravan Press for their continued co-operation and assistance to us; libraries and staff of the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Daily News*. I am greatly indebted to those people who, notwithstanding the importance of their own work, have allowed time to talk to our researchers, especially the administrations of the Universities of Natal Black Section, Zululand and Fort Hare. This has been a great encouragement to us and we hope more and more people will appreciate the need for this kind of contact.

Editor.

GOVERNMENT CREATED POLITICAL BODIES

Bantustans

THE BANTUSTAN POLICY, perhaps sooner than has always been anticipated by its black opponents in South Africa and abroad, began to crystallise in 1974. In 1974 and 1975 certain developments can be singled out which had the profound effect of making the Bantustan policy sound more accomplished:—

there was more definite planning with the Transkei for the “independence” of that territory;

there were new developments regarding South Africa at the United Nations.

the South African Foreign Affairs Department developed a much more outgoing diplomatic African policy.

By and large these events have given rise to intense debate and speculation in South Africa about the course of events over the next few years. On the one hand protagonists of the Bantustan policy are capitalising on the “gains” and claim that with more time their policy will be seen to be working. On the other hand those who are opposed to the Bantustan policy argue that the so-called gains are gimmicks calculated to buy more time for the South African Government which is being overtaken by events in nearby countries.

The Transkei Independence Question

The announcement of independence plans for 1976 by the Transkei's Chief Matanzima had three immediate results. The first was the disturbance of the fraternity of Bantustan leaders whose agreed strategy

had been to reject independence until the Government was prepared to grant more land to the homelands and that no individual Bantustan leader would bargain alone with Pretoria without consulting the others. The disappointment of other homeland leaders was expressed in the statements by homeland leaders, first by Gatsha Buthelezi who expressed regret that the "Transkei brother's" decision to go it alone had broken the "Black Solidarity" forged in 1973 at the Umtata meeting of homeland leaders;¹ and second by Collins Ramusi's blunt accusation that the Transkei Chief Minister had "betrayed" his fellow homeland leaders. The importance of the Matanzima move to the South African Nationalist Party Government was underlined by Premier Vorster's public thanking of the Transkei Chief Minister for his "statesmanship".²

The second was the apparent sharp reaction that came from White opposition politicians who had apparently regarded the whole question of independence for Bantustans as a matter for the distant future. The main fear expressed by Whites was what independence for Bantustans would mean. The points raised by the United Party election candidate for Umzinto, George Bartlett in his campaign speech are probably most significant. He said, "Sovereign independence means seats in the United Nations for eight Bantu homelands. It means the freedom to make whatever alliances with whatever nations a Bantustan may choose. It means the bringing of our northern border to the back door of Durban. It means every African working at Amanzimtoti will be a foreigner with no allegiance to South Africa and no right to the products of the wealth generated by his labour in white areas, other than his wages".

He went on, "Don't believe the propaganda that these States will be peaceful to South Africa because they are economically dependant upon White South Africa—who would have thought 12 months ago that the Arab states would hold the whole Western world to ransom with their oil. How long would we last if black South Africa aided by some foreign State, denied us the black labour for our factories, cane fields, and gold mines—only serious trouble for the future of the White man can result from this policy".

The third was that of black opponents of the system expressed by SASO General Secretary, Mr. Tami Zani in a special interview. Mr. Zani felt that Matanzima was carrying the Bantustan policy across a political Rubicon, "certainly without remarkable gain for the black people as a whole, but only supplying South Africa with more diplomatic ammunition to cheat the world into accepting separate development and its multinational policy as a living fact to reckon with."

He supported the belief that the Government was attempting to transform the African population into inhabitants of underdeveloped "countries" thereby shattering any hopes they might have had of a more equitable share in the economy they had helped to develop. He

warned that the dangerous significance of these independence moves was that they nullified the efforts of the whole black struggle from 1910 up to date, where Blacks had been saying they were not consulted when the whites formed an alliance in government in 1910 and further went on to pass Acts allocating a certain percentage of land to the Blacks, dictating even the terms of use of that land. Today Blacks were ready to sign that, as ethnic groups, they were entitled to only certain portions of the unfairly allocated total percentage of land for Africans.

The South African Students' Organisation, and the Black People's Convention have always been known to be some of those organisations which unconditionally reject the Bantustan policy and the role that its black proponents play in society, which attitude has undoubtedly earned them very little popularity with Bantustan leaders.

South Africa and the United Nations

In view of the uncomfortable situation of the South African delegation at the United Nations over the years and the repeated jabs at the validity of the delegation's credentials to the world body, the South African Government decided to revise its strategy regarding the United Nations. The Government included in their United Nations delegation for 1974 three observers in the persons of the Transkei's Chief Kaizer Matanzima, Dr. M. B. Naidoo, a member of the Executive Committee of the South African Indian Council and Mr. D. R. Ulster, a tutor at a teacher training school.

The names of these people were announced in Parliament by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, on the 10th September 1974 in response to the United Party's Japie Basson, who said, amongst other things, that the "multinational character of South Africa should be soundly reflected at the United Nations and in all international forums where our country is officially represented".

He went on to relate his experience at the U.N. in 1973, that he was confronted by someone who charged that S.A. claimed to be a multinational state, yet one did not see the other South African nations that the Government always talked about. "For the sake of credibility, and also, of course, for the sake of good foreign policy, we believe that it has become imperative for us to present a multinational South African front where and whenever we appear on the international stage".³

The Minister continued and informed Parliament that the idea of including a Bantustan representative had come with Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development; together with whom they went to discuss the matter with Matanzima, who then requested that he be the one to go the U.N.⁴ He also observed that this opportunity would be useful to Mr. Matanzima in view of the current independence negotiations for the Transkei.

“The development of a mixed composition for a U.N. delegation, and the subsequently announced plans for posting Blacks at overseas Diplomatic and Information missions is opening yet another page in ‘the task sheet’ for the Bantustans and their frontrunners, that of maintaining a full time ‘cooling system’ for the South African Government in the hot international diplomatic chamber”, remarked the Acting President of South African Students’ Organisation, Rev. Gwebele-ntlanzi Mposelwa.

Banning Powers Bestowed on Bantustans:

In the South African Parliament in Cape Town, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development introduced a bill which turned out to be very controversial and also remarkable in so far as the Bantustan development is concerned. Most of the 10 clauses of the Bill dealt with minor administrative matters. The most controversial of the lot were clauses one and ten which dealt with security matters. Clause 1 dealt specifically with the Transkei. It sought to empower the Transkei Legislative Assembly to take action, where necessary, against organisations presenting danger to public safety, public peace, order and good administration. Which means that a Bantustan Government could legislate for the prohibition of any organisation which it did not like i.e. it could be a political, social, cultural, religious or business organisation. The clause went on to provide that the Transkei Government could prohibit the membership of such an organisation, prohibit the furtherance of the objects of any such organisation and it may restrict or prohibit any African being an office bearer of any such organisation. It may further legislate for the restriction of any African to a particular place or area. These provisions also embody the prohibitions of the publication or dissemination of the contents of any speech, utterance, statement or writing by any African that the Bantustan Government so legislates against. This would apply not necessarily to a person who is a member of a prohibited organisation but to any individual who, in the opinion of the authorities, makes utterances which are against “good government”.

Clause 10 sought to arm the rest of other Bantustan Governments with the same prohibition powers as offered the Transkei by Clause 1. The Bantustans could do this in agreement with the Minister or Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development only. The Minister claimed that he had been approached by certain Bantustan Governments with requests for such powers as have been described above. The reaction of the other Bantustans to the debate of this Bill will be dealt with under the discussion of the various Bantustans below. But it might be worth mentioning that as far as could be established, the Transkei and the Ciskei had spearheaded the request for the Security Bill.

This Bill went through all stages of Parliament with strong opposition from the non-government parties. The main opposition points were that such a law was not necessary because the country was under no emergency; that the Government was entitled to ask its legislature for powers of this kind for a limited period in times of war or national emergency. In the case of the Transkei there was in operation for almost 15 years Proclamation 400, which was introduced in 1960 as an emergency measure. Under this Proclamation, it was explained by the Progressive Party's Mrs. Suzman⁵, all meetings are unlawful unless they are authorised by the Bantu Commissioner, with the exception, of course, of church services, funerals, meetings of statutory bodies and bonafide sports organisations. There are powers to prohibit entry into any area and there are powers to prohibit departure from any area. Any chief authorised by the Minister can order any African to move with members of his household, with livestock and movable property from a place within the area of jurisdiction of such a chief to any other place specified by such chief, permanently or for a specified period. He can order the demolition of any hut or dwelling owned by such African without incurring liability for compensation. He can impose fines of up to R100, or four head of large stock or 20 head of small stock or up to three months' imprisonment. All these are powers which had already been given to the Transkei. The opposition feeling then was that extra powers given under this Second Bantu Laws Amendments Bill would lead to further erosion of the rule of law. It was felt that such powers would encourage Bantustan Governments to obliterate all forms of opposition and create enforced one party "States". This sort of argument held for both clauses 1 and 10 which empowered the Transkei especially and the other Bantustans as well with similar security measures.

The New South African Policy on Africa

The success of the African liberation movements in Portuguese African territories followed by the resultant military coup in Portugal itself gave rise to concern in South African defence and diplomatic circles. Beside the general diplomatic impetus launched by S.A. as a result of the African attitude at the United Nations, a special effort at opening a reasonably serious debate with Black Africa on the Southern African question was seen as a priority need.

In the course of these events, more and more countries became interested in South African internal politics and its attitude to the whole changing face of Southern African political geography. It is in this regard that people like the Bantustan leaders assumed the role of being roving diplomats from one country to another. In many cases it was observable that the trips of people like Gatsha Buthelezi and

Lennox Sebe to African and European countries whether they were arranged by the South African Dept. of Information or by the respective hosting Governments, did have a lot of influence on the international attitude towards South Africa. A typical case of this nature was the visit by the Kwa-Zulu Chief Buthelezi to Liberia by invitation from President Bill Tolbert (Jnr), for the latter to get first-hand information on the situation in South Africa. Chief Buthelezi, amongst other things, highlighted the plight of drop-out black students who had been expelled from S. African tribal universities. An example was made of the young Ndamse couple, who both had had to seek work for lack of opportunities to further their studies in South Africa.

These two were promptly offered scholarships and money for travel given to Buthelezi to facilitate matters for them to be able to join the Liberian University which was to open at the beginning of March.

Soon after Chief Buthelezi's return from Liberia, Premier John Vorster was reported to have visited Liberia; and his visit, claimed Mr. Gibson Thula, Buthelezi's key man on the Witwatersrand, had no connection with Buthelezi's own trip earlier on. The whole thing was supposed to be a sheer coincidence.

Another notable feature in 1974 and 1975 was the increased dialogue between the Bantustan leaders and the Central Government. In the meeting held it was also observable that there was an increasing number of demands by the Bantustan leaders for more rights for urban Blacks, release of political prisoners, scrapping of job reservation, influx control and bannings etc.

1975 so far has shown little reason for people to change their traditional attitude to Bantustans; although some observers do suggest that the S.A. Government is likely to honour some of their demands, so as to keep the Bantustan leaders within reach, for it has come to realise how much of an asset they can be in foreign relations.

Internally, within the ranks of the Bantustan leaders themselves, tensions have flared up between some individuals, whereas in some cases, relations have remained normal. The question of a federation of Bantustans has not been raised much lately, and it is believed that the unhappy exchanges between people like Chief Matanzima of the Transkei and Mr. Sebe of the Ciskei over amalgamation and disputed *land might retard progress in the matter*. On April 23rd, Chief Buthelezi was reported to have claimed that a Transkei Cabinet Minister and an Urban Representative Mr. Mdingi had visited parts of Kwa-Zulu in the South Coast in an attempt at getting these people to secede in favour of the Transkei. They are said to have been promised high posts in the Transkei if they agreed. Gatsha did not take kindly to this information. Matanzima denied any knowledge of this incident. The Bantu Administration and Development Minister, M. C. Botha, con-

firmed that Transkei had made representations for the inclusion of part of Kwa-Zulu on to the territory. The area concerned was near Harding and formed part of Kwa-Zulu. "However seeing that the area concerned forms part of a homeland, namely Kwa-Zulu, it is in the first place a matter between the Transkei and Kwa-Zulu", said Mr. Botha. This incident also augered deterioration of relations between the two neighbouring Bantustans. The Transkei Cabinet Minister concerned Chief Ndabankulu, Minister of Roads and Works, however admitted that he had visited the Harding area to sound opinion on the possibility of secession.

General Matters Relating to Bantustans on the Whole

In carrying out the Bantustan policy to its logical conclusion, the South African Government has been trying to identify each and every African in the country with one Bantustan or the other. While it has not been too difficult to relate African people in the rural villages to specific defined "homelands", it has been extremely difficult trying to convince people who have stayed in an urban township without any contacts in any rural settlement for all their lives, that in fact their homes are not in the urban area but in a particular Bantustan. In the light of the continued herding of people from White areas to Bantustans it might be interesting to note the domicile of the majority of the Africans in South Africa.

It has not been possible to acquire current figures of adult citizens of each Bantustan domiciled in and outside the Bantustan. However, the following population census results of 1970 which relate to place of enumeration were furnished by the Minister of Statistics in reply to a question in Parliament⁶:—

<i>Tribe</i>	INSIDE BANTUSTAN			OUTSIDE BANTUSTAN			
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
Bapedi	97 860	234 980	332 840	202 340	145 460	347 800	1:1
Bashoeshoe	3 120	5 720	8 840	265 400	296 220	561 620	1:63
Tsonga	20 600	61 880	82 480	107 700	86 240	193 940	1:2
Tswana	79360	127 360	206 720	252 520	24 520	497 940	1:2
Venda	21 680	74 900	96 580	41 380	22 400	63 780	1:0.6
Swazi	11 260	17 580	28 840	81 160	83 440	164 600	1:6
Zulu	283 000	527 140	810 140	483 400	423 000	609 400	1:1
Xhosa	289 440	579 700	869 140	543 920	355 560	899 480	1:1

Also furnished in the table given above are the ratios of people staying inside the Bantustans to those staying outside. The figures given above do not reflect the true picture of numbers of Africans domiciled inside and outside the rural Bantustans because there are huge urban townships accommodating thousands of people, which are

administered as part of whatever Bantustans occur nearest the townships. Below are given the estimated numbers of Africans living in some of the townships referred to above⁷:

	<i>Male Adult</i>	<i>Female Adult</i>	<i>Children under 18 years</i>
Zwelitsha	5313	5557	15625
Mdantsane	19148	23776	41911
Umlazi	43564	35280	66412
Ntuzuma	714	857	2086
KwaMashu	50691	40254	80000
Imbali	3191	3974	7748
Ezakheni	1956	2002	3958
Sundumbili	1541	1239	2908
Seshego	8608	7595	14429
Mabopane	7530	12950	40720
Ga-Rankua	16257	14157	33494
Temba	3560	3544	8402

The total adult population of the above townships forms 18.4% of the total number of Africans supposed to be living inside the Bantustans. It should be noted also that there are other townships of the same category as these, whose population statistics were not available. It is generally expected that more townships will be incorporated into Bantustans.

There has been noted pressure on Blacks to apply for citizenship certificates of Bantustans. Increasingly it is becoming difficult for people to acquire houses in Bantustan townships for occupation or even lodgers' permits, without the required citizenship certificates. In spite of this pressure there has been no remarkably fast rate of applications for the certificates. The numbers of certificates of citizenship which had been issued by September 1974, to "citizens" of some Bantustans are given below:—

Kwa-Zulu	316724
Venda	42402
Bophutha-Tswana	33608
Gazankulu	50756
Basotho Qwaqwa	32447
Lebowa	155919
Ciskei	36519

The general observation with respect to most people talked to is that the reason for the apparent reluctance to apply for the certificates is that people fear to be committed to one Bantustan or the other, lest it restricts their scope of economic livelihood.

The South African Government, mostly through the Bantustan leaders and officers of agencies like the Bantu Investment Corporation, and the Xhosa Development Corporation has embarked on an intensified campaign to interest South African and foreign businesses in investing in the Bantustans.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development reported in Parliament, August, 1974, on how many firms, South African and foreign had established undertakings in each Bantustan:—

	<i>S.A.</i>	<i>Foreign</i>
Bophutha-Tswana	54	3
Kwa-Zulu	17	3
Lebowa	8	1
Basotho Qwaqwa	1	—
Gazankulu	3	1
Venda	2	1
Swazi	1	—
Transkei	22	2
Ciskei	8	—

The total number of Africans that were employed by all these firms in all the Bantustans were given as follows:

South African Firms	—	11249
Foreign Firms	—	2195.

The total financial commitments of white entrepreneurs with whom contractual agreements had been concluded by August, 1974 in regard to the establishment of industries on an agency basis at particular growth points in the Bantustans were as follows⁸:—

Babelegi	(Bophutha-Tswana)	—	R18,265,000
Isithebe	(Kwa-Zulu)	—	890,000
Seshego	(Lebowa)	—	2,180,000
Letaba	(Gazankulu)	—	290,000
Butterworth	(Transkei)	—	8,803,000
Witziesshoek	(Basotho Qwaqwa)	—	86,000
Umtata	(Transkei)	—	574,000

Expenditure figures given in August 1974 as well as by Government agencies at growth points in Bantustans were as follows:—

<i>Government</i>	<i>Industrial Townships</i>	<i>Water Schemes</i>	<i>Electricity Supplies</i>	<i>Housing for Whites</i>	<i>Transport Subsidization</i>
S.A. Bantu Trust	nil	Babelegi R83,023 Isithebe R108,373 Butterworth	Isithebe R3,927,33	nil	R1,396
Transkei	nil	R1,688,463	nil	nil	nil
Bophutha-Tswana	R1,923,525	R196,932	R44,826	nil	nil
Basotho Qwa-Qwa	R221,730	R55,170	R292,256	nil	nil

Bantu Investment Corporation:

Babelegi	R547,615	R75,292	R17,631	nil	nil
Witziesshoek	nil	nil	R3,800	R40,000	nil
Isithebe	R2,800,247	R112,451	R629,381	nil	nil
Seshego	R78,345	R107	nil	nil	nil

The Bantu Investment Corporation has operations in all the four growth points tabulated above.

Xhosa Development Corporation:

Butterworth	R1,139,992	R213,023	R169,710	R656,822	nil
Umtata	R213,934	R50,147	R21,050	R3,209,811	nil

The Xhosa Development Corporation has operations in all the four growth points tabulated above.

Industrial Development Corporation

nil	nil	nil	Babelegi R1,065,700 Isithebe R865,200	nil
-----	-----	-----	--	-----

The following amounts had been spent on each growth point on the erection of factories for leasing to entrepreneurs:—

Babelegi.....	R9,573,397
Witziesshoek.....	54,420
Isithebe.....	1,576,817
Seshego.....	500,463
Letaba.....	557,049
Butterworth.....	4,136,737
Umtata.....	419,036

Agencies like the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation mainly go on to use whatever factories have been erected for lease by Africans. This, they do supposedly with the intention of letting Africans take them over when the time is ripe.

The number of persons employed by the Corporations, agents established with assistance of Corporations and African loans in all the Bantustans were given as follows:—

Whites.....	508
Coloureds.....	67
Africans.....	15,345

White agencies mainly led by the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation in partnership with the Bantustan Governments or alone, have embarked on a big production drive to exploit the Bantustan natural resources to the full, in an attempt to raise the hopes for the chance of viability of the territories. According to the figures furnished by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development on the 18th of October, 1974 in reply to a question in Parliament, Bophutha-Tswana had had the highest value of production. Its total of R36,615,000

has been supported substantially by the mineral production which stands at R25,770,000. The Transkei comes closely second at R36,192,000, with its main production from pastoral and crop farming, which totals R29,492,000.

Below we give the total value of crop, pastoral, industrial, and mineral production for 1973 in each Bantustan, as were given by the Minister in 1974¹⁰:—

GROSS VALUE

Crop Production		Pastoral Production	
	R		R
Transkei.....	13,890,000	Transkei.....	15,602,000
Ciskei.....	1,565,000	Ciskei.....	1,931,000
Kwa-Zulu.....	11,180,000	Kwa-Zulu.....	9,153,000
Basotho-Qwaqwa.....	58,000	Basotho-Qwaqwa.....	90,000
Lebowa.....	7,007,000	Lebowa.....	2,707,000
Venda.....	961,000	Venda.....	744,000
Swazi.....	669,000	Gazankulu.....	909,000
South Ndebele.....	155,000	Swazi.....	737,000
Bophutha Tswana.....	2,428,000	South Ndebele.....	64,000
Gazankulu.....	985,000	Bophutha Tswana.....	3,020,000
Industrial Production		Mineral Production	
	R		R
Transkei.....	6,663,000	Transkei.....	37,000
Ciskei.....	625,000	Ciskei.....	nil
Kwa-Zulu.....	4,612,000	Kwa-Zulu.....	385,000
Basotho-Qwaqwa.....	121,000	Basotho-Qwaqwa.....	nil
Bophutha-Tswana.....	5,397,000	Bophutha-Tswana.....	25,770,000
Lebowa.....	1,870,000	Lebowa.....	7,517,000
Venda.....	370,000	Venda.....	166,000
Gazankulu.....	541,000	Gazankulu.....	57,000
Swazi.....	129,000	Swazi.....	nil

The royalties for industrial and mineral production are paid to the South African Government, because these activities are not controlled by the homelands governments. This, therefore, means that in actual fact Bantustans like Bophutha-Tswana which have high mineral production figures, have this money in figures only.

Kwa-Zulu

Land Consolidation

In 1974 the Kwa-Zulu consolidation plan remained difficult to finalise and to put into effect. The giant puzzle released in the 1974 consolidation proposals involved an attempt at putting together 205 pieces of Zululand into six large areas.¹¹ The government proposals envisaged transforming 157 "Black spots" (presently in white areas) and 48

“traditionally” Zulu areas into five major pieces and one smaller portion of homeland, totalling up to 3,364,000 hectares of land. White Natal was to be cut to lie thinly along the coast. It had been estimated that the value of land involved in the massive exchange programme could be as much as R300 million. Kwa-Zulu’s Chief Buthelezi made a strong demand for control of the Zululand coastline and territorial waters. The Chief is reported to have said that his Government had emphasised that even if the Republican Government gave Kwa-Zulu all the land promised under the 1936 Land Act, the land would not be adequate to make Kwa-Zulu a country which could stand on its own.¹²

The Transvaal leader of the Nationalist Party, Dr. Connie Mulder also Minister of Information, had made a hope-dashing statement early in the year to the effect that consolidation of Kwa-Zulu into a single territory was “practically unattainable.”¹³ He said the consolidation of the Bantustan into a single unit would be “an ideal” but that the most that could be hoped for was the gradual creation of a smaller number of units.

Controversy about what kind of consolidation plan would be an acceptable proposal continued in 1974. The Nationalist M.P. for Klip River, Mr. Val Volker, said he was totally opposed to the Kwa-Zulu consolidation proposals for the Helpmekaar area, the Upper Tugela and the Drakensberg locations. He said the proposals were not logical and he would fight them with all the means at his disposal.¹⁴ Bishop Alpheus Zulu, Anglican Bishop of Zululand, talking on Kwa-Zulu said that he was unable “to talk of a Zulu homeland that did not include Durban”.¹⁵ He said that the average man in the Zulu Bantustan had his future so bound up with that of the white man in Durban that the latter could not advance much without the former’s participation. In his statement the Bishop referred to the system of Separate Development as a sad process...by which white people determine where and how black people shall live, in utter disregard of the fact that these human beings cannot be manipulated with impunity.

The consolidation of Kwa-Zulu has always been a thorny problem. In 1973 the Deputy Minister for Bantu Development had said that consolidation would take twelve years. This statement, viewed with the background of Dr. Connie Mulder’s declaration of the complete consolidation of Kwa-Zulu as “practically unattainable”, does create a feeling of confusion in the minds of concerned people.

Asked to comment on the long term consolidation plan of the homeland, the Secretary General of the South African Students’ Organisation, Mr. Tami Zani, said that the whole policy of Bantustans was formulated by the South African Government as a result of the 1960 disturbances, that Dr. Verwoerd introduced the scheme in response to

concern expressed in such speeches as was made by the Acting Cabinet Chairman Sauer (the then Minister of Lands who acted as Cabinet Chairman during Verwoerd's absence after the assassination attempt by Pratt) who urgently called for something to be done about the situation, a change in the Native Policy, which would give the Native a hope for the future. Mr. Zani referred to the Bantustan policy as a brilliant and well-calculated stop-gap in this regard. Hence the consolidation programme itself was meant to take a very long time, to buy enough time for the Government to work out a stronger and more comfortably powerful position from which it could declare a no-compromise attitude.

Twelve farms on the southern bank of the Umfolozi River near Ulundi were reported incorporated into Kwa-Zulu early in 1975.¹⁶ Mr. J. C. C. Botha, Nat M.P. for Eshowe reporting the move, announced also that the Bantu Trust lands of Strangersrest and Koningdaal will in turn become white areas. This would then change the Kwa-Zulu border from the Umfolozi River in the Ulundi area to the proposed Vryheid/Richards Bay Road. It was reported that two farms in the Mkize area, Ipiwa and Bacha, would probably be incorporated into Kwa-Zulu. It was also proposed to include the Makatini flats and Jozini Dam into Kwa-Zulu at a later stage, although Sordwana would remain white.

Constitutional Development

In 1974-5 the heads of departments in the Kwa-Zulu Government retained the status of Councillor, pending general elections. The Zulu Government had been resisting general elections until such time that all Kwa-Zulu citizens had acquired citizenship certificates. The Zulu administration is reported to have accused the South African Government of delaying the processing of the certificates. They insisted on using the certificates in the registration of voters, instead of pass books which had been used in other homelands. They charge that using reference books will be accepting the pass laws.

The 1973 manoeuvres by the former Chairman of the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Charles Hlengwa, to set up an opposition Umkonto ka Shaka Party appeared more or less quiet in the past year. This seems to have given Chief Gatsha Buthelezi enough time to work out what kind of political structures he wants to see develop in Kwa-Zulu. The Johannesburg supporters of the Zulu monarch, Goodwill Zwelitini, who are also followers of the Buthelezi administration started a movement which Chief Buthelezi wants to promote as a mass organisation for Kwa-Zulu. A few individuals staying in Soweto came together sometime in 1972, to organise some kind of entertainment and good reception for King Zwelitini when he visited the Witwatersrand. This group later formed themselves into a standing committee for the

reception of Kwa-Zulu dignatories. According to information received from a key member of the committee, Gatsha Buthelezi suggested that they call it Inkatha ka Zulu, a name signifying Zulu Union; a name which had been used by King Solomon in the 1920's for an association whose aim was to promote Zulu economic development and cultural advancement. Chief Gatsha wanted this name revived, and that Inkatha ka Zulu must be made a mass organisation for the Zulu people all over South Africa. Observers believe that this organisation may be made into a governing party of Kwa-Zulu, and probably succeed as the only party that everybody belongs to.

In Kwa-Zulu there is yet another organisation called UBhoko. This organisation comprises the key people in leadership roles of all aspects of life, from all over Natal. They meet regularly to discuss current affairs, and can make recommendations to the Kwa-Zulu Government on what direction to take in solution of problems.

Business and Finance

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu announced that his government would present a budget of R64,5 million for the financial year 1974. He explained that the bulk of the money would come from the South African Government and that Kwa-Zulu had raised R14 million from its own sources. In a breakdown of the estimates, Chief Buthelezi said a total of R6,72 million had been raised from general tax, an increase of R1,47 million over 1973.¹⁷

Prospects of investments in Kwa-Zulu by outside companies improved in 1974. Chief Buthelezi continued to call on industrialists, foreign and local, to invest in the territory. The Metro Cash and Carry in association with B.I.C. moved into Kwa-Zulu in a deal that could have far reaching implications for all Bantustans. Metro would also undertake the training of Africans in all aspects of wholesaling, through its Afmark School of Business.¹⁸

Gatsha Buthelezi said that he had accepted a 50% partnership for Kwa-Zulu in a sales company to be formed by one of the largest manufacturers in the world of commodities like lanterns and heaters. He was also offered directorship in Chalwyn Kwa-Zulu Sales. The company had so far invested R340,000. Chalwyn (Kwa-Zulu) Pty. Ltd. was the first company to bear the name of the territory and would eventually become a R1 million manufacturing business, and would employ about 5,000 people. It was thought likely that the company would make R250,000 a year in profits. The sales company would make approximately R100,000 a year which would mean R50,000 a year for Kwa-Zulu.

Commenting on investments Chief Gatsha said, "Build your factories in Kwa-Zulu, then you will be helping us to help ourselves, and

we assure you that your investment will be safe". Chalwyn's products would bear the stamp—*made in Kwa-Zulu*.¹⁹

GENERAL ISSUES:

The Buthelezi—Dladla Quarrel

Unity in the Kwa-Zulu Cabinet was badly threatened in 1974, when the Chief Executive Councillor Gatsha Buthelezi and the Executive Councillor for Community Affairs, Barney Dladla clashed openly in Kwa-Zulu. It was hinted at by a Durban newspaper, *Ilanga*, that it had developed over matters of community development and the role the Bantu Investment Corporation should play in Kwa-Zulu.²⁰

The issue came into the open when the two men clashed in the Assembly in May 1974, during the debate on a letter criticising Gatsha and lauding the role played by Dladla in Kwa-Zulu politics.²¹ Mr. Dladla had been mediator between Durban striking workers and the employers, a role which won him a lot of support from the people. It was therefore seen as a heavy blow for Barney Dladla when it was suggested that it must be the Urban Representative of Kwa-Zulu, Solomon Ngobese, and not Barney Dladla who was to negotiate on behalf of workers. Explaining this move, which offended Mr. Dladla, the Chairman of Inkatha KaZulu in the Witwatersrand, Dr. S. H. Nyembezi said that the action could be justified logically in that Mr. Dladla was a high executive in the Kwa-Zulu administration, and that lesser figures should be the ones that get involved with the heat and dust of worker politics, and that it would be ill-fitting for Kwa-Zulu to allow a Cabinet Minister's dignity to be placed at stake.

Later when the Assembly was asked to raise hands to show its loyalty to its Chief Councillor, Buthelezi, Barney Dladla did likewise, when each Cabinet Minister was asked to "unequivocally and categorically" state his allegiance. Mr. Dladla merely said that he dissociated himself from the contents of the controversial letter, which he described as false:²² The letter is the one that sparked off the trouble by criticising Chief Buthelezi. However, three days later, Mr. Dladla did ultimately pledge his loyalty and support for the Chief. It is believed that he must have been under heavy pressure from the rest of the Cabinet.

Soon after these incidents, Barney Dladla was removed from the portfolio of Community Affairs to that of Justice. He is said to have regarded his transfer as demotion intended to incapacitate his dealings with the workers. He believed that Buthelezi together with the Trade Union Council of S.A. (TUCSA) were waging a campaign against him to resign. Emphasising his intention of continued activity with black trade unions, he said "*Tucsa* does not want black trade unions to stand on their own. They want them to be affiliated to *Tucsa*".²³

Buthelezi, however, denied that he was trying to force Dladla to resign. He claimed that the decision to transfer Dladla was a compromise to promote Zulu political unity; and that Dladla was being ungrateful, because a special session could have dismissed him from office completely.

Subsequent to an anonymous letter received from Amatikhulu, threatening his life should he go to the Kwa-Zulu capital of Nongoma, in pursuit of his duties, Mr. Dladla decided to keep the Justice Department, but work from Escourt, his home-town, and not at Nongoma. This move brought criticism to Barney Dladla from people who felt that he could never run a department like the Justice Department away from where it was happening. Mr. Dladla was at the time operating from Escourt without a clerk, stationery or furniture. His attempt at procuring his furniture from Nongoma was spoilt when Chief Gatsha discovered a truck loaded with the goods about to pull off, apparently directed by some officer per Dladla's instructions. The Chief ordered that the lorry be off-loaded.²⁴

Among the main points of conflict between Mr. Dladla and his Chief Executive Councillor, featured the following:—

- that Chief Buthelezi was allowing the Bantu Investment Corporation to gain a stranglehold over Kwa-Zulu economy.
- that the Chief was becoming a pawn in the hands of the all white TUCSA leaders whose organisation was bent on gaining black membership in order to be allowed into the International Labour Organisation (ILO)
- the Chief had objected to Kwa-Zulu having anything to do with black caucuses and trade unions, and had “watered down” a memorandum which Dladla had drafted to Pretoria on the subject. Buthelezi was alleged later to be wanting to dissociate himself from African trade unions so that he could attract investors to his Bantustan.

Dladla claimed that Gatsha supported the BIC so much because the Investment Corporation was building him a house worth R76,000.²⁵

On the 28th August, 1974 Mr. Barney Dladla was stripped of his position as Kwa-Zulu Councillor of Justice. Commenting on the whole episode, the *Daily News* editor said that it was unfortunate that a sharp personality clash should have occurred so early in the development of Kwa-Zulu. He went on to point out that the bitter difference between Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Mr. Barney Dladla seemed to be on rivalry rather than principle.²⁶

Banning Powers

Kwa-Zulu is one of those Bantustans which rejected the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill which was introduced in Parliament

providing Bantustan Governments with powers to ban persons and their organisations in their territories. Chief Buthelezi said that the Zulu Government had not requested powers to ban people, and that presumably these powers would only be used by those governments which had requested them. He said that the Minister had created the impression that all Bantustan leaders had asked for these powers to ban. "We do not want this power", said Chief Buthelezi.²⁷

However, it was revealed in Parliament by Progressive Party member for Houghton, Mrs. Helen Suzman, that there was another arbitrary power exercised in a limited area in Kwa-Zulu in terms of Proclamation 103 of 1973. She said that this power was in force in the Msinga area, where "some lawless characters were apparently living at the time". She also added of course that the powers given by this Proclamation had in fact not been used.

Transkei

Land Claims and Consolidation

The Transkei insisted in its call to the South African Government to zone black all the Transkei major towns. This would enable the Africans to trade competitively with Whites. The zoning of these towns as black, however, was not seen as the complete answer for the population needs of the Transkei hence the persistent claim for more land. Claiming of more land would inevitably lead to consolidation of some areas to the Transkei. The 1936 Bantu Trust and Land Act had laid down boundaries of land belonging to different tribes. It was on the strength of that Act that Bantustans were claiming their land. Towns like Butterworth, Umtata, Idutywa, Umzimkhulu and Engcobo were to be zoned black. As soon as they had been unconditionally transferred, people living there would take Transkei citizenship. This would curb "dual allegiances" to the Transkei and the South African Government.

Ncambedlana and Norwood, suburbs of Umtata were taken out by the Transkei Township Board which budgetted R3 million to pave roads and install services towards their improvement. These suburbs, being the only better shelter for Africans in Umtata, were so overcrowded that a temporary township was to be built to ease the pressure on them.

In its land claims, the Transkei went to the extent of demanding some Ciskei land like Herschel. Negotiations are already under way to have Herschel repossessed from the Ciskei. Glen Grey was also another

target for the Transkei. At the time of printing the Ciskei had promised to cede Glen Grey and Herschel to the Transkei on condition that it was given some other land in return.

There was a great controversy on whether Port St. Johns should be handed over to the Transkei or not. Matanzima claimed that the area where Port St. Johns was situated had been geographically and historically part of the Transkei. The South African Government on the other hand was reluctant to hand over the Port to the Transkei, apparently for security reasons.²⁸

The main aim for consolidation and land claims by the Transkei Government was to strengthen its power economically, socially and politically so that it could be internationally recognised as an independent State and ultimately as a member of the United Nations. However, the South African Government was only prepared to hand over a number of little spots of land in Matatiele, Indwe and Elliot.

Speaking on the granting of land to the homelands, the Honourable Minister of Economic Affairs said that "90%" of the total surface of South Africa occupied by Bantustans was adequate because actually the land they occupied was not properly made use of. Granting of more land to the homelands would be dangerous to the economy of South Africa. He warned that land that could have been used by white agriculturists to produce food that would be imported by the homelands to feed the Bantustan citizens, was lying waste in the homelands.

Natal Mercury reported that the Transkei showed that it was setting eyes on Port Shepstone, a white area in the Natal Coast. This conclusion had been arrived at after an analysis of the posters which had been exhibited at the congress of Matanzima's party which showed Port Shepstone as one of the towns in Natal earmarked by the Transkei.

Finance

To be economically self-sufficient the Transkei would have to depend on outside countries for some years. Large sums of money would have to be acquired from outside to give the Transkei "the push it needed"²⁹ Overseas companies, it was hoped, would invest in the Transkei as soon as it was independent. It would strengthen economic as well as socio-political ties.

A large United States based petroleum company donated television equipment worth R10,000 to the Transkei. This was an encouragement to other foreign investors which the Transkei was keen to invite. Chief Kaizer Matanzima announced that the Transkei was prepared to go beyond the terms even of South Africa to attract foreign investors to the Transkei.³⁰ It was later revealed that this television equipment would be used mainly by the Department of Agriculture to educate people in

The Xhosa Development Corporation on the 7th June, 1974, completed its biggest individual industrial deal in the Transkei with the signing of a R10 million project with Pep chain stores group. The firm was to establish a large blanket and clothing manufacturing complex at Butterworth, where more than one million blankets would be manufactured a year. This complex would provide jobs for 6,000 people. Some would be housed in the township which was being built by the Corporation.

The overall budget tabled by the Chief Minister and the Minister of Finance of the Transkei was R68 million. Of this amount, the South African Government would provide R50 million.

The Cabinet Salaries were increased, a factor that raised the total expenditure even further. The new salary figures were given as follows³¹:—

	<i>Salary</i>	<i>Personal Allowance</i>
Chief Minister	R14,000	R1,200
6 Chief Ministers	6,500	900
Other Legislative Assembly members and 65 chiefs	3,000	8

Independence

The Transkei is the only homeland which has been actively involving itself in attempts to become fully independent. This move came as a surprise not only to other homeland leaders but also to the public, especially because all the homelands had unanimously agreed not to accept independence until their land claims had been met far beyond the 1936 Land Act concessions. Seemingly Matanzima's view was that people were anxious to have a free State of their own, without the consolidation issue being thrashed. He said that since the South African Government was not prepared to meet any further demand on land, Transkeians had no option but to make the best use of the little that they had.³² Independence would mean that the Republic would sever its ties with the Transkei except where the former was invited. Matanzima was reported to have said, "We are becoming impatient with the constitutional development here. After nine years of self-government we are almost at the same level as other homelands."³³

Already pre-independence preparations were being made by the Transkei which hoped to acquire its independence by 1976. Matanzima believed that by the end of 1975 the following would have been achieved:—

- (a) Administrative personnel would be ready to take over.
- (b) The Legislative Assembly would complete its pre-independence report for the Central Government.

- (c) Pre-independence general elections would be called in 1975.
- (d) All South African Police Stations would have black police officers to take over all commands.
- (e) Port St. Johns would have become part of the Transkei and compensation for dispossessed Whites would be expected to be paid by the South African Government.³⁴

As preparations for the feasibility of 'Uhuru Day', the South African Government and the Transkei leaders decided to set up a committee of experts to examine the legal, constitutional, financial, administrative and other matters connected with independence. This committee comprised the following:—

1. Mr. I. R. Onselen.....The Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, who chaired the meeting.
2. Mr. G. J. Grobler.....The Director of Homeland Affairs of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, as alternative chairman.
3. Mr. K. A. Faire.
4. Mr. V. R. Zietsman
5. Professor J. H. Opperman (nominated by the Transkei)
6. Dr. R. Du Plooy
7. Mr. S. A. Visagie
8. Mr. H. R. Myburgh³⁵

Condemning the committee's white composition the Transkei Democratic Party said that it was likely that the committee would be biased because all its officials were government servants.³¹ Interviewed in Umtata, the Democratic dissident leader Mr. H. B. Ncokazi condemned the idea of independence for the Transkei. He said that Transkei Africans had as much right to the general wealth of the Republic of South Africa as anyone else in South Africa, no matter what the colour of his skin was. He said he regarded the Transkei independence move as a plot to dump the Transkeians who had contributed to the building of South Africa.

Mr. Ncokazi also expressed doubts that Chief Matanzima was more interested in Transkei independence than John Voster, who wanted to prove his Bantustan policy a success. He went on to attack the official Democratic opposition party under Mr. Knowledge Guzana, and branded it a confused group of people for participating in the Transkei Legislative Assembly Constitutional Recess Committee, which drafted proposals for an independent Transkei Constitution.

Amalgamation

As reported in earlier issues of *Black Review*, the standpoint of Chief Kaizer Matanzima has always been that the Transkei and Ciskei should amalgamate to form one Xhosa superstate. This line of thought was pursued in 1974 and 1975. Matanzima warned the Ciskei Blacks that unless they amalgamate before independence there would be constant land disputes. He had planned approaching the Ciskei formally to discuss forming a superstate. What the Transkei was after was the formation of a State from the consolidation of the Transkei and the area known as the Border. This would mean having a single Xhosa State. However, Chief Matanzima stated, "I want to say categorically that the Transkei has nothing to lose or gain by association with their kinsmen except that we are anxious that there be just one national unit."³⁷ His main wish in amalgamation was apparently to incorporate the 150,000 emigrant Tembus in Glen Grey. If the Ciskei did not agree on amalgamation, there would be a final parting of the roads which would never meet again.

The Chief Minister of the Ciskei did not pick up the debate on amalgamation very enthusiastically. As far as the Ciskei leaders saw the issue, amalgamation was a matter for the future and all negotiations regarding the issue would have to be handled delicately and responsibly between the two governments. It was felt also that the Transkei was dictating the terms in an improper way. The Ciskei Justice Minister said that they did not want to dance to the Transkei music.

A recent exchange of strong words between the Chief Ministers of the Transkei and the Ciskei proved that the controversy between the two homelands was widening the gap between them. Matanzima released a statement which stopped short of calling the Ciskei leader a liar. He accused the Ciskei of being an appendage of Pretoria which he proudly affirmed that the Transkei was not.³⁸

The Transkei can be said to have failed in its attempts to bring about amalgamation with the Ciskei. This was revealed by Matanzima after the meeting of the homeland's constitutional recess committee. Commenting on the amalgamation question in an interview, the Democratic dissident leader Mr. H. B. Ncokazi said he did not believe that Matanzima was ever interested in amalgamation with the Ciskei, "judging from the clumsy way in which he handled the issue". He said the Chief Minister must have been reluctantly responding to pressure from his party, which was, by and large, interested in amalgamation. Mr. Ncokazi said that his own party, true to its policy of uniting all black people to fight apartheid jointly, had seen the amalgamation of the two homelands as a step towards the realisation of the dream of black unity.

Africanization of Civil Service

Chief Kaizer Matanzima assured many Whites living in the Transkei that they were welcome to stay in the homeland as long as they desired until they voluntarily requested to leave. He was referring to white civil servants and teachers, saying that although the Transkei wished to replace Whites with Transkei citizens, his government would strive to retain the service of those Whites who could not as yet get replacements. However many white posts were given to Blacks. For instance the Secretary for Education in the Transkei, Mr. Heysteck, had his post taken by Mr. Kakana.

Whites were assured of safety and equal treatment should the Transkei be independent. As long as they remained citizens of the Transkei, they would not be expelled from the homeland. Mr. M. C. Botha warned these Whites that they should not turn to the Republic for help should things get hot for them after independence. Mr. T. E. Tshunungwa warned white people that although his generation was negotiating with Whites peacefully, "we don't know what our sons will do".³⁹ Chief George Matanzima opening the 58th congress of the all-white Transkei Territories Civic Association thanked the Transkei Whites for the mental, spiritual, and material leadership offered to Blacks by them. He encouraged those Whites who had their roots in the Transkei and who regarded it as their home and fatherland not to leave but to remain in the territory and become citizens of the Transkei.⁴⁰ On the other hand Mr. Botha said that it was against the Government's policy for Whites to continue to exercise land ownership there.⁴¹

In his consultation with Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of Labour Party, Chief Matanzima assured Mr. Leon that Coloureds would be granted full citizenship in the homeland as soon as independence was gained. Coloureds were part and parcel of the Transkei, he said, and they should be allowed to remain there and enjoy all the privileges of people who live in these homelands.

Some Whites feared for their safety in the Transkei should it become independent. Mr. Lundenann, a Transkei delegate to Mr. Botha said, "I doubt if ever in history there were people as harassed and uncertain as the Whites here are." His delegation pleaded for those Whites who wanted to leave the Transkei but were unable to do so, due to circumstances beyond their control. The Transkei Civil Association was responsible for the formation of the delegation.⁴²

There would be no Bill of Rights to guarantee security of tenure for Whites who remained in the Transkei. However they would not be discriminated against when the homeland became independent.

Transkei—Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill

After Chief Matanzima had received the draft from the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and later read that their reactions as homeland leaders had been taken as in favour of the Bill, he commented:—

“We did not ask for the banning powers. We only asked for the same security powers as the Republican Government has.”⁴³

The security powers held by the South African Government involved powers to ban but the Transkei emphasised that it did not want those powers but only security powers. Commenting on this statement which she labelled an ambiguous statement, Mrs. H. Suzman said that apparently Chief Matanzima did not realize that the security powers that the Government had in the Republic certainly included powers to ban.⁴⁴ Mrs. Suzman went further to relate that early in 1974 Chief George Matanzima, the Minister of Justice in the Transkei had introduced a motion calling for the Transkei Government to consider the possibilities of approaching the South African Government to amend the Transkei Constitution Act of 1963 so that the necessary powers to maintain law and order could be secured by the Transkei. After long deliberation on the issue the motion was passed without being voted against. Opposing the motion in the debate the opposition party led by Mr. K. Guzana said that what ought to be discussed was the introduction of a Bill of Rights which would protect the rights of all individuals against powers of the State, rather than the security powers.

The Transkei would, despite Proclamation 400 in the territory, be the first homeland to be given all the banning and security powers. Powers given to the Transkei under this 1960 Proclamation included banishment, banning, and restriction of all kinds. This Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill would give even more weight to the already functioning Proclamation 400 in the Transkei.

Bophutha-Tswana

Land Claims and Consolidation.

Reporting to his Cabinet on the summit meeting held between Mr. Vorster and other homeland leaders Chief Mangope, the Chief Minister of Bophutha-Tswana, said that he was not happy to be told that homeland boundaries would still be decided by the South African Government within the limits of the 1936 Land Act. He added that times had changed and populations had increased tremendously since 1936. He

therefore resorted to telling his people that if they made better use of the little land that they had, perhaps they would have a stronger case for more land.⁴⁵ The argument laid by the Government was that the homelands wanted more land yet they could not even prove their agricultural skills in the adequate use of the land that they had.

The Bophutha-Tswana Government submitted a new draft consolidation proposal to the South African Government. Mafeking was offered to the Tswana people as the capital of their future independent homeland.⁴⁶ Mr. Raubenheimer, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced that the Vryburg—Kimberley road would be the border line between Bophutha-Tswana and the neighbouring white areas.⁴⁷

An issue which led to some confrontation between the Tswana and Lebowa Governments was the claim by the Lebowa Government of some Tswana areas. This claim was vehemently rejected by the Bophutha-Tswana consolidation commission. Mr. D. P. Kgotleng declared that Bophutha-Tswana refuses and rejects Lebowa's claim that Ga-Rankua, Mabopane and Winterveld areas should be declared international* urban areas.⁴⁸ Towards the settlement of the consolidation problems about 2000 Tswana tribesmen at Mayeni near Taung in the Northern Cape were to be moved to a new area because they were living on former tribal trust land. The Mayen tribesmen refused to move from their land saying that they would only be physically lifted from their homes. The argument put by the Mayen people was that the new land which they were to occupy before 18th March, 1975, was a semi-desert compared to fertile Mayen.

Whites who had been told to vacate their farms for settlement by Blacks told the Government that they were not prepared to leave their farms.

Apparently the land occupied by the Tswanas is insufficient because Chief Mangope adopted a new strategy of influx control to secure land and jobs for Tswanas only. *Drum* magazine of 8th May, 1975 reported that late in 1974 Chief Mangope lent out Bophutha-Tswana vehicles to Pretoria to move out South-Sothos from Thaba-Nchu in the Free State. Thaba-Nchu falls under Bophutha-Tswana.⁴⁹ Chief Mangope said that the non-Tswana in Thaba-Nchu and other parts of Bophutha-Tswana, were depriving people in Thaba-Nchu and Tswanas of land and employment. This move surprised people because prior to his election Chief L. Mangope had stated in his party manifesto that he wanted citizenship rights for all living in Bophutha-Tswana irrespectively of origin,⁵⁰ to be secured early last year. *Drum* reported that Chief Mangope had been applauded for relieving the plight of 20 000 non-Tswana squatters at Winterveld, north of Pretoria. He had declared

*International: the different Bantustans are referred to as nations.

that his Government had inherited that distressing situation from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. He had emphasised that the Bophutha-Tswana Government rejected the principle of the removal of people in large numbers.⁵¹

Chief Mangope threatened to apply the influx control near Pretoria. For this Chief Mangope was attacked by opposition parties which said that he was doing to these people what the South African Government was doing to African people as a whole. Chief Maseloane reiterated that Bophutha-Tswana should accept those who were ethnically not Tswanas as citizens and use their taxes to finance further houses and schools in the areas.⁵²

Chieftainess Esther Kekana of the Hammanskraal amaNdebele substantiated the suggestion that Chief Mangope was discriminating against non-Tswanas. *Drum* of 22nd January, 1975 reported that the points which proved Chief Mangope as a discriminator as Chieftainess Kekana said were:

(i) A circular from the Bophutha-Tswana Department of Education explicitly stated that Tswana would be the medium of instruction in all schools.

(ii) In 1971 some Ndebele people applied for trading rights for a restaurant at Babalegi near Hammanskraal. They never got a reply and the restaurant was later given to a Tswana, Mr. Sebokedi.

(iii) In 1972 the Ndebele of Majaneng were refused residential permits by the superintendent of Temba Township in Hammanskraal and were later expelled from the area.

(iv) Mr. Simon Makgohloa a Pedi born in Hammanskraal was expelled from the area.⁵³

Finances

A loan of R15 million for housing and resettlement in Bophutha-Tswana was approved by the Western Transvaal Bantu Administration Board.

The Bophutha-Tswana Development fund was launched. This was one of the major points with which the rebels accused Mangope. The purpose of the fund was to facilitate development in the homeland.

To encourage vocational and the technical training for young people of Bophutha-Tswana, the Rustenburg Platignum mines donated R1,200,000 to the Bophutha-Tswana Government.

A three pronged farming project, estimated to cost R1,000,000, was launched by BIC. The money would be broken down for use as follows:

Fish hatchery and angling scheme	R300,000
Fresh milk production scheme.....	R350,000
Irrigation farming project.....	R280,000

The Premier Milling Group was to establish a R5 million milling complex at Thaba Nchu. This would create jobs for 300 Tswanas. This project would be established by Premier Milling group in conjunction with BIC.

In an article headlined "Mangope tells of big budget" the *Rand Daily Mail* reporter showed that Bophutha-Tswana was taking a giant stride towards placing itself on a financial par with Botswana.⁵⁴ The Bophutha-Tswana Government read its Appropriation Bill to give itself an annual revenue of nearly R50 million. This Bill showed that government salaries had risen.

Salaries

Cabinet Ministers from R5,000 to R10,000 per annum

Chief Minister from R6,200 to R12,000 per annum

The Department of Health and Social Welfare had a budget of R13,500,000. R11,500,000 had been allocated to the Department of Works.

The source of income of Bophutha-Tswana was:

Directly from Bophutha-Tswana sources R8,000,000

S.A. Governments' consolidated Revenue Funds R13,000,000

S.A. Government in terms of Bantu Constitutional Act 1971
R23,500,000

Total Budget R44,500,000⁵⁵

A new Bill was passed whereby 4,000 non-Tswanas in the Bophutha-Tswana village of Morelette, were made to pay special taxes of 25 cents on each head of cattle they owned.

Mangope's Power Struggle and Formation of Bophutha-Tswana Democratic Party

Immediately after he was re-elected, the Chief Minister of Bophutha-Tswana Chief L. Mangope dropped two of his former ministers, Chief S. G. Ntuana who was Minister of Agriculture and Mr. D. P. Kgotleng former Minister of Works and replaced them with Chief T. V. Mahapan as the Minister of Justice and Mr. T. Molathloa as Minister of Agriculture. He also shifted Chief H. R. T. Maseloane, number two man in the Cabinet and Deputy Leader of Chief Mangope's Bophutha-Tswana National Party, to the junior Department of Works.

A conflict started between Chief L. Mangope and Chief Maseloane. Chief Mangope had threatened to expel Chief Maseloane from the Bophutha-Tswana National Party. The expulsion of Maseloane would have meant that the party would have been divided into two factions.

It was also speculated that Maseloane would form his own party—the third in Bophutha-Tswana.⁵⁶

The rebel faction led by Chief Maseloane accused Chief Mangope of using police to intimidate his political opponents. They alleged that Mangope interfered with the affairs of Chiefs, particularly in the Madikwe region under Chief Maseloane.⁵⁷

The squabble reached its peak when members of the Tswana Legislative Assembly pressed for investigation into a letter claimed to have been written by Mangope asking for the right to expel Maseloane. The opposition parties had drafted a motion calling for the expulsion of Mangope from Parliament. The mover of the motion was the Chieftainess Esther Kekane who said that the people had no longer any confidence in Mangope. However through the Commissioner-General's influence, the opposition was persuaded to amend the motion so that it only called for the resignation of Mangope in his position as a Chief Minister. However the lull that followed the Commissioner's call turned out to be the lull before a big storm.

Chief Mangope tried to introduce English as a medium of instruction in private schools, opening them for all pupils irrespective of their tribal origin. He was opposed in Parliament because it was felt that the new proposition was contrary to the policy of separate development. Chief Mangope's main opposer, Chief Maseloane, felt that Tswanas should have their exclusive schools, hence encouraging a sense of self reliance within the Tswanas.

Another storm burst out over the newly-formed Bophutha-Tswana Development Fund. The purpose of the fund was to facilitate the development in the homeland but it was "made out and entered into" by Chief Mangope in his private capacity and eight trustees. The opposition argument against this fund was that Chief Mangope's control of the trustees would make him a most powerful man even if he were not the Chief Minister.

Despite the strong opposition confronting him, Chief Mangope pressed harder for the exclusion of the "rebel" Ministers from the Bophutha-Tswana National Party. He also demanded that Chief Maseloane, who was Chairman of the Madikwe Regional Authority, should surrender that position. However Chief Maseloane refused to do so.⁵⁸

Chief Mangope resigned his leadership of the Bophutha-Tswana National Party and formed a new party called the Democratic Party. Chief Maseloane and the others who remained with the party argued that as Chief Mangope no longer belonged to the ruling party, he had to resign as the Chief Minister. Supporting this call the Seoposengwe Party also demanded the resignation of Chief Mangope as Chief

Minister and also called for general elections. However, Chief Mangope with the support of the majority of the members of the Tswana Legislative Assembly was able to continue as Chief Minister of Bophutha-Tswana and the leader of the newly formed Democratic Party.

The opposition party made another attempt to win votes in favour of a general election. It claimed that the ruling party was avoiding general elections for fear of being ousted. Voting on the general election, the opposition party was defeated by the Bophutha-Tswana National Party by 41 votes to 21.⁵⁹

Chief Mangope was assured of the powers of expelling the unwanted Cabinet Ministers by the Prime Minister.⁶⁰ He tried to amend his homeland constitution so that he had secure powers to dismiss members of his Cabinet without having to ask for permission from the State President.⁶¹

In the *Government Gazette* of the 4th of April, 1975, Chief Mangope secured the long desired powers of axing the two "rebel" ministers after Bophutha-Tswana's constitution had been amended by the State President's proclamation. Later on Mr. S. S. Modube, the Chief Minister's private Secretary, issued Chief H. Maseloane, Minister of Works and Chief J. Toto, Minister of Agriculture, with letters of expulsion from the Government. They were to vacate their positions within 14 days.⁶²

Because of the exclusion of the two "rebel" ministers, new Cabinet Ministers were appointed by the Chief Minister. The new men were Chief V. Suping appointed as the Minister of Agriculture and Chief B. Motsatsi as Minister of Works. Mr. N. T. Matsike was also sworn into Parliament as Minister of the Interior.

Bophutha-Tswana—Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill

At the second reading of the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, Mr. M. C. Botha had told the House of Assembly that all the respective homelands had been consulted about the Bill and according to their reactions they had agreed on its implementation. Analysing different views deduced from press statements released by most Chief Ministers, Mrs. H. Suzman tried to show that most homeland leaders were opposed to the Bill.

Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophutha-Tswana was apparently against the Bill. Speaking on the banning powers, he was reported to have said: "We did not ask for them but the Bill was sent to my Cabinet for comment. We had no option but to let it go through, I think it should be discussed extensively by all the homeland leaders".⁶³

Basotho Qwaqwa

Elections

Indications of change in political outlook came to Basotho Qwaqwa in May 1975, with the dramatic change of Government following the landslide success of the Dikwankwentla Party, an opposition party led by a commoner.

The State President had proclaimed in the *Government Gazette* that since Basotho Qwaqwa had attained self-rule, elections would take place in March 1975. By the end of 1974 the Department of Community Affairs had begun compiling information to explain voting procedures to Basotho citizens. Sixty members would be appointed, forty of whom would be designated chiefs and headmen elected by two tribal authorities.⁶⁴

In March 1975 more than half a million Basotho flocked to the polls to elect the twenty members of the reconstituted Qwaqwa Legislative Assembly. Parties to which they belonged were Basotho United Party, Basotho National Party, Basotho Union Party, and Dikwankwetla Party. People living in towns and cities outside the homeland voted at the Bantu Affairs Commissioners' offices, while those living within the district of Qwaqwa at Witzieshoek voted at the appointed polling stations.

There were two likely contenders for the position of Chief Minister, Mr. Hamilton Mota a half brother to Chief Mota and Mr. K. Tshona a teacher, both leading government officials. The contest was evident because of the fact that Chief Mota had his leadership challenged on the basis of three significant factors. Firstly, the constitution makes provision that a Chief Minister can be any person and not necessarily of royal descent. Secondly, a rise in political awareness had been caused by the formation of opposition political parties. The third factor was the opposition from within his own cabinet.⁶⁵

The general feeling was that Chief Mota's Government, in the leadership of about 1½ million Basotho, was very shaky. Interviewed by the *Rand Daily Mail*, Chief Mota said he was aware of the great opposition that he was facing and was "leaving it to the members of the Legislative Assembly to choose whoever they wanted."⁶⁶

Mr. Kenneth Mopeli, 44 year old leader of the Dikwankwetla Party, was elected Chief Minister when the Legislative Assembly opened in May 1975. He defeated Chief Mota by 42 votes to 13 and six papers were spoilt. The *Rand Daily Mail* regarded Chief Mota's defeat as

“a clear sign of the waning power of traditional chiefs in African society”.⁶⁷

Chief Mota is the third traditional Chief to be ousted by a commoner in South Africa's homelands. This, the *Mail* added, “shows growing disenchantment of the rank and file African with the conservative traditionalists.”⁶⁸

In his maiden speech, the newly elected Chief Minister of Basotho Qwaqwa Mr. Kenneth Mopeli warned the South African Government that if his demands were not met, he would clash with Pretoria. The issues which could lead to confrontation Mr. Mopeli said, were firstly the demands for more land for Basotho.

The second issue would be the freedom of movement and work opportunities for Blacks. Mr. Mopeli said that Basotho should be allowed to work and stay in any place they desired. Thirdly, the Africanisation of jobs in the homelands. He said his government was extending a hand of friendship to Whites, which they should accept. He added that Whites should come and teach Basotho and as soon as Basotho were ready to take over the jobs the Whites should go.

Supporting his call for freedom of movement and work opportunities, Mr. Mopeli mentioned that the 1970 census had revealed that about 98% of the Basotho people lived outside their homeland. Mr. Mopeli went further to announce that his government was prepared to renew negotiations, despite the Prime Minister's announcement that the land consolidation question had come to the last round.⁶⁹

Commenting on Mr. Mopeli's speech, the *Rand Daily Mail's* editor said that “if the Nationalist dream of Africans returning to their homelands ever comes true, it would mean that tiny poverty-stricken spots would have a population in excess of 2,700 per square mile”.⁷⁰

Mr. K. Mopeli said in an interview with Mr. Vorster that the future of Qwaqwa was bleak if the homeland was not given more land. He added that 98% of Qwaqwa citizens lived outside the homeland and only 128,000 lived in it. The Chief Minister is reported to have suggested that since 300,000 Qwaqwa citizens lived in Mount Fletcher, Matatiele and Qumbu, it might have been meaningful to establish the homeland within those areas.⁷¹

Land Claims and Consolidation

Basotho Qwaqwa comprises 61,000 hectares of land. It is the smallest homeland in South Africa. The Government had agreed to give Basotho Qwaqwa more than 30,000 hectares in the Free State, in accordance with the 1936 Land Act. This meant that many white farmers would have their farms incorporated into Basotho Qwaqwa.

However, the affected farmers voted unanimously against the hand-over of the farms to the Witzieshoek homeland.

Campaigning for election the Dikwankwetla Party had declared that should it come to power, it would demand more land for Basotho people. Towns like Villiers, Bethlehem, and Harrismith, would have to be added to Qwaqwa which was already overpopulated. The leader of the party, Mr. K. T. Mopeli, had added that Harrismith, Vrede, Frankfort, Kroonstad, Heilbron, Bethlehem, Winburg, Kerstell, Fouriesburg, Senekal, Ficksburg, and all those towns bordering Lesotho would have to be added to the Witzieshoek homeland.⁷²

In his first House of Assembly speech, Mr. Mopeli the newly elected Chief Minister referring to his call for land said that his government was committed to the promises he had made to the electorate prior to the elections.

Amalgamation

Unlike other Bantustans which were considering possibilities of merging with each other, there has been no such speculation on the part of Basotho Qwaqwa. The only idea of merger, linking the territory with independent Lesotho, had been rejected by Chief Wessels Mota in a statement in the *Rand Daily Mail* of the 29th November, 1974.

The idea had been reported in the same paper as having come from the Commissioner General for Basotho Qwaqwa, Mr. N. C. van R. Sadie. The report mentioned that he had suggested that Qwaqwa be incorporated into Lesotho because Basotho from both areas shared the same culture and language. Rejecting the idea, Chief Mota said Lesotho was not economically viable, not politically stable and that the rate of unemployment was very high. This made Lesotho economically highly dependent on outside help.

Chief Mota had always been unfavourably disposed to any kind of merger with other territories. The *Star* of the 19th of July, 1973 quoted him as saying on homeland federation, "The basis of our society is chieftainship, and a federation of the kind suggested would destroy or at least weaken the system."

The new Chief Minister of Basotho Qwaqwa, Mr. K. Mopeli, said in an interview before a "get together" with Mr. Vorster that he favoured as a long term ideal, a federation of homelands to give Africans unity and better bargaining powers.⁷³

Finances

The Qwaqwa cabinet rejected Pretoria's proposed salary scales for members of the Legislative Assembly in Qwaqwa. It decided to appoint a commission which would make recommendations.

Salaries scales laid down by Pretoria were:

Chief Minister.....	R10,200 per annum
Cabinet Ministers.....	R8,100 per annum
Chairman of Legislative Assembly.....	R3,600 per annum
Deputy Chairman & Leader of the Opposition...	R3,300 per annum

Ordinary members of the Assembly would receive a sessional allowance of R8 per day. Mr. K. Mopeli, the Chief Minister said that he was not satisfied with the salary scales prescribed by the Government, especially because there was no pension allowance for the service rendered by members of Parliament.⁷⁴

The Cabinet has also refused to occupy temporary four-roomed houses built by the Vaal Triangle Bantu Administration Board at Phutha-Dichaba, Qwaqwa's capital. A member of the Qwaqwa Assembly, Mr. C. M. Koe was quoted by the *Rand Daily Mail* of May 28 as saying "We live like kings and we should not be expected to step down to the level of the jacks. We want as much comfort as possible."

Basotho Qwaqwa's Reaction to the Bantu Law's Amendment Bill

Chief Wessels Mota of Qwaqwa maintained a quiet attitude towards the Bill. He neither replied to Mr. M. C. Botha on the draft Bill sent to his government nor released any public statement of his opinion on the new Bill. Consequently, Mr. Botha took this silence as a passive positive stand, hence his utterance that all the homelands had agreed on the Bill.⁷⁵

Lebowa

Land Claims and Consolidation

The Lebowa Land Commission set up in September, 1973 compiled evidence for the Lebowa Land claims. Should the final draft of Lebowa Land Consolidation be passed, Bushbuckridge would be one of the most controversial areas where there would be a mass removal of people. This area was earmarked for Shangaan people of Gazankulu and already there were signs of bitterness and ill-feelings between Lebowa and Gazankulu over the land consolidation of these respective homelands. Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development had given the area to Gazankulu, thus evoking some dissatisfaction among the people of Lebowa who then demanded that the Land Commission must mediate otherwise "they would take the law

into their own hands by driving Shangaans over the border to Ngungunyane".⁷⁶

The Lebowa Land Commission had been told that more than 200,000 hectares would have to be vacated by 130,000 Lebowa citizens to make room for resettlement of other northern homelands and South Ndebele homelands. It seemed evident that the people of Lebowa were facing vast problems of having to move from their areas of birth and inheritance, to some new and unfamiliar parts of the country. Speaking on this problem, Lebowa's Minister of the Interior, Mr. Collins Ramusi, added that the people were not prepared to move from their land because after all they needed more land than that in which they lived. Because of these recurring land disputes between Gazankulu and Lebowa the Lebowa Land Commission called a meeting to be held to settle these problems. Chief Phatudi felt that not until the land disputes had been solved and the land been consolidated would Lebowa regard herself as an entity and ready to be independent.

The bulk of the claims made by Lebowa were:—

- One third of the Transvaal should be ceded to the homeland. This included towns like Cullinan, Nelspruit, Lydenburg, Groblersdal, Warmbaths, Pietersburg and a section of the Kruger National Park.
- Areas within other homelands like Bophutha-Tswana, Swazi, Ndebele and Shangaan homelands had their land claimed by Lebowa.
- Zebediela estates (13700 hectares) which were then occupied by Ndebele people were other targets.
- The R8,5 million worth of farms north of Vivo in Northern Transvaal should be included in Lebowa.

In reaction to these massive claims the South African Government reiterated that Lebowa would get its quota in terms of the 1936 Land Act.⁷⁷ The *Star's* editor said that these claims of one third of Transvaal were so massive that Lebowa might not get a tenth of the total area. He added that these claims serve to dramatise "just how vast is the gap between expectation and reality in the homelands".⁷⁸

Since these claims had been sharply rejected by Mr. M. C. Botha, another meeting was organised between the Government and Lebowa officials. The meeting which was said to have been exceptionally cordial resulted in no dramatic changes from both parties. It was after this meeting that Collins Ramusi said that actually Johannesburg belongs to Lebowa but because of goodwill they have not claimed it and other lands so that other people could have a place to live in.

Commenting on the claims by the Lebowa Government, Mr. M. C. Botha said that after all it did not fall within any homeland govern-

ment's authority to appoint committees "to say what land should belong to them".⁷⁹ In other words it seemed that the South African Government had jurisdiction over this topic.

Amalgamation

With such acute land problems it is not surprising that Lebowa would want amalgamation with other homelands. The general feeling was that through amalgamation would come settlement and burial of land disputes. The main Transvaal homelands involved in these talks on amalgamation were Lebowa and Gazankulu. It was expected that Vendaland would also be called to the amalgamation discussions.

In the private talks held between Professor Ntsanwisi, the Chief Minister of Gazankulu accompanied by his Minister of the Interior, Mr. Mageza and Mr. C. Ramusi, Lebowa's Minister of the Interior accompanying Dr. Cedric Phatudi, the Chief Minister, Chief Mphephu of Vendaland was excluded.

Yet should there have been any talks on amalgamation, Vendaland was bound to come in. The main idea behind these secret talks was to agree on amalgamation between these three homelands to curb the costly constant clashes over land.

In December, 1974, Gazankulu and Lebowa held "exploratory" talks at Mogobaskloof which might lead to a federation or union of the neighbouring northern homelands. These talks could lead to a merger between 5-6 million people at present occupying a land mass of 3½ million hectares. Vendaland did not attend this meeting which was believed to be a further rejection of independence which as yet was a concept. Speculation was rife that the central Government would thwart this move because when the possibility of amalgamating Kwa-Zulu and the Transkei was mooted in 1972 the Government stepped in and warned that its assent and co-operation would be necessary.

Satisfied with the meeting Professor Ntsanwisi said they were "meeting in order to hammer out all the pinpricks which stood in the way" of what he said was a mutual agreement leading towards a solution for amalgamation.⁸⁰ Ditching tribalism was the main force behind the idea of amalgamation.

After all these promising efforts, the dream of a "Federation of the Great North between Lebowa and Gazankulu"⁸¹ crumbled after these two homelands failed to reach agreement over some disputed land in the Eastern Transvaal.

Africanization of the Civil Service

The Lebowa's Public Service Commission, whose duty was to probe into job situations and the relationship between black and white personnel, was appointed by the Lebowa Legislative Assembly after

alleged mishandling of black personnel by whites. However, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development warned that the Land Commission would have to interview white personnel because they were not employees of the Lebowa Government but that of the Central Government.

If Lebowa land claims succeeded, it would mean that many Whites would fall under Lebowa. Some white farmers showed interest in becoming Lebowa citizens rather than lose their farms. Many of these affected white farmers live in the Trichardsdal area.

The Lebowa Government opened arms to those Whites who wanted to be Lebowa citizens and guaranteed the safety of their property in a Bill of Rights. One of the Whites who accepted Lebowa citizenship was Mr. Gordon McNeil who said "if we can't keep our farms under a white government let's go to a black government. I don't care a damn if its a black government as long as we can keep the farm".⁸²

On the other hand Pretoria expressed disapproval of this inclusion of Whites under Lebowa. Mr. M. C. Botha said that the Central Government was not in favour of this trend but would not interfere.

The Bill of Rights was prepared to safeguard the interest of white citizens who were prepared to give up their South African citizenship and live in Lebowa. It safeguards the freedom of religion, assembly, speech and freedom of lawful dissent and protest.

The Commission on public service recommended that white workers be phased out of the civil service because they were occupying positions that belonged to Africans. The report also recommended that the Lebowa Government Africanise the Government district offices as soon as possible because Blacks were ready and prepared to take over the positions which had been occupied by Whites. A motion to this effect was drawn up and unanimously accepted. All untrained Whites would be removed from the civil service and replaced by Blacks and seconded Whites should be understudied by Blacks so that the Africanization process could go on smoothly.

The Lebowa Government adopted the same attitude towards Indians and Coloureds as with Whites. Those who wished to be subjects of the Bapedi Government were welcome to do so.

It was only in December, 1974 that the Bill of Rights was included in the new draft constitution.

Early in 1975, the Lebowa Government tabled the Lebowa Constitution Act in which Lebowa was declared a self-governing territory within the Republic of South Africa. This Constitution Act included the Lebowa Human Rights and Freedom Constitution Act of 1975. This Human Rights and Freedom Act was based on the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, said Mr. Collins Ramusi,

Lebowa Minister of Interior when interviewed by *Drum*. Mr. Ramusi went further to say that Lebowa did not want to practise discrimination, neither did it want to be puppets of Pretoria.⁸³

Investments and Finance

So far all the homelands except the Ciskei and the Transkei are industrially "guided" by the Bantu Investment Corporation but the Lebowa Government demanded that this body be replaced by the Lebowa Industrial Corporation.

To this demand Vorster assured Lebowa that a special development body for Lebowa would be set up "as soon as possible". Addressing a meeting at Lebowa, Mr. C. Ramusi encouraged people to take initiative in putting up national projects rather than waiting for industrialists from outside, hence the idea of the Lebowa Industrial Corporation.

A milling plant with an initial capital of R250,000 was started. More than 25 Lebowa Government members registered themselves for the project and said they would contribute R1000 each. The public was invited to buy shares. This milling plant would provide 300 shops with more than 2 million bags of mealie meal per month worth more than R250,000.

Presenting his budget speech, Mr. C. Ramusi, Minister of the Interior and Economic Affairs said that about 4,929 Lebowa people were unemployed mainly because of the influx control which was causing hunger and poverty among citizens. His budget for Lebowa amounted to R5,779,000 which would be mainly distributed as follows:

	R
Salaries and Wages	466,600
Post and Telegraphs	41,000
Printing and Stationery	69,000
Pensions	4,571,500
Child Welfare	13,000
Resettlement into Lebowa	1,000
Clinical Services	84,000
Training and employment in handicrafts	17,000
Training in industrial work	11,000
Miscellaneous expenses	320,000

The Government would pay for the land that had been occupied by Blacks which had been declared white. Compensation would be paid to the owners. The Government had to pay R8,5 million for the 30 farms near Vivo in the Transvaal. Estate agents alleged that the high price of R250,000 for each farm would artificially raise land prices in the district.

From Dr. Phatudi's call to white industrialists to "please come to the homelands"⁸⁴ it can be concluded that Lebowa is in need of indus-

trialists. He assured white industrialists that they would have no problems with migratory labour because he was aware that Whites feared expulsion because some African States had expelled investors.

In November 1974, the Lebowa Government asked the South African Government to allow it to establish its own Department of Economic Affairs and Health. South African officials would come only as advisors.

The Lebowa Government negotiated for a share of taxes paid by Africans to the central Government. These taxes included income tax, sales tax, general tax, paid by industrialists who invested in the homelands. Lebowa would be able to collect R5 million from her own direct taxation. These taxes included poll tax, education tax, and tribal levy.⁸⁵

R34,945,000 would be budgetted for 1975-76 which would be used thus:

For land planning and conservation	2,3%
For the population resettlement	7,3%
For the development of human needs	35%
For creation of employment	10,8%
For social services	21,5%
For general administration	13%
For infrastructural development	9,5%

To increase manpower with technical knowhow and to be able to assist in building up of the economy into a viable one, trade schools are being built at Lebowa.

Independence

Lebowa plans not to accept independence until all their land claims are met and their territory put together. In line with other Bantustans Lebowa rejects independence, regarding it as a cornerstone of the Governments race policy.⁸⁶

Lebowa's Reaction to the Second Bantu Laws Amendments Bill

Apparently Chief Cedric Phatudi was opposed to the giving of such banning powers to the homelands. He declared publicly that Lebowa had never asked for these banning powers because it had no need for them in Lebowa.⁸⁷

Vendaland

Land Claims and Consolidation

In Vendaland, as has been the case in other Bantustans, the thorny question of land consolidation has given rise to dissatisfaction among the communities concerned. *The Star* of 30th October 1973 had reported that farmers in the Soekmekaar district of Northern Transvaal had been prejudiced by the planned consolidation. About 60 farms were to be bought for consolidation in Vendaland. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development Mr. Reubenheimer had said that these farms would be bought at market value plus 20% displacement compensation.

It was reported that the consolidation proposals would affect more than 4000 families who would be moved from Sinthumele and Kutama, west of Louis Tritchard.⁸⁸ A Bantu Administration spokesman said that it was not yet known how much it would cost to resettle the families because the Department had still to negotiate the terms with the white farmers on the transfer of their farms. The land would be transferred to the Vendaland administration as soon as the business transactions between individual farmers and the Department of Bantu Administration were concluded.

Independence

Contrary to the other homelands stance, Chief Mphephu's Venda National Party announced that independence would be its top priority. It would not negotiate independence with Pretoria on the basis of the land consolidation plans. Not until Vendaland attained its independence would it consider South African federation or a federation between Black States in South Africa.

Revealing his party's attitude towards Whites, a member of the Venda Independent Party said "it is time the central Government granted the Vendas complete independence as they no longer need Whites". Chief Tshikonelo added that Vendaland had long been a baby but had now outgrown that stage. Vendas could stand on their own and govern themselves.⁸⁹

Venda Politics

In the no confidence debate launched in 1973 against Chief Mphephu, opposition parties expressed their wish to have Mphephu's election declared null and void. Mr. Mutsila, VIP and Mr. Mudau had planned to ask the courts to consider the following accusations against Mphephu:

Corruption and bribery were the order of the day during Mphephu's election.

R70 suits were ordered by Mphephu for parliamentarians before the election of Chief Mphephu. They had been taken on a three-day trip to a game reserve immediately before the general elections. During that trip they had been told to vote for Mphephu, and also warned not to tell anyone until after the election in which Chief Mphephu gained 42-18 victory.⁹⁰

Until early in 1974 Chief Mphephu did not believe in political parties but he was later reported to have formed his own political party, the Venda National Party. Explaining his decision Mr. Mphephu confidently said that his party would gain 25 of the 27 seats in the Legislative Assembly. His party would be tradition-orientated and particularly concerned with the preservation of the powers and functions of the chiefs. Its policy, he declared, was that the Venda system of government by chiefs should not be tampered with.⁹¹

In March, 5 members of the ruling VNP, i.e. Venda National Party joined the opposition Venda Independence Party. Four of the defectors were chiefs and the fifth a headman. The Venda Independence Party already had the support of three chiefs and two headmen. This was a serious threat to Mphephu's government. Eight more members supporting Mphephu joined the Venda Independence Party. Newspaper cuttings were used to canvas people to join the Venda Independence Party. These cuttings presented chiefs as the uneducated lot and therefore the Venda Independence Party's aim was to destroy chieftainship and under its leadership there would be no room for uneducated chiefs.⁹²

It came as no surprise that Chief Mphephu abruptly closed the Venda Legislative Assembly until 1975. It is believed that he did this to avoid further defection by chiefs. When the assembly was later recalled, many chiefs and headmen crossed the floor to the Venda Independence Party. It was obvious that the Venda Independence Party had the majority membership. On the other hand the Venda Independence Party was experiencing a struggle for leadership which was likely to divide the party, and thus weaken it. The men involved were Mr. Baldwin Mudau, a Soweto based sociologist and Chief F. M. Ronovha, a middle-ranking chief living in Vendaland.⁹³

They were both clamouring for the position of Chief Minister. According to Venda constitution, only a Chief could become a Chief Minister.

Vendaland—Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill

When the draft Bill was sent to the Venda Government, they said that they had no comment. This was interpreted as an approval of the Bill.

Mr Baldwin Mudau, leader of the opposition in Venda said that the new powers would be used to silence individuals in the Opposition.⁹⁴ This statement reflected the general feeling of the homelands opposition parties towards the new Bill.

Gazankulu

Independence

On the issue of accepting independence, Ntsanwisi, the Gazankulu Chief Minister showed himself to be rejecting it in agreement with other homeland leaders—with the exception of Matanzima who, according to him, sold out his birth-right as a South African.⁹⁵ He was adamant on the fact that his Bantustan would not apply for independence until their land demands —far in excess of the 1936 Land Act—were met. Clarifying the position, Prof. Ntsanwisi said that he believed that by accepting Bantustan independence, “we would lose our claims to South Africa’s wealth and would be abandoning our claims to an economy that we helped to build up.”⁹⁶

Investments and Finance

The first silk producing industry in South Africa was established at the Shangaan homeland, Gazankulu.⁹⁷ This was done as a joint venture by the Gazankulu Government and the Bantu Investment Corporation. Professor Ntsanwisi confirmed that a pilot silk project would be launched on the Marweni irrigation scheme which his Government and the Bantu Investment Corporation were to set up on a 50-50 basis. In the Ritavi district near Tzaneen it would involve 500 ha of land of which 200 ha would be developed initially. Apart from the silk project, crops such as cotton, wheat, vegetables and ground nuts would be grown. The annual income would then be R100,000. In 1975 the Bantu Investment Corporation was reported to be ready to spend R154,000. The mulberries imported from Japan in August, 1974 were expected to produce a return of R110 per kilo.

Gazankulu’s Reaction to the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, the Chief Minister of Ganzankulu said:—

We did not ask for those powers. I don’t think we shall have need of them. There is no subversion in Ganzankulu.

This was said after Mr. M. C. Botha had claimed that all homeland governments had agreed on the implementation of the Bill.

Ciskei

Internal Politics

During 1974 and 1975, this Eastern Cape Bantustan saw a lot of dramatic political strifes and upheavals. Soon after the 1973 election victory of Mr. Lennox Sebe and his supporters, he mobilised his ad hoc group into a political party called the Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP). The loser, former Chief Minister, Chief Justice Mabandla also organised his side to form the Ciskei National Party (CNP), as the Opposition to the CNIP.

The ruling National Independence Party adopted a conservative pro-Government policy following and executing the South African Government's Separate Development policy without reservation, whereas the Opposition National Party developed a policy of non-racialism, purporting to be striving for full citizenship rights for Blacks in South Africa as a whole. This policy won the opposition considerable support from Ciskeian intellectuals.

1974 saw a process of weeding out by the Sebe administration, of all "undesirable elements" from jobs in and around the major centres of the Ciskei. Referring to one such case, the banishment of a CNP man, Mr. Louis Mtshizana, the Leader of the CNP Chief Justice Mabandla said, "This act marks the culmination of a trend that has been going on since the Sebe team of Cabinet Ministers took charge of the affairs of the Ciskei". He said there had been dismissals and transfers, at very short notice, among all grades of school inspectors, teachers and civil servants; and there were dismissals in township Councils as well. "To cause further hardship and suffering on older persons, the Ciskei Cabinet had decreed that 'non-Ciskeians' shall not be eligible for business, land ownership and residential rights, employment and health services in the Ciskei".

The above statement by Chief Mabandla led to an investigation which was conducted in view of the allegations made. Below we give a picture of what was gathered from interviews with Ciskeians.

The Banishment of Mtshizana

In October 1974, Mr. Louis L. Mtshizana, a Mdantsane attorney who was an outspoken executive member of the opposition Ciskei National Party was banished unexpectedly. He had been banned in 1962 under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, and was later jailed on Robben Island for some four and half years. When he came out of prison, he joined Bantustan politics in the Ciskei and became quite popular as a lawyer. It was out of this background that pandemonium arose when Mr. Mtshizana was declared undesirable at

Mdantsane, where he had just rebuilt his flourishing law practice. He was banished to Herschel, rural district in the hinterland along the Lesotho border, under a section of the Bantu Administration Act of 1927, administered under the hand of the State President, Mr. J. J. Fouche and the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha.

Statements of condemnation were shot from all over the Eastern Cape. The Transkei Administration reacted sharply because Mr. Mtshizana had originated from the Transkei. A statement from Chief Matanzima said that Mr. Mtshizana was a son of the Transkei and his banishment from the magisterial district of Mdantsane to the Magisterial district of Herschel would cause misunderstanding between the Transkei and the Ciskei Governments. He said that the Ciskei Government had instigated the action against Mr. Mtshizana. "Our shock stems from the fact that the Republican Government had to do the dirty work of another Government. They should have left it for the Ciskei Government to do," he said.⁹⁸

The Eastern Cape representative in the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CRC), Mr. Peter Mopp, said banishment without trial was symbolic of a sick society, and all South Africans should hang their heads in shame for allowing this to happen. "The finger of suspicion points heavily in the direction of certain supporters of Separate Development in Mdantsane as being responsible for the wheels being set in motion which led to Louis Mtshizana's banishment", said Mr. Mopp. He said it was only the one who was morally bankrupt who would banish an opponent, or cause him to be banished. He added, "if Mr. Sebe and his Cabinet did have something to do with this, then South Africa had better sit up and take note how some black politicians are imitating their white masters. If they had no hand in the banishment of their citizen, they should in no uncertain terms tell the Republican Government not to interfere in their internal affairs, and call upon the State President and the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to revoke the banishment order".⁹⁹

The leader of the Transkei Reformist Democratic Party, Mr. H. B. Ncokazi, said "The banning and deportation of Mr. Mtshizana because of his political convictions is a drastic act of callous authoritarianism that is starkly reminiscent of Nazi Germany. Brutal treatment by ruthless administrators against this son of Africa will haunt us for many years to come, and like many other past iniquities that have been perpetrated against us, will never be forgotten".¹⁰⁰

It was reported that Ciskei Cabinet Ministers asked to comment on the matter, would not comment. The Minister of Justice Mr. B. D. Myataza, said "I am not prepared to comment". The Minister of Interior, Mr. L. F. Siyo, said, "We do not know what shape this matter

is going to take, and we cannot comment at this stage". The Chief Minister, Mr. Sebe, who was reported to be on holiday in the Wilderness, said it was difficult for him to comment because he had not got all the facts. He said the best man to comment would be the Acting Chief Minister, Interior Minister, Mr. Siyo.

A delegation from the Opposition which was led by the leader, Chief Mabandla went to see the Chief Minister and two of his senior Ministers, to discuss the Mtshizana issue.¹⁰¹ In this meeting Mr. Sebe told Chief Mabandla that the action against Mr. Mtshizana had been "necessitated by some serious evidence", and because of the confidential nature of the evidence, he could not divulge it.¹⁰² Nevertheless he assured the Chief and his delegation that an extraordinary session of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly to discuss the political situation in the territory would be considered.

Chief Mabandla said after the meeting, "Many a man has suffered as a result of confidential information when the 'accused' was not given the opportunity to put his case across. The banishment of Mtshizana has sharply brought into focus the progressively deteriorating political situation in the Ciskei. It is unfortunate that the highly esteemed authority of the State President had had to be dragged into the political mud of the Ciskei and it is clear that Mr. Mtshizana is not deemed to have committed any act detrimental to the security of the State, hence he has not been chastised in terms of the anti-communism or anti-terrorism Acts, but under an almost obsolete section of the Bantu Administration Act of 1927, which, in those days, was designed to keep the 'Native' in his place," he added. He said it seemed the only "crime committed by Mr. Mtshizana and others who had tasted similar treatment was that they did not procure membership cards of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party of Mr. Sebe, or that they criticised the Ciskei Cabinet and the policy of dividing the people of South Africa in terms of ethnic affiliation or natural pigmentation of their skins. "If there can be such deportation now, one wonders what lies in store for the Ciskei when the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill becomes law," the Chief concluded, referring to the Security Bill which was proposed for Bantustans. The Ciskei position vis-a-vis this Bill will be discussed in a special section below.

Other Reported Cases

Mr. Popo, a prosecutor in the Mdantsane Magistrate's Court was leading the case against some members of the ruling party who had allegedly assaulted commuters during a bus strike in the township. The commuters were opposing an increase in bus fares which they felt was unfair. The Ciskei Government, apparently requested by the White bus Company, told people to discontinue the strike. It was gathered from

random interviews that supporters of the ruling party then began to assault people that continued to boycott the buses, on the grounds that they were not loyal to the Ciskei Chief Minister who had appealed against the boycott. It is reported that some of the accused people did not turn up in court on a day they were supposed to appear, (apparently they were away on a CNIP trip to Cape Town) whereupon the prosecutor Mr. Popo issued warrants of arrest. It appears that the Ciskei administration did not take kindly to the action of the prosecutor, and for that reason he had to be removed from the scene.

The second instance was that of Mr. Masiza, a Judicial Officer at Mdantsane where he was handling an assault case in which members of the CNIP were accused. Before the case had been concluded, Mr. Masiza was transferred to Keiskammahoek, allegedly for having revealed confidential court information to some unauthorised persons. It is reported that Mr. Masiza appealed for a commission of inquiry to be set up to investigate the allegation against him but that request was rejected by the administration. He therefore refused to go to Keiskammahoek, and is reported to have gone to the Transkei.

Mr. Ngxamngxa, who was a teacher by profession, had been working as a Director of Culture in the Ministry of Education and Culture when he was removed without reason to be seconded to a secondary school in Middledrift as an assistant teacher. He had worked with that school for only about a month when he was dismissed from the Civil Service without reasons being offered. It is believed that he had been declared undesirable because he had allegedly attended a commemoration service of the Sharpeville shooting called Heroes' day (March 21st) organised jointly by the South African Students' Organisation and the Black People's Convention. Secondly he is said to have attended a funeral of a man who had suddenly died on Robben Island in March 1975 a few months before his release was due. The funeral was conducted at Dimbaza, a resettlement township outside King William's Town.

Mr. Bobo Mpaafana, an ex-political prisoner who had been jailed for alleged participation in banned Pan Africanist Congress activities, was working at a reform school called Bekruipkop near King William's Town as a teacher. He was also dismissed for no particular reason.

The following people, all teachers, mostly head-masters, with long services in their respective schools were suddenly transferred to other districts at short notices:—

Mr. Tyalimpi transferred from Lady Frere to Herschel (subsequently left for the Transkei in protest).

Mr. Xoseka, transferred from Queenstown to Herschel.

Mr. Mpondo, transferred from Zwelitsha (the Capital township) to Lady Frere.

Mr. Faba, transferred from Mgwali (Stutterheim) to Rabula (Keiskamahoe).

Mr. Mangcu, transferred from Lady Frere to Zwelitsha.

According to Ciskeian regulations, "Any teacher on the teaching establishment may, whenever the public interest to the Department's interest so demands be transferred from the school or office where he is employed...".

There are a number of people who had been in the Ciskei administration of the Civil Service, who are reported to have left the service for unhappy reasons. Cases of two senior personnel who apparently had to leave for the Transkei Civil Service were mentioned. They were Mr. Martins, employed in the Staff section of the Interior Department, and Mr. Dlakavu employed in the training division for Government clerks. It was also alleged that a certain Mr. Manyakanyaka, an agricultural officer in the Debe-Nek area had been without pay since January 1975, allegedly for having attended a rally of the Ciskei National Party at Debe-Nek. According to sources close to Mr. Manyakanyaka, a letter was written to him to the effect that he had been suspended from the pay-roll because he was taking an active part in politics. According to Ciskeian Civil Service regulations, employees may not actively participate in politics of the Ciskei.

The Election Trial

"The election in the Zwelitsha electoral division, in which Mr. Sebe and others were elected into the Ciskei Legislative Assembly was declared void in the Grahamstown Supreme Court today". This statement which was broadcast as the first item on the seven o'clock news release of Radio South Africa, on Friday June 6, 1975, marked the highlight of the day in the Ciskei, when the Opposition Party won a moral battle against the ruling Party over the validity of the 1973 election result, in one of the two disputed electoral divisions.

There were 9 divisions in the Ciskei, in which the election was conducted, namely, Zwelitsha, Mdantsane, Middeldrift, Keiskammahoek, Victoria East, Herschel, Glen Grey, Hewu and Peddie. The CNIP won most of the seats with a huge majority. The two divisions which the opposition CNP felt particularly unhappy about were Zwelitsha and Victoria East. Both divisions, the biggest in the Ciskei, were entitled to four seats each in the Assembly.

The Zwelitsha Division

Early in 1975, complaints were put before the Grahamstown Supreme Court by the Ciskei Opposition Party, in a bid to be accorded another

opportunity to win the four seats for this division, which were won by the ruling CNIP by an average majority of 15%. The complaints were brought with allegations against the CNIP candidates who won the election, amongst whom was the Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe; and some white electoral and returning officers.

It was claimed that the agents of the successful candidates, or the candidates themselves, had in their campaign, used intimidatory language to pressurize the voters in their favour and as a result the outcome of the election concerned should be regarded as irregular.

It was further claimed that the polling and the returning officers, who were all white judicial officers had, in the marking of the ballot papers to assist illiterate voters, allowed unauthorised persons who were attached to the CNIP to participate, thereby indicating favour for that particular party. It was alleged that the counting of the ballot papers had been done in an irregular fashion in that agents of CNIP candidates were assisting in the counting, and that some votes which had been cast for the CNP were rejected.

The hearing was conducted by Mr. Justice de Wet and two assessors. The judgement which was given in three sections on June 6, 1975, declared the election results null and void.

The first section, given by Mr. Justice de Wet dealt with the respondent CNIP candidates, the Chief Minister Sebe and Messrs. Nqezo, Nkontso and Sam, all four of whom had become members of the Legislative Assembly.

In his judgement, Mr. Justice de Wet declared that the responding candidates were not responsible for the undue pressurising influence to which the voters were allegedly subjected. This meant that even though the election had been declared void, for other reasons, to be explained presently, the said candidates were not to blame, and were therefore free to contest again in the event of another election in the Zwelitsha electoral division.

The electoral officers involved, Messrs. W. Odendaal, D. Crossman and D. J. Mulder were found guilty. It was the direct result of this judgement that the election was declared invalid. Because the four accused members of the Legislative Assembly had been cleared of complaints laid against them by the opposition complainants, it was ordered by the Supreme Court that the complainants should pay half the court expenses incurred as a result of that aspect of the trial while the defendants remaining to pay the other half.

The electoral officers concerned were ordered to pay all the costs accruing from their aspect of the trial, including those of counsel for both sides.

The immediate result of the judgement in this case was that the Ciskei Chief Minister was removed from the Assembly which meant that the Ciskei would be without a Chief Minister, because that position could only be held by a member of the Assembly according to the Ciskei constitution.

An air of uncertainty prevailed in the Ciskei for a while when speculation went on as to who would succeed Mr. Sebe. According to a section of Proclamation R187 of 1972, which brought about the establishment of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly to supercede the Ciskei Territorial Authority, "whenever the office of the Chief Minister becomes vacant or the Chief Minister is absent or unable to act and no Minister has been nominated, the Cabinet shall designate one of their number to act as Chief Minister until the vacancy is filled or until the Chief Minister is able to resume office."¹⁰³

Speculation was centred on two men as likely successors of Mr. Sebe—the Minister of the Interior, Mr. L. F. Siyo, who had acted as Chief Minister on several occasions in Mr. Sebe's absence, and the Minister of Education Mr. S. Burns-Ncamashe, who had much better educational qualifications.

There were reports that lobbying had already started at Mdantsane and Zwelitsha on the night of the Supreme Court decision. Contrary to all speculation, a relatively junior Minister in the Cabinet, Mr. J. Mkrola, was appointed to hold the fort.

The general feeling of people talked to about Mr. Mkrola's appointment was that he was certainly not the most capable man to succeed Mr. Sebe. Suggestions were that he had been appointed to allow Mr. Sebe to make a come-back at by-election time, which was expected before November 1975. Any of the more capable men would probably have tried to entrench themselves in the position at the expense of Mr. Sebe. Mr. Mkrola could never succeed in building himself up for power in the Ciskei because he represented the Herschel constituency, which was presently being ceded to the Transkei which meant that he would be out of the picture very shortly.

The Victoria East Division

Almost immediately after judgement in the Zwelitsha division dispute was passed, hearing commenced on similar complaints laid by members of the CNP against successfully elected CNIP members of the Assembly representing Victoria East.

The ruling party enjoyed a bigger success in this constituency, having won by a 55% majority in 1973. At the time of printing, the State was still leading evidence. Respondents in this case were Messrs. L. Maqoma, A. Lamani, S. Burns-Ncamashe, W. S. Ximiya, together with electoral officers Messrs. Odendaal, Basson, Barnard and Kemp. The

complainants were Messrs. M. Mabandla (brother to CNP leader), R. S. Matakane, M. Mbatane, W. Zantsi, L. Zantsi and O. Bokwe.

Whatever the verdict would be in this case, Messrs. S. Burns-Ncamashe (Minister of Education) and L. Maqoma would not be affected because they had since become Chiefs of some clans in the area. That status accorded them free right to the Legislative Assembly.

The Mdantsane Bus Strike

For the first time in the history of Mdantsane Township, African commuters called a halt to regular transport operations when a bus boycott was started on the early morning of December 2nd 1974. The people were protesting against bus fare increases which were not acceptable.

An investigation into the background of the strike revealed that in fact the proposed fare increases had been talked about between the bus company and the Mdantsane Council, a caretaker body created to look into the affairs of the township.

When the matter came before the court of the Road Transportation Board, where the Border Passenger Transport Company was supposed to motivate for fare increases, the people of Mdantsane had not been perfectly briefed to attend the Board where they could have opposed the bus company proposal, and show cause why the increases would not be acceptable. The majority of the people talked to put the blame on the Council for not having informed the community properly of the intentions of the bus company, and of what lawful steps they could have taken to stop the increases.

Ordinarily the Mdantsane commuters had to take buses operating a feeding system transporting them to a central terminus in the township, where they would get buses to the City. Regular passengers, like most workers, could buy weekly tickets at somewhat reduced fees. There had been long standing discontentment on the operation of the weekly tickets. The main point of dissent was that the tickets would expire at the end of the week, regardless of whether one had used one's ticket for all the week or not.

It happened in some cases that people either got free lifts from friends into the city, or that they had days off work, which meant that they would not use their tickets for which they had already paid. The feeling was that it was unfair therefore to have to buy another ticket for the following week even though one had an unused ticket from the previous week. One East London factory worker obviously incensed over this issue said, "Something *can* be done about this, I am sure it can be improved".

Some people were also expressing a feeling that the bus company was rather bullying in its operation and said that the community was never

consulted even when it was going to bring about a difference in the amount of money paid for daily travelling to the city.

Previously people could board buses from their respective sections of the township, directly to East London. When the new system of feeding into a central terminus was introduced in 1972, more money was involved and it also introduced the inconvenience of queueing twice for buses every morning.

Thus people responded favourably when the word got around in the 80,000 plus worker township that "Azikhwelwa" from the 1st of December. (Azikhwelwa is a Xhosa expression for "they are not to be boarded") Since December 1st fell on a Sunday, the boycott actually took effect on Monday 2nd.

Thousands of workers gathered at the central terminus from before dawn. Some had come in the feeding system buses from their respective section to the terminus merely to confirm if it was true that 'Azikhwelwa'.

By about 5.45 in the morning, with the number swelling larger and larger and more buses arriving, people became more restive and some stoning of the buses started. This drove the buses away and commuters began to fill regular taxis to go to town.

The spirit of taxi operators and ordinary car owners was highly supportive. Most of them rallied to the aid of commuters, and usual taxi fares were reduced considerably by all, apparently to enable the commuters to endure the strike. This practice continued for the next six weeks.

The South African Railways faced unmanageable numbers of commuters and trains were always very much overloaded. This of course, resulted in the slowing down of the regular services which had never budgetted for such numbers.

From its early stages, the boycott was marked with violence. During the day, when most workers would have gone to work, the police would collect people seen around the terminus and have them beaten up or arrested or both. The same prevailed and took an added dimension in the evenings. Pirate taxis were threatened by the law.

One incident cited which highlighted the extent of violence surrounding the boycott was the death of a young Form II schoolboy of Hlokoma Secondary School in police cells on the night of Wednesday 4th of December 1974. The pupil's surname was reported as Gangala. Apparently he had been snatched by police that night in the township as part of the general campaign to discourage people from supporting the boycott.

The most interesting result of the strike was that bus fares were eventually reduced to the original fees, even though the people continued to boycott in spite of the reduction, on the grounds that the weekly tickets issue had not been settled.

By this time the bus company was feeling the pinch of running at a loss as a result of which it was indicating a desire to sell its buses and the route licence to a black company to serve the Mdantsane people. The Ciskei Government became interested, but they could not raise the necessary capital to buy the buses.

The Xhosa Development Corporation, a Government created agency operating most viable commercial undertakings in Xhosa-speaking Bantustans, stepped in and offered to take over the services and finish off the remaining period in the contract signed by the Border Passenger Transport Company, which was due to expire in June 1976.

There were reports that by June 1976, the transportation service would be split into two concerns running in co-operation with each other. The feeding services within the township would be run by a black company in which the Ciskei Government would also buy shares, while the Xhosa Development Corporation would operate the service between the township and the city.

To end the boycott the Ciskei Cabinet made appeals to supporters of the ruling party to use the buses and to dissociate themselves from the feelings of the rest of the commuters. This led to more violence in the township. Government supporters went around assaulting anyone who used taxis or got lifts from private cars. Some were actually hauled from inside the cars.

Court proceedings arising out of these practices then led to inconveniences suffered by court officers like the prosecutor Mr. Popo, and the magistrate Mr. Masiza (see section on Internal Politics above).

During 1974 and 1975, prominent businessmen in Mdantsane and Zwelitsha were busy bracing themselves to be financially ready to buy substantial shares in the new black bus company to operate in Mdantsane. One businessman in Mdantsane commented in an interview, "Perhaps we can say this has been the most important development brought about by the strike".

Land Consolidation

Rapid developments in the consolidation programme of the Ciskei homeland, took place in 1975 especially in the second quarter of the year.

Amongst the most remarkable developments was the cession to the Transkei of two Ciskei districts of Herschel and Glen Grey for several Eastern Cape towns and some 150,000 hectares of rich farmland and forest, which would consolidate the Ciskei into a single unit.¹⁰⁴ However,

despite these prospects of good land addition to the Ciskei, it was evident from the Chief Minister Mr. Sebe's statement reported in the *Natal Mercury* of 20th March, 1975, that this would not be the end of the homeland's claims for land.

According to the report, Mr. Sebe said that there were several areas in the Eastern Cape at present in white hands, which had cultural and historic ties with Blacks. "Some are the very cradle of our culture," he said. He mentioned that he had his eyes on the districts of Emgwali (Stutterheim), Mooiplaats (near East London) and Blinkwater (near Fort Beaufort).

The cession of the Glen Grey and Herschel areas to the Transkei raised controversy in the Ciskei, especially regarding the Glen Grey district. In 1972 the people living in the Glen Grey area had decided through a referendum, by an overwhelming majority, that they did not want to be part of the Transkei.¹⁰⁵ It was therefore alarming that the Government could decide to disregard the feeling of this community and hive the district off to the Transkei.

The Chief Minister Mr. Sebe, addressing a special session of the Legislative Assembly, summoned to recommend the cession of the said areas to the Transkei, made it clear that his Government had no intention of testing its decision with a referendum in Herschel and Glen Grey. Pointing to written resolutions before him from chiefs and tribal authorities in both districts, he said, "This is all the authority I need".¹⁰⁶

Other areas consolidated into the Ciskei were Peddie, Alice, Hamburg and Seymour districts. These plans were concluded against stiff opposition from white farmers in those areas. It will be noted that there had always been opposition from affected communities, whether white or black, in all cases where the homeland consolidation programme was effected.

Investments and Finances

The Ciskei shared the same opinion of politico-economic interdependence between the Republic and the homelands, with other homelands. The Chief Minister Mr. L. L. Sebe stamped this idea when he said that he could not think of a more disastrous self-delusion than the idea still lingering in the minds of some white South Africans, namely, to create homelands, give them independence and then push them out of their thoughts. The Ciskei economy, he said, was so closely inter-woven with that of South Africa as a whole that even after independence this economic inter-dependence would have to be maintained.¹⁰⁷ He likened the South African situation to one little boat in which Blacks and Whites were crowded together and which was being

tossed by wild and unpredictable waves on the ocean of history. He averred that the homelands and the South African Government had only each other to rely upon in a life and death economical and political struggle to reach the safety of a distant port, otherwise they would perish together.

Addressing a group of journalists who had just completed a three day tour of Xhosa Development Corporation projects in the Transkei and Ciskei, the Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe urged white industrialists to seize the opportunity of investing in the Ciskei before it became too late. "Events in the United Nations, around Africa, and in countries surrounding us, emphasise the point that the 'haves' must help the 'have-nots'. Daily around us, the signal warning flashes. If this aid is not forth-coming, we will suffer. To white South African industrialists I say, help us so that we may help you tomorrow", Mr. Sebe said.¹⁰⁸

Sources of information revealed that the Xhosa Development Corporation was embarking on a mammoth agricultural development project which would not only provide employment for many Ciskeians, but eventually, result in the independent homeland exporting produce to the Republic. This project would create 15,479 jobs for Blacks and about 154 Whites from the communities of Stutterheim, Cathcart, Queenstown and surrounding areas. Salaries and wages would rise from 1975-79. Agriculture, it was said, was the only resource in the Ciskei, therefore proper utilisation of this was a fundamental requirement for a healthy economy.¹⁰⁹

Opening the Second Ciskeian Legislative Assembly in 1975 the Minister of Agriculture Mr. Hendrich Schoeman said that various agreements which had been entered into with white industrialists would draw an investment capital of more than R4 million to the Ciskei because they would create employment opportunities for about 1,350 Ciskeians. He praised the extension of services in the Ciskei which had doubled from R15,958,000 in 1973/74 to nearly R33 million.

The salaries of the Ciskei Cabinet ranged thus:—

<i>Position</i>	<i>Salary per month</i>	<i>Salary per annum</i>	<i>Entertainment</i>	<i>Subsistence allowance</i>
Chief Minister	R541-67	R6,500	R300,00p.a.	R225-00p.a.
Ministers	R500-00	R6,000	R200,00p.a.	R100-00p.a.

The estimates of expenditure defrayed from the Ciskei Revenue Fund during the years 1973-74, 1974-75 and 1975-76 were as follows:—

	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76
	R	R	R
1. Chief Minister & Finance	406 500	440 200	537 000
2. Interior	3327 500	3997 500	5684 000
3. Works	4339 700	5826 000	13494 000
4. Education	6260 300	7184 000	10872 000
5. Agriculture and Forestry	1352 800	2377 000	3263 000
6. Justice	271 200	317 300	387 000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	15958 000	20142 000	34237 000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Ciskei's Response to the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, had sent to all the homeland leaders the draft document of the above mentioned Bill. This he said he did to get their opinions of the Bill.

The impression which the homeland leaders had given to the Nationalists, especially Mr. Botha was that they had consented to the Bill. In support of this statement Mr. van der Walt a Nationalist M.P. said, "The fact of the matter is that not one of these Bantu homeland authorities adopted a negative attitude while the official liason was taking place, i.e. when they were requested to comment on this particular Bill... Those who participated actively such as the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, said so explicitly."¹¹⁰ As is evidenced in Mr. van der Walt's statement, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei supported the Bill unreservedly. He said the proposals embodied in the Bill were "precautionary powers needed by every developing nation in the world".¹¹¹

Amalgamation

The Ciskei decided against amalgamation because it felt that the time was still too early for such a step to be taken, and also that it wanted to develop on its own. The general feeling among Ciskeians was that the Transkei was bulldozing the amalgamation issue. Further information on the issue of amalgamation has been discussed under "Transkei".

The Prime Minister Mr. Vorster reported to the Assembly that the matter of amalgamation rested entirely in the hands of the two governments concerned but the Chief Ministers of the two homelands were requested by the Government to consult on this question. The Ciskei felt that amalgamation was inevitable in the long run.

Africanization

Even after the Ciskei acquired its independence, those Whites, Coloured and Indians who wanted to stay in the Ciskei would be allowed to do so as long as they contributed to the development of the territory.

Opening the Institute of Race Relations 45th Annual Conference, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei Mr. L. L. Sebe said that "peace, friendliness and co-operation" between the homelands and the people of South Africa should be ensured.¹¹²

Assuring Whites of their safety the Chief Minister Mr. L. L. Sebe said that "Whites who opt to stay in the Eastern Cape districts which are to become part of the Ciskei homelands under the Government consolidation proposals would be accepted with open arms."¹¹³ Mr. Sebe spelt out his policy stressing that "People who have know-how cannot be thrown away". "We regard Whites with know-how as a golden investment", he said. He warned also that those non-Africans who wished to remain in the Ciskei would have to pay allegiance to the homeland.¹¹⁴ The Ciskei motto with regard to other races was "We will not worry about colour".

The Ciskei hoped that those people with know-how would pass on some of their knowledge to its people, especially in the transformation of the Hamburg/Peddie region into a sub-tropical fruit producing region

REFERENCES

- ¹*Rand Daily Mail* 27.12.74.
- ²*Ibid.*
- ³*Hansard Vol. 6 Col. 2576.*
- ⁴*Hansard Vol. 6 Col. 2577.*
- ⁵*Hansard Vol. 12 Col. 5890.*
- ⁶1974 *Hansard Vol. 1—Col. 13.*
- ⁷1974 *Hansard Vol. 1—Col. 18.*
- ⁸1974 *Hansard Vol. 3—Col. 172.*
- ⁹1974 *Hansard Vol. 3—Col. 130.*
- ¹⁰1974 *Hansard Vol. 11—Col. 756.*
- ¹¹*The Argus* 19.3.74.
- ¹²*Rand Daily Mail* 15.4.74.
- ¹³*Sunday Tribune* 13.1.74.
- ¹⁴*Daily News* 6.4.74.
- ¹⁵*Daily News* 28.6.74.
- ¹⁶*Daily News* 28.2.75.
- ¹⁷*Natal Mercury* 1.3.74.
- ¹⁸*Rand Daily Mail* 28.3.74.
- ¹⁹*Daily News* 2.4.74.
- ²⁰*Daily News* 13.5.74.
- ²¹*Daily News* 14.5.74.
- ²²*Daily News* 21.6.74.
- ²³*Natal Mercury* 4.8.74.
- ²⁴*Natal Mercury* 29.6.74.
- ²⁵*Daily News* 24.6.74.
- ²⁶*Hansard Vol. 12 Col. 5887.*
- ²⁷*Natal Mercury* 13.3.74.
- ²⁸*Ibid.*
- ²⁹*Daily News* 16.10.74.
- ³⁰*Star* 11.7.74.
- ³¹*Natal Mercury* 15.3.74.
- ³²*Ibid.*
- ³³*Star* 13.3.74.
- ³⁴*Daily News* 15.3.74.
- ³⁵*Daily News* 31.8.74.
- ³⁶*Daily News* 21.4.74.
- ³⁷*Natal Mercury* 8.11.74.
- ³⁸*Natal Mercury* 13.11.74.
- ³⁹*Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰*Natal Mercury* 13.3.74.
- ⁴¹*Natal Mercury* 22.8.74.
- ⁴²*Hansard Vol. 12 Col. 5888.*
- ⁴³*Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴*Star* 13.3.74.
- ⁴⁵*Rand Daily Mail* 29.3.74.
- ⁴⁶*Rand Daily Mail* 16.11.74.
- ⁴⁷*Star* 30.4.74.
- ⁴⁸*Drum* 8.5.75.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*
⁵⁰*Ibid.*
⁵¹*Rand Daily Mail* 19.3.75.
⁵²*Drum* 22.1.75.
⁵³*Star* 24.5.74.
⁵⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 14.3.75.
⁵⁵*Ibid.*
⁵⁶*Rand Daily Mail* 12.3.74.
⁵⁷*Rand Daily Mail* 29.3.74.
⁵⁸*Sunday Times* 16.3.75.
⁵⁹*Rand Daily Mail* 17.3.75.
⁶⁰*Star* 21.3.75.
⁶¹*Rand Daily Mail* 9.4.75.
⁶²*Hansard* Vol. 12 Col. 5887.
⁶³*Rand Daily Mail* 3.12.74.
⁶⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 22.1.74.
⁶⁵*Ibid.*
⁶⁶*Rand Daily Mail* 20.5.75.
⁶⁷*Ibid.*
⁶⁸*Rand Daily Mail* 21.5.75.
⁶⁹*Star* 23.5.75.
⁷⁰*Ibid.*
⁷¹*Rand Daily Mail* 30.10.74.
⁷²*Star* 19.7.73.
⁷³*Star* 23.5.75.
⁷⁴*Daily Dispatch* 28.5.75.
⁷⁵*Rand Daily Mail* 28.5.75.
⁷⁶*Rand Daily Mail* 10.9.73.
⁷⁷*Star* 30.4.74.
⁷⁸*Ibid.*
⁷⁹*Star* 8.5.74.
⁸⁰*Rand Daily Mail* 28.11.74.
⁸¹*Rand Daily Mail* 19.2.74.

⁸²*Drum* 22.5.75.
⁸³*Rand Daily Mail* 25.1.74.
⁸⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 12.6.74.
⁸⁵*Rand Daily Mail* 1.1.45.
⁸⁶*Sunday Times* 24.11.74.
⁸⁷*Star* 30.10.73.
⁸⁸*Rand Daily Mail* 17.7.74.
⁸⁹*Sunday Tribune* 30.12.73.
⁹⁰*Rand Daily Mail* 30.1.74.
⁹¹*Rand Daily Mail* 18.3.74.
⁹²*Rand Daily Mail* 14.2.75.
⁹³*Hansard* Vol. 12 Col. 5887-8.
⁹⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 1.7.74.
⁹⁵*Ibid.*
⁹⁶*Sunday Times* 30.6.74.
⁹⁷*Hansard* Vol. 12 Col. 5887.
⁹⁸*Daily Dispatch* 18.10.74.
⁹⁹*Ibid.*
¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*
¹⁰¹*Daily Dispatch* 22.10.74.
¹⁰²*Ibid.*
¹⁰³*Daily Dispatch* 7.6.75.
¹⁰⁴*Natal Mercury* 20.3.75.
¹⁰⁵*Daily Dispatch* 2.4.75.
¹⁰⁶*Natal Mercury* 19.3.75.
¹⁰⁷*Daily Dispatch* 27.9.74.
¹⁰⁸*Herald* 4.10.75.
¹⁰⁹*Weekend Post* 12.4.75.
¹¹⁰*Hansard* Vol 12 Col. 5902.
¹¹¹*Ibid.*
¹¹²*Daily News* 17.1.75.
¹¹³*Weekend Post* 10-12.4.74.
¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

2

GOVERNMENT CREATED POLITICAL BODIES

Coloured Persons Representative Council

Stage of Development.

THE COLOURED PERSONS Representative Council opened its 6th session on the 19th July, 1974, amidst growing speculation that this session might be its last. This speculation was mainly due to a previous statement by the leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Sonny Leon, that he would plead for a united front consisting of all Coloured political parties to confront the Government with a demand to abolish the Council, or take its resolutions seriously. He said: 'As it is now, the Council is a farce. We have passed numbers of resolutions, including demands for the repeal of the Immorality, Job Reservation and Group Areas Acts, and there has been a total silence from the Government'.¹

Opening the 6th session of the Coloured Persons Representative Council, the State President Mr. J. J. Fouche, assured members of the C.R.C. that any constructive proposals they put to the Government for the advancement of the interests of their community would not fall on deaf ears. The official opening was attended for the first time by the Labour Party. It had previously boycotted the opening ceremonies because the State President did not officiate.

The development stage of the Coloured Representative Council was suddenly brought to a head when, within a week of its opening, the C.R.C. was prorogued by the Minister of Coloured Relations, Dr. S. W. van der Merwe, without any of its formal business having been done.

The prorogation of the C.R.C. was a direct reaction to a motion of no confidence in the Government policy of Separate Development and all its institutions, including the C.R.C. by the opposition Labour Party, which was successfully carried. The prorogation however, did not affect the activities of the Department of Coloured Relations as a result of funds not having been appropriated. The Government must have foreseen a position of stalemate such as this because a prior amendment to the Coloured Persons Representative Act gave the Executive Committee power to appropriate funds if Council refused, and the Minister to do so if the Executive refused.²

(a) Sixth Session—First Council—and Matters taken up by the Council

No progress report was given as the C.R.C. was prorogued within a week of its opening without any of its formal business having been done.

The following resolutions were however adopted:

- (i) That the Executive be requested to make strong representation to the Government for the abolition of the restricting measures which the dividing line viz. the 'Fish Cat line', which stretches from the mouth of the Great Fish River up to Aliwal North, has on Coloureds.
- (ii) that Duncan Village be incorporated in the municipality of East London and that the inhabitants of Duncan Village be allowed to reside there permanently.
- (iii) that this Council calls for the immediate report of the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act.
- (iv) that this Council notes with alarm the treatment meted to the Coloured people by the police and officials of both the State and Provincial Department and request that the Government direct all Departments, especially those in rural areas, to respect the dignity of the Coloured people.

A motion by the chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. T. Swartz that the Part Appropriation Bill be considered, was defeated after a lengthy debate in which the Labour Party members described the C.R.C. budget as part of the discriminatory policy of the Government.³

(b) Prorogation of the C.R.C.

Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the opposition Labour Party, departed from the traditional policy regarding the submission of a motion of no confidence and accordingly submitted his motion as follows:

"That this Council has no confidence in the policy of Separate Development and that all institutions, including the Coloured Persons

Representative Council, established under the system be abolished, and further calls upon the Government of the Republic of South Africa to grant direct representation in Parliament and all the Councils of the nation to all people so that they can participate effectively in the government of the country”.

Mr. Jack Rabie, Transvaal leader of the Federal Party, introduced an amendment that “institutions be retained until Coloureds on separate roll obtain direct representation in Parliament”.

The amendment was defeated by 29 votes to 25. A position of stalemate was reached when a motion by Tom Swartz, leader of the Federal Party, that “in view of the no confidence motion” as set out above “the Council immediately adjourns until it is prorogued”, was defeated.

In the light of this stalemate, Dr. S. W. van der Merwe, Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, prorogued the Council with effect from 30th July, 1974 in terms of Section 15(2) of the Coloured Persons Representation Act (Act 49 of 1964) as amended.⁴

The prorogation of the C.R.C. heralded the virtual collapse of the Government’s official policy for the Coloured people.

The crisis in the C.R.C. brought the dilemma in Nationalist Party ranks over the political future of the Coloured people to the brink of major conflict. Differences of opinion in the National Party were brought to a head by the defeat of the ruling Federal Party in the C.R.C., the outright rejection of Separate Development by the Council, and the Labour Party’s demand for full representation in the White Parliament.⁵ Cape Nationalists had by now expressed open dissension that they were “bitterly dissatisfied” with the emphatic statement by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, that the Coloured people would never be allowed full representation. “The wrong man said the wrong thing at the wrong time in the wrong place.”⁶

Opening the first session of the Republic’s Fifth Parliament on the 2nd August, 1974 the State President Mr. J. J. Fouché said that “a general election would be held for the C.R.C. after a second general registration of Coloured voters”.⁷

Reacting to this Mr. Sonny Leon said that another general election would perpetuate the farce of the present Council unless there were drastic changes”.⁸

(c) Meeting between Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster and ten man delegation of C.R.C. Opposition Delegates

The meeting, requested by the Labour Party subsequent to the prorogation of the C.R.C. was held on 19th August, 1974. Mr. Vorster made it quite clear that he was not prepared to accept the motion passed at the last sitting of the C.R.C. asking that the Council be abolished and that direct representation be given to the Coloured people in Parliament.

He said that he did not have the power to abolish the C.R.C., nor was it the policy of the Government to do so. He had no assurance that the motion was the expressed wish of the majority of the Coloured people. He believed that the future of the Coloured people lay in the use and the development of the C.R.C., with the extended powers. "Granting of parliamentary representation would lead to friction", he said and he believed that two parliaments could function in one land. He foresaw the formation of a statutory body consisting of representation of the White and Coloured Parliaments.⁹

(d) Meeting between Prime Minister Mr. B. J. Vorster, and Representation of Parties in C.R.C.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster met a representation of the parties in the C.R.C. on 5th September 1974, and an official statement said that participants in the hours of candid discussion thought the meeting was a 'milestone in the history of South Africa'. But Mr. Leon of the opposition in the C.R.C. said "We got nothing. We have no alternative now but to go to those people whose arms are open to us, the black people of South Africa."¹⁰

The official statement reaffirmed the Government's policy "based on the mandate given to it by the 'electorate'. It also stated that the Prime Minister believed that the C.R.C. should not be condemned after five years, but should be adjusted, expanded and given a chance to prove itself. Further consultation took place on methods of joint reasoning on matters of common interest. It could for example, take place in a statutory body as already indicated by the Prime Minister or a mutual consultative Cabinet Council with both Coloured and White members.¹¹

Mr. Leon said after the meeting that they (the Labour Party) were not going to get involved in any further talks, and that the core of the matter was that Coloured people demanded representation in Parliament. It was clear that the Government did not want the Coloured people there.

Natal leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Norman Middleton rejected the idea of a joint consultative Cabinet Council because "it would be another social tea party committee".¹²

An independent member of the delegation, Mr. Lofty Adams described the discussion as "an exercise in futility".¹³

(e) Seventh Session—First Council and Matters taken up by the Council

The 7th session of the C.R.C. was opened by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster on 8th November 1974, outlining his plans for a mutual "consultative Cabinet Council". The budget speech was delivered by

Mr. W. Bergins in the absence of Mr. Tom Swartz, chairman of the Executive Committee. The budget of R133 242 000 showed an increase of R22 098 500 (effective 19.80%) over the 1973/74 year, and provided for the following:—

	R
Finance and Auxilliary Services—including Entertainment Expenses	1 703 000
Education	77 168 000
Welfare Service and Pensions	52 637 000
Rural Areas and Settlements	1 463 000
Local Government	22 000
	<hr/>
Total Revenue Votes	132 993 000
Loan Vote	249 000
	<hr/>
GRAND TOTAL	R133,242 000
	<hr/>

Amongst resolutions adopted during the session were the following:—

- (i) That Coloured air hostesses should also be employed, and on the same basis as Whites.
- (ii) That the vote should be extended to include all 18 year olds.
- (iii) That the Council supports the calls of the Christian Institute of South Africa for an immediate end to organised White immigration to the Republic.
- (iv) That the Council requests the Executive to make representation to the authorities of the University of Western Cape to issue testimonials and references to students who qualify for them, on a basis of merit only and not in the light of the crisis at the campus of U.W.C. during 1973.
- (v) That the authorities concerned introduce suitable legislation in order to determine the conditions of service and wages of farm workers and domestic servants, as in the case of workers in other sectors who are covered by the Industrial Conciliation Act.
- (vi) That better facilities be provided and improvements be effected at the main line entrance to the "Non-Whites" section of the Pretoria railway station.
- (vii) As a direct result of a threat by the Transvaal Association of Coloured Teachers to resign on 31st December, 1974 unless assurances were given on parity for all teachers in comparable categories, the Council called on the Government for an urgent complete restructuring of the salary scales. All parties unanimously supported this motion.

Repeated calls were made for a cessation of all Group Areas Act moves until everybody affected by them had been suitably rehoused.

The Council also expressed solidarity with the banned student leaders, Messrs. H. Isaacs and J. Issel and all other banned persons.¹⁴

The first term of office of the C.R.C. ended on Friday 29th November, 1974 with both major parties unanimous in their rejection of Separate Development. In addition, all the major demands of the C.R.C. made during the past years were flatly rejected by the Government and the Council failed to gain acceptance among the majority of Coloured people.

The call for parliamentary representation, the abolition of apartheid, the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the implementation of the principle of equal pay for equal work and the removal of job reservation were raised consistently—and were rejected with equal regularity by the Government.¹⁵

The Government was only prepared to give in to minor demands—with reservations. Compulsory education was introduced on a “progressive” basis; a Coloured man appointed as “observer” to the United Nations; the Colouredization programme of civil service was stepped up; permission was granted for the acceptance of foreign grants (not foreign loans); the Theron Commission of Inquiry was appointed to counter the growing pressures for a full citizenship; the principle of autonomous Coloured municipalities were accepted; and the Executive Committee was given added control over its portfolio though the Government assumed certain important powers like passing the budget and right to dissolve the C.R.C.¹⁶

General Elections

Dr. Schalk van der Merwe, Minister of Coloured Relations announced on 5th June, 1974 that the earliest suitable date for an election of members of the C.R.C. be the 19th March, 1975. This was subsequently confirmed.

(a) Registration of Voters

The names of Coloured people on the Coloured Persons Representative Councils' voters roll were not automatically transferred from the previous voters roll to the new one. All Coloured persons over the age of twenty-one were supposed to register by the 28th September, 1974. Persons who failed to register were liable to a fine of R50,00 or imprisonment of 3 months.

Of approximately 700,000 possible voters in the Republic who qualified to register, only 555,786 registered (old roll—336,000).¹⁷

At the time of going print no known person had been prosecuted for failing to register as a voter.

(b) Election Campaign—The Different Parties

Labour Party

At the annual conference in January, 1975 in Umtata the Labour Party decided to nominate candidates for all 40 seats in the C.R.C. elections which were due in March.¹⁸

On the initiative of the Party's deputy leader Mr. David Curry, the party took a long hard, collective look at the state of the Party, its relationship with the Coloured Community, its handling of the political situation in the country and its attitude towards the C.R.C. and other Government institutions. According to the Party leader Mr. Sonny Leon, it is now the Party's intention to get on to every committee and into every institution, Government and otherwise where we can effect any sort of change in the people's general living conditions".¹⁹

The Labour Party's campaign policy was that it was using the general election as a referendum on Separate Development. If they won the election and obtained a majority in the C.R.C., that majority would be used to boycott the C.R.C. and force its close-down. This boycott policy of the Labour Party was propounded far and wide in the Coloured Community through newspapers and some public meetings that were organised.

This list of candidates, nominated by the Labour Party to the 40 seats in the election excluded 9 sitting Labour Party members of the C.R.C. Those excluded were regarded as "deadwood".

They were:	Mr. Godfrey Julius	(<i>Galvendale</i>)
	Mrs. Norah Polts	(<i>Auteniqua</i>)
	Mr. M. D. Arendse	(<i>Tafelberg and former Labour Party leader</i>)
	Mr. W. E. Dunn	(<i>Natal Interior</i>)
	Mr. P. J. Meyer	(<i>Genadendaal</i>)
	Mr. W. E. Johannes	(<i>Kasselsvlei</i>)
	Mr. P. A. Mopp	(<i>Eastern Cape</i>)
	Mr. J. L. Segers	(<i>Fish River</i>)
	Mr. D. C. Loubser	(<i>Swartberg</i>)

Some of the replacements were:

Mr. E. M. (Babs) Essop	(<i>Former Federal Party—Strand fontein to replace Mr. E. Jones</i>)
Mr. Lofty Adams	(<i>also former Federal Party—Kasselsvlei</i>)
Mr. M. D. Cairncross	(<i>Galvendale</i>)
Mr. J. Nash	(<i>Eastern Cape</i>)
Mr. M. Coetzee	(<i>Fish River</i>)
Mr. Norman Middleton	(<i>Natal Interior</i>) ²⁰

A salient feature of the whole election campaign, was the lack of the number of public meetings normally associated with such an election. This was true for both the two main parties in the C.R.C., the Federal and Labour Parties. In the Western Cape, where the biggest number of the Coloured people are concentrated, this was especially conspicuous. Mr. David Curry, deputy-leader of the Labour Party, blamed this lack of public meetings on the difficulty in obtaining suitable halls.

However, it is generally believed that the campaign strategy by all the contesting parties (house to house canvassing as opposed to public meetings) was a direct reaction to the activities of ACROM (Anti-CRC Committee), which had launched a national campaign with the specific intention of discouraging the elections. ACROM had, especially at the start of the election campaign, been quite successful in breaking up meetings and exposing candidates by asking embarrassing questions from the floor. At times the police would have to be called to restore order at meetings.

On the eve of the election Mr. Sonny Leon said that "We are on the threshold of proving to the Government that its brainchild, the C.R.C., is not what the Coloured people want".²¹

Federal Party

At its annual conference the Federal Party assumed a dramatic anti-apartheid stance. It proposed to strive for full parliamentary representation as well as full economic rights, but also to serve on bodies such as the Civil Service Commission, Transportation Board, Liquor Board and the Housing Committee as well as the proposed Joint Cabinet Council.²²

Ruled with an iron hand by Mr. Tom Swartz, who remained undisputed leader for the first three years of the C.R.C., the party leadership came increasingly under fire from key members of the party in other provinces, and a "palace" revolt last year led by the acting chairman of the Federal Party, Mr. Jac Rabie (supported by the O.F.S. and the Natal wings) was said to have been the main cause of Mr. Swartz's illness, which forced him to retire from active politics.

Mr. Rabie, who proved to be the most activist in the Federal Party, came out with open attacks on the former leadership of Mr. T. Swartz and what he referred to as the "pro-apartheid Federal Party of the past".²³

In a surprise move Mr. Jac Rabie, acting national leader of the party, announced that the Federal Party would not accept nominated seats in the C.R.C. if its members were defeated in the election.²⁴

Social Democratic Party

Mr. E. G. Rooks, leader of the Social Democratic Party, which had its power base in Natal, was certain that "nothing can stop us from

taking the Wentworth and Sparks Estate seats in the March C.R.C. election".²⁵

Mr. Rooks contested Sparks Estate;

Mr. M. Finn contested Wentworth.

(c) Election March 19th, 1975

The overall result of the election showed an approximately 46% polling response. However, seeing the percentage poll in the light of about 144 000 persons failing to register, out of conviction or apathy, the result effectively shows a marked increase in the number of people who abstained from any involvement in the C.R.C.

The Labour Party won a massive 31 seats, which would guarantee a majority in the C.R.C., even in the event of the Government appointing its selected 20 nominees from the Federal Party. The Federal Party won 8 seats with only one independent seat won by E. Essop in the Bokkeveld constituency.

Immediately after the results of the election had become known, Mr. David Curry, the deputy leader of the Labour Party, said that the victory of the Party in the election was an emphatic endorsement by the electorate of their militant policy of boycott and confrontation.²⁶

Mr. Peter Swartz, national secretary of the Federal Party, who lost his seat by more than 2,000 majority to Mr. J. Muller (Labour), said that it was clear that the majority of Coloured people:

1. Rejected the Government's policy of Seperate Development.
2. Rejected the moderate policies of the Federal, Republican and Social Democratic Parties.
3. Rejected dialogue with the Government; and
4. Supported the Labour Party's boycott policy.²⁷

Both Republican and the Social Democratic Parties were wiped out in the election and observers did not expect the parties to last longer.²⁸ The Social Democratic Party leader Mr. E. G. Rooks was known to be interested in retiring from political activity although he was expected to accept Government nomination, if, as was believed, he were offered a nominated seat.²⁹

(d) Post Election Events

Notice of a new Bill, which would enable the Minister of Coloured Affairs to exercise the powers and functions of the C.R.C. in certain circumstances, was introduced in Parliament on 19th March, 1975, the very day of election, by the Minister, Dr. Schalk van der Merwe.³⁰

The Bill was seen as a move by the Government to forestall attempts by the Labour Party to close down the C.R.C. According to the long title of the Bill—the Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Bill will amend the C.R.C. Act of 1964 so as to empower the

Minister in certain circumstances to exercise or perform, or cause to be exercised or to be performed, the powers, functions or duties of the C.R.C. or its Executive, or the chairman of the Executive and to provide for matters connected with it.³¹

In a rare move, the Progressive and the Reform Parties opposed the first reading of the Bill to grant the Minister of Coloured Relations powers to exercise the functions of the C.R.C.³²

In a dramatic "about turn" ignoring their pledge to those people who had voted for them—that they would boycott the C.R.C. and force it to be closed—the Labour Party, via a statement by Mr. Sonny Leon, the leader, said that, as a result of this contentious Bill, the Party would now "stay put to destroy the C.R.C. from within". This was a return to the Labour Party's age-old policy of "using the C.R.C. to expose the Government's policy of Separate Development".

The Labour Party's caucus at a post election meeting at Kimberley agreed to accept the offer of the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr. Schalk van der Merwe, to have the Party's leader, Mr. Sonny Leon, nominated as Executive Chairman of the Coloured Persons Representative Council.

The Party also decided to accept the offer from the Minister to have Labour Party people nominated to the C.R.C. Both decisions were taken by 16-9 votes.³³

It was now certain that the Labour Party would take over control of the C.R.C. and its executive committee and that the Party's attitude in future would be one of intense activity in all those spheres which fell under various portfolios in the C.R.C.—education, social welfare and pensions, rural areas and Coloured settlements and Local Government.³⁴

Although there was a fraction in the party who wanted to opt for a continuation of its policy of boycott and walkouts, the majority of the party members were expected to opt for a change of tactics.³⁵

The Labour Party's somersault from a policy of "boycott to close the C.R.C." to a policy "to stay put to destroy the C.R.C. from within", resulted in a hard hitting statement issued by ACROM, challenging the Labour Party to "implement the mandate given to it by the Coloured people who voted in the C.R.C. election".³⁶

The statement further said—"For Mr. Leon and the Labour Party to have pretended that it (the controversial C.R.C. Amendment Bill) was unexpected casts a bad reflection on their political acumen—especially in the light of similar Legislation passed in respect of other apartheid bodies—e.g. Homeland "Governments".

The Labour Party was accused by ACROM of having given "respectability" to the C.R.C. by participating in it, thus sabotaging the will of the people to have nothing to do with apartheid institutions. They

believed that the Labour Party was only after this platform for its bonus of "Government Protection" and were therefore exposing the Labour Party as a party of political opportunism clothed in anti-apartheid garb.³⁷

ACROM further stated that "the Labour Party imagine themselves to have the capability to persuade the Government of the need for change and obviously do not realise that socio-economic and political change is not the result of debate between people holding different views and interests".

"It is clear as has been provided, that the Government reacts to the actions of people and not to the chattering and idle talk of self-ordained leaders, who in fits of opportunism exploit the depreciations of the people, even to the extent of elevating those to political philosophies in order to inflate their empty images".³⁸

Opposition to the C.R.C.

(1) Anti-Coloured Representative Council Committee 'ACROM'

During the first week of February 1975, ACROM, a body dedicated to discourage people from voting in the March C.R.C. elections, launched its campaign in all major centres of South Africa.³⁹

In a leaflet, thousands of which were distributed all over the country, setting out the aims and objects of ACROM, it was clearly stated that:—

ACROM was not a political party or an organisation of any such nature; it was therefore not the intention of this Committee to put up candidates to stand for the election or to promote the interests of any existing or new party that might be established.

ACROM believed ultimately in a humanitarian society where justice was meted out to all. It did not believe that this could be achieved by separate multinational or parallel development, of which the C.R.C. was an integral part.

It also believed that any involvement in the policy of Separate Development, whether direct or indirect, and therefore involvement in the C.R.C.—fostered racism. ACROM set out to create a climate in which ideals and aspirations could be reoriented towards a realisation of its beliefs.⁴⁰

The Aims and Objects of ACROM

1. To campaign vigorously against the coming March 1975 C.R.C. general election and to discourage so called "Coloured" people from continued participation in such institutions.

2. To inform voters of the changes of continued participation in the C.R.C. and/or like bodies.

3. To destroy the fallacy that the liberation of Black people lies in separate multinational or parallel development.

4. To destroy the "lie" that Black People are dependent on white South Africans for progress and development and to bring to the people the realization that they alone possess the potential to bring about change in our country; and

5. To co-operate with existing agencies with the same ideals.⁴¹

ACROM Campaign

ACROM's campaign strategy centred mainly on:—

(a) Massive pamphleteering campaigns; and

(b) Attending all or most of the election campaign meetings.

At the start of ACROM's campaign, thousands of leaflets were distributed setting out the aims and objects of ACROM. A fact paper was also issued entitled "The Coloured Persons' Representative Council Part of the Grand Design of Separate Development", exposing in it the fallacy of institutions like the C.R.C.

"It is quite clear that the actual intentions of this grand design of Separate Development are:—

1. To offer a new yet fraudulent direction to the Black struggle. While 13% of the land is divided amongst 8 Bantustans we are supposed to forget that the entire country of South Africa belongs to the people.

2. To raise false hopes amongst the people that these "peaceful negotiations" towards our liberation will work, while attempts to express our aims collectively are killed.

3. To enable the Pik Bothas, Ulsters, Naidoos and Matanzimas to declare to the world that we are in fact being freed from our oppression, so that South Africa can assume her seat respectably in the international arena of trade, politics, sport etc.

4. To maximise our differences as Black people with a common struggle and minimise our effort towards finding solidarity towards a single solution and

5. Failing which, to delay the inevitability of our liberation.⁴²

Subsequently, thousands of 'Don't Vote' pamphlets were distributed all over the country, with large posters—"Don't Vote for apartheid—Don't Vote for the C.R.C."—going up everywhere, especially in the Western Cape.

Public meetings of all the C.R.C. parties were attended with the specific aim of exposing the C.R.C. and or exposing the election candidates. At some of the meetings, police had to be called to restore order. At one such meeting in Johannesburg (Federal Party) 200 policemen were present and two members of AFRO (Anti-C.R.C.-front) the Transvaal version of ACROM were arrested and charged with disturbance of the public peace.

At a Labour Party meeting in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg the police were called after members of ACROM had asked unacceptable

questions.⁴³ At a subsequent Labour Party meeting at Durbanville, Cape, members of ACROM were assaulted after the meeting, after having asked very embarrassing questions at the meeting. At a Federal Party meeting in Tiervlei, Cape Town, a member of ACROM led a mass walkout after being refused permission to address the people present.

(b) Saso and B.P.C.

Saso continued to reject the C.R.C., the Government created platform instituted for the propagation of Government which Saso opposed.

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

(c) Groups and Individuals Against the C.R.C.

At the Black Renaissance Convention held at Hammanskraal on the 13-16 December, 1974, a declaration was issued, section A of which clearly stated that:—

“We the Black people of South Africa, meeting at the Black renaissance Convention in December, 1974 declare that:

1. We condemn and so reject the Separate Development policy and all its institutions.

2. We reject all forms of racism and discrimination.

The adoption of this resolution led to the expulsion of all homeland leaders and representatives as well as C.R.C. representatives like Mr. David Curry of the Labour Party.

In a letter written to the editor of the *Cape Herald*,⁴⁴ and entitled, “Some Points to Remember”, a member of the public stressed that politically ignorant voters who might be caught up in the propaganda meted out, should note:

(a) the limited powers of this so-called Coloured Council, decreed by the white parliament, and accepted by the Council.

(b) All C.R.C. political parties had accepted separate development because they were part of it, in fact they had accepted apartheid, separate parliaments, separate pay, and perhaps worse, sectionalism.

(c) The C.R.C. had been rejected by both the South African Student’s Organisation (SASO) and the Black People’s Convention (B.P.C.).

(d) What dialogue, if any, had this “band” of the Government, representative of a separate development institution had with the OAU or for that matter any African Liberation Movement.

(e) What Black intellectual backing could they claim? Police armed with stout sticks and batons were called in to disperse pupils at the Alexander Sinton High School in Athlone demonstrating against their school-hall being used as a polling station for the C.R.C. elections—Pupils held up “Don’t Vote” placards and distributed anti-C.R.C. pamphlets issued by ACROM.⁴⁵

REFERENCES

- ¹*Cape Times* 3.7.74.
- ²*Race Relations News*—September, 1974
- ³Debates and Proceedings C.R.C.—
First Council 6th Session—July 1974.
- ⁴Debates and Proceedings in C.R.C.
July 1974.
- ⁵*Cape Times*.
- ⁶*Rapport* 28.7.74.
- ⁷*Capt. Times* 3.8.74.
- ⁸*Ibid.*
- ⁹*Cape Town* 20.8.74.
- ¹⁰*Race Relations News* October 1974.
- ¹¹*Ibid.*
- ¹²*Ibid.*
- ¹³*Cape Times* 5.9.74.
- ¹⁴Debates and Proceedings—C.R.C.—
First Council 8th Session—November 1974.
- ¹⁵*Cape Times* 3.12.74.
- ¹⁶*Ibid.*
- ¹⁷*Cape Times* 8.12.74.
- ¹⁸*Cape Herald* 11.1.75.
- ¹⁹*Sunday Times* 12.1.75.
- ²⁰*Cape Argus* 22.1.75.
- ²¹*Cape Argus* 14.3.75.
- ²²*Sunday Times* 16.3.75.
- ²³*Cape Herald* 8.3.75.
- ²⁴*Sunday Times* 26.1.75.
- ²⁵*Sunday Times* 22.3.75.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*
- ²⁷*Sunday Times* 30.3.75.
- ²⁸*Ibid.*
- ²⁹*Cape Argus* 20.3.75.
- ³⁰*Ibid.*
- ³¹*Cape Argus* 20.3.75.
- ³²*Sunday Times* 6.4.75.
- ³³*Ibid.*
- ³⁴*Ibid.*
- ³⁵*Sunday Times* 30.3.75.
- ³⁶*Ibid.*
- ³⁷*Ibid.*
- ³⁸*Ibid.*
- ³⁹*Cape Herald* 1.2.75.
- ⁴⁰ACROM—Constitution.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*
- ⁴²ACROM—Fact Paper.
- ⁴³*Cape Herald* 8.2.75.
- ⁴⁴*Cape Herald* 18.1.75.
- ⁴⁵*Cape Argus* 29.3.75.

3

GOVERNMENT CREATED POLITICAL BODIES

South African Indian Council

Elections

ON THE 6TH NOVEMBER 1974, for the first time since the South African Indian Council was established in 1968, elections were held to appoint 15 members of the Council according to a compromise plan worked out by the South African Government to have half the extended Council of 30 nominated by the Minister of Indian Affairs, and the other half voted for on a provincial basis through electoral colleges.

Objections arose in the Indian Community at the way the elections were to be conducted. As it is mentioned in *Black Review* 1973, (p.34) the Government had planned it such that only members of Indian Local Affairs Committees (L.A.C.) and Town Boards, in the case of places like Isipingo and Verulam, which are small towns under Indian control, could vote. This system would, out of the whole Indian population of more than 600 000, allow for only about 400 people to elect the 15 Council members.

In Natal, members of Local Affairs Committees called for postponement of elections until a voters' roll had been compiled. Supporting this call, Mr. A. Rajbansi, a member of the South Durban Indian Local Affairs Committee said that if held, the elections would be a farce.¹

Subsequent to the unsuccessful plea for a voters' roll, LAC members called for a boycott of the elections, on the grounds that they had no mandate to take part in the elections on behalf of the people. They

pointed out that they had been elected to look after the civic matters of the communities, and not politics. Supporting this call, Mr. Yunus Moola of the Stanger LAC warned that members should not be used as political pawns in the Government's Separate Development policy.²

The boycott call prevailed through 1974, sponsored by groups and influential individuals, among whom were the Natal University Sociologist, Mrs. Fatima Meer, Lenasia Indian Management Committee and the Isipingo Ratepayers Association, whose secretary, Mr. K. P. Seetaram, wrote to the Isipingo Town Council and said that the election was a blatant insult to the Indian people. His association believed that the support of such an election would betray the confidence of the people as the system ignored the masses. In its call the Lenasia Management Committee, in Johannesburg said, "As loyal citizens, we consider that only direct representation and meaningful participation is valid".³

Disregarding the expressed opinion of the people on this issue the Government went ahead and called for nominations of prospective candidates from all provinces to be received by September 25. Of the 15 elected members, Natal was to appoint 10, the Transvaal 4, and only one for the Cape.

In spite of the fact that there had been such calls for a boycott of the elections, there was a record of 45 nominations for the 15 elected seats.⁴ It is noted that most of the people who objected to the elections, especially members of Local Affairs Committees and Town Management Boards did not in principle object to participation in Government created political bodies, as evidenced by their involvement in such Government bodies as Local Affairs Committees. All they wanted was that every Indian should be able to vote in the election of Council members. Most of them felt that the Council could be used for the benefit of the people. It was in this light that even people who had been opposed to the election plan as it had been presented nevertheless allowed themselves to be appointed to the Council. Mr. A. Rajbansi, who later became a member of the Executive Committee of the Council, is a good example of this category.

Mr. J. N. Reddy, Managing Director of the Indian controlled New Republican Bank, was appointed as the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the South African Indian Council. Mr. Reddy had been acting as Chairman of the Executive since the death of the first Chairman, Mr. A. M. Rajab, in 1973. The composition of the new Executive Committee of the Council was as follows:

Mr. J. N. Reddy	(Durban, Chairman)
Mr. A. Rajbansi	(Chatsworth)
Mr. Ismael Kathrada	(Verulam)

Mr. I. F. H. Mayet (Johannesburg)

Mr. G. Munsook (Cape Town)

Mr. M. A. M. Moola was elected Chairman of the Council, to preside over all Council sessions. He succeeded Mr. Joosub, who declined to stand for re-election.

Some allegations of sectional and language divisions in the Council elections were made in a survey conducted by the Durban *Daily News* among Council members and other leading members of the community. The report claimed most Indians who participated in the elections no longer regarded themselves as members of a united Indian community but as Tamils, Hindus, Bhanians and Muslims. There was also a belief that the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. C. Heunis had been advised to appoint the 15 nominated members on a religious and linguistic basis.

During the elections, according to Indian Council sources, 11 ballot papers contained only Tamil names, 7 only Hindu and 3 only Muslim names. There was evidence that candidates had exploited language and religious differences in their campaigns.

Mr. A. Rajbansi, Council Executive Committee member, revealed that candidates had used all kinds of sectionalism to catch votes. Mr. J. N. Reddy, Chairman of the Executive Committee, expressed regret at this outbreak of division. He felt that this was disastrous for the Indian Community. Mr. Ismael Kathrada, also an executive member of the Council, felt that this was a direct result of the system used in the election. He suggested that the solution to this kind of conflict would be the compilation of a voters' roll and the creation of political parties which people would follow for their ideologies and policies rather than language affiliations. He further suggested that a movement like the Natal Indian Congress would perhaps be the solution if it could join the Council, and take part in the elections. In a special interview the President of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr. M. J. Naidoo, reacting to Mr. Kathrada's implied invitation to the Congress to join the Indian Council, reiterated the Congress' stand on Government created political bodies set up to promote racial segregation. Mr. Naidoo denounced the Indian Council as a racialistic body, which the Congress could never support. Referring to it as a dummy institution which would never have any political power, he said such a body had no place in a democratic society.

With regard to the reported polarisation on "tribal" lines the Natal Indian Congress President felt that the matter had been overplayed. He did not think that it could have been as pronounced as was suggested by the *Daily News*. "The people," he said, "even in a dummy institution, still see themselves as one community." He admitted that some

unscrupulous campaigners would try to play on religious and linguistic sentiments, which was something that happened everywhere, even where political parties were concerned, but he asserted that language groups in the Indian Community were dying as distinguishable units.

Issues taken up by SAIC

As has been mentioned above, most supporters of the Indian Council were people who felt that the Council could be used for the benefit of the Indian people. The outgoing Chairman of the Council, Mr. Joosub expressed a belief that it would be the duty of the new Council to ask the Government what the future of the Indian people would be in the political set up of the country.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster addressed the South African Indian Council in November 1974. In his speech, which several Council men were reported to have referred to as "a reiteration of apartheid and discrimination", he had bluntly warned the Council that a policy of confrontation would lead nowhere.⁵ He believed that within the framework of 'multinationalism' there was a bright future for all people in South Africa.

Whilst assuring the Prime Minister of the Council's support in solving South Africa's problems, the new Council Chairman, Mr. M. A. M. Moola called to the Government to remove employment curbs and salary and wage gaps. The new Council made several calls to the South African Government on behalf of the Indian community. These included the question of citizenship rights for all Indians. They submitted that Indians were tired of being regarded as a subservient race without the right to vote in the full sense. They called for the abolition of the Group Areas Act.⁶ The Prime Minister was to be urged not to move any more Indian traders affected by this Act. They called for more agricultural land to be made available to Indian farmers because many of them had lost their land after being affected by the Group Areas Act and other circumstances.

The Council called for the scrapping of Local Affairs Committees for the reason that the Committees were unable to serve a very useful purpose because of their very advisory nature and limited powers. The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council, Mr. J. N. Reddy attacked the Durban City Council for the manner in which it treated Indian citizens in the city.

Concessions given to the Indian people of South Africa

The Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. Marais Steyn, announced in the Assembly that as from the 12th of June restrictions on the movement of Indians between and settlement in all provinces except the Orange Free State and Northern Natal were lifted. South African Indians had

always been unable to settle anywhere in the country without prior approval. The Minister added that if these outstanding areas, viz. Orange Free State and Northern Natal were prepared to lift their restrictions on Indians they would have to indicate this. Indians had been restricted to their provinces of domiciles in terms of an order made in August 1913. Mr. Steyn confirmed that many of these concessions had been made as a response to representations by the Indian Council since its inception in 1968⁷. Despite the latest concessions, provisions of Chapter 33 of the Statute of Orange Free State and also the provisions of the Asiatics in the Northern Districts of Natal Act of 1927 still limited the movement of Indians in the aforementioned areas. Chapter 33 of the Statute of the Orange Free State provided that an Indian could not stay in the province for a period of more than two months without the approval of the State President. The Northern Districts of Natal Act of 1927 with more or less similar provisions was in force in the Northern Natal districts of Vryheid, Utrecht, Paulpietersburg, Babanango and Ngotshe. However Indians could travel freely through the Orange Free State and Northern Natal districts. Speaking on these exceptional areas, Mr. Weber, United Party member of Parliament for Pietermaritzburg appealed to the Minister of Indian Affairs to abolish all restrictions on Indians in the Orange Free State and Northern Natal districts. He said that while he welcomed the concessions in other parts of the country he was sorry that the Minister had not had the courage to "grasp the whole nettle".⁸ While welcoming the new move, Mr. Lorimer (Progressive Party, Orange Grove) said that he understood that there was a "peculiar" legislative background involved in the Orange Free State and Northern Natal areas but still hoped that "this would soon be cleared up"⁹ Mr. Steyn, nevertheless made the point clear that these concessions did not change the position in respect of the admission of Indians to South Africa. There was no question of immigration of Indians from abroad.¹⁰

In the context of the debate on this question, different members of Parliament asked for more facilities for Indians. Mr. Sutton (United Party, Mooi River) urged that the Minister should ensure that hotel accommodation was made available for Indians. Mr. R. Cadman, (United Party, Mhlatuzana) made an appeal to the Minister to improve Indian housing and also provide more land for Indian farmers whose land was being taken for housing and industrial development. Mr. Lorimer, (Prog. Party) also criticised the shortage of land in Indian areas which led to overcrowding in an area like Chatsworth. The Minister of Indian Affairs summarised that the Cabinet was still considering the position of Indian traders in White areas and Indian rural areas following the representation from the S.A.I.C.¹¹ Mr. H. E. Joosub, the only Indian member of the South African Foundation said

in Pretoria that the Indian community rejected the so-called concessions, regarding them as inadequate. He reiterated that to label as a concession the right of Indians to move between provinces except in the Orange Free State and parts of Northern Natal was an insult. Mr. Joosub said that by only partially removing restrictions the Government was doing serious harm to detente.¹²

The editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* said the announcement of the concessions was gravely diminished by two vital qualifications. He said the first was the exclusion of the Orange Free State and Northern Natal which he regarded as inexcusable. This he said perpetuated insulting discrimination. Second, he said, was the fact that the Group Areas policy in any event restricted Asians to specified areas. He further questioned the point of having more free movement if there was nowhere to go to, since Indians had a shortage of land anyway. He concluded that to overcome handicaps and other disabilities of Asians, Mr. Steyn should be devoting himself to having them treated as the citizens of South Africa which they were.¹³

REFERENCES

¹*Daily News* 1.10.73.

²*Daily News* 13.10.73.

³*Daily News* 20.8.74.

⁴*Natal Mercury* 26.9.74.

⁵*Daily News* 28.11.74.

⁶*Natal Mercury* 12.12.74.

⁷*Star* 13.6.75.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Rand Daily Mail* 13.6.75.

¹⁰*Star* 13.6.75.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Rand Daily Mail* 16.6.75.

¹³*Ibid.*

4

ARRESTS AND DETENTIONS, POLITICAL TRIALS AND BANNINGS

The Matsau Terror Trial:

Mr. Nkutšoeu Matsau, organising Secretary for the Sharpeville Youth Club in Vereeniging and a member of the Black People's Convention was the first person to be sentenced under the Terrorism Act in South Africa in 1974, although he was arrested and detained late in 1973—October 5th.

Mr. Matsau had been originally arrested with four other members of the Sharpeville Youth Club, Mr. Vusumzi Tshabalala, Mr. T. Tseka, Mr. Moeti Mathhare and Mr. Mantswe Ramakhoasa. The latter four were later released.

Mr. Matsau was found guilty of two acts of terrorism. He appeared before the Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr. Justice Cillie in the Rand Criminal Sessions. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment (the minimum under the Terrorism Act).¹

An application on behalf of Matsau for leave to appeal against the conviction was dismissed by Mr. Justice Cillie. The Judge also refused an application for bail pending a petition to the Chief Justice for leave to appeal.²

Mr. Justice Cillie found Matsau guilty of two acts of 'participating in terrorist activities with the intention of endangering the maintainance of law and order in South Africa'.

According to the findings of the court Matsau had done this through the publication of a poem and a youth club newsletter 'which were likely to incite feelings of racial hostility between White and Black races'.

Matsau was found not guilty of inciting or encouraging one or more persons to undergo military training with the intention of endangering

the maintenance of law and order or with the intention of furthering the objects of Communism.

The Judge also found that the State had failed to prove that Matsau had been party to a conspiracy to attack the white inhabitants of Vereeniging.³

He said it was clear that Matsau had devoted himself to the spreading of the doctrine of Black Consciousness, Black Solidarity and Black Communalism. He had also attacked the educational system provided for black people in South Africa.

His writings, published or unpublished, stressed grievances of the black man against a common enemy—the white man. Referring to the poem “Kill, Kill” the Judge said, while it might not influence people to shoot and rape white women, it was likely that it would engender feelings of hostility between Blacks and Whites.

He had been asked by the defence to look upon it merely as a piece of poetry incorporating Black Consciousness. No direct evidence had been given, however of what Matsau’s intention was in handing out the poem.

The Judge said, in the newsletter Matsau condemned the presence of Whites in South Africa in such a way that the only interpretation was to engender hostility between Whites and Blacks.

When Matsau was led down to the cell after the sentence was passed, clenched fists shot sky-high in the packed public gallery in a ‘Power’ sign used by members of the Black Consciousness Movement.⁴

The Pro-Frelimo Rallies—Arrests and Detentions.

On September 25, 1974, a transitional Government, dominated by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), and leading to an ultimate independent Mozambique rule, was introduced in Mozambique.

This was the climax to Frelimo’s win of their ten-year war against Portuguese colonialism.

The Black People’s Convention and the South African Students’ Organisation jointly announced plans of organising rallies in Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg to coincide with the introduction of the Mozambique transitional Government, ‘to show our solidarity with the people of Mozambique who have been freed by Frelimo’. The students of the University of the North (Turfloop) also organised a similar rally.

A couple of days before the rallies, a white business man, Mr. Cornellius Koekemoer from Durban, sent a telegram to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, urging him to ban the rally in Durban, which was scheduled to be held at the Curries Fountain Stadium. He threatened that if the Minister did not ban the Durban rally, thousands

of Whites in Durban would take it upon themselves to see that the rally did not take place.

The night before the rally, the Minister of Justice announced in Parliament that all gatherings organised by the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's Convention would be banned, with immediate effect until October 20, making the country-wide ban effective for one month from the day it was gazetted. The ban which was in a special Government Gazette on September 25, was in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956.⁵

According to a statement printed in the *Daily News* of September 25, apparently issued by the Black People's Convention—South African Students' Organisation press secretariat, which said, "This afternoon's rally will go ahead as scheduled...." it appeared that the organisers had not been disturbed by the ban, and that plans were as had been concluded.

The plans for a similar solidarity rally organised by the University of the North, near Pietersburg, also went ahead on the campus. It appeared certain that the Government ban on South African Students' Organisation and Black People's Convention meetings did not affect the University of the North plans because that particular celebration was organised entirely by the Students' Representative Council.

Events at the University of the North

According to information from students spoken to on the campus, a thousand odd students gathered in the University hall and listened to speeches. While one speech was in process, police arrived in riot vans and parked inside the campus. They were armed with rifles, pistols, sten guns, scatter guns and batons. They also had dogs.

Major J. S. Erasmus, acting District Commandant of Police in Pietersburg, who was in charge of the police, walked into the hall and, speaking through a megaphone told the students the meeting was a contravention of the Riotous Assemblies Act. He gave them fifteen minutes to disperse.

The Students left the hall and gathered on the sportsfield next to the hall and sang the African National Anthem. After about five minutes they dispersed and went to their respective hostels. The men students had to go past the cordon of armed policemen who had jumped out of fifteen riot vans and five squad cars.

As the men went past the police, the latter baton-charged them and the students retaliated by throwing small available stones at the police. The women then came back and angrily shouted at the police to stop molesting the men. The police then turned on the women and one was knocked down with a baton blow. The men came to the women's

rescue and the police set the dogs on the men, some of whom were now in physical scuffles with the police.

A male student, Mr. Peter Tsie, was badly bitten by a dog and was arrested together with two others. The students warned the police that unless their arrested fellows were released unconditionally, not a single police vehicle or policeman was going to leave the campus.

Major Erasmus ordered his men to release the students, but Mr. Tsie was taken to Pietersburg Hospital where he received fifteen stitches for dog bite wounds. The Major later told the newspapers that charges of public violence would be laid against the three students, but no charges had been laid at the time of going to print.

The police claimed they had come to maintain peace and order, but an eye-witness claimed she saw an ambulance arrive during the course of the students gathering in the hall, even before the police had arrived. She said she could not predict at the time that the ambulance was preceding police troops and violence.

The rally came shortly before the University closed for a short holiday. The University authorities announced during the holidays that the holidays would be extended. During the extension period it was reported that two students, Mr. Gabriel 'Kaunda' Sedibe, President of the Students' Representative Council and Mr. Pandelani Nefolovhodwe National President of the South African Students' Organisation, also a student at the University, were arrested by the Security Police.

On reopening, the students staged a sit-in protest in front of the Mankweng police station near the University, while senior members of the S.R.C. served the station commandant with a petition calling for the release of the arrested students.

The police then arrested Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman of the local committee of the South African Students' Organisation.

Events at Durban

As has been indicated above, the first of a country-wide series of rallies had been planned and scheduled to be held at the Curries Fountain Stadium in Durban. According to reported plans, the rally was scheduled to go ahead between 17.30 and 18.30 on the 25th September, the day on which the new Frelimo transitional Government officially took office in Lourenco Marques.

It was also planned that Frelimo officers should address the series of rallies in South Africa. A report in the *Sunday Times* of September 22, 1974 revealed that a representative of the South African Students' Organisation, 'already in Lourenco Marques, had approached the Frelimo leader', for the first meeting. It was further revealed in the same report that one more man had been dispatched by the Students'

Organisation to go and negotiate for three additional Frelimo speakers for further rallies in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

Hundreds of pamphlets announcing the rally and the Frelimo speakers had been distributed in Durban, and several bill posters were put up around the city. After a few days' effective publicising, keen interest arose in the city, especially within the Black Community.

Below we quote an extract from a pamphlet issued by the South African Students' Organisation in April 1975, entitled "THE FRELI-MO RALLY—THE FACTS AND AN EVALUATION", giving an on-the-spot account of the situation at the Curries Fountain area on the historic September 25, 1974:

"On Wednesday, 25th September, 1974 at about 17.30, over 2 000 people gathered outside the Curries Fountain on the embankment opposite the entrance to the stadium, despite the banning of the rally. The atmosphere was thick with expectation. The hum of excitement and genuine solidarity were indicative of the Black Community's mood.

"White police of course, were already present, having cordoned off the area around Curries Fountain, and preventing anyone from entering the stadium. Reinforcements continued to arrive with all their paraphernalia—dogs, swagger-sticks, riot vans—a pathetic show of force.

"By 17.40 the number of people had increased to between 4000 and 5000. Encouraged by the free-wheeling atmosphere and unconcerned by the racist show of force, the crowd began to sing and dance. The National Anthem, 'Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika', was chanted, the Black power salute was given, and many people shouted slogans including 'Viva Frelimo'."

The pamphlet went on to describe how the joint crowd tried to move towards this direction and that, on each occasion finding the police having closed in on them; and how the police eventually, without warning, unleashed the already excited Alsations into the unarmed peaceful crowd'. A *Daily News* report of September 26 claimed that the District Commandant for Durban West, Colonel A. Jordaan, who was apparently in charge of the police units present, had tried to address the shouting crowd through a hailer. Apparently the people took no notice of him as he called, "Attention, attention", and "Stop, stop".

At about 18.10, as the crowd "turned and headed down the roadway in the direction of the city.... ..the order was given to use the dogs".⁶ Reports claimed that the police moved in with what appeared to be preplanned precision as people turned and clambered up the embankment with the dogs at their heels. Screams filled the air as women and men were bitten by the dogs. One source claimed that one of the people bitten by the dogs was a pregnant woman. While people fled in all directions, police squad cars moved in at high speed, to prevent a regrouping of the demonstrators.⁷

Many people were arrested on the spot while in the evening the police raided the hospitals and arrested the people who were being treated for dog-bite wounds. Officials of the South African Students' Organisation, Black People's Convention, Theatre Council of Natal and the Black Allied Workers' Union were arrested in their offices that evening. This turned out to be a curtainraiser to a country-wide swoop by Secret Police on all Black Organisations, in which over forty young men and women were detained under the General Laws Amendment Act.

The Act empowers the police to detain a person for not longer than fourteen days. When the fourteen days expired, the Secret Police announced that the detainees would now be held under section 6(1) of the Terrorism Act, which allows for indefinite detention incommunicado.

Eighteen of those arrested on the first day were charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act and released on varied bail of R30 and R50 each. Their court hearing was remanded twice with the bail still standing. According to the bail conditions they were not supposed to enter the premises of the South African Students' Organisation, the Black People's Convention and the Black Allied Workers' Union and they were not supposed to leave Durban without a special permit.

Of this group, two young women, Pat Bolton and Zeeman and a male, Peter Bolton were Whites. Charges against Peter Bolton were later withdrawn, and an anonymous person paid up the R30 bail for Pat Bolton; and their passports which had been taken, were returned to them.

The trial of the rest of these people was remanded on March 3 to the August 18, 1975. Included in the accused was Mrs. Vino Cooper, wife of Sathasivan Cooper, banned former Public Relations Officer of the Black People's Convention. Mrs. Cooper had been arrested on the evening of September 25 in her flat, together with her husband. They were held under the Terrorism Act together with several others. After 43 days of detention, on November 7, 1974, Vino Cooper was released, and promptly charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The Minister of Police, and Justice, Mr. Jimmy Kruger was quoted by a few South African Newspapers early in December as saying that the detained people would appear in court "in a few weeks time". It was only in February 1975 that 12 people were brought to trial. They appeared on February 7, charged under the Terrorism Act. The case was remanded to March 12, on which date it was remanded again to April 21.

The accused were:

Sathasivan "Saths" Cooper, 24, married, ex-Public Relations Officer of the Black People's Convention. Banned under Section 9(1) and 10(Ia) of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.

Justice Edmund Lindane Muntu Myeza: 24, unmarried ex-President of SASO and Secretary-General of the Organisation at the time of detention.

Mosiua Gerald Patrick Lekota: 28, got married while in detention. Permanent Organiser of SASO since 1973.

Maitshwe Nchaube Aubrey Mokoape: 30, married with two daughters. Founder member of BPC and SASO, banned under Section 9(1) of Suppression of Communism Act. He was working in King Edward Hospital in Durban as a Medical Officer, until his detention.

Nkwenkwe Vincent Nkomo: 24, unmarried, National Organiser of BPC at the time of his arrest.

Pandelani Jeremiah Nefolovhodwe: 25, unmarried, National President of SASO and final year B.Sc. student at the University of the North at the time of his arrest.

Gilbert Kaborane "Kaunda" Sedibe: 24, unmarried, President of the University of the North Students' Representative Council.

Rubin Hare: 20, unmarried, vice-President of the South African Students' Organisation at the time of his arrest.

Strinivasa Rajoo Moodley: 28, married with one son. Banned under Section 9(1) and 10(Ia) of the Suppression of Communism Act. Former SASO publications Director and Editor of the SASO newsletter.

Sadecque Variava: 25, SASO member and leader of the People's Experimental Theatre, a drama group based in Johannesburg.

Absolom Zithulele Cindi: 25, unmarried, Secretary-General of BPC when arrested.

Sulayman Ahmed "Solly" Ismael: 27, Active member of both the People's Experimental Theatre and SASO.

When they appeared for the second remand on March 12, there were 13 accused after an additional man, Mr. Sivalingham Moodley had been added to the original twelve. Mr. Moodley is brother to accused number 9 and a member of the Theatre Council of Natal (Tecon).

The charge sheet with annexures covered 104 pages, before Mr. Sivalingham Moodley's name was included. Among the allegations that some or all of the accused faced were that they had during the period between 1968 and October 1974, conspired with one another to:

- Transform the State by unconstitutional revolutionary and/or violent means.
- Condition the African, Indian and Coloured population groups of the Republic of South Africa for violent revolution.

- Create and foster feelings of racial hatred, hostility and antipathy by Blacks towards Whites and/or the State.
- Denigrate Whites and represent them as inhuman oppressors of Blacks, and to induce, persuade and pressurize Blacks to totally reject the white man and his way of life, and to defy him.
- Eulogise and encourage emulation of persons who have been convicted in the Republic of the crimes of terrorism, subversion, sabotage, and of offences under the Suppression of Communism Act No. 44 of 1950.
- Portray historical events in such a way as to cause, encourage or further feelings of hostility, resentment or hatred by Blacks towards Whites.
- Make, produce, publish or distribute subversive and anti-White utterances, writings, poems, plays and/or dramas.
- Organise and hold subversive and anti-White rallies and/or gatherings.
- Discourage, hamper, deter or prevent foreign investments in the economy of the Republic, and to call upon foreign investors to disengage themselves from the South African economy, or sections of the said economy.
- Discourage, hamper and/or deter foreign organisations and/or Governments from recognising and/or co-operating with the Republic.

There were also alternative counts which were in some cases levelled severally at the accused. Amongst these were the following:—

- To organise, arrange, advertise and/or hold so-called pro-Frelimo Rallies at Durban and/or Turfloop and/or Johannesburg and/or Port Elizabeth;
- Confront, assail or set at defiance the authority of the State, the police and others established to maintain law and order;
- To provoke the police to use violence;
- To advertise, make known or suggest the efficacy of an armed struggle to transform the State and/or bring about political, social industrial and/or economic change into the Republic.

It was also alleged that whereas Sipho Buthelezi, at all relevant times a member of the Executive Committee of the Black People's Convention, in carrying on or furthering or endeavouring to further the business affairs or the interests of the Black People's Convention did, upon or about 31st January, 1973 and at or near Johannesburg, wrongly or unlawfully with intent to endanger the maintainance of law and order

in the Republic or any portion thereof, write or cause to be written letters to some fifteen persons and/or companies or organisations with investments in South Africa, and thereby did, or did attempt to discourage hamper, deter and/or prevent foreign investments in the economy of the Republic, and whereas the accused Sathasivan Cooper was at all relevant times a member of the same Executive Committee as Siphso Buthelezi, therefore by virtue of the provisions of Section 381(7) of Act No. 56 of 1955, Cooper is guilty of the offence of participating in terroristic activities. Mr. Siphso Buthelezi mentioned above, went into exile in 1974 and is believed to be in Botswana. He was banned under Section 9(1a) and 10(a) of the Suppression of Communism Act and was restricted to Newcastle in Natal.

All the Court appearances of the 13 supporters of the Black Consciousness Movement were marked with strong determination on the part of both the trialists and the Blacks who happened to be watching from the public gallery.

This was evidenced by a pattern followed since the February 7 appearance in the Pretoria Magistrate Court, when the accused started singing from the cells below the court-room, up the stairs until they got into the court-room. At the end of the song they bellowed "POWER—AMANDLA".⁸ The lyrics of the song were as follows:—

*"Asikhathali noma siyabotshwa
sizimisel' inkululeko.*

*Unzima lo mthwalo
ufuna sihlangene."*

*"We do not care even if they arrest us,
we are determined on liberation,
this burden is heavy
it demands unity."*

This pattern took an added dimension on March 12, when the trialists appeared again. They entered the overcrowded Supreme Court, singing loudly, their arms raised high, fists clenched in the Black Solidarity salute. When they turned to face the public gallery, the people stood up and joined the singing and most of them held up clenched fists.

After Mr. Justice Boshoff had left the bench, on this same day (March 12), having postponed the hearing to April 21, a fracas developed between the 13 trialists and the police, in which some blows were exchanged. The accused were leaning over the dock, to kiss, hug, shake hands or even touch relatives and friends from the public gallery. The police were in turn trying to force the trialists down the stairs and away from the hand rail next to which the crowds of friends had gathered.

In the course of the mêlée, there was general shouting and yelling by

both the trialists and the swarming black crowd. After the commotion, hundreds of black people gathered outside the Palace of Justice and milled around for some time before dispersing without any further incidents.⁹

It was reported in the *Daily Dispatch* of the 14th March, 1975 that after the trading of punches between the police and the trialists, and the subsequent forcing down the stairs of the trialists by the police, the former were again assaulted by the police, and as Dr. Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape, tried to speak to General Mike Geldenhuys, the head of the Security Police who was also in the cells, about the assaults, he was pushed away by a security policeman.

It was also reported that the black trialists were intending to lay charges against at least three security policemen for allegedly assaulting them in Pretoria Magistrates Court shortly before their appearance on February 7 and during their detention at the Pretoria Central Prison. Mrs. Vino Cooper, wife of accused Sathasivan Cooper, who visited her husband in prison said the detainees claimed they had been assaulted just before their appearance of February 7, after an argument between a security policeman and Rubin Hare, one of the accused.

Reference was made in the paragraph above, to assaults of the detainees by the security police at the Pretoria Central Prison. According to the SASO pamphlet entitled the Frelimo Rally—Facts and an Evaluation, published in April, Mr. Shun Chetty of Durban, acting for some detainees, brought an application for an interdict against the Minister of Police and the Commissioner of the South African Police. The circumstances surrounding the application were reported as follows:—

On the 22nd October 1974, Mr. S. Chetty acting for some detainees, was permitted to see Sathasivan Cooper, to discuss a pending appeal by Mr. Cooper against a conviction on a previous charge of assaulting a security policeman in Durban. During the two and half hours that they were together with two cops monitoring, Mr. Chetty gathered that there were “many detainees who were being brutally assaulted by members of Special Branch”. Consequently Mr. Chetty drew up an affidavit supported by five affidavits drawn up by relatives of some detainees, and sought an interdict restraining the security police from assaulting, interrogating in any manner other than prescribed by law, employing any undue or unlawful pressure and subjecting any form of unlawful duress on the detainees. In addition he requested that someone entitled in terms of sub-section 6 or 7 of section 6 of the Terrorism Act and approved by the court, be allowed to take affidavits from the five people allegedly assaulted, and that pending the affidavits, an interim interdict be issued against further assaults pending the final judgment on the application.

Mr. Chetty's main affidavit was supported by five affidavits submitted by:

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Zwelibanzi Mabandla | — | father of Lindelwe Mabandla |
| Alimal Cooper | — | mother of Saths and Revabalan Cooper |
| Ntomenhle Shange | — | Fiancee of Mosiuoa Lekota (later married in the Prison Chapel early in 1975) |
| Jacob Myeza | — | Father to Muntu Justice Myeza |
| Julia Myeza | — | Mother to Muntu Justice Myeza |

In defence the Minister of Police and the Commissioner of Police produced 142 pages of affidavits from 29 persons—mainly employees of the State working within the prison where the detainees were being held. The affidavits denied any improper behaviour on the part of the police. No evidence could be taken from the detainees themselves, in support of their case. Mr. Justice Trengrove in giving judgment stated, "The position at present is that there are very serious doubts on allegations of ill-treatment of the detainees".

"The Terrorism Act specifically states that no court of law may pronounce upon the validity of any detention or interrogation. Prisoners are at the sole mercy of the Police and the Minister of Justice", observed a SASO commentary in the special bulletin on the Frelimo Rally and its aftermath. The commentary went on as follows:

"Ignored totally too, are the effects due to prolonged detention in solitary confinement coupled with heavy interrogation. While detainees may not show any overt physical signs of injury (which is what the court is more interested in when pronouncing on whether detainees are being ill-treated or not), the less overt psycho-emotional effects due to such detention, have been known to take a huge toll of the victimised detainees, their friends, families and the broader communities they are part and parcel of.

It is no wonder then, that Blacks view with cynicism, such talk about 'change within six months', and other such promises. So long as our dignity is trodden upon...so long as we are subjected to humiliation...there can be no trust nor peace between us and the oppressor".

Even before the actual trial of the 13 men could start, the defence, in an unprecedented move, demanded that the State should furnish further and better particulars on the charges against the detainees. Mr. C. Rees, SC, the Deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal, leading the State case, argued that the State had "gone out of its way" to give the defence all the documents that it "reasonably required", although it was not obliged to supply these documents.¹⁰

Mr. Rees further stated that the State would rely on the whole course

of conduct of the detainees and the organisations to which they belonged, as well as documents taken from these organisations to prove that the detainees had adhered to a conspiracy to overthrow the State by violent and unconstitutional means.

“We believe that all the facts on which our case is based are set out in the five volumes of documents and information supplied to the defence by us”, he said. He maintained that in a conspiracy case, by its very nature, the charges could not be set out with crystal clarity.¹¹

Mr. Justice Boshoff, echoing the defence request, said that the defence needed to know which particular facts the State would rely on to prove each aspect of the charges, and to what extent the State would rely on the documents provided.

Mr. Rees advanced that the detainees had created and fostered a spirit of aggression against the State and this aggression was evidenced even by their behaviour in court. After an objection by the senior counsel for the defence, the remark had to be withdrawn. Mr. Rees was referring to the previous court-room skirmishes between the police and the trialists; as well as the occasion of the 21st April 1975, when the trialists, clad in black T-shirts with letters BPC on the chests, and black skull-caps came into the court with their customary singing. Facing the public gallery they continued singing until they ended with the clenched fist Black Solidarity salute, accompanied by a roar of “Power”. Black spectators from the public gallery responded to the salute.¹²

On this day, Mr. Justice Irving Steyn, who was acting for Judge Boshoff, got into the court-room before the accused filed in, which was unusual. It is reported that he sat quietly as the singing went on uninterrupted. After the event Mr. C. Rees, SC, stood up and claimed that the thirteen, together with the members of the public who joined them, had acted in contempt of the court, by singing in the presence of the judge. He further suggested that the police should investigate the possibility of charging the trialists and the spectators.

Judge Steyn agreed with Mr. Rees that what had happened had been in contempt of court, “however, anything I said during the singing would have been to no avail”, he was quoted as having said. Defending the incident, Mr. Roy Allaway, SC for the defence said the court had not been quorate when the accused were coming in, and that therefore there could be no case of contempt of court. He also suggested that the trialists could not have been aware of the judge’s presence as they came in.¹³

At the end of the hearing, Mr. Justice Steyn, addressing Mr. Allaway, said that the accused had had their chance to demonstrate, and should not take the risk of a further demonstration”. Subsequent to the event, as

the judge adjourned the court to May, 5, the doors were locked and the public were kept inside for twenty minutes as the police took names and addresses of about forty of the spectators. The forty were alleged to have participated in the court-room singing and saluting.

Mr. David Soggot, a Johannesburg advocate in the defence team, apparently annoyed by the police action against the spectators in the public gallery, approached senior police officers at the court to complain against the imprisonment of members of the public. He later said: "I have never known anything like this in a South African court. The police had no right to detain them".¹⁴

The argument revolving round the defence complaint that the indictment was not enough to show what case they had to meet, and that as it stood, it was embarrassing and prejudicial to the preparation of a proper defence, went on for nearly three days. The proceedings were occasionally spiced by the odd interchange between counsel. It was reported that at one point, Mr. Roy Allaway, SC, leading defence counsel, turned to Mr. Rees SC, the State leader, and said: "Will you please keep quiet". The thirteen trialists apparently enjoyed these outbreaks of repartee and are reported to have laughed uninhibitedly.

Conducting the defence argument, Mr. Allaway said that if an order for further particulars was granted and not complied with, the defence wanted the indictment quashed. He maintained that the indictment did not say when the conspiracy was formed or how each of the accused had allegedly participated.

Referring to the youngest of the accused, Mr. Rubin Hare, 20, Mr. Allaway said that if the alleged conspiracy was true, then Mr. Hare would have been 14 years old when he entered it.

Mr. Justice Boshoff, after some ten days adjournment of the hearing, announced on May 16th, in a 44 page document, the judgment on the question of whether or not the State should furnish further particulars to the defence. In his judgment, the judge granted an order instructing the State to supply further details on eight of the twenty sections of the application. He also granted the defence leave to appeal for the quashing of the indictments against the accused men, should the State fail to deliver the particulars ordered. The judge also added that when details were requested, "particular care should be taken to furnish particulars in a way that would clarify the charges".¹⁵

The Pretoria Supreme Court sat briefly on the 21st May, to adjourn to the 9th June. It was expected that the State would furnish the required particulars by May 22. Mr. Shun Chetty, the instructing attorney said in an interview that if the defence received the details on May 22, they would be ready to go ahead on June 9. He said it was unlikely that the State would not comply with the order. "That would be self-defeating", he said.

It was only when June 9 came that Mr. Chetty realised that his expectations did not hold true. It appeared that the State had misunderstood the order given by the Court regarding further particulars. In its supply of the required details, the State counsel Mr. C. Rees said that he had been instructed by the court order to supply particulars on the extent of participation by the individual detainees belonging to the Black People's Convention, the South African Students' Organisation, the Theatre Council of Natal and the People's Experimental Theatre. The judge, apparently angry replied, "I would never have ordered such a silly thing". Nevertheless, Mr. Rees did present the further particulars that he had prepared.¹⁶ During his submission, Mr. Justice Boshoff frequently interrupted the argument to ask how certain particulars supplied by the State threw any light on the indictment. "Are the defence just interested, or are they facing charges under the Terrorism Act? Aren't these particulars just confusing the whole case?" he asked at one stage.¹⁷

Mr. Rees insisted that he had supplied adequate particulars whereupon the Judge asked, "How do these particulars explain this mass of information that neither I nor the defence can understand?" He added that the case against the 13 revolved around the manner in which the detainees had allegedly joined and participated in a conspiracy against the State. He said that a Black People's Convention meeting mentioned in Mr. Rees' argument at which "mundane matters" had been discussed did not relate to the charges.

Judge Boshoff eventually adjourned the court until June 23, saying that he would try to set out his reasons for regarding the indictment against the thirteen as vague.

For the duration of the tedious legal argument, tension between counsel was always notable. At one stage, when the judge was considering throwing out the indictment and giving the State a chance to prepare a new one, the State counsel, Mr. Rees, claimed that the situation had been brought about by the defence's attitude. He claimed that the defence was playing for time because they did not want the actual trial to start before the customary July recess. Mr. Allaway said that the defence deeply resented the State claim that they were playing for time, particularly as the accused had been in jail for many months and had been refused bail. A postponement would only lengthen their detention.¹⁸

The Attorney-General for the Transvaal, Dr. Percy Yutar had rejected a bail application by the accused. The application was not brought before court because, under section 6 of the Terrorism Act, a court could not order the release of detainees being held under the Act, and might not grant bail.¹⁹

On June 23, the Pretoria Supreme Court sat to hear Judge Boshoff's judgment on the defence application for the quashing of indictments against the 13 accused detainees. Before the judge could lay down his decision, the Transvaal Deputy Attorney-General, Mr. Rees, in a dramatic unexpected move told the court that he was withdrawing all charges against Mr. Sivalingham Moodley and Mr. Sooly Ismael; and that he would be withdrawing the present indictment against the remaining eleven detainees as soon as he had drafted a new indictment. He further announced that he intended bringing a joint indictment against nine of the accused, and that he would bring separate charges against Mr. Rubin Hare and Mr. Sadecque Variava. If further charges were later laid against the two released accused, they would be brought in a different court, he said.²⁰

Mr. Rees said that the defence had asked 8350 questions on the 11 page indictment, and that as a result things were getting confused. He made most of his submission in Afrikaans, and only summed up in English at the request of Mr. Roy Allaway. There was a marked reaction from the large crowd in the public gallery and from the detainees.

As Mr. Justice Boshoff adjourned the court the detainees stood with the crowd and chanted the National Anthem "Nkosi Sikelela i-Afrika" (God Bless Africa). Thereafter, pushing aside policemen, the remaining detainees embraced and congratulated their former co-accused.²¹ The two freed detainees, surrounded by a wildly excited crowd of friends, relatives and supporters of the Black Consciousness Movement—most of them weeping openly—left the Palace of Justice at the head of waves of clenched fists of the Black Unity salute.

Minutes after the whole excitement was over, Sivalingham Moodley returned to the Pretoria Central Prison to visit "the guys I spent every minute of the last five months with".²²

The New Charges and the Second Phase of the Trial

On the 3rd of July 1975, nine of the remaining accused detainees appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court to face new charges under the Terrorism Act of 1967. The charges were similar to the previous ones, and in a later interview, the instructing attorney for the defence, Mr. Shun Chetty described them as "even more vague". The case was remanded to August 4.

On the same day separate charges were brought against Rubin Hare and Sadecque Variava. Both their cases were tentatively remanded to the 10th and the 4th of September respectively. Mr. Chetty reported that it had actually been mentioned that the hearings of the two cases would only start after the main case against the nine had been concluded.

People Detained under the Terrorism Act

According to reports issued by the South African Students' Organisation and the Programme for Social Change of the Christian Institute, there were 50 persons who were in detention by March 5. The following are the names of the detainees and the dates of their detention:

Name	Detention Date	Name	Detention Date
Lindelwe Mabandla	25.9.74	Mzimkhulu Gwentshe	2.11.74
Haroon Aziz	25.9.74	Zithulele Cindi	7.11.74
Sathasivan Cooper	25.9.74	Drake Koka	7.11.74
Revabalan Cooper	25.9.74	A. Dundubele Mokoena	7.11.74
Ahmed Bawa	25.9.74	Thomas Manthata	7.11.74
Muntu Myeza	25.9.74	Rubin Hare	7.11.74
Yuzen Naidoo	25.9.74	Steven Carolus	7.11.74
Mosiona Lekota	25.9.74	Harold Dixon	7.11.74
Mashwabada Mayatula	25.9.74	Cyril Ramaphosa	
Menziwe Mbeo	26.9.74	Buma Bokwe	
Harry Singh	27.9.74	Solly Ismail	18.1.75
Brigitte Mabandla	28.9.74	Sadecque Variava	18.1.75
Mahlomela Skosana	7.10.74	Ben Louw	25.1.75
Nkwenkwe Nkomo	7.10.74	Sivalingham Moodley	29.1.75
Paul Tsotetsi	11.10.74	Monamodi Radebe	4.2.75
Strinivasa Moodley	11.10.74	Xola Nuse	4.2.75
Nchaupe Mokoape	11.10.74	Bernard Trevor Bloem	6.2.75
Ben Langa	11.10.74	Patrick MacGluwa	14.2.75
Mapetla Mohapi	11.10.74	Chris Goddard	14.2.75
Pumzile Majeke	11.10.74	Weizman Hamilton	15.2.75
Pandelani Nefolovhodwe	11.10.74	Johny Ramrock	15.2.75
Kaunda Sedibe	11.10.74	Hector Mbau	
Leteane Modisane	11.10.74	Raymond Burgers	18.2.75
Nyameko Pityana	11.10.74	Eric Molubi	20.2.75
Danile Landingwe	11.10.74	Molefe Phetoe	5.3.75

Speculation concerning the last eleven persons mentioned in the list above suggested that they could have been arrested for some other matter which had not yet come to light, and that there could be no connection between them and the former lot. There were also reports that they were being held in cells at John Vorster Square, and not at the Pretoria Central Prison, as was the case with the rest of the people detained.

Most of them belonged to AFRO, a movement which actively opposed the Coloured Representative Council during the time of the election campaign for this body.

It has been very difficult to assess the actual number of people who

were detained over this period. It could not be assumed that all cases of detained people were reported to any of the black national organisations, or to the press.

There were many reported cases of people detained by the Security Police for short periods ranging from 5 to 36 hours, for the purpose of interrogation. Below we list the names of people known to have been hauled in for short periods:

Maphiri Masekela	—Director of Women's Division for South African Council of Churches.
Sibongile Kubeka	—Head Office Secretary for SASO.
Christine Douts	—Western Cape SASO Regional Secretary.
Kessi Moodley	—Member of Theatre Council of Natal, and brother to Strini and Sivalingham
Kogila Perumal	—Member of Theatre Council of Natal.
Mandlenkosi Langa	—Member of National Youth Organisation and brother of Ben Langa.
Basil Lenkoe	—Member of South African Students' Movement. (a national high school student organisation).
Mathe Diseko	—Banned leader of National Youth Organisation.
Leonard Martin	—Leader of AFRO in Johannesburg.
Kenneth Clark	—Member of AFRO.
Inkie Carter	—Member of AFRO.
Saville Carter	—Member of AFRO.
Winston Carter	—Member of AFRO.

Most of the 13 people listed above were reported to have subsequently left their homes, and are believed to have left the country.

It came as a complete surprise to the Black Community when on March 20, three of the first detainees were released from Pretoria Central Prison. And the following day on the 21st, a fourth detainee was released. The names of the detainees were Lindelwe and his wife Brigette Mabandla, Paul Tsotetsi and Mzimkhulu Gwentshe of East London, who was released the following day.

The four released detainees were issued with documents which mentioned that they would possibly be issued with subpoenas to give evidence with regard to the current trial of the thirteen Terror Act trialists. The documents also stipulated that these people should report their addresses to the nearest police station as soon as they got to their homes, failure to observe the second condition would render them liable to a fine of R50 or one month's imprisonment.

The release of these people gave rise to speculation that they had guaranteed to give evidence against their accused colleagues. This speculation was crushed by a press statement made by Mrs. Mabandla

and printed in the *Rand Daily Mail* of March 22, two days after her release. The statement read thus:

Owing to the subsequent banning orders served on Mrs Mabandla on September 23rd 1975, her words have had to be deleted.

The South African Students' Organisation, later attacked the South African Government for the conditions under which the detainees were being released referring mainly to the reported possibility of subpoenas. The Students' Organisation said in a statement that this was an effort to cause disunity in the ranks of Black people and thereby disrupt and cast a stir on the integrity of the Black Consciousness Movement.²³

SASO referred to Mrs. Mabandla's post-detention press statement as the words that best capture and illustrate the spirit of the people released after being held incommunicado and in solitary confinement for such a long time.²⁴

On March 24 two more detainees, Nyameko Barney Pityana and Mapetla Mohapi were released; and on March 27 Menziwe Mbeo and Pumzile Majeke were also released. On April 2 another couple, John Issel and Revabalan Cooper were released; and the eleventh person, Steve Carolus, came out on the 10th of April.

It was not until June 25, two days after the charges against two of the 13 trialists were unconditionally withdrawn, that more detainees were released. The released detainees were Aubrey Dundubele Mokoena, Ben Louw, Thomas Madikwe Manthata, Jerry Leteane Modisane and Haroon Aziz. Significantly this was 'Uhuru day' for independent Mozambique under Frelimo guidance. The advent of the Frelimo administration in September 1974 had set the ball rolling for the State case against the protagonists of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. The event of the planned pro-Frelimo rallies gave the Government reason to investigate the movement with regard to "terrorism".

On June 27, Drake Koka, another detainee, was released from prison, which brought the overall number of freed long-term detainees to 19, including those against whom charges had already been laid. Discounting the 11 remaining trialists, the number of known detainees was therefore reduced to 20.

As has been mentioned above, eleven of this remaining twenty was believed to be held at John Vorster Square for some other possible case other than the currently known one. It could therefore be said that there were nine people believed to be detained in connection with the

Terrorism Act trial which was running at the Palace of Justice in Pretoria.

The ninth detainee, Buma Bokwe, reportedly from Kokstad seemed to be completely unknown to the Black National Youth Organisation (NAYO), the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and the South African Students' Movement (SASM). Reports of his detention were all from newspaper sources.

Reactions to the Detentions and Trial

The detention of so many people by the Security Police, the subsequent charging of some of them under the enormous Terrorism Act caused quite a remarkable stir in both the Black and White communities in South Africa, as well as in the international community. Below is given a brief account of some of the reactions manifested and expressed by the said communities during the detention period.

Black Reactions

The series of arrests and detentions mostly affected organisations which subscribed to the Black Consciousness Movement. The smooth running of these organisations was disturbed by the abrupt removal of leadership and administrative material.

The leadership crisis therefore brought about a moment of uncertainty. This was especially enhanced by the month-long ban on all SASO and BPC meetings, which made it difficult for the membership to reorganise themselves.

Analysing the whole situation, a SASO spokesman wrote, "Their main hope (the powers that be), with the Frelimo Rally being used as an excuse, appears to be to crush SASO, BPC, BAWU and the other Black Consciousness organisations. By bleeding our organisations of effective leadership they assume that the Black Movement will die a natural death. Perhaps their idea is that the ridiculous show of force at Curries Fountain will frighten people into total inactivity. Or maybe, it was an assurance to the white electorate that they have the situation "well under control...."²⁵

During the first few weeks of the emergency, support for the organisations was well demonstrated by the big numbers of volunteers who rallied to all the offices, "to keep the fires burning", as one student put it at the SASO head office. The remaining black leadership kept constant with families of the detained, feeding them with whatever information was available on the situation of the detainees.

Interim committees were set up to take orderly care of the running of the movement. The newly appointed acting National President of SASO the Rev. Gwebelentlanzi Mposelwa appealed to all Black campuses to stand firm and not fear to continue their work.

Approximately 700 Black women signed a petition to the Prime

Minister and the Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons, condemning the detentions and calling for immediate release of the detainees. A copy of the petition was sent to the State President.

The petition was delivered at the offices of the Ministers concerned in Pretoria by a delegation of 8 women on the 19th of November, 1974. They were not allowed to see any of the Ministers when they arrived.

Some Black women organised picketing at St. Emmanuel's Cathedral and the Methodist Church at Lorne Street in Durban over the weekends of 11th-12th and 17th-18th January respectively. Their placards were highlighting the irony of the South African detente exercise with the rest of Africa and the promises of change "within six months" from the Prime Minister, in the light of the detentions.²⁶

Emergency fund-raising committees were set up in the major cities of the country which raised money for possible bail of the detainees, when they had eventually been charged. Some of the money was used to take care of desperate cases of financial embarrassment as a result of some main bread winners having been detained. Referring to this kind of support, the Secretary General of the South African Students' Organisation Mr. Thami Zani observed: "This demonstrates the very basis of blackness. I cannot claim that all these people who have supported us, subscribed to every letter of our policy. This proves that Black Consciousness is not just a political concept, but a way of life".

Black support was highly in evidence when thirteen of the detainees were eventually brought to court in Pretoria. The large numbers of black people who crowded the court-room, and the even larger numbers who waited outside while the proceedings went on was a further demonstration of solidarity.

Voices of concern over the detentions also came from the leaders of the two major parties participating in the Coloured Representative Council, the Federal and the Labour Parties, who appealed to the Government to release or charge the detainees. Similar appeals were made by Bantustan leaders like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu and the leaders of the Ciskei opposition party, the Ciskei National Party, whose spokesman expressed sympathy with the Black Consciousness Movement in their trouble with the Government. The South African Indian Council expressed similar feelings.

White Reactions

A snap debate on the detention was called by the Progressive Party MP, Helen Suzman, on the 11th March 1975. During the debate she strongly criticized the South African Government for applying double standards in that whereas it had pressurised the Rhodesian Government to bring Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole of the Zimbabwe African

National Union to an open court, it was not prepared to bring the SASO and BPC detainees to court.

In an article captioned, "If Sithole was in South Africa", the *Sunday Times* of March 16, 1975 described the words used by the Minister of Police in the House of Assembly when he offered reasons for the continued detention, as speaking "in lurid terms".

The Minister, Mr. Kruger had said: "Apart from terrorism on the borders, there is also terrorism of the spirit. There are terrorists in South Africa who walk in the dark. I know we have no choice in the matter and that we are in the midst of a war".

Reacting to this statement the *Sunday Times* observed that it contrasted strikingly with the official Government stance that South Africa was an oasis of stability in a world of turmoil.

A national white women's organisation called the Black Sash organised picket protests in Jan Smuts Avenue, one of Johannesburg's main artery routes. Their placards mainly condemned the detentions and called for the detainees to be either charged or released.²⁷

On November 10, 1974, a broad cross-section of church leaders, and church organisations appealed to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice and Police to bring detainees to trial immediately. Especially emphasised was the concern over the rumour that the detainees were being ill-treated by the Secret Police. The statement submitted read: "While it is not within the competence of the churches and organisations to pronounce on this, we wish to note that rumours such as these would not be given credence if the normal processes of law were followed in that persons would be brought to trial speedily".²⁸

The white National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) made a statement condemning the incommunicado detentions. They stressed that the call should not be "charge or release", but just "release political detainees".

On the United Nations Human Rights day, 8th December 1974, meetings were held in three major centres in South Africa, highlighting the plight of the detainees.

International Reactions

Many organisations in various countries of the world severally condemned the detentions in South Africa. Telegrams of solidarity were sent to the South African black organisations concerned, by sympathetic groups and individuals.

The anti-Apartheid Committee at the United Nations appealed to all Governments to condemn the trial of the 13 detainees who were charged. The British based organisation called "Southern Africa, the Imprisoned Society" (SATIS), spearheaded by the British Anti-

Apartheid Organisation, organised picketing in London's Trafalgar Square on February 12, 1975. A hundred placard-carrying people picketed for about an hour, calling for the release of the detained. Further pickets were organised in seventeen other centres in Britain viz. Manchester, Newcastle, Teeside, Coventry, Nottingham, Glasgow, Birmingham Leeds, Exeter, Southampton, Cheltenham, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Cardiff, Swansea, Aberystwyth and Bangor.²⁹

A major demonstration was organised in London, just outside South Africa House. This demonstration was joined by some seven Labour M.P.'s, and letters of support were sent to the demonstrators by another six Labour M.P.'s, as well as the Liberal Party Chief-Whip, Mr. David Steele.³⁰

Mr. Frank Ferrari, vice-president of the AFRO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, expressed the importance of international observers to the trial of the 13 charged detainees. He further stated that he was "horrified by the way people can be incarcerated without families, society or the press being given information".

Representatives of some Western embassies, notably Australian, Canadian, British, Dutch and American, kept attending the court hearings as observers.

The proceedings on the 5th of May, were marked by the presence of Mr. John Archer, Q.C., representing the International Commission of Jurists; and Mr. Mike Peay, director of the African Legal Assistance Project of the Washington based Committee for Civil Rights under the Law.³¹

THE CLARENCE HAMILTON CASE

On May 31, 1974, members of the Secret Police from John Vorster Square arrested an 18 year-old matric student at the Coronation High School in connection with a pamphlet he had printed and distributed, urging the students, teachers and parents not to celebrate Republic Day, which falls on that date every year.

"If you are going to celebrate this day, you are going to celebrate the umpteenth year in slavery;" the pamphlet said.

It also posed questions to students: "Are you satisfied with an education that hardly suits the needs of a common peasant?"

It ended by saying: "We are fighting for our rights as citizens and indigenous natives of this country".

When the police searched Hamilton's home they found a book containing poems written by him and two books, *The Year of the Young Rebel* and *Social Change*.

They also found formulae for making hand grenades and petrol bombs. The police also arrested two friends of Hamilton's, Mr. Saville Carter and Mr. John Norman. All three were held under the General Laws Amendment Act, but Carter and Norman were released after two weeks. Hamilton was charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. He appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on June, 14, 1974 after being incommunicado for 15 days, facing two charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The first charge was that he possessed formulae to make explosives and a petrol bomb. The other charge related to the drafting, publishing and/or printing of a pamphlet aimed at encouraging feelings of hostility between the white and black races and at bringing about change in South Africa by means of violence.

Mr. Hamilton was represented by Mr. Mike Lazarus. No evidence was led and he was released on R250 bail. He was ordered to report to the Orlando Police station daily. At his later appearance, Hamilton's lawyer, Mr. Mike Lazarus applied for the conditions of bail to be changed. Mr. Hamilton was then ordered to report at the Orlando Police station every Monday.³²

When the hearing resumed, the State called Mr. J. C. van der Merwe, head of the Department of the Political Science at the Rand Afrikaans University, as an expert witness to give evidence that the pamphlet tended to further the aims of communism. Mr. Hamilton was now before Mr. W. R. Krugel in the Johannesburg Regional Court.³³

Mr. Lazarus of the defence cross-examined Mr. van der Merwe at length about the contents of the pamphlet. The latter said that in the symbolic connection and in the context of the political situation there was warfare between Black and White in South Africa. This situation existed in spite of the fact that Blacks were fighting for South Africa on the border.³⁴

He agreed with Mr. Lazarus that strong language was often used in politics, but said that any statement should be seen in its context.

Mr. Hamilton was found guilty on both charges under the Suppression of Communism Act on October 18. In summing up, the magistrate, Mr. Krugel said that anyone who read the books and wrote the poems that Mr. Hamilton did, could never plead ignorance. He found that a poem written by Hamilton was intended as a literal call for violence.³⁵

Mr. Krugel said that he had studied the pamphlet carefully and found that the analysis made by Mr. van der Merwe coincided in all respects with the analysis of the court.

Hamilton was released and the R350 bail allowed to stand, pending the sentence which was set for October 29.

On the day of the sentence Mr. Hamilton failed to appear in court and a warrant for his arrest was issued by the magistrate.

He was later reported to have skipped to neighbouring Botswana. Interviewed by a reporter of a South African magazine he said that he had run away because he realised that he would have spent his most active years of life in jail after which he would most certainly be slammed with restriction orders.³⁶

The Thamang David Seleoane—Wezile Ngalo Terror Trial

Two young Bloemfontein men, Thamang David Seleoane 20, and Wezile Ngalo 24, were brought to the Bloemfontein Supreme Court on June with charges under the Terrorism Act and alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

It was alleged that between March 3 and 6, 1975, they had both gone to Gaborone in Botswana, to undergo military training which could be useful to a person wishing to endanger the maintainance of law and order in South Africa. On the alternative charge, both accused were alleged to have taken steps with the intention of furthering the aims of a banned organisation, the African National Congress.³⁷

Evidence was given that the accused, together with their fellow members of a Bloemfontein African soccer team, were used to listening to Radio Freedom—the Voice of the African National Congress—broadcasting from the Zambian capital of Lusaka, during their sport training periods. It was apparently from the radio that they had gathered that they could go to Zambia for free education and military training.

Seleoane was represented by Mr. S. A. Visser and Ngalo was represented by Mr. S. P. B. Hancke. Apparently the accused had no legal representatives of their own, and the two gentlemen who represented them were appointed by the State. Reflecting on this report, the National Organiser of the Black People's Convention, Mr. Kenny Rachidi expressed concern over the matter. He said that the two accused Blacks were not members of his organisation, but it would still have been the duty of a national movement to see to it that cases of this nature were given the necessary attention; and the regrettable idea of having counsel appointed for trialists was an unforgivable slip in the alertness of the movement.

The case for the State was led by the Deputy Attorney-General for the Orange Free State, Mr. A. R. Erasmus. On the bench was Mr. Justice Smuts, with two assessors.

Both the accused pleaded not guilty to all charges brought against them; but Seleoane later pleaded guilty to the main charge, apparently on the advice of his counsel.

They were declared guilty by Judge Smuts on June 13. After the verdict was given, there was a dispute over Thamang Seleoane's age. His sister gave evidence that he was eighteen, but his mother said he

was nineteen. Sentence had to be postponed till the following day, so that Seleokane could undergo radiological tests to determine his age.³⁸

Thamang Seleokane and Wezile Ngalo were each sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, which is the minimum prescribed by the Terrorism Act.

TRIALS RELATING TO RESTRICTION ORDERS

The Strini Moodley Trial

Mr. Strinivasa Rajoo Moodley, former executive official of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) until he was served with banning orders on March 2, 1973 was brought to the Durban Regional Court in August 1974, charged with five counts of contravening the terms of his restriction orders.

He appeared before Mr. C. J. van Zijl, the magistrate and was represented by Mr. J. Didcott S. C. The State case was conducted by Mr. T. D. Reeds.

It was alleged that on February 18, 1974, Mr. Moodley had unlawfully attended a gathering of people, when publicity for a drama performed by the Theatre Council of Natal, of which he had been director until his banning, was discussed. It was further alleged that he had prepared a publicity pamphlet to be published for the drama production; and that he had visited the offices of two Black newspapers, *Graphic* and *The Leader*, in contravention of his restriction orders. He was also charged with receiving two guests and of attending a social gathering in his flat on the same evening of February 18.

On August 31, Mr. Moodley was acquitted on three of the counts mentioned above, but he was found guilty of the last two of receiving visitors and attending a gathering at his home.

He was sentenced to seven days' imprisonment, conditionally suspended for one year. A few months later Mr Moodley was detained under the Section 6 of the Terrorism Act; and he later became one of the 13 detainees who stood trial before Mr. Justice Boshoff in the Pretoria Supreme Court at the Palace of Justice.³⁹

Barney Nyameko Pityana, 29

Nyameko Pityana lodged an appeal against his conviction and sentence by the Port Elizabeth Regional Court Magistrate, on five counts of violating the State's banning orders against him.

The Grahamstown Supreme Court acquitted him of three counts and endorsed the previous decision on two of the counts.

In July 1974 Nyameko was again charged for violating restriction orders. It was alleged that he had received visitors at his home on two occasions. The first count involved his younger brother Lizo, who

apparently was in the habit of popping in at Nyameko's house to bring a newspaper. The second count could not be substantiated by the State.

Pityana was found guilty on the one count where his brother was involved, and the second count was withdrawn by the State. He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, suspended for three years.

He appealed against the sentence, and while the appeal result was due in December 1974, Nyameko was detained in October, under the Terrorism Act.

No sooner had he been released in March 1975, than he was once more brought to court. The December appeal result had only expressed sentiments in his favour, otherwise the sentence was not set aside. As a result of this the State decided to press for the previous suspended sentence to be effected. Pityana's attorneys put up a strong fight to what they regarded as an unfair onslaught on the person of their client. The hearing on the matter was remanded to July 31. He was represented by Mr. Somyalo of Port Elizabeth who occasionally briefed counsel. Nyameko Pityana was SASO Secretary-General until his banning in 1973.⁴⁰

Steve Bantu Biko, 29

As has been mentioned in earlier issues of *Black Review*, Biko, an executive employee of Black Community Programmes and a former President of SASO, was restricted to King William's Town as from 1973, banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

In February 1974 he was charged with an infringement of his restriction orders on one main count and an alternative count. On the main count it was alleged that he had received visitors at his place of residence in that some students from the Alice Federal Theological Seminary together with a lecturer were found by security police in the house. Alternatively it was alleged that he had attended a social gathering of the same group on the same night.

The trial was concluded on May 7 and Biko was acquitted of the charges against him. He made his objection to the very laws that made it a crime for one to be visited and be in company of friends.⁴¹

Stanley Sabelo Ntwasa, 28

On March 29, 1974, Sabelo Ntwasa, the Black Theologian who had been convicted in September, 1973 on charges in terms of his banning orders, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, appealed against the court decision.

In October, 1974 the Supreme Court ruled in favour of the State and Ntwasa who had previously had a similarly suspended sentence in 1972, was goaled at Leeuwkop prison until April 1975.

In June, Sabelo applied for a South African passport so that he could take up a theological scholarship in Britain. At the time of going to press, there had been no news of the passport being received.⁴²

RESTRICTION ORDERS—REVOKED AND RENEWED

Dr. Manas Buthelezi

The banning of Dr. Manas Buthelezi, the Natal regional director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, and a famous Black Theologian, in December 1973, brought world-wide protest about South African restriction laws. Pressures mounted for the release of Dr. Buthelezi especially from the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva and the Synod of the West German Evangelical Church.

Dr. Buthelezi, a Lutheran priest, had been the only African representative to the Lutheran Federation.⁴³ His restriction orders were lifted in May 1974, when the Minister of Justice said he had reviewed his case and decided it was no longer necessary to restrict Dr. Buthelezi.

During his banning, in February, he successfully brought an urgent application for an interdict against sale of the February 1 edition of a South African magazine *To the Point*. He brought the application against Dr. John Poorter, the editor of the magazine, African International Publishing Company Limited, owner and publisher of the magazine and the Central News Agency Limited, the distributor.⁴⁴

Dr. Buthelezi said the article concerned, which was headed: "The banning of Dr. Manas Buthelezi", had caused him irreparable harm. The editorial claimed that Dr. Buthelezi returned from an overseas trip in 1966 and made a speech in Zululand, during which he said he had heard with pleasure the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd, the South African Prime Minister.⁴⁵ Also he allegedly indicated that he would not object to a similar fate befalling other South African leaders.

In his affidavit to the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg, Dr. Buthelezi quoted the *To the Point* editorial article which he described as "false, malicious and defamatory".

He quoted: "In the present case the editor of this magazine has for some time known facts that made it abundantly clear that Dr. Buthelezi is no reconciler of men. We say this not because he has in the past strongly supported radical change in South Africa, but because he has advocated it by violence.

"No Western society is safe where such a view prevails. We believe the facts in our possession must also be known to the authorities and may form the basis of their action. Certainly Dr. Buthelezi took no special pains to conceal them. Our information comes from reliable

sources close to the banned man's own circle, or that part of it which understands his Black Theology preaching, but stops short of supporting blood-bath ideas.

"In a speech made at Flisaser, Mapululu (Zululand), he said that when he was out of the country in 1966 he had heard with pleasure of the Prime Minister Verwoerd's assassination, a method which had worked in America and must be successful here too.

"He said he wished John Vorster, along with others, might be killed through a bomb that would blow up Parliament. He regretted he had no personal means to kill these leaders, but would not hesitate to assassinate them if he had".⁴⁶

In this article, *To the Point* was suggesting that the State was justified in restricting Dr. Buthelezi. The irony of that story was not only proved when the Rand Supreme Court ruled in his favour in February, but was also proved further when the ban was rescinded—May, within 6 months of imposition.

In an editorial, the *Daily News* of May 29, 1974 taunted any possible suggestion that Manas Buthelezi could have been a revolutionary communist who had just changed his mind in 6 months. "It is hardly possible that in six months the lion has turned into a lamb. In other words it looks as if the Minister acting in good faith made a horrible mistake in the first place", read the editorial in an obvious reference to the Minister of Justice Mr. Kruger's earlier statement that: "Before a person is banned, I measure his actions against the requirements of the Act and I take great pains in making certain that the information is correct. After that, I make a decision. I am bona fide when I ban a person. My actions are not male fide".⁴⁷

Mr. Kruger had in March 1974 been quoted by several newspapers as having said that it was the State's task to keep its finger on those bent on undermining South Africa.⁴⁸

Explaining why he thought it was not wise to bring suspects to court he said that by bringing some "pipsqueaks" to court, agents could be exposed. "We must build our men into the underground organization, and cannot allow them to appear in an open court," he said. "For then they would be exposed and their purpose nullified".⁴⁹

It was the second occasion that a South African Minister of Justice had revealed reasons behind bannings in one year. Only the previous year, when the "SASO 8" were banned in March 1973, Kruger's predecessor, Mr. P. C. Pelsler had said in Parliament that he would never have allowed banned people to plead their case in court. He felt that this would be offering them a platform.

When his banning order was lifted, Manas Buthelezi said, "My banning order has not been typical in the sense that I have many friends all round the world who wrote to me and supported me, but I

think of the many banned people who do not have these advantages. I feel all the more that action must be taken to relieve their plight.”⁵⁰

The Reverends Qambela and Philip

In July 1974 it was reported that two priests, the Rev. Hamilton Liso Qambela (36) and the Rev. Reuben Philip (27) both, like Rev. Manas Buthelezi, banned under section 9(1) of the Suppression of Communism Act, were unbanned. Rev. Qambela, formerly vice-president of the South African Students' Organisation, became acting-president when the SASO President, Henry Isaacs, was banned. At the time Qambela was also President of the Students' Representative Council of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice.

Mr. Qambela, a Methodist minister, had applied to the magistrate at Alice for clarification on his rights to act as a priest, and not for lifting of his banning order. He regarded the lifting of the ban as a “great surprise”.⁵¹ Rev. Reuben Philip, an Anglican priest, was SASO vice-president and International Relations Officer in 1972 when he was a student at the Federal Theological Seminary. The lifting of his restriction orders came as a complete surprise to him and the Black Consciousness movement as a whole.⁵²

This move on the part of the South African Government suggested a relaxation of oppression on church personnel, which was viewed by political observers as a direct result of the embarrassment caused by the Manas Buthelezi outcry.

Justice Moloto's Ban Ends

Mr. Justice Moloto, an outspoken critic of apartheid and former president of the University Christian Movement, who was banned and restricted to Mafeking for 3 years since 1971 was released on September 30, 1974. The term of his banning orders expired and was not renewed.⁵³

Mr. Moloto was the first person associated with the Black Consciousness movement, whose term of banning actually elapsed and was not renewed.

He has since settled in Durban where his wife, former SASO executive member Vuyelwa Mashalaba is practising as a medical officer.

Mr. Kruger, the Minister of Justice had announced in June 1974 that there were more people who had been unbanned by his department, although he was not prepared to disclose their names. “The banning or amelioration of banning conditions is entirely a private matter. The person concerned may disclose it if he wishes so”.

In a statement which appeared in the *Rand Daily Mail* of July 23, 1974, SASO said the lifting of the bannings indicated a “mounting confusion in white South African Government”. The statement further said that this act justified the belief that all banned Blacks were innocent.

Officers of the Black People's Convention could not speculate what people had been unbanned; but they suggested that it could be people who had been banned as soon as they were released from Robben Island.

It can be assumed that there are many people whose restriction orders were renewed. It was not possible to ascertain the names of most of them. The following are a few reported cases:

Mr. Mohammed Bhana: Former member of the Transvaal Indian Congress who was restricted to the magisterial area of Benoni. His restriction orders were renewed for another five years.

Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, 56: Wife of Robben Island prisoner, Walter Sisulu. She was subjected to a third term of restriction when her orders were renewed again in July 1974.⁵⁴

Mrs. Sisulu works at the Orlando Health Clinic as a sister. She is restricted to her home at Orlando West, Soweto between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. Her son, Zwelakhe was quoted by the *Rand Daily Mail* as having condemned the ban imposed on his mother. "Here everyone who speaks against the Nationalist Government is called a communist. The recent cases of banning orders being lifted does not mean the Government has changed its attitude", said Zwelakhe.

Mr. Mangaliso Robert Sobukhwe, 50: Founder president of the Pan-Africanist Congress which was declared unlawful by the South African Government after the National disturbance of 1960.

Like most politically conscious Africans of his generation, he had been a member of the African National Congress Youth League, and he became its secretary-general. He broke with the ANC in 1958 to found the Pan-Africanist Congress.

He was arrested in 1960 for organising passive resistance against the South African pass laws, culminating in the Sharpeville debacle.

Mangaliso Sobukhwe refused to defend himself in court on the grounds that the laws under which he was tried had no validity since they were made by Whites only. He was subsequently sentenced to three years' imprisonment. On the expiration of his prison term he was further detained on Robben Island in terms of a special General Law Amendment Act provision which came to be known as the "Sobukhwe clause."

In 1969 he was released from Robben Island, but served with a five year banning order restricting him to Kimberley.⁵⁵ On May 30, 1974, the day on which the ban was due to expire, he was served with an extension order, imposing on him the same restriction and house arrest order for the next five years.⁵⁶

In 1975 he passed his final law examination and was admitted as an attorney in the Kimberley Supreme Court.

Mr. A. K. M. Docrat, 59: A former member of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr. Docrat had been subjected to one of the most severe restriction orders. He was first banned in 1964, and in 1969 a second five-year banning order was imposed together with a 22-hour-a-day house arrest.

After an appeal, his hours of freedom were extended to four, from 10.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m. He earned his living as a second-hand book-seller, which he did during his active four hours of everyday.⁵⁷

On October 30, 1974, the expiring date of his second five year term, Mr. Docrat received another order signed by the Minister of Justice, and delivered to him by a captain of the Secret Police. The new banning order was in term of Section 9(1) of the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, and did not restrict his movements to any particular magisterial district. It prohibited him from attending social and political gatherings and also preventing him from instructing, training or addressing pupils or students, for another two years. It is due to elapse in 1976.

Mr. Mzimkhulu Gwentshe, 29: On the 11th of July 1974, Gwentshe was handed with banning orders restricting him to the magisterial district of Mdantsane, which actually meant that he could not leave the township.

At the time of his banning he was an executive of the Border Youth Union, a regional wing of the National Youth Organisation (NAYO).

Mr. Gwentshe had been arrested in 1963 and charged with membership and furthering activities of the banned African National Congress. He was released from Robben Island in 1969 and was immediately slammed with banning orders. His restrictions were lifted in August 1971.

On November 2, 1974, during the nation wide post-Frelimo-Rally detentions, Gwentshe was held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act of 1967, and taken to Pretoria Central Prison. He was released on March 21, 1975.

Soon after his release, Mr. Gwentshe was charged on two counts of violating his restriction orders. It was alleged that on October 1, 1974, he had in violation of his banning orders, failed to report at the Mda-ntsane Police station.

On the second count it was alleged that on October 13 contrary to the terms of his banning orders, he had without permission absented himself from the magisterial area of Mdantsane. The hearing was remanded to July 9, 1975.⁵⁸

REFERENCES

- ¹*Rand Daily Mail* 27.4.74.
- ²*Ibid.*
- ³*Star* 26.4.74.
- ⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 26.4.74.
- ⁵*Star* 24.9.74.
- ⁶*Rand Daily Mail* 26.9.74.
- ⁷*Ibid.*
- ⁸*Rand Daily Mail* 8.2.75.
- ⁹*Daily News* 12.5.75.
- ¹⁰*Daily Dispatch* 7.5.75.
- ¹¹*Ibid.*
- ¹²*Daily Dispatch* 22.4.75.
- ¹³*Ibid.*
- ¹⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 22.4.75.
- ¹⁵*Daily Dispatch*, 17.5.75.
- ¹⁶*Rand Daily Mail* 10.6.75.
- ¹⁷*Ibid.*
- ¹⁸*Rand Daily Mail* 11.6.75.
- ¹⁹Information supplied by Defence.
- ²⁰*Rand Daily Mail* 24.6.75.
- ²¹*Ibid.*
- ²²*Daily Dispatch* 24.6.75.
- ²³SASO Pamphlet: The Frelimo Rally.
- ²⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 22.3.75.
- ²⁵SASO Pamphlet: The Frelimo Rally.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*
- ²⁷*Ibid.*
- ²⁸*Rand Daily Mail* 11.11.74.
- ²⁹Pamphlet: The Frelimo Rally.
- ³⁰*Ibid.*
- ³¹*Eastern Province Herald* 6.5.75.
- ³²*Star* 28.6.74.
- ³³*Rand Daily Mail* 22.8.74.
- ³⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 2.10.74.
- ³⁵*Rand Daily Mail* 19.10.74.
- ³⁶*Drum Magazine* 22.1.75.
- ³⁷*Eastern Province Herald* 10.6.75.
- ³⁸*Cape Times* 14.6.75.
- ³⁹Information from Moodley's family sources.
- ⁴⁰Information from Pityana family sources.
- ⁴¹Information from Biko family sources.
- ⁴²Information from Ntwasa lawyers.
- ⁴³*Rand Daily Mail* 29.5.74.
- ⁴⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 2.2.74.
- ⁴⁵*Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶*Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷*RDM* 23.5.74.
- ⁴⁸*Natal Mercury* 2.3.74.
- ⁴⁹*Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰*Rand Daily Mail* 29.5.74.
- ⁵¹*Daily News* 2.8.74.
- ⁵²Information from Philip family.
- ⁵³*Rand Daily Mail* 30.10.74.
- ⁵⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 1.8.74.
- ⁵⁵*RDM* 1.6.74.
- ⁵⁶*Natal Mercury* 31.5.74.
- ⁵⁷*Daily News* 31.10.74.
- ⁵⁸Information from Gwentshe family sources.

5

BLACK ORGANISATIONS

Political Pressure Groups

The South African Students Organisation

THE 1973 ISSUE of *Black Review* dealt with the large scale bannings that nearly crippled the South African Students' Organisation. However, as events in the years 1974 and 1975 have indicated, SASO continued to be in the news and progressively rebuilt its strength.

In January 1974, SASO called its 5th General Students' Council in the wake of large scale bannings and the disappearance of its leaders across the borders.

The 5th General Students' Council

This conference was held in Hammanskraal during January 1974, the main purpose being to reorganise SASO and to fill up leadership positions left vacant after the bannings. The conference got off to a good start with a letter read from the President of the Southern African Students' Movement, O. R. Tiro. SASO was itself an affiliate of SASM and had contributed a number of the leaders in SASM including Mr. Tiro.

In his letter, Mr. Tiro, who was shortly to die of a parcel bomb blast, made very prophetic exhortations encouraging the students to carry on with the struggle in spite of difficulties. "From this meeting some of you will be called a number of names, the most prominent of which will be 'communist', some of you will be forced to sleep with hungry stomachs; some will be faced with eternal separation from their parents and friends; some will languish in prison. This is not new. Our forerunners have suffered all this. No struggle can come to an end without casualties. It is only through determination, absolute commitment and positive self assertion that we shall overcome".¹

The conference was a resounding success in terms of rebuilding the morale amongst the SASO membership. True to its character, SASO took care to comment on a wide range of topics to give direction to the Black Community. This includes the following comments:—

- a condemnation of any purported representation of the black struggle in the country by the so-called leaders of Bantustans who are nothing but an extension and perpetuation of the oppression of black people in this country. This followed in the wake of extensive travel abroad by the country's Bantustan leaders including men like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Mr. L. L. Sebe, Chief Kaizer Matanzima and Chief Lucas Mangope.²
- an attack on the white-owned South African press which tended to suppress all legitimate expression of black opinion and giving very great and deceitful coverage to the Bantustans and other Government created platforms.

Labour Party Attacks SASO

Delivering his Presidential address at the Labour Party Conference held in Umtata in January 1975 Mr. Sonny Leon, the national leader of the Labour Party in South Africa criticized SASO and the Black People's Convention for frustrating the attempts of the black people in the fight for freedom in South Africa. Mr. Leon alleged that organisations like SASO and B.P.C. were devious in a way they could have learned from white politics. In this way they were causing dissension in black ranks by their dividing tactics.

Mr. Leon was reacting to the constant attacks that SASO had been making on homeland leaders and other participants in government created platforms. SASO had been mounting pressure on the Labour Party to pull out of the Coloured Representative Council.

The Death of O. R. A. Tiro

On February 1, 1974 Mr. Onkgopotse Ramothibi Abraham Tiro, was killed by a parcel bomb blast in the house where he was living in Botswana.

Mr. Tiro had been one of five members of the Black Consciousness movement who had left the country towards the end of 1973. He was at that time president of SASM whose headquarters were in Gaborone.

The parcel addressed to Tiro bore Swiss postmarks and according to labels on it, had allegedly been sent by Mr. Lars-Gunnar Ericksen who is the director of the International University Exchange Fund. Mr. Ericksen denied having sent any parcel to Mr. Tiro, and claimed that he believed the bomb had been sent to Mr. Tiro in Gaborone from South Africa. He said "basically all our mail to people in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, goes via the Republic...we corresponded frequently;

the last letter I wrote to him as the president of SASM was on January 24".³

In a statement issued in the week of the explosion, the Botswana Government claimed that the bomb was a result of Tiro's "speaking out against the denial to Black South Africans of their human rights. The statement went on to note that "Onkgopotse Tiro had incurred the displeasure of certain powerful circles in South Africa. Mr. Tiro's sudden and cruel death will in no way detract from the validity of his criticism of education in South Africa. The Botswana Government wishes to state unequivocally that this kind of terrorism will not make it change its attitude towards those who seek refuge in Botswana from oppression in their own countries".⁴

In reply to the Botswana statement Mr. Jimmy Kruger, Deputy Minister of the South African Police, declined to comment saying that he thought the reference to "certain powerful circles in South Africa" was too general to be taken as meaning the South African authorities or the South African police. "The allegation is altogether too vague to warrant any comment"⁵. On the other hand, an official South African Government statement was issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller. Dr. Muller released the text of the communication he had sent Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana expressing the strongest exception to the imputation and insinuations contained in a communication to the United Nations from the Botswana's permanent representative.

In his communication Dr. Muller claimed "the South African Government had frequently expressed its strongest opposition to and condemnation of acts of terrorism of any kind. The South African government also condemned this particular outrage by whomsoever it may have been committed".

Closely following on the killing was another bomb blast in Zambia which claimed the life of Mr. John Dube, an exile of the African National Congress. An editorial in a British newspaper, *The Observer*, claimed that the murder of the two black exiles, Mr. Tiro and Mr. Dube, "can only have been carried out by rabid supporters of [Mr. Vorster's] regime". The editorial went on to note: "It is not enough for Mr. Vorster to deny that the South African Government was behind the two killings...it is up to Mr. Vorster to apprehend those guilty of these murders which can only have been carried out by rabid supporters of his regime, whether misguided security regimes (who teem throughout Southern Africa) or members of white extremist groups in the Republic."

In reply, Dr. Muller claimed that it was complete nonsense to ascribe this to the South African government "How could we know

who it was? It might very well have been enemies of South Africa who were trying to place us under suspicion.”⁶

The General Post Office in South Africa disclaimed responsibility for not detecting the parcel bomb from Geneva which killed Mr. Tiro. A spokesman for the post office said that detection devices were only used on mail destined for addresses in South Africa.

The whole country was shocked by the brutal killing of Mr. Tiro, whose death was described as “a grave loss to the Black Community and mankind”.⁷ Statements of condolence were made by several individuals and bodies including SASM, SASO, B.P.C., African Teachers’ Association of South Africa, African Lecturers’ Organisation and by the Rector of the University of the North, Professor Boshoff, who had been responsible for Tiro’s expulsion in 1972.

Mr. Tiro was eventually buried in Botswana, following a legal tussle concerning the transference of his body from Botswana to South Africa. The funeral was attended by about a thousand mourners, mainly students in Botswana, as well as representatives of SASO, the Botswana Government, other nearby African states, and diplomatic missions in Botswana.

Publication of Newsletter Resumed

In May 1974, SASO resumed publication of its newsletter which had been discontinued following large scale bannings and subsequent disruption of the organisation. SASO officials revealed that there had been problems with printers who were refusing to undertake work on the newsletter. The organisation had hunted for willing printers in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town and all of them had refused on the grounds of intimidation.

Van Wyk Commission

Following the walkout by students of the University of the Western Cape in the course of 1973, a one-man commission consisting of Justice Van Wyk, Judge President of the Cape, was appointed by the Government on August 10, 1973, to investigate disturbances in the Western Cape. Altogether 77 people and organisations submitted sworn statements and memoranda to the Van Wyk commission. In addition 22 people gave oral evidence. However, 20 students who had been asked to give evidence refused. At the beginning of March the commission published its report which amongst other things blamed the disturbances on the activities of SASO which included steps “to bring about confrontation and to force the authorities to close the university”. The commission also claimed that the majority of students were not aware of the “concealed aims of SASO” and that SASO members had gained complete control of the S.R.C. The commission had no doubts that the

aims of SASO especially as shown by the Alice Declaration had played an important role in disrupting the normal activities of the university through unrest and confrontation with the authorities.⁸

In a statement accompanying the commission's report, Dr. S. W. van der Merwe, Minister of Coloured Affairs, blamed SASO: "I want to refer pertinently to the unsavoury role of certain members of an organisation such as SASO who were largely instrumental in misleading certain students and therefore bear a large share in these regrettable events. The existence of this organisation on the campus of the university is undesirable. Further I ask students not to allow themselves to be misled by those who want to destroy their university. It is their gateway and springboard to better things".

6th SASO General Student Council

In his report to the 6th G.S.C. of SASO, the President of SASO, Mr. Muntu Myeza, exhorted SASO members to maintain a high standard of discipline in their everyday interaction with the members of the public whom they met in the course of their work. Outlining the organisation's achievements, Mr. Myeza mentioned the following community projects:

- At Mpeko, near Umtata, a school had been built by the movement, and construction of a clinic was now underway.
- Medical students at Wentworth, Natal, were running a clinic at Inanda. The students visited the area on Saturdays only. The charges were low to enable more people to get attention and advice.
- A school was being built at Upper Gqumahashé in Alice and plans for the building of another school at Winterveldts near Pretoria were held up because permission from the Bophutatswana Government had not been forthcoming.⁹

At the end of the conference the SASO executive was re-organised. Muntu Myeza was appointed to the position of Secretary-General which is a full time position. Mr. Pandelani Nefolovhodwe was elected as President, Mr. Mosioua Lekota as Permanent Organiser, Mr. Rubin Hare as vice-President and Norman Dubazana as Publications Director. These were the men who were destined to lead SASO through what proved to be the most difficult time of its short history. By this time 29 men holding top positions in the organisation had been banned and several other peripheral supporters of SASO were also banned. Holding an executive position in SASO has become an almost automatic invitation to reprisals from the security police and other government forces.

The Frelimo Rally and the Aftermath

The details of the Frelimo Rally are mounted in the chapter on detentions. It is now common knowledge that following the call of SASO for a rally to be held at Curries Fountain during September, a large number of people were collected near the stadium and the police after breaking up the meeting arrested several SASO, BPC and BAWU officials. The entire SASO executive with the exception of Mr. Dubazana was arrested and to all intents and purposes it appeared that SASO had been neutralized because many of the lower echelons in the leadership went under cover and escaped into neighbouring Botswana.

However on the October 26, 1974, some of the remaining branches of SASO called a meeting in Durban to consider action in the light of the new harassments. An interim executive was elected with Mr. Gwebelentlanzi Mposelwa of the Federal Theological Seminary as the new President, Mr. Diliza Mji of the University of Natal Black Section as the vice-President, Mr. Thami Zani a private student with UNISA as General Secretary and Mr. Norman Dubazana retained his original position as Publications Director. To all intents and purposes with the election of this executive the activities of the organisation were once more resumed and offices which had been closed for a while were reopened.

Towards the end of 1974 and the beginning of 1975, a growth of the pattern set earlier on was witnessed. More SASO leaders, both banned and unbanned, left the country. Mr Henry Isaacs followed Mr. Geoff Baqwa and left the country whilst Geoff Baqwa escaped into Botswana. Henry Isaacs left via Swaziland to New Zealand. On the campuses one rector after another announced unwillingness to accept SASO on the campuses. At Fort Hare while SASO was not banned on the campus many students who had been suspected of being SASO members in 1974 were not allowed to return to the campus. The University of the North suspended SASO activities on the campus until further notice. The position remained pretty fluid on many other campuses. In a lengthy statement during an interview with *Black Review*, the SASO General Secretary Mr. Thami Zani put the position as follows:

“The government instruments have been trying since September to see to the destruction of the organisation but this has not dampened the spirits of the many millions of Blacks in this country. After the detention of the Executive and Staff and many other members of the organisation we did not sit down and say “what next” but we stood up and saw to the smooth running of the organisation. An emergency meeting was called by the University of Natal Black Section in October and an interim Executive was elected. We appointed people into the regional offices in Transvaal, Eastern and Western Cape and one must praise them for the work they have done so far. On the University

campuses the position remains somewhat confused as the forces of Bantu Education, coupled with the State's administrative machinery, continue to thwart the development of the Black personality. Black students who are only after the truth have been heavily victimized in these Universities. In some Universities many issues are still sub judice but with the removal of certain misunderstandings progress shall be made".

SASO Policy Outlook

In spite of the heavy blows that SASO has sustained, there has been no change in its policy outlook. SASO still continues to commemorate Heroes' Day although the Durban service was banned under the new Riotous Assemblies Act, on March 29.

In his statement Mr. Zani emphasised that SASO still remains vehemently and totally opposed to racial organisations like racial sporting bodies, Bantustans, the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and the South African Indian Council. SASO continues to work with relevant black organizations in the country and maintains a healthy relation with international groups like SASM.

Increasing International Recognition for SASO

One of the side effects of the barrage of attacks on SASO by government forces, has been the growing acceptance of SASO by international groups as an effective opponent of the South African Government and its policy. Student organisations like the National Union of Students of Britain, the International University Exchange Fund, the International Catholic Students Organisation and many others have long accepted SASO and her viewpoint in the South African context. In addition to this, it was reported in May that the All-African Council of Churches will recognise SASO alongside other South African liberation movements.

Reporting this to *Drum* on May 8, the Rev. Morris Ngakane the associate General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches said the All-African Council of Churches "eventually agreed that SASO and liberation movements should send official representatives because churches could not pass judgement on whether individuals sent to the consultation were Christians or not".¹⁰

When the new Frelimo government was being installed in Mozambique on June 25, 1975, SASO was one of the very few South African groups invited to the occasion. Other groups invited were the ANC, represented by Mr. Oliver Tambo, and NUSAS. As far as could be ascertained SASO did not actually send any representative to the independence celebrations.

Natal Indian Congress

Important Changes in Policy

Towards the end of 1973, there had been increasing speculation that the Natal Indian Congress was shaping up to participate in the South African Indian Council provided that this body would have elected members. It was not quite clear what the Natal Indian Congress policy was exactly on this issue.

However, in his presidential address to the 1974 conference of NIC held at Orient Hall in Durban in September 1974, the president of the NIC Mr. M. J. Naidoo outlined succinctly the NIC policy towards the SAIC. Mr. Naidoo revealed that the congress executive had taken a decision that when there are true elections of the SAIC, "when you and I and the 600,000 in Natal can nominate and vote then Congress will participate. This executive decision will be put to conference where a final decision will be made. This decision does not mean that Congress now accepts SAIC in that the SAIC is for us in the acceptable stage in the evolution of political rights for the Indian people". NIC according to Mr. Naidoo was mindful of the many bannings imposed on its leadership and sought the kind of protection that attaches parliamentary privilege to these statutory bodies.

"Congress needs to, and will have to use, the South African Indian Council as a protected platform to make its demands for full democratic rights. It needs the platform to reach the people on the one hand and to make the Government to hear its demands on the other hand. If it were not for the protected platform the SAIC would have nothing to offer us. Congress policy *has* not, and is not changed".¹¹

Outlining his criticism of the SAIC, Mr. Naidoo made the following points:—

● That the failures of the SAIC are not due to its personal law but rather due to the fact that it was created a powerless body and was not intended to achieve anything more than placate a small section of the Indian people.

● That it had the other side effect of dividing the people into those who looked up to it and those who rejected it in a typical divide and rule technique.

● That the so called elections implied that half the SAIC, i.e. fifteen members, would be voted into office by an electoral college consisting of the Local Affairs Committee and Town Boards. Mr. Naidoo revealed that in Natal, this electoral college, would consist of a hundred people and would vote into office the ten "elected" Natal SAIC members. Quoting a newspaper commentary Mr. Naidoo described this election

as "one which would be screamingly funny if it were not so tragically serious."

When the issue of participating in the elections of the Local Affairs Committee and the South African Indian Council was ultimately debated by the conference of the NIC, the conference decided to reject participation within the SAIC election, describing the SAIC as "another institution created for the sole purpose of dividing and subjugating the oppressed people of South Africa".

Another policy issue raised at the conference was whether the organization should change its character and open its doors to people of all races. This issue had come before several conferences of the NIC and had remained unresolved. The 1974 conference decided that congress should open its doors to all groups and the word "Indian" should be removed from the constitution. This effectively broke a longstanding tradition of exclusiveness on the part of the NIC in their membership.

In an interview with *Black Review*, the NIC President Mr. M. J. Naidoo admitted that the new open-to-all policy of the congress widened the scope of similarity with the Black People's Convention. He said even though his movement has never given consideration to the possibility of a merger with the Convention, it would not be a remote possibility. He added that he was personally uneasy that the Convention had decided to close its ranks even to sympathetic Whites, while the Congress was completely non-racial. He felt, of course, that this would be a matter to be considered when merger talks started.

NIC Political Perspectives

In his report to the conference, the General Secretary of the NIC Mr. R. Ramisar outlined new trends in the sophisticated policy adopted by the government of "including black people to accept their exploitation" Mr. Ramisar claimed that the Government did this by

- creating a powerful and influential black middle class which will have an interest in preserving the present order.
- creating the impression mainly through the press that liberal opinion amongst the Whites is growing and that Whites of their own accord will bring about a just society in South Africa.
- trying to cause division among the black people and therefore weakening their strength
- creating institutions which give black people the shadow and not the reality of power.¹²

Mr. Ramisar also called for closer co-operation and elimination of quarrels amongst the various black organizations who all had a common aim.

In the field of sport, Congress firmly reinstated its belief in integrated sport beginning at club level and rejected the so-called multi-national events. Congress called upon white sportsmen to show their honesty by refusing to participate in matches against groups like the Derrick Robin XI. Congress went on to support the stand taken by people like Hassan Howan and Morgan Naidoo who are black sport administrators and strong critics of racist sport.

With regard to transport and increased bus and train fares, Congress blamed the Government for dumping black people in ghettos, miles away from towns and therefore making it necessary for black people to travel in and out of towns at their own expense everyday. Congress called upon the Government to acknowledge its own faults by subsidising transport costs.

With reference to education, Congress voiced concern on the disparity in the amounts spent on the different racial groups. Congress went on to call the attention of black people to the lack of academic freedom on black campuses.¹³

On the question of African trade unions, Congress voted in favour of supporting African unions and called upon existing trade unions to further this course.¹⁴

Attempts at Creation of a New Political Party

In the course of June, there emerged in Durban some manouvre to form a new Indian political party for the country. It appeared that these moves emanated from discussion groups led by Dr. M. H. G. Mayet, and consisting largely of many professional people in the community. Amongst those invited to the initial discussion on this new political party, were five senior officials of NIC including Mr. M. J. Naidoo, president, Mr. Rabi Bugwanden, Dr. Faruk Meer, Mr. D. K. Singh and Mr. Ramisar. According to the NIC president Mr. M. J. Naidoo, all the NIC officials refused to attend the meeting on the grounds that, "on the surface it appears a gimmick of some kind by certain people. And we are not prepared to get our hands soiled with such a group as it presently appears".¹⁵

The Black People's Convention

In 1974 the activities of the Black People's Convention were marred by police intimidation and harassment and arbitrary action on the part of the Department of Justice.

Banning of the Heroes' Day Gathering

According to policy and custom, the Black People's Convention declared March 21 as Heroes' Day on which the branches of the move-

ment all over the country would commemorate various massacres of black people especially through police shoot-outs as was the case with Sharpeville. The Durban branch of BPC organised what was to be a massive commemoration service to be held at Young Men's Christian Association Hall in Durban at 2 p.m. on the 30th of March 1974. Large posters and handbills advertising the meeting were distributed throughout Durban, and it appeared that the commemoration service would draw large crowds.

However, on the 29th of March, the magistrate for the district of Durban Mr. L. L. A. McKay evoked provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act which had been passed shortly before, and banned the Heroes' Day Commemoration service from being held anywhere in Durban. Notices of the ban were given to five Durban newspapers and to the local officers of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The notice read,

"I hereby in terms of Section 2 (i) of the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956...prohibit the said gathering at the said place and everywhere in the said district from the period beginning at 12.01 a.m. on March 30th and ending at 12.01 a.m. on April 1".

Mr. McKay said in the notice, he "had reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered by the gathering advertised as Heroes' Day Sharpeville Commemoration Service, to be held in the Hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, Beatrice Street, Durban, at 2.00 p.m. on March 30 1974".

Following the banning of the meeting the BPC issued a statement calling on all those who had intended attending the meeting to rededicate themselves to a firmness of purpose. It read "The unilateral banning of a commemoration service to remember all fallen heroes in the black struggle for freedom, is only too familiar." The banning of the meeting was also condemned by many other people including Professor John Duggard of Witwatersrand University, who claimed that the use of the new powers confirmed the fears of those who believe that the new Riotous Assemblies Act was intended to put an end to freedom of assembly throughout South Africa.¹⁶

BPC Durban's Symposium

A national symposium was organised by BPC in Durban in September 1974. Amongst the chief speakers at the meeting were, Mr. Zeph Mothopeng, a former PAC leader, Mr. Phandelani Nefolovhodwe, SASO president, Mrs. Fatima Meer and Mr. Harry Singh, Public Relation's Officer of BPC.

The main feature of this symposium was a concentrated attack on "institutions that work within the apartheid system" which were counted as Urban Bantu Councils, Homeland Governments, SAIC,

and CRC. The highlight of this meeting was the public tribute paid to the BPC by Mrs. Fatima Meer, who in her speech declared "the time has come when we all have to get together and work for a determined unity. We must use our passions, our methods and energies, to get all our black brothers and sisters together and form a united front".¹⁷ The meeting was also marked by the physical ejection of some people from amongst the crowd who were identified as "spies". Outside the Kajee Hall where the meeting was held were two car loads of plain-clothes security policemen.

Frelimo Rally and Mass Arrests

The BPC joined hands with SASO to announce on the weekend of the 20th to the 22nd of September the times and venues of a series of rallies to be held throughout the country to celebrate the victory of Frelimo in Mozambique. The first rally which was to be held in Durban on the 25th of September was widely advertised in the press following information from some quarters that Frelimo representatives would be addressing the meeting.

The details of what went on thereafter are spelt out in the chapter on detentions. Many of the BPC leadership, about thirteen in number, and many other followers of the movement were subsequently arrested and detained.

Partly as a result of mass arrests, and the accompanying disarray, the conference of the BPC scheduled to be held in December was indefinitely postponed. The offices of the BPC in Johannesburg were broken into, allegedly by the police. However it was not quite clear what had happened since the police claimed to have gone into the office in the company of a BPC official whose name did not appear on any BPC list and with whom no BPC leader was acquainted.

Reorganization After the Mass Arrest

At the time of the Frelimo Rally and the subsequent mass arrests, the BPC president Mr. Farisani was on a study visit to Israel and came back at the end of the year, together with leaders of the main branches in Johannesburg, Durban and the Cape. Mr. Farisani set up a provisional structure to take care of the affairs of BPC and visited branches throughout the country to keep up the morale of the membership. BPC branches remained reasonably active in Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, King William's Town, Cape Town, Vereeniging, Bloemfontein, Daveyton and went about with the normal business of the movement but at low profile. In March 1975 many of these branches held a customary Heroes Day Commemoration service without much interference.

At the time of writing, a meeting had been called of all the branch leadership with the national leadership to re-examine the thrust to be made by the organization within the given situation.

Self-Help and Religious Groups

BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES

1974 saw a phenomenal growth in the work of Black Community Programmes which brought it much closer to the intended goal of being a community development organ within the black community.

Home Industries

The Black Community Programmes began to consolidate its attempts to offer means of economic existence to some destitute areas, particularly in the Eastern Cape, through the creation of home or cottage industries in places like Njwaxa, Zinyoka and Norwood. These home industries are manufacturers of leather goods and cloth garments. The production process is laboriously slow in that it is labour intensive and uses minimum machinery. At this stage 50 people are employed in the various home industries who derive their living from the sale of goods they manufacture.

In addition, the Black Community Programmes has set up a sales organization to publicise the work of the home industries and to ensure a constant supply of orders to them. The sales division represents not only the home industries run by BCP but also those established by the Border Council of Churches under the leadership of their field officer Mr. Themba Sibeko. The Border Council of Churches has established home industries at Dimbaza, St. Matthews and Krwa-krwa, near Alice, all of which employ about seventy people. The two organisations have worked well together in this sphere and all these home industries are slowly approaching the stage where they will no more need to be subsidised except for expansion.

The purpose of the home industries is not only to provide gainful employment to destitute people but also to train people in mastering certain basic production skills and also management skills. It is also hoped that through this form of living example many people will be encouraged to exploit their natural resources where opportunities for work are hard to come by.

Research and Publications.

The Research and Publications' Department of Black Community Programmes continued with the production of *Black Review* 1973. *Black Review* has now become a yearly feature, as was intended. After publication of *Black Review* 1973, it was decided to change the year for *Black Review* so that it spreads over one half of each consecutive year. Thus instead of having *Black Review* 1974 we have *Black Review* 1974-75 which covers the period from July of the one year to June of the following year. Hence *Black Review* will now appear in the latter half of each year. *Black Review* continues to be of immense value to the scholars of the South African situation and remains a proud documentation of things done by Blacks, done to Blacks as reported by Blacks. In this sense it serves a unique purpose in the South African situation.

In addition to *Black Review*, the Research and Publications Department is to resume publication of *Black Viewpoint* and *Black Perspectives*. The next issue of *Black Viewpoint* will reflect the feelings of Blacks on the detente exercise currently in the news in Southern Africa whilst *Black Perspectives* will concentrate on an academic analysis of the significance of the Bantustan policy to the black community. Both topics will be treated in an unbiased balanced way reflecting the predictable differences known to exist amongst black people.

Women's Division

At the beginning of September 1974, Mrs. Daphne Khoza (formerly Miss Daphne Mahlangu) left the service of the Women's Division of the BCP due to marital commitments and was replaced by Mrs. A. N. Ndamse of Umtata who now heads this division. Mrs. Ndamse operates from a branch office based in Umtata which is dedicated entirely to women's work.

Through this office courses are organised for women's training sessions in spheres such as nutrition, child care, basic skills such as knitting, sewing, crocheting, cookery and gardening.

Health Schemes

At the beginning of 1975, the Black Community Programmes started a health centre in the Eastern Cape, about nine kilometres out of King William's Town. The Health Centre is situated between two large consortiums of rural settlements, collectively known as Zinyoka Valley (west of the centre) and Balasi farm area (east of the centre). In this way it is within reach of many thousands of people who otherwise would have to be attended to in King William's Town at much greater cost.¹

The Community served is mainly rural people living on trust lands, freehold lands and white farms between King William's Town and

Frankfort. In its first six months of operation the Centre saw close to 2,500 patients. Over this period the average daily intake worked out each week built up to 41 patients per day. Most of the patients come from families averaging six in number and living on an income of between R5 and R10 weekly. The patients are mainly women and children and men over the age of 50 since most young men are away on migratory labour.

The centre consists of three parts:—

- the outpatients clinic consisting of a waiting room, an injection/dressing room, a preventive medicine lecture room and two external toilets.
- the maternity section consisting of a labour ward with three beds, a maternity ward with six beds and six cotbeds, a linen/slucice room and a toilet and bathroom.
- The on-duty staff section consisting of a kitchen-cum-dining hall, a staff room with overnight facilities and a staff toilet/bathroom.

Besides the Medical Officer Dr. M. A. Ramphele, the Health Centre has four sisters, one staff nurse and administrative staff. A few doctors in the area occasionally do voluntary relief duty.

In addition to the daily curative work at the clinic, there have been many subsidiary services of preventive medicine nature introduced at the clinic. The clinic also serves two out-stations.

The Zanempilo Health Centre is only the first of a number of similar health schemes that the BCP is planning to introduce into the country. Others are earmarked for Northern Natal, Northern Transvaal and Transkei areas.

Other Projects

The BCP has also started introducing into urban areas a bulk buying scheme to minimise the effects of inflation on people. The scheme involves co-operative buying of monthly groceries by communities through wholesalers to reduce overhead charges. The pilot scheme marking the introduction of this type of programme was launched in King William's Town in April 1975 and the scheme had become very popular and has been completely taken over by the people.

Regarding child care, BCP has seen the provision of creche schemes in urban areas as being of extreme relevance in enabling more members of the family to be able to go to school and for others to seek work. Already BCP has managed to revive a creche in Ginsberg location in King William's Town and plans to put up model creches in Umlazi, Durban.

Leadership Training Programmes.

Setbacks were experienced in this aspect of BCP work following bannings on staff including the arrest and detention of Mr. Aubrey Mokoena of the Johannesburg BCP office. However, in 1974 more leadership seminars were held in places like Umtata and a National Consultation of Black Organizations is being planned for October 1975.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR AFRICANS—ASSECA

Due to lack of timed information activities of the ASSECA were not included in *Black Review* 1973. The following report on ASSECA will therefore date back into 1973.

The Aftermath of the Fort Hare Walkout

Following the 1973 students crisis at Fort Hare many parents expected ASSECA to play a major role in mediating between the students and the Fort Hare authorities. Dr. H. M. S. Nyembezi of Johannesburg attacked ASSECA for maintaining a silent attitude claiming that ASSECA is given large sums of money for use in the advancement of Blacks in schools. He asked ASSECA to "Kindly explain to the Blacks why they now seem completely paralysed and why they refuse to co-operate with other Blacks to improve the lot of the students".² Replying to this Mr. Mehlomakhulu the General Secretary of ASSECA dismissed the attack as unfounded and claimed that ASSECA was committed to promoting black solidarity and not to dividing the community by sniping at other black organizations. He said "Had it not been that this statement contained such blatant untruths, we of ASSECA would have ignored it."³

Outline of ASSECA Problems

Further elaborating on the issues involved in this debate, the president Mr. M. T. Moerane dealt with grants to ASSECA and described the use to which the money was put. He revealed that ASSECA had received a grant of R10,000 which ASSECA used for general administration of the organization which included the salary of an organiser, the establishment of an office with equipment, employment of a typist and purchase of a car for office purposes.⁴

Amongst programmes undertaken by ASSECA was the running of a yearly Summer School for matriculants. In addition ASSECA had equipped the laboratory of Orlando High School and initiated the TEACH fund that was backed by the *Star*.

Mr. Moerane also revealed that ASSECA had advanced plans to establish technical schools in urban areas.

Following the tragedy at the Western Deep Levels ASSECA announced that it would start a fund to ensure that the children of people who were killed in the accident would be educated.⁵ Summing up ASSECA's role within the black community, Mr. Mehlomakhulu said that ASSECA's aim was to ensure that every African child went to school under the best conditions.

In a report in *The Star* it was announced that Polaroid would continue its support for ASSECA because it regarded ASSECA as a valuable organization.⁶

Controversy over the Collection of Funds

Late in 1973 ASSECA launched a campaign to collect money for ASSECA programmes. A suggestion was made that a ten-cent levy on students be imposed to go towards a special fund for ASSECA. This suggestion roused a storm of protest from a number of parents especially in Dube, who protested that it was incomprehensible to expect children to boost ASSECA.⁷ Soweto residents generally criticized the organization on the grounds that outside expansion throughout the country, the organization had nothing positive to contribute. In a meeting at Soweto heated arguments were exchanged between ASSECA officials and parents who were demanding a financial statement from ASSECA.

In a special interview with *Black Review*, the general secretary of ASSECA, Mr. Mehlomakhulu explained that the controversial 10c levy was in fact misinterpreted. He said that the intention had been to involve the black community in raising funds for development programmes run by community organizations like ASSECA; which was in fact an important aspect of community development, to promote a spirit of self-reliance.

The money was only supposed to be given to children and channelled through schools to facilitate the collection of donations. A further meeting was called between officials of ASSECA, the Urban Bantu Council Chairman Mr. Lengene, and parents. It was planned that at this meeting ASSECA would release statements about its activities, finances, and assistance to students. Later on, however, ASSECA officials denied having agreed to this meeting and declared that they would independently release statements about the organization's affairs. Despite insistence by Mr. Lengene that the meeting should go on all the same, the meeting did not take place at the prescribed time.

Polaroid Grants to ASSECA

At the beginning of 1975 conflicting reports were given about the continuation of the Polaroid grants to ASSECA. It was reported in the *Rand Daily Mail* that the Polaroid Corporation had cut off its massive subsidy to ASSECA and that two senior officials working in the Soweto office were sacked.⁸ The report continued to say that the crunch had come in a special statement by a representative of Polaroid, Mr. Helmut Hirsch who had been responsible for the financial donations. Mr. Hirsch is reported to have told the *Rand Daily Mail* that he was not happy with the way donations had been made to ASSECA. He said "In 1975 Polaroid donated R15,000 to ASSECA on a rand for rand basis but since then we have not been fully informed of what is happening".⁹

In the meantime, *The Sunday Times*, reported that Polaroid had merely interrupted its support to ASSECA pending full financial reports from ASSECA. The Polaroid official denied having sacked the two ASSECA officials claiming that such dismissals could only be made by the ASSECA officials and that in this instance they had been made without his knowledge or approval. Later on Mr. Mehlomakhulu explained that the dismissals had been occasioned by an internal reorganization which had rendered the positions superfluous.

Outlining the new approach to the funding of ASSECA Mr. Hirsch said that Polaroid would discontinue from 1976 onwards giving outright grants to ASSECA but would give grants on a basis of ten rands to every rand raised by the organisation and that this would all depend on satisfactory progress and financial reports.

Asked in an interview by *Black Review*, whether or not the Polaroid change of funding approach had been prompted by the controversy raised, Mr. Mehlomakhulu explained that Polaroid had promised annual grants to ASSECA for a period ending in 1975. It was therefore not surprising that Polaroid could decide to change its funding policy.

Mr. Mehlomakhulu further expressed an observation that there were people especially in Soweto, who sought to destroy the good name and the work of ASSECA because of their personal differences with individuals involved in ASSECA. He advised such people to allow the community to reap the fruits of work done by organizations like ASSECA, and that they should make it their business in future to come into ASSECA to help build the association with constructive criticism; and "not stand on a hill and point fingers, while they themselves are doing very little to be desired. I want to emphasise that we want the people to associate themselves with ASSECA, and everyone can be part of the association. Co-operation is the word we must observe for the prosperity of our community."

Growth of ASSECA Work

In the Cape ASSECA continued to flourish in some of the towns with the Mdantsane branch succeeding to make a useful impact on the community there. As a result of the success at Mdantsane a new branch is about to be formed at Duncan Village to take care specifically of that area.

IDAMASA

IDAMASA continued to grow in strength during 1974 and 1975. Branches in the major centres, especially in Johannesburg, took strides in tackling social issues in the black community.

Black Review learnt from several interviews with top officials of the association and with the general membership in some parts of the country that there was a strong move from within Idamasa, to revise the role and the service of the association in society.

This reassessment, which was spearheaded by the young ministers from the time of the 1974 annual conference, which was held at Edendale in Pietermaritzburg, has prevailed through 1975; and it is expected to dominate the 1975 conference due to be held at Gugulethu, Cape Town in August.

One of the major points on the revision programme was the whole question of opening the doors of Idamasa to all the other black groups i.e. Indians and Coloureds. This move was seen as a long overdue revision of policy.

The 1974 annual conference appointed a new national executive, consisting of six people. Rev. Jerry Poswa was appointed President, Rev. P. M. Mkatshwa first vice-President, Rev. WaNamo, second vice-President. Reverends Sol Lediga and John Mbata were elected secretary general and assistant secretary general respectively, and the treasurer was Rev. Zulu.

Projects Supported by Idamasa

In 1974, Idamasa took a key role in fundraising for the establishment of the African Bank of South Africa, a project of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC). It therefore became one of the major participants in the project. It was expected that it would buy shares in the bank.

Idamasa believed in involving the community in the raising of funds for community projects. Talking to *Drum*, on June 8, the Projects

Director of Idamasa, who was also appointed a member of the board of directors of the African Bank, Rev. Enos Sikakane said: "...the only way Blacks can be liberated is through self-discovery, self-help and standing on our own feet.

"Just imagine the amount of money we can raise if each Black were to contribute a cent to a fund," said Rev. Sikakane.

Explaining the Association's involvement with the African Bank, Rev. Sikakane said, "We decided to invest in the black bank because it is our own, and we will have a say in its running".¹⁰

From its Orlando base in Soweto, Idamasa launched an urban development programme conducted by the Rev. B. B. Radebe, former Secretary General of the Association.

Idamasa has continued to assist needy students with scholarships. One of the three students they sent abroad for training in community development and social work, Miss Nthabiseng Bolofo is back in the country and is reported to be helping in the Idamasa Soweto Training Project.

THE EDENDALE LAY ECUMENICAL CENTRE

The Ecumenical Centre at Edendale underwent remarkable expansion in the course of 1974 and 1975. A large conference hall was built with dressingrooms, film screen and modern interior equipment.

Five rondavels were put up, each with a capacity for 25 persons; mainly to be used for group discussions. Four more of these are planned. These rooms are proving quite useful to the various programmes run by the centre.

Women's Programmes

Arts and Crafts: The Lay Centre has been running a programme of giving skills to local needy women in such crafts as crocheting, embroidery, pottery, beadwork etc. In addition to this programme, women are being taught in pattern designing and dressmaking. A total of eighty-six women have gone through this programme.

Makhelwana

The Makhelwana programme (meaning "neighbourliness" programme) was started in 1973, and it was intended to equip women with skill in house-wifery. Fifty-two women have gone through the programme since its inception.

Youth Programmes: This division started functioning in May 1974, with a large seminar of young people from the neighbourhood, in an attempt to identify their needs, work out their priorities and formulate methods of achieving their goals.

As part of this programme, regular youth leadership training sessions are held at the centre.

Agriculture and Fish Culture: With the introduction of Mr Mazibuko, the famous Natal agriculturist, the centre has been able to run very useful and interesting programmes of soil utilization.

Mr. Mazibuko was a demonstrator at the Valley Trust agricultural haven at the Valley of a Thousand Hills area near Pietermaritzburg. Since his arrival at the Lay Centre, he has built up an admirable vegetable garden from which local people get opportunities of learning the best methods of gaining the most out of little ground and minimal water supply.

A pond for fish cultivation has been made at the garden. The yield takes care of the needs of the centre, as well as helping the neighbourhood which suffers as a result of soaring meat prices. Many people come to learn for their own use, the methods involved in fish breeding.

In a report pamphlet issued by the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre in June 1975, the Director, Rev. E. Sikakane says, "the long term objective demands the building up of ecumenical relations so that friends of the centre may increase throughout the world, beginning here in South Africa, and Africa as a whole.

ASSOCIATION OF SELF-HELP (ASH)

The historical background of this association was fully related in *Black Review* 1973. During 1974 and 1975, ASH moved at a faster pace developing into a strong effective community development body. The almost traditional financial problems that accompany most Black voluntary organisations in South Africa have considerably slowed down the enthusiastic growth of ASH, but to use the words of one of the organisers, Bob Marie, "The will to continue and the full knowledge that time and the truth is on our side has kept us going".

Early in 1975, ASH applied for registration as a non-profit company. Such status would enable them to engage in all kinds of economic activity, and whatever income that accrued (tax-free) would be wholly devoted to the running of ASH work in self-help programmes.

PROJECTS:—

(i) Adult Literacy

With the belief that literacy promotes “a person’s self-respect and confidence”,¹¹ ASH embarked on a literacy campaign in March 1974. The project started slowly with a trial period which saw preparation and printing of literacy co-ordinators’ handbooks and primers; development of codes, slides and other aids necessary for the running of the work. While this programme was aimed at assisting the illiterate members of the community to acquire the skill of reading and writing, it was also designed to assist individuals to reflect critically on their environment, and encourage them to act jointly to solve their problems.

(ii) Playgroup

During 1974 and 1975, ASH initiated playgroups in Merebank, to fulfil a need felt by lower-income parents of pre-school-going age children. At a nominal fee of 50c per month per child, children attend the daily playgroup which involves indoor creative activity and outdoor play.

Each playgroup is administered by a Working Group of parents and interested members of the community. These Working Groups send representatives to the Central Planning Committee which consists of resource personnel and the ASH Director. The task of the committee is to co-ordinate the administration and education aspects of the programme. ASH believes that it is of the utmost importance to keep the parents of the playgroup children fully involved in the administration and development of the programme.

Reflecting on their work, ASH printed in a report published in June 1975: “The first aim of establishing the Playgroup has been achieved. Much work needs to be put into raising the standard of the playground. However, since space and facilities are problems, any attempt to raise the standard of operation will have to involve the invention of a new structure of operation that will obviate these problems.

While there is emphasis on restructuring the mode of operation of the playgroups, an equal, if not greater emphasis needs to be placed on the education and training of parents.

(iii) Communal Buying

This scheme, which was discussed in *Black Review* 1973, grew stronger in 1974 and 1975. By June, 1975 it catered for 100 families divided into 7 groups. These people buy their groceries jointly as groups, and therefore enjoy the advantages of whatever discounts are offered as a result of bulk buying. Perhaps more important has been the way the project has succeeded in uniting community efforts in problem-solving.

Evaluating the work, ASH wrote in their publication "Much work has been put into orientating the families to meet once per month to discuss common problems...On the whole the gatherings are informal and conducive to free discussion".

(iv) Other Projects

ASH runs training programmes catering primarily for community members involved with playgroups and communal buying. The training programmes touch basic administration, group co-ordination and human relations.

REFERENCES

Political Pressure Groups

- ¹*Rand Daily Mail* 5.2.74.
- ²*Rand Daily Mail* 22.1.74.
- ³*Rand Daily Mail* 7.2.74.
- ⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 6.2.74.
- ⁵*Natal Mercury* 12.2.74.
- ⁶*Cape Times* 18.2.74.
- ⁷*Rand Daily Mail* 5.2.74.
- ⁸*Daily News* 1.3.74.
- ⁹*Star* 2.7.74.
- ¹⁰*Drum* 8.5.74.
- ¹¹Address by Mr M. J. Naidoo 20.9.74.
- ¹²Secretarial Report to Conference 20.9.74.
- ¹³*Ibid.*
- ¹⁴*Ibid.*
- ¹⁵*The Graphic* 7.6.75.
- ¹⁶*Rand Daily Mail* 30.3.74.
- ¹⁷*Drum* 8.11.74.

Self-Help and Religious Groups

- ¹*Daily Dispatch* 19.4.75.
- ²*Rand Daily Mail* 13.9.73.
- ³*Ibid.*
- ⁴*Sunday Times* 16.9.73.
- ⁵*Ibid.*
- ⁶*Star* 10.10.73.
- ⁷*Rand Daily Mail* 26.10.73.
- ⁸*Rand Daily Mail* 15.2.75.
- ⁹*Drum Magazine* 8.6.74.
- ¹⁰*Ibid.*
- ¹¹ASH Annual Report: June 1974—June 1975.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

THE MAJOR event in the Black Consciousness movement during 1974/75 was the harassment of its leadership, organizations and followers by the South African Government through its security police. The Government not only saw to it that the various leaders were banned but continued to detain, arrest and charge some of the leadership.

For the first time in the history of the Black Consciousness movement, attempts were made within courts of law and by the Schlebusch Commission to impute subversive motives into the Black Consciousness movement. The first such case was during the trial of Mangena where the State alleged that the Black People's Convention was a logical continuation of the ANC and PAC, both banned movements in South Africa. The State went on to allege also that BPC had programmes of violence, directed at overthrowing the South African Government. It was alleged that Mangena had attempted to recruit two State witnesses to join the BPC and through the BPC to go for military training. The court, however, eventually found that it could not be proved that the BPC had arranged programmes of violence.

Similar attempts at tying up BPC and/or SASO have been made in various other cases in Johannesburg and Bloemfontein. The same allegation forms an important part of the present case against the thirteen SASO and BPC members now being charged in Pretoria.

A lengthy argument tying up the Black Consciousness philosophy with Black Power and Communist ideas was drawn up by the Schlebusch Commission in their fourth interim report of NUSAS. The report starts off by pointing out the similarities in the enunciation of Black Consciousness by exponents like Steve Biko and Barney Pityana on the one hand and exponents of Black Power like Stokely Carmichael on the other. In fact, the Commission went on to argue that large tracts of these two SASO leaders' writings were plagiarised versions of the Carmichael

approach. Beyond this the Commission noted that Carmichael had an openly expressed admiration for the Chinese version of Communism and that the only reason why the two quoted SASO leaders did not continue their philosophy to the logical conclusion was because they lived side by side with laws that would not allow this. The grand conclusion of the Commission was that Black Consciousness was introduced to South Africa from America; that its basic tenet was a polarization of white and black attitudes towards each other; and that it was an undesirable philosophy bent on conditioning blacks on an overthrow of the existing order.

It must of course be noted that none of the SASO leaders who were being thus attacked in the Schlebusch Commission could reply to the various allegations contained in it. Both Barney Pitso and Steve Biko are banned in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act and are not allowed to write or cause to be written any publication which contains any comment for or against any aspect of Government policy. In addition, none of their pronouncements may be printed in any newspaper or publication inside the country. Thus the Schlebusch Commission report could not be tested in any public debate involving those that it condemned without trial.

Political Manifestations of Black Consciousness

Opposition of the CRC Elections

The degree to which the message of Black Consciousness has sunk home in the Black Community was manifested during the elections of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council. In the first instance the Labour Party adopted a stance that they would upon election dissolve the Coloured Persons Representative Council, thereby bearing witness to the rejection of this institution by the Coloured people of South Africa. The Labour Party was, on the strength of this promise given a resounding victory in the elections. Political observers took this to be an indication of the end to the CRC. However, it is now common knowledge that the Labour Party did not, in fact, carry out its promise to the people.

During the same elections there emerged two groups in the Transvaal and in the Cape who were campaigning on a Black Consciousness ticket against the elections and in favour of a total boycott. In the Transvaal one group called themselves AFRO which is short for Anti-CRC Front, whilst in the Cape they called themselves ACROM which is short for Anti-CRC Committee. A spokesman in describing the group, said that they "see themselves as the vanguard of Black Renaissance. They have taken upon themselves the duty of politicizing the people and making them aware of the values of Black Conscious-

ness”.¹ The current campaign was to make people aware of the futility of the CRC, educate them towards finding alternatives to the system and make them aware of the dormant power that they have. The method of operation of the group was to attend several meetings of the various candidates for the elections in the Cape and Transvaal and ask revealing questions about the CRC and at the same time engage in informative debates with the candidates about participation in the CRC. Several of the meetings they attended got disrupted because of the heated debates following their questions and at some of the meetings police were called. The group did not distinguish between Labour Party and Federal Party but rather dealt with the question of participation in the CRC. Commenting on the methods of the AFRO in the Transvaal, Mr. Solomons a Labour Party candidate said “while I do not agree with the methods they employ I must say I admire them for their stand”.² This view was echoed by many CRC politicians, who were conscious of the compromising nature of the CRC.

The Black Renaissance Convention

In the middle of December 1974, about 300 delegates representing the various black organizations throughout the length and breadth of the country met at Hammanskraal under the banner of the Black Renaissance Convention. The Convention had been called by a Committee comprising representatives of various church groups and was broadly devoted to the theme of the Conference. At the end of the Convention the following resolutions were taken:—

- The Convention declared that legalised racism in South Africa is a threat to world peace and therefore called upon countries of the world to withdraw all cultural, educational, economic manpower and military support to the existing racist government and all its institutions.
- The Convention expressed shock and dismay over the expropriation of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice and called for the entire Black Community to fight for the continued survival of this institution. (*see chapter 9 on higher education*)
- The Convention, noting that most black people are workers, that besides being discriminated against, the workers also suffer the most blatant forms of exploitation, that the wages that the workers receive are far below the bread-line and that they were frustrated in their attempts to use bargaining power, therefore called upon the Government to see the need for workers to organise themselves into trade unions free from Government interference and called upon the Government to immediately recognise African Trade Unions.³

Commenting on the work of the Convention, the secretary to the organizing committee Rev. Smangaliso Mkatshwa said: "Most of our people will agree that, thanks to SASO efforts, Black Consciousness has come to stay in South Africa. Because of its nature in its membership and composition, SASO only reached the educated and sophisticated segment of the population. Through its projects it is now gradually moving towards the grass-roots, SASO/BPC deserve our praise and admiration for the splendid work and dogged determination they brought to the Convention".⁴

The Convention provided a long needed platform whereon black people could ventilate their grievances in an atmosphere of freedom and uninhibition. There were many disagreements at the Convention between the Left and Right but it was demonstrated beyond doubt that black people were unanimous with regard to the ultimate objective, "Blacks demand their freedom now". The rejection of institutions of separate development was manifested by the expulsion from the conference of Mr. Collins Ramusi of Lebowa, Mr. David Curry of the Labour Party and Mr. S. S. Mothapo of the Bophutha-Tswana opposition party. These men, after their rejection, also issued a joint statement in which they said that they too condemned this system which was a "fraud" and that they only work in it to expose it and they called it the bluff of Pretoria.⁵

Theological Manifestation of Black Consciousness

Revolt by Black Churchmen within Established Churches

A report in the April 8 issue of *Drum* outlined a growing mood of discontent within the ranks of the black Churches in South Africa as follows:

"Yet another 'revolt' of black churchmen against 'white domination' has occurred with black priests in the Roman Catholic Church, demanding higher representation in the predominantly white Priests Council.

The black priests made the demand during the annual meeting of the Priests Council at St. Peter's Seminary in Hammanskraal. The Council is second in importance to the Office of Bishops in the policy making machinery. The two offices are linked by an Executive Committee elected by the Priests' Council.

The five member Executive Committee consisted of four Whites and a Black from Lesotho. The Priests' Council itself is about 80% white.

The "revolt" was spearheaded by the St. Peter's Old Boys' Association (SPOBA)—a body originally confined to former students of St. Peter's Seminary but now open to all the black clergy. SPOBA

demanded 80% black representation in the Council maintaining that this would be a proper reflection of the percentage of Blacks among the two-and-a quarter million Catholics in Southern Africa.

The Priests' Council countered with the argument that it was not a body representative of the laity, but of the actual priesthood, and that since there is a majority of white priests the existing representation was not unfair. A good number of black priests who are not members of SPOBA also spoke out against its proposals.

SPOBA members had planned a walk-out if their demand was not met. This would be followed by the formation of a black caucus which would directly communicate with the Bishops. This, however, was averted when the white priests agreed to increase black representation in the Executive Committee to four. Another concession made by the Whites was to sanction the formation of a liaison sub-committee of four Blacks and two Whites. Its function is to communicate to the Executive any grievances from black priests.

The "revolt" followed a public denouncement of the Roman Catholic power structure by SPOBA in 1970. Among other things, they pointed out that only 700 of the 2,000 South African Catholic priests were Blacks and that there were practically no black Bishops. (Bishop Dlamini of Mzimkhulu is retired while Bishop Peter Buthelezi of Johannesburg is an auxiliary).

Said one black priest: "We are frustrated by the whole R.C. structure which is obviously maintaining the status quo". He described as "ridiculous" the fact that the predominantly white executive should convey "black suffering" to the Bishops.

The expression of black consciousness within the Catholic Church follows similar expressions by black Anglicans in the Provincial Synod last October: About the same time, 100 black ministers of the Nederduiste Gereformeerde Kerk in Africa also "revolted" openly against apartheid.

Put in perspective, says EcuNews, a bulletin issued by the South African Council of Churches, these events show a definite trend in the thinking of black churchmen in South Africa. That black Catholic priests, generally regarded as "conformists" and black ministers of the NGKA who have been called "stoogies" took a lead in the "revolts" suggests a growing degree of discontent amongst black Christians.

While it is difficult to predict the eventual outcome of the current situation, it is clear that black clergy are set on a common course against "white domination".⁶

In a recent conference, black ministers of the NGKA decided that they would no longer go on with their white sister church but would affiliate to the S.A.C.C. This was seen by observers as a logical development on their earlier rejection of apartheid.

Joining the many outspoken church leaders Bishop Peter Buthelezi of the Catholic Church came out strongly in defence of Black Consciousness. He saw it as a movement quite compatible with Christianity.

“Jesus died for opposing an exclusive law in which his people did not want others to have the same advantages that they had. If Black Consciousness was to be exclusive and deny the humanity of the white man, or if it taught hatred, then it would be wrong. But if it defends all humanity in defending the most misused of humanity, intends to allow everyone his rights, and only works in separation to re-establish those who have been most disinherited, then it may be doing a service to God and all men.”⁷

Trade Union Manifestations of Black Consciousness

Following the 1972 and 1973 strikes by black workers throughout the country there has been a marked increase in Trade Unions activities amongst blacks. This is also being coupled with increased demands by the white press and by white politicians of the Progressive Reformists for recognition of black Trade Unions.

Of the many results of the strikes, the formation of several black Trade Unions was the most noticeable. Amongst those formed were: The Transport and Allied Workers' Union, The Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers' Union, The Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union, The Paper and Allied Workers' Union, and The Chemical and Allied Workers' Union.

The trend now seems to be to have employers on their own recognizing the Trade Unions and negotiating with them. A major breakthrough was made in this direction when the Anglo-American Corporation declared in a statement that it was prepared to recognise and negotiate with black Trade Unions if they were “fully representative” and run by “responsible”⁸ people.

The one Trade Union which seems to have grown tremendously is Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU). This Union has described itself as “an umbrella organization catering for all job categories. We have invited existing African Trade Unions to join our Council so that black workers can speak with one voice”.⁹

BAWU has offices in Johannesburg and Durban to be followed soon with offices in Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and the Border area. Their membership now exceeds 8,000 but their target is every black worker in South Africa. “By virtue of our existence and strength employers would be forced to accord us *de facto* recognition. Legal recognition will follow”.¹⁰ This was the argument outlined by Mr. C. Fanekiso, secretary to BAWU.

Black Consciousness and Commerce

During 1973 and 1974, attempts by the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC) towards the formation of a black bank began to crystalize. The idea of a black bank was first conceived in discussion between NAFCOC and groups like IDAMASA who were concerned at the extent to which money from Blacks was being used to boost up white industry and commerce. Towards the end of 1974 plans were well advanced to register the African Bank and directors of the Bank had already been appointed. Outlining the philosophy behind the project Mr. S. M. Motsuenyane, president of NAFCOC in his address to the Black Renaissance Convention said, "The continuous increase in Black earning and spending power has in recent years drawn tremendous attention of both white and black entrepreneurs alike. The black business sector, although keenly interested in the buying power of their people, are not in a position to compete against the better trained and more competitive white retail outlets in town...

Something very urgent should be done to curb the monolithic flow of black profits and investments into the white areas. It is the black people themselves who must take steps towards solving this problem. A project such as the black bank will help to keep our funds circulating among the African people themselves...there is an existing demand for black labour to be organised, trained and adequately rewarded which must be met...."¹¹

Sports and Recreation

In the years 1974 and 1975 there has developed in the Cape Province an open revolt by rugby clubs against the South African African Rugby Board and their policy of racial sport. Following the example set up by the Kwazakhele Rugby Union (KWARU), many rugby clubs in Grahams-town, Uitenhage, Fort Hare, King William's Town, East London and Cape Town have broken their ties with SAARB and have joined or formed Unions that are affiliated to the non-racial South African Rugby Union (SARU) under the leadership of Mr. Abass. This has been interpreted by observers of rugby administration to be the writing on the wall for the racial SAARB under the leadership of Mr. Grant Khomo.

Another booster for black progress in the sphere of sport has been the phenomenal success of black boxers against rated international opposition. The most successful black boxers in the past year and a half have been Nkosana "Happy Boy" Mgxaji of East London, Norman "Pangaman" Sekgapane and Maxwell Malinga, both of Soweto. These three boxers have stirred the imagination of their black followers throughout the country.

In the sphere of music and entertainment blacks continue to take pride in achievements of black stars like Leta Mbuli, Hugh Masekela,

Mariam Makeba, The Dashiki, Dollar Brand, the Malombos, the Batsumi etc. Even imported music has to come through the medium of black singers like the Staple Singers, Gladys Knight and the Pips, Timmy Thomas etc. Thus the average modern day black young man or woman hardly hears any music by white singers in this connection. This is an interpretation of the pride that blacks feel in their ability to capture the correct emotional feelings in their musical productions be they oral or instrumental.

An important development in the sphere of theatre and drama has been the consolidation of the magazine *Sketch* published by Sketch publications. Edited by Sydney Sipamla, the magazine seeks to project a paper interpretation of black theatre and to publicise works of known and unknown black artists. The magazine published theatrical drama presentations, poetry, and music. In its last issue, Winter 1975, the magazine highlights the success of two black South African actors John Kani and Winston Ntshona of "*Sizwe Banzi Is Dead*" who had a successful run with this play first in the Royal Court Theatre in London and then in the Edison Theatre in New York. The play itself was a raging success in both cities and is itself a commentary on how apartheid can twist the personalities of Blacks.

White Reaction to Black Consciousness

In the wake of the Frelimo success in Mozambique there has been a predictable increase in commentary on the black people's political activities. Following the Black Renaissance Convention several newspapers commented in leader stories on the significance of these deliberations.

In a leading article in *The Star* the editor wrote: "The Day of the Covenant week-end is traditionally one of white rhetoric...."

But this time there were some coincidental new voices which also deserve the closest attention.

They come from the Black Renaissance Convention organised by black theologians and broadly devoted to the themes of Black Consciousness. At the close of their discussions the 300 odd delegates condemned separate development and racial discrimination; called for an equal distribution of South Africa's wealth and a non-racial society with one-man one-vote....

[These demands came from] a middle stratum of black urban intellectuals...

These are the demands born of frustration and sheer inadequacy of the existing political institutions for blacks. If the current fine phrases about equal citizenship mean anything at all, white South Africa must take note of this rising mood among moderate Blacks—and start doing something new towards meeting it".¹²

In its leader the *Pretoria News* of the December 17, 1974, followed basically the same trend and declared:

“Between White and Black South Africa there is clearly a gap to be bridged by consultation around the conference table comparable with that between White and Black Rhodesia. The difference is that in Rhodesia, both sides, having experienced the ghastliness of confrontation, are prepared to give consultation another try. South Africa still has the time to avoid a clash, but dare not ignore the danger signals”.¹³ Commenting on the elections of the CRC the editor of *Reality* wrote:

“The Labour Party did win, taking 31 seats to the Federal Party’s 8, the other seat going to an Independent. Its share of the vote was overwhelming, but even this spectacular victory gives a false impression of the extent of the Coloured people’s rejection of Nationalist policy. In the first CRC election in 1969 more than 25% of eligible voters did not register and of those who did, less than 50% voted. For the 1975 election the number of registered voters fell by 120,000 and in some Western Cape constituencies less than 20% of those who did register bothered to vote. In most constituencies the percentage poll was low and in the Western Province where the most politically active Coloured people have always lived it was exceptionally so.

The message to the Government is clear. The Coloured people don’t like apartheid. They showed this by their massive refusal to register for the CRC roll, the massive stay-away of those who did register, and the massive vote for the Labour Party of those who did vote...the same message three times over.”¹⁴

REFERENCES

¹*Drum* 22.3.75.

²*Ibid.*

³*Reality* May 1975.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Drum* 22.1.75.

⁶*Drum* 8.4.74.

⁷*Drum* 22.4.74.

⁸*Drum* 22.9.74.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Drum* 22.1.75.

¹²*Star* 17.12.74.

¹³*Pretoria News* 17.12.74.

¹⁴*Reality* May 1975.

7

EDUCATION FOR BLACKS

Primary and Secondary

THE FIELD of education continues to pose one of the most critical problems for the Black Community, the vast majority of whom have not had the opportunity to get even a limited education. Many factors have contributed to this state of affairs, including a lack of accommodation in the existing schools to contain all those Black children who can go to school. Perhaps more depressing is the fact that there are thousands of children who would have received basic literacy education, if only the financial situation at home was not as ugly as it is in most cases.

An extract of information from the 1970 census results on the figures of educated Blacks in the country says enough to indicate the position. Below is given the total number of Blacks who had passed certain standards by 1970, broken down as follows:—

	<i>Africans</i>	<i>Asians</i>	<i>Coloured</i>
Standards II to V	3184020	193290	600790
Standards VI to VII	883540	114820	246750
Standards VIII and above	308560	67730	94550
	4376120	375840	942090

It was revealed therefore from the census that there were 5,694,050 educated Black people by 1970. From these figures it is evident that the highest drop-out rate affects the African section of the Black Community, especially from between standards 2 and 6 to secondary school level.

Highlighting the early school drop-out problem in an address to a high school in Gugulethu township, Cape Town, the Deputy Minister

of Bantu Administration and Education, Mr. Punt Janson, revealed that in the quarter which ended in March 1974, the number of pupils in the three African townships in the Peninsula were: lower primary, 11224; higher primary 16310; post-primary 1762.

Mr. Janson said, "The erosion is still far too big and this is also the case after standard six. It was proved that pupils who leave school after standard two very soon become illiterate again unless they lived in a stimulating situation...."

Apparently Mr. Janson and his department believed that the drop-out problem could be alleviated if compulsory education was introduced into African education. This was revealed by the Deputy Minister himself when he addressed the Kwa-Mashu Urban Bantu Council on January 14, 1975. He said, "My aim is to introduce compulsory education for all Africans without lowering the standard of education".

This statement, together with an earlier statement made by Mr. Janson in the course of an interview which appeared in the *Daily News*, August 7, 1974, made a mockery of the good intentions of the Government. In the said interview, Mr. Janson emphasised that a system of compulsory education would not entail free education. "That is just not practical", he said.

The second statement apparently implied that the Government could introduce a scheme whereby Africans would be compelled to send their children to school at their own cost.

Analysing the drop-out question, the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha said that at the end of 1974, there were 3,5 million children at school. His department provided the following figures: 260,000 for standard 4, 42,500 in standard 8 and less than 6,750 in standard 10.

The findings of a commission which was appointed to look into the whole question of Transkeian education and which were tabled in the Transkei Legislative Assembly in 1974, pointed out *inter alia*, that the reasons for early dropping out from school were poor health, starvation, hunger, the lack of need for achievement, and nervous manifestations.¹

The commission said that many pupils had to set out early in the morning to reach school without food or anything warm to drink. Pupils often had their first meal of the day at night. Fatigue and hunger contributed to poor results. Night study was almost impossible because there was no proper lighting nor privacy at home.²

To highlight the problems mentioned by the Transkei commission there are numerous cases of extreme poverty that hindered Africans from any progressive education.

One such case which was published by the *Natal Mercury* on February 11, 1975, was that of a matriculation student, Gloria Biyela, who was battling to raise R80 to buy her school books rather than drop out of class. Her father was a labourer who could not afford to feed as well as educate his children.

The previous year, a Muslim organisation had helped to buy her uniform: "I feel embarrassed to go to them again to ask for help to buy my books," she said. Because of the publicity, Gloria was helped with donations by Durban business people.

School accomodation and teacher shortages have continued to enhance the difficulties encountered by the black community in general. This problem has been buttressed by several effects of legislation like the Group Areas Act, where communities are moved to other areas *en bloc*, without proper arrangements being made at the new place for the schooling of children. This inevitably results in all those children having to crowd whatever schools there are in the neighbourhood, and in some cases resulting in platoon systems being operated to accomodate them or the children having to do without school.

This sort of thing has been experienced by many Blacks in the country and in many cases resulting in affected children completely losing interest in education.

A school crisis was brought about in Chatsworth Indian township, south of Durban, where 10,000 people affected by Group Areas Act were moved into the township's unit 11, with no schools provided for them.

Nearly all the schools in Chatsworth had full rolls and parents were finding it difficult to get their children into schools.³ The *Sunday Tribune* of January 26, 1975 reported that "angry Chatsworth parents threatened and harassed teachers who told them there was no accomodation at the available schools." It reported that headmasters turned away hundreds because of the crisis.

The Race Classification Act, which always hits Malay children of Muslim religion who often attend Indian schools for a number of years until some Government officials decide that they must go to Coloured schools because they are not classified as Indians.

In one Durban case of this nature, reported in the *Natal Mercury* of April 22, 1974, Malay parents applied to the Department of Indian Affairs to allow their children to attend the Indian schools they had been attending. They were told that they were classified as Coloureds.

Under the circumstances the parents decided to apply to the Department of the Interior for reclassification on the grounds that their children had always been going to Indian schools, and had therefore become Indian oriented. They also felt that it would not be easy for children of the Islamic religion, which was by and large cherished by

members of the Asian community, to adapt to basically Christian Coloured schools.

Similar cases often occur in areas where there are few Asians, who therefore simply choose to send their children to local available Coloured schools. According to a survey made by Mr R. S. Naidoo, president of the South African Indian Teachers' Association, and published by *Daily News* on February 11, 1975, the numbers of Indian pupils attending Coloured schools are 3692 (Cape), 29 (Transvaal), and 3 (Natal). The numbers of Coloured pupils attending Indian schools are 770 (Transvaal), 145 (Natal).

In the African township of Kwa-Mashu, north of Durban, hundreds of standard six pupils who passed their final examinations in 1974 were required to repeat the standard in 1975 because of the shortage of schools. This was revealed in a meeting of the Kwa-Mashu Residents' Association by Dr. C. H. Mngadi, chairman of the Kwa-Mashu School Board.⁴

Dr. Mngadi revealed that Bantu Education officials had told him that pupils would have to repeat the same class while the problem of the shortage of schools was being solved. In a plea to parents to find a solution, Dr. Mngadi said that about 80% of the candidates who wrote standard six in the township, had passed; and that there would be confusion if only a small number of these would go to standard seven. The Kwa-Mashu township of 22000 families has only one high school.

In 1975, a change was introduced in the number of years African children spent at primary school. Previously, Africans had to do a thirteen year primary and secondary school course; from sub-standard A and B through to standard 6, which made up eight years' primary schooling, plus a further 5 years of high school education from Form I to Form V.

According to this system, the children had to spend 13 years of education before proceeding to University level. In terms of the new 12 year system the traditional standard 6 falls away, and pupils will begin with secondary education at the end of standard 5, bringing African education in line with other racial groups in the country.

The extra educational year had been included in the past to help bridge the gap from the vernacular African languages as media of instruction in primary schools to English or Afrikaans in secondary schools.

At the end of 1975, the transitional year, standard 5 and 6 classes would sit a common examination in November and pupils from both classes would have to be accommodated in 1976 standard 7 classes.

Speaking on the multiplied numbers of secondary school entries, brought about by the introduction of the new system, KwaZulu's

Director of Education, Mr. C. Hallowes said, "To cope with this bulge, some higher primary schools will have to be upgraded to become junior secondary schools and a substantial number of new schools will have to be built".⁵

Commenting on the change, Mr. Hallowes said that the decision followed the World Court case on South West Africa at the Hague in 1971. "The 13-year system as opposed to the 12-year system of the Whites was listed in evidence as one of the many discriminatory measures which exist in South Africa", said Mr. Hallowes. To eliminate this type of criticism the Government decided to change the system from 1976.⁶

On May 6, 1974, the inadequacies of education for Blacks were attacked by the director of the Chamber of Mines Human Science Research Laboratory, Professor C. H. Wyndham. Viewing the matter from an economic point, Prof. Wyndham said, "by 1980 South Africa will require 3,75 million skilled workers out of an economically active population of 10,4 million".⁷

Forecasting that there would be only 1,7 million economically active Whites, the professor pointed out that there would be a shortfall of 2 million trained workers, which would have to be drawn from the black community. He particularly attacked the "qualitatively inferior" system of African education, where spending on each child was up to 20 times less than for white children and 10 times fewer African pupils were in matric.

"At the present tempo of education, 350 000 Whites with higher education will be available in 1980—already a high percentage of the economically active white population," Professor Wyndham said.

"This means an additional 260 000 'non-Whites' must be given higher education by 1980. To attain this figure, the number of 'non-Whites' at higher education institutions will have to be increased to at least 50 000 as rapidly as possible from the figure of now less than 14 000", he concluded.

As Professor Wyndham also indicated, the Africans are the most hit by poor education offered to Blacks in South Africa. During a survey conducted in Durban by the senior research officer for the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations, Miss Ann Perry, covered in the *Natal Mercury* of February 13, 1975, a young man said, "The education given to Africans is so low that a Junior Certificate with us is equivalent to a standard 6 in the other racial groups". Another youth said, "In South Africa, all the laws are made in such a way that only the Europeans' future is safe-guarded. The people who make the law would be too pleased if all Africans stayed away from school and they provided cheap labour when old enough".

One African interviewed in the survey said, "Our education is so low, when one has to look for a job one feels very inferior because of the

language difficulty. We are given instruction in the vernacular, and as a result we are not prepared to face the world”.

The survey was conducted to investigate employment experiences and attitudes to employment among African secondary school-leavers. *Miss Perry* found them to be aware of the political basis of their inequality in relation to job opportunities.

Bantustan Policy in African Education

The *Rand Daily Mail* of June 4, 1975, in a special feature captioned “The Blinkered view of homelands for African pupils”, revealed that under the new syllabus drawn up by the Department of Bantu Education, African pupils in standard 5 were being given a one-sided view of the Bantustan policy.

Introduced at the beginning of 1975, the new social studies syllabus included a section on civics which presented the homelands policy as a fixed and unquestionable reality.

“Neither the two textbooks available for use specifically makes that claim, but their omissions nevertheless create that impression”, observed the feature. “The opposition of the now banned African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress to Bantustans is not mentioned at all, although ironically one of the textbooks urges the pupil to ‘increase his knowledge of history’.”

Quoting from Lesson 80 of the textbook—*Illustrated Social Studies*—by Professor M. C. van Zyl, professor of history at the University of South Africa and Mr W. A. T. van Niekerk, principal of Hebron Training College, the *Daily Mail* printed: “All the Bantu people of South Africa and South West Africa settled in certain areas during the last century. It is from these areas that homelands for Bantu have developed”.

It further observed that the statement above omitted to mention that African people settled in South Africa and South West Africa (Namibia) long before the last century—and that the “homelands” which emerged were but the shrunken and fragmented remnants of the land which they had occupied before the frontier wars.

Quoting further from the textbook: “The Native Lands Act of 1913 ruled that homelands should be set aside for habitation by the Bantu. Whites are not allowed to buy land in the homelands...”, the article pointed out that: “The size of the reserves, a mere seven percent of the available land, is forgotten. As is the prohibition on Africans owning land in ‘White’ rural areas”.

The second textbook—by Mr L. B. Hurry, Dr H. A. Mocke, Mr H. C. Wallis and Mr G. Engelbrecht—tells the pupil: “Each citizen would like to live among his own people in his own homeland”. The same textbook adds: “The representatives of the homeland Govern-

ments in the urban areas have councils to help them perform their work. In 1973 there were already 150 urban councils to help the homelands perform their work in the urban areas”.

The implication is that urban Blacks regard themselves as subjects of the various Bantustans. To counter this suggestion the *Rand Daily Mail* feature quoted an address by Mr Lennox Mlonzi, a member of the Soweto Urban Council, to students at the Rand Afrikaans University.

Mr Mlonzi said: “To think that a black man will ever leave the urban areas is a pipe dream because the economy of the country is situated mainly in these areas. The Government must not ignore the urban Blacks. They resent their problems being discussed by homeland leaders when they are here. The Government must get to know what the Blacks in urban areas think and want”.

The *Rand Daily Mail* further noted that the first textbook dealt with the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970, and how it recognises “every Bantu person” as a citizen of one of the homelands.

The book says: “Anyone who is a citizen of a homeland is not considered to be a foreigner in the Republic (of South Africa). Because the homeland forms a part of the Republic, a citizen of a homeland is also a citizen of the Republic and has duties to fulfil in respect of his country’. In an earlier chapter on citizenship, the textbook tells the pupils, citizens have some say in the Government of their land, including the right to vote and stand for election.

“When those two statements are juxtaposed,” pointed out the *Daily Mail*, “the conclusion is clear: all citizens of South Africa have a say in the Government”. The second textbooks says: “In South Africa each citizen has the power to vote. He may vote for the men whom he considers best suited to govern the country and the nation. The Governments of the homelands are chosen by their citizens”.

In conclusion the *Daily Mail* asked: “Why not simply tell the pupil that he is a citizen of South Africa, but that because he is Black he may not vote for the central Government—that some citizens are more equal than others?”

“Why the evasion? If the homelands policy is the evolving reality, as its protagonists insists, why not let its imperfections show and its opponents have a choice?”, questioned the *Mail*.

Control of Education

By and large, the full control of black education remains in the hands of Whites, although in the case of Bantustans, African education becomes the responsibility of the Education Department of that particular Bantustan.

Even at that level, effective control always lies with the Secretary for

Education who is always white, except in the Transkei, where a black secretary was appointed in 1975 in the person of Mr Kakana.

This question of control raised a wide controversy in 1975 with respect to Indian education, which has always been under the white Director of Education of the Department of Indian Affairs.

As Mr P. W. Prinsloo, Director of Indian Education was due to retire in April 1975, many leading Indians called for the appointment of his successor purely on merit, hoping that an Indian director would be appointed.

They claimed that the Government had not kept its promise to promote Indian teachers to the "highest rung of the ladder". They believed that Indian educationists were being left out in the cold and by-passed by less qualified Whites to the top positions in the Department.⁸

However, when the Minister of Indian Affairs was asked in Parliament whether there were any suitably qualified Indians available for the positions of Director and Deputy Director of Indian Education, he replied that there were no Indians with the necessary experience and seniority to be promoted to the said posts.⁹

The matter remains at the same level with respect to Coloured education as well.

In reply to questions in the House of Assembly, the various ministers in charge of black education gave details of Blacks employed in senior educational posts in their respective departments as follows:

Africans

The numbers of African school inspectors and assistant or subject inspectors of schools in the Republic and the Transkei were given as 99 and 332 respectively. These figures were as at March 1974.¹⁰

Indians

There were 10 inspectors of schools, no assistant inspector, and 6 subject inspectors. More senior positions were reported in the case of Indians: 2 Education Planners, 2 Senior Assistant Education Planners, 1 Assistant Education Planner and 1 School Guidance Officer.¹¹

Coloureds

The Minister of Coloured Affairs disclosed that there were 22 school inspectors in his employ, 13 subject inspectors and 4 Coloureds on the Administrative staff of the Education Section of his department.¹²

Enrolment

The numbers of black pupils at primary and secondary schools naturally continued to grow in 1974 and 1975. The following statistics regarding enrolment were given by the various Cabinet Ministers in control of black education:

Africans

<i>CLASS</i>	<i>% per class</i>	<i>No in R.S.A.</i>	<i>No in Namibia</i>	<i>% per class</i>
Sub Std. A	21,8%	760835	39162	31,3
Sub Std. B	16,6	577273	23099	18,5
Std 1	14,9	519547	17615	14,1
Std 2	11,6	404711	13130	10,5
Std 3	9,8	343301	10660	8,5
Std 4	7,5	259944	7930	6,3
Std 5	6,0	210704	5697	4,6
Std 6	5,8	200427	5145	4,11
Form I	2,4	82351	1305	1,04
Form II	1,8	63442	733	0,58
Form III	1,2	42588	389	0,31
Form IV	0,4	14406	125	0,10
Form V	0,2	6732	80	0,06
TOTAL¹³		3486261	125070	

(NB. Here we give the percentages of the total number of pupils as enrolled in each class as reported by the Minister.)

Indians

Class I	20736	6%
Class II	21766	6,3%
Std 1	20313	5,9%
Std 2	19170	5,6%
Std 3	19309	5,6%
Std 4	179694	52,1%
Std 5	15041	4,4%
Std 6	12416	3,6%
Std 7	11744	3,4%
Std 8	13404	3,9%
Std 9	6115	1,8%
Std 10	4479	1,3%
Special classes	1162	0,3%
TOTAL¹⁴	345119	

These figures reflect the total enrolment of Asian pupils in each standard in Government, State-aided and private schools combined, as at March 1975, in the whole of the R.S.A.

(NB. The percentages, which reflect that standard 4 has the biggest enrolment figure of 52%, were not given by the Minister.)

Coloureds

<i>Class</i>	<i>No in R.S.A.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No in Namibia</i>	<i>%</i>
Sub Std A	108153	18,1	1732	17,0
Sub Std B	93026	15,6	1410	13,8
Std 1	84321	14,1	1347	13,2
Std 2	72234	12,1	1183	11,6
Std 3	62879	10,5	1028	10,1
Std 4	53165	8,9	986	9,7
Std 5	40780	6,8	890	8,7
Std 6	32406	5,4	678	6,6
Std 7	23575	3,9	469	4,6
Std 8	14661	2,5	257	2,5
Std 9	5955	1,0	136	1,3
Std 10	3244	0,5	55	0,5
Adaptation classes	2838	0,5	35	0,3
TOTAL¹⁵	597237		10206	

(NB. The percentages of the total number of pupils as enrolled in each class were not reported by the Minister.)

The Minister of Coloured Affairs, in response to another question in the House of Assembly, further gave an estimated increase in the number of Coloured school children who will attend school in each of the next five years.

According to the 1974 estimates given, an increase of 33 712 pupils was expected by 1975 and for the following years 1976-79, expected increases were 33 356, 33 663, 33 469 and 33 351 respectively.

Double-sessions and Platoon System

It has been mentioned in the introductory remarks of this chapter that the double session and/or platoon system still operates in schools for Blacks.

In most cases, the platoon system, whereby a classroom is used by two teachers at different times (in some cases it occurs all at the same time), to accommodate different class groups is caused by lack of sufficient schools to accommodate available pupils.

The double-session system is mainly caused by lack of teachers to take charge of all the children attending schools. We have also touched on the several causes of such systems, notably that they are mostly side-effects of some Government legislation.

During the 1975 session, the various Ministers in control of black education disclosed statistical details of the operation of the said system

in schools for Blacks. Below we give the reported number of pupils involved:

	<i>African</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Coloured</i>
Sub A and B	960368	6469	53326
Stds 1 and 2	72592*	7008	20137
Stds 3 and 4	— +	1417	2516
Stds 5 and 6	— +	17	— +

*(Refers to platoon system, no double sessions were reported in these classes.) (+No figures were disclosed regarding any of the mentioned systems in these classes).

EXAMINATIONS

(a) Africans

The Minister of Bantu Education disclosed that of the 174 415 African pupils who entered for the 1974 standard 6 examination in the Republic of South Africa (excluding Namibia), 150 324 passed. All these pupils qualified to proceed to Standard 7.

This was a result of a surprise change of policy by the Bantu Education Department with respect to admission of pupils to standard 7. The reversal of policy allowed for the admission of all pupils with Std. 6 passes to secondary schools, irrespective of their aggregated pass. The new decision was in contrast to the previous policy of accepting only those with an aggregate of 50 percent and above.

Irate parents of pupils in the 40-50 percent bracket had always strongly criticized the previous policy. It was also suggested that the 50 percent and above promotion mark was a device to keep down the numbers of pupils eligible for promotion, and that therefore it was an excuse for not building more schools.¹⁶

Of the 134 377 pupils who had passed in 1973, only 78 677 of them qualified for continuation certificates, which makes 58,5%, the other 41,5% had to either repeat standard 6 or leave school altogether.

It was further reported that at the end of 1974, 38 720 wrote the Junior Certificate examination, of which 27 643 passed. 5 412 candidates had entered for the Senior Certificate examination, of which 3 176 passed. Of that number, 1956 qualified for University entrance.¹⁷

(b) Indians

The Minister of Indian Affairs reported that 11 834 pupils wrote the standard 6 examination. Of these, 6 207 passed the normal high school course; 4 731 passed the practical course and 896 pupils failed.

10 073 pupils entered for the Junior Certificate (Std 8) examination, 5 178 of them passed A level, 3 070 passed O level and 1 825 failed. There were no pupils at C level.

4 200 matriculation candidates entered for the Senior Certificate examinations. 87 of them passed with merit, 475 got matric exemption without merit, 717 passed A level without exemption and 1 722 passed 0 level. 1 199 candidates failed the examinations.

The statistics given here excluded the results of the supplementary examinations which had not been finalised at the time the report was made.¹⁸

According to a private report on Indian education, prepared by Mr R. S. Naidoo, president of the South African Indian Teachers' Association, which appeared in the *Daily News* of February 11 1975, a new system of education came to force from the beginning of 1975.

The first Senior Certificate examinations to be written in terms of the new system are to be the 1975 examinations. According to the report, this year will also be the first occasion the Department of Indian Affairs will be introducing its own Senior Certificate examinations. For the first time also, Indian teachers will serve as examiners; in the past they served as sub-examiners only.

(c) Coloureds

The Minister of Coloured Relations reported that 14 078 Coloured pupils wrote for the Junior Certificate in 1974 in the Republic of South Africa. 504 Coloured pupils sat for the same examination in South West Africa (Namibia).

Of these who wrote, a total of 9 344 in the Republic and 385 in S.W.A. (Namibia) passed. The grades were as follows:

	<i>R.S.A.</i>	<i>Namibia</i>
First Class	669	22
Second Class	8 675	363

4 734 and 119 pupils failed in both countries respectively.

The Minister also revealed that in 1974, 3 134 and 119 Coloured pupils entered for the Matriculation or Senior Certificate in the Republic and Namibia respectively. Of these 2 064 passed in the Republic and 59 passed in Namibia. Broken down into grades the statistics were as follows:

	<i>R.S.A.</i>	<i>Namibia</i>
First Class:	179	1
Second Class:	1 885	58

1 070 pupils failed in the Republic and a total of 60 students also failed in Namibia.¹⁹

Results for the standard 6 examinations were not reported.

Measures towards Free and Compulsory Education

Commendable steps have been taken in the course of 1974 and 1975 towards at least relieving black parents from the traditional burden of sending their children to school at their complete own cost.

Africans

While reading-books in the two white languages, and in one vernacular language had always been loaned to pupils at primary schools for a number of years, African parents have always had to pay for text books, stationery and writing equipment,

As from 1974 textbooks were supplied to pupils in Forms 1,3 and 4; the rest of the secondary classes to be supplied in 1975. The books remained the property of the schools, but they could be used by the pupils. Stationery and writing equipment remained unsponsored.

Revealing this in the Assembly on February 8, 1974 the Minister of Bantu Education said that his department intended supplying all books free of charge to all pupils eventually ²⁰

Indians

The Department of Indian Affairs had already been supplying all books, stationery and writing equipment for primary, secondary, technical and vocational schools for Indian pupils.

In terms of the provision made in Section 31 of the General Amendment Act of 1973, an Indian child who enrolled in the first grade since 1973 must remain at school until he or she reaches the age of 15. It is not, however, compulsory for any child of school-going age to register or enrol.

This measure is to ensure that children remain at school for a good part of their school-going years.²¹

Coloureds

The Minister of Coloured Relations reported in Parliament, in reply to a question, that Coloured pupils attending primary and secondary schools received free books, stationery and writing equipment.²²

According to the minister, pupils at technical and vocational schools received no free books, stationery or writing equipment.

Compulsory school attendance was announced in 1974, for all Coloured children of the age of 8 years, who live within walking distance (5 km) along the public road from a school or from public transport, or transport provided by the Administration of Coloured Affairs.

Announcing this move, the Chairman of the Executive of the Coloured Representative Council, Mr Tom Swartz (Mr Swartz and his party have since been deposed from the Executive, see Chapter 3) explained that the intention was to raise the compulsory school at-

tendance age at intervals until the age of 13 is reached in 1980. A second phase after 1980 would raise the age to 16.²³

Teachers

Besides the naturally expected annual growth in numbers of pupils in schools for Blacks, governmental moves during the period under review, some of which have been mentioned in the section on 'Measures towards free and compulsory education', certainly made way for a future population boom in black schools.

While such soaring numbers of pupils will most certainly increase the accommodation problem at these schools, the more serious crisis it will heighten is the already critical shortage of teachers, especially at primary and secondary schools.

In 1974 and 1975 nothing radical was done to alleviate the teacher-shortage problem which was noted in the *Reviews* of 1972 and 1973, although conditions of employment for African teachers were improved in 1974 with regard to leave privileges.

Previously, African teachers could not accumulate paid holiday leave, but were given unpaid leave for urgent private affairs, up to a maximum of seven days a year. The unused non-accumulative leave lapsed at the end of each year.

According to a statement of the Department of Bantu Education, publicised in March 1974²⁴ accumulative leave would now be applicable 12 days a year, and may accumulate from year to year; any credit would be carried forward to the following year. White teachers employed by the Bantu Education Department had always enjoyed this privilege.

Discriminatory pay, only one aspect of the conditions under which black teachers work, still remains in force, despite repeated assurances by Government officials that the salary gap will be bridged.

Opening the 52nd annual conference of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa at Umlazi on January 9, 1974, the Mayor of Umlazi, Mr Simon Ngobese called on the Government to consider the salaries of black teachers as they were "shameful and a disgrace".

"Salaries take race and colour into consideration. In South Africa we are victimised for the pigmentation of our skins in spite of our great contribution in the building of the economy of the country", said Mr Ngobese.

The same sentiments were echoed by Mr David Curry, deputy leader of the Labour party, at a CRC election campaign meeting at Wentworth in January 1975. Mr Curry called on the Government to pay coloured teachers on the same scale as Whites in order to encourage Coloureds to enter the profession.

"Besides the acute shortage of schools, the teaching profession is

now full of semi-qualified or unqualified teachers because of a sharp rise in resignations", said Mr Curry.

"Since 1965 more than 3955 teachers left the profession to take up better paid jobs in industry and commerce. In the primary schools alone, more than 2 000 teachers have no professional qualifications at all," he added.

The various ministers in control of black education gave an identical answer in the Assembly in 1974, when asked whether or not salaries for black teachers were to be adjusted on the basis of the same ratio which applied to the lecturing staff at the tribal universities.

They replied: "No. Salary adjustments are made either on an *ad hoc* basis for certain groups or in general according to their needs and as circumstances demand and with due regard to all the recognised and accepted principles which are applied in the determination of salaries, including the availability of funds and the effect which such adjustments could have on the pattern and policy of remuneration of the public sector as a whole".

(a) Africans

By March 1974, there was a total of 62 019 African teachers in the employ of the Bantu Education Department in the Republic, including all the Bantustans, according to the Minister of the department.²⁵ In terms of qualifications, the number can be broken down as follows:

Professional²⁶

(a) University degree and UED	1014
(b) Matriculation and Teachers diploma	5485
(c) Junior Certificate and P.H.	29467
(d) Std. 6 and LPH	14378
(e) Other qualifications (technical or vocational)	1455

Non-Professional

(f) University degree only	47
(g) Matriculation only	357
(h) Technical or other vocational qualifications	58
(i) Below Matric and without PH	9701

(b) Indians²⁷

6638 Indian teachers were in the employ of the Department of Indian Affairs by June 30, 1974. In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Indian Affairs gave the qualifications of the teachers as follows:

Professional

(a) University degree with UED	1103
(b) Matriculation with teachers diploma	4379
(c) Junior Certificate with PH	903
(d) Other qualifications (technical)	Nil

Non-Professional	
(a) University degree only	22
(b) Matriculation only	124
(c) Technical or other vocational qualification only	4
(d) Below matric and without PH	103

Coloureds

There were 22 465 Coloured teachers employed by the Department of Coloured Relations by February 19, 1975;²⁸ broken down according to qualifications as follows:

Professional	
(a) University degree with UED	668
(b) Matriculation and teachers diploma	5509
(c) Junior Certificate and PH	5509
(c) Junior Certificate and PH	14142
(d) Other qualifications (technical, vocational)	Nil
Non-Professional	
(a) University degree only	62
(b) Matriculation alone	436
(c) Technical or other vocational qualifications	68
(d) Below matric and without PH	1580

Financing of Education

Africans

The problem of insufficient funds allotted for the education of the African population has proved to be the key stumbling block to the improvement of school facilities for this section of the black community.

According to available information, State expenditure on the education of Africans in the financial year 1973-74 was broken down as follows:

	RSA R	Namibia R
Current Expenditure		
Bantu Education Department	35 125 845	4 653 322
Homelands Governments	53 557 458	2 475 592
Capital Works:		
Bantu Education Department	212 073	—
Homelands and SA Bantu Trust	4 108 252	1 659 595
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	93 003 628	8 788 509
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	101 792 137	

Mainly because of the grave inadequacy of State care for the financial backing of African education, resulting in numerous shortages of schools, classrooms, teachers, bursaries, books and school equipment, this very important activity for the general development of the Africans has become a popular target for all welfare organisations in the country.

A lot of small funds have been set up by Blacks for helping in various local situations, and certain white establishments have taken steps to alleviate the plight of thousands of African pupils. Best known of these are attempts like the TEACH fund which was established by a Johannesburg afternoon paper, to help build schools in destitute areas. TEACH, with the aid of public donations administered by the *Star*, has been able to build many schools in Soweto.

The *Argus* group of newspapers has built up other such funds in Durban and Cape Town. The Durban one, set up in May 1972 and run by the *Daily News* in conjunction with the Durban Coastal Area of Round Tables concentrates on providing school books for African pupils. The fund is called LEARN (*Let Every African Read Now*).

The *per capita* expenditure on African children in 'white' areas in the Republic and Namibia in the same financial year ending on March 31, 1974 was given as R28,56 and R75,75 respectively.²⁹

Disclosing these figures the Minister of Bantu Education explained that the differences were attributed to the fact that educational means in the Republic were not provided free, as was the case in Namibia.

Indian

The Minister of Indian Affairs gave estimated figures of *per capita* expenditure in respect of Indian pupils (excluding capital expenditure) during the financial year ending March 1974 as follows:

Primary classes	R123,83
Primary classes	R123-83
Secondary and High school classes	R185-80
Average <i>per capita</i> expenditure	R141-13

Coloured

The *per capita* expenditure for coloured pupils from State sources in the financial year which ended in March 1974 as disclosed by the Minister of Coloured Affairs was broken down as follows:

Primary	R106-17
Secondary	R136-56

REFERENCES

- ¹*Rand Daily Mail* 18.3.74.
- ²*Ibid.*
- ³*Leader* 31.1.75.
- ⁴*Natal Mercury* 23.12.74.
- ⁵*Daily News* 13.2.75.
- ⁶*Ibid.*
- ⁷*Star* 7.5.74.
- ⁸*Daily News* 5.12.74.
- ⁹1975 *Hansard* 11,—Col 806.
- ¹⁰1975 *Hansard* 11—Col 786.
- ¹¹1975 *Hansard* 11—Col 794.
- ¹²1975 *Hansard* 14—Col 930.
- ¹³1975 *Hansard* 3—Cols 147 and 177
and *Hansard* 6—Col 497.
- ¹⁴1975 *Hansard* 11—Col 795.
- ¹⁵1975 *Hansard* 14—Col 931.
- ¹⁶*Daily News* 12.2.75.
- ¹⁷1975 *Hansard* Vol 3—Col 212.
- ¹⁸1975 *Hansard* Vol 11—Cols 797—798
- ¹⁹1975 *Hansard* Vol 14—Cols 948—949
- ²⁰1974 *Hansard* 1—Col 12.
- ²¹Report by R. S. Naidoo, President
SAITA Daily News 11.2.75.
- ²²1974 *Hansard* 4 Col. 178.
- ²³*Post* 29.9.74.
- ²⁴*Cape Times* 6.3.74.
- ²⁵1975 *Hansard* 11—Col. 788.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*
- ²⁷1975 *Hansard* 11—Col. 793.
- ²⁸1975 *Hansard* 14—Col. 952 and 953.
- ²⁹1974 *Hansard* 7—Col. 506.
- ³⁰1975 *Hansard* 6—Col. 423.



EDUCATION FOR BLACKS

Teacher Training, Technical and Vocational

1. Teacher Training

THE QUESTION of shortages in black schools has sufficiently been dealt with in other sections of *Black Review's* presentation on black education.

Commendable efforts have been made in the rush to outstrip the ever soaring number of black school children in order to keep within the already grossly unfair teacher-pupil ratio at schools.

Africans

The enrolment and examinations results figures for 1974 and 1975 were not available to *Black Review* at the time of going to print. The figures given below indicated the position as it was for 1973:

	<i>R.S.A.</i>	<i>Namibia</i>	<i>Total qualified</i>
Lower Primary Teachers course	—	396	145
Primary Teachers course	10379	67	4324
Junior Secondary Teachers course	668	—	318
Secondary Teachers' Diploma course	422	—	113
University Educational Diploma (non-graduate)	34	—	7
University Education Diploma (post-graduate)	93	—	92
Special courses in arts or homecraft	74	—	68
Trade instructors' course	16	—	9
Diploma in special education for deaf	25	—	23
Diploma in special education for blind	13	—	11
Diploma in Fine Arts	4	—	—
Totals	11728	463	5110 ¹

Indians

The Minister of Indian Affairs disclosed that there were 552 students enrolled for teacher training at the two colleges of Springfield and Transvaal College of Education, and 405 enrolled at the University of Durban Westville by the end of 1974. At the end of the same year the following numbers qualified in the various categories:

Primary and lower secondary, full time courses	—	226
Primary and lower secondary, part time in-service courses	—	nil
Academic high school teacher courses	—	25
Specialist teachers of commercial courses	—	15
Teachers of technical courses	—	29
Remedial or special education teachers	—	8
Teachers of arts	—	24
Physical education instructors	—	32
Home economist teachers	—	8
		<hr/>
Total		367 ²
		<hr/>

Coloureds

The Minister of Coloured Affairs revealed the following figures for enrolment and examination results for the end of 1974:³

	Enrolled (1975)		Enrolled (1975)
L.P.T.C. I	1351	P.T.D. I	774
L.P.T.C. II	1181	P.T.D. II	563
		P.T.D. III	373
		L.S.T.D. I	94
L.P. Special C	66	L.S.T.D. II	27
L. Secondary T.D. I	94	L.S.T.D. III	21
S.T.D. (non-graduate)	7	S.T.D. (graduate)	35
Adaptation Classes' Teachers' Diploma			41
Post-graduate degree in education			21
Teachers' Diploma (Commerce) I			39
Teachers' Diploma (Commerce) II			41
Teachers' Diploma (Commerce) III			26
Teachers' Diploma (Technical) I			8
Teachers' Diploma (Technical) II			7
Teachers' Diploma (Technical) III			3

	Qualified (1974)
L.P.T.C.	927
Special courses for post L.P.T.C. teachers	114
P.T.C.	371
P.T.D.	288
L.S.T.D.	11
S.T.D. (non-graduate)	6
S.T.D. (graduate)	51
Adaptation Classes Teachers' Diploma	3
Post graduate degree courses in education	1
Commercial Teachers' Diploma	11
Technical Diploma	3
	<hr/>
Total	1786
	<hr/>

2. Vocational and Technical Training

Africans

Asked in Parliament (a) what post-standard VI vocational courses were available for African women in the Republic and the Bantu Homelands (b) how many schools provided each of the type of courses concerned and (c) how many women passed in each of these courses during 1974, the Minister of Bantu Education gave the information as follows⁴:—

(a)	(b)	(c)
Assistants in Pre-school Institutions	4	76
Home Management	3	37
Dressmaking (2 year course)	9	76
Dressmaking (4 short courses per year)	10	250
Seamstress and Alteration Hands	1	9
Spinning and Weaving	2	*Unknown

**Because this course was offered at private schools the results were not available at the time when this information was disclosed. However, it was revealed that 77 pupils were enrolled for these courses.*

Indians

Giving statistic on schools, other than M.L. Sultan College in Durban, which offered technical and commercial courses for Indians, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn supplied the information as follows⁵:—

	Natal	Transvaal	Cape
Technical Courses	1	1	Nil
Commercial Courses	39	11	1

Coloureds

With respect of Peninsular Technical College which catered for technical training of Coloured, the Minister of Coloured Relations revealed that there were 299 Coloured full-time apprentices and 285 other students attending the College full-time. He also revealed that whilst there were no part-time apprentices, there were 416 Coloured students attending the Peninsula College on part-time basis.

This Minister gave the 1974 results of the Peninsula Technical College as follows:—

<i>Students who passed</i>	<i>Course</i>
86	Teachers Diploma (Commerce) 1st, 2nd and 3rd Year courses
17	Teachers Diploma (Technical) 1st, 2nd and 3rd year courses
3	National Secretarial Certificate
8	National Diploma for Health In- spectors
18	National Diploma in Public Health Nursing.
9	Textile Trade Certificate
14	Ladies' Hairdressing
8	Diploma in Public Administration
4	Diploma in State Finance and Accounts.
6	Building Foreman's course

In 1974 2 531 apprentices and 37 students undertook group training for a period of ten weeks. It was also revealed that 249 Coloured apprentices attended departmental or continuation classes in the Republic and 6 in South West Africa.

The results of the National Technical Certificate were announced in Parliament by the Minister of Coloured Affairs as per part of the N.T.C. thus⁶:

PART:	I	II	III
	991	647	243

Of all the students at multi-lateral high schools who sat for junior and senior technical certificates in 1974, 143 passed the Junior and 30 passed the senior technical certificates.

REFERENCES

¹1974 *Hansard* 2—Col. 59.

²1975 *Hansard* 11—Col. 792.

³1975 *Hansard* 14—Col. 949.

⁴1975 *Hansard* 11—Col 790.

⁵1975 *Hansard* 14—Col. 958.

⁶*Ibid.*

9

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	
University of Western Cape	—	1535	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:

	<i>Africans</i>	<i>Coloureds</i>	<i>Indians</i>	<i>Total</i>
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

	<i>Degrees</i>	<i>Diplomas</i>
Arts	77	7
Science	11	—
Law	7	26
Theology	—	—
Economic Science	5	—
Education	—	68
Agriculture	—	—
Total	100	101

University of the North: 1974³

	<i>Degrees</i>	<i>Diplomas</i>
Arts	94	1
Science	11	13
Law	9	1
Theology	4	—
Economic Science	5	—
Education	7	37
Agriculture	—	—
Totals	130	52

University of Fort Hare

	1973		1974	
	<i>Degrees</i>	<i>Diplomas</i>	<i>Degrees</i>	<i>Diplomas</i>
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

	<i>Degrees</i>	<i>Diplomas</i>
Arts and Philosophy	76	3
Science	28	—
Commerce and Law	6	4
Education	1	68
Theology	—	11
Totals	113	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 year	2nd year	3rd year	4th year	5th year	6th year
African	26	30	33	37	25	10	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 consistently 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).

4. Composition of Senate/Council at Universities for Blacks.

University of Fort Hare⁹

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>
Senate	51	7
Council	15	4

University of the North

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>
Senate	46	5
Council	13	5

University of Zululand¹⁰

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>
Senate	11	4
Senate	38	2
Council	11	4

University of Western Cape¹¹

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>
Senate	45	1
Council	11	5

University of Durban-Westville¹²

	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>
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 key scales 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:

White —R8460 × 360—9900 × 450—11250
Black —R6660 × 360—9180

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:—

White: R10800 × 350—12600 × 600—13800

Black: R9900 × 450—12600 × 600—13200

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

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:—

White: R10800 × 450—12600 × 600—13800

Black: R9900 × 450—12600—13200

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 seek 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, subpoenaed 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 accommodation. 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 exodus.

(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 accommodated 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 Government-created 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 ad-

vanced by the students were that academic freedom was virtually non-existent 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 Mgiijima, 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 Mgiijima said it was clear that the majority of African applicants would never have the necessary high standard because of the well-known 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 Mgiijima 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 Mgiijima'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 medical-aids 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-that-be.

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.

<i>Africans</i>	<i>Applied</i>	<i>Admitted</i>
1960	—*	4
1961	—*	7
1962	—*	7
1963	—*	1
1964	—*	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

<i>Indians</i>	<i>Applied</i>	<i>Admitted</i>
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.

<i>Coloureds</i>	<i>Applied</i>	<i>Admitted</i>
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

Circumstantial 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 walk-outs 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

REFERENCES

¹1974 *Hansard* 2 Col 86 and 87.

1975 *Hansard* 4 Col 195.

²1975 *Hansard* 4 Col 307.

³*Ibid.*

⁴1975 *Hansard* 4 Col 311.

⁵1975 *Hansard* 11 Col 791.

⁶*Drum* 8.12.75.

⁷*Natal Mercury* 7.5.75.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Report of Fort Hare Registrar to *Black Review*—May 1975.

¹⁰1974 *Hansard* 6—Col 439 and 440.

- ¹¹1974 *Hansard* 7 Col 507.
¹²1974 *Hansard* 5 Col 336.
¹³1975 *Hansard* 3 Col 211.
¹⁴1975 *Hansard* 3 Col 174.
¹⁵*Rand Daily Mail* 6.10.74.
¹⁶*Ibid.*
¹⁷*Rand Daily Mail* 20.10.74.
¹⁸*Rand Daily Mail* 1.11.74.
¹⁹*Rand Daily Mail* 20.11.74.
²⁰1974 *Hansard* 11 Col 761 and 762.
²¹*Rand Daily Mail* 24.3.73.
²²Statement by Professor De Wet to Staff.
²³*Natal Mercury* 11.3.75.
²⁴*Daily Dispatch* 9.4.75.

- ²⁵*Weekend World* 12.4.75.
²⁶*Argus* 28.3.74.
²⁷*Rand Daily Mail* 2.3.75.
²⁸*Ibid.*
²⁹*Natal Mercury* 14.2.75.
³⁰*Leader* 10.5.75.
³¹*Sunday Tribune* 2.2.75.
³²*Ibid.*
³³1975 *Hansard* 3 Col 194.
³⁴1975 *Hansard* 14 Col 947.
³⁵1975 *Hansard* 3 Col 194.
³⁶1975 *Hansard* 2 Col 75.
³⁷1975 *Hansard* 14 Col 976.
³⁸*Drum* 8.7.74.
³⁹1975 *Hansard* 3 Col 149.

BLACK LABOUR

OVER THE YEARS, the question of how to maintain peaceful control of the Black Labour force has been looming over the South African Department of Labour, and its Minister.

The improvement of works committees and liason committees by legislation has done very little to improve the attitude of black workers to the solution of disputes with managements.

This perhaps could be attributed to the fact that Blacks have always held with suspicion any structures introduced by white authorities, however much these can be said to be to their benefit.

At the few places that *Black Review* has had interviews in Durban, Johannesburg, East London and King William's Town, the one thing that has come out clearly is that black workers will not be satisfied with any structures short of legalised trade unions which they can run themselves.

Most of those interviewed have themselves participated in the appointment of works committees, but some have done this because they feared victimisation by the managements, while others deliberately nominated people suspected to be in cahoots with the authorities in the interest of protecting their real leaders.

In reply to a question in the Assembly, the Minister of Labour gave the number of works committees and liason committees which were functioning by the end of 1974 as follows:

	<i>Works Committees</i>	<i>Liason Committees</i>
Cape	61	298
Natal	45	376
Orange Free State	3	58
Transvaal	98	750
	—	—
Totals	207	1482
	—	—

The Minister of Labour had repeatedly emphasised that black trade unions will not be recognised in South Africa. In spite of the non-re-

cognition of worker unions by the Government, quite a number of them have been formed already.

Concern over the uncontrolled growth of African worker organizations has growth in the white industrial sector. A report of similar concern expressed by the Natal Employers' Association appeared in a daily paper in April 1974.

It read: "Concerned at the growth of the number of African trade unions, and the fact that they are not governed by industrial laws like the registered trade unions, the Natal Employers' Association has drawn up a blue-print to deal with the situation..."¹

The recommendations of this body (NEA), which were by no means the ideal trade union organization, served to indicate the dilemma that prevails which both businessman and Government find it difficult to get over.

On the one hand the growth of 'illegal' united worker organizations bothers the industrialist who has to face the test of the strength of such a body, while on the other hand, the idea of 'legal' fully fledged African trade unions is, on the part of the Government, "too ghastly to contemplate".

During 1974 and 1975 there have been much more calls for the advancement of Blacks in the labour field than ever before. Such calls coming from white economists have been interpreted by black labour observers as an indication of the inevitable change in the Government labour policy.

Inroads have already been made by Blacks into several sections of jobs previously reserved for white occupation in the South African Railways, Post Office, mines etc.

Addressing an Institute of Personnel Management Seminar on Black Wages, held in Durban, the chief economist of Nedbank, Syfrets UAL Mr Merton Dagut predicted that 62 000 jobs currently held by Whites would have to be handed over to Blacks in the next 4 years.

Mr Dagut said "With the demand for labour increasing at an annual rate of 3,1 percent, 1979 will see a 62 000 shortage of Whites". He said if this shortage was met by suitably skilled Blacks, unemployment in this sector would fall from 5,6 percent in 1973 to 4,1 percent in 1979.²

According to Mr Dagut the black/white wage gap in industry had widened from R3 566 in 1972 to R4 325 in 1974, but even taking inflation into account, the gap had not been narrowed at all.³

Job Reservation Eased

The South African Railways headquarters revealed on March 3, 1975, that more than 13 000 Blacks were employed in 'white' jobs. Of this number, 4501 were classified as temporary replacements.⁴

A spokesman for the railways said that the main temporary replacements included 1463 black road transport drivers, 816 flagmen, 23 construction machinery operators and 123 crane drivers. These Blacks, according to the spokesman, were supposed to hold the jobs for as long as there were no white applicants for them.

“In fact there is very little chance that any of them will ever have to make way for Whites, in the light of the shortage of white labour”, said the spokesman.⁵

Jobs classified as white in which permanent black replacements had been taken on included 3891 shunters and 1357 sorters.

The Minister of Labour revealed in Parliament that in certain industries, representations had been made either by the white trade unions or employers' organizations to have work reservation regulations lifted.⁶

In his statement, the Minister said that in the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industries the job reservation provisions had been suspended for the currency of certain Industrial Council's agreements whereby such reservation had been entrenched.

In the motor assembly industry the reservation regulations had been suspended in respect of certain firms. The Minister mentioned that in all cases, the specific understanding was that work reservation would again be applied should it appear that the interest of the white workers were not protected.

He further revealed that during May and June, 1974, representations for the abolition of certain work reservation determinations, in so far as they applied to the Liquor and Catering Trade in Natal, were received from Industrial Councils in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

The Building Industry

The Secretary for Labour announced in January 1975 that job reservation in the building industry was to be eased to allow more opportunities for Coloured workers, as per recommendations made by the Industrial Tribunal which reviewed job reservation in the building sector.⁷

The main recommendations were that job reservation be scrapped in all rural areas, where there were hardly any White artisans; that the same be the case for Kimberley, Grahamstown and Queenstown areas where similar circumstances existed; that more jobs be ceded to Coloured workers in more white areas as well, on condition that the job was normally no longer done by Whites, or that it was not to the detriment of Whites.

The recommendations were to take effect from July 28, 1975. As far as African workers were concerned the Secretary said: “the position

remains unchanged and will, as in the past, be regulated by the Bantu Building Workers Act of 1951".

"The Act places a total prohibition on the employment of Bantu on any skilled building work in an urban area, other than Bantu areas, except with the written consent of the Minister of Labour".

Reacting to the new recommendations, a leading coloured trade unionist, Mr Ronald Webb expressed bitter disappointment that barriers against coloured workers in the metropolitan areas were not to be scrapped altogether. "I cannot see that this new determination will change the coloured workers' position much", he said.⁸

The Bantu Building Workers Act of 1951 referred to above was intended to train African workers to construct dwellings in African areas only. In reply to another question in Parliament, the Minister of Labour disclosed that there were altogether 7 782 African building workers registered in terms of the Act; categorised as follows:—

Blocklaying:	95
Bricklaying:	3812
Bricklaying and plastering:	347
Carpentry:	1368
Carpentry and joinery:	54
Joinery:	1
Painting:	779
Plastering:	646
Plumbing:	641
	—
Total	7782
	—

The Mining Industry

During 1974 and 1975 South African mines experienced a wide escalation of labour unrest which was not matched by any other in the very recent years of mining in this country.

The *Financial Mail*, in its special June survey of the business scene, published on June 6, 1975, put it this way: "Things have been relatively quiet in the industrial sectors, compared to the trauma of the Durban strikes which ushered in 1973.

"But the mines have suffered an upsurge of violence costing more than 130 black miners' lives in the last 18 months—a disturbing phenomenon because no one really understands it".

The blame for the miners' violent expression of frustration has gone to all sorts of causes, including drunkenness and disputes over women although mainly intergroup animosities have been singled out for blame.

In its analysis of the situation, the *Financial Mail Special Survey* said: "Whatever the immediate causes, the migrant labour system—

which herds thousands of men into barrack-like compounds—is probably a major contributory factor. If so, this augurs ill for future industrial peace”.

In a statement on the labour unrest in the country, the National director of the South African Institute of Personnel Management, Mr David Jackson, put the blame for the worsening strike situation on the Government for failing to provide a clear lead on labour matters.

Mr Jackson pointed out three main factors for blame:

- Lack of co-ordinated action on wages, communication, job opportunities and training.
- Inadequate use of professional, personnel and training management in South Africa.
- A lack of clear directives and incentives from the Government.⁹

He pointed out that the Government was leaving the initiative for resolving labour matters to industrialists. “Given a clear policy framework this type of strategy is acceptable, but with the atmosphere of double-talk and political intrigue surrounding labour matters in South Africa, it is a step both unwise and unethical,” he said.

Hundreds of Black miners from Lesotho and the Eastern Cape had to go home after some bitter clashes at the mines. Some of the miners met by *Black Review* at the railway station in Umtata did not quite articulate the problem, more than just saying it was general frustration arising out of many factors in the work situation, which tends to come out in the form of violence towards the next man over fairly trivial matters.

The unfortunate result of this was that it often generated support from close associates of both parties involved, which inevitably led to wider confrontations, superficially recognised as ‘inter-tribal animosities’.

Social Responsibilities of Business

Mr Harry Oppenheimer, the chairman of Anglo-American Corporation, in a paper captioned “A defence of freedom itself”, outlined the importance of the industrialist taking a more human look at workers and their lives as people rather than regarding the payment of wages and salaries as just an impersonal aspect of overheads if labour unrest were to be avoided. “Unless the representation of Black workers for discussing and negotiation with management is radically and rapidly improved that unrest is going to have very serious consequences indeed,” Mr Oppenheimer said.¹⁰

The same trend of thought which was expressed by other employer representatives and organizations like the Federated Chamber of Industries called for consideration of a more human and socially oriented policy for Black workers.

Black Workers from Neighbouring African States

An important development in the South African mine labour scene was the decision of the Malawi President Kamuzu Banda to halt mine labour recruiting in Malawi, following an air crash in April 1974 in which 74 Malawian miners were killed.

His decision forced the mining industry to woo more South Africans to the mines. It has been noted that South Africa has, for many years, been providing only about a quarter of the gold-mines' 370 000 black miners.¹¹

An even much more noteworthy development has been the victory of Frelimo in Mozambique which gave birth to a completely changed society in that country. As a result of the change, the South African mining industry has come to face the big question of whether the Mozambique administration will allow continued South African recruiting of men for mine labour.

Observers believed that even if the administrative changes in the newly liberated countries do not result in withdrawal of labour, the rising political aspirations brought about by the advent of power transfer in the neighbouring countries is likely to heavily influence the labour issue in the mines.

Black Workers Charged in Connection with Strikes

The Minister of labour disclosed that during the last six months of 1974, there was a total of 135 strikes involving Africans, 125 of these were caused by wage demands.¹²

During the same period, a total of 841 workers were known to have been arrested and charged. The different charges preferred against them were as follows:—

- (a) Illegal strike—308
- (b) Breach of contract by people employed in public utility service
- (c) Public violence—61 —307
- (d) Intimidation of persons in relation to either employment—23
- (e) Assault on Police—2
- (f) Incitement of others to take part in a strike—2
- (g) Unlawful obstruction of public street—108
- (h) Refusing to obey lawful command of employer—30¹³

REFERENCES

¹RDM 12.4.74.

²*Sunday Tribune* 29.6.75.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Natal Mercury* 4.3.75.

⁵*Natal Mercury* 4.3.75.

⁶1974 *Hansard* 3 Col 187.

⁷RDM 22.1.75.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹RDM 30.30.7.74.

¹⁰Supplement to *Financial Mail* June 6, 1975.

¹¹*Ibid* ro *Financial Mail* June 6, 1975.

¹²1975 *Hansard* 3 Col 204 and 205.

¹³1975 *Hansard* 3 Col 209.

11

SPORT

SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA amongst Blacks continued to be administered on a two stream approach. First, are the traditional apartheid oriented sports associations catering exclusively for either Indian, Coloured or African soccer, tennis, rugby etc. And then there are those groups which have refused to attach racial tags to their sport and have open or non-racial constitutions. By and large this latter group attracts membership from the three black groups and remains open to whites, although hardly any whites play for any "non-racial group".

With the increase in organized boycott directed at white Springbok teams abroad and the growing isolation of South Africa in the sports' arena, the non-racial sports' groups have assumed a certain measure of importance in influencing the situation.

In the past year and a half, there has been an increasing trend for black sportsmen to join the ranks of the non-racial sports groups. This has been particularly noticeable in the field of rugby which is the most popular sport amongst the South African white population.

Tennis

In 1974 the Southern African Lawn Tennis Union which is the non-racial body increased the number of its affiliates to twelve and later to thirteen with the admission of the Little Namaqualand Lawn Tennis Union. In this way the Union succeeded to have active branches throughout the length and breadth of the country.

An application by SALTU to the International Lawn Tennis Federation for membership was unsuccessful. ILTF pointed out to SALTU that each country could only be allowed one affiliation to the world body. In the case of South Africa the white South African Lawn Tennis Union was already a member.

On the 19th May 1974 a meeting was held between the non-racial SALTU, the white SALTU and the mainly African South African National Lawn Tennis Union to try and thrash out problems related to administration of tennis in South Africa. At this meeting Mr.

Franklin, president of the white SALTU proposed that there be a federation to administer tennis in South Africa. However, there was a strong accent of control by the white SALTU in the Federation with a suggestion that the Southern African Lawn Tennis Union resort to a provincial status under the white SALTU. The implication also was that there would still be segregated administration of tennis with all the bodies meeting at the top. However, members of the Federation would be considered when it came to topics like sponsorship, selections etc.

It appeared that the proposal by Mr. Franklin had the backing of Mr. Reggie Ngcobo of SANLTU but however, Mr. M. N. Pather of the non-racial group refused to "sacrifice money for principle". He argued that integration had to go all the way to club level and suggested that the white SALTU had to change its constitution in favour of full membership rather than the federal membership outlined by Mr. Franklin. Mr. Pather went on to reject the suggestion of a steering committee comprised of two representatives from each national group to look into the matter of non-racial tennis in the country as suggested by Mr. Owen Williams. Only when the white SALTU had accepted completely the policy of non-racialism would the Southern African Lawn Tennis Union agree to serve on the Steering Committee.

In a report drawn up by the non-racial SALTU it emerged that SALTU was faced with the following problems in its bid to maintain strict non-racial tennis.

- That the non-racial body had to contend all the time with pro-apartheid tennis administrative bodies like the white SALTU and Mr. Reggie Ngcobo's SANLTU.

- The loss of contact with African groups due to prohibitive laws like the Group Areas Act which restrained non-Africans from entering African areas or vice versa.

- South African white tennis bodies adhered strongly to the Governments' sports policy "hence they did not want to stand up against "sports Apartheid".

- The main problem encountered by the SALTU was finance. Apparently SALTU received neither municipal, provincial nor government grants nor did it receive any subsidies from the State.

- SALTU has no newspaper which covers regularly its sports tournaments and policies. SALTU mentioned that the only newspaper in South Africa which reports on black sport was the supplement to the *Sunday Times* called "Extra" which was only distributed to black areas.

The non-racial SALTU has always opposed the participation of the South African Lawn Tennis Union in the Davis Cup. The cup, named

after the late Mr. Dwight Filley Davis, the donor of the cup, was given to the International Lawn Tennis Federation in 1900.

The non-racial SALTU called the Davis Cup competition a farce since the racial SALTU had participated in spite of the opposition from the Southern African Lawn Tennis Union and the non-racial South African Council on Sport. Consequently these two bodies asserted that not all South African tennis players had been represented.

Cricket

In earlier issues of *Black Review* administration of cricket amongst Blacks was extensively discussed. The South African Cricket Board of Control which also is a non-racial body still emerged as the most powerful body for administration of cricket amongst Blacks.

Early in 1974 the strong-arm man of SACBOC, Mr. Hassan Howa resigned from presidency of SACBOC on the grounds that his executive had imposed on him conditions that he could not accept. Amongst these was the principle of consulting with the executive before making public pronouncements. It also appeared that members of his executive were highly suspicious of recent talks that Mr. Howa had had with the Minister of Sport, Dr. Piet Koornhof.

"There is a hardcore in SACBOC who disapprove of my talks with Dr. Koornhof because they believe that it may lead to a sell-out on our principles. Many feel resentment because they believe we have a position of strength and we may lose it if we compromise...I am not convinced that we should compromise with the Government but I believe the talks should go on".¹

On the February 10, a meeting of SACBOC was held where Mr. Hassan Howa was firmly returned to his seat as the President of SACBOC. From a statement issued by Mr. Howa it appeared that a three-phased plan to put South Africa back on the international scene had emerged from Mr. Howa's talks with Dr. Piet Koornhof. The three-phased plan, for which there was no time limit stipulated, nor starting date fixed, was to start with Black-White matches between the South African Gillete Cup Champions, the SACBOC knock-out Champions, the Gillete Cup Champions from England and a cup team from another country.

The second phase would be a touring side playing SACBOC and white provincial sides followed by an international with a South African side picked on merit.

The third phase would be non-racial Currie Cup matches which would of necessity entail mixed cricket at lower level to select the non-racial teams.²

Mr. Howa announced that none of these plans were definite and had not yet been approved either by the Government or SACBOC and that

they would be discussed at a meeting of SACBOC later on. Commenting on the plan Mr. Howa said "As you can see the commencing phase could mean that SACBOC has to give in somewhat. I do not say that this would happen. I do not even say that SACBOC would even entertain the idea. But Dr. Koornhof impressed me as a religious and sincere man looking for a solution to South Africa's sports problems.³

Asked by reporters in an interview to comment on the position of African cricketers, Mr. Howa said that he had been told at the meeting that Africans should be left out because they are a different nation but he had insisted that all players under the control of SACBOC would have to be included.⁴

On March 21, 1974 a two-man delegation representing the South African Africa Cricket Board, Messrs Lennox Mlonzi and Moses Nyangiwe met Dr. Piet Koornhof to find out where they would feature in future plans relating to multi-racial cricket in South Africa. At this meeting, Dr. Koornhof assured the delegation that African cricketers under this body would not be overlooked in any natural development of the game in this country and promised finance for intensive coaching of Africans and also relaxation on permits so as to allow other teams to play with African teams.

Both black and white cricket administrations joined in an attack on Basil d'Oliviera who claimed when leaving South Africa that Blacks were not ready for mixed cricket in South Africa. Mr. d'Oliviera elaborating on his views said "I am of the opinion that it would be disastrous if they were allowed in just like that...My view is that it could lead to ill feelings among the white cricketers if the non-whites here just tried to move in and take over...I feel that our...chaps still have to learn a few things, not necessarily about the game but about other things closely associated with it, before they would be ready to play and mix with white cricketers.⁵

Mr. Hassan Howa claimed to be "completely puzzled" by this statement saying that he did not know what Mr. d'Oliviera was talking about. He felt that it would have been far more constructive for him to tell black cricketers what was wrong. On the other hand Mr. Boon Wallace, president of the White South African Cricket Association, felt that a take over by Blacks had never been the issue. He asserted that SACA stood for merit selection and felt that this would come about when opportunity was afforded for Whites to play against Blacks under fair conditions.

Early in 1975 Mr. Rachid Varachia president of the Transvaal Cricket Federation revealed that he had had discussions with Mr. Joe Pamesky president of the Transvaal Cricket Union (White) and that they had discussed plans to introduce multi-racial cricket at club level in 1976. This followed several meetings between various cricket bodies

in the country, especially in the Transvaal and an earlier decision by the Transvaal Cricket Union to throw its doors open to cricketers of all races at club level.

On February 2, 1975 it was announced by Mr. Rachid Varachia who had by then become president of SACBOC that there would be a third summit meeting between the white South African Cricket Association, and the non-racial South African Cricket Board of Control and the All African South African Cricket Board.

It appeared that the goal of this meeting was the formation of one multiracial national body. An earlier obstacle to unity had by now been removed in that all groups were now agreed that there could be no better path to merit selection than by mixed play at club level.⁶

Following the opening of its doors by the Transvaal Cricket Union, an Indian club the District XI Cricket Club of Landium announced plans to apply to play in the League of the white controlled Northern Transvaal Cricket Union next season (1975-1976) and indications were that the application would be successful.

Soccer

South African soccer administration still remains extensively divided on racial lines. Whilst there is a non-racial group, the South African Soccer Federation, the most powerful clubs amongst the black ranks are still to be found attached to the individual race-orientated associations, with the strongest being that for Africans, the South African National Football Association, under Mr. Goerge Thabe. The Whites are still affiliated to the Football Association of South Africa under Mr. Dave Marais. Each of these soccer administration associations i.e. the non-racial, Coloured, Indian, African and White groups organize their own individual national league matches.

In an attempt to make South Africa acceptable for membership of the International Football Federation (FIFA) Mr. Dave Marais of FASA arranged a series of matches amongst top players from various race groups i.e. Indian, African, Coloured and White and at the end of the series arranged for the appointment of a twenty man squad selected by an ethnically integrated group to play an Australian team. The team was eventually selected and included six blacks. It was seen as a trumpcard by Mr. Dave Marais who was planning to send black and white representatives to the FIFA conference in Frankfurt on the 15th of June 1974.⁷ However it appears that there was no complete unanimity amongst the sports administrators in the selection of this team. Mr. George Thabe of SANFA in a statement rejected the so-called multi-racial squad which included six black players. He claimed that the move was meant to deride and frustrate him and his officials who were not consulted before the squad was announced, "I feel that here again as in

other aspects of sporting administration, we of SANFA have been given a raw deal". Mr. Thabe went on to say that if the squad were to be called out for training "today or tomorrow I would not hesitate to stop them (the black players)"⁸

In May 1974, a soccer furore was caused in Natal when a white soccer player, Mr. Crawford Mills joined a black amateur club, Reems of Isipingo, as trainer player. Reems is an affiliate of the South African Soccer Federation which is non-racial. Commenting on the issue Mr. Les Sulton, chairman of Celtic Football Club, expressed fears that this move might jeopardise the advance of soccer. "We all want mixed soccer but we must go about it the right way...Five years ago nobody envisaged multinational soccer. In another five years there might be a big step forward for soccer...I don't think that it would be in the interest of the people to break the laws of the land." Mr. Sulton further felt that FASA and SASF should meet and work out a formula to the benefit of soccer.

Replying to the debate Mr. Norman Middleton head of SASF claimed that there was no law which prohibited mixed sport except "the Englishman's law and that of the United Party".⁹

Towards the end of May 1974 it had become clear that the chances of FASA getting back into international soccer were getting slimmer. This emerged following a meeting between FASA and the various racial black soccer associations. After the meeting FASA issued a statement that the black bodies would accompany FASA to Germany to plead for South Africa's admittance to FIFA. One of the black delegates, Mr. Y. S. Meer who is head of the Indian Association stated that he did not plan to go and revealed that there had been a ferment in soccer administration circles before the meeting. Amongst other issues a letter had been written to FASA signed by Mr. Meer, Mr. George Thabe and Mr. George Peffer who is head of the Coloured Association. The letter amongst other things accused FASA of ignoring the blacks over the multi-national tournament; of blaming the government for sports isolation when it is the FASA administration which is at fault; of claiming that the top level committee had 'doubtful legality or validity' whilst using it as an example of racial progress, when corresponding with FIFA; of providing unequal facilities in the multi-national games; and keeping the top level committee in the dark about multi-national finances. The letter went on to say:

"If FASA wants to control everything and ignore the top level committee, we must be told so and not let FIFA be under a wrong impression. Let us not purport a fraud on world opinion. We are either equal partners of FASA or we are to be told that we are mere puppets for the convenience of FASA."¹⁰

The appeal by FASA to the international body met with complete

rebuff and following this there was a marked change in attitudes of white soccer administrators towards multi-racial sport. In a statement towards the end of June, Mr. Vivian Granger, general manager of the white Football League of FASA, called for the inclusion of at least two black players in each of their first league teams. Mr. Granger felt that multi-racial soccer was inevitably on its way. This followed a statement by Mr. Dave Marais, president of FASA, saying that nothing less than multi-racial soccer at all levels would gain the country re-admittance into international soccer. Mr. Marais went on to say "The government has been most sympathetic and helpful towards us. But it will not be bulldozed into making changes because of overseas events. It has its own followers to consider and will only change if it is politically expedient to do so".¹¹

At the same time Mr. Norman Middleton, president of SASF, confirmed in Durban that several clubs under the control of his Federation were recruiting white players.

Mr. Middleton said that these clubs would be welcome to play in the Federation Leagues.

The demise of South African soccer in the international scene led to a number of top footballers seeking greener pastures through clubs in other countries. It was announced on July 17, 1974 that Jomo Sono, "Wonderboy" of African soccer and Nino Gomes, captain of Lucitano would seek inclusion with Porto, a soccer club in Portugal. Announcing his intention of going Gomes said "The doors to fulltime professional and international competition are closed in South Africa and I must take the plunge and go where they are available".¹²

In January 1975 Mr. Roger Sishi chairman of the National Professional Soccer League announced that his League would include non-African players after 1975. Announcing this Mr. Sishi said "We are strangling ourselves by playing racial sport. It is time we played integrated soccer...as it is we are already a big force. If all blacks can come under one umbrella we will probably be a giant force".¹³ Mr. Sishi's statement was welcomed by many administrators from the non-racial federation.

At the same time it was announced that the University of Cape Town had decided to field their team in one of the leagues of the non-racial SASF next season, whilst the Minister of Sport, Mr. Piet Koornhof had agreed that the next Champion of Champions series could be on a club basis.

When the final of Champion of Champions contest was held in 1975, emotions ran high as supporters of the African team Kaizer Chiefs became incensed with the referee for allowing what seemed like an off-side goal to a white team side, Hellenic. The referee in this crucial match only just managed to get the match completed. Following this display many

people throughout the country called for a complete mixing as the only solution to the current racial tensions in the field of sport.

Rugby

The years 1974 and 1975 saw a number of changes by sports administrators and Government officials in their attitudes towards the issues of race in rugby. There are four powerful bodies administering rugby in South Africa, the white South African Rugby Board (SARB) under Dr. Danie Craven, the all African South African Rugby Board (SAARB) under Mr. Grant Khomo, the all Coloured South African Rugby Federation (SARF) under Mr. Cuthbert Lorinston, and the non-racial South African Rugby Union (SARU) under Mr. Abdulah Abass. During the period under review SARU with its policy of non-racialism has emerged as the most influential body in rugby administration especially given the international attitude that is slowly consolidating in favour of boycotting South African all white Springbok teams, either touring or hosting other rugby nations.

As in other sports, the Minister of Sport, Dr. Piet Koornhof, has been slowly moving away from the original hard line Government sports policy of complete racial segregation. However, these moves concerning rugby are more noticeable and more emotionally regarded by the white population since rugby is the most popular sport amongst whites in South Africa.

The first major debate arose because of the tour by the British Lions who were scheduled to arrive in South Africa in May 1974. First, there was some form of wrangle in the British political scene as to whether the Lions' tour should be allowed. Various arguments were put for and against the tour. Amongst those campaigning strongly for the cancellation of the tour was Peter Hain, chairman of the Halt All Racist Tours Committee (HART). Mr. Hain contended that the tour was not only repugnant from the point of view of principle but also had doubtful legality since there was the possibility of the team playing against Rhodesia. In addition to the opposition by Mr. Peter Hain, there was pressure being applied by members of the Labour Government who felt that the Labour Government had a duty to stop the tour.

Favouring the tour was the Committee organising the Lions' tour who felt that change was more likely to come from dialogue contact rather than threats and isolation. Also campaigning in favour of the tour just before the British Lions left was a black journalist Mr. Leslie Sehume who was assistant editor to the *World*. Mr. Sehume argued that the tour would aid Blacks to advance their aims. Mr. Sehume singled out Mr. Hain's attack claiming "he is a white man. How can he speak for the Bantu".¹⁴

There was also a threat from the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa to restrict all sporting competition against Britain either as teams or as individuals. The Supreme Council would press through African Governments for this boycott should the tour continue.

In spite of the opposition, the Lions did tour South Africa and played the usual matches against white provincial and national teams and also against the Leopards which is the national team of the SAARB and the Proteas which is the national team of the SARF. Just before the Lions came, there was speculation that the Lions would play a match against a mixed Quagga team which is a form of junior Springbok team. However, towards the end of May Dr. Koornhof dismissed this speculation saying that he wished "to put it very clearly that speculation of this nature creates unnecessary hopes and embarrassment and does not benefit sport in South Africa".¹⁵ Mr. Cuthbert Lorinston who had been the main mover of this suggestion claimed that the whole plan had fallen through because of unnecessarily extensive premature publicity on the issue.¹⁶

Following this issue there was an increased agitation for integrated rugby from white rugby quarters involving many current and recent white Springbok players. A survey published in the *Sunday Tribune*,¹⁷ showed that forty such players were in favour of the move.

Addressing a big multi-racial gathering in Veeplaas in December, Dr. Louis Babrow, former Springbok rugby centre and former coach said, "For years Dr. Danie Craven and the South African Rugby Board have misled the public and our sporting friends overseas. They say we would like to have a non-racial team but the Government will not allow it. I wonder what would happen if the Government would give its blessing. The board would probably turn it down".¹⁸

The debate on multi-racial rugby was once more resumed when the French team were due to tour South Africa in May 1975. It appeared that the French had insisted on an integrated match as a precondition to the tour. Mr. Albert Ferrasse, president of the French Rugby Federation had made the request to the South African Government in the hope that this would pacify the French Government and anti-apartheid protest groups during the tour of France by the Springboks in 1975.¹⁹ The South African Government eventually capitulated and during the French tour which started in May 1975, an integrated South African invitation team, including four Blacks, played against the French at Newlands. These four black players were from the SAARB and SARF. The non-racial SARU refused to have any of its players considered either for the integrated match or for the now traditional racial matches that all touring teams play.

A side effect of the French tour that hit the South African rugby scene, was the quarrel that developed between officials of Bantu

Administration and SARU over the use of rugby fields under the control of Bantu Administration. This followed attempts by officials of the SAARB and Dr. Danie Craven to persuade the KwaZakhele Rugby Union (KWARU), the South Eastern Districts Rugby Union (SEDRU) and the Western Province Rugby Board, all units of the non-racial SARU to allow their players to be included in the Leopards team that was to play the French. It appeared that these units had been called to a meeting with Dr. Piet Koornhof and Mr. Punt Janson, officials of the SAARB and Dr. Danie Craven, where pressure was applied on them to reconsider their stand. All these units advised the Minister that any negotiations had to be conducted with their national body. They explained that their affiliation to SARU was no mistake and that they upheld the principle of non-racial sport and merit selection for all teams representing South Africa.²⁰

Following this, a decision was taken by the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board to bar KWARU and SEDRU from use of fields under their administration. This decision was discussed at a meeting of SARU in Port Elizabeth in June 1975. SARU decided to support the stand taken by KWARU and SEDRU. In a statement the secretary of SARU Mr. Ebrahim Patel said, "Both units confirmed that they would play their remaining South Africa cup matches on open fields rather than join up with SARB...The Government now has its grounds and we have the right to believe in non-racial sport."²¹

In general, 1974 and 1975 saw a continuation of a trend set earlier where black rugby clubs continually broke off from the SAARB to join units under the non-racial SARU. This trend was sparked off by the breakdown of the Port Elizabeth clubs that went on to form KWARU, followed by Grahamstown clubs that formed SEDRU and King William's Town that formed KADRU.

Early in 1975, three East London clubs, Thembu United, Winter Rose and Boiling Water, broke their link with SAARB to join SARU. Also joining this trend was the Star of Hope of Uitenhage and the Head of Lion of King William's Town. Thus the Border African Rugby Union of the SAARB has been the hardest hit as more defections are being openly planned.

In the Northern Cape around towns like Queenstown, Aliwal North, Glen Grey, Dodrecht, a new Union called the Frontier was formed and was admitted as the nineteenth union of SARU.²² In 1973 attempts were made by officials of Fort Hare Rugby Club, an affiliate of SEDRU to form Victoria East Rugby Union (VERU) which would affiliate to SARU. This Union finally came into existence in 1974 and has been playing with the other affiliates of SARU though it has not yet officially affiliated to SEDRU. There was also talk of the Transkei considering

the possibility of joining SARU. Throughout all this SARU has emerged as a force to contend with in black rugby administration.

Swimming

In their 9th Council meeting in January 1974, the non-racial South African Swimming Federation discussed the expulsion of the white South African Amateur Swimming Union from FINA, the world swimming body. Both South Africa and Rhodesia had been expelled on the grounds that they practised racial discrimination. At the same meeting the SASF decided to renew its application to the world body. However, the executive agreed to delay the re-application pending further negotiations with the white body for an integrated administration of swimming.

Following this, the Federation made attempts to have a meeting with the white swimming Union. This eventually took place on May 7, 1974. After this joint meeting SAASU met to discuss matters arising from an ad hoc Committee which would look into the introduction of mixed swimming in South Africa.

The issue of the banning of Mr. Morgan Naidoo, president of the Federation continued to receive attention in 1974 with more people calling for the withdrawal of the banning order. A letter from the Federation was written to the Minister of Justice calling for the lifting of the banning order. Nothing came of this other than an acknowledgement from the Minister. It appeared that the Federation was keen to have Mr. Naidoo involved in their negotiations with the white body. On the other hand those who regarded Mr. Naidoo as a hardliner hoped that his absence from the negotiations would lead to a softer line being adopted by the Federation.

The question of facilities continued to be a problem for the Federation. Besides the existence of the Group Areas Act, facilities were generally scarce for the black community according to a report tabled before the 10th Council meeting in Port Elizabeth in January 1975. It was revealed that Blacks have no Olympic-size pools whilst Whites have sixteen. In addition it is not at all easy for Blacks to obtain permission to use white pools under their own terms. An example was an incident which occurred in August 1974 where the Minister of Community Development refused the non-racial Griqualand West Amateur Swimming Union permission to use the "Whites only" Karen Muir swimming pool in Kimberley. The Union had planned to stage a national swimming championship event for the Federation. In his reply the Minister stated that he would favourably consider the application if the competition was restricted to "Coloured swimmers" only, before "Coloured spectators". The union decided to withdraw the application.²³

In November 1974, the president of the white SAASU; Mr Roy Glegg, announced that an inaugural meeting to bring about the formation of a single governing body to control swimming in South Africa had been held. Present at this meeting were, Mr Reggie Baines and Mr Clifford Rigney representing the Coloured South African Amateur Swimming Association and Mr Jock Scott and Mr Roy Glegg representing the South African Amateur Swimming Union. The non-racial Federation had decided, according to Mr Glegg, not to take part in the discussions. Arising out of this meeting was the formation of a new body called the Amateur Aquatics Federation of South Africa. It was further decided that the non-racial Federation would be invited to join the new body. As a sequel to the meeting it was decided that Coloured swimmers belonging to the SAASA would be allowed to compete at the South African Open National Championships to be held at Ellis Park in February.²⁴

The non-racial Federation went on to ban all participation by its units in the multi-national swimming contest held at Ellis Park in February 1975. Announcing this, Mr A. A. T. Hulley said that five Transvaal swimmers belonging to the non-racial Federation had been named on a team by the Coloured SAASA. Mr Hulley said that SAASA's participation in the multinational tournament through the Federation's swimmers, showed the "Coloured body's total inadequacy in a field which is obviously still outside its depths". Mr. Hulley said that the Federation would like to express its shock and concern at manoeuvres by white swimming officials in Kimberley who attempted to persuade some of its local swimmers to give support to the white SAASU.²⁵

"We have made it clear that we will have nothing to do with the multinational tournament from the rest of the world and FINA, the world swimming body. True sportsmen and God-fearing people cannot countenance such an unreal situation which creates artificial temporary and honorary Whites or Blacks. Our stand is non-racial swimming from basic level onwards".²⁶

Athletics

Early in 1974 the *Natal Mercury* reported that Blacks would be allowed to compete in the Comrades Marathon provided that entries were received from more than two overseas competitors. The assumption here was that if more than two competitors from overseas joined, then the event would be a multi-national one. The Comrades Marathon is an annual event run between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The 1974 event which would be the 49th such event was scheduled to be run on May 31. The event was organized by the Collegians Harriers. Indications had been received from the Secretary for Sport, Mr.

Beyers Hoek, that there would be no reason why the organisers could not hold a multi-national event provided that more than two overseas competitors took part. The organisers of the event however, at the last moment decided to exclude Blacks. This sparked off a lot of controversy with former winners of the event publicly decrying the decision of the organisers. In a statement to the *Daily News*, Mr. Bill Cochrane, winner in 1935 and 1936 said "I am afraid this controversy and the reluctance of the officials to open it up, has obscured the spirit in which the Comrades was begun. The race was initiated in 1921 in remembrance of those who fell in the 1914-1918 war. Winning it has never been the primary thing. It's the whole experience, the camaraderie and co-operation that counts".²⁷ Defending the decision to exclude Blacks Mr Gordon Baker said, "all participants in our events must be registered in clubs registered in the South African Amateur Athletics Union. Black runners simply are not".²⁸

There was strong speculation "that a group of unknown Durban men" would cause a disruption of the Marathon using their cars. Reaction came from Mr Rajendra Chetty, president of the Natal Road Runners' Association, who said that the Government was not alone in its attempts to keep the races apart.²⁹

In the middle of 1974 a South African team comprising of six Whites and one Black was involved in a dispute in Naples where they sought to compete against 22 other nations. The South African team met stiff opposition from Tunisian, Kenyan and Ugandan teams who refused to run against the South Africans. The controversy was only resolved by the withdrawal of the South African team from the competition.³⁰

Towards the end of August, the International Amateur Athletics Federation reaffirmed its decision to exclude South Africa from international athletics. This happened in spite of the assurances made by Professor Botha, the official delegate of SAAAU that multi-national events were being held in the country.³¹ The exclusion of South Africa brought an end to speculation that South Africa would clash with Kenya in an athletics meeting. The world body ruled that the ban applied both to individual matches and the Olympic Games.

The 1975 Comrades Marathon was also an all-white affair with promises from the organisers to have the 1976 Marathon open to all races. A side event of the Comrades Marathon was an incident in the Pretoria Marathon where a black marathon runner Mr. Isaac Thoka was ordered off the road by a traffic officer. The Pretoria race was a qualifying event towards the Comrades Marathon. Mr. Thoka decided on his own to join the race and actually did run in spite of the all-white nature of the race. The Transvaal provincial secretary, Mr. J. G. van der Merwe, in explaining the event claimed that Mr. Thoka had been a

double law breaker in that he was running, first unofficially and secondly in an all white race. No permission had been sought for him from the Department of Community Development.

Table Tennis

The non-racial 1974 Silver Jubilee South African Table Tennis championships were held in 1974 in Durban where officials and players from all parts of the Republic assembled. The South African Table Tennis Board (SATTB) had been established in Durban in 1948 and was therefore celebrating its 25th year of existence. Present at the Silver Jubilee Championship were the eight SATTB affiliated unions.

It was at this tournament that the SATTB clarified its policy of non-racial sport, free from any discrimination on the basis of colour, race or creed. It emphasised its belief in merit selection preceded by equal facilities, equal opportunities and equal coaching.

The SATTB is a member of the International Table Tennis Federation, the president of which, Mr A. Roy Evans, praised the SATTB for its effort to stand for its principles despite the great difficulty under which it lived, and despite the frustration of being denied international competition. He applauded the SATTB's continued determination to exist, and pointed out that the Indian Table Tennis Federation looked forward to the day when the players of the SATTB would be able to take their rightful place in the world of table tennis.

The Counsellor of the African Table Tennis Federation, Mr. Amin Abon Heif, extended his federation's congratulations to the SATTB on its 25th anniversary. He encouraged the non-racial policies of the South African Board, stating that he never believed that "Spirits would be affected by the political trends" and the little success showed by the SATTB gives hope to the future of table tennis.

Dr. Koornhof, Minister of Sport and Recreation, gave his blessing to the non-racial SATTB representing its country in the world championships which were held in Calcutta, India in February 1975. This breakthrough in sport, completely contradictory to the multinational concept, was reached in Pretoria. However, the Indian Government barred the SATTB from participating in the 33rd World Table Tennis Championships on the grounds that any South African team was a symbol of the South African's apartheid policy. The Indian Government decision was based on a policy "not to permit any sport teams from South Africa to play in India until the apartheid policy of the South African Government changed".³²

REFERENCES

- ¹*Sunday Times* 10.2.74.
- ²*Rand Daily Mail* 12.2.74.
- ³*Ibid.*
- ⁴*Daily News* 21.3.74.
- ⁵*Star* 3.3.74.
- ⁶*Sunday Express* 2.2.74.
- ⁷*Daily News* 20.4.74.
- ⁸*Star* 24.4.74.
- ⁹*Daily News* 10.5.74.
- ¹⁰*Post* 26.5.74.
- ¹¹*Sunday Tribune* 16.6.74.
- ¹²*Rand Daily Mail* 17.7.74.
- ¹³*Post* 5.1.74.
- ¹⁴*Star* 1.3.74.
- ¹⁵*Rand Daily Mail* 28.5.74.
- ¹⁶*Rand Daily Mail* 20.6.74.
- ¹⁷*Sunday Tribune* 30.6.74.

- ¹⁸*Daily News* 10.12.74.
- ¹⁹*Natal Mercury* 3.3.75.
- ²⁰*Evening Post* 31.5.75.
- ²¹*Cape Herald* 14.6.75.
- ²²*Evening Post* 25.4.75.
- ²³*Past* 25.8.74.
- ²⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 20.11.74.
- ²⁵*Daily News* 17.2.75.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*
- ²⁷*Daily News* 1.2.74.
- ²⁸*Daily News* 6.2.74.
- ²⁹*Rand Daily Mail* 6.3.74.
- ³⁰*Rand Daily News* 22.3.74.
- ³¹*Cape Argus* 17.6.74.
- ³²*Rand Daily Mail* 31.8.74.
- ³³*Daily News* 3.2.75.

ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT

In the course of 1974 and 1975 there has been a marked increase in the number of black theatre productions. In addition to this, the traditional commercially-oriented black writers who have been dominating the theatre scene for a long time began to show signs of moving with the times and switching to more exclusively black-oriented themes for their plays.

According to a survey done by *S'ketsh* magazine there were, at one time, about half-way through 1974, fourteen black plays doing the rounds in various centres in the country. These included *Mahlomola*, *Unfaithful Woman*, *Blame Yourself*, *The Township Housewife*, *Why Naked? How Long*, *I Believe*, *Shivering Shock*, *Sexy Powerdrunk*, *Ngixolele*, *Who's Child am I?*, *uNosilimela*, *ZZZip!*, *Born to Lose*, *Adultery* and *Confused Mhlaba*.¹

S'ketsh interpreted this as a sign that interest in the theatre was growing by the year, in spite of the fact that some of the plays were of course misguided.

In March 1974, the Soweto based Mdali, which is a black art and theatre group, staged a successful black art and theatre festival in Central Western Jabavu in Soweto. The festival included a display of works of art i.e. painting and sculptures, presentation of plays, and reading of poetry. David Phetoe produced *Marat-Sade* by Petre Weiss which is about the revolution in France depicting the replacement of one type of dictatorship by another ruling class, which still continued to trample upon people. Amongst those that read poetry were, Mihloti Players, Mongane Serote, Oswald Mtshali, Sydney Sepamla, Zinjiwa Nkondo and James Matthews.

Another group which presented a similar arts festival was the Pretoria based Mpando which is similar to Mdali. Mpando is led by people like Mokhene Mathabe, Fay Mokoka and Maroti Mogale. The Mpando Festival was held in Mamelodi in August 1974.

Theatre

Following reports that Credo Mutwa, who is a well known writer, was getting broke towards the end of 1973, Mr Mutwa came out with his first play *uNosilimela*. According to *S'ketsh* magazine, *uNosilimela* is a play whose message is manifold, self understanding in respect of the culture and religion of one's forefathers. The story is a symbolic one. It is based upon ancient African legends and prophecies. The play has already been staged to appreciative audiences and brings a welcome new dimension to black theatre, in that it is not only relevant in material and content but also in form and style.

Following the success of Welcome Msomi's *uMabatha*, there appeared on the scene another musical play under the title *Ipi-Ntombi*. The play is supposed to have been written by Bertha Engos and Gail Lakier. Most of the music and dialogue is in the vernacular—mainly Zulu, Sotho and Xhosa—and there is, in the play, extensive dancing in traditional African patterns. In the first thirty weeks of its run, this play, which was described in the white press as “the greatest all-African musical South Africa has ever seen”, staged over 200 performances and was seen by 110 000 people. However, *Ipi Ntombi* has suffered great criticism from black theatre critics, who regarded it a cheap commercialization and a poor imitation of the real cultural dance and music patterns within black society. The second point of dispute, is the acceptance by the management of *Ipi-Ntombi* of limitation to play before segregated audiences. This led to a debate in *S'ketsh* magazine of the pros and cons of blacks playing before white audiences. Two plays were in focus with respect to this question. On the one hand people wanted to know why *uMabatha* written in Zulu should be performed before Whites who do not understand the language. As one reviewer in *S'ketsh* puts it, critics admired *uMabatha* as a dance and spectacle, not as theatre. On the other hand with respect to *Ipi-Ntombi* it was felt that “the beauty of black dances was at times reduced to a sexy and suggestive forward rotation of the pelvis, called *ukufenda*. This...was the choreographers' favourite movement”. Understandably such a dance was most offensive to Blacks who knew that it was a ridiculous debasement of proper African dancing, yet white audiences were quite enthralled by it all. According to a report in *S'ketsh*, one actor in the musical actually confessed that the blatant sex of the dancing had her and others worried at first but that they have now accepted it as “modern choreography”.

After his two plays, *I Believe* and *How Long*, Gibson Kente came out with a new play *Too Late*. Apart from showing the evils of the pass system and the miseries of influx control, the play parodies education and religion and hits at the inhumanity of white officialdom. Once more the play underlines the fact that Gibson Kente is a first-rate musician.

The play ran into problems when it got banned by the Publications Control Board. However, following some appeals, the ban was removed and *Too Late* was staged in several centres. In a sense the ban was reinforced when several Bantu Affairs authorities in various places, refused to make their halls available for the staging of the play.

Another playwright of note, Mr Sam Mhangwani, returned from the United Kingdom and United States where he had gone to study theatre and immediately set about reorganizing his two plays, *Unfaithful Woman* and *Blame Yourself*. Mr Mhangwana is the head of the Sea Pearls Dramatic Society. In an attempt to improve the grasp of actors on theatre techniques, Mr Mhangwana runs a workshop at the D.O.C.C. in Soweto on Sunday mornings, for about forty to fifty people.

Music

Following hot on the trail of *Dashiki*, has been a new group called *Batsumi* who are a mixture of former classical jazz and soul musicians.

Batsumi was a brainchild of Zulu Bidi and Lancelot Mothopeng, who started the group as early as 1972. The group now also includes Abel Maleka, Johnny Mothopeng, Buta Zwane, Themba Koyana and Tom Masemola. The group is led by Johnny Mothopeng, who is blind. Their music is a well blended mixture of pop, jazz and classical music and this blend of music has found favour with Blacks throughout the country. Their first L.P. release came out in the middle of 1974.²

In the middle of 1974, a jazz festival was staged at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto by the Jazz Appreciation Society under Mr Ray Nkwe. The festival featured groups like *Dashiki* of Pretoria, *Jazz Ministers* of Benoni, the *Jazz Clan* and the *Soul Jazzmen* of Port Elizabeth and individual contributors like Thandi Klassen and Eaglet Ditse. Mr Ray Nkwe announced that a musicians' union would be established, along the lines of *Equity* in America, to protect the interest of Black musicians who were being exploited by individual promoters and also finding it very hard to make ends meet in the absence of gainful engagements.

The pop scene continued to be popular in 1974 and 1975. Some of the South African pop groups undertook tours of Southern Africa. A Vereeniging group, the *Hurricanes* visited Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) twice, once in 1974 and once in 1975 and played to packed audiences in Salisbury, Gwelo, Que Que, Chiredzi and Umtali.³

On the external front, black South African musicians continued to make their mark felt. In February 1975, *Dollar Brand*, one of the top South African jazz pianists toured Britain, and at Islington Hall in London, "gave one of the most sensational concerts the British scene has ever known". Amongst the top British musicians who were listening

to him were South Africans Chris McGregor, Dudu Phukwana and Ernest Mothile.⁴

General

When the George Foreman—Muhammad Ali fight took place in Zaire in September 1974, an all-black musical festival was organized as a kick-off to the occasion. Amongst those behind the festival was the South African-born Hugh Masekela. Describing it Mr Masekela said, "The festival was a celebration of the beat which keeps black people going". The festival featured leading black musicians from all over the world.

Oswald Mtshali, one of South Africa's best known poets, in 1974, attended an International Writing Programme at the University of Iowa on the cultural exchange programme of United States Programmes.

REFERENCES

¹*S'ketsh* 1974–1975.

²*Drum* 22.3.75.

³*Drum* 8.4.75.

⁴*Rand Daily Mail* 20.2.75.

NAMIBIA

Developments in Namibia in the course of 1974 and 1975 centred mainly around an air of expectancy within the black community that a major development in the move towards liberation of the country would occur. This expectation was coupled with fearlike repressive measures by the South African Government and hastened development of a Bantustan policy in this area.

Arrests and Detentions in Namibia

Mass arrests and detentions of SWAPO and SWAPO Youth leadership were launched by the South African Police in Namibia at the beginning of 1974. This was a continuation of the trend which started towards the end of 1973. Out of 156 people arrested at a police road block on their way to a meeting in Rehoboth on the 13th of January 1974, 127 people were charged with either failing to produce travelling documents, failing to produce identification papers or being unlawfully in Katutura township. The trial was held on 21st and 22nd of January before a Bantu Commissioner, Mr D. S. Oukamp. Of the 127 arrested Mr David Merero was released on a fine of R5 the others being detained for over a week before they made a "court appearance". Mr Merero was a National chairman of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and therefore the most senior man inside the country.

This was only the beginning of a series of arrests which continued into February and March 1975. It was alleged that a total of about 313 people had been involved in these arrests.¹

On the 7th of February, police swooped on the home of Mr David Merero at night at the Katutura township. The eight security policemen raided both Mr Merero's home and his general dealer store for eight hours and at about 2 a.m. on the 8th they took him away with a large quantity of papers seized during the raid. This followed arrests of six prominent officials of SWAPO seized during the previous week.

These were: Ezriel Taapopi chairman of the SWAPO Youth League, Axel Johannes SWAPO secretary in Windhoek, Daniel Shiwangurula the SWAPO secretary in Walvis Bay, Benjamin Namalambo member of the SWAPO executive in Windhoek and Chihepo Mvili a member of the Youth League executive in Windhoek. All these people were arrested without any specified charges being laid against them.²

The Administrator of South West Africa, Mr B. J. van der Walt, revealed that a total of ten men, all office bearers of SWAPO, were being detained under article 6 of the Terrorism Act. The men were: Merero, Taapopi, Namlambo, Johannes, Shiwangurula, Mvili and four others not mentioned before i.e. Thomas Komati, George Isak Itengu, Lot Zacharias, Joseph Kapangua³.

Following these arrests the Afrikaans paper in Namibia *Die Suid Wester* claimed that SWAPO was broken. Clearly a lot of the SWAPO leadership had been arrested and this did somewhat neutralise some of the activities of SWAPO in the country. However, a defiant Mr Shindabih Mashalaleh, vice-chairman of the Youth League, declared "The police will have to jail the whole of Namibia in order to break us." Part of the police anger against SWAPO arose out of their very effective politicization of the population in Namibia. In actual fact SWAPO was operating in three parts i.e. SWAPO at home which publicly advocated peaceful change, SWAPO Youth League which was more militant, and SWAPO in exile which is for violent change".⁴

There was considerable international reaction to the SWAPO arrests especially since SWAPO is the only internationally recognised representative of the Blacks in Namibia. The United States Government delivered in Pretoria through their American Embassy a request for information on the series of arrests, political trials and detentions in Namibia, and observers saw this as a sign that the United States was planning to reassess its basic policies towards South West Africa.⁵

Further Floggings in South West Africa

The brutal floggings, some of which had resulted in court action in 1973, continued in 1974. South Africa continued to regard the matter as a *troublesome matter*. The court cases had been brought about by Bishop Leonard Auala of the Lutheran Church, Bishop Richard Wood of the Anglican Church and Mr Thomas Komati the office bearer of SWAPO. The three men had originally obtained a provisional order restraining the Donga and Kwanyama tribal authorities from flogging members and supporters of SWAPO and Demkop. They were now applying for a final order on this matter. Mr Soggot appearing for the three applicants said that the evidence before the court suggested prejudgement, malice, and grossly irregular and arbitrary court proceedings in tribal courts in Ovambo.

The nature of the assault, up to thirty lashes, indicated "a pitiless administration of violence intermingled in certain cases with sadism... There is no charge, no plea, no cross examination and no argument. The machinery of elementary justice is simply thrown out of the window."⁶

The State in their answer simply replied that the three applicants had no right to intervene. The two bishops were not personally affected whilst Mr Komati had no right as he did not belong to the tribes in question. Mr Monton, the State Counsel, also alleged that the Kwanyama and Ndonga tribal authorities had been wrongly cited. They were administrative bodies and not judicial or quasi-judicial authorities like courts of herdmen and chiefs. He said the proclamation under which tribal courts functioned permitted corporal punishment. The number of lashes was left to the discretion of the court.

In his judgement delivered on the 22nd of March the judge president of South West Africa, Mr Justice F. H. Badenhorst refused to restrain the tribal authorities from flogging members of SWAPO and Demkop. He ruled that people sentenced to those floggings had the right to appeal to higher authorities. The three applicants applied for leave to appeal against this decision. The counsel for the tribal authorities, Mr C. Monton, did not oppose the application, but Mr Justice Strydom turned it down. Mr Soggot then applied for temporary relief in the form of a provisional interdict restraining the tribal courts until such time as the matter had been dealt with by the appellate division. This was also turned down by Mr Justice Strydom who refused to hear evidence of the most recent flogging which had taken place after the interdict was lifted in March.

Early in April the American Government officially warned South Africa that the trend of events in Namibia was damaging bilateral relationships. The statement said, "The U.S. Government has viewed the developments in Namibia over the past year with much concern. In response to reports that hundreds of oppositionists were detained incommunicado for varying lengths of time and that the Ovambo homeland authorities had publicly flogged released detainees...our Ambassador to South Africa officially registered deep U.S. concern with the South African Government".⁷

On April 9, 1974 another supporter of SWAPO Mr Salom Ndeulita was flogged by the Nkwanyama tribal authorities under headman Gabriel Katamba for allegedly insulting the Ovambo Minister of Education Mr Njoba by calling him a 'Swart Boer' (a black Afrikaner)⁸

Meanwhile the original applicants in the flogging case petitioned the Chief Justice for leave to appeal against the decision of the Windhoek Supreme Court. Leave to appeal was granted. This led the applicants to once more seek interim relief pending the outcome of the appeal.

Mr Soggot said that it was an unescapable conclusion that the Chief Justice in granting leave to appeal did so in the belief that there were reasonable prospects of success. Mr Soggot was of the opinion that pending the determination of the appeal, affected persons were in danger of becoming victims of "the system of intolerable brutality" to which the political opponents to the chiefs and herdmen in the Nkwanyama and Ondangua area had been subjected.

Namibia Exodus into Angola

A direct sequel of the floggings, mass arrests, detentions and political trials in Namibia was the exodus in June 1974 of large numbers of Namibians who crossed into Angola. The numbers of refugees were estimated at about 3 000. The exodus first came into public notice in newspaper reports on the 19th of June. Those fleeing included teachers businessmen, students and ordinary people. It was postulated that the exodus was linked with the *coup d'etat* in Lisbon and the impending realization of the liberation struggles in Mozambique and Angola. It was felt that with Angola no more under the reactionary government which was pro-South Africa, SWAPO men no longer feared deportation of their men from Angola back into Namibia. Reacting to the exodus, the Ovambo Legislative Council in a special motion urged its cabinet to immediately and thoroughly look into the causes and consequences of the exodus. Amongst the steps suggested by the Council were that

- Pretoria be asked to hold talks with Lisbon so that the "hole in the border" could be plugged.
- Fugitives should be told that they would be pardoned if they returned to Ovambo within a certain time.⁹

In an initial reaction the Portuguese Government announced that they would not send back the Namibians who had fled into Angola but would keep them in internment. They would not be allowed to link up with the SWAPO guerilla movement or established bases in Angola or take other action against the South African Government.¹⁰

Meanwhile the Commissioner General for South West Africa, Mr Jannie de Wet, said that the exodus of the Ovambos had been organized by a secret organization operating from outside the country. Mr de Wet further said that this organization must exist because an exodus on the scale experienced could not have taken place without having been organized. Referring to terrorist training camps in places like Zaire, Mr de Wet felt that the refugees had gone to these camps for training in order to invade South West Africa.¹¹

Amongst those who fled was Mr John Otto chairman of SWAPO in Owambo, Mr Phillip Alweendo, member of the SWAPO executive, Miss Deshimona Uuyuma acting secretary of the SWAPO Youth League

and three sons of Mr Sam Nujoma president of SWAPO in exile. Five other people who had been recently flogged were also named amongst those who had left.

At a Nationalist Party Conference in South West Africa, delegates voiced concern over the disappearance of large numbers of farm workers to unknown destinations. A delegate from Karibib said, "The workers get letters from Owambo and from urban areas. The day after, they leave. They do not even say that they are leaving".¹² This was the first acknowledgement of the labour problems caused by this exodus.

In the meantime the Portuguese authorities had not enforced their earlier decision to put refugees in camps. Instead they were told by police, after brief detention, that they were free to move when they wanted. Some of them were allowed by the Zaire Government to cross into Zambia.

On the 16th of July Mr Otto was reported to have reached Zambia. From statements issued by Mr Peter Katjavivi, SWAPO's representative in London, it was learnt that the Namibians had left following speculation that the South African Government was planning to crack down on SWAPO leaked out that the South African authorities were about to intensify their campaign against SWAPO members in Owambo. The men were afraid of being arrested, detained without trial or flogged. This is why they crossed the border".¹³

Namibia Institute in Zambia

At about the time of the arrival of Namibian refugees in Zambia Dr Sean MacBride the U.N. Commissioner for Namibia flew into Zambia to press on for the establishment of the Namibia Institute. The Institute had been a long standing project since the beginning of the year, suggested by SWAPO and fully backed by Dr MacBride, for the purpose of training Namibians in exile in various educational fields and also to provide a possible infrastructure for the administration of a free Namibia. The Institute would operate in association with the University of Zambia and would after liberation of Namibia move over to Windhoek to form the nucleus for the University of Namibia. Amongst countries that promised initial contributions to the scheme, were West Germany which promised a grant of R125 000 and United States which promised R33 500.

In addition to the Institute the United Nations approved of the establishment of a U.N. radio broadcasting station in Lusaka called the Voice of Namibia. Mr Proinsias Mocaonghusa, a well known Irish journalist and broadcaster was appointed on a six months basis to train personnel for a new broadcasting service in consultation with the South West African People's Organization.

Bantustan Policy Entrenched in Namibia

In the course of 1974 and 1975 there were no indications that the South African Government was prepared to back down from its policy of furthering the Bantustan philosophy in Namibia. The country is still run on parallel lines with mainland South Africa, with portions of land being officially set aside for the country's African tribal groupings.

Replying to a question in Parliament, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development revealed that the homelands in Namibia had the following areas under their jurisdiction:

Damaraland: 4799 000 hectares	Kaokoland: 4898 000 hectares
Hereroland: 5607 000 hectares	Kavango: 4170 000 hectares
Owambo: 5607 000 hectares	East Caprivi: 1153 000 hectares

Plans were going ahead for the January 1975 Owambo elections in spite of the increasingly consolidating world opinion against the continued stay of South Africa in Namibia. The only response that South Africa had was to call for an all race talk in Namibia with representatives being chosen on an ethnic basis, i.e. Hereros having their own representatives, Owambo theirs etc.

World Opinion Consolidating against South West Africa

As a means of further pressurizing South Africa to withdraw her presence from Namibia, SWAPO in-exile and other Anti-Apartheid groups began to mount pressure for a withdrawal of investments from South West Africa. The pressure was directed mainly at United States, British, Canadian and other European companies with investments in South West Africa.

The allegation was that the companies contributed to the economic exploitation of Namibia's Blacks who formed three-quarters of the labour force. The companies in question dealt mainly in minerals and oil.

It was revealed that major international mining companies from the United States and Europe had invested millions of rands in exploring and prospecting in South West Africa, anticipating a massive boom in minerals in the country. The boom had been mainly in the diamond industry where 1973 sales had reached R147 million. The companies concerned were General Mining, Oamites Mining Company, Iscor, South West Africa Co., Rössing Mining,—a subsidiary of Rio Tinto Zinc—Consolidated Diamond Mines and Tsumeb Corporation. Most of the 1973 success had been due to the Consolidated Diamond Mines, a South African company with considerable British participation. At the receiving end of most of the pressure was the British Labour Government which was being pressurized to cancel the controversial Rössing contract in South West Africa.

Besides the American policy towards Namibia already mentioned the new British Labour Government shortly after its election, sounded early warnings for a switch in policy from the original Conservative Government's refusal to accept the UN ruling on Namibia. The British Government instructed the British Embassy in Pretoria to send observers to all political trials in Namibia. Britain further protested to the South African Government against floggings and detentions in Namibia. The Wilson Government was also reported not only to be considering the appointment of a representative to sit on the Council for Namibia but also to be planning financial support for Namibians.¹⁴

By the middle of December, anti-South African feeling on the Namibian question had consolidated to the extent that the United Nations Security Council demanded unanimously that South Africa should make a solemn declaration that it would give up control of South West Africa. This arose out of a resolution submitted by Kenya, Mauritania and the Cameroons. The resolution condemned the "continued illegal occupation of the territory of Namibia by South Africa" and "the illegal and arbitrary application by South Africa of racially discriminatory and repressive laws. The Council also made the following demands:

- That South Africa should comply fully in spirit and in practice with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Release of all Namibian political prisoners including those imprisoned or detained in connection with offences under so-called internal security laws, whether such Namibians have been charged or tried or are held without charge and whether held in Namibia or South Africa.
- Abolish the application in Namibia of all racially discriminatory and politically repressive laws and practices, particularly Bantustans and homelands.
- Accord unconditionally, to all Namibians currently in exile for political reasons, full facilities for return to their country without risk of arrest, detention, intimidation or imprisonment.¹⁵

South Africa was given until May 30th, 1975 by which time, if there was still no compliance, the Security Council would consider appropriate measures to take against South Africa. It was freely speculated in political circles that these could involve sanctions and ultimately the use of armed force although no specific mention was made of this.

South Africa's response to the United Nations' challenge was a mixture of compromise and hardline. The approach was two-pronged. South Africa insisted that the future of people in Namibia depended on the various population groups in Namibia and stress was laid on the

constitutional talks that were being arranged on an ethnic basis by the leaders of the white population.

In a speech delivered in Windhoek Mr Vorster invited the Africa chairman of the Namibia Council as well as the OAU special committee on Namibia to visit the territory but he refused to grant recognition of SWAPO as a sole representative of the people, nor did he want to accept any form of U.N. supervision. This speech coupled with the fact that the South West African Legislative Assembly decided to remove all provisions for petty apartheid e.g. in hotels, cafes, restaurants, public buildings and services and also a more relaxed influx control, seemed to have given the traditional supporters of South Africa in the Security Council, enough leverage to block what they regarded as extreme action by the African countries. Whereas African diplomats at the Security Council meeting at the beginning of June 1975 were of the opinion that the question of apartheid was peripheral to the handing over of power, Western powers were reluctant to move on to the stage of economic embargo and eventually a deadlock was reached.

Owambo Elections

The Owambo elections which were scheduled for the middle of January took place in a shroud of security measures. Owambo was still controlled by Proclamation R17 introduced in 1972 after the Owambo strikes. The Proclamation makes it difficult for Blacks to enter or leave the area even if they are Owambo. In addition, it forbids political activities without permission of magistrates or headmen, prevents free travel and provides for detention without trial. It was in this atmosphere that the second general election occurred and the resultant poll was above 50%.

Opponents of the Government's separate development policy claimed that because the grasp of authority was like a stranglehold, people were pressurised into voting. Outside the homeland Ovambo did not vote in any significant numbers and SWAPO argued that this was because these people were removed from the influence of Proclamation R17 and the powers of chiefs and headmen. The argument of the Government officials was, of course, the opposite.

Chief Filemon Elifas emerged as the Chief Minister of the legislative council after the elections and immediately set about attacking SWAPO.

SWAPO withdraws from the National Convention

In January 1975, SWAPO withdrew from the National Convention which was an alliance of most black political efforts in Namibia. This was after SWAPO had gained sufficient recognition from abroad and extensive grasp and support in Namibia.

The break away sparked off an attack on SWAPO by Chief Kapuuo, chief of the Hereros who had been leader of the convention. In his

attack Chief Kapuuo claimed that SWAPO was an all-Ovambo organisation and this immediately caught the imagination of the South African white press who were bothered by the rising popularity of SWAPO and the hardline they were adopting.

However in March 1975 the formation of a new Namibia National Convention, grouping the more militant individuals and organisations (SWAPO included), to the isolation of the moderate chief Kapuuo and his followers, was announced.

A statement issued by the N.N.C. on May 30, 1975, strongly condemned the activities of Chief Kapuuo. Part of the statement read:

“The South African Government is sending its stooges and puppets to attack a Namibian liberation movement outside, namely SWAPO, and to canvass for their acceptance and recognition overseas. They normally get passports as people who are moderate and thus acceptable to the Whites in this country. This NNC condemns such pseudo-politicians who change as their audience changes from place to place... The above definition is clearly applicable to Mr Clemens Kapuuo and others in his clique who are going out with the sole purpose of attacking SWAPO and thus making no contribution to the Namibian course...” The statement was released under the hand of Mr D. J. K. Tjongarero, secretary for information and publicity of the NNC.

In June the Namibian National Convention which also rejects the ethnically oriented constitutional talks gave notice of a peaceful demonstration by means of a march through Katutura, Khomasdal and the city of Windhoek. The demonstration was meant to mark the rejection of South Africa's occupation of Namibia and would be staged on June 14. The demonstration was however banned by the South African authorities in Namibia.

However, the organizers of the march decided that they would go ahead with the demonstration in spite of the order prohibiting it. They were expecting about 3 000 people to take part in the march with NNC peace officers flanking the columns. They had been instructed not to respond to any provocation. Mr Tjongarero who was making the announcement said that he would be seeking an interview with Mr Dirk Mudge of the South Africa Executive Committee in a last minute attempt to get official permission for the demonstration, but whatever happened the march would go on. “If we are opposed by police, we know what to do in the event of teargas and we also know what course of action to take in the event of a baton charge”.¹⁶

It was also reported that the police had been alerted and reinforced not only with men but with a large number of dogs. The official position was that the meeting had been banned under a prohibition order authorised by Minister of Justice, Mr J. T. Kruger and signed by the acting chief magistrate of Windhoek Mr C. J. Botha. The order was

made under Ordinance 9 of 1930 read with Article 19 of Act 25 (South West African Affairs Act of 1969). Mr Botha had "reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered by the Assembling of the public gathering convened by the Namibian National Convention."¹⁷

A warning was issued to the NNC by Mr Ben van der Walt on the Friday before the demonstration. He made an appeal to the NNC to call off the protest or otherwise accept full responsibility if the threatened march resulted in police action. Mr van der Walt assured the people of Windhoek, Katutura and Khomasdal that their properties would be protected.¹⁸

Early on June 14, 1975, the NNC called off the protest in the face of a show of force by police and military units. However, about noon, several demonstrators lined up and unfurled placards criticizing South Africa's presence in South West Africa and attacking the authorities for stopping the planned march. The demonstrators were watched by about 400 onlookers and were eventually arrested by the police. The local divisional Commissioner of Police Brig. Wally Louw said that the eighteen Blacks would be charged with holding an illegal gathering and probably appear for remand the following week.¹⁹

Shootings in Owambo

In the middle of June 1975, one woman died, and two men were seriously wounded in shooting incidents in Owambo. It was alleged that the shooting occurred over paintings on walls and roads which carried slogans labelled as "SWAPO's". The Defence Department was investigating the shootings according to Mr P. W. Botha the Minister of Defence. The shootings had occurred at Ondangwua where the woman was killed and at Rundu where the two men were wounded.²⁰

REFERENCES

¹*Daily News* 8.2.74.

²*Rand Daily Mail* 6.2.74.

³*Rand Daily Mail* 12.2.74.

⁴*Star* 14.2.74.

⁵*Star* 23.2.75.

⁶*Daily News* 8.3.74.

⁷*Cape Argus* 5.4.74.

⁸*Star* 10.4.74.

⁹*Daily News* 26.6.74.

¹⁰*Star* 27.6.74.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Star* 25.7.74.

¹³*Sunday Express* 7.7.74.

¹⁴*Hansard* 175 Vol 2. Cols. 108-109.

¹⁵*Star* 5.7.74.

¹⁶*Rand Daily Mail* 18.12.74.

¹⁷*Rand Daily Mail* 13.6.75.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Star* 13.6.75.

²⁰*Star* 14.6.75.

²¹*Rand Daily Mail* 23.6.75 and 24.6.75.

Books Published During 1974/5

Enquiries:

RAVAN PRESS

508 Diakonia House, 80 Jorissen Street,
Braamfontein, JOHANNESBURG

P.O. Box 31134/2017, BRAAMFONTEIN 2017

From Breakfast to Madness

poems by Bernard Levinson

R2,10

“to the very heart of the experience we call
madness...”

Health, Healing and Society

Dr L. G. Wells

R1,95

a new approach to health and medicine in
South Africa

Dusklands

J. M. Coetzee (hard cover)

R4,80

‘the novel has unquestioned power and even
grandeur’

The Star

Walking Through our Sleep

poems by Peter Horn

R1,95

Sing for our Execution

poems and woodcuts by Wopko Jensma

R2,50

collectors’ edition

R5,00

The Black Interpreters

Nadine Gordimer—notes on African writing

R1,50

Being-Black-in-the-World

Dr N. C. Manganyi

R1,50

Black Nationalism in South Africa

Prof. Peter Walshe

R1,00

The Grey Ones

essays on censorship—ed. J. S. Paton

R0.60

It’s Gettin Late

poems from *Ophir*—ed. W. Saunders and P. Horn

R1,10

The Making of a Servant

poems from Xhosa

R0,75

Outlook on a Century

(Sproc-cas/Lovedale Press)

R15,00

(hardcover) ed. Francis Wilson and D. Perrot

Management, Responsibility and African Employment ed. W. Thomas	R2,50
The Ethics of Illegal Action (soft cover) and other essays of Prof. D. C. S. Oosthuizen (hard cover)	R2,00 R4,00
Where White is the Colour A special edition of new poems and graphics by Wopko Jensma	R4,20
Confused Mhlaba Khaya lethu Mqayisa a play in nine scenes about a former political prisoner and the break-up of his family	R0,95
Ecumenical Movement in 1960s Dr Margaret Nash A major survey of both secular and religious ecumenism on a global scale: intro: by Visser 't Hooft	R6,90
Religious Beliefs and White Prejudice Robert Buis first scientific study of church teachings and race attitudes in South Africa	R2,40
Church and Nationalism in South Africa ed. Dr T. Sundermeier contributors include Dr Manas Buthelezi, Chief L. Mangope, Alan Paton, Beyers Naude, J. Degenaar, Fatima Meer and Prof. C. Boshoff	R2,70
The Durban Strikes	R2,00
Local Colour Stephen Gray a leading poet's satirical first novel. Hardcover	R4,95
LM and Other Stories Peter Wilhelm a novella set in Mozambique and selected short stories by a gifted young South African writer. Hardcover	R4,95
Muriel at Metropolitan M. Tlali an African woman in the cut-throat world of Johannesburg's commercial life.	R2,95

Snarl	
A critical review of the Arts ed. Joyce Ozyński—(per issue)	R0,50
Sudafrika: Macht Armut Und Privilegien	
German trans. of Spro-cas Economics Report	R1,50
Sudafrikas Zukunft	
Peter Randall—German trans. of A Taste of Power	R1,50
A Decade of Crisis	
Dr Morris Hirsch	R2,95
Ten years of Rhodesian Front Rule— (pub. Peter Dearlove)	
The Park and Other Stories	
James Matthews—(BLAC Publishing House)	R1,80
Yakhal' Inkomo	
poems by Mongane Wally Serote— (Renoster Books)	R1,80
On the Edge of the World	
ed. S. Gray	R3,25
Southern African Stories of the Seventies (pub. Ad. Donker)	
Handbook of Black Organisations	
Black Community Programmes	R1,20
British Companies in South Africa	
The House of Commons Enquiry (pub. CCSA, London)	R2,00
South African Labour Bulletin	
(per issue) pub. Institute for Industrial Education	R0,60
Black Review 1973	
Black Community Programmes	R3,00

Ad. Donker (Publisher)

Titles stocked by Ravan Press

To Whom it May Concern	
anthology of black South African poetry with leading poets of the seventies	R1,95
Tsetlo	
the second volume of Wally Serote's poems	R1,95
Hurry up to It	
poems by Sidney Sepamla	R1,95

- On the Edge of the World**
 ed. Stephen Gray— R3,25
 Southern African short stories of the seventies
- Outside Life's Feast**
 short stories by Sheila Roberts R3,25

Bateleur Press (titles stocked by Ravan Press)

- Joburg Sis!**
 stories by Barney Simon. Hardcover R5,85
- Photographs of Bushmen**
 poems by Peter Strauss R1,45
- The Charlie Manson False Bay Talking Rock Blues**
 poems by David Farrell R1,45

SOME OTHER TITLES STOCKED BY RAVAN PRESS

- Family Reunion**
 acclaimed first novel by Rose Moss R6,30
 (pub. Charles Scribner's Sons)
 Hardcover
- The Park & Other Stories**
 James Matthews (BLAC Pub. House) R1,80
- Yakhal' Inkomo**
 Wally Serote's first collection of poems R1,80
 (Renoster Books)

JOURNALS

- South African Labour Bulletin**
 10 issues per year, 60c per issue
- Social Dynamics**
 (Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Cape Town) R5,00 p.a.
 or R3,00 per issue
- Pro Veritate**
 monthly ecumenical journal R3,00 p.a.
 or 25c per issue
- Sketsh**
 journal of black theatre, 50c per issue
- South African Outlook**
 deals with ecumenical and racial affairs R3,50 p.a.

SPRO-CAS REPORTS

South African Political Alternatives	R3,00
Towards Social Change	R2,00
Power, Privilege and Poverty	R2,00
Law, Justice and Society	R2,00
Towards an Open, Plural Society (summary of Spro-cas Political Report: ed. F. van Zyl Slabbert and P. Laurence)	R1,00
Migrant Labour in South Africa Francis Wilson	R2,50

SPRO-CAS OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS

Anatomy of Apartheid	R1,00
South Africa's Minorities	R1,00
White Liberation ed. Horst Kleinschmidt	R1,00
Directions of Change in South African Politics	R1,00
Some Implications of Inequality	R1,00

OTHER PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FROM RAVAN PRESS

To Whom It May Concern anthology of black South African Poetry ed. R. Royston. pub. Ad. Donker, Johannesburg	R1,95
Tsetlo poems by Mongane Wally Serote pub. Ad. Donker, Johannesburg	R1,95
Domestic Workers Sue Gordon—pub. S.A. Institute of Race	R0,30
Memorandum on Pass Laws and Influx Control pub. Black Sash	R0,50
The Church and the Death Penalty Peter Randall—pub. S.A. Council of Churches	R0,35
Ophir poetry journal published twice a year— sub per annum	R1,25
The Namibians of South West Africa pub. Minority Rights Group, London	R1,20

Index of Sub-Headings

Chapter 1 Government Created Political Bodies

Bantustans	1
The Transkei Independence Questions	1
South Africa and the United Nations	3
Banning Powers Bestowed on Bantustans	4
The New South African Policy on Africa	5
General Matters Relating to Bantustans on the Whole	7
Kwa-Zulu	11
Land Consolidation	11
Constitutional Development	13
Business and Finance	14
General Issues	15
The Buthelezi—Dladla Quarrel	15
Banning Powers	16
Transkei	17
Land Claims and Consolidation	17
Finance	18
Independence	19
Amalgamation	21
Africanization of Civil Service	22
Transkei—Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill	23
Bophutha-Tswana	23
Land Claims and Consolidation	23
Finances	25
Salaries	26
Mangope's Power Struggle and Formation of Bophutha-Tswana Democratic Party	26
Bophutha-Tswana—Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill	28
Basotho Qwaqwa	29
Elections	29
Land Claims and Consolidation	30
Amalgamation	31
Finances	31
Basotho Qwaqwa's Reaction to the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill	32
Lebowa	32
Land Claims and Consolidation	32
Amalgamation	34
Africanization of the Civil Service	34
Investments and Finance	36
Independence	37
Lebowa's Reaction to the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Bill	37

Chapter 3 Government Created Political Bodies

South African Indian Council	70
Elections	70
Issues taken up by SAIC	73
Concessions given to the Indian people of South Africa ..	73

Chapter 4 Arrests and Detentions, Political Trials and Bannings

The Matsau Terror Trial	76
The Pro-Frelimo Rallies—Arrests and Detentions	77
Events at the University of the North	78
Events at Durban	79
The New Charges and the Second Phase of the Trial	90
People Detained under the Terrorism Trial	91
Reactions to the Detentions and Trial	94
Black Reactions	94
White Reactions	95
International Reactions	96
The Clarence Hamilton Case	97
Tha Thamang David Seleokane—Wezile Ngalo Terror Trial ..	99
Trials Relating Restriction Orders	100
Restriction Orders—Revoked and Renewed	102

Chapter 5 Black Organisations

Political Pressure Groups	108
The South African Students Organisation	108
The 5th General Students' Council	108
Labour Party Attacks SASO	109
The Death of O.R.A. Tiro	109
Publication of Newsletter Resumed	111
Van Wyk Commission	111
6th SASO General Student Council	112
The Frelimo Rally and the Aftermath	113
SASO Policy Outlook	114
Increasing International Recognition for SASO	114
Natal Indian Congress	115
Important Changes in Policy	115
NIC Political Perspective	116
Attempts at Creation of a New Political Party	117
The Black People's Convention	117
Banning of the Heroes' Day Gathering	117
B.P.C. Durban's Symposium	118
Frelimo Rally and Mass Arrests	119
Reorganization After the Mass Arrest	119
Self-Help and Religious Groups	120
Black Community Programmes	120
Home Industries	120
Research and Publications	121

