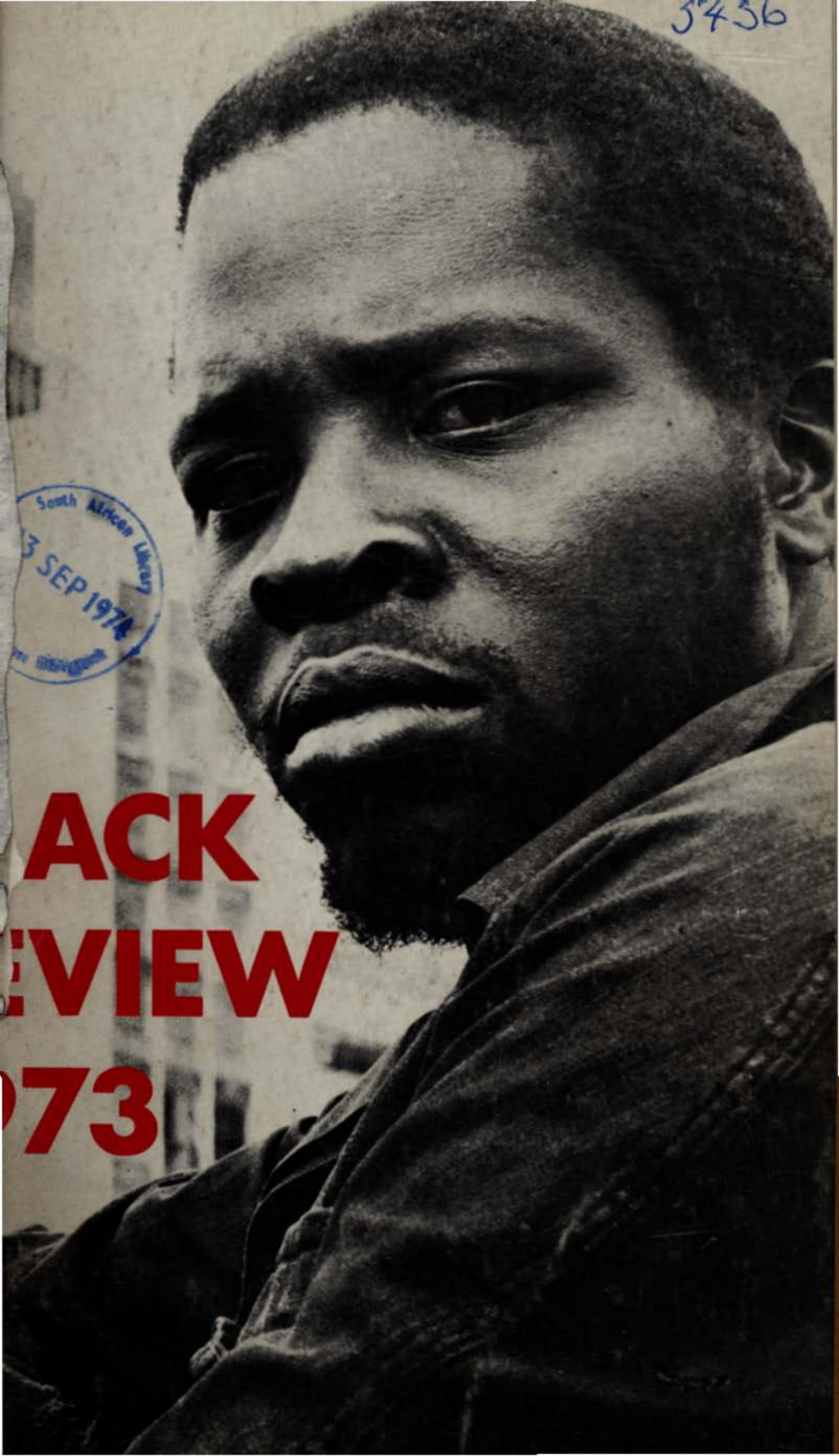


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# **BLACK REVIEW**

**1973**

## **THE BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES**

The goals of the Black Community Programmes are:

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

The Black Community Programmes seek:

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

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

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

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

Inquiries should be addressed to:

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# BLACK REVIEW

## 1973

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PUBLISHED BY  
BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES

DURBAN

1974

**ISBN 086975 037 2**

**Printed by Zenith Printers (Pty.) Ltd.,  
Diakonia House, 80 Jorissen Street,  
Braamfontein, Johannesburg.**

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT goes to the Board of Directors of Black Community Programmes from whom we have derived considerable assistance and encouragement.

A further word of thanks goes to the Research Staff of Black Community Programmes whose tireless efforts in the collecting and collating of material helped in the bringing out of this book.

Not to be forgotten are other persons who had a hand towards the compiling of this review.

The co-operation of the staff of Ravan Press also deserves special thanks for their valuable work.

Editor.

# INTRODUCTION

THIS IS the second *Black Review*. The first, *Black Review 1972*, came out early last year.

The original intention of publishing a *Black Review* was to lay as open as can be possible what the Black Community has achieved or failed to achieve, and what directions taken by the Blacks in this country have been outstanding in matters that affect their situation as Blacks; also their common or varied aspirations. What *Black Review* has succeeded in revealing, therefore, centres on how far the Black Community has been able to realise some of its goals.

As the years go on, and events sometimes moving too fast for possible assessment of their causes, a record of the nature of *Black Review* becomes all the more necessary.

*Black Review* has been used by public libraries, educational and research institutions, students of race relations, and individuals interested in Black Community Development.

Another thing of worthy note is that this year's *Black Review* is being published by Black Community Programmes Publications, which in future is to take over the whole area of publication run by the Black Community Programmes. Last year's editor was restricted by the Government and this made it difficult for him to participate in the compiling of this review. His much-needed assistance could not in this way be made available.

However, we hope this edition does meet the high standards set by the *Black Review* of 1972.

Mafika Pascal Gwala,  
Director,  
BCP Publications.

April 1974.

# Chapter One

## SELF-HELP

THE BLACK COMMUNITY is in a critical situation because of historical, economic, cultural and political conditions. Many groups have sprung up through the years in an effort by blacks to alleviate their position. Some of these groups have been initiated and patronised by white individuals and institutes. However, blacks have also initiated their own self-help projects within their community, particularly in the awakening reality of Black Consciousness.

1972 saw the springing up of associations such as Black Community Programmes, which played an important role in bringing together youth, religious, educational and cultural groups. This led to the creation of several associations which stood for the positive development of self-reliance in the black community.

### **The Association of Self-Help (ASH)**

In June 1972 a training workshop was organised by the Community of St. Stephen (COSS), which consists of members of St. Stephen's Church, at Merewent, Durban. The workshop was sponsored by the Black Community Programmes. It was agreed that conscientisation as a means of heightening the awareness of the black community included re-orientation and self-help as essentials of the affirmation of blackness.

Self-help was described as a means of making people 'develop a pride in themselves and their potential—to show the relationship of their environment to themselves', so as to increase self-reliance and interdependency.

In June 1973 the Association for Self-Help (ASH) was set up as a result of the workshop.

Its aims and objects are:

to inculcate the principle of self-reliance;

to encourage the community to work co-operatively to satisfy their wants and needs.

ASH works in the communities to the south of Durban, with initial projects in the Merebank-Wentworth area. The following policy is extracted from ASH's Progress Report of December 1973:

The Association for Self-Help believes that the problems prevailing in the black community, e.g. poverty, illiteracy, crime etc., militate against the true humanity of black people; that these social disorders are responsible for the dearth of a dynamic cultural expression in the black community; that these social conditions inculcated in the black community breed an attitude of complacency, suspicion and fear which work against the establishment of communal harmony; that the lack of communal harmony in the black community frustrates joint efforts to express and fulfil basic needs and aspirations; in order to fulfil these basic needs and aspirations, we therefore commit ourselves to inculcating, fostering, organising, directing and extending in the black community the principle of self-help, and to uniting the constituents of the black community in their efforts and desire to be self-reliant.

ASH is a private, non-political and non-profit agency.

Before embarking on any projects, the ASH field workers conducted an economic survey of the sub-economic housing area of Merebank (the Old Marine Drive valley), which they had chosen as their starting point. They found that 60% of the families interviewed received a monthly income of below R60; the majority of these families consisted of 8 members or more; the income of the other 40% did not exceed R110 per month; in 80% of the families expenditure was twice the income; those families living in the transit camp (Minitown) revealed feelings of intense dissatisfaction with living conditions; 35% of the adults interviewed were illiterate; of a total of 150 children of school age, only 88 were going to school.

The findings led ASH to establish a communal buying scheme in the area.

Essential foods (rice, oil, sugar, etc.) are bought in bulk, and then distributed. Families have been able to save a fair amount of their meagre income. The scheme is also helping in closing the gap that existed between families and is teaching them the importance of acting as a communal unit.

A by-product of this scheme has been the communal reserve fund, where families have agreed to put whatever contribution they can afford into a 'communal bank box', and the money is used to assist any local family in desperate need, on condition that the money is reimbursed at some stage. In

December 1973, the family groups decided on a fund-raising drive. It is hoped that by June 1974 the whole project will be entirely in the hands of the community.

The ASH field workers hold regular meetings with the people, discussing their problems. ASH also hopes to organise lectures on family budgeting and health advice. Sub-committees run development projects in the areas of youth and education. These sub-committees are presently arranging for the establishment of a nursery school and adult literacy classes.

The Association runs an office at Merebank with two full-time staff. A Board of Management meets monthly to review progress of the sub-committees. The Administrator and the General Secretary make a quarterly evaluation of the work of their field workers.

### **The South African Student Organisation (SASO)**

SASO has involved itself in projects as part of its Self-help Projects Programme. In 1971 it aided the progress of the Phoenix Settlement Project with the help of students from the Medical School at Wentworth.

In 1973 SASO donated R500 towards the building of a rural community school near Umtata and students were physically involved in this project. However, government interference disturbed the project, with the government claiming sole rights in the building of schools. The local people were planning to approach the Transkei Minister of Justice over the banning of a SASO Acting-President, the Rev. L.H. Qambela, the initiator of this project.

At Upper Gqumushe near Alice SASO started another project with the Support of Fort Hare students and students from the Federal Theological Seminary. The bricks were baked by the students themselves. SASO contributed about R375 towards the project.

At Dududu on the Natal South Coast the SASO project is still continuing. It is being mainly run by students from the University of Natal (Black Section).

SASO was not able to play a more effective role in its Projects Programme owing to government bannings imposed on its leadership. To date more than 16 SASO members have been banned.

During 1972 all the black universities were affected by students strikes which resulted in expulsions and walk-outs. As more and more black students found themselves with no university to go to on principle, there were dangers of frustration and inertia amongst those students disillusioned over the tribal university system.

In December 1972 students met at a formation school at Edenvale where the idea of a Free University was mooted. The desire for a Free Black University stemmed from the belief that students had to enjoy problem-

solving; know what is relevant to their survival; rely on their own judgment; avoid fearing the possibilities of being wrong; avoid being fast answerers—but rather seek fair judgment; be flexible and understand that answers are relative and therefore, have a high degree of respect for facts and be skillful in making distinctions between statements of fact and other kinds of statements.

The present educational system for blacks was found to be an impediment to the students' access to basic truths and objective judgment.

Therefore it was felt that a Free University would have to:

- define and refine the field of black education and black studies;
- develop a new approach towards black education,
- research the experiences of the black people,
- encourage black artists,
- devise new means of relating to black children,
- encourage contact with artists, scholars, educators, etc.,
- train teaching cadres for the black community,
- sponsor seminars, workshops and conferences,
- develop a publishing program.

The Free University Project was beginning to operate by February 1973.

### **Black Community Programmes (BCP)**

The BCP has sponsored several projects undertaken by various black groups and organisations. The Free University Project was also partly initiated by it (for more details see Chapter 16).

# Chapter Two

## WELFARE

**WELFARE WORK** in the black community is mainly carried out by welfare organisations which operate voluntarily or under government auspices. Under voluntary, we differentiate between black and non-black welfare organisations.

The former have black policy-making bodies with authority to make their own decisions regarding policy, administration and programmes.

The non-black organisations are those which, although catering solely for blacks, are nevertheless white-controlled.

Welfare organisations in the first category (black autonomous) were established as a result of the prevailing social conditions in the black community. Their services were and still are responses to particular human needs in various fields of welfare work and to the determination of blacks to meet these needs.

Examples of black welfare organisations and their main objectives and the nature of their programmes:

Name of Organisation	Objective/s	Programmes
African Housewives' League	Improving family life. (Relationships between spouses, parent-child and child-child) and social conditions among Africans.	Meetings, discussions, fund-raising, recreational activities.
Kentani Ntlalontle Organisation	Promotion of child and family welfare. Care of aged and disabled.	General Welfare work.

Name of Organisation	Objective/s	Programmes
Orlando Mothers' Welfare Association	(a) to combat any social maladjustment within the African community, especially the youth and to provide programmes of cultural, social, educational and religious amenities for the youth. (b) To educate mothers on matters such as child welfare, home management, illegitimacy and also to combat juvenile delinquency.	(a) Arrange group and inter-group discussions. (b) Hold symposia on matters pertaining to education, religion. (c) Engage in fund-raising schemes.
Mount Frere Social Welfare Committee	Improvement of health and educational facilities.	Work in cripple care clinics. Lectures on home economics, child care, nutrition and agriculture. Organise womens' clubs. Campaign for the building of classrooms, youth centres, etc.
Cheshire Home (Durban)	To cater for the needs of disabled adult persons.	Provide food, shelter, entertainment.
Durban Indian Child Welfare (Durban)	To provide services for families, children and also attempt community organisation work to do preventive work.	Securing grants, effecting adoptions, seeing to foster care, organisation of creches, nursery schools etc.

Most of these organisations are registered with the National Welfare Board in terms of the National Welfare Act of 1965 so as to legitimise some of their activities, e.g. public funding.

A great deal of welfare work in the community is due to the selfless devotion and dedication of such organisations.

According to the survey carried out by BCP, lack of co-ordinated services is the greatest short-coming of self-help organisations. A lack of training in appropriate skills essential for programming, management, and administration results in the failure or malfunctioning of most black welfare organisations.

Voluntary welfare organisations under white control but rendering services to blacks often work in close co-operation with government departments, e.g. the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development, of Indian Affairs, and of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs. Several are affiliated to National Councils in accordance with their field of service, e.g. the Bantu Child Welfare Societies are affiliated to the National Council for Child Welfare.

In addition to voluntary organisations, we have welfare institutions which operate under government auspices. These are established by law and the personnel is usually employed under the civil service. Such agencies are part of the political power structure.

The Department of Bantu Administration, though still largely responsible for 'Bantu' welfare services, has since transferred the administration of several welfare institutions to homeland governments. Social welfare services are dealt with by the Department under three sections: General Welfare, Child Welfare and Professional Services.

General Welfare includes the establishment of residential institutions or settlements for infirm Africans. Such settlements are not situated in 'white' areas but in the rural areas. Very few are situated in the so-called urban 'Bantu' residential areas, like the Umlazi Workshop for the Blind.

The section on Child Welfare deals with adoption, the establishment of reform schools and state homes for children, grants to foster parents and the registration of welfare organisations.

The Professional Services section is responsible for the professional aspects of the 'social development of the Bantu' and has, in addition, the major function of bringing forward suggestions in connection with the formulation of policy regarding social development.

### **Welfare Services in the Homelands**

Although the BAD has transferred part of its administration to homeland governments, not all of the latter are as yet involved in such services.

The Bophutatswana homeland has three settlements for the aged and the chronically handicapped. They are at Thusong (Gelukspan) in the Ditsobotla district; Boiketlong in the Thaba'Nchu district; and T.C. Esterhuizen in the Bafokeng district. There is one workshop catering for 400 blind persons, Itireleng at Ga-Rankuwa. In addition there are two handicraft centres, Itsoseng at Ditsobotla, with provision for 400 persons, and the Ithuso Handicraft Centre near Pilanesberg.

Bophutatswana has two state-run centres for children, the Mooifontein Youth Camp which provides for 300 pupils from all African groups, not specifically Tswanas, and the Eureka Youth Camp in the Thaba'Nchu district which accommodates about 400 boys. In addition there are two privately-run children's homes, the Barend van Rensburg Home at Thaba'Nchu which provides for 130 Tswana and South Sotho children, and the Pabalelo place of safety at Ga-Rankuwa which holds about 90 children.

Vendaland has only two welfare institutions, the Khathutshelo home for the chronically physically handicapped and the Hayoni Home for lepers.

The Ciskei has one settlement for aged Xhosas, the Ekuphumuleni

settlement near Peddie, which also accommodates physically handicapped people, and one workshop for 14 blind people at Thembelihle, near King Williams Town. There are two handicraft centres, at Sada and at Ilinge. The Ciskei also has a state-run reform school for 300 boys at Bekruipkop near King Williams Town, and a private children's home, Khayaletumba, in Mdantsane Township, East London, which provides for 145 Xhosa-speaking boys and girls.

The Machangana homeland has one institution for cripples, the Letaba Institution.

KwaZulu has a settlement for the aged, Kwabadala in the Nkandla district; the Madadeni institution for chronically physically handicapped; the Matigulu Leprosy Institution; the Osizweni Handicraft Centre near Newcastle, and a newly completed workshop for blind people at Umlazi.

In terms of child welfare, KwaZulu has the Vuma Reform School, near Eshowe, for 225 boys, and a similar institution for girls at Ngwelezane near Empangeni (so far the only reform school for African girls in South Africa). In addition, the privately-run Dingaansat Children's Home near Babanango admits children committed in terms of the Children's Act of 1960, as does the Sacred Heart Mission Children's Home at Mtwalume. There is one place of safety and detention, at Umlazi, with a daily average of 125 children, and three places of care in the same township.

### **State Expenditure on 'Bantu' Welfare Services**

The table below reflects the estimate for the financial years 1971/1972 (overall expenditure):

Pensions and ex gratia assistance to needy Bantu	R16 339 000
Reform Schools and State Children's Homes	4 519 000
Settlements for the Aged etc.	171 700
Subsidies	51 000

### **Pensions and Grants**

Financial and other forms of assistance are rendered to indigent 'Bantu' under various statutory and non-statutory schemes. The following are statutory ones:

The Aged Persons Act, No. 81 of 1967, provides for the payment of monthly pensions to indigent aged 'Bantu' who have reached the ages of 65 (men) and 60 (women). Income, fitness for work etc. are factors taken into consideration in determining pension grants.

The Blind Persons Act, No. 26 of 1968, provides for pensions for blind 'Bantu' who have attained the age of 19. This act has less stringent requirements than for old age pensions.

The Disability Grants Act, No. 27 of 1968, provides for the payment of disability grants to 'Bantu' who have attained the age of 16 years and whose physical or mental disability is of such a permanent nature that they are unfit to accept remunerative work or are not in a position to provide for themselves by pursuing an occupation.

### **Welfare Services for Indians**

Statutory welfare services for Indians are rendered by the Department of Indian Affairs, which employs professional Indian Welfare Officers. The Department has decentralised its professional welfare services to offices in Chatsworth (Durban), Pietermaritzburg, Laudium (Pretoria), Lenasia (Johannesburg) and Actonville (Benoni).

Professional welfare services include dealing with case loads, preparing reports of a varied nature, i.e. for children's courts, juvenile courts, school of industries, children's homes, etc. Most of the cases dealt with involve uncontrollability in children and child neglect. According to the report of the Department, a great number of such children come from broken homes.

Students of Social Work receive practical training in the regional office of the Department. A practical training project at Chatsworth is conducted by Durban-Westville students.

The Department also subsidises the following homes for Indian children: the Lakehaven Children's Home, Durban; the Sunlit Gardens Home, Pietermaritzburg; the Aryan Benevolent Home, Durban; the Darul Yatama Wal Masakeen, Durban; the M.A. Motala Indian Lads' Hostel, Wyebank; the Waterval Islamic Institute, Johannesburg.

Most of these institutions cater for boys and girls with an approved enrolment of sixty. The M.A. Motala Indian Lads' Hostel is the only one which caters for boys only. Subsidies (per capita) amounting to R32 478 were paid to the institutions by the Department.

The Aryan Benevolent Home, Durban makes provision for 120 aged persons. Plans are being made for the erection of an old age home in Chatsworth. The Aryan Benevolent Home, Pietermaritzburg, accommodates 30 inmates, 14 of whom are subsidised. Overall subsidies for both the aged homes amounted to R2 847. The subsidy per capita in respect of the ordinary aged is R2,50 per month per inmate and in respect of the infirm aged R8,50 per month per inmate.

### **Welfare Services for Coloureds**

The state pays a per capita grant of R 11 per month for Coloured children in need of care who are placed with foster parents or committed to children's institutions (the grant for 'special cases' is R13).

There are five places of safety and detention maintained by the state, in Kimberley, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Benoni and Wynberg, accommodating 475 children altogether.

At present 37 registered private children's homes cater for 4 016 Coloured children, with the state paying grants for improvements and equipment. There is a state-run home at Westlake, Cape, for 150 boys with behaviour problems.

The state maintains the De Novo Old Age Home in Kraaifontein, which accommodates 300 aged and chronically handicapped Coloured men and women, while there are ten private homes for the Coloured aged which accommodate 590 and which are subsidised by the state (R2,50 per month for ordinary cases and R8,50 for the infirm). Expenditure on subsidies for these homes amounted to R48 460 in 1971-72.

The state, through the Department of Coloured Relations, also subsidises five welfare centres for social and group work activities, while there are youth camps at Weltevreden and Vredenburg.

COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON SOCIAL WELFARE, PENSIONS AND GRANTS TO THE DIFFERENT RACIAL GROUPS (PERIOD: 1971-1972)

Service	Whites		Coloureds		Indians		Africans	
	No. of Benef.	Expenditure Rands						
Old Age	109411	51740598	63264	12072888	124660	2215060	205116	12144300
Blind Pensions	885	395503	1628	371927	2114	40750	6464	376500
War Veterans	16708	9655171	4431	1080685	1867	42649	22	43100
Disability Grants	21841	10049576	23486	4640153	105581	1956028	57368	3520700
Maintenance Grants	14579	11188929	23178	6160333	112834	2665761	—	—

REFERENCES:

Annual Reports: Period 1971-1972:

1. Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs.
2. Department of Bantu Administration and Development.
3. Department of Indian Affairs.
4. Department of Social Welfare and Pensions (Whites).

# Chapter Three

## HEALTH

THE PROVISION of health facilities in South Africa is subject to the policy of separate development. Inadequate medical facilities are provided for the black majorities in the form of hospitals, clinics, medical centres, training centres etc.

The governmental departments, Bantu Affairs, Indian Affairs and Coloured Relations, are responsible for the administration of health services in the entire black community.

### **Hospital Services**

State, Provincial and Mission hospitals render health services. Some, but not all, mission hospitals for blacks are subsidised by the government.

In reply to a question in the House of Assembly in February 1973, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M.C. Botha, said that there were 93 mission hospitals with 23 908 beds, 12 other hospitals and 543 clinic centres in the homelands. He further reported that 15 mission hospitals are excluded from government subsidy as they are subsidised by the South African Bantu Trust.

Mr A.J. Raubenheimer, Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, announced the handing over by the central government of all mission hospitals situated in the 'homelands' to the different Bantustan governments; these would in time become homeland government hospitals. Because of this, some missions were refused permission to extend or improve hospital buildings. A top administrative officer at South Africa's oldest Anglican Mission hospital, St Mary's near Melmoth in KwaZulu,

said such 'dithering' by the government over its policy for mission hospitals in the homelands 'could lead to further deterioration of medical services for Africans in the rural areas' (*Daily News*, 30/4/73).

The evils of the government's policy of separatism are also to be seen in the urban or so-called 'white areas'. Because of the demands of industrialisation, these areas are densely populated by blacks who are frequently victims of illness, disease and physical injury, in part due to living in overcrowded conditions, riding in overcrowded trains and buses, sharing overcrowded homes etc. The incidence of kwashiorkor is extremely high. Diseases such as tuberculosis, typhoid and dysentery are rife. A clear illustration is given by a pamphlet prepared by the Medical Association for the Prevention of War (issued in London), which quotes the following statistics with regard to the incidence of notifiable diseases per 1000 000 persons (*Daily News*, 6/9/73).

DISEASE	POPULATION GROUP			
	African	White	Coloured	Asian
<i>Tuberculosis</i>				
1969	413,8	21,9	360,7	165,1
1970	366,5	21,9	331,9	153,6
<i>Typhoid</i>				
1967	41,3	2,3	5,1	6,1
1970	27,2	1,6	11,4	5,1
<i>Diphtheria</i>				
1969	5,0	1,8	5,9	6,6
1970	0,6	—	0,4	0,5
<i>Leprosy</i>				
1969	4,8	0,1	0,7	1,2
1970	4,9	0,1	0,2	0,2
<i>Puerperal sepsis</i>				
1969	1,5	0,1	0,7	1,0
1970	0,8	0,1	0,6	1,3
<i>Doctor/Population Ratio Population</i>	1:44000	1:400	1:6200	1:900

Government policy opposes the erection and development of hospitals for blacks in the white areas. In some hospitals which formerly catered for

all racial groups, the sections for black patients were closed down. For example, the removal of patients from Edenvale hospital (Tvl) to Tembisa hospital was strongly criticised. The Transvaal leader of the United Party, Mr Harry Schwarz, maintained that blacks living in that area should still receive treatment at Edenvale and that it was time the authorities improved the standard of Tembisa hospital to that of white hospitals, 'because blacks are to pay the same hospital tariffs as whites' (*Rand Daily Mail* 12/5/73). At the Sir Henry Elliot Hospital in Umtata the two sections are divided by means of a precast concrete wall. Separate X-ray facilities and operating theatres were installed in each section. Negotiations to turn the famous heart transplant hospital, Groote Schuur, into a white hospital were announced by Dr R.M. Kotze, Director of hospital services in the Cape.

It is not uncommon for a hospital which provides for blacks to experience some crisis situation sparked off by socio-economic factors. Discriminatory pay scales for whites and blacks, intolerable working conditions, long hours of work, bad staffing etc. are among the factors which can precipitate a crisis situation. Durban's overcrowded King Edward VII Hospital and the Baragwanath Hospital near Johannesburg are good examples. These hospitals are on the verge of breakdown because of the increasing flow of patients.

According to information King Edward Hospital handles an average of 3 000 people daily in the out-patients department. It is common practice for seriously ill patients to spend the night or be observed in the out-patients department. The government refused to allow the Natal Provincial Administration to re-develop the hospital to meet existing requirements since in the near future the hospital would have to be moved out of a 'white area'.

In the House of Assembly early in 1973, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development disclosed that hospitals would be erected at the KwaMashu and Umlazi Townships in Durban and set the completion date as 'early in 1978' (*Daily News* 14/2/73).

In Pretoria a sum of R50 000 was donated by Mr H. Adam, a prominent resident of the Laudium Indian Township, towards the building of a hospital in that township. The donation was acknowledged by the Transvaal Executive Committee on hospital services. The hospital provides 60 beds.

### **Medical Training**

In South Africa that section of the population which 'suffer from the diseases of comfort and over-eating' enjoy the privilege of five medical schools, at the Universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Witwatersrand, Pretoria and the Orange Free State, in contrast to only one such institution

(a part of the white University of Natal) provided for the training of medical students belonging to the section which 'suffer from the diseases of malnutrition and poverty'. Such inequality is by and large responsible for the skewed doctor/population ratio reflected in the previous table.

The number of black doctors the University of Natal produces is hopelessly inadequate for the millions of blacks in the whole country. At present there are no African dentists. Throughout the country, there are only 10 African pharmacists.

Mission hospitals have played an important role in providing professional training for black nurses. Not all provincial or state hospitals that cater for blacks are nurse-training hospitals. Very few hospitals provide combined training for Indians, Coloureds and Africans. The tendency is to separate the three. No black nurse may receive training in a 'white' hospital. Government policy stipulates that each race group should be nursed by its own people.

The latter policy can be abused by authorities if only to serve white interests as was the case at the Hillcrest Provincial hospital in Natal for elderly people. Black nurses attended white patients because, as Mr S. Waterson claimed, 'there was a critical shortage of nurses'.

Although a certain minimum educational qualification is demanded of any young woman entering nursing, there is discrimination in wages. A white senior sister starts at R3 000 a year with an annual increment of R 150 to R4 200. For the same qualifications a Coloured or Indian nursing sister starts at R2 040 with an annual increment of R 120 to R3 000. An African senior sister starts at R 1 620 with an annual increment of R90 to R 1 800. A white student nurse starts at R 1 320, a Coloured at R900 and an African at R576.

In May 1973, student midwives at the McCord Zulu Hospital in Durban submitted a memorandum to the matron outlining various complaints concerning wages and living conditions at the hospital. They strongly felt that the salaries paid to them were very much below standard and thus failed to meet the escalating cost of living. Hospital authorities reacted by saying that the students' demands had 'communistic overtones' (*Daily News* 24/5/73). When the students refused to retract the memorandum, they were dismissed. According to newspaper reports all the nurses were later reinstated by the hospital.

### **Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Centres**

Alcoholism and drug addiction are increasingly becoming symptoms of the frustrating life led by blacks. No rehabilitation centres for the treatment of such patients exist. Addicts attend out-patient clinics for treatment. This does not prove to be really satisfactory because patients are constantly back

home in the environment that contributed to their addiction. Provincial councils have without success been repeatedly urged to help solve the problem through the establishment of in-patient rehabilitation centres.

# Chapter Four

## BANTUSTANS

### **A. Stage of Development**

The Government continued to pursue its Bantustan policy, with the creation of more Legislative Assemblies in the homelands.

#### *Venda*

Venda was granted the first stage towards self-government with the inauguration of a Legislative Assembly on the 2nd February, 1973.

A 60-man Legislative Assembly was instituted with 15 government-nominated chiefs. Preparations for a general election were then put under way.

The first general elections for Venda were held on the 15th August, 1973. Two parties contested the elections. They are the pro-Government 'party' led by the Chief Minister of the six-man cabinet, Chief Patrick Mphephu, and the opposition party, the Venda Independence People's Party. The Chief Minister has not formed a party in the constitutional sense of the word. Believing in pro-Government chiefs he holds the sway over their stands on the Bantustan concept.

Leader of the opposition party is a Johannesburg businessman, Mr. Baldwin Mundau.

There were 403 polling districts for the 18 Assembly seats. The Opposition VIPP managed to win 10 seats and scored further victory by gaining 9 of the 15 Legislative Assembly seats for headmen. However, through sheer numbers with the 17 headmen and chiefs, automatic members to the Assembly, the ruling group managed to stay in power.

### *Gazankulu*

The Legislative Assembly for Gazankulu was inaugurated one day before that of Venda, February 1, 1973.

With 68 members, the Gazankulu Assembly also has a cabinet of six. 42 members hold designated seats. The other 26 were to be elected into the reconstituted Assembly. The election date for Gazankulu was October, 1973, with the results expected out by the 8 November. Until immediately before the elections there was as yet no party opposition to the ruling group headed by Professor H. Ntsanwisi.

### *KwaZulu*

The KwaZulu government went on with the taking over of various departments according to portfolios in the six-member cabinet. On April 1, 1973, the State Health Department was transferred to the KwaZulu Government. Employees have been asked to make contract with the new KwaZulu Department (*Argus* 9/5/73). The Education Department also introduced a Bill making English the medium of instruction in KwaZulu schools from Standard 3 upwards (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/5/73).

KwaZulu is still in the 'first phase' of semi-autonomy. The allocated government departments are still under Executive Councillors. The KwaZulu cabinet was formally installed on May 3, 1973, at Nongoma. The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M.C. Botha, was present.

On this same day the Zulu Royal Council was formally dissolved by the Paramount Chief, following urgings by the KwaZulu cabinet and the Zulu Government Legislative Assembly.

### *Lebowa*

This homeland is expecting Transkeian-type autonomy in 1974.

Lebowa went into general election on April 11th, 1973. There were two opposing groups under the leadership of cabinet ministers. The Chief Minister, Chief Mokgama Matlala, led the pro-Government group favouring the acceptance of separate development as laid down by the Government. Opposing Government policies was another cabinet minister, Mr C.N. Phatudi, whose faction has challenged many aspects of the Government's policies.

40 elected representatives were voted for, the others being chosen from 60 chiefs nominated to the 100-man Legislative Assembly.

The irony about the election is that it was a commoner, Mr C. Ramusi, who polled the highest vote in the election (*Rand Daily Mail* 2/5/73). Mr Ramusi is a supporter of Mr Phatudi. Both are commoners, though the constitution lays down that four of the six cabinet ministers must be chiefs.

The chiefs nominated to cabinet posts do not include the former Chief Minister, Chief Matlala. Two of the chiefs are former cabinet ministers under Chief Matlala.

Opinion has it that the exclusion of Chief Matlala is clear indication of the failure of attempts by the Government to retain power in homelands' Legislative Assemblies through the nomination of chiefs. Lebowa has a two-to-one ratio of chiefs to elected members. Yet the system did not pay off. (*Star* 9/5/73). The positions of elected speaker and deputy speaker went to commoners as well.

### *Ciskei*

This homeland had its general election in the early part of 1973. Leadership was assumed by a commoner, Mr Lennox Sebe, following the defeat of the traditionalist homeland leader, Chief Justice Mabandla. The Ciskei entered its second phase of development last year when its Legislative Assembly was opened and granted ministerial portfolios.

### *Basotho Qua Qua*

Basotho Qua Qua is the least 'developed' Bantustan. It is also the smallest of all the homelands.

Chief Mota is still Chief Councillor of the Legislative Assembly.

### *Bophutatswana*

The Tswana Legislative Assembly is still in the 'second phase' of its development. Like the Transkei it has an established anti-Government, opposition party, the Seoposengwe Party, working within the framework of separate development. It is the existence of this party which has forced the ruling faction under the leadership of Chief Mangope to take certain stands critical to Government policies.

### *Transkei*

The Transkei held a general election that was said to be the last one before the granting of full independence to this Bantustan.

The ruling Transkei National Independence Party again won the general election. Five seats were however lost to independent candidates.

The TNIP now has 27 of the 45 elected seats in the Legislative Assembly. The Opposition, the Democratic Party has 10. Three seats were lost to independent candidates by the Democratic Party. This means there are now 8 independent members in the Transkeian Legislative Assembly.

## B. Consolidation of the Homelands

### *KwaZulu*

According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development the consolidation of this Bantustan may take 10 years to complete (*Daily News* 8/11/73).

In the midst of growing dissent as to how KwaZulu ought to be consolidated, the following plan has been brought forward by the Government:

1. The area around Jozini Dam and the Makhathini Flats, to the Mozambique border will go to KwaZulu. Let it be noted here that Jozini Dam will have to be shared by both the KwaZulu Government (for Blacks) and the Pretoria Government (for whites).
2. The Ndumu Game Reserve bordering Mozambique—KwaZulu.
3. Some 46 300 ha. of which 239 was state land go to KwaZulu.
4. About 30 000 ha. to be distributed later to KwaZulu, 'when needed'.
5. Some 188 Black areas to be reduced to ten for KwaZulu.
6. Sordwana Bay, Impendle, Hlabisa and Ulundi—KwaZulu.
7. Small coastal area to the south of Durban; also to go to KwaZulu.

Harding, Richards Bay, Empangeni, Eshowe, Mtonjaneni and Babanango would remain white, according to the plan.

The area north east of Stanger along the coast would be allocated to the Dunn family. The Dunns today almost form a Coloured tribe in Zululand.

The Indians have not been constitutionally granted separate land except in terms of the Group Areas Act, which means they fall under white areas (*Mercury* 28/4/73).

The KwaZulu Chief Councillor has charged as 'avarice' the white Government's consolidation plan. There is general complaint over Jozini being split, and the exclusion of Richards Bay from KwaZulu (*Argus* 18/11/73).

### *Transkei*

Demands for better consolidation of the Transkei have been made by the Transkeian Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima. In his demands for the town districts of Port Saint Johns, Matatiele, Elliott, Maclear and Mount Currie, he has stressed the need for more land (*Argus* 28/4/73).

The village of Elliotdale became the 5th village in the Transkei to come under the control of a Black local committee (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/11/73). Other towns under Black local committees are Tsomo, Qumbu, Nqamakwe and Libode. Umtata, the capital of the Transkei, is not com-

pletely in Black hands.

### *Gazankulu*

The consolidation of this homeland has posed certain problems since the homeland's Legislative Assembly showed concern over the land deal given by the Government to this Bantustan.

The chief minister, Professor H. Ntswanisi, has made it plain that his homeland needs still more equitable land for its consolidation (*Star* 7/5/73). All the commercial centres were still under white control by the end of 1973. Giyane, the capital, is hardly a commercial centre. The Gazankulu leadership was not prepared to accept independence unless certain demands on land consolidation were met.

### *Lebowa*

The Legislative Assembly of Lebowa has rejected the Government's proposals to consolidate the homeland on grounds that the land issue has not yet been resolved. There are 12 'white' towns that the Blacks would want to have in any viable consolidation scheme. The people living in these towns should therefore not have to move before final consolidation.

The towns involved in the issue are Pietersburg, Potgietersrus, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Marble Hall, Phalaborwa, Tzaneen, Belfast, Groblersdal, Burgersfort, Witbank and Mooketsi.

The Lebowa Legislative Assembly has been unanimous on the land consolidation plan (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/6/73).

### *Bophuthatswana*

The eight blocs of land in this homeland, and its other small bits, may have to be consolidated into 3 large blocs (*Daily News* 6/4/73).

This scheme has been found to be unacceptable to the Tswanas, who prefer the consolidation of the Bantustan into a single bloc.

### *Basotho Qua Qua*

With only 46 000 hectares of land and a population of 50 000 this is the smallest Bantustan. The rest of the population is to be found outside the homeland.

It has been said that most of the land is unsuitable for farming, since this homeland is largely inarable. It would therefore be hard to finalise consolidation of a homeland which only has one factory (*Mercury* 20/9/73).

### *Venda*

This homeland has 3 pieces of land. Some of the land expected to be consolidated into it lies in Gazankulu and Lebowa.

*Ciskei*

The Pretoria Government is still being expected to consolidate the land in terms of the 1936 Land Act.

Like KwaZulu, it is not easy for the white Government to release land to the Ciskeian Xhosas. The Ciskei has been told to wait for as long as 15 years.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and other leading voices in the white sector have proposed that SOWETO, the urban complex near Johannesburg and covering a large area to the south of this city, be adjoined to the nearest Bantu homeland. The possible homeland, and nearest to the southern Reef, would be Basotho Qua Qua (*Rand Daily Mail* 25/7/73). The impediment would be that Soweto is not a predominantly Sotho urban complex. And that there are all the Black tribes of South Africa in Soweto.

**C. Legislative Moves**

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly proposed a levy of R2,00 for an educational tax so as to lighten the burden parents have to carry in educating their children. This would be in keeping with the KwaZulu government's wish of granting compulsory and free education to Zulu children (*Daily News* 9/5/73). A further R3,00 would also be levied annually on all Zulu tax payers (*Rand Daily Mail* 10/5/73). The Bill also provided for a fine of R100 or up to 3 months in prisonment in case of failure to pay.

The Transkeian parliament on the other hand passed legislation for the bridging of the salary gap for white and Black doctors. In future Black doctors working in Transkeian hospitals would be given the same salaries as their white counterparts. Though the Transkei Government employs one full-time Black doctor the step was seen as an enhancement of closures to white and Black wage gaps. At the same time such a step was aimed at attracting more Black doctors into posts offered by the homeland Government.

The Health Department has decided to appoint a Black doctor to take over from a white superintendent at Butterworth hospital. Dr Bikitsha would be granted a white salary scale (*Rand Daily Mail* 11/7/73).

The Transkei Department of Justice also decided to take over control of six more police stations in the following Transkeian areas: Cala, Cofimvaba, Nqamakwe, Flagstaff, Tsomo and Ntsikeni. Such a step was seen to be in keeping with the Africanisation programme of the Transkei Department of Justice.

Towns placed under municipal control of Africans reached five this year. This has been facilitated by the Transkei and Townships Board controlled in the Legislative Assembly.

To push further with the 'Africanisation' programme two more of the 26 magisterial districts would be staffed completely by Transkei Africans as from April 1974. There are presently four magisterial districts that are completely staffed by blacks. Mount Frere and Kentani are the further two that will bring the total to six (*Daily News* 3/10/73).

The KwaZulu Department of Agriculture passed through a Bill introducing a 3-year course in nature conservation at the Cwaka Agriculture College. There will be training in Agriculture and Forestry. Training in Forestry has been provided for by the granting of a portion of Umfolozi Game Reserve and the Ndumu Reserve to KwaZulu (*Daily News* 19/5/73).

Through the Legislative Assembly a Planning Committee consisting of white experts to draw up a national development plan has been passed by the KwaZulu government. The Committee is to look into the future prospects in land planning and conservation, the settlement of people, employment and income, welfare services, training and education (*Rand Daily Mail* 6/11/73).

#### **D. General Issues**

Press statements showing dissatisfaction expressed by Blacks over the Bantustan programme increased during the year. Among the many were:

- (a) The demand for more Bantustan land by almost all the Bantustan leaders.
- (b) The bitter complaints against pay differences in salaries and wages between whites and Blacks.
- (c) Gatsha's warning on possible revolutionary upheaval in South Africa. This was broadcast through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (*Rand Daily Mail* 5/9/73).
- (d) A plea to the whites 'to listen to the Black man for he has a message of hope ...' (*Daily News* 5/9/73).
- (e) The openly expressed wish for the federation of independent homelands by leaders of the different Bantustans.

#### *Lebowa*

The deputy leader of Lebowa, Mr Collins Ramusi, made a scathing attack against Nationalist policy on the issue of terrorists and political prisoners. These persons were Black and could not be written off as non-persons in terms of their crimes or in terms of Blacks primarily considering them as fellow Blacks (*Daily News*) 5/9/73).

The Chief Minister, Mr C.N. Phatudi, expressed concern over the consolidation of the homeland. From 14 pieces Lebowa was being reduced to 5 pieces. Even these 5 pieces were scattered. It was impossible to govern

scattered territories. Besides, more land was still needed.

The Lebowa Minister of Interior, Mr. Ramusi, backed a move by elements in the Lebowa Government to resist the Pretoria Government's intentions to uproot the people of Lebowa from one spot to another. These people had been mining in the area for 2000 years and did not want to move, according to one of the spokesmen (*Rand Daily Mail* 28/8/73).

### *Venda*

Although the pro-Government ruling party was returned to the Legislative Assembly, the victory belonged to the opposition Venda Independence People's Party. It is because of the power of the chiefs, through nomination, that the opposition lost.

The ruling party had intentions of banning the opposition. This has generally been held as being an undemocratic gesture.

Venda remains pro-Government.

### *Bophuthatswana*

The leader of the Legislative Assembly, Chief Minister Lucas Mangope has criticised the Government's intentions of introducing foreign investment in the homelands which gained press publicity before the Government had contacted the homeland leaders (*Rand Daily Mail* 2/7/73).

Chief Mangope has also laid claim to a sum of R240 m. from the South African Government for the development of his homeland because Tswanas have also contributed to the development of the South African economy (*Rand Daily Mail* 12/7/73). The Tswana leader further revealed that he would almost immediately set about arranging a summit conference for all homeland leaders. The conference did take place.

South African whites were warned that unless they began to champion change, the militant attitude of young Black would only spell danger; not only for the white but for South Africa's future.

Chief Mangope's land demands have now and then been reiterated by this Tswana leader, who also has predicted a one-man one-vote system for the whole of South Africa.

### *Gazankulu*

Criticism against the Government's consolidation plans has also been expressed in this homeland's Legislative Assembly. Professor H. Ntswanisi has expressed the desire by homeland leaders to be consulted before any move is taken by the Government over the homelands (*Rand Daily Mail* 4/7/73).

### *KwaZulu*

Following widespread strikes by Black workers throughout Natal, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly threatened to exercise its 'powers' in labour disputes by withdrawing labour from white areas when necessary. The action taken by the South African Government against striking workers at Richards Bay in March was heavily reprimanded by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who called it 'provocative and irresponsible' (*Rand Daily Mail* 4/3/73). Mr B.A. Dladla, the Councillor for Community Affairs, said he was decided on restricting labour for the protection of workers' rights. Mr Dladla is a member of the Institute of Industrial Education formed by the Natal-based Wages Commission and Benefit Fund.

What is contradictory about the stand taken by these KwaZulu leaders regarding the position of the workers and the whole Bantustan programme is that they do not serve the long-term interests of Blacks by criticising within a structure created for them by the Government.

On the rights of workers, restriction of labour inflow does not solve the worker's problem but merely makes him dependent on legislation for his movement. Again, there is the question of foreign investment. These leaders support it. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has even attacked publicly the British Trade Unions and the anti-apartheid movement for advocating withdrawal of British capital. Yet it is foreign backing that makes bargaining with the Government so hard to come by.

At a meeting called by the Natal Workshop for African advancement, Chief Buthelezi called for Africans to unite. He pointed out the political lethargy that followed Sharpeville and called for unity of all national efforts under one umbrella (*Rand Daily Mail* 16/7/73).

There has been wide opinion against the Chief Minister's political stand in his criticism of exiled leaders on the question of political prisoners. If one was honest enough on unity of all national efforts, then exiled leaders, political prisoners and anti-Bantustan leaders within the country would be encouraged and not criticised by the Chief Minister as his actions have shown.

It has been generally felt that it makes mockery of self-determination and Blackness to appreciate the two ideals and then want to contain the forces that emanate from these ideals.

As the year moved towards a close KwaZulu was facing a problem of going into election with a pro-Government party challenging the present ruling faction under Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

A new party led by the Chairman of the Legislative Assembly, Chief Hlengwa, has been formed. It is called Umkhonto ka Shaka (Shaka's Spear). Based on the platform of restoration of political executive powers

to the Zulu King, the party intends to contest the coming elections.

Chief Hlengwa is a Government appointed member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. He was elected Deputy Speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, until the resignation of the Chairman of the Assembly, the Prince Clement Zulu.

Chief Hlengwa has been involved in squabbles over the loyalty of chiefs to the KwaZulu Government. He was asked before the Assembly to explain his involvement in politics and to re-affirm his loyalty to the KwaZulu Government. This was during a period of differences between the Zulu Paramount Chief Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu, and the head of the KwaZulu Executive, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

(a) On the day of opening for the Legislative Assembly, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had levelled a charge of interference by the South African Government in Zulu Affairs. The Legislative Assembly called on the Paramount Chief, Zwelithini, to dissociate himself from the Zulu Royal Council following a clash between Chief Buthelezi and the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M.C. Botha (*Rand Daily Mail* 5/5/73).

(b) This move came as no surprise in view of the accepted fact that the Paramount Chief and the Chief Councillor for KwaZulu had become reconciled on the opening day of the Legislative Assembly. The reconciliation was confirmed by the dissolution of the Zulu Royal Council on the 2 May, 1973.

(c) On the demands for the dissolution of the Zulu Royal Council it was alleged that the head of the Zulu Royal Council, Prince David Zulu, had been discovered to have plotted for the ousting of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. The Paramount Chief then summoned Prince David Zulu to answer the allegations. Despite denials by Zulu, the Department of Information had admitted the writing had been done by Zulu. Prince David Zulu is believed to have given his support to the new party of Mr Hlengwa (*Sunday Express* 4/11/73).

(d) At a mass meeting held at Umbumbulu, the KwaZulu Chief Councillor, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, censured the leader of the new party, in his absence, laying open previous moves by Chief Hlengwa to divide Zulus. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi claimed that Chief Hlengwa was using the King or chieftainship against the interests of KwaZulu (*Mercury* 26/11/73).

(e) Zwelithini has openly criticised the formation of the Opposition Party, Shaka's Spear—and has refused to identify himself with that party and its policies. (*Mercury* 25/11/73).

It is worth noting that the secretary for the new party is Mr Lloyd Ndaba, the Johannesburg-based businessman who has run the Xhosa National

Party, the Zulu National Party, the Venda National Party and other ethnic national parties. Mr Ndaba has been editor of a now defunct newspaper 'Africa South' which propagates tribalist opinion (*Sunday Tribune* 4/11/73).

Meanwhile the land question loomed larger and larger. The KwaZulu consolidation was likely to remove some 206 000 Africans, some 8 070 Asians, 4 220 Whites and 1 510 Coloureds (*Rand Daily Mail* 5/6/73).

On the other hand the Blacks showed clear vision of what they wanted. Self-determination. The refusal by 35 chiefs, headman and councillors to move their people out of the Drakensberg locations No. 1 and No. 2, exposed the graveness of the land issue. The people said they were not moving.

One of the Hlubi chiefs blamed the farmers in the area and accused them of plotting with the Natal Parks Board.

'I say, "hands off our land"', he continued. "What we need is more land than that offered to us under the 1936 Act".

Another chief laid claim to more than 400 ha. of land taken by the Natal Parks Board (*Daily News* 18/6/73).

All the five chiefs whose land was affected were adamant in their intentions not to move out of the area. One of the chiefs is a direct descendant of Chief Langalibalele, leader of the Langalibalele Rebellion.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr A.J. Raubenheimer, told the Natal Agricultural Union, according to a report, that he 'agreed in principle' to the removal (*Rand Daily Mail* 23/6/73).

The seeming interest by the Natal Agricultural Union to see the land being transferred from African ownership to whites openly confirmed African suspicions over the whole issue (*Natal Mercury* 11/10/73).

### *Lebowa*

The removal of Blacks for resettlement met with opposition from Lebowa. There was also anxiety over wages received by the homeland's workers.

The Government-appointed leader of the Executive in the Legislative Assembly could not be re-elected to the Legislative Assembly. He had lost votes as leader of the Bantustan and as Chief Executive of the Cabinet.

The elected Minister of the Interior, Mr C. Ramusi, accused the Government of:

1. Trying to force Blacks into the homelands 'to live and die'.
2. Discrimination and humiliation of Blacks through the Apartheid laws.
3. Creating ethnic hatred amongst Blacks.

*Basotho Qua Qua*

This homeland has been seen as an example of the inadequacy of the Government policy of 'separate development'. Firstly the area is too small to make a viable Bantustan. Secondly it has no major town. Yet it is only 56 km. from Harrismith. Thirdly, there isn't enough water. The only source of economy is maize crops, peaches, cattle and goats.

There is only one hospital, run by missionary workers of the D.R.C.

Therefore it is worth concluding that Basotho Qua Qua cannot create a power structure strong enough to manage the running of a viable state.

*Ciskei*

Among the grievances brought out by the Ciskei Legislative Assembly were:

1. Shortage of finance.
2. Shortage of land.
3. Petty apartheid.
4. Labour problems.

The Chief Minister, Mr L. Sebe, also felt that there was no communication that was enough for co-operative work between whites and Blacks.

*Transkei*

According to the Chief Minister of this homeland, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, the last general election was said to be the last for the homeland until independence was granted by the Government. The ruling party was returned into office with a big majority.

On the other hand eight members of the Legislative Assembly took up Independent seats.

This was the third general election for the homeland. The opposition leader, Mr Knowledge Guzana, expressed misgivings over the issue and stated that the ruling party no more kept to its promises.

Chief K.D. Matanzima was another of the homelands leaders to show open backing for a federation of the different Bantustans.

Though the Transkei has talked of independence, a recent development has put in question the power of the Transkei Legislative Assembly. Recently an overseas practising doctor from the Transkei, Dr C. Bikitsha, was appointed medical officer for the Transkeian hospital at Butterworth. Dr Bikitsha had been living in Britain since 1939.

The notion held by many people was that the appointment would mean complete Black superintendence at the hospital. However, as both Black

and white pressures rose, a compromise was reached. The new appointee would act as medical officer under a white superintendent until a division of the hospital into a white and a Black sector had been done (*Star* 24/8/73).

The impatience of the Black middle class in the homeland leadership was expressed by the chief Councillor of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, when he said that amongst young Blacks he could see a certain 'impatience and militance'. The Chief was answering the question whether he did see any prospect of revolution in the country. However, he did state his commitment to non-violence. The Chief further stated that the main grievance of the Black was his lack of full human rights (*Star* 5/6/73).

Meanwhile the bannings against Black students were continuing. Following the first student bannings on SASO when 8 Black students, opponents of Separate Development, were issued with banning order restrictions, more Black students have been banned for student activities which naturally are anti-Government. Chief Gatsha was left with no choice but to condemn the bannings (*Mercury* 3/3/73).

The contention is held though, in many quarters, that the KwaZulu leader was only prompted by the simultaneous banning of 8 NUSAS leaders, among the first group of Blacks in March. Otherwise it is unlikely he would have voiced concern over the banning of Black students.

Already at the beginning of the year the Bantustan policy as a means of solving the country's racial problems had been challenged by a wing of the white nationalist leadership. It is this white questioning that led to the formation of Action South and Southern Africa (ASASA) by a former cabinet minister, Mr Theo Gerdener (*Argus* 26/2/73).

What is ironic about organisations such as ASASA is that the federal system advocated by the Bantustan leaders has met opposition from the same organisations. Mr Gerdener, a former Nationalist M.P., has recently formed a new organisation, the Democratic Party (*Rand Daily Mail* 6 11 73). Mr Gerdener advocates the formation of a commonwealth of independent homelands instead of federated 'Stans'.

This could mean that the Democratic Party is for white superiority, especially in the economic sphere. Further, this means that the federation concept is not only a compromise by homeland leaders but also a 'window dressing' designed for white counter-strategy.

The first move for a summit of homeland leaders to deal with federation and land consolidation was made by the leader of Gazankulu, Prof. Hudson Ntswanisi, in 1971. Then followed similar views from other homeland 'leaders': Chiefs L. Mangope, K.D. Matanzima and Gatsha Buthelezi (*Rand Daily Mail* 3/11/73).

The summit on federation did take place in November, 1973. Chief Lucas Mangope opened the meeting which was held at Umtata. All the homeland leaders, except two, were present. The chiefs who absented themselves were the leader of Basotho Qua Qua, Chief Mota, and the leader of Lebowa, Mr C. Phatudi. The Lebowa leader was represented by the Lebowa Minister of the Interior, Mr C. Ramusi.

Chief Mangope, on opening the summit, said he favoured federation but pleaded for immediate attention to more pressing issues. He also opposed a resolution calling for the granting of urban rights to Africans. He at the same time said he was against trade unions (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/11/73).

The leaders passed resolutions and planned for another such meeting in November 1974. It is to be noted that whites also attended the summit.

Amongst the resolutions passed were:

1. That a deputation of homeland leaders go to Cape Town in February, 1974 and discuss the land issue with the white parliament.
2. That the idea of federation was fitting to the homelands concept but had to be considered as a long term policy.
3. That the influx control laws be abolished.
4. That the central government pass on to the homeland governments all departments that constitute any viable state.
5. That Blacks should now try to establish a Black-owned bank for black people.
6. That white patches between homeland areas be removed by the Central government.
7. That homeland governments refrain from supporting the Government's uprooting of Black people.
8. That the homeland governments strongly disapproved of any racial discrimination.
9. That the expenditure incurred by the Pretoria central government was not commensurate with the direct taxes and services rendered by Blacks to the country's gross national product.
10. That as in the case of the other race groups, the Government should attend favourably to homeland estimates of revenue.
11. That the homelands be free to seek foreign help from foundations, agencies of the United Nations and church bodies.
12. That laws restricting Blacks, such as pass laws, influx laws, be repealed by the Government (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/11/73).

### *East London*

A call for the release of Black political prisoners was also made. This call came from the chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, Mr M. Naidoo. Mr

Naidoo said that as a precondition for the resolving of any of the country's political problems the political leaders on Robben Island (with the banned leaders) had to be taken into consideration. Mr C. Ramusi, the Minister of the Interior for Lebowa, supported the move.

The twist of the move came about when Chief Gatsha Buthelezi expressed feelings that the call for the release of political prisoners was aimed against him and also at dividing Blacks on who the leaders of the people are.

The Zulu chief seemed to have forgotten that no lasting solution and genuine self-determination could be reached in the absence of other parties, representing different opinion whether they be banned or not.

The leader of Bophuthatswana did not support a resolution calling for the entrenchment of urban rights for Africans. The said leader also disagreed with the urgings that Africans form trade unions.

What was of significance about this first meeting (Umtata), held in the capital town of a Bantustan, is that owing to licensing regulations on liquor rights this meeting had to be opened on the steps of the Black-owned hotel where it was held, since whites would not be allowed into the hotel. Another point of note was that if the homeland leaders were now making significant demands on the whole future of the country, as has generally appeared in the press, why then did they have to continue supporting separate development and refrain from accepting the fact that true self-determination could only come out of non-collaboration with separatism? This opinion has come from NIC, SASO, BPC quarters in consistency with these organisations' policies.

### **E. Opposition Against Bantustans**

Moves condemning the development of Bantustans as separate entities within a common South African economy continued to meet opposition from various quarters.

(a) *The Black People's Convention*: This Black organisation continued to openly reject Government policies and the Government-created Bantustans. Bantustans have been seen as not being representative of the true aspirations of the Black people as a whole.

In retaliation against this body the Government has banned members of the organisation on the executive level.

The Secretary General of BPC, Mr Drake Koka, and the Public Relations Officer, Mr Saths Cooper, were banned in March, together with the SASO and NUSAS leaderships. Restriction orders on other members of BPC have since followed.

BPC has shown determination not to be deterred by the bannings but to

continue rejecting Bantustans, criticising vacillating elements within the Black community and projecting Black nationhood based on a common franchise for all the Black peoples of Southern Africa. BPC does not pretend to include whites in its assessments on opposition against the present political system.

The reason for this contention by BPC is that there are hardly any whites who do really commit themselves to the type of change that would ensure a true and lasting political security befitting a voiceless majority.

(b) *The South African Students' Organisation*: There has been no change in the stand held by the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) as regards Bantustans. In March members of the SASO executive were served with banning orders and restricted to their home districts. Steve Biko, founder member and former President of SASO, was banned and confined to King Williams Town. At the time of the banning, Biko was Field Worker and Researcher for the Black Community Programmes, head office in Durban. It is largely through the efforts of Biko that BCP was able to publish the *Black Viewpoint*.

The other SASO leaders banned are Nyameko Pityana, founder member and Secretary General of SASO at the time; Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu, Permanent Organiser for SASO before his banning; Strinivasa Moodley, until the bannings the Publications Officer for SASO; Mr Jerry Modisane, who took over the presidency from a student who was toppled and later left country, on a scholarship for the U.S. was also banned and confined to Kimberley.

Though Bokwe Mafuna was not a member of SASO at the time of his banning he was closely associated with the students' organisation. Until his banning he was Field Worker for Black Community Programmes at the Johannesburg offices.

Bokwe Mafuna and Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu have since left the country together with 3 other leaders of SASO.

The Bantustan leaders have on the other hand not done anything constructive to protect the rights of the Black students in the various tribal universities against growing repression by the white authorities.

It was discovered that there was general disillusion amongst the educated Blacks with the way the Bantustan leaders claimed leadership over their fellow Blacks.

(c) *Individual Opposition*: Some elements within the Bantustan leadership have now and then gone against the official policy of Bantustan 'development'.

Opinion from some quarters holds that Bantustans are a creation of fascist-orientated thinking. And that in terms of human relations, historic demands on land, economic development and socio-cultural stability,

Bantustans cannot be seen as offering any positive solution to the white-created problem, of privilege and economic exploitation.

1973 has been seen as the year that brought the whole concept of separate development to the test when almost all the Bantustan leaders did not hold back their criticisms and when the Blacks showed signs of moving towards a questioning of the whole situation in the country.

### *Definition of a Homeland*

At one gathering held by a group of students at a seminar, it was observed that the term 'homeland' had to be 'totally' rejected by Blacks. The so-called homelands were no 'home' to Blacks, the reasons given being the following:

1. The absence of household existence at any time of the year except about 2 weeks during Christmas holiday—in almost all the reserves.
2. The awareness that absence of communal existence, with the physical existence in the locale, could not be curbed due to migratory labour.
3. The identification of urban Blacks with their places of residence in the cities and towns.
4. The acceptance by Blacks that all South Africa is their home.
5. The switch made by the white supra-structure of replacing the term 'reserve' with 'homeland' as strategy—in keeping with the philosophy of separatism.

The so-called homelands also were no 'land' because of the following reasons:

1. The labour resources in the reserves are there primarily for the economy of white South Africa.
2. The land offered to Blacks is only 13%, the rest going to whites.
3. Most rural land is not arable.
4. The good lands are in the hands of white farmers.
5. The long term prospect of Bantustans land means Blacks could not survive in such small allotments.
6. Blacks—even those in the rural areas were now dependent on white markets for their meat, milk, vegetables and corn.

Therefore the protagonists of Black Consciousness had to be aware of the fact that 'homelands' were, ironically, 'neither home nor land'.

*(Information supplied by Black Students)*

# Chapter Five

## SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL

### **Constitutional Development**

THERE HAS been no major change in development or status for the South African Indian Council in the past year.

What did create concern in the minds of the public was that SAIC meetings were held behind closed doors. Members of the Press were barred from attending. This ruling for the SAIC came out into the open when one of the members of the Council complained against the 'rulings that kept the Press out of important meetings' (*Daily News* 25/7/73).

This was shortly after an incident in which the Press could not attend an important SAIC meeting that was being held to discuss the possibilities of making the SAIC an elected body.

The SAIC is still Government-appointed. In the said meeting, the sixth one for the Council, it was announced that the Council would become a half-elected and half-nominated body. Fifteen members will be elected through an electoral college system on a provincial/regional basis. The other fifteen will be nominated by the Government.

At present the 25 members of the Council are Government-nominated. There is an Act, passed last year, which provided for 5 elected members in a Council of 30, instead of the proposed 15 members.

There is no voters' roll for Indians.

The first elections are planned for October 1974.

A device has been worked out by the Government and the SAIC Executive whereby 15 elected members will be voted for by means of the system of electoral colleges on a provincial/regional basis.

Informed sources claimed that only about 400 Indians would be able to vote in the election of the 15 members. They would consist of members of Local Affairs Committees and members of the existing Indian Town Boards who would vote through the electoral college system. Candidates need not be members of the SAIC or of the Town Boards.

However, the Secretary for Indian Affairs, Mr H.A. Prinsloo has said that the constitution of electoral colleges was not final.

It has been felt by some members of the SAIC that it was better to have 75% of the SAIC members elected, with only 25% being nominated members.

Indian Council members have promised they will not accept nominated positions if they are defeated in election seats.

The Government has increased the allowances granted to members of the South African Indian Council. The increases were as follows:

1. Chairman: from R2 400 p.a. to R4 800 p.a.
2. Executive Members: from R1 600 p.a. to R3 840 p.a.
3. Ordinary members: from R600 p.a. to R1 200 p.a.

Travelling allowances were also raised from R5,00 to R8,00 a day for ordinary members. Allowances for executive members were not disclosed. (*Mercury* 14/2/73).

The leader of the Indian Council, Mr A.M. Rajab died of a heart attack on 7 October, 1973. Mr Rajab was succeeded by Mr J.N. Reddy, another member of the South African Indian Council (*Post* 14/10/73). Mr Reddy is Managing Director of the Indian controlled New Republican Bank.

Controversy arose when the Memorial Service held at the Durban-Westville University to commemorate Mr Rajab's death was boycotted by students of that university. The Minister of Indian Affairs, Professor Horwood, also attended the service.

Another incident occurred when at a Sunday soccer match at Durban's Curries Fountain most football fans did not show respect for the minute of silence, announced by one of the soccer officials, to mark Mr Rajab's death.

These incidents, sad as they are, were seen by many to be a demonstration of non-allegiance to the South African Indian Council leadership.

### *Issues taken up by the Council*

The Indian Council, through negotiation with the central Government, managed to have Durban's Grey Street complex declared an Indian area after long deliberation on the issue. It was in February when the chairman of the SAIC announced assurances that Grey Street would be re-declared Indian.

What the Council leader did not mention was that the position of Africans who once made their living in the Grey Street area was being put at the back of the picture.

Further, it was learned from Government sources that the delay in the proclamation had been caused by the South African Indian Council itself (*Daily News* 21/2/73).

The SAIC saw the Marriages Act as not being accommodative to Hindu marriage rites. The Council tried to have the Marriages Act amended so that most Hindu marriages could be recognised by the Law (*Natal Mercury* 16/2/73).

Like all the other Government-created platforms the SAIC also joined in the demands for improved wages for Black workers (*Mercury* 9/2/73).

When the Government failed to recognise the Indian-formed Association of Education and School Fund Committees, a SAIC member, Mr M.B. Naidoo, levelled dissatisfaction with the Government treatment of that body (*Leader* 6/4/73).

On the question of foreign investment the SAIC has expressed support for investment by foreign companies. Following in the steps of homeland leadership the Council argues that foreign investment will be to the advantage of the Black population.

The Council under the leadership of Mr J.N. Reddy reiterated its claim it was not a stooge body. According to Mr Reddy the aims being pursued by the SAIC were:

1. Having qualified Indians in senior education posts.
2. Placing emphasis on technical and vocational training for Indians.
3. Pushing to have Indians make a break into industry.
4. Seeing to it that Chatsworth is extended to Shallcross and Mariannhill, in a bid to increase Indian housing.

The bid to have Chatsworth extended was seen by many as carrying latent racism in the SAIC. The argument propped being that the area between Chatsworth and Mariannhill also had a dense African population. Already Chatsworth, it was claimed, went as far as Welbedacht—an area said to have once been thickly African. And therefore that the regardless attitude of the SAIC was just as prejudiced as White pretence against the fact that Africans onced lived in what is now Durban and the Bluff. Not all Africans came from outside Durban and became squatters; instead white expansion gradually pushed Africans out of areas that whites decided to occupy and 'develop'. In view of this fact therefore it has to be taken into consideration that there are some Africans around the Shallcross-Mariannhill area who could claim their fathers had lived in the area long before Union and the Land Acts.

The South African Indian Council also pleaded with the South African Government to waive duty charges on imported rice. This call came at the time when rice prices were escalating at an unprecedented rate since the last World War. Since rice is staple food for the Indian community the rise in rice prices was likely to affect the lowly paid sector amongst Indians (*Rand Daily Mail* 6/11/73).

### *General Issues*

The SAIC is a half-nominated and half-elected body. Widely expressed opinion holds that the Indian community would prefer to have SAIC members elected directly by Indians rather than have half of the Council nominated by the Government (*Natal Mercury* 3/11/73).

During the year the Council seemed to have created resentment amongst the Indian Community. The argument was that the SAIC was isolating the Indian group from the other Black groups by supporting the given framework for operation. By hoping on the sharing of power with the whites (*Mercury* 21/5/73), and at the same time rejecting Black awareness, the SAIC was treading on dangerous grounds. It became clear that the SAIC had vested interests in the status quo. SAIC's counter argument was that by their persistence and persuasion they had managed to win concessions from the Government (*Leader* 10/8/73).

The plea by a SAIC member, Mr H.E. Joosub, to have the Government allow Indian business in multi-racial areas (*Daily News* 20/8/73) was an example of such contradiction within the Council, more so because SAIC had openly gone against Cannavassan, near the Newlands and Greenwood Park areas, being declared a Coloured group area.

Another SAIC member had expressed concern over the proposed removal of Indians from the Glendale area near Stanger. This area was to go KwaZulu, according to Government consolidation plans. Yet the plight of Africans in the Inanda, Stanger, Verulam, Mariannahill and Newlands areas had however received no attention or sympathy from the South African Indian Council.

Bitter resentment was expressed when India rejected an offer of R10 000 from South Africa's Indian group (*Rand Daily Mail* 6/1/73).

The sum, donated by the South African Indian group mainly, was refused acceptance by the Indian Government.

General comment from some circles was that India's refusal was justified. The South African Indian community (the business and leadership sectors) was interested in sending money to relieve Bengal's masses when South Africa herself had thousands of starving masses within the three Black groups. Charity, it was claimed, had to begin at home.

### **Opposition Against the South African Indian Council**

Opposition against the SAIC increased during the year.

Students at the Durban-Westville University campus boycotted the opening of that University by the Prime Minister, Mr B.J. Vorster, in the presence of SAIC leaders. This student attitude was repeated at the death of the SAIC Executive leader, Mr A.M. Rajab, when the memorial service for him was boycotted by students.

### *Opposition from the Natal Indian Congress*

The NIC decided to continue in its stand against the South African Indian Council and Government policies.

At the same time NIC claimed that its Constitution did not bar its followers from serving on Local Affairs Committees in terms of Government Legislation or from joining the South African Indian Council. Local Affairs Committee members and members of the SAIC were also free to join the NIC (*Mercury* 23/7/73).

This new stand by the NIC has been interpreted as a compromising move by the more militant organisations such as SASO and BPC. A leading member of the NIC however 'unofficially' stated that this 'tactical move' by the NIC did not spell any change in the 'overall strategy' of that organisation, namely, the realisation of a non-racial South Africa with equal rights for all. This was after a weekly newspaper (*Leader* 27/7/73) had carried a scathing attack against what it regarded as 'verbal gymnastics' by NIC leaders who chose the prudence of working within the scope of separatism 'where necessary'.

At the Sharpeville anniversary meeting held in the Kajee Hall in Leopold Street on March 21, the chairman and president of the NIC urged that Blacks continue in their efforts for true freedom.

The chairman, Mr Chanderdeo Sewpershad, was subsequently charged with incitement of racial hostility.

Others charged on racial hostility urgings were the banned Public Relations Officer of the BPC, Mr Saths Cooper, and other members of the BPC.

The court magistrate however found no substantial evidence to the charge and Mr Sewpershad was acquitted on June 29, 1973 (*Daily News* 29/6/73).

### *Opposition from SASO*

SASO is against organisations or bodies working within the present Government-created system of operation. SASO has therefore openly rejected SAIC policies and the role played by the SAIC in student affairs at



# Chapter Six

## COLOURED REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

### **Stage of Development**

THE COLOURED Persons Representative Council opened its 5th session on 3rd August, 1973. The session was opened by the President of the Senate, the Hon. J. de Klerk.

The development stage of the Coloured Representative Council remained as it was. Instead the CRC approached the near danger of disintegration (see below).

### *Matters taken up by the Council*

The last session was one of the most turbulent sittings in the history of the CRC. There were more demands made by the CRC members for (1) influence (2) power.

Among the issues that came before the CRC were:

The future status of the Coloured people within the concept of Separate Development.

The position of the University of the Western Cape and its future running.

The growing deracination of the Coloured people and their streaming into major urban areas.

Growing restrictive legislation by the Government on Blacks.

Plans for a possible coming election in 1974 (*Cape Argus* 2/8/73).

Coloured usage of the term Black (*Star* 22/8/73).

The CRC tabled a Bill for consideration by 22 September, 1973 on financial assistance for Coloured farmers or prospective farmers. It was felt that Coloured farmers or prospective farmers needed financial backing in the form of loans (*Cape Times* 10/8/73).

A budget of one hundred and eleven million rand (R111m) was passed by 30 votes to 25. The budget was passed in the midst of no confidence in the CRC (*Cape Times* 23/8/73).

Some of the budget would be utilised as follows:

- (a) R21 million would go to the building of Coloured schools, as an additional to money already provided for Coloured Education.
- (b) An extra R2,00 per month would be paid to recipients of disability grants, aged pensions, blind and war veterans pension.
- (c) R2,50 per month extra would be granted to recipients of maintenance grants.
- (d) An increase of 50 cents per month would be granted to recipients of child grants (*Cape Times* 4/8/73).

The status of Coloured persons and their rights have been jointly discussed by the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr S. van der Merwe, the Prime Minister and members of the CRC. Topics that have been covered thus far include:

1. The carrying of fire-arms by Coloureds residing in rural areas.
2. The possibilities of consolidating Griqua farms in East Griqualand into a Coloured rural area.
3. The status of the CRC in its certain specific aspects.
4. Permit rights for the entry of Coloureds into Namibia (*Star* 9/11/73).

A motion was raised in the CRC to grant the vote to 18 year olds. This motion did not pass through the vote.

Another motion calling for the removal of the white rector at the University of the Western Cape was narrowly defeated by 27 votes to 24. The Commission of Enquiry set up subsequent to the disturbances at the University, was given support for continuation in its findings (*Cape Times* 10/8/73).

The CRC made achievement with the Government's scrapping of 'Other Coloured' in its race classification clauses. According to the Social Democratic Party leader, Mr E.G. Rooks, this term had for a long time been opposed by the CRC since it was found to be insulting and dividing Coloureds (*Mercury* 3/8/73).

The position of Coloureds in the Transkei was also taken up by the CRC.

This resulted in the Cape Town parliament deciding that Coloureds in the Ciskei and the Transkei would have to vacate the homelands (*Rand Daily Mail* 17/10/73).

The CRC went further into the matter. Until the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr S. van der Merwe, had to say that the position of Coloureds in the Transkei had been cleared. According to the Minister, the Coloured people were not compelled to leave the Transkei, except those who wished to do so. The same applied with Ciskeian Coloureds. This assurance of Coloured citizenship was timed well, with the reiteration by the KwaZulu Executive Councillor, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, that Coloureds in KwaZulu would not be discriminated against (*Star* 10/11/73).

CRC debates on the University of the Western Cape did not go unnoticed. Following the Commission of Enquiry, the Government has appointed the first Black rector-designate for a tribal university. He is Dr R.E. van der Ross.

The appointment of a Black rector for UWC has been seen as a precedent that could be followed by the homeland universities (*Post* 4/11/73).

## General Issues

(a) *Deadlock within the CRC* was reached already in 1972 when the Government did not respond favourably to CRC demands. In the previous sitting of 1972, the 4th session, demands by the CRC had strongly been rejected.

Amongst many others, the CRC had:

1. Urged for the appointment of a Coloured rector for UWC.
2. Urged that the South African Railways employ Coloured applicants as stokers, conductors, inspectors, shunters, engine drivers and ticket examiners, and that these be given white rates of remuneration.
3. Asked that Coloureds be trained for service in the Diplomatic Corps with South African embassies and consulates.
4. Requested that Coloureds enter South West Africa (Namibia) without restriction.
5. Asked for detailed programmes to eliminate salary discrimination against Coloureds in the Public Service within 5 years.

The Government response was negative.

1. When a vacancy occurred at UWC, a white rector Prof. Kriel was appointed Rector as from January, 1973.
2. The Government claimed it unpractical and impracticable to

- readily provide vacancies for non-whites in the Railways Department other than as artisans' assistants, helpers, cooks, deckhands, porters.
3. The Government actually considered it more effective to have Coloured leaders going abroad 'on their own' rather than have Coloureds in the Diplomatic services.
  4. On the question of unrestricted entry into S.W.A. (Namibia) the Government turned down the request after 'thorough consideration of all facts'.
  5. The Government promised it would narrow the wage gap existing in the Public Service.
  6. A CRC resolution that Coloured women be trained as hostesses for the South African airways was rejected.
  7. Also rejected was a CRC resolution calling for a Government let-up in taxi apartheid.
  8. The Government rejected a CRC call for Coloured pensions to be equal to those of whites (*Cape Times* 10/8/73).

(b) *Multi-Racial Commission*: The State President appointed a multi-racial commission of enquiry which would investigate the future development of the Coloured people.

The 20-member Commission of Enquiry was to be led by a white sociologist, Professor Erika Theron. Included in the Commission were members of both the Nationalist Party and the United Party. Two M.P.'s representing the 2 parties were also included.

Coloured representatives in the Commission included Dr R.E. van der Ross, a Cape Town educationist and the newly appointed rector-designate of UWC, and Mr J.A. Rabie, a member of the Coloureds' Representative Council (*Cape Argus* 24/2/73).

Matters affecting the Coloured people that the Commission had to make findings on were:

Progress of the Coloured people in the social, educational, economic and community development.

Progress of the Coloured people's participation in commerce, industrial development and agricultural development.

Occupational participation and all matters related thereto.

Development in constitutional matters and all other matters relevant thereto.

Progress in the Coloured people's participation in sport, culture etc.

The Commission of Enquiry would further investigate hinderances identifiable as obstacles in the fields examined.

Any other matters relevant to the enquiry in any form would be investigated (*Cape Argus* 24/2/73).

(c) *Reaction to the Commission:* The appointment of the Commission of Enquiry was largely seen as a rejection of homeland plans for the Coloured people.

Its multi-racial composition was interpreted to mean that the verlig opinion which identifies Coloureds as belonging to the white sector were succeeding (*Sunday Tribune* 25/4/73).

Mr Myburgh Streicher a United Party M.P., remarked that the inclusion of Coloured persons in the Commission was an indication of goodwill (*Cape Argus* 24/2/73).

The Administrative Secretary to the Federal Party, Mr P. Swartz, welcomed the commission.

Different reaction came from the Progressive Party leader, Mr C. Eglin, who criticised the exclusion of 'an important part of the political spectrum'.

The Head of the Department of Philosophy at U.W.C., Mr Adam Small, remarked that the Commission could only be looked at 'as rather a waste of time' and could not be taken seriously.

A stronger rejection of the Commission was expressed by Labour Party leader Mr Sonny Leon who said the Commission was biased since it was composed of persons supporting separate development and thus the composition of the Commission was unacceptable to Coloured people (*Cape Argus* 24/2/73).

The Commission of Enquiry was not a new idea. Three years ago a United Party member of Parliament suggested that the Government appoint a Commission of Enquiry on the affairs of the Coloured people. This motion was rejected by the Government on grounds that liaison with the Coloured people was sufficient (*Rand Daily Mail* 23/7/73).

Serious concern at the lack of progress and meaningful function of the CRC was expressed by both the Federal Party and the Labour Party members. The move to set up a commission was therefore seen as appeasement against the growing dissatisfaction in Coloured politics (*Rand Daily Mail* 23/7/73).

### **The Different Parties, their Activities**

(a) *Federal Coloured People's Party:* The Federal Party stood severe tests as the ruling party within the CRC. Its Government-appointed member of the CRC, Mr M.B. Saval, resigned from the party to take seat as an Independent. This resignation threatened the position of the Federal

Party who were left with 29 votes against the Labour Party's 29.

However, the FCPP did gain a member from the Labour Party. The member who defected Labour to join the Federals is Mr J.D. Petersen. The Federal Party was also the only party in the CRC to have a member sitting on the Commission of Enquiry. The member, Mr J.A. Rabie, is a Government-nominated member of the CRC.

Despite lack of popular support the Federal Party managed to defeat some motions raised by members of the opposition Labour Party. Important motions defeated by the Federal Party were:

A motion called by the Labour Party that the vote be given to 18 year old Coloureds.

The motion was defeated by 28 votes to 24.

A Labour Party move that the white rector of the UWC be removed from the post of rectorship.

The motion was rejected by 27 votes to 24.

A motion that the CRC disband during the debate on the budget.

The Federal Party managed to win a vote on the closing of the 5th session by 28 votes to 19 despite Labour's urgings for continuation of the session.

Mr J.A. Rabie, a Federal member, called for freehold rights for Africans in the towns (*Cape Times* 24/8/73) whilst Mr Tom Swartz called for the retention of the Griqua Trust and the giving back of more land taken from the Griqua people (*Cape Argus* 24/8/73).

A motion raised by the Federal Party member, Mr J.A. Rabie, that December 1 be declared a public holiday in commemoration of the emancipation of slaves received unanimous support from the CRC house in session. The CRC was asked to negotiate with the Government on the motion (*Cape Times* 17/8/73).

It was a 'victory score' for Coloureds in terms of Government concessions, when the Federal Party leader, Mr Tom Swartz, announced that Coloured mechanics would get an equal rate of pay as that of their white counterparts. Mr Swartz claimed to have received assurances from the Department of Labour in Pretoria that as long as Coloured mechanics were duly qualified, facilities and fringe benefits would be the same as for whites. The only difference was that they would only be allowed membership of Coloured trade unions (*Cape Times* 15/8/73).

The Federal Party did openly express itself against Government actions when, following a statement by the Minister of the Interior, Dr Mulder, the leader of the Federal Party moved that the house in session make a protest adjournment. An all-party committee was to be formed to make de-

putation to the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr S. van der Merwe, and to the Minister of the Interior, Dr Mulder (*Star* 27/8/73).

*Federal merger with NCPP:* The Federal Party and the National Coloured People's Party merged into one party. The merger followed a decision taken at the Annual Congress of the NCPP. The leader of the NCPP is Mr Clarence September.

No new name was issued following the merger since it was the NCPP amalgamating into the Federal Coloured People's Party by unanimous vote (*Rand Daily Mail* 8/10/73).

The Federal Party showed a token of Black solidarity with the opposition Labour Party when the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Sonny Leon, was refused a passport by the South African Government.

(b) *Social Democratic Party:* The Social Democratic Party (SDP) did not show much initiative within the CRC in 1973. Nevertheless a significant motion raised by an SDP member of the CRC, Mr E.G. Rooks, was carried through with unanimous support. Mr Rooks had moved that white inspectors in Coloured education be replaced by Coloureds.

The reasons for the motion were:

That there were already Coloured inspectors who managed the positions fairly well—he cited an example of 2 Natal Coloured inspectors;

That white inspectors by virtue of higher salaries failed to recognise Coloured inspectors except as assistants;

That because of harassment by white inspectors there were Coloured teachers who were leaving the profession and;

Already there were 16 Coloured inspectors for education and 10 subject inspectors.

The motion also called for the replacement of all inspectors who had reached retiring age with Coloured men (*Cape Times* 17/8/73).

It was also largely owing to Mr Rooks that the persistent refusal by Coloureds to accept the term 'other Coloured' in race classification finally registered on the Government's conscience. The term, regarded by Coloured spokesmen as insulting the Coloured people has subsequently been scrapped from official usage.

(c) *Independents:* Independents are CRC members with no party affiliation in the CRC but at liberty to vote for either of the two main parties during session debates.

The Independents increased their seats from one to three in the CRC.

They are Mr Lofty Adams, Mr Solly Essop and Mr A.B. Savhal. Messrs Essop and Savhal are former Federal members who left their party on points of principle.

Mr Adams is the one member of the CRC who threw focus on Black Consciousness in the CRC. He is also a former Federal Party member (*Cape Times* 2/8/73). Mr Adams brought controversy into the CRC house in session when he moved that the Coloured Persons Representative Council adopt the term 'Black' to mean all persons of colour other than white and that the term 'Black' be used officially in the CRC.

(d) *Labour Party*: The Labour Party began the year on a bumpy course. Labour members had first seen the Government appoint a Commission of Enquiry into all the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the Coloured community (*Sunday Tribune* 25/2/73).

Growing criticism and opposition against the Pretoria Government were seen as possible reasons that would lead to further moves by the Government to want to muzzle opposition and criticism. The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Sonny Leon, expressed the feeling that the outspoken views of leaders like Chief Kaizer D. Matanzima and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi—both lashing against apartheid and the finality of its concepts, were really bugging the Government (*Cape Times* 2/3/73).

It was with this kind of directive that the Labour Party began its annual conference in Durban on April 20. The Conference was opened by the Chief Executive Councillor for KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (*Leader* 20/4/73).

During this conference the Labour Youth Organisation (LYO), the militant wing of the Labour Party, demanded that the Labour Party take a definite stand on Blackness and Black Awareness. The youth organisation raised a motion that the Labour Party be open to all races for membership.

Though the Party leader, Mr Sonny Leon, had openly stated in his opening speech that the CRC was a necessary channel for the Coloured people, LYO urged that the step of opening ranks was of vital necessity even if it meant the Labour Party's withdrawal from the CRC (*Star* 23/7/73). This move, LYO argued, was a test against the Government's Improper Interference Act which does not allow political activity across colour lines. The Act, LYO stated, was created specifically for the separation of races in political involvement.

After heated debates on the possibilities of open membership, the Party voted in favour of allowing persons other than Coloured into the Labour Party. Mr Leon endorsed the decision taken. Labour was thus challenging the Improper Interference Act and its white frame of reference amidst Black Consciousness and the Black experience.

The Labour Party also refused to have anything to do with the Government's Commission of Enquiry on the economic, social and political future of the Coloured people. The Party would prepare a memorandum on the lines of the Declaration of Human Rights and circulate it amongst the people of South Africa. A Labour spokesman pointed out the inclusion of members of the Broederbond in the Enquiry Commission (*Rand Daily Mail* 23/7/73).

The Labour Party proved militant and challenging for the CRC platform. Having adopted Black Consciousness as the philosophy that could bring about Black solidarity and common purpose against the Government, the Party went on to make demands and register reactions for the Coloured people and for all Blacks.

Amongst these were:

A demand by a Labour member of the C.R.C., Mr Oosthuizen, for more schools for Coloureds in the Boland (*Cape Herald* 2/6/73).

A call on the central Government to shelve its expenditure on armaments so that the money could be used on the education of Blacks (*Mercury* 23/4/73).

That a test case be made on the Party's decision to open ranks in the Party's Youth Wing to all races, as challenge to the central Government's Improper Interference Act (*Rand Daily Mail* 21/5/73).

That the Government improve the living conditions existing in the country for all race groups rather than focus a terrorist threat which was caused by alienation of the majority of the people in the country (*Rand Daily Mail* 31/5/73).

That the Verligte Action Movement expect no co-operation from Blacks if it followed the path of white political parties (*Rand Daily Mail* 2/7/73).

That Blacks had to decide their future and the future of the country (*Rand Daily Mail* 28/7/73).

That the education of Coloured people go into the hands of the Coloured people themselves.

That farm workers be given consideration as to their wages and the Masters and Servants Act be repealed.

Two major controversies that affected the policies of the Labour Party almost led to the disbandment of the CRC. The first was the Government's appointing of a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the whole situation of the Coloured people. The second was the Government's withdrawal of a passport from the Labour Party leader, Mr Leon.

The withdrawal of Mr Leon's passport, caused country-wide concern

over the Government's policies of not allowing leaders of its platform to operate freely.

The Minister of the Interior then made certain remarks on the CRC and the CRC leader Mr Tom Swartz.

Mr Swartz and the CRC made a protest move by adjourning the CRC session for the day. Unanimity on this issue was expression of commonness of situation for all members of the house as Coloured people (*Cape Times* 25/8/73).

A Labour motion to have the CRC adjourned for the rest of the year was narrowly defeated by the Federal Party by 28 votes to 27 (*Rand Daily Mail* 31/8/73).

Mr Sonny Leon, the Labour Party leader, has said that if he won the elections for the fully elected Coloured Parliament he would see to it that this Government-created institution, the CRC, is closed down immediately. This would be in keeping with contention held by the Labour Party that this party claims to be in the CRC so as to legally register the will of the people (*Cape Times* 4/8/73).

On the opening day of the 5th session of the CRC Labour members boycotted the official opening by a Government Senator and in the initial debate moved that the CRC disband since it was ineffectual and only wasted taxes paid by the people. The motion was defeated by a narrow vote.

Two Independent members of the CRC joined in the boycott of the opening.

During the debate on the budget, a Labour Party member asked that the Federal Party reject the budget and leave it to the Minister of Coloured Affairs to pass. This, the member said, would bring about desired confrontation with the Minister. Meanwhile the Coloured leaders would be approaching the people on the issue. Dialogue between the Minister and the Federal Party were deemed fruitless. The Coloured people, the member said, could not be grateful for such a budget (*Cape Times* 16/8/73).

Mr Sonny Leon said that unless foreign investment meant that foreign investors were prepared to share in the upliftment of Blacks in this country then they (foreign investors) were of no help to Blacks. It was best that foreign investment cease (*Rand Daily Mail* 9/11/73).

Labour raised a motion that the vote be given to 18 year olds. This move, had it been passed through, would have given Labour a wider support especially from the Labour Youth Wing (*Cape Times* 15/8/73).

Though the Labour leader was accused of taking a soft line on issues such as foreign investment and Black Consciousness he did go to the extent of suggesting that Black leaders call a meeting so as to discuss the plight of the Blacks and 'the urgent need for change'. On the other hand he did state that

he was against Black Power (*Rand Daily Mail* 5/7/73).

Following the banning last year of a Labour Party leader in Natal, Mr Dempsey Noel, the Government issued banning orders on another Labour Party leader, Mr Achmat Dangor. Mr Dangor was leader of the Labour Youth Wing.

A banning was also imposed on the man who led Labour Youth at the last congress of the Labour Party. Mr Don Mattera, who resigned as Public Relations Officer for the Labour Party and joined the Black People's Convention, was also issued with a banning order during the year.

### **Crisis within the CRC**

A growing opposition against the limited powers of the CRC was registered by several CRC members during the session of 1973. The 5th session of the CRC opened amidst rumours that the Labour Party members of the Council would boycott the opening speech by the Senator, the Honourable Jan de Klerk, President of the Senate.

The official opening was boycotted. Then after lunch the opposition members tabled their non-confidence motion (*Cape Times* 3/8/73). The motion was ruled out of order by the Chairman of the House.

The urges for walk-outs were pretty common during the session. One motion even came from the Federal Party. Federal Party member Mr A.C. Jacobs declared during the budget debate that the CRC should be abolished in protest against the diabolical system of discrimination under which the Coloureds lived (*Cape Times* 16/8/73).

Point of crisis came when the Minister of Interior made allegedly harsh statements against the leader of the CRC, Mr Tom Swartz, on the Leon passport issue. On August 31 the CRC decided to close its 5th session until September 12 in protest against actions and statements of the said Minister. The two major parties in the CRC were unanimous on this move.

It is worth noting that the Federal Party managed to pass resolution that the heated CRC session for 1973 be closed. This was on 9 September. Almost 2 weeks after the Labour move on the closing of the session had been defeated.

The move to close session was now being opposed by the Labour Party who claimed that there were still about 27 motions to be discussed. All of them of vital importance to the CRC.

By 28 votes to 19 the CRC session was adjourned until July 19, 1974 (*Cape Times* 14/9/73).

### **Opposition to the CRC**

The CRC went into its fifth session in the face of a growing opposition against its existence from outside and from within its own ranks.

Pressures against the operation of the CRC were mounted when the Labour Youth Organisation (LYO) won a motion to open the youth movement to all races, even if this meant withdrawal from the CRC by the Labour Party. Urging Black solidarity, leaders of LYO threatened that LYO would join the Black People's Convention unless the motion was passed. The chief movers of the motion were Don Mattera and Achmat Dangor. The two leaders have since been banned by the Government.

A resolution was passed allowing all races to the Labour Youth Organisation (*Daily News* 23/4/73).

SASO continued to reject the CRC as a Government-created platform instituted for the propagation of Government policies which SASO opposes. SASO has called for a total boycott of Government institutions by all Blacks and has urged the various Black groups to work in concert for their survival (*Mercury* 7/3/73).

The Black People's Convention also maintains its rejection of the CRC and all other Government-created platforms. BPC had its score of victory when the Public Relations Officer of the Labour Party, Mr Don Mattera resigned from his party to join BPC. Mr Mattera was leader of the Labour Youth Wing of the Labour Party. It is through the forceful steering of Mr Mattera that the Labour Party agreed to open the Labour Youth Wing to all races.

A Labour Party member resigned from the CRC on grounds that it is useless as a vehicle for the Coloured people's aspirations. He is Mr L. V. du Preez, member for Newclare (*Cape Argus* 7/8/73).

# Chapter Seven

## EDUCATION FOR BLACKS (Primary and Secondary)

### Enrolment

ENROLMENT STATISTICS of black pupils were given in Parliament during 1973 by the ministers of the relevant departments.

### *Coloureds*

The figures for the Republic were as at September 1972, and for SWA as at March 1973:

	Republic	South West Africa
Sub A	104 092	2 130
Sub B	88 450	2 063
Std. 1	78 883	1 990
Std. 2	66 649	1 842
Std. 3	57 916	1 617
Std. 4	48 485	1 377
Std. 5	38 524	1 196
Std. 6	29 313	1 024
Std. 7	17 894	619
Std. 8	11 715	379
Std. 9	4 766	164
Std. 10	2 483	48

*Africans*

The figures for Sub A to Standard 6 were not disclosed. The figures given for Form 1 to Form 5 were as at March 1972 (the Transkei excluded):

	White Areas	African Areas
Form 1	20 844	32 845
Form 2	14 436	24 472
Form 3	10 614	16 053
Form 4	2 841	5 055
Form 5	1 449	2 398

*Indians*

The figures for Indian pupils were as at March 1972:

	Natal	Transvaal	Cape	Total
Class i	18 405	2 249	74	20 728
Class ii	17 580	2 289	89	19 958
Std. 1	16 862	2 153	85	19 100
Std. 2	14 971	2 083	107	17 161
Std. 3	13 877	1 858	102	15 837
Std. 4	12 631	1 930	99	14 660
Std. 5	14 591	2 195	77	16 863
Std. 6	14 832	2 299	68	17 199
Std. 7	9 780	1 786	56	11 622
Std. 8	7 227	1 725	47	8 999
Std. 9	4 647	1 092	—	5 739
Std. 10	3 224	616	—	3 840
Special Classes	—	—	—	435

**Double Sessions**

The Minister of Bantu Education disclosed in Parliament during 1973 that 10 209 Sub. A and Sub. B. classes (or 892 961 pupils) were involved in double sessions, while 1 437 Standard 1 and Standard 2 classes (or 91 528 pupils) were involved. The system apparently no longer operates beyond Standard 2 in African schools.

The Minister of Coloured Relations reported that 1 797 classes, or 61 098 pupils, were involved in double sessions in Coloured schools.

For Indians, the figures given were: sub-standards: 182 classes or 6 672 children; Standards 1 and 2: 142 or 5 315; Standards 3 and 4: 32 or 1 054; Standards 5 and 6: 8 or 241.

### Examinations

*African:* At the beginning of 1973 there was a sensation about an alleged 'fixing' of African standard six examination results by the Department of Bantu Education by issuing circuit inspectors with directives instructing them to modify results according to the following quotas:

First class passes	10 percent
Second class passes	35 percent
Third classes	35 percent
Failure	20 percent

This was from a report of the education committee of the African Teachers' Association of S.A., which claimed the results had been manipulated (*Rand Daily Mail* 22/2/73).

The ATASA case became stronger when a few days later a report appeared in a newspaper that five pupils at a Soweto Higher Primary School had 'failed' standard six examination. But after representations by their parents, the five were issued with pass certificates. The parents believed that their youngsters were failed under the 'quota' system prescribed by the Bantu Education Department. Mr W.S. Pikoli, secretary of the school committee at Lukholweni Higher Primary School in Soweto, was one of the parents whose children had been failed. He and other parents approached a Progressive Party member of the Johannesburg City Council, Dr Selma Browde, who arranged an interview with the circuit inspector for the area. When they saw the inspector the next day and told him they didn't believe their kids had failed, 'he looked at his record of results and said there had been a mistake' (*Rand Daily Mail* 27/2/73).

Mr Pikoli and other parents were then officially told their kids had received a second class, not third class passes. To get into a high school an African pupil must obtain either a first or a second class pass in standard six. But the 'quota' fixing results at a constant level provides for only 45 percent passes (10 percent 1st class and 35 percent 2nd class). A total of 55 percent of all candidates are given 3rd class passes, which can be regraded as a failing class with 'consolation', and 20 percent dismally failed.

Later in Parliament, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education vehemently denied that there had been a directive from the Department to fail a certain percentage of African children in Standard Six. He explained that standard six papers were marked centrally, because they are too many (15 000 for 1972). The marking being done by teachers on a local basis,

under the supervision of the circuit inspectors, it is important that as far as possible, uniform standards should be maintained throughout the country, 'in order to ensure this we have studied the results of previous years and concluded that about 20 percent of all candidates usually fail the examination and that about 45 to 50 percent pass in the first and second classes. Acting on this experience we have told controlling inspectors that a formula of 80 percent with given percentages in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd classes can serve as a guide when they finalise the results'. In this 80 percent he includes the 'Consolation' passes of third classes, which constitutes 35 percent (*Natal Mercury* 22/5/73).

Dr Selma Browde of the Johannesburg City Council said she welcomed Mr Janson's assurance in Parliament, that his department only laid a guide and not a strict directive, but she appealed to the Deputy Minister to personally investigate some standard six results, as the case of 5 parents whom she helped 'rectify' their children's results was not isolated (*Rand Daily Mail* 23/5/73).

Subsequently another report came that African examiners in Queenstown were ordered to fail Black pupils in Standard 6 because too many had passed. A newspaper report quoted an African educationist as claiming senior white officials of the department had ordered examiners—all African—to look again at the papers and fail some of the pupils. This was because more had passed than the percentage stipulated in a departmental directive. The educationist, himself an examiner, was quoted to have said, 'We were embarrassed because the children already knew they had passed. There was nothing we could do but comply with the order'. In a statement Dr van Zyl, Secretary for Bantu Education, said he would immediately investigate the report. He regarded the claim as highly unlikely. 'This would never happen with the consent of senior officials of the department' (*Daily News* 5/6/73).

Two days later the Cape Times reported Dr van Zyl as having said he had received a report from the inspector of schools in Queenstown that the 'fixing' allegation was false. The inspector reported that the papers were marked and the preliminary results determined. Thereafter the marks were moderated. After the moderation there was a leakage of certain preliminary results, by which certain pupils were given the impression that they had passed. 'This was very unfortunate, because the results are never final until moderation has taken place'. Dr van Zyl wound up by saying the educationist who was responsible for the initial report was probably one of the trouble-makers. He said those responsible for the leakage just wanted to place the department on a bad footing with the African community. However, the African teachers interviewed were not impressed by Dr van Zyl's denials of alleged 'fixings' (*Cape Times* 7/6/73).

In the junior Certificate it was reported that 426 schools in the Republic of S.A. and Namibia had 30 539 candidates in 1972 and 28 592 passed thus:

161	with distinction
3 314	with 1st class
10 980	with 2nd class
8 138	with 3rd class

Of the 4 541 African pupils who wrote the matric examinations in the 120 High Schools of South Africa and Namibia in 1972, 2 911 passed thus:

105	1st grade matric exemption
1 696	2nd grade matric exemption
1 110	3rd grade school leaving ( <i>Rand Daily Mail</i> 31/3/73).

*Coloured:* The Minister of Coloured Relations supplied the examination results for 1972. These showed that 11 222 pupils in the Republic and 365 in Namibia entered for the Junior Certificate. Of the Republic's candidates, 640 passed in the first class and 6 963 in the second, while 18 of Namibia's candidates passed in the first class and 256 in the second. A total of 3 710 candidates failed, of whom 91 were from Namibia.

Altogether 2 550 candidates sat for the Senior Certificate (51 from Namibia). Of these, 113 obtained first class passes, 669 second with matriculation exemption, and 857 received school leaving certificates, while 905 failed outright (Hansard 17 Col. 975).

*Indian:* Of 11 354 entries for the Standard 6 examination in 1972, 6 214 passed the normal high school course, 364 the practical course, and 1 493 failed.

The number of candidates for the Junior Certificate was 8 433, of whom 2 992 passed the A level, 3 283 the O level, and 274 the C level, while 1 884 failed.

The total number of entries for the Senior Certificate was 3 964. Of these, 78 passed with merit, 410 in the A grade with matriculation exemption, 540 in the A grade without exemption, 1 203 in the O grade, while 1 263 failed.

### Teachers

A major problem facing black education is the inadequate output of qualified teachers in the face of ever-increasing pupil enrolments. This requires the employment of many unqualified teachers, which exacerbates the problem.

The Minister of Bantu Education stated in Parliament in 1973 that there were 53 294 African teachers in government and state-aided schools in the

Republic, including the homelands, and Namibia. Of these, the majority had some form of professional training (44 863), but only 835 actually possessed a degree and University Education Diploma. The largest categories were those with Junior Certificate and Primary Higher Diploma (23 987) and Standard 6 and Lower Primary (14 376). A total of 8 434 had no professional qualifications, and nearly 8 000 of these were also unmatriculated. (These figures were for March-May 1972).

In May 1973, a total of 18 729 Coloured teachers were employed by the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, in the Republic and Namibia. Of these, the largest category had Junior Certificate and Primary Higher (12 927), followed by Matriculation and the Teacher's Diploma (4 065). Those with a degree and UED totalled 681 (of whom one was in Namibia), while 109 had a degree with no professional qualification. There were 553 Coloured teachers with less than matriculation and with no professional qualification.

Of 6 262 Indian teachers in the Republic, the largest category was those with matriculation and the Teacher's Diploma (3 844), followed by Junior Certificate and Primary Higher (1 183) and a degree plus UED (946). Only 289 had no professional qualification, 147 had matriculation or a degree.

### **Financing of Education**

During April 1973, the Minister of Bantu Education supplied estimates for expenditure during 1973-74. These showed a total amount of R96 million for the Republic and almost R5 million for Namibia from revenue account, with the largest amount (R52½m) being for the estimates of homeland governments. A further R7m. was estimated from loan account, being for educational buildings. The comparable figures for whites were R370m. from revenue account and R67m. on loan account. In addition, the Department set aside R6 766 000 in its 1973-74 estimates for African universities.

The estimated per capita costs in African education, excluding capital expenditure, were given by the Minister as follows (Hansard II, Col. 727):

Primary classes (Sub A—Std. 6)	R 20,64
Secondary classes (Form 1—Form 5)	R112,71
General Average (Sub A—Std. 10)	R 25,31

(Compare the comparable estimates for white pupils of R366, R624 and R461).

Total expenditure from state sources on Coloured education during 1971-72, excluding figures for the University of the Western Cape (whose budget was unavailable), was R60m., as given by the Minister of Coloured

Relations in Parliament. The per capita expenditure was estimated as:

Primary classes	R 91,04
Secondary classes	R120,18
General average	R 94,41

The report of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1971-72 gave R20 million as the total amount voted for Indian education, excluding technical and university education, for 1972-73. This was an increase of R2m. over the previous year. During 1971-72, state expenditure on Indian University education was R2 366 331.

The per capita expenditure on Indian education for 1971-72 was given by the report as follows:

Primary classes	R102,93
Secondary classes	R135,19

## Chapter Eight

# EDUCATION FOR BLACKS (Teacher Training, Vocational and Technical)

### Teacher Training

THE IMPORTANCE of this training is obvious for any nation that needs to acquire knowledge and a sense of belonging. This is a major aspect of the teaching profession, that ought to be imparted to student teachers; it is still very difficult in the black community to get people to take teaching seriously as a career and service. Even people who have been trained sometimes go into other fields for serious involvement.

The latest available enrolment figures (for 1972) of African students in teacher training colleges are as follows:

	<i>Enrolled</i>	<i>Qualified</i>
Primary Teachers' Course	8 971	3 650
Junior Secondary Teachers' Course	625	261
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (non-graduate)	415	99
University Education Diploma (non-graduate)	20	10
Post-degree University Diploma	76	56

The following figures of African student teachers following special courses were given by the Minister of Bantu Education in February 1973 (Hansard 2 Col. 120):

	<i>Enrolled Qualified</i>	
Arts and Crafts Teachers' course	33	33
Homecraft Teachers' course	44	39
Trade Instructors' course	15	6
Diploma in Special Education for Deaf Persons	28	—
Diploma in Special Education for Blind Persons	13	—

The numbers of Coloured student teachers in 1972 were given by the Minister of Coloured Relations:

	<i>Enrolled Qualified</i>	
Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate	2 557	768
Primary Teachers Diploma and Special L.P.T.C.	1 868	618
Lower Secondary Teachers' Diploma	171	14
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (non-graduate)	10	4
Secondary Teachers' Diploma (graduate)	36	19
The Adaptation Classes Teachers' Diploma	11	7
Post-graduate degree courses in Education	14	1
Commercial Teachers' Diploma	95	14
Technical Teachers' Diploma	19	6

### **Technical and Commercial Education**

In the Republic there are presently 6 schools providing technical secondary education for Africans, and 42 schools offering commercial secondary education. In the year 1972, 74 male students qualified for the Technical Junior Certificate, and 2 for the Technical Senior Certificate. A total of 1 036 students, male and female, qualified for the Commercial Junior Certificate and 141 male students and 38 female students for the Commercial Senior Certificate. At the end of the same year, 1972, 9 students passed specialist courses for watchmakers (Hansard 10 Col. 669).

Training facilities for African women in any technical and vocational course are deplorably inadequate. The Minister of Bantu Education revealed in Parliament that there are only 26 post-Standard 6 vocational schools for African women in the country (Hansard 10 Col. 671), categorised as follows:

<i>Vocation</i>	<i>Number of Schools for the course</i>	<i>Number of Girls Qualified in 1972</i>
Assistants for Pre-institutions	3	43
Home Management	3	25
Dressmaking (2 year course)	11	95
Dressmaking (4 courses per year)	7	178
Spinning and Weaving	2	unknown *

\* Here the Minister reported that this course is offered at private schools, and the results are not readily available.

There is a feeling in some quarters that the government is reluctant to let the number of African artisans grow. Students in vocational institutions sometimes believe that all is not fair when it comes to examinations. A recent example of this was the Umlazi Vocational School in Durban, where 13 of the 20 final year student electricians were told to go home some three weeks before the final examinations, because, it was claimed, they had failed their previous year's examinations. The students said it was the first time they had been told of this and produced monthly tests written during the year, some of which showed passes of more than 70% (*Daily News* 26/5/73). One of the students expressed a feeling that the dismissal came to avoid the embarrassment of employing a large number of qualified African electricians (*World* 3/6/73). These students were later readmitted with apologies that there had been a mistake.

One other handicap that they have is that they find it difficult to get information of places where they could go and continue their courses at higher levels. This is one other thing which makes most of them stop learning at low levels. The fact that the 13 students dismissed at Umlazi were told to go back to their sections (*Daily News* 26/5/73) to be employed as unqualified wiremen, and not told to repeat the courses they had allegedly failed helped to confirm the idea that the aim of these schools is to produce skilled labourers who can be cheaply employed, rather than independent self-sufficient artisans.

When asked what training facilities were available for Coloured persons as welders, electricians, carpenters, motor mechanics, blasters etc., the Minister of Coloured Relations explained that such training is provided by the private sector of industry in terms of the labour laws of the country. The administration of Coloured Affairs provides indentured apprentices in any trade with training in the technical subjects in accordance with the conditions of apprenticeship of the Apprenticeship Act of 1944 as amended (Hansard 17 col. 970). The Minister stated that 3 007 such students were given tuition during 1972, of whom 139 were training as motor mechanics, 524 as carpenters, 170 as electricians, 20 as welders and 2 154 in other trades.

Technical, commercial and vocation schools for Indians are mainly situated in Natal. The 1972 enrolment figures indicated that there were 406 students undergoing technical training between Standard 6 and Standard 10 in departmental schools, with a further 369 at the M.L. Sultan Technical College. Students undergoing commercial training totalled 741 in departmental schools, with a further 120 at M.L. Sultan.

At the end of 1972, 198 Indian students qualified for the Commercial Junior Certificate, 12 for the Commercial Senior Certificate, and 152 for the Technical Junior Certificate.

In addition, 198 Indians obtained the National Technical Certificate I, 12 the NTC II, 152 the NTC III, and 2 the NTC V. Smaller numbers obtained various other technical and vocational diplomas and certificates, e.g. the National Diploma in Commerce (13), the National Diploma in Public Health Nursing (9), the National Secretarial Certificate (7), the National Diploma in Chemical Technology (5), and the Teaching Diploma in Physical Education (7).

# Chapter Nine

## YOUTH AND STUDENT ORGANISATIONS

LAST YEAR'S REVIEW dealt mainly with the historical backgrounds of Youth Organisations operating in all three regions. The intention this year is to outline the various projects they have implemented in accordance with their aims and objectives.

### **South African Students' Movement (Junior SASM)**

SASM's vigour, enthusiasm and determination was felt in 'Thrust', the first edition of a newsletter they have produced this year. It abundantly reflected the great potential present among young Black high school students in tackling frustrations and problems that beset them in their roles as students and as members of the Black community.

SASM's newly printed skipper which bore a very powerful and militant emblem depicting Black unity arbitrarily suffered the blow of the censorship board under the hand of Mr Jannie Kruger, the chairman of the board.

SASM also succeeded in conducting a matric summer school at Orlando West High School for external matriculants preparing for March supplementary examinations. This project was envisaged by SASM to be, in the near future, a National project embracing the other provinces and not merely confined to the Transvaal.

Several project proposals were drawn up by SASM, viz. Winter and Summer project for Secondary and High School students. This project was geared at helping students in:

- (a) choosing of right career or profession;

- (b) personal improvement of the student in the study of subjects;
- (c) bridging of J.C.-matric gap;
- (d) bridging of matric-university gap.

This was to be an annual project conducted at major centres throughout the country during school vacations for a period of two weeks.

Another project proposal was intended for vocational training pupils in all trade centres in the country and was primarily aimed at helping pupils in developing some degree of competence and skill in the general use of official languages which play a vital role in the acquisition and maintenance of jobs.

SASM's attempts at organising an annual Students' General Council conference sometime in July were thwarted by 'militant' forces.

The tremendous strides taken by SASM this year, were savagely curtailed by the banning order imposed on its Secretary-General, Mathe Diseko (21 years old), believed to be the youngest black to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

### **WCYO (Western Cape Youth Organisation)**

WCYO was officially established early this year and is a properly constituted youth organisation. Its aims and objects are laid down in their constitution as follows:

1. To promote contact, practical co-operation, mutual understanding and unity among all Black youth organisations in the Western Cape.
2. To represent the interests of youth organisations on all issues that affect them in their community situations.
3. To heighten the sense of awareness and encourage them to become involved in the political, economic and social development of the Black people.
4. To project at all times the Black consciousness image, culturally, socially, educationally and religiously.
5. To become a platform for expression of Black youth opinion and represent these nationally.

WCYO immediately embarked on meaningful projects aimed at bringing about positive re-awakening in the Black community. Projects can be broadly tabulated as Drama Workshops, Leadership Seminars, and Literacy Projects.

In June, WCYO held a 3 day leadership training conference for Black high school students at the Christian Leadership Centre in Kensington. Their conference theme was: Black Consciousness and the High School Student.

WCYO also conducts a language Xhosa clinic whereby Xhosa tuitions are rendered to pupils by a qualified Xhosa teacher. These tuitions are held thrice a week at night at the Care Centre. The Secretary-General was responsible for the establishment of a Drama Society (Hanover Park Drama Society) which produced its first play called 'What hurts me'.

In the suburbs of Landsdowne, Wynberg, Hanover Park and Claremont, WCYO noticed the great dispersion of various youth clubs operating within their various sections due to different denominations. WCYO thus initiated a project which would lead to the unification of all these groups. A seminar for this purpose was organised where 10 different denominations were represented. This seminar resulted in the formation of the Ecumenical Youth Front.

### **The National Youth Organisation (NAYO)**

Black Youth Movements in the provinces of Natal, Transvaal, Western Cape and Border, experienced a desire to come together at a Seminar where youth activity in the entire country could be thoroughly analysed and decisions to solidify efforts arrived upon. The movements hoped too that such a seminar would culminate in the formation of a National movement representing the Black youth in this country.

To them the necessity and value of such a body, lay not only in the implementation of the aims and aspirations of the youth as such, but also in the articulation of the needs of the entire Black Community towards emancipation from psychological and physical oppression.

Under the co-sponsorship of Black Community Programmes and SASO, such a National Youth Seminar was held at Mount Coke Hotel near King Williams Town from 1-3 June, 1973. This seminar marked the birth of the National Youth organisation. Voting delegates came from the following youth organisations:

- (a) The Natal Youth Organisation.
- (b) The Transvaal Youth Organisation.
- (c) The Western Cape Youth Organisation.
- (d) The Border Youth Union.

The constitution with the following aims and objects was drafted and adopted by all youth groups:

1. To promote solidarity among all youth in the Black community.
2. To project the Black consciousness image culturally, socially, religiously, educationally, politically and otherwise.
3. To commit itself to the elimination of psychological and physical oppression of Black people.
4. To draw a common programme of action for all youth in the

Black community.

5. To serve as a platform of expression for the youth nationally and the Black world in general.

The Action Programme outlining projects to be embarked upon by NAYO affiliates was drawn as follows:

*Projects*

- (a) *Educational*: This project embraces activities such as:

- (i) conducting literacy campaigns;
- (ii) home education schemes;
- (iii) bursary fund;
- (iv) establishment of creches.

- (b) *Cultural*

- (i) drama, theatre, music and art workshops;
- (ii) sports (redirection)—soccer especially;
- (iii) black theology.

- (c) *Survey*: Survey of all Black experiences and living conditions as a counter propaganda machine, e.g. labour.

- (d) *Fund-Raising*: This project includes:

- (i) direct sponsorship from overseas;
- (ii) co-operation and centralisation of distribution;
- (iii) staging shows, showing films—cultural lights;
- (iv) publication sales;
- (v) cake sales, jumble sales and door to door collection.

NAYO's active president, Mathe Diseko (21), was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, restraining him from attending social and political gatherings and also from addressing pupils or students for the next 5 years.

Another member of the Transvaal branch of NAYO, the Transvaal Youth Organisation (TRAYO) Mr Nkutsoeu Matsau is presently being charged under the Terrorism Act.

Four other members from the same area, Sharpeville, who were arrested with him were released after one month in detention. No charges were laid against them.

**Transvaal Youth Organisation (TRAYO)**

TRAYO is affiliated to the National Youth Organisation (NAYO). This branch has been active in fund-raising projects and cultural activities on the

Reef, especially in Soweto. Carletonville Commemoration was held on 14 October 1973, in a pledge of solidarity with the families of those miners shot by the police at Western Deep Levels.

There were reports of intimidation against members of the Sharpeville Youth Club and the Sharpeville Students Association, both firmly attached to TRAYO. A press release on TRAYO members detained by the police appeared in the *Rand Daily Mail* of 26 October, after which TRAYO launched a Defend Fund which was seen as a permanent project.

Attempts were made to assimilate the Transvaal Labour Youth Organisation into TRAYO, after Labour Youth's militant stance at the Labour Party Congress and its advocating Black Consciousness amongst the coloured people. However, because of Labour Youth's operation within the CRC, through the Coloured Labour Party, there were still differences to be ironed out.

TRAYO's constitution declares 'non-allegiance and lack of loyalty to white structures, value systems, organisations and patronage'. TRAYO saw the means of solidifying and uniting the Black Youth to be lying in the realisation by the Black Youth that:

- (i) he has similar goals and aspirations as his country, and therefore has;
- (ii) to work relentlessly for the liberation of the Black community from psychological and physical oppression by;
- (iii) rejecting unconditionally all obstacles and defaulters that bar him from realising his aspirations.

TRAYO's influence stretches as far north as Sibasa. It has been remarked upon by TRAYO's cadres that the constant removal of rural blacks in areas such as Mabopane poses a difficulty for youth activity.

Outstanding about today's youth organisations is the fast-developing urge to spread the message of Black Consciousness. And to make increased contact between the various youth organisations in the country.

## **Southern African Students Movement (SASM)**

### *Background*

This is a federation of National Organisations of Students from the countries of Southern Africa. Below is reproduced an extract from the SASM report on its formation inaugural conference:

On 24 June, 1973, students from South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland came together at the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, at Roma, Lesotho. They had come

together for the noble purpose of attempting to identify and define structures within which they could have a meaningful participation in the shaping of Southern Africa's destiny. The attempt was successful. The Southern African Students Movement (SASM) was born on 28 June, 1973.

The formation of SASM is first and foremost a response to the Kumasi Declaration of 1971 that as a contribution to the promoting of African Unity, student organisations in Africa had to be formed on a regional basis. The regions were Southern Africa, West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and North Africa. Southern Africa, according to this regionalisation, comprises South Africa, Swaziland, Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Angola, Malagasy and Mozambique.

SASM comes as one of those organisations in Southern Africa, operating under the banner of the fast wide-spreading Black Consciousness attitude. It is therefore evident that they cannot let white student organisations like NUSAS and ASB affiliate to the movement. This was manifested by the unanimous conference decision to disallow NUSAS delegates from attending, even as observers, the SASM conference proceedings. Their policy statement clearly outlines that being a Black Movement, SASM is not, as a result, a racist organisation.

'A fact to be recognised is that coming together does not mean hating those who are excluded from our togetherness. It simply means that those excluded have no relevant place in our activities', remarks one of their executive members.

The following people were elected to serve on the first Executive Committee;

President	O.R. Tiro (South Africa)
Vice-President	R.T. Matete (Lesotho)
Secretary-General	S.T.M. Magagula (Swaziland)
Director of Projects	J.D. Baqwa (South Africa)
Director of Cultural Affairs	N.S. Ndebele (South Africa)

The movement is presently making arrangements for the establishment of its Secretariat buildings in Botswana.

Within four months of its formation in June, the Movement has already suffered a blow from the South African Government, in the October banning of SASM's Director of Projects, Dumo Baqwa, who is restricted to the magisterial area of Umzimkulu, C.P., for the next 5 years (see chapter on Bannings). This makes it impossible for him to continue with his duties, both in SASM and in SASO, where he was Literacy Director. At about the same time as Baqwa's banning, it was reported that Onkgopotse Tiro, then SASO Permanent Organiser and SASM's President, was being hunted by the South African Security Police, so that he could be served

with banning orders. It was later learnt that he could not be found because he had left the country for SASM work in Botswana (he still had a valid travelling document). At the time of printing he had not yet come back.

The formation of SASM has been a very remarkable stride in the Black Student affairs in Southern Africa. To many it comes as a fulfilment of a dream. A dream that one day the students of Southern Africa will stand united, and participate in the shaping of the Continent's future. One Africa, One Unity, One Destiny!

For the protagonists of Black Consciousness, this is seen by some observers as yet another milestone for the Gospel of Black Solidarity and the manifestation of self-pride through self-reliance; which is seen as a necessary ingredient even for the total liberation of the Continent from colonialism and neo-colonialism in which some parts of Africa are still gravely entangled.

'SASM sets out to prepare the people of Southern Africa spiritually and mentally for the better handling of the future', said one of its spokesmen. (*Information supplied by SASM*).

### **The South African Students Association (SASO)**

SASO had a trying year when almost the whole of her leadership was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act by the Government. (See chapter on Bannings).

However, the Black students, undeterred by such suppressive measures that the Government had resorted to, continued to pursue the aims of the student organisation; and to register the aspirations of Black students in the country.

The annual SASO General Students Council was held in July. The theme of the conference was 'Black Power: its manifestations in the Black man's struggle'.

SASO engaged itself in projects and in other programmes according to her planning; though much planning was disturbed by the bannings. Students continued to fuse elements of self-reliance and self-appraisal in the Black community on matters of cultural, moral, ethical, economic and social values. (See chapter on Self-help).

The Free University Scheme piloted by SASO was making steady strides and gaining in progress. Many students have taken it up as a means of acquiring education outside of the tribal university system. (See chapter on Black Consciousness).

SASO continued to oppose Government-created platforms and openly stated its stand against Bantustans, the South African Indian Council, the CRC and other institutions working within the channels of separatism. (*Information supplied by SASO*).

# Chapter Ten

## BLACK POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

### **The Natal Indian Congress**

#### INTRODUCTION

LAST YEAR'S review of the Natal Indian Congress indicated that this organisation, after being defunct for almost a decade, due to stringent governmental and police action against its leaders, was revived in 1971 by the now banned Mr Mewa Ramgobin. Especially emphasised were the activities of the Congress during the year 1972.

We can now examine the subsequent activities of the NIC in an effort to measure and evaluate its 'progress' in terms of its stated aims and objectives.

#### ACTIVITIES

(a) *Workers:* In his report submitted at the Annual Conference (1973) of the NIC, the secretary, Mr Ramesar, stated that 'the deplorably low wages earned by the mass of South African workers is of major concern to the NIC'.

Early in 1973, it had, in conjunction with the Coloured Labour Party and Natal University Wages Commission, created a 'united wages action' to serve as a vigilante group in protecting workers' rights. Recommendations were made to the statutory Wage Board to determine minimum wages for dock, cement and unskilled workers.

In May, the Congress, in a memorandum submitted to the Secretary for Labour, in reply to a Government Gazette call for comment on the pro-

posed Bantu (Settlement of Disputes) Bill, rejected the institution of works committees in industry, asserting that 'open and free trade unionism' was the only acceptable method of workers' representation.

The Congress's foremost grievance against works committees was that these provide for differential and prejudicial treatment to Africans, alienating them from Indian, Coloured and white workers belonging to similar industries, thus fragmenting workers into ineffectual little groups. These committees were regarded as a 'ruse to allay the aspirations of the African workers'.

During the 1973 strikes, the NIC distributed pamphlets expressing solidarity with the workers quite widely in the Durban-Pinetown area. It was also instrumental in setting up a Relief Committee for victimised strikers. The Committee provided legal aid, assistance in finding new jobs, food and so on.

(b) *Chatsworth Bus Action Committee*: Last year, the role of the NIC in mobilising mass action against the decision of the Road Transport Board to refuse renewal of the certificates of Indian bus operators in Chatsworth, was clearly outlined. Subsequent action was the distribution by NIC officials of 20 000 pamphlets, urging commuters to protest against the stoppage of buses. As regards this issue we are happy to record that the Chatsworth Indian bus owners were successful in their appeal in court against the objection of the Railways to have a bus service operating in Chatsworth.

(c) *University of Durban-Westville*: In May, a mass meeting was held to coincide with the official opening of the University of Durban-Westville, in an effort to voice opposition against the institution of separate 'tribal' universities.

A spokesman for the NIC stated that the Indian community was generally dissatisfied with the administration of the university, the support, by this community, for the massive Black student boycotts in 1972, being symptomatic of this dissatisfaction. Indians, it was said, would prefer the staff of the university, especially the teaching staff, to come from all races, chosen on merit, and not limited to whites and Indians.

(d) *Victoria Street Market*: The NIC, early in 1973, was prominent in its protest against the discontinuation of the Victoria Street Market in Durban, following its destruction by fire. Officials reiterated many times that discontinuation would mean the end of a livelihood for many Indian families whose only source of income was staked in running stalls in this market. A public meeting was arranged with the co-operation of the Durban Women's Cultural Group, where signatures for a petition against the decision to discontinue the market were collected.

(e) *Housing*: At a conference on housing, arranged by the Durban

Child Welfare Society, NIC officials were elected to serve on a permanent Housing Committee then formed.

## RELATIONSHIPS WITH BPC and SASO

Last year, it was pointed out that due, basically, to differences in approach, relationships between the NIC and both these Black organisations had become strained. However, the Secretarial report (1973) of the NIC states: "In pursuit of its stated policy of working with organisations sharing its goals, the NIC has attempted to work in harmony with both BPC and SASO".

Mr. G. Sewspersadh, the lately banned chairman of the NIC, was one of the panel of speakers at the Sharpeville Commemoration Meeting (March 15th, 1973), organised by the BPC. His participation resulted in his being prosecuted on a charge of promoting racial hostility *which failed*. The charge was later withdrawn. (See section on political trials).

## CHANGES IN POLICY

Radical changes in attitude over traditional policies of the NIC were clearly manifested at the Annual Conference in June this year.

One of these controversial issues was a statement<sup>2</sup> to the effect that the Congress constitution did not prevent members from seeking positions on local affairs committees and the South African Indian Council (SAIC), traditionally regarded by NIC supporters as 'apartheid' bodies. At the same time LAC and SAIC members were equally welcome to join the NIC.

This statement, as one Indian columnist caustically observed, was a radical deviation from the old principles of Congress. As recently as last year (1972), the SAIC was rejected, and a decision was taken at the Annual Conference to work completely outside this body.

Protoganists of the new 'open' move, felt that it would be more 'prudent'<sup>3</sup> to 'make use' of the SAIC and LAC's, citing the 'prudence' of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in accepting the 'KwaZulu' idea as a good example. Moreover the 'fact' that more than 50 000 adult Indians in Durban and other parts of Natal 'accepted' the LAC's by registering as voters, was viewed as being a 'certain pointer' to the NIC.

This move has once again opened speculation that the NIC will be able and hopes to participate in an eventual election of the SAIC. If this is a move to 'fight apartheid' from within, that same columnist remarks rather bitinglly, then it is a 'false hope, because according to the rules laid down by Mr Vorster, he can never lose'<sup>4</sup>.

Another issue, seemingly a traditional one, since it was brought up last year, was introduced by the Pietermaritzburg Branch in its call for the NIC to become non-racial, i.e. to drop its 'Indian' label in favour of a 'Peoples'

Congress'. Campaigners for the non-racial stand stated that it was time Indians stopped being exclusivistic, and should regard themselves as part of a broad South African nation.

Arguments against this motion were stereotyped, and were apparently based on the fear of loss of 'Indian' support.

Mr Ramesar, the Secretary, stated that the non-racial stand would 'kill Congress',<sup>5</sup> and bluntly asked delegates to 'get out' of NIC to join BPC. Mr Coovadia, another delegate, while acclaiming 'non-racialism' as a 'brilliant' idea, could not deem its worth if it lost its 'Indian' support.

The outcome of this motion was the appointment of a ten-member committee to examine the call for non-racialism and to report to the NIC in about six months. At this juncture we might add that little is known about the outcome of the investigations of the Executive mandated last year by conference, to look into this same 'possibility' of NIC's becoming non-racial.

## STATEMENTS ISSUED

(a) A claim in Parliament, by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Tourism, Senator Horwood, that the Government was doing everything it could for the betterment of the Indian people in addition to having a 'list of impressive achievements' in regard to them, was refuted by the NIC<sup>6</sup>.

An example of the deliberate attempt by the Government over the past 25 years to hinder the development of the Indian community, was its use of the Group Areas Act to deprive Indians of large portions of valuable land in order to hinder expansion both in the industrial and economic spheres.

(b) *The Dennis Brutus—Buthelezi Issue*: The NIC was accused of creating an 'explosive situation' between Africans and Indians by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. This was after the NIC had issued a statement expressing its support and admiration for the exiled Coloured academic, Dr. D. Brutus, who accused the Chief of being a 'stooge' of the Vorster Government, during the Chief's visit in America. The statement was apparently regarded by the Chief as implied criticism of his role as the 'true voice of African opinion'. In defence, the Congress stated that it was simply expressing admiration for a man who had worked hard against racial discrimination.

On a further point that the NIC had never supported withdrawal of foreign capital from S.A., the Chief said that an NIC leader had, at a public meeting, claimed that the NIC had called for a withdrawal of foreign investments from South Africa in the name of 10 000 supporters.

A further ramification of this confusion was the statement of the late executive Chairman of the SAIC, Mr Rajab, who said that the NIC had 'little or no support' from Indians, because of its 'consistent failure to

achieve anything constructive for the Indian people”<sup>8</sup>.

He claimed that the NIC represented a small but vocal minority who would soon disappear from the political scene altogether.

### POLICE INTIMIDATION

Two prominent members of the NIC were banned this year. One was Mrs Ela Ramgobin, wife of the former president of the NIC, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, who is also banned. The other was Mr C. Sewpersadh, chairman and president of the NIC. Mr M.J. Naidoo, a Durban attorney, was elected as Acting Chairman.

### CONCLUSION

Opinion on the popularity and support for the NIC varies.

Prior to the opening of the Annual Conference in June, the secretary, Mr R. Ramesar, claimed that the Congress was ‘gaining momentum’, quoting the establishment of 6 new branches from Chatsworth as a sign of its growth.

On the other hand, a leading commentator on the local political front, ‘Politicus’ of the *Leader*, had this to say of the actual conference and NIC:<sup>9</sup>

‘This year’s conference ... appears to have been the non-event of the year. ... During the past year, Congress had failed to carry out its community projects and had failed to identify itself with the aspirations of the people. The leaders were unprepared, not prepared or unable to lead, but were led into almost complete oblivion by a handful of unthinking professional politicians who enjoyed the occasional calamity which gave them the opportunity of making their presence felt’.

References:	1. <i>Daily News</i>	31/5/73
	2. <i>Natal Mercury</i>	23/7/73
	3. <i>Natal Mercury</i>	21/7/73
	4. <i>Leader</i>	27/7/73
	5. <i>Natal Mercury</i>	23/7/73
	6. <i>Daily News</i>	31/5/73
	7. <i>Sunday Tribune</i>	8/7/73
	8. <i>Natal Mercury</i>	7/7/73
	9. <i>Leader</i>	27/7/73

### Black Peoples’ Convention

#### INTRODUCTION

It is obvious that the Black People’s Convention, though a very young and

new Black political movement, has been fast capturing the imagination, interest and support of South African Blacks since its inception in 1971. Working under the banner of Black Consciousness, its potential as a powerful force welding Africans, Coloureds and Indians into a single cohesive Black political front, was steadily being realised. It comes as no surprise then, in a country where a minority group retains power mainly through the devious means of alienating the majority of Black groups from each other, that the Convention has been the victim of singularly harsh governmental legislation, to all intents designed to cripple the organisation.

## ACTIVITIES

(a) *Promotion of BPC*: In accordance with its proposed programme to devote the first half of 1973 to promoting Black interest in and membership of BPC, the organisers of this Black political organisation increased its membership considerably. To-date there exist about forty-one established branches, all evenly spread throughout South Africa. Noteworthy about these efforts is that, unlike the practice of other Black political bodies, smaller towns and suburban areas where Black people live in profusion, have not been sacrificed for a few central urban zones whose names, while affording a superficial glamour to organisations, offer very little evidence of actual contact and work such organisations have made and done with the people they claim to represent.

Another example indicative of the BPC's fairly successful efforts in spreading the philosophy of Black consciousness was, as it claims, 'the successful switchover of some prominent Coloured politicians from the Coloured Labour Party to BPC'<sup>1</sup>. Mr Don Mattera (now banned), former public relations officer for the Labour Party, resigned from this body to join BPC. Such 'switchovers' are regarded by the Convention as ample proof that, as a Black political movement, BPC does offer an alternative to Black South Africans frustrated with working within the system, i.e. arbitrary sectional 'politics' for Blacks.

The opening of its ranks to all by the Labour Youth wing this year, a move precipitated to a certain extent by BPC, is noted by this organisation, as a manoeuvre to bring all Black people together and 'another victory for Black consciousness'<sup>2</sup>.

In March, the Convention called for the setting aside of March 21 as a day of commemoration by Blacks of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. All BPC branches, Black organisations and campuses were asked to observe this day by wearing black attire or black arm-bands. The intention though, was for Blacks to re-dedicate themselves to the struggle for justice rather than to mourn<sup>3</sup>. A very successful commemoration service, organised by the Durban Central branch of BPC, was held in the Kajee Hall, Durban.

Representatives from various Black organisations addressed a large Black audience.

(b) *Community Projects*: It was intended that community programmes aimed at creating self-awareness and an eventual self-reliance amongst Blacks, would be launched during the latter half of 1973. Scheduled projects were:

- Leadership training
- Literacy training
- Home education service project (Hespro)
- Workshops
- Seminars.

Initial work on some of these projects was carried out on a small scale at branch level (literacy and hespro), but any progress that could have been reported has been seriously hampered by the arbitrary and consistent bannings of BPC personnel. The malicious effects of these bannings are especially notable in the case of projected BPC publications.

(c) *Publications*: Early in the year, work was begun on the BPC newsletter 'Inkululeko' with Saths Cooper as editor. Work on this publication was hampered firstly, by the banning of Saths Cooper in March, and had to be postponed secondly after the banning of the Secretary General, Siphso Buthelezi, who had been elected as editor to replace Saths. Subsequently, the onus of getting the newsletter into print fell upon the shoulders of the new public relations officer, Roy Chetty. During October, copies of articles intended for the newsletter were confiscated from Mr Chetty and to date have not been returned. Apparently, they are still 'under investigation'.

Such incidents, coupled with the reluctance of printers to help BPC after police intimidation, as well as the lack of finances, have prevented the publications programme of BPC from becoming a truly viable one.

(d) *Press Statements*: Early in the year it was disclosed that BPC, acting on a resolution passed on foreign investments in South Africa, at its National Congress in December, 1972, wrote to over thirty overseas companies with interests in South Africa, to withdraw their business, thereby disengaging themselves from the 'white-controlled exploitative system of South Africa'.

Far from contributing to the development of the Black community, foreign investors, claimed BPC, helped in 'maintaining and supporting the economic system of white South Africa a system designed for the maximum exploitation of Black people'.

Also emphasised was the Convention's attitude towards the isolation of

South Africa by overseas countries, from participation in international sporting activities. This isolation was seen, by BPC, as stemming mainly from the fact that South Africa was being 'represented by a minority white population'. Blacks had a 'birthright' to represent this country on international sporting fields.

At the same time the Convention applauded the existence of 'non-racial' sporting bodies which, being normally shunned by whites, either through 'legal' restrictions or as is generally the case, through sheer 'custom', are in practice, Black. In the light of this, claimed BPC, its National Executive had been mandated to make it clear to all international sporting bodies, that Black sportsmen and women should not be penalised for 'crimes being perpetrated by the monolithic white racist regime'. Also rejected was the concept of 'multi-national sports' designed by white sporting bodies to 're-enter and retain their position in the international sporting forum'.

In regard to foreign relations the Convention made the following decision:

to have contact only with states and international organisations that are in sympathy with and support the cause of the Black people. The importance of healthy international relationships was recognised with the realisation that 'some countries have the interests of Black people at heart, but through imperial domination are now forced to maintain trade links with South Africa'<sup>6</sup>

## **POLICE INTIMIDATION**

Together with the Black South African Students' Organisation and the Black Community Programmes, the Convention has been, as stated previously, the focus of harsh police and state action which has seriously impeded the rate of progress which this organisation might have made in terms of its projects. Four of the five-member executive of BPC have been arbitrarily restricted from any political activity.

These are:

Vice President— Mr C. Mokoditso

Secretary General—Mr S. Buthelezi (see chapter on bannings)

Public Relations Officer—Mr Saths Cooper

National Organiser—Mr M. Mangena (see chapter on political trials).

Also banned was Drake Koka, Secretary-General of the Convention during 1972; Lindelwe Mabandla, chairman of the Lamontville Branch of BPC; and Aubrey Mokoape, a founder member of the Convention.

Five members of the Durban Central Branch of BPC including Saths

Cooper were arrested and charged in Durban early this year during the strikes crisis, for the distribution of leaflets 'with intent to promote feelings of racial hostility' (*See chapter on Political trials*).

Trailing of members of BPC by members of the Security Branch is rife. In the case of Saths Cooper, it has resulted in his prosecution on a charge of alleged assault and the use of obscene language against a security officer.

In October, two members of the Sharpeville Branch of BPC, Messrs. Matsau and Tshabalala, were detained and arrested under the Terrorism Act.

Also banned in October was the highly popular T-shirt worn by BPC members, easily recognisable by its symbolic clenched-fist motif.

For more detailed information on this section, reference should be made to the chapters on bannings and political trials and detentions.

Reference:	1. BPC Report	July, 1973
	2. BPC Report	July, 1973
	3. <i>Cape Times</i>	20/3/73
	4. <i>Graphic</i>	2/2/73
	5. <i>Graphic</i>	2/2/73
	6. <i>Graphic</i>	2/2/73

# Chapter Eleven

## POLITICAL TRIALS AND DETENTIONS

THERE WERE about a dozen political trials of significance in the political activities of individual Blacks and Black organisations in 1973.

Highly featuring were the two trials under the Terrorism Act in which the state alleged acts of subversion by the accused.

(a) *The Moumbaris Trial*: The accused in this case appeared briefly in the Pretoria Supreme Court on November 24, 1972. They were not asked to plead but were remanded to January 15, 1973.

The six men were all being charged in terms of the Terrorism Act.

They were accused of having conspired to overthrow the Republican Government from outside the country and eventually entering the country with the aim of carrying out 'subversive' acts.

(b) *The Mangena Trial*: Whereas the accused in the Moumbaris Trial were alleged to be working for a banned organisation, the ANC, and undergoing training in foreign countries, the accused in this case had not left the country at any time for 'subversive' training and belonged to an organisation that is not banned, the Black People's Convention, which operates within the country.

Another point worth consideration is that although the judgment failed to prove that the accused had worked in common purpose with the BPC as a political organisation, or that the BPC was a natural successor to the ANC and PAC—both banned organisations—the accused was still given a 'statutory minimum sentence' of 5 years imprisonment.

### **1. Moumbaris Trial (January 15, 1973 to June 10, 1973)**

*THE ACCUSED:* Alexander Moumbaris, 34, an Australian of French extraction; Tloi Theophilus Cholo, 45, of the Transkei; Maqina Justice Mpanza, 34, of Natal; Petros Haron Mtembu, 37, of Natal; Gardiner Sandi Sijaka, 30, of the Transkei; John William Hosey, 23, an Irish citizen.

*INDICTMENT:* The men are charged jointly with contravening the provisions of the Terrorism Act of 1967. There are a total of 19 counts, in each of which one or more of the accused are mentioned. Moumbaris is mentioned in 10 counts, Cholo in 5, Mpanza in 6, Mtembu in 6, Sijaka in 7 and Hosey in 2.

All the accused except Hosey are included in count one, in which the men are charged with taking part in 'terroristic' activities. They are alleged in this count to have conspired with one another, with the banned African National Congress and with other people, to instigate and encourage violent revolution. They are alleged to have been members and/or supporters of the ANC and to have conspired in South Africa, Russia, England and Somalia between January 1, 1970 and July 19, 1972.

The four Black men are alleged in count one to have agreed to commit certain acts for the purposes of the conspiracy. They allegedly agreed to secretly enter South Africa, bring arms, ammunition and explosives into the country and bring materials for secret communication into South Africa. It was also alleged that they agreed to establish a system of secret communication and that they agreed to recruit people in South Africa, form them into groups and train them in 'warfare and subversion'.

Moumbaris allegedly agreed to do anything necessary to help the four Blackmen and other people. The other people the five are alleged to have conspired with are Dr Dadoo, Mr Slovo, Oliver Tambo, Mr Nkosane and D. Young.

In count two, the Black men were alleged to have had, attempted to have, or agreed to have military and political training in Russia and in African states north of the Zambesi between 1962 and June 1972. The training—in propaganda, guerilla warfare, terrorism and subversion—could be of use to anyone intending to endanger the maintenance of law and order, the State submitted.

The next four counts related to Moumbaris and it was alleged that he harboured, concealed or helped 'terrorists'. He was alternately charged in these counts with taking part in terrorist activities. He was alleged to have, in June and July, 1972, assisted people in entering South Africa secretly from Swaziland and Botswana.

In the last 13 counts, all six accused were charged with taking part in terrorist activities. They allegedly committed or attempted to commit a

number of acts, acting 'in the execution of a common purpose with the ANC to make war and to incite violent revolution'.

*COURSE OF THE TRIAL:* Mr C. Rees, for the State, began his argument with an account of 'terrorist training camps' based in Tanzania and Zambia and being run by the ANC.

People were recruited in South Africa and taken out of the country to be trained in 'terrorist warfare'. The camps 'were used as dispersal and reception depots for people to be sent to countries such as Russia'. In 1971, a group of about 24 people went for training to Russia. Four of the accused were among this group, and the training was to effect seaborne landing into South Africa. Two attempts were made to reach South Africa by boat from Somalia, but trouble was experienced and the group returned to their base in Somalia.

At this time Moumbaris was active in South Africa, sending and receiving messages from England. These messages were supposedly in connection with the trouble his mother was having in coming to South Africa. However, the state would show that the messages concerned the trouble the 'terrorists' were having with their 'mother' ship. Plans to enter the country by ship were abandoned and new plans were made for the group to enter South Africa by air through Swaziland and Botswana.

Three state witnesses—Kumulele Menye, Silumani Gladstone Mose and Nicholas Kumbela—all gave evidence implicating the six accused and corroborating the State's charges. All three were reported to have been 'self-confessed terrorists'. (*The Star* 14/3/73).

The State's case rested heavily on the evidence of these men who had all left South Africa to become 'freedom fighters'. Menye claimed that Moumbaris was his 'contact man' who assisted him in gaining illegal entry into South Africa. Menye also stated that all the Black accused excepting Mtembu were taken to a Russian naval base where they were instructed in the use of explosives, rowing by day and night, shooting and the use of grenades. This group was finally met by Oliver Tambo, Dr Dadoo, Mr Mtembu and others. His group was told it would return to South Africa by ship and they were shown maps of the Eastern Cape coast.

Kumbela gave an account of how two attempts to enter South Africa by ship failed. Because of this, plans were made to come in via Botswana and Swaziland.

*JUDGMENT:* Mr Justice Boshoff convicted all six accused. The two foreign whites, Moumbaris and Hosey, were sentenced to 12 and 5 years respectively. The four Blacks, Cholo, Mpanza, Mtembu and Sijaka, were each sentenced to 15 years. In convicting the four Blacks, the judge found that the state witnesses Menye, Mose and Kumbela were intelligent state witnesses who had adopted 'the game is up' attitude and did not harbour

hostility toward any of the accused. While he found state witnesses honest and reliable, he could not say the same of the four Black accused. There were no applications for leave to appeal by any of the Black accused. Leave to appeal was refused in the case of Moumbaris and allowed in the case of Hosey.

As the four Blacks were led from the dock to serve their 15 year sentences they all clenched their fists in the Black Power salute.

## **2. The Mangena Trial**

*THE ACCUSED:* Aaron Mosibudi Mangena (26).

*THE INDICTMENT:* The state alleged that the accused participated in terrorist activities and he was charged under the Terrorism Act.

*COURSE OF THE TRIAL:* The State alleged that the accused attempted to recruit persons in South Africa to undergo political and military training for overthrowing the Government. Mangena, who was the national organiser of the BPC, was alleged to have met and encouraged two state witnesses to become members of the BPC and that they would be required to recruit people in the Republic to undergo political and military training for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of the Republic. Both the state witnesses were African police sergeants. They said that they were both from the Transvaal and that they had met Mangena on a train to Port Elizabeth. They alleged that he had said that the BPC aimed to liberate the Black man from his oppression.

Young men would be sent overseas for military training and would learn how to make letter bombs. On their return they would kill the whites, black policemen, indunas, captains and the Black ministers in the homeland.

Counsel for the defence said that there was a conspiracy on the part of the security police to involve Mangena. He found it strange that Mangena would disclose such dangerous information to strangers on a train. Mangena denied that he had tried to recruit the two state witnesses or that he had mentioned military training for the use of letter bombs.

*JUDGMENT:* The court agreed with the defence, said the judge, that the State had failed to prove that a common purpose between the BPC and Mangena existed. However, the court found that it could not accept Mangena's version of what occurred and his evidence was rejected. The judge added: 'we might mention that we do not find the demeanour of the accused was unsatisfactory or that he gave his evidence in a manner that could be criticised. He appeared at ease and spoke without hesitation. We do, however, not believe him and we do not think his evidence could reasonably have been true'. The court would not accept the contention by the State that the BPC was the natural successor to the banned ANC and PAC merely because of certain similar objectives. He then imposed the

statutory minimum sentence of 5 years imprisonment after finding him guilty and on an alternative count under the Terrorism Act.

### 3. The 'Racial Hostility' Trial (January 31, 1973—August 31, 1973)

*THE ACCUSED:* Sathasivan Cooper (25), Revabalan Cooper (20) Pojandran Gungiah Chetty (25), Kubenthiran Lawrence Reddi (23), Timothy Colin Jeffrey (22).

*THE INDICTMENT:* The State alleged that the five contravened the 'Bantu Administration Act' between January 31 and February 2, in that they uttered words or distributed pamphlets containing 'words that would promote feelings of racial hostility between Africans and Whites'. It was further alleged that there was an agreement between the five men. Mr Sathasivan Cooper was allegedly responsible for the printing, while the others distributed the pamphlets. The pamphlets, in Zulu and English, were headed by the words, 'Black People's Convention' and bore a print of two Black clenched fists severing a chain. (*Rand Daily Mail* 21/6/73).

*THE COURSE OF THE TRIAL:* All five accused refused to plead to the charges when asked to do so by the magistrate. 'It is only the white oppressors who should be here charged with hostility to Blacks', said Mr Sath's Cooper who was the public relations officer of BPC up until his banning and house arrest in March 1973. Revabalan Cooper in refusing to plead said: 'I do not recognise the authority of this court', while Chetty declared that he could not plead to white racists. Reddy stated that it was against his principles to plead to the charges and Jeffrey found that he 'could not plead in a court for white people, run by white people'.

After the closure of the state case, Sath's Cooper read out a prepared statement in his defence. In it he said that the distribution of pamphlets which said that the survival of Blacks depended on 'our joint action as Black people', was decided on as a result of 'white retaliation' to the recent strikes in Natal.

The English-language pamphlet had not been anti-white neither was it intended to create feelings of animosity between any of the race groups. Its main aim had been to effect greater solidarity and unity among Blacks.

The Zulu-language pamphlet was designed to have the same effect, but was directed solely to Africans. (*Rand Daily Mail* 8/6/73).

The chief and real intent of the Zulu pamphlet was to show that Coloureds and Indians were as oppressed as Africans. Generally, Coloureds and Indians on the one hand and Africans on the other were appealed to not to be misled by whites, but to unite for freedom from white oppression', Mr Cooper said (*Natal Mercury* 21/6/73).

Laying the basis for his statement from the dock, Mr Cooper said that whites, by their arrogant aloofness from Black people and the numerous

measures they had enacted and were putting into practice against Blacks, had assumed the role of enemy to the Black people (*Post* 1/7/73).

He then went on to show how the Black People's Convention had taken on the responsibility of bringing Black people together. 'This organisation and evolution of the Black people as formulated by the BPC is a legitimate expression of a people denied in all aspects of their lives and should not be arbitrarily murdered out of existence by arrests, bannings and fear as a result of the power of the gun, brute force and a base and vile system of informers and pimps'. *Ibid.*

Earlier in the trial the defence counsel for the five accused, Mr T.L. Skweyiya, said that one of his clients Mr Saths Cooper, had been forced by the police to make a statement (*Natal Mercury* 20/6/73).

*JUDGMENT:* Mr van Zijl said that the State had not proved that the pamphlets were handed out with the intention of promoting feelings of racial hostility between Black and white. It was clear that the accused had taken advantage of the fact that labour forces in the Durban-Pinetown area were in a state of disruption due to strikes by 'non-white workers'.

Mr Van Zijl had no comment to make on a submission by counsel for the defence that some political leaders of Bantustans made speeches far more inflammatory than those in the pamphlets distributed by the accused.

'The pamphlets advocate unity between 'non-whites' as against whites, but nowhere is there any suggestion of unlawful agitation, nowhere is there any exhortation to acts of violence'.

Four of the accused were found not guilty and discharged. At the close of the state case, the fifth accused, Mr Kubenthiran Lawrence Reddi, 23, was discharged.

#### **4. The Racial Hostility Trial: (March 31—December 1, 1973)**

*THE ACCUSED:* Mr Maithwe Nchaube Aubrey Mokoape (28), Harri Singh (28) and Chanderdeo Sewpersadh (37).

*INDICTMENT:* The State alleged that on March 21, the accused addressed a gathering at the Kajee Hall, Leopold Street, Durban. The meeting had been called on the anniversary of the shooting of 69 Africans at Sharpeville on March 21, 1960. It was alleged that the speeches of the accused contained words that promoted feelings of 'racial hostility'. The State alleged that Mokoape referred to the Black people who were 'killed callously without mercy because they dared to say "no" to the whiteman's laws'.

The theme of liberation is worded by the blood of the masses. It was further alleged that Mokoape said: 'the white man has become sub-human, the white man is in the way of becoming a devil, the white man has become a beast'.

It was alleged that Singh had said that the Black people should fight until

their country which had been taken from them by force was theirs again. Singh allegedly made reference to the 'limbo of slavery' and to the 'gestapo type of attacks, the atrocities and brutality of the white man'. Singh allegedly concluded by exhorting the people to fight against the war of discrimination and degradation.

*COURSE OF THE TRIAL:* Sewpersadh was released on warning before the start of the trial. Mokoape and Singh both refused to plead in a court which they said: 'was an extension and a tool of the sadistic white racist regime'. When asked by the prosecutor to plead, Singh said: 'the South African courts are an extension and a tool of your sadistically oppressive white racist regime and I refuse to plead in a court that perpetuates this racism'. Mokoape said: 'I have no desire, nor do I feel obligated to plead in a court which is enforcing laws in whose making I was not consulted'.

'These laws are hostile to my very being and for me to plead would be for me to co-operate in my own slavery. My sanity prevents me from doing that'.

The court entered pleas of not guilty for both men.

Evidence was led that a certain Captain Pretorius sent two of his men to the Kajee Hall in Leopold Street, after several pamphlets advertising a meeting to commemorate Sharpeville had come into his possession.

One of his men carried a transmitter. Before the meeting began, Captain Pretorius stationed himself in a car and began making recordings on two tape machines. Transcripts of what was allegedly said at the meeting were attached to the charge sheet.

At the end of the first sitting the State opposed an application for bail for Mokoape. The State claimed that the accused was likely to abscond and not stand trial. However, defence counsel pressed for bail and Mokoape, a final year medical student, told the court that he was married and with a child. He said that he had a great love for the Black people of South Africa and that he had no desire to leave the country. Bail of R250 was granted but he was ordered to report to the Wentworth police station twice a day.

*JUDGMENT:* The Magistrate, Mr Howser, said that the pamphlets advertising the meeting showed antagonism to whites and it would not have been difficult to stir up these sentiments later in the hall. The magistrate said that Singh's speech was more irresponsible than that of Mokoape and that Singh therefore deserved a heavier sentence. The magistrate fined Harri Singh R100 or 50 days imprisonment with a further 9 months imprisonment conditionally suspended for 3 years. Maithwe Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape was fined R75 or 1 month imprisonment and an additional 7 months imprisonment was conditionally suspended for 3 years.

## **5. The U.N.B. Trial**

The accused in this case were all students at the Medical School of the University of Natal, Black Section.

*ACCUSED:* Tebogo Mokgoro, Norman Dubazana, Cornelius Moalusi, Musa Mdlalose, Thabo Seseane, Siyolo Solombela and Kwandiwe Stofile.

*INDICTMENT:* The accused were charged with assault with intent to do Grievous Bodily Harm (GBH). It was alleged by the State that on 25 March the accused assaulted members of the Police Force at a meeting held at the Alan Taylor Residence.

*COURSE OF THE TRIAL:* It was revealed before the Court that the said date of the incident was in Commemoration of Heroes Day, which fell every 21st day of March at U.N.B. The said meeting was therefore being taken seriously by the students and other Blacks attending. And that during this commemoration the presence of visitors suspected of being Security Branch Officers or agents was highly undesirable. The policemen allegedly assaulted by the accused in the case had been marked out by certain students as belonging to a group of Security Branch members who had disrupted the distributing of pamphlets by students in the Durban centre the previous day 24 March.

The accused denied having assaulted the policemen and claimed there was general disarray at the meeting when the alleged assault took place.

The people attending the meeting had all been aware of the policemen's refusal to leave when asked.

Further defence claimed that this particular case, a criminal one, had been handled by members of the Security Branch and the Drug and Vice Squad attached to it. Whereas, the claim went on, as normal with criminal cases, it was members of the CID that the accused expected should have handled the case.

Thirdly, it was alleged that third degree interrogation methods had been applied on some of the accused while they were being kept at the Point Prison, which jail was normally for long-term prisoners. Bail had also been refused and the accused claimed they had been kept in seclusion from the other prisoners.

Soon after the beginning of the trial, the two state witnesses, also students, were disqualified as witnesses and a perjury charge was laid against them. The two witnesses are Mahomelele Kgwedi and Donald Chiloane. The State claimed perjury in their testimonies.

Subsequently bail was granted to the accused. And so far three of the accused have been acquitted.

The trial continues. Those facing further trial are: Dubazana, Seseane, Mdlalose and Solombela.

## TRIALS AGAINST BANNED PEOPLE

### 6. **Bokwe James Mafuna**

Bokwe Mafuna (34) was charged in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act with failing to report to the police in Alexandra Township on Monday April 9. Mafuna refused to plead. However, he made a lengthy statement from the dock.

In passing judgment the magistrate said that Mafuna had refused to take part in the proceedings and had not given an explanation why he had failed to report to the police. He said further that Mafuna had made it clear from his political address that he did not accept the laws of the country. The magistrate found Mafuna guilty and sentenced him to 12 months imprisonment 9 months of which were conditionally suspended for three years.

Mafuna was Branch Executive and Project organiser for the Black Community Programmes until his banning. He has since left the country.

### 7. **Barney Nyameko Pityana**

Nyameko Pityana (27) was charged on 6 counts of contravening the restriction order served on him under the Suppression of Communism Act. The six charges he faces alleged that Pityana received visitors and had attended social gatherings. Only on one of the counts was Pityana discharged. It is alleged that he entertained members of the Western Cape Saso branch who were on their way to a Cape Town meeting. It was further alleged that he received a visitor at his home on April 22. Pityana pleaded not guilty.

Pityana was found guilty on 5 counts, a sixth being withdrawn by the State. He was found guilty of having a person in his home, two counts of having visitors in his home, and seeing a group of people in a car outside his home. The magistrate said that Pityana had taunted policemen keeping him under observation by giving them a clenched fist salute after talking to a group of Saso officials. The magistrate sentenced Pityana to a total of 18 weeks imprisonment. Mr Pityana has appealed against his sentence. Until his banning he was Secretary-General of Saso.

### 8. **Jerome Leteane Modisane**

Jerome Leteane Modisane (24) was charged in terms of his banning order for failing to report to the police and of wrongfully attending a social gathering.

It was ordered that he be detained until the rising of the court when he was found guilty of failing to report to the police.

He was sentenced to a further 4 months all of which was suspended for 3

years on condition that he doesn't contravene any of the provisions of the ban served on him during the period of suspension, when he was found guilty of attending a social gathering. He was found not guilty and discharged on one count of attending a public gathering and of communicating with another banned person. Jerome Leteane Modisane was president of Saso until he was banned on March 8, 1973.

### **9. Henry Eric Isaacs**

Henry Eric Isaacs (24) was charged with contravening his banning order in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. It was alleged that he communicated with other members of Saso and that he had in his possession books banned by the Publications Control Board. Evidence was led that 2 letters written by Isaacs had been found by security police in the possession of a Saso courier at D.F. Malan airport, Cape Town, on August 7. They had been addressed to alleged members of Saso. It was further alleged that 6 banned books of a political nature had been found at Isaacs's home, on August 9, during a security police search. Isaacs pleaded not guilty to both charges.

Judgment has been reserved in the Regional Court, Pietermaritzburg until January 18. During the course of the trial Isaacs's application for bail was refused. H.E. Isaacs was President of Saso until his banning on July, 26 1973.

### **10. Winnie Mandela and Sexforth Peter Magubane**

Winnie Mandela (37) and Sexforth Peter Magubane (39) appealed against their sentences of 12 months for contravening their banning orders. This will be the second attempt at getting an acquittal.

They were convicted on May 10, 1972, in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court to 12 months imprisonment. They appealed against the sentence and their appeal failed in the Supreme Court in Pretoria. However, leave to appeal was granted and bail of R300 was extended pending the outcome of the further appeal. The appeal will now go to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein.

They were convicted of communicating with each other in May last year and as banned people this is a violation of their banning order.

### **11. Stanley Sabelo Ntwasa**

On September 11, 1973, Stanley Sabelo Ntwasa (26) was on trial charged on two counts in terms of his banning order, for allegedly having attended a social gathering and communicating with another banned person. He was acquitted on the second count and convicted on count 1, and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment suspended for 3 years. This was the second occasion

Sabelo got a suspended sentence on a trial of this nature. On the 25 September, 1972, he was tried for allegedly being outside his place of residence after 6 pm, which he may not do according to his banning order. He was also being tried for attending a social gathering. On this occasion he was convicted on both counts and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment, suspended for 3 years.

## APPEALS

(a) *The Essop Trial*: Two of the four accused in the Essop trial of November 1972, Indrasen Moodley and Yousuff Hassan Essack, appealed against their convictions and sentences of five years imprisonment under the Terrorism Act. Their appeals were upheld by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein, on 28 September, 1973.

In a 73-page judgment, Mr Justice Miller said that the trial judge had erred in several material respects in rejecting Mr Essack's evidence. He said further that the State had failed to prove that Mr Essack knew the envelopes in question contained subversive material and consequently did not prove the conspiracy charge in the main count.

With regard to Mr Moodley, Mr Justice Miller said that Mr Moodley had told the trial court that Mr Timol had at no time discussed communism with him or attempted to convert him to the ideas of communism. He found the trial judge had erred when he rejected Mr Moodley's evidence in the absence of any evidence in contradiction. The State had failed to prove that in handing copies of the pamphlets to the two people, Mr Moodley did so with the intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic, and a conviction under the alternative charge was not competent (*Rand Daily Mail* 29/9/73).

(b) *Robben Island Court Interdicts*: The wives of two political prisoners of the Pietermaritzburg Terrorism Trial, Mrs Nina Hassim and Mrs Deviki Venketrathnam, both asked for court interdicts to have prisoners' privileges restored to their husbands. They alleged that their husbands on Robben Island had been unlawfully deprived of certain privileges since November, 1972.

The allegations said in sworn affidavits that the privileges were withdrawn after their husbands had signed a petition recording prisoners' grievances. The prisoners involved are Mr Kader Hassim, a Pietermaritzburg attorney, and S.K. Venketrathnam, an attorney's articled clerk, who were convicted with eleven others under the Terrorism Act in the Natal Supreme Court in 1972.

According to the affidavits of their wives, the two men enjoyed certain

privileges until November 1972. They were allowed to smoke, to read books, study and play games such as chess, cards etc. Kader Hassim was placed in solitary confinement from November, 1972 (*Leader* 22/4/73).

Mr Justice Diemont ruled in the Cape Supreme Court that the detention of Kader Hassim in solitary confinement in the Robben Island prison was illegal and ordered the commanding officer of the prison to 'remove him from segregation and solitary confinement'. The Commanding Officer was further ordered to make available on request a copy of the Prisoner's Act and the prison regulation to Hassim. Application for an order entitling Hassim to pursue a course of university studies, have the prison library made available to him, and have handed to him the annual survey of South African law and other books he may be sent, was refused as was an order restoring privileges of smoking and taking part in recreational games.

A similar application with the same orders made on behalf of S.K. Venketrathnam was refused except in relation to the Prison's Act and prison's regulation which the commanding officer was ordered to supply on request. S.K. Venketrathnam had not been placed in segregation or isolation. Only his privileges were withdrawn.

Mr Justice Diemont found that some of the reasons advanced by the prison authorities for their decisions against Hassim and Venketrathnam were most unsatisfactory. But it 'does not follow that the court can interfere with those decisions'. He felt that it was not within the jurisdiction of the court to restore the privileges of both prisoners (*Natal Mercury* 5/4/73).

## DETENTIONS

### Detentions under Security Laws

#### *Detentions under Proclamation 17*

During the 1973 parliamentary session, Mrs Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) asked the Minister of Police how many people had been arrested and detained during 1972 under regulation 19 of Proclamation No. 17 of 1972, and how long each person was detained. She also asked whether any such people were still in detention in 1973.

In reply, the Minister said that 303 people were arrested and detained in 1972, and that none of them was still in detention in 1973 (Hansard I, p. 1, February 1973). Those detained under Proclamation 17 had been held for periods ranging from 2 days (5 persons) to 101 days (1 person). The largest number (125) had been detained for 59 days, while 44 were detained for 48 days.

*Detentions under the Terrorism Act*

When questioned on the number of people detained during 1972 under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, the Minister of Police refused to disclose the information as not being in the public interest. He did confirm, however, that eleven people had been charged with contraventions of provisions of the Terrorism Act, of whom three had been convicted to date. (Hansard 1, p. 18-19).

*Detentions under Proclamation 400 of 1960*

In April 1973 the Minister of Police, replying to a question in parliament, revealed that 6 people had been detained in 1972 in terms of Proclamation 400 in the Transkei. None was charged and five were later released (Hansard 9, p. 615).

*Detentions under the Criminal Procedure Act*

In March 1973, the Minister of Police disclosed that 16 people had been detained during 1972 in terms of Section 215 (bis) of the Criminal Procedure Act. The periods of detention ranged from 3 days (1 person) to 80 days (1 person), and none was still detained at 31 December 1972 (Hansard 7, p. 520).

*Detentions in Ovambo*

In April 1973, the Minister stated that 303 people had been detained during 1972 in terms of emergency regulations in Ovambo. Of these, 114 were charged and convicted, 28 were acquitted and 161 were released without being charged. As at the end of December 1972 none of the 303 was still in detention (Hansard 10, p. 631).

*Actions for Damages by Detainees*

In March 1973 the Minister disclosed that no settlements had been made to detainees who had brought actions against him or members of the police force in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act during 1972. Six actions were still pending, the plaintiffs being Mohammed Salim Essop, Mohammed Timol, Montford Mzoli Mabuto, Albert Kwezi Tshangana, Robert Cedric Wilcos and Frank Anthony (Hansard 7, p. 508-509).

*Deaths in Detention*

In April 1973 the Minister stated that 40 people had died in detention, other than detention in terms of the Terrorism Act, during 1972. Six were reported to have died through suicide, two of natural causes, thirty who died neither of suicide nor natural causes, one whose post-mortem exami-

nation had not been completed, and one who died through alleged police assault (case had not been concluded). (Hansard 11, p. 746-747).

*Arrests of African Pupils*

In May 1973 the Minister of Police revealed that 296 African pupils had been arrested as a result of disturbances at 'Bantu' schools. The schools were the Mantatise Secondary at Witsieshoek, the Moshest Secondary at Avondale, Setatlowane near Pietermaritzburg, the Itotleng Barolong Secondary at Kunana and the Boitsenape Trade School at Mafeking. The pupils had been detained for periods ranging from one day (52 pupils) to 57 days (10 pupils). The largest group (115) had been held for 16 days.

The pupils were arrested on charges of public violence, malicious damage to property and contraventions under the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956, but 221 were released without being tried (Hansard 13, p. 860).

# Chapter Twelve

## BANNINGS

SINCE IT CAME into power in 1948, the Nationalist Government has made it clear that it will brook no opposition, least of all from Blacks, to its racially-defined plans for South Africa, even at the cost of all democratic principles. Thus it was that in the '60s representative Black organisations such as the Pan-African Congress and the African National Congress which enabled Black people to express legally their opposition to the ideology of apartheid were banned outright.

These blatant attacks on Black organisations and their leaders saw the Nationalists sinking further into unfavourable international disrepute. Since then it has resorted to less overt methods of attack. Instead of banning organisations outright it slowly 'bleeds them to death' by banning their leaders and individual members, with the obvious objective of seeing them fall gradually into ineffectiveness. An example of this can be seen in the systematic banning of SASO (South African Students' Organisation) personnel.

In March, four of SASO's key executive members were banned. Subsequently, the new executive elected at the July conference this year was ruthlessly mowed down with the bannings of the President, H.E. Isaacs (July) and the Administrative Assistant, Mervyn Josie (August).

These bannings were followed by those of the General Secretary, Ben Langa, the Literacy Director, J. Baqwa, and the Acting President, H. Qambela, in October. (For more details see Table).

Since it is individuals who are banned (these sporadically and apparently unconnected with each other), public protest and action is difficult to

arouse. It has become easier for the government to claim that it is not organisations and institutions that it is concerned with but with certain individuals who constitute 'a threat to internal security' of the state. Since banned people have no recourse to the courts of law it becomes difficult for them to refute this claim.

In 1973, fifty-four Blacks, as far as is known, were banned with the main thrust of the Government's attack directed at the protagonists of the young Black consciousness movement.

The group banned in March, and generally referred to as the 'SASO EIGHT' by the press, was in fact comprised of leaders and members of the three leading Black organisations representing this movement, viz.: South African Students' Organisation (SASO), the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) and Black Community Programmes (BCP).

Not all the banned, however, are known to belong or to have belonged to any organisation. Indeed, there is little information on their political affiliations. It is ominous to note that since the 'howl of protest' over the March bannings almost seven times as many Blacks have been banned with hardly a note of dissent being expressed, except on those few occasions when the person/s banned happened to belong to some fairly well-known institution. This can only be taken as proof of the efficacy of the Government's new muzzling tactic.

Generally, banning orders have been imposed singly. Sometimes two or three people have been banned simultaneously. In May, 10 Blacks were banned at one fell swoop—an event barely covered by the press and hardly known by the public.

The banning orders served in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act vary from being relatively 'mild' Section 9 (1), to heavily severe, Section 10 (1A). (The exact restrictions imposed upon individuals in terms of these orders is outlined later). Banning orders this year have restricted the activities of the following Black individuals and their respective organisations:

**A. South African Students' Organisation (SASO)**

Name	Pen-portrait	Section of Suppression of Communism Act under which restricted	Date of Notice	Date of Expiry
Ben J. Langa (28)	Secretary-General of SASO. An ex-student of Fort Hare.	Section 9 (1)	8/10/73	8/10/78

Barney Nyameko Pityana (27)	Was expelled from school during stay at Lovedale and then was expelled from Fort Hare. A former President of SASO. Was Secretary-General of SASO at time of banning. Is married with one child. Restricted to Port Elizabeth.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1a)	2/3/73 28/2/78
Strinivasa Moodley (27)	Expelled from University for Indians—Durban. Was Administrative Assistant and Editor of SASO Newsletter when banned, executive member of Tecon—a Black drama group, and Director of SABTU, (South African Black Theatre Union). Married with one child. Restricted to Durban.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	3/3/73 28/2/78
Harry Ranwedzi Nengwekhulu (27)	A B.A. graduate of Turfloop and former President of the SRC of University of the North (Turfloop). Was expelled from here. Was final year law student of UNISA and Permanent Organiser of SASO at time of banning. Restricted to Sibasa.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	3/3/73 28/2/78
Jerome Leteane Modisane (24)	Ex-student of Fort Hare. Was President of SASO at time of banning. Restricted to Kimberley.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	8/3/73 28/2/78
Henry E. Isaasc (23)	Final year law student at the University of Western Cape and President of 'illegal' SRC. Apparently one of the students who organised protests against the authorities at UWC this year. Took over as Acting-president of SASO in March, elected President in July. Forth SASO President to be banned. Restricted to Pietermaritzburg.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	27/7/73 26/7/78

Mervyn Josie (25)	1st year B.A. student of UNISA. Was Administrative Assistant at time of banning. Restricted to Durban.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	22/8/73 23/8/78
Johnny Issel (24)	Graduate of the UWC. Founder of Western Cape Youth Organisation (WCYO). Was SASO Regional Officer for Western Cape.	Section 9 (1)	22/8/73 23/8/78
Jeff D. Baqwa (24)	A graduate of Fort Hare. Was Literacy and Projects Director of SASO and SASM respectively at the time of banning. Restricted to Umzimkulu.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	12/10/73 12/10/78
Hamilton L. Qambela (35)	A theology student at the Federal Seminary, Alice. Chairman of SRC and organiser of community development projects in Transkei and Ciskei. Was acting-President at time of banning.	Section 9 (1)	18/10/73 19/10/78
Rubin Phillip (25)	A former vice-President of SASO. Studied at the Federal Seminary, Alice. Represented South African Anglicans under 28 at a meeting of the Consultative Council in Dublin this year.	Section 9 (1)	27/10/73 27/10/78
Welile Nhlapo (25)	Field worker for SASO's Black Workers' Project. Was doing Social Science at Ngoye before student boycotts.	Section 9 (1)	30/10/73 30/10/78
Soma Reddi (22)	Former secretary-bookkeeper for SASO. Was elected Administrative Assistant in March. A B.Commerce student at UNISA.	Section 9 (1)	14/12/73 31/9/78

**B. Black Community Programmes (BCP)**

Steven Bantu Biko (28)	An ex-medical student at Natal University Medical Faculty and SRC President. Founder of SASO after its breakaway from NUSAS. Ex-President of SASO. Was research officer for BCP at time of banning. Married with one child. Restricted to King Williams Town.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	3/3/73 28/2/78
Bokwe Mafuna (34)	Was a student at the Catholic Seminary at Hammanskraal. Worked for trade unions and then as reporter for <i>Rand Daily Mail</i> . Organiser for BCP and together with SASO of the Black Workers' Project. Married with one child. Restricted to Johannesburg.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	3/3/73 28/2/78
Sumboornam Moodley (25)	Wife of SASO executive member, Strini Moodley. Services as high school teacher 'axed' by Department of Indian Affairs. Was employed as research assistant by BCP at time of banning. Restricted to Durban.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	31/8/73 31/7/78
Ben Khoapa (36)	Qualified social worker. Was National Secretary of African YMCA. Was on staff of Spro-cas and has been Director of BCP since its inception. Married with three children. Restricted to Umlazi.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	15/10/73 15/10/78
Malusi Mpumlwana (22)	Assistant field-worker for B.C.P.	Section 9 (1)	31/10/73 31/10/78
<b>C. Black Peoples' Convention (BPC)</b>			
Herman Sipho Buthelezi (27)	Was Secretary-General of BPC at time of banning. Confined to Newcastle.	Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)	2/9/73 31/7/78

<p><b>Drake Kgalushe Koka (43)</b></p>	<p>Founder member of BPC, and first secretary-general. Was Secretary of Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU). A lay preacher, married with five children. Restricted to Johannesburg.</p>	<p>Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)</p>	<p>3/3/73 28/2/78</p>
<p><b>Sathasivan Cooper (22)</b></p>	<p>Expelled from University for Indians, Durban. Was Director of SABTU, Associate Editor of Black Gold Publications, organiser for Black Arts Studios, and member of TECON, and Public Relations Officer for BPC at time of banning. Married. Restricted to Durban.</p>	<p>Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)</p>	<p>3/3/73 28/2/78</p>
<p><b>Madibeng Chris Mokoditsoa (34)</b></p>	<p>Secretary-General of now defunct University Christain Movement and was vice-president of BCP when banned. Restricted to Johannesburg.</p>	<p>Sections 9 (1) and 10 (1A)</p>	<p>2/9/73 31/7/78</p>
<p><b>Lindelwe Mabandla (29)</b></p>	<p>Former vice-president of SASO. Active BPC member. Was teacher when banned. Married. Wife expecting their first child.</p>	<p>Section 9 (1)</p>	<p>13/11/73 31/10/78</p>
<p><b>Aubrey Mokoape (29)</b></p>	<p>Final year medical student at Natal University (Black section). Founder member of both BPC and SASO.</p>	<p>Section 9 (1)</p>	<p>13/11/73 31/10/78</p>

**D. National Youth Organisation (NAYO)**

<p><b>Mathe Diseko (21)</b></p>	<p>Poet and President of NAYO, TRAYO, SAD and Secretary-General of South African Students Movement.</p>	<p>Section 9 (1)</p>	<p>15/9/73 31/7/78</p>
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**E. Coloured Labour Party**

Achmat Dangor	Chairman of Labour Youth. Employed by Institute of Race Relations.	Section 9 (1)	29/10/73 31/10/78
Donald Francisco Mattera (37)	Former PRO for Labour Party. Was reported for <i>Star</i> and organiser of (UBJ—Union of Black Journalists). Banning viewed as 'ominous step' by Press, in view of the government's current threats against it.	Section 9 (1)	20/11/73 31/10/78

**F. Natal Indian Congress (NIC)**

Ela Ramgobin	A qualified Social worker. One of vice-presidents of NIC—which was revived by her husband, Mewa Ramgobin—also banned and restricted to Inanda. They have 5 children.	Sections 9 (1)	13/8/73 31/7/78
G. Sewpersadh (38)	An attorney—graduated from Natal University. Was President since last year and is 3rd president of the 78 year old Congress to have been banned.	Section 9 (1)	29/10/73 31/10/78
S. Chetty (58)	Active member of NIC since his youth. Was Chairman of local Pietermaritzburg branch.	Section 9 (1)	21/11/73 31/10/78

**G. South African Amateur Swimming Federation**

Morgan Naidoo (38)	Keen promoter of swimming amongst Blacks (See chapter on Sport). Was sports editor of the weekly newspaper—the <i>Leader</i> . Second black sports administrator since Dennis Brutus of SANROC to be banned. Was President of the Federation when banned. Married with 3 children.	Section 9 (1)	20/11/73 31/10/78
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**H. Christian Institute (C.I.)**

Manas Buthelezi

Section 9 (1)

6/12/73 31/10/78

Was Natal Regional Director for C.I. Holds a Doctorate of Divinity from Drew University in the U.S. Studied in Heidelberg University in West Germany in 1972. Member of Interim Committee of Black Theology Agency.

(Withdrawn May 1974).

There is very little information on the following individuals, also banned and restricted.

Virtually nothing is known about the political views they hold or about any organisation they may have worked for. As far as is known, most of them have been restricted in terms of Section 9 (1) of the Suppression of Communism Act.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Date of Notice</b>	<b>Date of Expiry</b>
G.S. Nyembe	9/3/73	9/3/78
Fizile Shadreck	9/3/73	9/3/75
Stanford Hlekani	9/3/73	9/3/75
Charlie January	9/3/73	9/3/73
Mbuyiselo Vikilahle	9/3/73	9/3/75
Joseph Booii	25/5/73	30/5/75
Tom Dingane	25/5/73	30/5/75
J.F. Dlevu	25/5/73	30/5/75
Titi Kleya Hobo	25/5/73	30/5/75
C.J. Mbekela	25/5/73	30/5/75
Veli Rogers Ngwema	25/5/73	30/5/75
Elliot Sota Stadi	25/5/73	30/5/75
Robert Diko	25/5/73	30/5/75
W.J. Ngqondela	25/5/73	30/5/75
Gile Gilbert Yinke	25/5/73	30/5/75
M.L. Mohlangu	16/7/73	31/7/75
Magapi S. Moetsi	11/7/73	31/7/75
Samson J. Nene	20/7/73	31/7/78

Severe banning and house-arrest orders were also served on three former Black political prisoners in May this year, shortly after their release from serving ten year sentences on Robben Island. They are:

<b>Name</b>	<b>Date of Notice</b>	<b>Date of Expiry</b>
Indress Naidoo (36)	12/5/73	31/5/78
Reggie Vandeyar (42)	12/5/73	31/5/78
Shirish Nanabhai (37)	15/5/73	31/5/78

These men were all associated with the old non-racial Congress Alliance Movement<sup>1</sup> and were served with their sentences ten years ago in one of the first trials held under the heavily criticised General Law Amendment Act<sup>2</sup>. They were found guilty of blowing up a railway tool-shed between Crown and New Canada stations and of attempting to blow up a signal relay case. SASO and BPC are especially mentioned in their banning orders, as organisations they are to have no contact with.

Ironically, Naidoo and Nanabhai who were 'inseparable' childhood friends and together on Robben Island are now prohibited from communicating with each other by virtue of their bans which state explicitly that they cannot communicate with any other banned person.

### *Why 'SASO Eight' Were Banned*

(And we may take it for granted that the 'reasons' given for their bannings apply to all the other forty-six Blacks subjected to a similar fate).

The Minister of Justice, Mr Pelsler, admitted in Parliament during a snap half-hour debate over the bannings, that the eight 'SASO' leaders had been banned because court proceedings would have given them a 'platform'<sup>3</sup>.

According to him, the 'students' had spoken of fighting the whiteman and achieving their aims only by revolution. The Government, he stated, could not fight everything using court actions.

He later clarified that his interjection was a reference to the 'misuse' the 'leftists and communists' made of courts in terms of the law as it stood, quoting the example of Nelson Mandela in the 'Rivonia trial', who chose to make a statement in court, which was clearly political.

Blacks have expressed strongly their opposing views to this despotic attitude which circumvents a basic right of access to the courts of law to banned people.

A statement from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi reads:

'This country is almost totalitarian. The bannings emphasise that there are no options. This is what happens when one steps out of the system'<sup>4</sup>

'Bannings mean that no South African is free from the depredations of

the Government', stated Mr Sonny Leon, leader of the Coloured Labour Party. 'It has become a law unto itself'<sup>5</sup>.

### **Public Reactions to Bannings**

Amongst Blacks it has become patent that the onslaught of bannings is nothing short of a subtly-devised form of insidious intimidation designed to keep the Nationalist regime in power at the cost of 'the Black man's aspirations'.

A statement from the NIC reads:

'The bannings can only be interpreted as a further manifestation of the Government's hideous intention to always keep the Black man in subjection.

It obviously feels that by flaunting its power and thereby instituting a reign of fear, it will be able to cow the oppressed people into accepting its monstrous policies'<sup>6</sup>.

Coupled with this realisation however, is a strong determination to go on 'defending our human dignity and freedom' despite the 'harsh and inhuman methods of oppression'<sup>7</sup>. The SRC of the Federal Theological Seminary went as far as to say that the 'abhorred bannings' were 'a feather in the cap of the Black man's struggle'<sup>8</sup>.

Bannings, arrests or any kind of victimisation for political convictions were the highest award the Government could bestow'.

It is this temper which is generally interpreted by whites as the 'bitterness and unrest' apparently existent among Blacks already, which the bannings could aggravate into 'acts of political desperation'.

A statement from a *Rand Daily Mail* editorial reads:

'The Government should not underestimate the deep long-term bitterness its actions must be fostering among the rising Black generation—the people with whom we shall have to deal with tomorrow'<sup>9</sup>.

### **Conclusion**

Banning and house arrest have been described as 'two of the tangible weapons'<sup>10</sup> in South Africa's arsenal of security legislation. Not only do they circumscribe political and social freedom' but they also 'conspire with other factors such as a banned man's environment and the need to make a living to turn him into one of 'South Africa's living dead'.

This is certainly true of Joseph Duncan Kesimolotse Morolong<sup>11</sup>, forty-six years old and a father of five children. Morolong, an ANC member, was among the 157 people arrested for treason during a country-wide police-swoop in 1956. During the state of emergency of 1960 he was detained for five months. In March, 1963, he was banned and restricted to an area five kms wide in a dry, desolate and sparsely populated stretch of land in

Ditshiping Reserve—an area of semi-desert conditions.

Social contact for him is reduced to virtually nil since his nearest neighbours live a distance away. By virtue of his banning orders he cannot receive visitors save his medical practitioner. Morolong who completed ten years under banning in March this year had his ban renewed once more to end in March, 1978. His mother made the following statement:

‘There is nothing much for him to do here. He just sits around all day watching the sun rise and set. At night he sleeps’.

Mr Docrat, 58 years old and banned since 1964, is another victim of stringent house-arrest and banning orders, which ‘straitjacket the body and mind, allowing prescribed hours of freedom during daylight hours but incarcerate their victims at home every night’<sup>12</sup>. When Mr Docrat’s order was renewed in 1969 a 22-hour a day house arrest was imposed on him. His daily hours of freedom have subsequently been extended to four.

Making a living is almost impossible for Mr Docrat whose situation is made even more ironical by the fact that he is surrounded by the teeming city-life of Durban. Long-weekends for him are akin to solitary confinement.

Social contact for him too, is reduced to a minimum. Few people are unafraid to talk to him, making David Russel’s contention that ‘banning orders convert a person into a social leper’<sup>13</sup> true. People do not know how to interpret ban regulations and some even get the impression that it is illegal to enter the home of a banned person or to invite him home. Moreover, there is the sickening tendency to conclude that a victim is somehow guilty and that an association with such a person might implicate a person in the eyes of the State.

the ban to enable them to continue the business have been refused.

In the case of the Moodleys, it was Mrs Moodley who provided the family income after her husband Strini was banned in March this year. In August Mrs Moodley was also banned, her order stating explicitly that the precincts of BCP where she worked as research assistant, were barred to her.

(c) 'violence to persons' ...

Mary Moodley a 58 year old housewife was first banned in 1963. On April 1st, this year she began her third five year term of restrictions<sup>15</sup>.

Mary Moodley was a garment worker and organiser of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. She is now confined and restricted to Benoni, a situation which makes it difficult for her to go to the hospital outside the magisterial area of Benoni, for medical treatment. She, and her husband are very sickly and a visit to the hospital for her means the requirement of a permit from the local authorities to do so.

The Morolongs, Docrats, Ramgobins and Moodleys represent only an infinitesimal number of Blacks to whom violence has been done this year, and this through only one avenue—bannings. That this is one of the vicious forms of state-controlled intimidation is irrefutable. To argue otherwise would be to testify to the effectiveness of a relentless power structure.

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# Chapter Thirteen

## ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT

THOUGH 1973 was not a busy year in the field of Arts and Entertainment it did prove to be a more productive one for the theme of Black Consciousness.

### **Drama**

There were not as many shows from theatre groups as in the previous two years. However, an outstanding factor did emerge. There was a general convergence of thoughts from several important groups on the common concepts of black identity.

A Lenasia theatre group PET (People's Experimental Theatre) merged with a Soweto group, Shiqomo; and together they produced the play 'Shanti' which had a successful run throughout the country. PET's newsletter carried a suasive analysis of Black Theatre as seen by Blacks and as being desirable for the cultural identity of Blacks themselves. Equally appreciable was the Mihloti newsletter in which Blackness was being profoundly expounded. Mihloti is an Alexandra-based theatre group affiliated to Mdali (Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute).

Highly conscientising in the quest for Black Consciousness was a show performed jointly by Tecon and the Dashiki Afro-Jazz Group at the Durban's Y.M.C.A. in October. Called 'Black Images', the show was a trilogy of Black words, music and movement.

The theme of Blackness was further enhanced when the veteran Soweto actor Zakes Mokaie, on his visit from overseas, urged that the Black identity be developed and be put to use in Black theatre. A short treatise on the need

for the development of theatre for Blacks along the lines of Black awareness and national consciousness also appeared in the August issue of the *South African Outlook*. Written by a Black, M. Pascal Gwala, it was further indicated that Blacks were wanting to assess their situation on their own terms.

The divergence of drama activity among Blacks has brought one important factor to the foreground; that being the essential distinction between 'Black drama' and 'drama produced by Blacks'. There appear to be varying opinions about this. Notable in their exposition and definition are TECON (Theatre Council of Natal) and PET (People's Experimental Theatre). Both groups see Black drama as a 'liberating weapon', that seeks 'to break down the psychological oppression that has shackled the Black man'. They see Black drama as being constantly related to the situational experience. And through comment, reporting and reflecting they seek to turn the Black man towards a more positive appraisal of himself. 'Black drama will also essentially present the only available solution to the 'white problem'—Black Consciousness.

Thus as far as TECON and PET are concerned, Black drama is not Black drama solely because it has Black actors, directors and depicts Black scenes. If the play does not place sufficient emphasis upon the creation of a revolutionary mood and does not see Black liberation as a priority then it is not Black drama but drama presented by Blacks.

Other 'Black' theatre groups have not clearly defined their basic attitude to drama. However, Robert Davids of Backstreet Productions claimed that while his plays were 'about the conditions of the Black people' his aim was to 'rise above the political implications of a situation'.

Two extremely well-known Black actors, John Kani and Winston Ntshona, see themselves as artists before anything else. 'As artists we cannot ask ourselves, will this be unacceptable to an audience, a community, a Government. We must do just what we feel we must do'. Kani also commented, 'All the work we have done, we have done openly, publicly and there has never been the slightest indication of a confrontation'.

'Workshop '71' comprising Black talent but featuring whites in direction and administration, appears to see its major aim as 'purely to entertain the audience of today'. Most of their plays go on at venues which attract whites.

Adam Small, director of the new professional theatre group 'Cape Flats Theatre', is continuing to comment on life situations in the Black Community. The emphasis in Mr Small's plays however, is to evaluate Black situations while maintaining the essential 'entertainment value'.

Credo Vusamazulu Mutwa talking about African theatre says, 'Theatre among my people was a sacred thing; a thing hallowed by tradition and

attended by all kinds of strange rituals'. Mr Mutwa emphasised that theatre was part of Africa long before the coming of the white man.

Most of the white newspapers, in their treatment of previews, reviews and interviews with Blacks, involved in theatre, appear to lump all under one heading of 'Black Theatre' irrespective of the type of group they are dealing with. Thus more radical groups like PET and TECON would find it impossible to see 'Umabatha' as Black drama.

The 'Black' in Black drama is allied with liberation, the search for dignity and self-reliance. Radical groups would not see 'Umabatha' in any of these roles.

However, theatre amongst Blacks is on the upgrade. That there is no denying. Spokesmen for Blackstreet Promotions say 'There is a great hunger for theatre among Black People'.

And this is a sentiment echoed by most Black theatre groups.

### **South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU)**

Following their drama festival in Cape Town in December, 1972, SABTU has not done anything since. The main reason for this appears to be the lack of administrative staff. Following the banning of its president, Strini Moodley, and its Director, Saths Cooper, together with the resignation of two other executive members, SABTU appears to have faded into non-existence. However, some of the affiliate groups still maintain contact.

Without question, theatre among Black people goes back a long time. With such 'greats' as 'King Kong' and 'Sponono' and the works of 'Phoenix Players' in Johannesburg, the Durban Academy of Theatrical Arts (DATA) in Durban and the emergence of 'Serpent Players' in Port Elizabeth, interest in theatre among Black people began to flourish. However, at that stage most of the administration, technical and artistic direction remained in the hands of whites like Athol Fugard, Alan Paton and Ian Bernhardts.

### **Theatre Council of Natal (TECON)**

The first known all-Black effort in theatre which showed a marked awareness of the Blackman's situation in South Africa was a highly satirical revue called 'Black on White' which was produced by the Avon Theatre Company in Durban in December, 1966. 'Black on White' was created by a group of students at the University College for Indians. However, the revue played throughout centres in Natal and at the NUSAS Conference in July, 1968, at Witwatersrand University. The revue made cutting comment on the housing problems amongst Blacks, the disunity among the Black groups and evils of apartheid.

The Avon Theatre Company was later to emerge under the name of the Theatre Council of Natal (TECON) which commanded the theatre scene in Durban from 1969. The trend to produce relevant theatre gathered momentum with TECON playing a major role steering the theatre fraternity in various centres in this direction. But the most important fact that came to the surface was that Blacks 'had begun doing their own thing'. Tecon's entire administration, technical and artistic direction was manned by Blacks.

At this stage, even though there were other groups run by Blacks entirely, their theatre remained far from relevant to the Black situation, while on the other hand, groups like Phoenix Players and Serpent Players were still tied to white control in one form or another.

Viewed alongside the development of the Black consciousness movement, Black theatre shows a marked parallel development so that the entire momentum of Blackness began to manifest itself not only on the student scene but among the entire community. Thus as early as May, 1970, a critic wrote of one of Tecon's plays, 'The drama seemed to depict the angry despair of all those oppressed by racialism ... No doubt, the immediate relevance of this theme tended to give the production an aura of daring ...' (*Leader* 28/5/70). Almost a year later, another critic said this of Tecon's 'Into the Heart of Negritude', 'This forceful exploration into the meaning of negritude using African poetry and music struck deep chords of irony, bitterness and humour...' (*Daily News* 7/5/71).

Two months later, talking about Tecon's 'Antigone in '71', the *Daily News* critic said, 'Antigone in '71 is such a savage indictment of the present South African political system that my instinctive reaction was to reel back in horror. My second reaction was to await the arrival of the political police. (They did not come)' (*Daily News* 8/7/71). It was at this same play that a smoke bomb was exploded by two unknown whites in an attempt to disrupt the play.

Shortly after 'Antigone in '71', Tecon undertook to promote 'The Inanda Choralaires'—a group of young high school students at the Inanda Seminary. However, a few days before the performance was due to go on, the principal of the Inanda Seminary demanded a written guarantee from Tecon, that multi-racial audiences were lawful. Tecon, since its inception had introduced a guild which thereby made multi-racial audiences legal.

Tecon felt the demand on the part of the principal 'as an affront to its integrity and honour as an organisation of standing in the Black Community'. (*Daily News* 5/10/71).

'This is another typical reaction on the part of the principal, of a white liberal who can put no trust in the actions of Blacks and questions their capability to do things' continued the statement issued by Tecon.

'This is forcing the hand of Tecon to decide again its policy in relation to whites. We now recognise that Tecon's role is only within the Black community, and continued inclusion of whites will only serve to frustrate its endeavours'. (*Daily News* 5/10/71).

Tecon cancelled the contract with the Choralaires and Inanda Seminary and the show did not go on. It was at the next annual general meeting of TECON that a resolution was taken barring whites from attending her shows or having whites as members.

Since then TECON has only played to Blacks. At the Tecon drama festival in 1972 it was unfortunate for Tecon that her invitation to the Inter-African Theatre Group, an affiliate of the Kenya National Theatre Company, was not met. Although the group accepted the invitation, the Kenyan Government refused the group permission to come to South Africa.

Mr N.M. Migo, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Interior in Kenya in a letter to Mr George Mende, of Inter-African Theatre group, said, 'After careful consideration of the matter, this Ministry regrets to inform you that it has been found unsuitable to issue your group with travel documents as requested. It is felt that performances in South Africa by your theatre group may set into motion undesirable repercussions which may cause considerable damage to the image of the Republic of Kenya in Africa' (*Leader* 30/6/72). This attitude on the part of the Kenyan Government was understandable as the 'dialogue' issue between South Africa and Africa North of the Zambezi, was a major talking point.

### **Tecon Activities for 1973**

In an attempt to play a more meaningful role in the community, TECON began playing where there 'would be more grassroots contact'. Most of the plays they did reflected 'intergroup suspicions', and sought to find solutions; or exhorted audiences towards a closer understanding of Black consciousness; or called upon the audience to commit themselves to the search for liberation.

One of the major productions for 1973 was 'Black Images', a programme done in conjunction with the DASHIKI. Dashiki are a Black music group whose creativity draws from the rich beauty of African music.

end of tape

For 1973, TECON has travelled to Stanger, played in Lamontville, Tin Town, at the University of Natal (Black Section), the SASO conference and in Durban at the YMCA. It was also this year that TECON 'lost' three of its founder members, Saths Cooper, Mrs Sam Moodley, and Strini Moodley as a result of their bannings and house arrests. All three had played a major role in administration, artistic and technical direction and all three were

accomplished actors.

TECON will be in existence for five years in 1974. The present executive is hoping that plans for a major '5th Anniversary' celebration in 1974 will be realised. They are hoping to organise a mammoth Arts Festival, incorporating Drama, Music, Fine Arts and Poetry Readings.

### **People's Experimental Theatre (Pet)**

PET was initiated in Lenasia in early 1973. Before the creation of PET, there existed in Lenasia a movement called 'YOUTH' and among its aims was the hope to initiate a Black theatre group. YOUTH soon petered out and a few remaining active members convened a meeting to establish PET.

At about the same time a theatre group in Soweto called 'Shiqomo (Spear)' was launched. Both groups worked together very closely. Both groups also realised the importance of a merger. This realisation was cemented when PET and Shiqomo presented 'An Evening of Black Thoughts'—a programme of poetry readings, music and extracts from Black revolutionary writers, which was extremely well received in Lenasia where it was presented.

Subsequently, a joint meeting of PET and Shiqomo was called and the new PET emerged with 'The Spear Lives on' as their motto.

PET's first major production was 'Shanti', a play written by the late Mthuli Shezi, vice-president of the BPC, until his death in December, 1972. 'Shanti' had a successful run in Lenasia and Soweto and was also promoted in Durban by TECON.

This was followed by a production called 'Requiem for Brother X', a play written by W.W. Mackay, a Black-American, and dedicated to the late Malcolm X, a Black Power leader in the United States.

Not content with just drama, this very energetic group brought out a newsletter. The newsletter was introduced to fill the vacuum that exists as far as original Black writing goes.

Besides theatre, the newsletter discussed Black consciousness and published numerous poems written by young Blacks. This newsletter has been banned by the Publications Control Board.

PET seems set for a long and interesting stay in Black Theatre circles. Their hopes for more concentrated work and reaching the wider Black community give some insight into the role of Black Theatre in South Africa.

### **Cape Flats Theatre**

Although this is a new name in theatre circles in the Western Cape, the members are, for the most part, 'Walk-out students' from the University of the Western Cape who belonged to the University drama society

(DRAMSOC). Most of them took part in Adam Small's 'Kanna Hy Ko Hystoe'.

The 'Cape Flats Theatre' is a fully-professional company and has Adam Small, the Black head of the Philosophy Department at Western Cape who resigned from his post, 'as the first professional director'. (*Cape Argus* 22/9/73).

Their first production which is now being rehearsed, is called 'Joanie Galant'. Like TECON in Durban and PET in Johannesburg, Cape Flats Theatre is intent on producing theatre that reflects and makes comment on 'black oppression and its various manifestations'.

And like most Black theatre groups, the problem of adequate facilities for rehearsals is a major set-back. Yet, despite all this, Cape Flats Theatre manages to work for perfection in the small space of Mr Small's garage.

The play now in rehearsal is made up of a series of satirical sketches which make cutting comments on Black life in South Africa.

### **Backstreet Productions**

Backstreet Productions is made up of a trio of young Black artists who write their own material. They have already performed two highly successful plays—'Goodbye District Six' and 'Friday, Friday'. All their plays reflect the conditions of Black people. As their playwright, Robert Davids, says: 'I write about the conditions of Black people as it is something I know about' (*Cape Argus* 29/8/73).

Their aim is to take 'Friday, Friday' and 'Goodbye District Six' to as many places in South Africa as possible. Both plays deal with the social habits and adjustments of people who cannot choose their own residential areas. For this reason the members of Backstreet Productions feel that 'black theatre can help Blacks see there is more to life than working to get a car' (*Cape Argus* 27/10/73).

Because of the hunger for theatre among Black people, Backstreet Productions is planning a play-writing competition for Blacks. The group hopes to sponsor the winning playwright both financially and morally to further his studies. Competition details have not been finalised and as soon as this is done it will be made known to the public. In the meantime, the group has prepared a new effort, 'Sugar-coated Pill', which is a cabaret-style revue satirising local themes and situations. It hits at both Blacks and whites. However, Robert Davids says of the revue, 'It's not a political thing. I want to try and emphasise the 'theatre' in 'Black Theatre'.

### **Theatre Events 1973**

In July of 1973, a cast of twelve Blacks, all members of the Phoenix Players, left for an eight-week engagement in Japan with the play, 'Meropa'. Instru-

mental in securing the tour was a Mrs Elizabeth Greenberg. The play was produced by a Mr Clarence Wilson, also a white.

John Kani and Winston Ntshona who together with Athol Fugard created 'Sizwe Banzi is dead' opened in London in July 1973, to rave notices from British critics. Kani and Ntshona broke away from Serpent Players to become independent professional actors. However, they still use the name of Serpent Players.

'Umabatha' returned to London during June of 1973 to perform at London's Aldwych Theatre to mark the end of the World Theatre season. However, prior to leaving for London, controversy arose between Peter Scholtz and Elizabeth Sneddon and the translator of Shakespeare's 'Macbeth', Welcome Msomi, over finance.

A veteran South African Black actor, Zakes Mokae, who made his debut twelve years ago in Fugard's 'No-good Friday' returned to South Africa after many years of theatre work in the United States and Canada. He returned for a three-week visit and in that time directed and acted in a programme called, 'Come-a home chile' under the auspices of the Phoenix Players which is headed by Ian Bernhardt, a white South African.

## Poetry

Oswald Mtshali made his debut at Poetry International, 1973 in London—together with leading poets like W.H. Auden, Stephen Spender and Ginsberg. His trip was sponsored by the British Council. He read his poems at the Queen Elizabeth Hall. Speaking of his poetry in an interview with the *London Evening Standard*, he was quoted as saying: 'My poems can maybe help to make white men aware of a Black world they do not know about, where poverty, violence and frustration abound. A Black man's world made by a white man'.

However, Black poets in South Africa, mainly the young Black poets, prefer to have their work unpublished by white paternalists. Because of their anger, their violence, and their determination to make positive contributions towards Black liberation, most of the real Black poetry appears to have gone 'underground'. Charged with fire, exaggerated images of violence, hate and a counter-balancing love for the Black community, the young Black poet of today will only be heard or read by those Black people in his immediate environment.

Like a powerfully subversive organisation this spontaneous outburst of real Black creativity is slowly seething through the entire Black community. Perhaps it will be posterity that will recapture the growing spirit of Black determination and Black creativity.

And the real critics of Black poetry will not be heard—in the conventional manner. To them, poets in the mould of Mtshali are still com-

plaining, are still writing 'protest' poetry. Like Black consciousness the underground Black poetry does not have time to complain. It seeks to find positive alternatives. Once those positive alternatives are committed to paper, in form of poetry, the young Black poet looks at it and says, 'If they can ban James Matthews what will happen to this?' And so the poem becomes a precious document, exchanging many hands. This is the unpublished revolutionary poetry.

Another group of relevant note was the Mihloti Group of Alexandra, formed under a tree in 1972. This group is affiliated to MDALI. During the year Mihloti performed before Black audiences in Soweto and other towns on the Reef.

Early in the year, 21 January 1973 REESO (Reef Saso Local Branch) held a Black Art Exhibition featuring Mihloti Players at Mofolo Hall. Then, in March came the Black Worker in Art Show, and here Mihloti performed before a large audience.

Mihloti is a group that focuses its Poetry, Music and Drama on the situation of the Black man and his responses to that situation—in his bid to be himself and be with his true Black self.

A theme that Mihloti has exploited is the go-it-alone line that Blacks feel is necessary towards their liberation. 'Mihloti' means Tears.

At Turfloop, during Africa Arts Week, the group performed before an audience of more than fifteen hundred. One of the items rendered challenged and turned upside down the white concepts of a snake. In Africa Blacks did not have the aversion for snakes as found in the Bible. African geographical make-up is different from the set-up as is found in the testaments of the Bible. 'To Africa the snake was akin to the 'baloyi' or 'abalozi'. It is a manifestation of jungle truth thrown before the tribal elders and the 'witch-doctors', said the writer of the poem. In Africa, snakes are not considered treacherous. The poem entitled 'Tame a Mamba' goes:

Tame a mamba	Find it outside at night, arrest it
Set it to work and starve it	And when it hibernates
Teach it your language	Search for it and send it to jail
And when it speaks, lock it in	Tame a mamba
Tame a mamba	But when it resists
Teach it your culture	And begins to hiss
And mock it	Send it to the gallows.
Restrict its movements	

The mamba to poet Mokoena Setshedi is the Black man, declared unreliable, treacherous and haunted all over. But no snake hunts people before it has been hunted.

Mihloti together with Mdali had a successful December Festival on 17 December, 1973. Said a Mihloti spokesman: 'Mihloti will not and does not present plays that tell you how unfaithful our women are. We do not present plays of our broken families, of how Black people fight and murder each other, or, bewitch each other, pimp, mistrust, hate and despise each other; this kind of theatre leaves the people broken and despaired. We tell the people to stop moaning and to wake up and start doing something about their valuable and beautiful Black lives'

### **Mdali**

Mdali is short for Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute—(incidentally it also means Creator).

Mdali is based in the Johannesburg townships. Founded on 11 May, 1972, at the YMCA, Orlando East, Mdali was able to have its first constitution adopted on 26 May, 1972. The preamble along which Mdali was to run was provided by the Mihloti Group and Mdali in turn adopted the Mihloti preamble.

Chairman: M. Phetoe

Vice-Chairman: L. Phetoe

Secretary: M. Moroke

Treasurer: C. Mabaso

Extra Member of Executive: J. Mtsaka

Mabaso and Mtsaka have since defected and gone back into white-run theatre. Mabaso is back with Phoenix Players. Mtsaka has formed 'The People' at Wits. University together with the right hand man of Phoenix Players, Mr Ian Gabriel.

### *Aims and Objects*

Mdali aims at the mental liberation and belief of Blacks in themselves in theatre. So they might forge their own standards rather than accept standards put and dictated to them by other groups. Said a Mdali spokesman, 'We want to discard the 'you are good if a white man says so' theory'.

Mdali has worked towards the formation of a strong Black art and culture movement in Southern Africa and their eventual linking up with other Black Arts movements. There also is an Annual Festival of the Black Arts which is soon to include culture.

On 1 March, Mdali had its first annual festival of the Black Arts at the YMCA, Orlando East. The festival lasted till 4 March. A specially written message to the festival ceremony was read by Dr N. Motlana.

The climax of the festival was reached with the presentation of an award to the great jazz musician Kippie Morolong Moeketsi.

The approach and standard of the festival evoked a lot of reaction. Promise was made that 16 December would be made 'Black Brotherhood Day' every year. Poems were read by poets Mongane Serote, Oswald Ntshali, Dan Mazibuko and Mdali members. An extract from a new work by Aime Cesaire was presented by the Mihloti Black Theatre Group. Obi Theatre Academy presented a play, 'Marat de Sade'. Ben Arnold exhibited new sculpture.

Mdali continues to grow. Particularly at individual artistic level, i.e. as against group affiliation.

Mdali opened formal brotherhood ties with artists from Mozambique, as a result of which a five-day working session will be conducted at Matalana. Mdali is further invited to the Mozambique Matalana Festival in May 1974. At the end of it, Mdali hopes that the two bodies will have joined hands in Brotherhood.

The 2nd Annual Mdali Festival of the Black Arts and Culture will be held 1—7 March 1974 at the Methodist Youth Centre, White City Jabavu, a Johannesburg black ghetto.

Everything is a long term project. Mdali is handicapped presently by lack of funds and transport. However, Mdali is not prepared to sacrifice its programme and projects because of this situation.

## Music

Blacks continued to express themselves musically as only they as Blacks could. Letta Mbuli, Hugh Masekela and other Black groups continued to raise the level of Black music even higher. More and more Blacks were having access to Black music as music for Blacks and by Blacks.

Particular interest in youth circles was given to jazz and soul artists such as Curtis Mayfield, Gene Ammons, Nina Simone, Coleman Hawkins, etc. More interesting was the way soul groups were adapting pop and jazz pieces to suit Black tastes. 'My Papa was a Rolling Stone' by the American group, the Temptations, is such a piece. Another piece was 'Soul Makossa', beautifully rendered by the Lafayette Hudson Group, and by Afrique. These two groups play along the lines of Osibisa; with a little blending of the Booker T. and the M.G.'s beat.

Local music did not go well. Most soul groups went into doldrums. This was largely owing to attempts by most groups to add African touches in their music which thing has been seen as a healthy development. It is hoped this trend, when it emerges in 1974, will have taken our music a step higher.

Groups such as Inqaba Yabe Suthu led by Sydney Mkhize were busy breaking the long bottled-up Sicathamiya music. This group has been busy catalysing Sicathamiya to suit today's tastes.

Not to be left out is the tribal music pioneered by Phuz'shukela. Here

Black rhythm that could be tapped as a music resource has been largely ignored by Black music groups who wait until some overseas sound stimulates them—whilst leaving real African rhythm right here. Phuz'shukela's two outstanding pieces in this trend are: 'Ngalandul'emadlozini' and 'Ntomb'ungala ngempela'. True soul rhythm; though the words be otherwise to the urban Black. What strikes home is true identity in the flow of these pieces.

# Chapter Fourteen

## SPORT

### **South African Table Tennis Board (S.A.T.T.B.)**

THE SOUTH AFRICAN Table Tennis Board was formed in September 1948 at a conference attended by representatives of the Western Province Table Tennis Union, the Durban and District Table Tennis Union, and the Eastern Province Association.

In February 1950 the Budapest Congress of the ITTF decided to accept the Board into 'good standing', which meant that it could participate in all competitions and be represented at ITTF meetings, with or without a vote. Full membership was refused solely on the ground that the board did not include all or the majority of South African players. The ITTF rejected the S.A. Table Tennis Union's call for membership because of its exclusive white membership.

At the 1955 Congress of ITTF held at Utrecht, Holland, the Board was represented by the then Hon. Secretary, Mr R. Maurice. At about this time an Israeli team was invited by SATTU without prior approval of the Board or ITTF. This move caused the ITTF Congress of 1956 in Tokyo to recognise the Board as the sole authority for Table Tennis in South Africa and allowed the Board one vote at future meetings of the Federation. The white Union was thereafter deprived of 'corresponding status'.

March 1957 saw the historic participation of the Board team at the 24th world championships held at Stockholm, Sweden. The first-ever official South African team comprised C.M. Peer (Captain), A. Valjee, M.C.H. Moola, D. Groenewald and P.R. Mandan with C.M. Bassa as Manager and delegate to the ITTF Congress. The Board Team played friendly

matches in Denmark and participated in the English Open Championships.

Judge Amin Abou Heif, Vice-President for Africa of the ITTF, was the guest of honour at the 5th National Championships held in Cape Town where competitions were re-modelled to follow the world championship pattern. During his stay, Judge Abou Heif also presided over a joint meeting of the Board and the Union, held to seek some solution, but without any success.

At the 1959 Biennial General Meeting of the ITTF held in Dortmund, Germany, the Board was represented by Mr C.M. Bassa. Passports of members of the Board team were withdrawn by the government. Mr Bassa's passport was also withdrawn on his return. In the same year a tour of South Africa by an Egyptian team was cancelled because of the South African government's refusal to provide visas.

Relationships between the Board and the Union reached stalemate. All attempts by the Board to participate in World Championships were frustrated by the refusal of passports.

In 1961 Mr C.M. Bsa, in absentia, was elected a member of the ITTF Advisory Committee at the Peking Congress. He was also elected Vice-President of the African Table Tennis Federation to which position he has been re-elected at every meeting of the Federation.

The SATTB was accepted as a full member of ITTF at the Stockholm Congress in 1967, thus crowning many years of dedicated effort to be recognised as a fully-fledged member of the world body, willing and able to organise table tennis for all South Africans without any restrictions of race, colour or creed.

The 10th National Championships were held in Cape Town in July 1968. In 1970 the 10th Inter-Provincial and S.A. Championships were held in Durban. Immediately following the tournament, a team was chosen to represent South Africa at the World Championships in Ngoya and the Commonwealth Games in Singapore. Once again the Board's attempt to send a national team overseas was frustrated by the government's refusal to provide passports.

The Champion of Champions Tournament was held in Cape Town in July 1971, and in 1972 the 12th Inter-Provincial and S.A. Championships were held at the same centre. From 9-11 August, 1973, the 9th S.A. Champion of Champions Tournament was held in Ladysmith, Natal.

At the moment SATTB is the only national sporting body in South Africa controlled by blacks, and which is a full member of an international sporting organisation (ITTF).

Affiliated to SATTB are the Transvaal Table Tennis Association, the Southern Natal Table Tennis Union, the Northern Natal Table Tennis Union, the Western Province Table Tennis Union, the Eastern Province

Table Tennis Union, the Northern District Table Tennis Union, and the Western Cape Federation.

### *Facilities*

The Group Areas Act has created many difficulties as regards the availability of venues for matches. Many units have suffered setbacks through the enforced shifts of settled communities.

Resettlement in new areas has meant the loss of venues available in previous areas and a lack of new venues in undeveloped areas usually without community halls or recreational facilities where matches can be held. Since the Board is 'a non-racial body, 'mixed' meetings means application of 'racial' restrictions, which has also placed the Board in some difficulty and embarrassment.

### *Sponsorship*

According to Mr C.M. Bassa, 'SATTB has no policy on sponsorship. This will be decided upon at the next AGM to be held in 1974. Generally members feel that sponsorship is the life-blood of any sport and that SATTB should seek sponsors'. Its finances are derived mainly from takings at matches, affiliation fees and donations.

Reference: SATTB Souvenir Brochure: July 1972.

## **South African Amateur Swimming Federation**

The South African Amateur Swimming Federation has from its birth in April 1966 seen a gradual growth in membership. It now has 4 069 members (1 324 in Natal, 992 in the Western Cape, 873 in the Eastern Cape, 602 in Griqualand West and 278 in the Transvaal). These figures do not include its associate members, the S.A. Senior Schools' Sports Association and the S.A. Primary Schools' Sports Association.

Although membership may not be as high as it should be, the growth is encouraging, when one takes into account that the Federation is only seven years old, and that only a few pools are available.

### *Standard of Swimmers*

In the short time that swimming pools have been available to blacks in this country, there has been rapid progress. At the beginning of this year, Terry Gulliver, an Australian professional coach engaged by the Federation, said, after a coaching session at the Balkumar Pool, in Asherville, 'These six swimmers performed as well as any similar white squad. There is great untapped potential here' (*Natal Mercury* 12/1/73).

### *Affiliations*

At the Biennial General Meeting in 1970, a suggestion to apply for direct membership to the world swimming body, FINA, was rejected because there was a white South African body (SAASU) recognised by FINA. Negotiations were initiated with SAASU. The Federation requested SAASU to ensure that future teams should be selected on merit. The first meeting between the Federation and SASU in July 1971 was successful. But the SAASU President later broke his verbal contract by stating 'that the teams would be selected on merit but within the framework of government policy'.

The SAASF then suggested terms for negotiation with the SAASU in September 1971, including the formation of a national controlling body, affiliated to FINA, with equal representation of SAASF and SAASU, and with common trials before national teams were chosen. SAASU rejected these terms and presented counterproposals, including the establishment of a joint liaison committee, which would select national teams 'purely on merit', but which would be chaired by the chairman of SAASU.

The SAASF, in its turn, made counter-proposals. The Federation also felt that the chairman should be elected either by popular vote or by an agreed basis of alternation until the need for the two bodies ceased. SAASU replied that they were the controlling body affiliated to the international body for all branches of swimming, and called upon the Federation to affiliate to them.

The SAASF Biennial General Meeting held in January 1973 found that affiliation to SAASU was unacceptable and remained fixed in their policy that they wanted only one controlling body in the country with mixed swimming at all levels.

The SAASF received an invitation to send competitors to the South African Games, but turned it down because it is against their principles to participate in any competition which discriminates against anyone on the basis of race, colour or creed.

### *South African Amateur Swimming Association*

This Association was formed in February 1973 under the presidency of Mr Reggie Baynes, who is also the President of the S.A. Coloured Football Association. SAASA was accepted as a member of SAASU. The SAASF does not recognise this body as it feels that the Association is not representative of all black swimmers. Its activities seem to be centred around one pool in the Transvaal.

### *Facilities*

Facilities for black swimmers are far from satisfactory. A survey by the

Federation showed, for example, that in Griqualand West, two pools serve a black population of over 80 000 while the 30 000 whites have 4 pools, while in Durban, Natal, 185 000 whites have 9 pools built by the local municipality, while 221 403 Indians have only 2 pools. Throughout the country, there are sixteen Olympic-sized pools for whites and none for blacks.

The Federation also wrote to 341 Municipalities requesting details on facilities available. Only 114 replied, and the replies showed a total of 120 pools for whites, 21 for Africans, 18 for Coloureds and three for Indians.

### *Sponsorship*

The Federation has suffered greatly because of lack of funds. While the white body (SAASU) has received assistance from business houses and from government sponsorship, SAASF has received none. In fact, approaches to the S.A. Sugar Association, the S.A. Milk Board, Coca-Cola Bottling Company, Bata Shoe Company, Oudemester Cellars, Shell S.A., Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company, B.P. Southern African, Clover Dairies, and the United Tobacco Company, for sponsorship of the 1970 tournament were turned down.

### *Intimidation*

Over the past few years, officials of the Federation have been intimidated on many occasions. The President, Mr Morgan Naidoo, received several visits from the Special Branch. On one occasion the Federation constitution, names and addresses of office-bearers and their occupations were requested. On another occasion Mr Naidoo was threatened with a banning order. In June 1972 he lost his job as a salesman with a liquor firm, Distillers Corporation (*Leader*, 23/6/72). In July 1973 he was refused his passport with no reasons given by the Minister of Interior. Mr Naidoo has subsequently been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

### *Application to FINA for Membership*

After the refusal of SAASU to accept the Federation's proposal, it found itself communicating directly with the world body (FINA). A FINA commission visited South Africa in March 1973. The Commission was met by members of the Federation, who handed over to them copies of the constitutions of their affiliate units, annual reports, gala programmes and other available literature and a copy of a memorandum to be presented to the fourteen-man FINA Bureau at a meeting held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, during August.

In discussions with the Commission, SAASF stated emphatically that if any of its affiliates practised discrimination on the grounds of race or

colour, they would be instantly expelled, and repeated that whites were free to join, even if this move might invite prosecution from the government.

### **Southern African Lawn Tennis Union**

The membership of the non-racial SALTU has increased since 1972. New affiliated groups are the Bloemfontein Tennis Union (which means that the Union's activities are now extended to the Orange Free State) and the Little Namaqualand Tennis Union. Associate membership has been granted to the South African Senior Schools' Sports Association and the South African Primary Schools' Sports Association.

Application was made to the South Coast District Indian Football Association for a grant to finance coaching sessions organised for 1973. Coaching clinics have been a regular feature of the Union ever since the passing of a resolution in 1971 to further tennis-playing among junior players. These have been held in various centres throughout the country under the effective tutelage of the Organiser, Mr David Samaai. Plans to send a squad overseas during 1973 faced the problem of lack of funds, and attempts to obtain sponsorship were unsuccessful. (The cost for each tour is generally estimated at R5 000).

Despite the lack of finances, the usual provincial tournaments were held. The Inter-Provincial Tournament took place over the Easter period in Port Elizabeth, and the National Championships in December in Cape Town.

SALTU once again attempted to gain membership of the International Lawn Tennis Federation. In effect, this consistent annual application is a repudiation of the legitimacy of the decision to allow the white South African Lawn Tennis Union to represent South African tennis players and organisations in the ILTF.

The reasons for SALTU's decision not to be 'subservient' in any way and to gain recognition as the legitimate South African representative in the international body are set out clearly in a memorandum of 3 October 1972 submitted to the Secretary-General of the UN. It claims that the white SALTU 'promotes and fosters the game among whites only'—which racist practice is against the regulations of the ILTF.

In 1964 when white SALTU learnt that the non-racial Union had applied for affiliation to the ILTF, it offered the Union associate membership at a meeting held at Ellis Park, Johannesburg. This offer was rejected on the grounds that 'it merely provided for an outward show of unity' while denying blacks all the rights and privileges of full membership.

At this juncture the largely African tennis body SANLTU withdrew 'surprisingly' from the non-racial Union and accepted associate membership of the white body.

Regarding the now jeopardised position of white SALTU in the ILTF

and the stalemate between both the black and white unions, Dr P. da Silva Costa was sent to South Africa to seek some sort of solution. His solution of associate membership for the non-racial Union to white SALTU was rejected outright. The white body 'stood on the brink of expulsion' from the ILTF.

However, SANLTU 'came to its rescue' by sending out an appeal to the world body and its affiliates not to suspend the white Union as this would 'cause suffering' to its alleged 20 000 membership.

In 1970, Basil Reay, Secretary of ILTF, offered 'federal membership' to the non-racial Union, which was rejected on the grounds that it was as limiting as associate membership. During the same year too, South Africa was expelled from the Davis Cup Competition after Arthur Ashe was refused a visa to enter this country.

In an obvious attempt to safeguard its threatened position in the international tennis forum, white SALTU with Mr Alf Chalmers (then the President) and Mr Benjamin Franklin at the head carried out what is described by the non-racial union as 'a bizarre and prodigious measure' to present its 'version of the true position' in this country. Black and white players as well as spectators at the Federation Cup tourney in Ellis Park, Johannesburg, were filmed for the benefit of the seven-man committee of ILTF. The 'superficiality' of this measure was pointed out to the world body in a letter dated 29 March 1972 by the non-racial Union.

Application for membership to the ILTF was made once again in July 1972. To support its objection against the inclusion of white SALTU in ILTF the non-racial Union denied that the white body had in fact selected a team on merit for the 1972 Womens' Federation Cup held in South Africa. It alleged that a 'secret trial' was held 'somewhere in the Republic' after which an all-white women's contingent emerged.

Moreover, the two Coloured players who participated in the South African Open in Johannesburg were members of the Union on a federal basis—this meaning that each race group plays with and against each other. Only during certain events are they allowed to play against whites.

This situation was decried by a black member of white SALTU, Conrad Johnson in November 1973. He stated that blacks could never make any real impact by being given a 'once-a-year only' chance against top competition.

On 19 July 1972 the non-racial Union expressed its dismay to the world body, at the readmission of white SALTU to the Davis Cup.

The Davis Cup team was chosen without any 'multi-national' trials between black and white players being staged. Five national selectors were sent to the SANLTU trials in Bellville, Cape Town, to observe the black players James Letuka and Conrad Johnson. These players were rejected on the grounds of form alone, which decision was apparently 'acceptable' to

SANLTU. If this is evidence of the promised 'properly constituted trials' it is no wonder that they were evaluated as 'farcical' by Conrad Johnson.

Unlike its white counterpart, the non-racial Union still receives no subsidy from the government or financial assistance from commerce, notwithstanding the tremendous 'consumer value' of black people.

The Union's income is derived mainly from entry fees, donations, grants, advertisements, a few sponsors, sale of dance tickets and brochures, and so on. Most of these funds are usually expended on the holding of scheduled tournaments.

The following firms were approached to help sponsor the National Championships: Rothmans, UTC, Goldtop, S.A. Sugar Association, Stellenbosch Wineries, BP and Castle Breweries. Most firms replied that their sports sponsorship budgets for the year were full.

The Union has strongly recommended that applications to these firms should be made immediately again, the general intention being to test and clarify their policies on sponsorship of non-racial sport.

Suitable venues for holding the annual tournaments are still difficult to obtain. In 1973, as there was an insufficient number of courts at one venue, play for the championships had to be divided between the Howard College and Tills Crescent tennis-courts in Durban.

Messages to the non-racial Union on the occasion of its 11th National Championships and fifth Biennial General Meeting on January 1973 reflect the escalating antagonism towards racist sport in this country. It is to the credit of the non-racial Union that, in its field, it has played a prominent role in fostering an awareness, both overseas and locally, of the conditions faced by black sports bodies, black sportsmen and women, in South Africa.

A letter to the Union from the American Committee on Africa is only one example of the large amount of correspondence bearing testimony to the hard work done by the Union. It states: 'It is a challenge to us to deepen our efforts for racial justice to know that you continue to practise the principle of non-racial sport under conditions of greatest difficulty'.

Another letter from Norman Middleton, Chairman of the South African Soccer Federation reads: 'White sports administrators in this country have done everything possible to undermine the unity and solidarity of all black codes of sports by the policy of divide and rule. Superficial links on the so-called national level have been formed with all racial bodies, the main purpose being that of keeping white sports organisations in international favour'.

Reference:

SALTU's Report	5/1/73
Secretary's Report	5/1/73
<i>Sunday Times</i>	18/11/73
<i>Star</i>	2/10/73

### **The South African Cricket Board of Control**

SACBOC is one of three national Cricket bodies in South Africa. With its non-racial policy it is open to all South Africans. The other two bodies are the white South African Cricket Association and the Africans-only South African African Cricket Board.

The SACBOC policy has its roots in the old 'Barnato Group' of cricketers who used to compete at provincial level for the Barnato Memorial Trophy, which was presented to the Griqualand West Coloured Cricket Union by De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. in 1897. Since then tournaments were held to compete for the trophy, and unity of all races was achieved in cricket. However, in 1926, a break-away group formed the S.A. Independant Cricket Board. A complete break-down of the previous unity occurred when divergent opinions among the administrators led to an abrupt end of activities in 1932, and the formation of the S.A. Bantu Cricket Board in the same year and the subsequent formation of the S.A. Indian C.U. in 1940. (Information from 1969 S.A. Cricket Almanack of SACBOC).

The temporary friction was, however, healed, and the pioneering body was revived. In June 1946 administrators of the respective national bodies met in Johannesburg, after long negotiations, to form SACBOC. The affiliates were the S.A. Indian C.U., the SAACB, S.A. Coloured C. Board, and later the S.A. Malay C.B.

From 1947 the Board of Control started functioning, with tournaments being held. The affiliates' previous racial character was still maintained, and they were playing in a manner which would today be regarded as 'multi-national'; until December 1958 when the Board met at a memorable session in Cape Town and agreed by an overwhleming majority to outlaw the 'multi-national' character of the Board. The various units thereupon affiliated directly at provincial level with tournaments staged bi-ennially. The SACB refused to join the board in this way, and therefore remained an isolated African body.

The present affiliates of SACBOC are the Western Province Cricket Board, the Transvaal Cricket Federation, the Eastern Province Cricket Association, the Natal Cricket Board of Control, the South Western Districts Cricket Board and the Griqualand West Cricket Board.

SACBOC has been regarded by some observers as the main stumbling block to SACA's recognition in international sport. The main reason for this feeling has been that the Board of Control refuses to bow to any persuasive negotiations at promoting government sports policy. government sports policy.

In April 1972 the SACA called a 'summit' meeting of all three national cricket bodies, 'to discuss the sports policy of the Republic'. But SACBOC,

which agreed to attend the meeting, urged that the theme be 'To consider the promotion of cricket under the prevailing sports policy'.

Mr Jack Cheetham, the then president of the SACA, explained that his body saw the illogicality of the sports policy, in that there could be no multi-racial or non-racial matches at school, club and provincial level, but that players should represent 'nations'. But he maintained that his belief was that the present situation could still be exploited to the fullest, by forming a Cricket Association of S.A. which he said, would be representative of all national bodies in this country.

Mr Cheetham advocated the formation of a 'multi-national' body. Mr Hassan Howa, SACBOCA president, replied that his board could not understand the term multi-national when it only applied to people who were not white, grouped apart into 'nations' called Indian, Coloured, Malay, Zulu, Fingo etc., while whites are not grouped into 'nations' of English, Dutch, Scots, Irish. Mr Howa went on to call on the whites to change the sports policy as they had the vote.

whites to change the sports policy as they had the vote.

The secretary-general of the African Board, Mr Mlonzi, said that his board would choose to follow Cheetham rather than Howa, 'because of what they have done for the African people'.

It was then pointed out that to join the kind of association that SACA was proposing, SACBOC would have to sacrifice its principle of non-racial cricket, because it would be regarded as a coloured group. This would be a major loss for them.

At this stage, both Mr Cheetham and Mr Howa saw no need for the SACBOC delegation to remain in the meeting. (Minutes of the meeting of National Bodies controlling Cricket in South Africa, held at Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, Johannesburg, on 30 April, 1972). It was later heard that SACA and SAACB had decided to form a National Cricket Council, whose function, it was said, would be to offer good facilities such as grants and coaching to member bodies.

In January 1973 the SACBOC president made a call for another 'summit', to be held on 25 March in Cape Town under a neutral man, but the SACA insisted on having Mr B. Wallace, its president, as chairman. Mr Howa called the meeting because he was impressed by Mr Wallace who had stated that he wanted to see a South African team selected non-rationally on merit.

At the meeting it was agreed that a special committee be appointed to draw up a blueprint for a workable solution to the problem of merit selection. The committee was given a time limit of two months.

The committee met on 12 and 13 May at Newlands, to table in draft form the thinking of each of the bodies concerned, as to the terms of an

acceptable joint blueprint. A full report of this meeting was read by Mr Boon Wallace at another meeting of all the cricket bodies, held on 27 May at Jan Smuts Holiday Inn in Johannesburg. The report stated that all three bodies were fundamentally agreed on the basic goals they were seeking to achieve, which were (extract from the report to the Boards of the three National Cricket Bodies):

- (i) merit selection at national level; that is to say, the selection of team composed of the best players regardless of race or colour, to play for S.A. abroad and in this country;
- (ii) merit selection at provincial level, as well as;
- (iii) merit selection at schools level to apply to a representative South African Schools team.

'In short', the report went on, 'we want cricket to be played in this country in such a way that equal opportunities are enjoyed by all cricketers irrespective of race or colour'. Also, all members of the committee had agreed that they must implement this policy within the framework of government policy; but there were two issues on which agreement was not reached, which were (extract from the report):

- (i) whether we should immediately press for the establishment of one integrated national body to control cricket in the Republic or whether for the time being we should work through the Cricket Council of S.A. and retain the three national bodies; and secondly
- (ii) whether we should immediately institute first league competition between the senior league club teams presently established among our respective racial groups.

SACBOC had suggested that the existing clubs, composed as they are of various racial groups, should play against each other at senior club level on a home and away basis, this being an ideal way of preparing players for provincial and international cricket. To this suggestion the SACA point of view was voiced by Mr Wallace when he said that there were difficulties in trying to achieve that aspect overnight. He explained them as (extract from the report):

- (a) the conditions under which these club matches would be played could be far from ideal. Even if lawful, the artificiality of playing cricket without spectators on private grounds, and without that camaraderie basic to cricket, could do more harm than good to inter-personal relations between the groups, and in fact damage the game;
- (b) the actual facilities provided might in certain areas seriously discourage participation by cricketers. I have in mind, for example,

the physical difficulties of alternating regularly between turf and gravel wickets;

- (c) there might also be difficulty in determining standards of play which will ensure effective and interesting competition.

Having pointed out these as the difficulties, Mr Wallace positively suggested that the Coloured, African, and white teams should play against each other at top level. Out of these 'trials', two teams could be selected on merit, to play against each other, and from these teams, a South African team would be chosen. This would be the principle for provincial and schools teams, on a multi-national basis, through the Cricket Council of S.A.

Mr Mlonzi of SAACB supported the SACA stand that at this stage the government policy of multi-national sport was still the best.

After this meeting the National Board of SACBOC withdrew from any further talks, and allowed provincial bodies to continue on their own if they wished to, but Transvaal, Natal and the Western Province requested that the privilege be withdrawn from the provinces (*Cape Times* 2/6/73).

This breakdown in communications led to Mr Hassan Howa applying for a passport to go overseas and canvass support from delegates of the International Cricket Conference, so he could get admitted as an observer to the ICC meeting in London. At the meeting he wanted to place on the agenda for 1974, 'South Africa's admission as a member of the ICC' (*Eastern Province Herald* 14/7/73). He emphasised that he was not going to ask for membership for SACBOC of which he was president, but for membership for South Africa. The South African government refused him a passport. He commented, 'It is all a great pity that I am being forbidden to go overseas. I am afraid that the unspoken word will harm South African cricket more and put it back much further than it already is. And here I refer to white South African cricket'. Mr Billy Griffiths, secretary of the ICC, would have arranged for him to see delegates of other countries.

The SACBOC then decided to send memoranda to ICC delegates, which comprised minutes of the past three joint meetings with the SACA executive (*Cape Times* 17/7/73).

# Chapter Fifteen

## BLACK WORKERS

### Introduction

THIS CHAPTER should have been titled 'Black Workers', to cover the different aspects of Black workers in the economy of the country.

However, for certain reasons pertaining to the conditions and actions of Black workers in 1973, this chapter deals only with the strikes. The background to the socio-economic position of Black workers appeared in last year's *Black Review*. And since the wider focus during the year rested on the workers' strikes we consider it appropriate to give special attention to the strikes.

Again, as last year, concentration in this chapter on the position of the African workers has been considered a priority. The strikes were mainly staged by African workers and their legal status is treated differently by the statutory laws governing labour.

The strikes were prompted by wage demands. Stimulated by the brick workers at the Coronation Brick and Tile factory in Durban, Black workers organised strike action that swept throughout the country. These strikes may be said to have culminated in the police shootings at Carletonville. The 'tribal clashes', as called by the white press, originated in the working and living conditions of the 'migrant' workers who are engaged by the mines as contract labour recruited through 'Bantu' labour bureaux in the 'homelands'.

The Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU) had its work hampered by the banning of its Secretary-General, Mr Drake Koka. This came after only seven months of BAWU's existence.

SASO's Black Workers Project also suffered setbacks because of Government bannings against SASO leaders and field workers.

The Black workers nevertheless continued to make their power potential felt through the widespread strikes that erupted all over the country through the year.

### **Strike at T.W. Beckett and Co.**

On the 12 January, 1973, more than 100 factory workers employed by T.W. Beckett and Co., Ltd, a Durban Tea blending and packaging company, in Point Road, were paid off after they had stopped work when their request for higher wages was refused.

Armed police, some with dogs, arrived on the scene in a small fleet of cars and vans and stood by at the rear of the building in case of trouble, while the workers were being paid off.

Employees said the management had told them that it was not prepared to give them a rise. They were given 10 minutes in which to make a decision. Those who wished to work were told to re-enter the factory and the rest were paid off. No fixed amount as to how much of an increase was stipulated. The exact number of workers paid off was not available as the management refused to comment on the stoppage. According to those who stopped work, only about 15 men remained in the factory.

The men were paid R10,54 a week and some had worked for the company for 15 to 20 years. The workers said that the factory might cease production as the majority of those who stopped work were skilled workers, machine operators and others in the blending and packaging department.

Many are reported to have said that they only managed to run their homes by borrowing money from money-lenders who charged exorbitant rates.

### *Results of the Strike*

On 15 January T.W. Beckett and Co., asked workers dismissed after the wage strike the previous week to return to the factory for possible 're-instatement'. The request followed the sacking of more than half the company's 150 tea workers and an investigation by the Department of Labour into the events which led to the dismissal.

The mass dismissal led to the company, which blends and packs tea and coffee, operating on skeleton staff. There was also a shut-down of some machinery. It was believed that the situation prompted the company to make the request. Of the 91 sacked only 56 were reinstated whilst the remaining 35 were weeded out.

control of the Inanda circuit. School fees, including a development fund, amounted to R5 a year, and books for 'about R18' were required for first formers. The cost of books was R20 a year, after that.

In addition parents were exhorted to abide by uniform regulations and informed that these could be obtained at a 'reasonable price'.

The drivers, who said they would return to the company's depot at the New Westmead Industrial Township, were demanding a guaranteed minimum of R40 a week. They claimed that a week could pass without a job becoming available, and that meant they got nothing. This applied to 'casual' workers who constituted the greatest part of a work force of about 275 men. Permanent drivers were set to get a basic wage of R13 plus the R5-a-trip wage.

The police were called to the scene when the men demanded that all Blacks employed by the firm also join them in the street outside the company's gates. No incident, however, took place and by the afternoon the dismissed workers began slowly moving off. They were promised 75% increase on each trip. Bloemfontein branch drivers who were called to replace the Pinetown depot drivers also refused the wage offer and joined the strike. As negotiations continued drivers claimed they had individual contracts with Motorvia guaranteeing a minimum of R15 a week. They said they often earned less.

The director of Bantu Administration in Pinetown, Mr T.F. Engelbrecht, confirmed such contracts were held by his department, which had the power to investigate complaints and enforce the minimum wage stipulated.

### *Results of the Strike*

275 African convoy drivers were sacked when they rejected a compromise wage increase. But minutes after dismissing the 'striking' drivers the managing director of the Pinetown depot, Mr P.J. Marais, increased his earlier offer by 75c a trip to Johannesburg.

The drivers refused the fresh offer and demanded a guaranteed wage of R15 a week and a minimum of R5 a trip. Mr Marais said the two-day stoppage cost the company thousands of rands in turnover. He did not know where he could find replacements for the drivers.

The wages offered by Marais increased the pay for a trip to Upington by R3, bringing it up to R12. The pay for taking a car to Port Elizabeth was increased by R2 to R8. The pay for a Johannesburg trip remained unchanged.

### **The Frametex Mill Strike—New Germany**

On 25 January 1973 production ground to a standstill at four mills of the

Frame Group at New Germany as hundreds of disgruntled workers laid down tools in demand for increased wages.

The mills were Frametex, Saltex, Nortex and Natal Knitting Mills; workers were pressing for weekly wages of R20 for men and R14 for women. Production at Frametex stopped at about 11 a.m. when the staff on the 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. shift quit.

One Indian man in the spinning section was approached by six African men and told to 'go out'. He was then hit across the shoulder blades with a machine belt. The man was reported to have said that he had been told by the Africans not to return to work until the wage demands had been met. Several other Indians were assaulted with belts and batons.

Some Indians said they had decided to stop work as they were scared of reprisals, but others admitted they were behind the Africans. 'We are happy that the Africans, by demanding higher wages, are doing some good for us', said one.

After the shift-quitting, stick wielding men and women 'strikers' from the Frametex factory marched and sang outside the factory's gates. They were joined by workers from the other three factories swelling the number of 'strikers' to about 2 500. Workers on the morning shift were prevented from taking buses home and told to stay until workers on the afternoon shift arrived.

A group of policemen with dogs stood-by, but there were no incidents. Several members of the security police were also present. There was an uneasy quiet outside the factory—but it was short-lived. When workers arrived for the afternoon shift they refused to work and formed a milling crowd outside. Some of them broke sticks from trees and chanted and danced about 100 yards away from the main factory gates. There were cries of: 'We are now a united nation' and 'Usutu'. They banged against parked vehicles and jeered at police cars. Some bottles were smashed on the road and a few stones thrown at the factory fence. They however refused to elect a negotiation committee.

Amongst other grievances they claimed:

1. That their basic wage was between R5 and R8 a week but their rent alone was as much as R12 for one room.
2. Bus fares cost anything from 8 cents to 54 cents a day.
3. They were not provided with uniforms.
4. R1,50 was deducted from their wages if late and R4 if absent.
5. Medical certificates were not recognised.
6. Transkei 'citizens' claimed they were promised an increase every three months but they never had it.

### *Results of the Strike*

As a result of the strike immediate increases were given to the 7 000 workers at the Consolidated Frame Cotton Corporation in New Germany and brought to an end the four-day stoppage for higher pay.

A Mr W.H. Seligman, senior director for the Frame group of companies, said increases for the cotton division were being introduced throughout the country. Across the board increases ranging from R1,75 to R3 a week were announced at mass meetings in front of the four New Germany mills which had been closed down.

While senior management, labour officials and interpreters addressed the hundreds of workers reporting for the first shift at 5.30 a.m. a large force of police patrolled the area. There were no incidents, although at one stage workers at Saltex mill shouted, 'we don't want it', meaning the announced increase, and advanced on the management, who beat a hasty retreat into the factory.

The new rates of pay applied to the entire staff of the company, which is divided into seven different categories. The R1 a week attendance bonus had been discarded throughout. Wages for women in the lowest grade had been increased from R5 a week to a guaranteed minimum of R7. Spinners then began on a basic minimum of R9 instead of R6.

### **S. Pedlar and Co.,**

On 29 January 1973 the women employed by S. Pedlar and Co., of New Germany, went on strike at 9 a.m. bringing the factory to a standstill. The firm, which is in Kinsman Road, and does weaving and mending, employed 22 women.

The workers told the *Daily News* (29/1/73) that their starting wage was R4,50 a week. They demanded an immediate R10-a-week increase.

### **Sugar Cane Workers**

On 29 January the sugar cane workers were on strike at the Westbrook Estate. According to the managing director of Natal Estates Ltd., Mr R.K. Ridgeway, it was 'highly likely' that the 'strikers' wage demands would be met.

The strike was being staged by 180 'Pondo' workers, according to a statement released by the Hulletts organisation P.R.O. on behalf of Mr Ridgeway.

According to the statement the 'strikers' were asking for a basic wage of R15 a calendar month. Their then R15 wage was paid for 30 working days, 'but with the addition of cane-cutting bonuses many of them earn R60 per month'.

*Results of the Strike*

Mr Ron Phillips, P.R.O. of the Hulletts organisation, said the stoppage affected 10% of the total labour force at the sugar estate.

The Natal sugar industry's 20 000 contract workers were in line for a 20% wage increase after a recommendation by the Sugar Industry Labour Organisation Pty. Ltd., (SILO) was accepted by large estates.

The recommended increase meant a rise in the basic rate of workers, mainly cane-cutters, to 60c a day. With the various bonuses paid by individual companies, cane-cutters could earn up to R60 per month. Workers would have additional benefits such as free housing, rations and medical attention.

The 20% wage increase recommended by SILO would come into effect from the commencement of the 1973-74 harvesting season.

**The Natal Canvas Rubber Manufacturers' Ltd.**

On 29 January a three-to-four cents a week deduction from wages for sick benefit funds sparked off a total work stoppage by the 650 African and Indian workers at Natal Canvas Rubber Manufacturers Ltd., in Umngeni Road, Durban.

Mr Selwyn Lurie, financial director of the Frame Group, to which the company belongs, blamed a small group of 'agitators' for the total stoppage. He said the 'ball started rolling' the previous Friday when some of the workers objected to the deduction.

The first shift at 6 a.m. started work normally but, about 10 minutes after the second shift began at 7.15 a.m. the 180 to 200 workers on that shift stopped work. They demanded an immediate increase and also wanted an immediate answer.

Mr Lurie said the lowest category of worker employed by the firm was earning R11,22 a week. The average wage was between R15 and R16, and some workers earned above R20. He further stated that the increase in subscriptions for sick benefit funds was an agreed arrangement between representatives of employers and employees on the National Industrial Council for the leather industry.

*Results of the Strike*

The workers were offered pay for the time they had been on strike as well as an additional R1 wage increase which would have raised the lowest wage to R12,22. They refused the increased wage offer until the new agreement came into effect.

Police were called in to see the 'strikers' leave the factory in an orderly manner. On 31 January the workers accepted the R1 increase offer and returned to work.

### **Consolidated Woolwashing and Processing Mill—Pinetown**

On 29 January, about 300 Indian and African women sorters refused a pay rise announced at the Consolidated Woolwashing and Processing Mill in Gillitts Road and were sent home after their job cards were collected. They were told an announcement would be made the following day.

The Woolwashing is part of the Frame group, and one of the group's senior directors, Mr W.H. Seligman, was there. He claimed the strike was the result of agitation, and said the Frame group paid the rates determined by the Industrial Council agreement controlling the flock industry. These were R6,35 a week increasing by 21c to R7,55.

Claims of agitation were emphatically denied by a group of about 80 Indian women, who earlier insisted that the Mill's security gates be opened and their group allowed outside. Once outside they told *Daily News* reporters that they were intimidated and were 'also fighting for our rights'. Among the group of women were workers who claimed they had been at the mill for more than 20 years.

### **Hume Ltd.**

This was the second factory to close down on 29 January in Gillitts Road, Durban. The pipe factory, which employed more than 600 African workers, closed when the workers rejected a 90c a week increase.

A company spokesman, Mr J.R. Cammell, was reported to have said in a statement issued from Johannesburg: 'All the 'non-white' employees numbering 160 at the Pinetown branch of Hume Ltd., left their jobs after presenting management with unacceptable across-the-board wage demands. These employees have been advised that wage demands will be discussed when they all return to duty'. On 31 they returned to work and negotiations went on.

### **The Consolidated Textile Mill—Jacobs**

On 31 January about 1 000 'striking' African and Indian workers were locked out of the Frame Group's Consolidated Textile Mill at Jacobs, Durban, after they had refused to elect a committee to negotiate their demands with the management.

The Consolidated workers rejected an appeal by the Department of Labour's 'Bantu' Labour 'officer', Mr J. Skene, and were locked out after they began singing the National Anthem 'Nkosi Sikelela l'Afrika'.

Police stood by but the crowd was mainly good-humoured and laughed at appeals to negotiate their grievances. The workers began dispersing after the doors were locked at about 9.30 a.m., but a small group remained, clutching umbrellas and sheltering from the rain against the mill's security walls.

No clear demands were made but some workers told *Daily News* reporters they were getting R4 a week. Some wanted R5 a week more whilst others wanted a maximum of R30 a week.

### **The Afritex Mill—Jacobs**

On 31 January at the Frame Group's Afritex mill at Jacobs workers were sent home after a negotiating committee refused to encourage 'striking' workers to return to work while wage talks continued.

The strike committee elected at the Afritex Mills rejected appeals by Mr Skene and the mill's management to get workers back inside the mill with an assurance that wage negotiations would then continue.

One of the committee members, Mr W. Warren, said: 'They asked us to go back to work and while we were at work said they would negotiate, but we told them the workers were adamant and wanted to know immediately what the increases would be' (*Daily News*, 31/1/71). The Afritex workers clocked out and said they were told to return to work the following day.

### **National Chemical Products—Durban**

On 31 January one of Durban's largest chemical factories, National Chemical Products, was brought to a standstill when about 300 African workers downed tools and walked out demanding higher wages.

The workers at the National Chemical Plant at Sea Cow Lake walked out from the factory which produces yeast, cattle feeds, methylated spirits, cane spirits and paint. They gathered outside the firm's administration block and demanded that their weekly wages be increased by R10.

One of the workers was reported to have said that he was told their demands could not be met and those who did not wish to stay with the company would be paid off. The workers seemed undecided and stood in the rain talking among themselves.

### **Other Strikes on 31 January**

The following companies, in and around Durban were affected by total or partial work stoppages:

1. United Oil and Cake Mills Ltd., Mobeni.
2. Bakers Ltd., Durban.
3. Defy Industries Ltd., Umgeni.
4. Polycrate (Pty.) Ltd., New Germany.
5. Glen's Removal and Storage Ltd., Pinetown.
6. Congella Erection Co., (Natal) (Pty.) Ltd., Pinetown.
7. Cupercola Ltd., New Germany.
8. J. Wright and Sons, Jacobs.
9. Tri-Ang Pedigree, Mobeni.

## STRIKES ON 1 FEBRUARY 1973

### **Colgate-Palmolive Ltd.—Boksburg**

On 1st February 1973, Colgate-Palmolive Ltd., dismissed the entire African staff in its laboratory and quality control departments at Boksburg after they stopped work in support of demands for higher pay.

Eleven employees had submitted a petition asking for an increase of 20c an hour. They told the management they had wanted an answer by 11 a.m. the previous day. When none was forthcoming, they stopped work.

One of them was quoted as having said: 'We were called one by one to see the personnel manager, who told us our case would be considered if we applied as individuals' (*Rand Daily Mail* 2/2/73).

When they insisted their pay claims be considered as one, they were given the choice of returning to work or resigning. 'We decided to resign, but when we offered our resignations we were told we were being summarily dismissed'.

### **Elgin Metal Products—Jacobs**

More than 200 Africans employed by Elgin Metal Products (Pty.) Ltd., in Voortrekker Street, Jacobs, went out on 'strike' soon after arriving at work that morning.

The workers at the factory downed tools after their 9 a.m. tea break and called on the management to give them higher wages. The workers gathered outside the company's offices and, despite attempts by Mr Jerry Turner, the managing director, to address them, they refused to return to work unless they were given increases. Soon afterwards the SAP arrived at the factory and the crowd dispersed quietly. It was not known exactly how much the African workers demanded.

A spokesman for the company said that he could not comment. 'It is an internal dispute which will be negotiated through the proper channels'.

By 10 a.m. there were only a few Africans standing outside the factory building with their belongings. The rest had already gone home, to Kwa-Mashu and Umlazi. A squad car stood by. However the labour force was to get its weekly pay later that day and the police were expected to remain in the area when the people returned. Indian employees said that the 'strike' had been spontaneous that morning.

### **Blaikie Johnstone—Jacobs**

At the Blaikie-Johnstone factory in Jacobs, hundreds of workers gathered in the street and refused an appeal to elect a 'strike' committee. One of the workers was reported to have shown a *Daily News* reporter an inexpensive silver watch with the inscription: 'In appreciation for 35 years service'. The

worker also presented a company wage slip to show that he had earned R7,50 the previous week. This followed deductions from his gross earnings which were R10,12.

The Blaikie manager said the strike was a 'blow', as he thought his company had always enjoyed good relations with the staff.

### **Falkirk Iron Company—Jacobs**

Several hundred African workers employed by the Durban Falkirk Iron Company at Jacobs went on 'strike' shortly after 6 a.m. Workers were reported to have said that wages varied between R9 and R13 a week. One said he was being paid only R12,60 after 13 years.

Workers had thus far refused to elect a committee to negotiate with the department of labour. They left the factory shortly after 11 a.m. after being told to go home, and that wages would be discussed the coming Monday.

### **Hebox—Hammarsdale**

About 200 workers at Hebox in Hammarsdale—the night shift—refused to enter the factory. They demanded a R3 a week increase. A spokesman for the firm said the morning shift had gone to work without incidents and they were waiting for the night shift to arrive at 3 p.m.

## **STRIKES ON 2 FEBRUARY**

Rowen Ltd.,—Mobeni—worked with skeleton labour.

### **Dunlop (South Africa) Ltd.—Durban**

At Dunlop (S.A.) Ltd., 1 300 workers left the factory. The Dunlop Works director, Mr J.K. Brammage, said about 150 African operators out of 1 300 had left their jobs and gathered in groups outside the factory. 'Unfortunately, demands for increased wages were presented', Mr Brammage said. The Dunlop statement claimed that most employees were prepared to work but were afraid of 'intimidation'. Workers refused to nominate a spokesman and went home.

### **Ropes and Mattings**

The Ropes and Mattings factory closed down when 2 800 refused to return to their jobs.

The managing director of Ropes and Mattings (Pty.) Ltd., Mr J. Briscoe, alleged that most employees were prepared to work but were afraid of intimidation. As a result production came to a standstill after negotiations failed.

**General Chemical Corporation (Coasted) Ltd.**

This factory came to a standstill when most of its workers downed tools.

Mr M.P. Theunissen, director of General Chemical, would not say how many Africans had gone on strike but added that the majority of the workers had downed tools and that police had been called.

**Crossley Carpets**

Crossley Carpets, a subsidiary of the giant Feltex group, closed down and there were partial stoppages at other factories in the group.

**Consolidated Textile Mills—East London**

At the Consolidated Textile Mills, a member of the Frame Group in East London, of the 3 300 workers, more than 1 000 walked out forcing the management to close one section of the factory. They had asked for an increase in their weekly wages, which ranged from R3,80 to R5,50 for women and R6,50 to R7,50 for men. They demanded a minimum wage of R15.

The Chairman of the Frame Group, Mr P. Frame, said that he thought part of the East London factory had closed down and that if he said anything 'it could only aggravate the position' (*Rand Daily Mail* 3/2/73).

**Other Stoppages**

Hart Ltd.—700 workers demanded higher pay.

Phil Williams Pty.—Durban—400 workers.

Ensor Plastics Pty., Ltd.—Durban—50 workers.

Airco Engineering Ltd.—Wentworth.

Consolidated Fine Spinners and Weavers.

Natal Underwear Manufacturers.

Pinetown Engineering Foundry.

Madadeni Transport—Newcastle, Natal.

Timbrick Model Homes.

**Federated South African Meat Industries**

At the Federated South African Meat Industries in Maydon Wharf, Durban's largest wholesale meat suppliers, management had urgent discussions with workers' representatives on wage demands on 8 February. But a spokesman for the firm said there had been no work stoppages.

Federated Meat supply about 80% of Durban's hotels and many large supermarkets. (*Daily News* 5/2/73).

### **Flat Cleaners' Strike**

Cleaners in at least one beachfront block of flats went on strike on 5 February. About 50 men employed at Grosvenor Court, which has 222 flats, left the building after apparently asking for higher wages.

The superintendent of the block refused to comment and a spokesman for Standard Investment Corporation, which administers the block, said he had not yet been told of the strike.

### **The Durban Corporation's labourers' Strike**

Many essential services in Durban were paralysed on 5 February, when more than 3 000 of the Durban Corporation's African labourers went on 'strike'. The 'strike' brought to a halt key services in the City Engineer's Department, including road and drain works and sections of the cleaning division. The strike also spread to the city's electrical department.

'Strikers', who gathered outside the labour office of the City Engineer's Department, in Old Fort Place, allegedly threatened to burn down the office unless the African labour clerks stopped work. They were also said to have threatened any labourer who did not go on strike.

Many workers who had already begun work early were called to join a shouting, fist and stick-waving procession of 'strikers' marching along Umngeni Road towards the City Engineer's Department.

The crowd stopped a refuse removal truck in the street and threatened the African workers, who fled and were chased several blocks by the 'strikers' who brandished knobkerries.

The workers were demanding an immediate increase of R10 a week. Their average basic weekly wage was about R13. Many made demands to the City Engineer's African labour officer Mr M.S. Dunbar, who told them a special meeting of the City Council would be held the following morning to decide on wage increases. Many left after Mr Dunbar spoke, but most stayed in a car park behind the City Licencing Department. A co-ordinating body of the various departments' works committees was also convened.

The strike came barely a week after the council had announced it was considering general wage increases for all its Black workers. Under discussion was a minimum weekly increase of R1,10. Included in the work force were plumbers, carpenters, brick layers, main layers and connection hands.

### *Results of the Strike*

Durban Corporation decided to cut red tape and gave its Black employees an immediate wage increase averaging about 15% at a cost of R920 000. The decision was taken at an emergency meeting and was expected to have

added a minimum of R2 a week to the 'wage' packets of about 16 000 employees. However the increase was rejected.

The City Engineer's Department, the Electricity Department, the Department of Parks and Gardens were all affected and the city's rubbish removal services had been brought almost to a standstill.

More than 200 tons of perishable fresh products were liable to rot at Durban's Market railhead. An appeal was made to farmers not to continue consigning highly perishable produce as the amount of unloaded produce in 40 five-tons trucks which was still at the railhead represented 70% of the total produce usually unloaded each day. This information was supplied by the Director of Markets, Mr B.J. Johnson.

Police used batons for the first time when they arrested 106 stick-wielding African 'strikers' who refused to break up a march.

Trouble broke out in the afternoon after over 1 000 'strikers' dispersed from outside the labour offices of the City Engineer's Department and marched down Alice Street, bringing traffic to a halt. They were armed with sticks and chanting 'Usutu' (a Zulu battle cry) as they marched through the street. One police car followed them. The large group stopped at the bus ranks for a short while but continued to march to the Dalton Road location and beer hall. Some drinkers were beaten up after they had refused to join the procession.

A large posse of police armed with sten guns, service rifles, FN rifles and batons followed and intercepted them near the City Electricity Department in Alice Street. A police officer spoke to them through a loud hailer and asked them to disperse, but the police were jeered as the 'strikers' rushed across the street. A large convoy of police vehicles drove behind the chanting 'strikers' who headed towards Umgeni Road.

About three kilometres from where they were stopped and asked to disperse, the 'strikers' were charged by the police. Some were beaten with batons about their bodies and several fell to the ground. All the 'strikers' were disarmed and made to sit on the pavement as police encircled them.

They were then coaxed into two troop-carriers and four pick-up vans and taken to the Somtseu Road Police Station.

On 7 February 102 of the City Council 'strikers' were fined R30 or 30 days in the Magistrate's Court for disturbing the peace. The Magistrate, Mr R.K. Gordon, suspended R25 (25 days) of the fine imposed on each of the men for 12 months. Conditions of suspension were that they were not convicted on any similar offence or any offence involving violence to persons or property during the period of suspension.

### **Main Tin Manufacturers**

On 5 February a wholly-owned subsidiary of Metal Box, Main Tin Manu-

facturers, at Mobeni was affected by a stoppage when about 500 African and Indian workers downed tools.

### **King George V Hospital—Sydenham**

On 5 February male African domestic staff and some labourers at the King George V Hospital for TB in Sydenham stopped work while they held a meeting over wage grievances. They returned to work after being addressed by their compound manager.

### *Others affected by strikes on 5 February*

Chemical Corporation—176 workers struck.

Amalgamated Packing Industry—500 workers.

Simba Chips—21 workers.

Acme—220 workers.

## **THE HAMMARSDALE STRIKES**

(a) *Glazier Clothing*: This factory mainly employs female workers. On the morning of 7 February the women refused to start work but stood at the factory gate and laid wage demands. It was not clear how much was being demanded. General feeling placed it at four rands. The women stated some of them had been with the factory for up to 3 years but were only getting less than R10,00 per week. Some were earning as low as below R7,00.

Chances of a rise in promotion were remote. The better paid and experienced workers worked under pressure of instant dismissal; so that, as they put it, they had to be re-engaged at a low basic wage. The overriding need for a strike, they said, was that the cost of living had gone high. The menfolk were also demanding pay at the other factories. And they needed the money.

The women thenceforth left and, chanting in the street, moved towards the other factories to converge with the other workers.

(b) *Progress Clothing* and

(c) *Supreme Knitting*

The workers did not go back into the factory after morning break. By eleven most of the workers had left the premises after telling the bosses they were not satisfied with the pay. The Progress factory employs women mostly; and Supreme Knitting Mills have male workers. Both factories share common premises.

A portion of the men and women singing and shouting slogans marched to the gate of the Neckelmann factory on the other side of the road and demanded solidarity from the Neckelmann workers through strike action.

After being warned against 'disturbing' on Neckelmann premises they remained on their factories' side of the road and continued throwing slogans.

### **The Neckelmann Strike**

The growing agitation amongst the workers burst out after morning tea when workers gathered in groups. Until the attention of the white supervisory and management staff was aroused.

Workshop workers went into the workshop and stated their wage claims. The Personnel Manager was called in to negotiate. He promised the workers R2,00 increase provided they did not go on strike. The workers' response was uncompromising—R2,00 was not enough. They demanded more.

During the negotiations with the workshop workers, the Dye house workers had already downed tools and were walking out of the factory gates. They claimed that solidarity with the other factories was at that time more a priority than having to stipulate how much they felt they needed.

The other departments had also reached deadlock position. By 12 noon all the workers had left the factory and stood at the gate together with workers from the other factories who had come to ask them join the strikes. A flood of workers from the other factories: Durban Knitting, Hebox, Linofra, Gelvenor, Natal Thread etc., moved down the road towards the shopping area. A group went to join the Rainbow Chicken workers who were still negotiating on wages.

### **Gelvenor Textiles (Pty.) Ltd.—Hammarsdale**

On 6 February strict security measures were imposed at factory entrances when large groups of chanting, stick waving workers milled about in the streets waiting for their demands for higher wages. They had demanded R3 to R5 increase.

Factory officials were seen addressing their labourers in streets outside the factories. They were given a good hearing but their offers were rejected.

An International Knitting Mill official offered women workers an average increase of 95c a week and told them that they report for work at 7 a.m. the following day. The women had demanded a R5 increase.

One 'striker' was reported to have said unskilled workers were paid R4 to R7 a week.

### **Rainbow Chicken**

At the Rainbow Chicken Factory workers walked out leaving thousands of half-dressed chickens in vats. This occurred after Rainbow increased wages the previous week to avert a strike. Throughout the day police (as usual)

watched proceedings from a distance. At no stage were more than five police vehicles in the area.

A refreshment tent was erected in the area that night to serve police who patrolled the area throughout the night.

On Wednesday 7, virtually all the Hammarsdale factories, including factories such as Shield overalls, Reindeer Products, Dano Mills, had joined in a one day general strike in the whole of Hammarsdale.

Despite small clashes with the police and the use of tear gas the strikes dragged on until Friday. On Wednesday the workers resolved to stand together against their employers. This came at a time when the workers had heard, on the 8, that the Natal Wages Board was in sitting at Pietermaritzburg. This rumour made the workers all the more adamant in their stand.

### *Results of the Strikes*

Almost all the factories were back into operation by noon on Monday 13. Police cauldrons trapped the workers into the factories at some places. All the same, negotiations varied according to the different factories. At one factory the basic starting wage was put at R11,00 whilst others agreed to start their workers at R17,00. Those factories offering more than R11,00 basic rates reached compromise of between R2,00 and R5,00 increase. It was an uneasy truce. By the end of 1973, airs of discontent were steadily spreading from the factories.

### **R.H. Morris (Natal) (Pty.) Ltd.**

70 African labourers of the building concern, R.H. Morris, downed tools and were paid off on 6 February 1973. The labourers stopped work shortly before 8 a.m. at the site of a new school being built at Tara Road, Wentworth.

By 3 p.m. most workers had collected their pay. They indicated they would return to work the following day or later in that week. Mr R. Hughes, a director, said the labourers had asked for more pay without specifying any amount and that 'our wages are governed by the Industrial Council, a government body, and therefore the wage levels are fixed' (*Rand Daily Mail* 7/2/73).

### **Coca-Cola—Durban**

Production at the Coca-Cola Bottling Company of Durban stopped on 6 February when more than 100 Black workers suddenly quit the works premises. A senior executive in Johannesburg, Mr R. Renoud, said the work stoppage had come as a surprise. 'We imagine it is part of the labour unrest in Natal' (*Rand Daily Mail* 7/2/73).

**Clover Dairy**

There were no door-to-door deliveries of Clover Dairies' milk on 7 February and supplies to firm's depot and to tearooms were limited and late. Clover's main factory at Congella was crippled when its 500 African employees stopped work and went on strike for higher wages.

Processing of all non-essential products such as cheese, butter and yoghurt was suspended and white employees manned the machines for bottling milk in litre-size only. They (whites) were sent to farm areas to bring in milk in bulk.

Office workers, mechanics and foremen doubled as drivers when vehicles were moved away from the vicinity of the African compound for 'security' reasons.

During that afternoon there was considerable traffic congestion as members of the public and wholesalers came to buy milk from the factory. 'A limited amount of milk was processed', said Mr B. Laing, assistant general manager, Natal. 'But if African workers did not report for duty the following morning, the company would have had great difficulty in getting out any worthwhile quantities' he added.

The company had also asked for troops to help with the distribution.

**Durban Abattoir—7 February 1973**

Durban's abattoir ground to a halt when the 700 Africans employed by the Durban Corporation and United Flying and Dressing Co., (Pty.) Ltd., stopped work, leaving whites to deal with the animals which had already been slaughtered.

Just after 5 a.m. when 177 cattle and 629 sheep (about a quarter of a day's normal slaughter) had been killed, African workers of United Flying decided to stop work. However, following negotiations with the management, the workers decided to return to work but by then Corporation employees had decided to join other municipal workers and downed tools.

The director of the abattoir, Dr F.E. Cavanagh, addressed the workers, who at that time received a minimum wage of R15 a week. He told them they would receive an increase possibly to R18. The workers, however, did not return to work.

*Effects of the Strike*

That strike brought the abattoir to a standstill and white 'workers' volunteered to process the meat which had already been slaughtered.

The reserve stock at the abattoir then was 1 367 cattle (approximately two days' supply), 3 247 sheep (usually the kill for one day) and 777 pigs

(two days' supply). Mr E.O. Jones, general manager of Stock Owners' Co-operative Co. Ltd., said: 'We do not know how many people are going to continue railing when there is this uncertainty, but as soon as we have clarification from the municipality, we will be in a position to advise our farmers what to do' (*Mercury* 8/2/73).

The price of meat was not expected to be affected, but any supplies brought in from other provinces could only be done so through permit from the Meat Industry Control Board.

### **Goodhope Pipe—Pietermaritzburg**

About 100 Africans left work at the Goodhope Pipe Factory to consider a pay rise offer on 8 February. A spokesman for the Indian-owned company, the first to be hit in the capital, said about half the work force went home to consider the management's offer of a R2,50 a week rise.

### **The Seven-T-Construction (Pty.) Ltd.**

On 12 February, about 100 Africans employed by Seven-T-Construction (Pty.) Ltd. went on strike for higher wages at Effingham.

The workers told newsmen they wanted a R5 increase in pay. They are also reported to have said they were very unhappy about the fact that they could earn as little as R1 a week if the weather stopped work for a few days.

As usual, several police vehicles were called to the strike scene and workers were told to go home and come back the following day when they would be told about the company's decision.

### **The ZFP Strike—Empangeni, Zululand**

On 27 February, more than 200 African women packers from the giant fruit and vegetable canners ZFP at Empangeni went on strike. They were joined later by about 50 men, and the people claimed, the factory was at a standstill.

Mr Ivor Ferreira, the manager of the company refused to comment. 'I would rather not make a statement at all' he said (*Daily News* 27/2/73).

Headed by Captain C.J. Botes, the station commander at Empangeni, police with dogs stood by outside the factory gates (as usual) where the crowd of strikers assembled. There were no incidents.

Most of the women said they earned an average of R3 a week. Some said they earned only R2. They wanted blanket increases to take their wages to a minimum of R5 a week. They had not told the management of their demands yet.

Shortly before 10 o' clock, the crowd of women started shrieking and chanting when a small group of men spearheaded a walkout by the male staff and joined the strike. As the men walked through the gate, the women

shouting 'Usutu' and 'bravo' kissed and hugged them and patted them on their backs. The men left the factory in ones and twos for about 20 minutes. Everyone was forced to run the gauntlet of shrieking women. Most of the men continued into Empangeni Rail area where they dispersed.

One of the workers was reported (*Daily News* 27/2/73) as having said the men earned a basic wage of R6 a week. He added that after the women refused to enter the factory there was a discussion among the men and it was decided that they too, would demand increases. He said the men were addressed by Mr Ferreira, who told them there was no money available to meet their demands and that there was nothing he could do.

Captain Botes, accompanied by an 'officer' of the security police, entered the factory, apparently to discuss the situation with the management.

The women remained outside the factory gates, singing, dancing and waving makeshift white flags. Some walked up and down, chanting, 'Unity is strength, eendrag maak mag'.

### **The Feltex Ltd. Walkout**

On 5 March 1973, the entire factory staff of the footwear division of Feltex Ltd., walked out saying they would not return unless a new wage agreement became effective thenceforth.

Trouble started when details were announced of the negotiated wage agreement for the footwear section of the National Industrial Council of the Leather Industry. The announcement said labourers' wages would get a 20% increase.

The agreement would take effect on 1 July and would remain in force until 30 June, 1975. The workers then demanded immediate increases and remained adamant even after lengthy talks with the management.

### **Sappi—Mandini**

Thousands of African men, urged on by chanting women, rocked vehicles and smashed bus windows at a road block in the Sundumbile Location near Mandini, Zululand on 12/3/73 after hundreds of labourers stopped work at the giant SAPPI Tugela Mill.

Policemen in 15 vehicles including an armoured truck waited at the main entrance to the township near the mill. The manager of the mill, Mr A. Rodger, said the trouble began at midnight on Sunday (11 March 1973) when labourers stopped work and went home. He said about 1 000 of the 2 000 Africans employed there downed tools.

'I met a delegation from the works committee this morning (13/3/73). They said they would not return to work until we agreed to pay a minimum of R1 per hour', Mr Rodger said (*Mercury*, 13/3/73). He further said employees were given a wage rise at the beginning of that month (March).

They would have received the increases in their wages on March 14.

Early on the afternoon of 12 March, police watched from a hill overlooking the township only a kilometre from the mill as thousands of African men and women gathered on the outskirts of the location.

Bush fires were started in the long grass between the mill and the township and groups rampaged up and down the hill.

White and Indian employees kept the mill operating during the night, according to security guards. The mill management told all Africans to return to work the following morning (13/3/73).

### *Results of the Strike*

On 14 March, the strike ended and all 2 000 men who went on a three-day strike were back to work. The mill manager, Mr A. Rodger, said everything was back to normal on that day. All the workers had arrived and nobody had been paid off.

The strike came to an abrupt end when Mr B.J. Dladla, KwaZulu executive councillor of community affairs, addressed the workers at the Sundumbile Township. Speaking after a meeting with the mill management he told the workers an increase of R2,44 a week had been offered. Amid tumultuous applause the offer was accepted and workers began filing back to the mill.

During the strike, which was watched by a horde of police (as usual), the mill was kept at full production by 400 white and 100 Indian workers.

### **Strachan Construction**

About 45 African workers employed by Strachan Construction on the site of the new bridge which was being built across the railway lines at Avoca went on strike shortly after 7 a.m. on 12 February, 1973.

They downed tools and decided to walk to the company's head office in Edwin Swales VC Drive to put their demands to the management. They are reported (*Daily News* 12/2/73) to have said that they were earning R18 a fortnight and wanted their hourly rate increased from 19c to 27c.

They further said the management offered to pay 24c for unregistered workers and 26c for registered workers. No spokesman was available for Seven-T-Construction.

### **Alex Carriers—Pietermaritzburg**

Police were called when 80 African labourers went on strike at Alex Carriers, a firm of transport contractors in Pietermaritzburg.

The men refused to begin to work and gathered outside the gates of the transport depot at Pentrich demanding higher wages. There were no incidents and the men sat quietly discussing their demands watched by about

20 white cops.

The workers were then paid a basic wage of between R6 and R7,70 a week and were demanding that it be raised from R10 to R13 a week.

The managing director of the firm, Mr A.D. Gilson, spoke to the strikers at the gates but refused to discuss their demands with the press.

### *Results of the Strike*

About 40 of the workers lost their jobs when they refused to accept an 11% pay rise. Mr A.D. Gilson, managing director, said that about 30 other Africans had accepted the new terms and returned to work.

### **Municipal Busmen Strike—Johannesburg**

On 14 February, the city municipal busdrivers went on a two-and-a-half-hour strike and continued working thereafter, after agreeing to wait until the following Monday, 19 February.

The chairman of the busmen's liason committee, Mr R.R. Bali, told municipal officials that threat of a strike was not over when he said: 'The men will go back to work pending agreement to their demands' (*Mercury*, 15/2/73).

The strike began at 5 a.m. when the busmen turned their backs on their supervisor when he ordered them to go on duty. About 50 policemen (as usual) under the command of Brigadier J.B. Wiese, District commandant for Johannesburg, surrounded the busyard as the men were urged to negotiate with city councillors, municipal and government labour officials.

Mr Reyniese, 'Bantu' labour officer of the Department of Labour, told the men that to strike would be illegal, and urged them to return to work for their own sake of the 'thousands who are trying to get to work today' (*Mercury* 15/2/73). He further warned them that if they struck they faced possible arrest under the Riotous Assemblies Act and the 'Bantu' labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act.

Mr Max Neppe, chairman of the council's utilities committee, asked the men to wait for the management committee's decision on their proposals.

The busmen wanted the council to backdate their agreed 21 to 27% increases to February 1.

Alternatively, they have agreed to wait until 1 July, on condition that the council then paid them an extra four cents an hour in addition to the increase.

Mr Neppe said the council was in a difficult position as it could not treat their case in isolation. In terms of the increases the lowest paid would rise R106 a month to R135, and the highest from R137 to R170. He urged the busmen to continue negotiating and to go back to work. He told them they

would be paid a full day's wages.

The white 'officials' withdrew and the busmen considered their position where they finally decided on a 'go-slow' strike until their demands were met.

### **Municipal Workers Strike—Stanger**

On 12 February, at Stanger, in Natal, the entire municipal labour force of about 250 workers: road repairers and dustment, went on strike over wage demands.

By late afternoon of 13, the Town Council was still negotiating with the workers in the hope that they would return to work the following day (14 February). Mr J.E. Ritchie, the Town Clerk, said that the workers were talking in terms of R10 a week. Their then minimum basic wage was R6 a week or R30 a month. The workers rejected the offer of a twenty per cent increase in basic wages on 13 February. However, on 14 February, about 300 workers decided to accept the council's offer of a 25% rise and started work.

### **The Newspaper Workers' Strike—Johannesburg**

About 80 African newspaper delivery van drivers went on strike in Johannesburg on 17 February, after negotiations with their employers had failed. The bargaining with the Allied Publishing Company in the basement of the company's premises in Laub Street failed after an hour's talk. The men then refused to work, until Monday 19 February when negotiations could be re-opened. Police and an 'official' of the Department of Labour stood by.

The drivers, who earned from R35 to R50 a week plus allowances, wanted a weekly minimum of R60. This was refused by the employers who threatened to sack the drivers who did not go back to work. Allied Publishing said that vans would be manned by white office 'workers' for the weekend, with the help of white 'casuals' and white mechanics. Allied Publishing warned the strikers that there would be trouble if colleagues were stopped from working. Some drivers had been forcibly pulled from their vans, they said.

The strike accelerated on 18 March 1973, when roundsmen and street-sellers either refused to work or failed to turn up. Those who did wish to work were 'intimidated' into joining the strike. On 19 February the newspaper-van drivers, newsvendors and delivery men eased the strike when they agreed to return to work.

#### *Results of the Strike*

Sales of the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express were affected by the

vendors' participation in the strike. There was no English language newspaper on sale at street corners. The paper could only be bought at cafes and News Agencies.

#### *Other Results*

Flying Squad cars patrolled the areas of Braamfontein, Hillbrow and the city centre, after reports of 'intimidation' had been received from street sellers on Saturday evening. There were no home deliveries of both daily and Sunday newspapers and an appeal was made to the public to buy its copies from cafes and News Agencies, where extra copies would be delivered.

### **The Milkmen's Strike—Johannesburg**

On 15 March, thousands of shops and offices and households in Johannesburg's city centre, Soweto, Lenasia and the Western suburbs were without milk as African staff of Clover Dairies staged a one-day strike.

The men originally demanded R45 a week for drivers and R25 a week for crewmen. About 300 African drivers, crewmen and bottling workers at the company's Johannesburg depot in Mayfair went on strike.

#### *Effects of the Strike*

White men and women 'workers', with their Transvaal manager, Mr R.A. Reed, loaded crates and delivered milk on the company's 'strategic rounds', including the white Johannesburg General Hospital and the central city area. No milk was delivered to households. A radio appeal to private consumers and cafe owners to collect their milk was made.

#### *Results*

The men agreed to return to work at 10.30 after they were given a pay rise of R1 a week. Drivers from then were to earn R27 a week, and crewmen R17. Increases of about 4% and 6% respectively. A night allowance was still under negotiation.

A condition attached to the increases was that the staff take more care with bottles and crates. According to the Company, R10 000 a month was lost on bottles and R8 000 on crates.

### **Abkin Steel Corporation—Germiston**

On 21 March, more than 100 Black workers at Germiston's Abkin steel factory downed tools when they went on strike for higher wages. Production at the scrap iron premises in Industria East came to a standstill when men, milling at the entrance of the factory at 7 a.m. refused to work.

The workers, all of them unskilled labourers, and most on contract from Zululand, received a R1 a week increase on Monday 19 March. They claimed that the increase was insufficient and wanted more money. Their

basic pay was R9,50 a week but most wages ranged between R10 and R15 a week. The firm's directors and 'officials' from the Department of Labour were negotiating with the workers that morning. Police were keeping watch on the situation and reported no incidents. However, the atmosphere was tense. The director of the firm, Mr Solly Abkin, said the firm could not afford to pay the 'strikers' higher wages until the price of scrap iron was increased.

Meanwhile blacklegging African drivers at the firm continued work that morning. They received increases ranging between R3 and R6 a week. They then earned about R40 a week.

However, the workers returned to work at 3.45 p.m. They were promised a full day's pay and that management would try to raise their wages.

### **The Trump Strike**

Production at the Trump factory in Charlestown was reported to have come to a standstill with 700 workers, about 95% of the factory's labour force.

Police barred Pressmen from the strike area. But the workers who left to go to nearby shops were reported to have said the overall situation was quiet and that they would go back to work if given or promised more money.

One worker at Trump told a *Daily News* reporter she was being paid R4,50 a week after four years' service.

### **Veka—Charlestown**

At this factory, half of the 1 000 workers who had returned to work without their pay demands being met, came out again on 22 March, when their colleagues at the Trump plant (reported above) went on strike.

The 3 000 Veka workers wanted higher wages, but by mid-day, they had not responded to invitations to elect spokesmen to discuss the issue with the management.

Production of certain men's wear was at a complete standstill as the workers—mainly women machinists, cutters and pressers—milled around the grounds of the factory.

Factory management at Charlestown declined to comment on the strike but Mr F. Truter, Veka's managing director, in Johannesburg, said he was confident that agreement would be reached by the end of that week, and that he was sure the strike was for higher wages.

On 30 March, 1973, the Veka strike ended with several hundreds starting work whilst all were expected back by 2 April. This was after it was learnt that the workers would get increases from 1 April when the new wage determination for the area would start operating. This then meant that any

employee who had been in the industry for four months would earn at least R4,80 a week from 1 April. Several hundred workers with more experience would be moving up one notch—up to the highest pay of R11,50—and the management had agreed to give workers already on the highest notch another 50c a week.

### **Alusaf—Richards Bay**

One hundred 'national' servicemen went on shift at the Alusaf aluminium smelter amid growing opposition from the 500 African labourers who were boycotting the factory in support of their claim for higher wages.

The company secretary for Alusaf, Mr D. Maritz, said the army trainees had been put to work at the plant under supervision and were being trained while working at the job. Alusaf could be regarded as having strategic importance for South Africa because it was the only aluminium smelter in the country.

The moving in of the 'army' personnel was met with bitter opposition from the African 'strikers' who were demanding a wage rate of R1 an hour instead of their weekly average of R12. They had rejected the management's across-the-board offer of R2 a week increase.

On the 28/3/73 the workers were given an ultimatum by the management to be back at work by 9 a.m. that morning or face dismissal. However the workers were adamant that they would not return to work until they had seen Mr Dladla, whom they had asked to represent them in negotiations with the company.

Workers claimed that when their delegation told management they were seeking aid from the KwaZulu Government a senior official said: 'We are not prepared to listen to any KwaZulu leader. Richards Bay is not part of KwaZulu' (*Star* 28/3/73).

Mr Dladla saw the management but his appeal was unsuccessful and then undertook to inform his department that all applications for labour by Alusaf would in future have to have his personal approval. This was after all the workers had been paid off by the managing director, a Mr van Vuuren.

On 2 April all the paid-off workers were re-employed after they had acceded to the new rate which was offered the previous week and which the workers rejected. It constituted an increase across-the-board of R2,00 per week.

### **H.J. Henochsburg—Johannesburg**

A 'strike' by 1 000 Black workers halted production at this factory after a wage dispute. The 'strike' only lasted for 5 hours after they returned to work at 12.30 that day. This was after they had been offered 5% increase from July, however they were not satisfied with the offer.

### **Ferrovom Investments—Alberton**

On 2 April one of Alberton's largest factories came to a standstill when the African labour force of 250 refused to take up their posts in a move for higher wages.

Africans interviewed said their wages ranged between R9 and R11 a week. They wanted at least R18 a week. Labour 'officials', directors of the firm and Germiston's 'Bantu' Affairs Commissioner, Mr P.J. Cartens, had discussions and were expected to negotiate with the workers during that day. They were subsequently fired for 'striking' for higher wages.

As the broadly smiling Africans fled out of the main gate of the factory nearly 40 police armed with riot sticks, batons, revolvers and at least one hand machine carbine arrived at the scene. Four men were arrested.

### **Border Passenger Transport—East London**

Industry and hospital services were disrupted throughout East London on 4 April when thousands of workers failed to turn up in time for work because of a strike by busdrivers.

The busdrivers were demanding R40 a week and had been meeting the management since 2 April. They were however taken to the Cambridge Police Station and taken into offices in tens and advised to return to work and thereafter released.

### **Other Strikes**

About 85 African clothing workers staged a brief sitdown strike at the Jardin Desmonds factory.

At Brookfield Knitwear, 300 African and Coloured workers refused to start work at 7.30 a.m. Production was resumed at 10.00 a.m. after the management agreed to bring a 5% 'cost-of-living' increase into effect. The increase was scheduled for 1 July. In Germiston, a number of workers reportedly walked-out at New York Clothing Manufacturers.

At Kels Lingerie, Jeppestown, about 200 workers refused to work at 7.30 a.m. but resumed production after director, Mr S. Rosenthal, agreed to meet representatives.

About 100 employees at Italian Knitting Industries stopped work for an hour. The manager of the factory Mr L. Pisanello, said the management had agreed to bring in a 7½% increase scheduled for 1 July thenceforth.

Another 85 workers at Rhine Fashions stopped work from 7.45 a.m. to 9 a.m. The manager, Mr W. Stirling, met representatives of the Industrial Council for the Garment Industry and the National Union of Clothing Workers.

On 11 April 1973, about 50 uniformed and plainclothes policemen armed with sten guns, pistols and batons rushed to the Mdantsane Hospital in

East London when 800 workers went on strike.

'Trouble' started when workers streamed in and demanded R3 a day before any work would be done. A spokesman for the workers said they earned R1,20 a day and had earned that since operations started on the site more than two years back.

After discussions between police 'officials' and the management the workers were addressed by a company official through an interpreter saying the company was prepared to grant increases depending on productivity. He was however met with a big 'We do not care'.

On 12 April, the workers went back to work after discussions with company officials, they were asked to elect a committee to meet the management. Increase was to be made with effect from 16 April.

### **The Sugar Mill Strike—Tongaat**

On 13 April, a group of about 400 workers at the Tongaat Sugar Complex on the North Coast went on strike and picketed the gates of the factory, preventing other workers from entering.

The strike began at about 6.30 a.m., by which time many of the 'non-striking' workers had arrived. Police were called while the management decided to let the 'non-striking' workers out of the complex to prevent possible incidents. The workers were understood to be demanding an across-the-board increase of R5 a week.

### **Tongaat Town Board**

Scuffles broke out between police and African municipal workers when more than 200 workers of the Tongaat Town Board went on strike on 16 April. The workers were returning home after they had complained about working conditions and wages to the town clerk, Mr J. Dannhauser.

Mr T. Bailey, an employee of the Tongaat Town Board, said a number of Africans who had been involved in the scuffles had been taken to a medical centre for treatment. He said that they had been angered by the police action.

Mr Dannhauser, speaking after the incidents, said that he knew nothing about the police action. He further said he did feel that a number of the grievances were justifiable. They had demanded R1 increase.

On 18 July they returned to work after choosing representatives to discuss their grievances with board 'officials'.

### **Roberts Construction—Vanderbijlpark**

On 25 between 600 and 800 employees at the Iscor works of Roberts Construction walked off the job for 2 hours.

Since they had no spokesman, the reason for the stoppage was 'obscure'.

They were rowdy when addressed by 'officials' of the departments of labour and 'Bantu' Affairs, but calmed down when the District Commandant of Police, Col. L.G. Giliomee, spoke. He promised that if they returned to work personnel officers from the company would discuss their difficulties with them. They then returned to work.

### **Haggie Rand—Cleveland**

Work came to a standstill on 14 May when 1 600 African workers at Haggie Rand, one of South Africa's biggest makers of wire-rope products struck for more pay.

The strike left the giant complex on the Lower Germiston Road, strangely quiet; although a spokesman said production had not been brought to a total stop. The majority of the strikers were migrant labourers recruited from the 'homelands' (rural areas), who make up more than 1 100 of the work force. They had demanded an increase of 3 cents an hour.

Workers claimed some of them still earned R10, R12 and R15 a week without overtime. Which, they said, was compulsory. This was also applicable for workers who had worked for the company for more than fifteen years. 'What we are asking is not for kingdom to rule, but a realistic and reasonable wage. Every month we've got to send money home. Our families are starving and we cannot afford to send our children to school. With the rock-bottom wages we are getting, it is a luxury we cannot afford' (*Rand Daily Mail* 18/4/73).

### **Harvester Truck—Pietermaritzburg**

More than 100 African employees at the new International Harvester truck assembly plant, at Willowton, stopped work on 14 May in demand for higher wages.

The plant manager, Mr Steven Benson, said that he expected the workers to return to work on 15 May. Which never occurred until 21 May.

### **Kaffrarian Steam Mills—East London**

The Black labour force of Kaffrarian Steam Mills failed to turn up for work on 27 May after walking out with demands for higher wages. About 150 African workers gathered outside the flour mills on 28 May but refused to clock in and resume work until their pay demands had been met. The managing director, Mr P. Louw, said the demands were unjustifiable and unrealistic and that the company had replaced many of them with other workseekers and production had not been affected.

The strike followed a walk-out the previous week by all stevedores at East London harbour and the Black staff of the Alloy Diecast Plant at Berlin. In both cases, employers took on other staff.

**Textile Workers' Strike—Jacobs**

On the 9 August 1973, 'striking' textile workers outside one of Mr Phillip Frame's biggest blanket factories stopped members of the security police from arresting one of their colleagues.

About 1 000 workers were milling outside the factory gates at Jacobs and refusing to enter the premises after a work stoppage, on the evening of 8 August over a wage dispute. Mr S. Luine, one of the company's directors, addressed them and said they should return to work; but they refused. This was in the presence of security police. The 'trouble' began after more than 600 workers employed in 3 departments had been told that their services were terminated. This was after they had demanded that their basic pay be increased from R16,95 to R21 a week.

*Results of the Strikes*

On 13 August police held two African members of the works committee. Meanwhile, 50 of the 500 were turned away when they re-applied for their jobs. The other 450 were re-engaged. On 24 August 6 more Africans were fired for being members of the union sponsored General Factory Workers Benefit Fund. The other 4 from a group fired a fortnight before the above were charged with incitement under the Industrial Conciliation Act, and a fifth man was charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

**Sean Metal Ltd.—Alberton**

Police were called to Sean Metals, at Union Junction near Alberton on the morning of 3 September when between 600 and 800 African steel workers went on strike for higher pay.

There were no incidents, and after a discussion with the consultative committee the workers agreed to go back to work. The men, most of whom arrived to start the day shift, refused to enter the premises, till they had spoken to the management.

They asked for wage increases but made no specific demands. They also requested increases in service and holiday bonus allowances. The chairman of Sean Metals, Mr W.G. Boustred, said his company was 'very cognisant' of the workers' problems in trying to keep up with the growing inflation in the country and that that had been explained to them.

The Industrial Council for steel workers would meet in about a week's time and there was 'no doubt' that pay would figure prominently.

**The Stellenbosch Farmers Winery—New Germany**

On 11 October, about 300 African workers at the above firm's depot went on strike when demands for an immediate R5 a week increase in pay were rejected.

A crowd waited at the gates of the depot from 7.15 a.m. when they were due to start work. They had claimed that they would not start work until the management agreed to their demands. The workers also claimed they were paid R12 a week as a basic wage plus a R2 automatic bonus. They were also paid for voluntary overtime. They said they had made previous representations for an increase a month before the strike.

After an hour-long meeting late that morning between the works committee and management, the group outside the gates dwindled. When a police officer told them to 'go home and sleep and come back tomorrow' (*Rand Daily Mail*, 12/10/73) they then left the depot for home.

On 16 October the dispute was settled.

### **The Busmens' Strike—Durban**

On 28 November Durban's municipal 'Black busdrivers' went on strike, putting to a deadstop the only public transport available to thousands of Black commuters. This followed the threatened sacking of one of their colleagues.

The question of the man being sacked arose after a quarrel the previous week between the man involved (driver) and a dispatcher. The incident took place at the Clermont depot.

However, Mr N. Flanagan, general manager of Durban Transport Management Board, confirmed that the driver had not yet been dismissed, but there had been a recommendation that he should be. He further indicated that he had not seen the recommendation himself, but expected to consider an appeal, should there be one, by the domestic committee.

### *Effects of the Strike*

Many of the commuters were late for work, though few absentees were reported. Businessmen, however, expressed concern and it was feared that production at factories would suffer if the strike was prolonged.

Nearly 300 municipal buses were standing idle at the DMTB's various depots—among them Clermont, Klaarwater, Lamontville and Umlazi. Also affected were the Merewent areas, Sydenham, Pinetown and the suburban routes. At Clermont thousands of workers were stranded at bus shelters and some were picked up by their employers in vans and trucks. The strike, however, ended at about 3.00 p.m.

So that right into December the country was experiencing strikes. It needs to be pointed out that most of the strikes were spontaneous. They came out of the workers' dissatisfaction with their conditions. In some cases it was the employers themselves who incited the workers by trying to forestall strikes through the adding of small increases in the workers' paypackets. Which action provoked the workers into strike action.

## REACTIONS TO THE STRIKES

The strikes evoked widespread reactions from the different sectors of the South African society; and from overseas groups and individuals.

The common attitude taken in almost all the reactions was that of calling for the need to allow Black trade unionism, through which issues like pay, working conditions and other labour problems could be resolved with the active participation of the Black workers themselves.

The General Secretary of Tucsa (Trade Union Council of S.A.) pointed out the need for the formation of 'parallel shadow African unions' with the assistance of white unions.

However, on the other hand the Minister of Labour, Mr Marais Viljoen, was saying that African trade Unions were totally unacceptable and communication between African workers and management would be achieved through works committees (*Rand Daily Mail*, 6/7/73). Another marked reaction was one of calling for more pay for Black workers. A report calling for greater responsibility from foreign investors in South Africa came from a multi-racial panel that met last year at Cape Town. This panel included a director of Social Research at a university, two Bantustan leaders, a senior Economics lecturer and a Black community leader.

There was, in the report, reference to the 'persistence of poverty and very low wages in South Africa in a period of fast economic development and high profits' with race discrimination as a major factor in that situation (*Star*, 7/7/73).

A policy of 'constructive engagement' by foreign companies was seen as an alternative to withdrawal of foreign investment unless Blacks benefited in the socio-economic development of South African society.

The increase in Black wages had to increase faster than white wages if the income gap were to be narrowed, according to the chairman of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council (*Rand Daily Mail*, 6/7/73).

More attention to the living conditions of Black workers was to come from a *Sunday Tribune*, enquiry. The Enquiry Commission revealed that thousands of Natal's Zulu farm labourers were living in abject poverty. The investigation revealed that:

Farmers are protected by powerful legislation that enables them to do with their workers as they will. The workers are bound to the farms by law.

Workers are unprotected, can be evicted at a moment's notice and end up starving in a resettlement area.

A method often used to get rid of a worker and his family is to level

their hut with a tractor—or burn it down.

Child labour is commonplace.

Instead of an employer-employee relationship, a master-servant relationship is widespread, and workers are often beaten by their employers.

Many workers pay their own medical fees and have never had paid leave in their lives.

Many white farmers are against change, don't want to see a minimum wage introduced and abhor the idea of a farm workers' union.

The investigation did not cover the sugar farm workers. These had already been given an increase of 25 per cent.

The practice of the farm labour system in Natal was likened to that of European medieval times; which meant Zulu farm workers were 'no better off than medieval serfs' (*Sunday Tribune*, 15/7/73).

A report from a survey compiled by the University of South Africa and sponsored by some 300 South African firms revealed that 22,5% of all multiple urban African households earned less than was necessary 'to maintain their health—and be fully dressed and clean'. The accepted poverty datum line was rejected and 17 different minimum levels were calculated (*Sunday Express*, 22/7/73).

Another survey conducted by the Industrial Research and Development group of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) revealed that South Africa's textile industry was paying its workers 40% less than the average wage in other manufacturing sectors. This industrial sector was also found to be suffering from a severe scarcity of skilled workers, and had to rely on Europe for manpower, because its training facilities were inadequate (*Cape Times*, 25/7/73).

Another lesson learned from the strikes was that employers always thought differently from the workers on the crisis situation that labour had reached. The director of the Natal Employers' Association, Mr L.D. Thorne, thought:

that employers had to have a single organisation to co-ordinate policy;

that the African worker had to be made to feel he belonged to the work situation;

that wages did not have to fall so far behind again;

that the African had to be given full trade union rights; and

that the floodgate of education and vocational training had to be opened to the African.

Whilst on the other hand, a Black social worker university lecturer, Miss M. Maharaj, blamed the private industrial policies of the different employers for the exclusion of Blacks from certain jobs and for the wage discrepancies. More than 60% of Durban's Indian community lived below the bread line, she said. And it was for the private sector to see to it that such situation was redeemed. Another social worker lecturer, Mr M. Bopape, also felt that many problems pertaining to labour problems could be solved 'at local level by private initiative' (*Star*, 27/7/73).

A study of the servant situation appeared in three articles in the Rand afternoon newspaper, *The Star*. The third article in the series dealt with what was known as 'good treatment' for domestic workers. The writer dealt with domestic workers' problems in pay, uniforms, time, accommodation, heating of quarters, washing, holidays, transport, food, the use of telephones, sick pay, visitors, curfews and notice pay (*Star*, 30/7/73).

More marked reaction came from the Deputy Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, and from an official of the World Council of Churches. The Deputy Minister said that it would take 70 years to erase the gap between 'Bantu' and White wages in South Africa if Black wages increased by 7½% per annum and white wages by 5% respectively (*Cape Times* 9/5/73). The official of the World Council of Churches claimed that higher wages for South Africa's Blacks were no solution to what he regarded as a political problem (*Rand Daily Mail*, 21/6/73).

Some firms decided to raise the levels of their African employees through promotion and special training into white held jobs. The Toyota motor company intended training African mechanics at a school they would open in Johannesburg (*Natal Mercury*, 1/8/73). Barclays Bank believed in advancing some of its African staff members into 'more responsible' positions. An African bank in South Africa was seen as a feasibility; and so was 'an industrial development bank for Africans' (*Cape Times*, 21/7/73).

It was seen as being inevitable that 'as the African moved up the employment ladder, he would keep on bumping the white worker'. This reaction was from the director of the Business School at the Witwatersrand University, Dr S. Biesheuvel (*Cape Argus*, 25/8/73).

Meanwhile the Bloemfontein Municipality was introducing a system of wrist-bands for the identification of its African employees. The bands denoted the employees' status, homeland and locale through the colour code imprinted on the plastic (*Cape Argus*, 25/8/73). Though the Municipality explained the system as being of help to the workers themselves—since most were illiterate, varying opinions held, though, that this move by the municipality was humiliating treatment of the black workers (*Daily News* 24/8/73).

In spite of efforts by the Natal regional office of the Textile Industrial

Workers' Union to reinstate 50 workers sacked from the Frame Group's factory at Jacobs, some of the workers were being endorsed out. A relief fund was launched by the Textile Union at the Tucsa Congress at the beginning of August. By the end of the month more than R1 500 had been paid out to the workers. Workers were being given R8,00 per week until their unemployment insurance (U.I.F.) had been finalised and granted.

At the Progressive Party Congress held in Durban a motion was raised criticising the formation of Black trade unions and the demand for more wages by some Progressive Party members. The mover of the motion claimed that Progressive policy had consistently warned of the dangers of racialism. This warning had to be extended to Blacks as well; so as to avoid a 'dangerous development—that will lead to the polarisation of the races in the industrial field' (*Cape Times*, 5/9/73).

Criticism of Government labour policy also came from the Dutch Reformed Church. The church was against migratory labour according to one of its ministers, the Rev. S.O. Skeen; and the minister called for a system that would be satisfactory 'from a moral, economic and welfare point of view' (*Daily News*, 11/9/73).

The visiting British Trades Union Congress sent a delegation of members who went through the country studying the working conditions of Black workers in British firms. This delegation also met the Prime Minister Mr B.J. Vorster (*Star*, 10/10/73). Amongst the observations made by the British TUC was the appalling wages and conditions among African stevedores at the Cape Town docks (*Star*, 16/10/73), the 'negative attitude to gain political rights' by the members of the Government-nominated South African Indian Council (*Daily News*, 18/10/73) and the need for Black trade unions. The TUC delegation demanded:

Freedom of association and collective bargaining through trade unions for all workers.

A living wage and fair conditions of employment through the rate for the job.

The repeal of all legislation which discriminates against African and other Black workers.

Social insurance for Africans particularly in the urban areas and the trade training schemes on a massive scale (*Sunday Tribune*, 21/10/73).

In the Western Cape industrialists decided on the establishment of an industrial training centre for African workers in conjunction with the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (*Argus*, 27/10/73).

Efforts by Blacks to openly organise their own Black trade unions were hampered by Government interference and security police intimidation. The mass state bannings against members of trade unions, SASO, BPC, BCP, the Indian Congress and other organisations opposed to Government-created platforms made it hard for Blacks to converge their efforts in the development towards Black trade unionism.

# Chapter Sixteen

## BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES

IN THE SEVENTIES Black South Africans are seeking a more effective means of rallying their common aspirations round a quest for identification as blacks living within a reality of domination by a white supra-structure and anti-black manipulations through economic power and cultural alienation. Groups and organisations have emerged whose basic aim is to bring back to the black community a black identification and an articulation of the black experience.

The Black Community Programmes is one such organisation. BCP was founded in answer to the need for an association to deal with programmes involving welfare, culture, black theology, education and literacy, black arts, self-help and other relevant projects.

Spro-cas 2 (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society—Phase 2), from which the Black Community Programmes grew as an independent organisation, was originally sponsored by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. The working relationship between Spro-cas 2 (before dissolution at the end of 1973) and Black Community Programmes was a natural development, since both had to a large measure been formed with the aim of promoting true Christian principles in a racist society.

The Black Community Programmes underwent further growth when a regional branch office was opened at King William's Town. The other regional branch office is in Johannesburg. It is through the regional and branch offices, as well as the head office in Durban, that BCP has been able to express its concern and develop its programmes in response to the critical circumstances of the urban and rural black community.

*Goals of the Black Community Programmes*

The BCP began in 1972. It has been chiefly involved in programme development in response to identified interests and needs of the black community in ways consistent with its goals:

To help the black community become aware of its identity.

To help the black community create a sense of its own power.

To enable the black community to organise itself, analyse its needs and problems and also mobilise its resources to meet these needs.

To develop black leadership capable of guiding the development of the black community.

In consistency with the above goals the Black Community Programmes:

- (a) Initiates the principles of self-help and self-determination through inculcating, fostering, directing, maintaining and extending self-reliance in the black community, by encouraging the people in the urban and rural areas to deal with their needs in setting up an appropriate agency or organisation with a structure capable of meeting these needs.
- (b) Promotes leadership and clear understanding of issues facing the black community through co-operation with Christian churches and other black organisations in the extension and development of religious, moral, educational and cultural work amongst blacks, by bringing together available leadership and arranging appropriate training to enable them to have a clearer understanding of their work and equip them with the skills to effectively carry it out.
- (c) Co-ordinates common strategies to prevent unnecessary overlapping where several organisations exist to deal with the same problem in an unco-ordinated manner, by promoting and developing goodwill, co-operation and fellowship among all the components of the black community throughout the Republic of South Africa.
- (d) Enables, where leadership is the problem, the setting up of skills-training seminars for persons in leadership positions of organisations, through leadership courses aimed at equipping participants with skills necessary for effective programming and management etc.—by fostering, organising and directing the moral, mental and physical educational and well-being of all black South Africans through relevant programmes.
- (e) Communicates fuller knowledge of what the different black organisations are doing and the extent of overlapping and duplication, by developing research alone or in co-operation with others.

'Leadership Training' was understood to include:

Top Youth Leadership Week

Workshop on Programming for Youth Groups

Technique Workshop on Community Action

Workshop on Group Dynamics and Team Leadership.

### *Church Programmes*

The first church conference was sponsored by BCP in May 1972 when 27 clergymen and several laymen attended. This meeting was highlighted by the demand that came from the conference for a more effective and black-orientated preaching of the Gospel. Conference spent some time spelling out the kind of leader which the black community requires. A conclusion was reached that effective leadership was impossible without competency, discipline and strong character, and that such qualities were possible only in a society where leaders helped make the community become aware of its identity, power and development.

On this basis in February 1973 a 'Black Theology Agency' was formed at another conference, also sponsored by BCP. The agency's aims were to co-ordinate all work in the field of Black Theology in South Africa, to provide interested people with background material on Black Theology, to conduct research in this field, and to plan courses and refresher seminars.

By the end of 1973 arrangements for the financing and the acquiring of offices and staff of the proposed agency were still being made by an interim committee. The Border Council of Churches also worked in close co-operation with the branch office at King William's Town. A church conference for black clergy and laymen was organised by the branch staff and proved highly successful.

### *Educational Programmes*

A Home Education Scheme was planned by the Eastern Cape Province Branch office. The idea was to help people see the scheme as a local venture and identify with it rather than see it as a paternalistic approach by an outside group. There were attempts to assist the promotion and revival of creches now that black women have become more involved in the country's labour input and spend most of the day away from their children.

A Health Education Scheme is planned to provide the black community with essential health services, both curative and preventative, which were found to be badly lacking especially in the rural and 'resettlement' areas.

Owing to restrictions imposed by the government on the Programmes Officer of the Workers' Project it was difficult to continue with the project according to the original aims.

A women's programme assistant was appointed to make skills and resources available to women's groups and others such as housewives, nurses and social workers. By the end of 1973 plans to launch this project had been finalised.

### *Bannings Against BCP*

The community development work that BCP intends continuing within the black community was confronted with problems through the bannings imposed on members of its staff.

The first to be banned were the Branch Executive (Johannesburg), Mr Bokwe Mafuna, and the Branch Executive (King William's Town), Mr Bantu S. Biko. Both were banned in March 1973. Biko was then Programme Assistant at the Durban Office.

The first bannings were followed in August by the restrictions and house-arrest imposed on Mrs Sam Moodley, until then Programme Assistant at the Durban office. Restrictions were then imposed on the Director of BCP, Mr Bennie Khoapa. Mr Khoapa is confined to the Umlazi magisterial district. The Programme Assistant at the King William's Town Branch office, Mr M. Mpumlwana, also had restriction orders placed on him.

# Chapter Seventeen

## BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

THE YEAR SAW a more solidified development of Black Consciousness in its implications and manifestations in the political, cultural, economic and theological spheres.

There was more effort to vitalise the theoretical potency of Black Consciousness within the basic historic situation prevailing in the country. Which is more, Black Consciousness was found to be contesting not only for political and economic power alone, but also for human power and morale against the white supra-structure. This came out more markedly in the face of Government bannings against protagonists of Black Consciousness.

SASO continued to help spread the message of Black Consciousness despite the political bannings imposed on its leadership.

BPC also had some of its leaders banned. Nevertheless the organisation developed and fought for more affiliation and increased membership.

The Black Theology Project through its spokesman, now banned, Dr Manas Buthelezi, continued to voice outspoken concern over the Black man's destiny.

The Black Community Programmes made projections into various fields in the community development of Blacks, despite bannings against its staff. (See Chapter on Bannings).

### **The Political Significations of Black Consciousness**

#### *Background*

By 1973 Blacks were already asking themselves on the more positive sides

of Black Consciousness that: since it was here, what did it really hold for the future?

Black Consciousness was found by many Blacks trying to articulate its implications to mean the identification of Blackness as seen by the Black men from his Black self and system of reference. There were:

- (i) the period of anger;
- (ii) the period of emulation;
- (iii) the period of criticism and
- (iv) the period of identity.

In the period of anger it was during the time following conquest when Blacks were angry with new white ways of thinking and doing things. The Blacks resisted conquest in many different ways, until, failing, they decided to emulate the white man's concepts. Many even tried to lead pure white lives. However, discoveries that white ways also had their shortcomings led Blacks into criticising their situation under white domination. This was when Blacks said everything they could say directly to the white man. Even student politics dominated by liberal bodies faced dire criticism from Blacks. But these Blacks were addressing whites.

Black Consciousness was found to be belonging to the fourth stage: the period of identity. Blacks addressing fellow Blacks were seeking ways and means of making their aspirations felt through common Blackness and solidarity. White cultural norms and ethics were being criticised amongst the Blacks themselves. The Black Identity was becoming the common goal Blacks wanted to reach. It was because of the existent situation that Black Consciousness protagonists thrust into the Blacks' political orientation.

The Black People's Convention grew and drew support from all the major centres in the country. This despite the bannings imposed on its leadership, i.e. Secretary General Mr Drake Koka and on Public Relations Officer, Mr Saths Cooper, in March. Since these bannings more members of the BPC have been silenced and restricted through Government legislation. This reaction from the Government has been seen as proof that it fears the spreading of Black Consciousness.

SASO has also suffered the onslaught of Government legislation for its upholding of anti-Government practices and for spreading Black Consciousness in the Black Community, especially amongst students. To date more than ten SASO members have been banned. At SASO's Annual Conference in July the theme of Black awareness as means towards power in the political struggle of Blacks was widely discussed.

A leading trend in Black awareness was the growing practice by Blacks of seeing Black Consciousness as a relative rather than absolute manifestation of National Consciousness. Black Consciousness had become differen-

tiated.

The righting of historic faults was highlighted when five tribal chiefs in the Drakensberg region resisted moved by the Natal Parks Board to oust the tribes from the area in terms of the Government's Consolidation Plans. The five chiefs are: Chief B. Miya of the Amazizi tribe near Bergville, Chief J. Hadebe of the Hlubi tribe and a direct descendant of Chief Sangalibalele, Chief M. Hlongwane of the Amangwane tribe, Chief V. Mabaso of the Drakensberg No. 1 location and Chief S. Mazibuko of the Drakensberg No. 2 location. A sixth chief was also involved—Chief H. Dlamini of the Amakhuze tribe.

The chiefs felt that they were being forced off the land of their forefathers and according to one of them it seemed the Parks Board was the most instrumental in wanting the Blacks to move out of the area. One of the chiefs said he did not understand why the whites showed such greed for land when instead there was land still owing to the tribesmen in terms of the 1936 Land Act.

Chief B. Miya had this to say: 'Before I speak of removals, I want to lay claim to more than 400 ha. of land that has been taken from my people by the Natal Parks Board. I will not move. I hope the Parks Board gives back our land. How can we be expected to move from the graves of our forefathers and go to a place we do not know?'

Chief S. Mazibuko claimed that several white farmers in the Loskop area were living on land taken away from the Amangwe tribe. On a certain occasion, one of the chiefs stated, tribesmen had seen white surveyors come and change boundaries claiming the boundary fences had been wrongly propped. This way large pieces of land had got out of Black hands (*Daily News* 18/6/73). To sum up Black reaction, Chief H. Dlamini had simply burst out, 'I say hands off our land'.

Early in the year strikes by Black workers erupted in Natal and on the Rand, until they were widespread throughout the country. What was most significant about the strikes is that they burst out where least expected all the time: in the largely illiterate and semi-literate sectors of the African worker population. The strikes were also highly marked by their spontaneous character. No political organisation, trade unions or group of activists could lay claim to their eruption. Even the State failed to pinpoint scapegoats: 'communist agitators'.

Since the first major outbreak early in the year when hundreds of migrant labourers at the Coronation brick factory in Durban downed tools and demanded higher pay, similar action had spread all over the country by June.

Even the border industrial areas were affected by the wave of strikes. At Richards Bay at Alusaf, a factory sponsored by the Industrial Develop-

ment Council, workers demanded the rights to force the Bantustan leaders into a bargaining position against the white employers or into a confrontation; meaning the withdrawal of Black labour from certain factories. Chief negotiator in this tight situation was Minister of Community Affairs for KwaZulu, Mr B.I. Dladla. The brick workers at Coronation were addressed by the Paramount Chief of the Zulus, Chief Zwelithini, who promised their grievances would be met.

It was a sordid affair for Durban's whites when public services almost ground to a stop during the strike by municipal workers. The Corporation's busdrivers also added to the wounds when they threatened a prolonged strike unless their wage demands were met. Though a showdown was narrowly averted between the busdrivers and Transport Management, a highly successful one-day strike in November did show the potential of solidarity the workers had. In that one day all Durban's Municipal buses were at a standstill. Significant also is the fact that the strike was not over pay but over a grievance against management.

For the first time the Black workers felt their power as a distinctly identifiable group. With the spread of strikes to areas such as Charlestown, Harrismith, King Williams Town, Hammarsdale, the workers were learning a new lesson. They did have the potential of power—political and economic.

At Hammarsdale Black solidarity was expressed when all factories in the area, about 14 of them, shut down and effected what may be called a general strike on 7 February. This is when police used tear-gas against demonstrators. The strikes that had begun at the Hebox factories on Monday 5 dragged on until workers went back to work on Monday 12 February. On Thursday 8, at a mass meeting held in an open veld, the workers, though beginning to waver, supported the idea of common strategy based on their common situation. This was seen as an expression of Black solidarity.

Even the Bantustan leaders and others working within the framework of separatism have now and then failed to resist the pressure of Black awareness. The KwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, called for Coloureds to identify with Blacks on his visit to the Athlone Trade Fair in Cape Town. Claiming that Coloureds were indigenous to this country, he urged them not to be ashamed of being called Africans (*Sunday Tribune* 18/2/73).

Chief Gatsha's move met opposition from the leader of the Coloureds' Federal Party who criticised Chief Gatsha for having placed him (Mr Swartz) in bad light to the Coloured people in favour of the Coloured Labour Party. Mr Swartz said he saw nothing good in talks on Black Consciousness. It is worth noting, though, that the Federal Party is the most vociferous against petty apartheid (see CRC).

Whether Apartheid is petty or harsh in its implications, is hardly the point in the face of growing repression against the forces of Black Consciousness and Black solidarity. The list of Blacks banned in the past year reached 54 as far as is known.

A book relevant to the political significations of Black Consciousness came out in October 1973. Written by a Black clinical psychologist, Dr N.C. Manganyi, it deals with some positive aspects of Blackness. Dr Manganyi says, 'There are two important issues which should be raised relating to Black Consciousness and Solidarity. The first is the relationship between consciousness and action. This relationship is often neglected by exponents of black consciousness. This neglect of this aspect almost amounts to a lack of a clear formulation of the actual practical meaning of solidarity. In addition between mutual knowledge and solidarity, there exists the connotation of action in solidarity. In other words, one has to be thinking of a consciousness which leads to action' (*Being-Black in the World*—Page 21—Spro-cas).

Dr Manganyi's statement summarised the questioning on what true consciousness is. It was therefore no surprise to come across such notions in the assessments of the year: 'We have to be unified by our common desire to take the initiative in deciding and determining our future and that of the future generations of Black South Africans'. (Ibid).

### **The Economic Significations of Black Consciousness**

During the year it was more solidly proved that today's South Africa had basically become different from what it was before Sharpeville.

Whereas Blacks thought on purely nationalist lines before Sharpeville and slightly after, today's Blacks also think in terms of economic power. Thus opening the way towards national consciousness. The economic factor as an aspect of Black Consciousness proved to have come to stay.

A near conflict almost erupted when the Natal Chamber of Commerce accused the KwaZulu Government of intervening in the labour flow of Zulu workers. Registering concern over statements made by the KwaZulu Minister of Community Affairs, Mr B.I. Dladla, the Federated Chamber of Industries supporting the Natal Chamber of Commerce referred to 'undesirable activities of Ministers of homelands intervening with regard to labour disputes'.

Particular reference was drawn to:

- the addressing of 'Bantu' workers on labour matters in white areas;
- participation in industrial negotiations; and
- 'discrimination between employers in the supply of labour' by the KwaZulu Government.

The Chief Executive Councillor for KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, warned in reply that the white industrialists were 'playing with fire with these representations'. Saying it was within the framework of South African policy for KwaZulu to have control over labour, he stated that only fully-fledged trade union organisations for Blacks would help resolve labour issues (*Sunday Tribune* 2/12/73).

Chief Gatsha may not have been working from ethic of Black Consciousness but had found himself admist a growing restiveness of Black workers demanding their rights as workers.

Since the Durban dock workers strikes in October 1972, much has been said and circulated amongst trade unionists and students about the position of the Black workers in South Africa and their future role in the economy of the country. The November 1972 issue of *Reality* carried a surmise titled, 'What the Black Workers Think'.

The introductory part rejected the over-riding tendency of whites to patronise Blacks in trade union matters. This study was coming from a Black group of six theological students who had gone into various factories on the Witwatersrand to find out what Black workers really thought about their situation. Among the many facts that came out of the survey were:

the superiority complex and inferiority complex in white and black relations respectively;

the feeling that Black talent in industry, technology and invention was being stifled by the Government's policy;

the cynicism and fear in political discussions;

the arrogant white attitude of trying to put Africans into little boxes or compartment situation;

the miserably low wages Blacks were expected to eke out a living on;

the lacking sense of pride and accomplishment in work done for whites;

the fast-eroding faith in 'Christianity';

the suspicion held against trade unions—that they were being seen as an instrument 'to lull things'; and

the burning desire for some form of freedom (*Reality*, November 1972).

When, then, in 1973 white university students, mainly members of the Wages Commission formed by the Natal University students, met highly 'concerned' trade unionists and academicians, an Institute of Industrial Education was formed.

The Institute of Industrial Education concentrates basically on the

African worker and his industrial situation. Also as members of the Institute is the KwaZulu Minister of Community Affairs, Mr Barney Dladla.

The Institute was welcomed with reservations by Black Organisations such as SASO, BPC and BCP.

Industrial education was seen as being a basic necessity and a part of the upliftment of Black workers. But Blacks did not like to see whites coming to educate Blacks when any Black student or academician who went into the workers' situation could not do so without being followed and perhaps being picked up by the Security Branch. Were whites therefore protecting their white interests by going to African workers? It was claimed by some students that some whites were so arrogant as to approach Black students and ask of any 'unknown' unions. 'Unknown' interpreted to mean not known by the very legislative system that made the position of the Black worker what it was.

The conclusion reached on worker education was that such education could not work outside the present status quo. In as much as it was reformist it exposed the liberal's disregard for the South African reality of separatism whilst accommodating for it by channelising workers from a white basis. Therefore it was felt this education could be and was perhaps being, used for negative purposes: the stemming of national awareness.

On the aims of the Industrial Institute, it was held that the giving of formal trade union education under existent conditions was not in keeping with the priority of Blacks, whose rights were fast disappearing through Government legislation under different guises. Formal education within the status quo would be white in essence, liberal in outlook and reactionary in content, approach and aim. It would exclude true national awareness.

Another major point of departure brought out by one Black student was that the gap existing between whites and blacks in the industrial environment and trade union orientation was the white man's creation in the first place. And liberal academics, a group of students claimed, could not be honest to Blacks. Firstly, their academic researchers were largely financed by industrial concerns. Secondly, liberal academics had always worried more about research and academic involvement than with any true situation. Thirdly, a spokesman of a Black organisation said, liberal academics believed in lulling radical thinking amongst Blacks because, fourthly, the liberal's first enemy was the Black independent thinker, i.e. the one outside the scope of white thinking.

On the 'Diploma in Trade Unionism' to be issued by the Institute to Blacks workers, the same group of students said Blacks did not need to qualify through diplomas to know what their basic needs were. Even as a short-term objective the Wages Commission did not give Black workers the

power to gain more wages. And in any case the problem went far beyond wage demands which inflated prices and brought the worker back to where he had been.

The proposed labour library, according to the Black student group, would largely be filled with literature meant for white middle reading and watered down stuff for the patronised Black worker. Blacks could hardly afford the time. It was white middle class suburban expansion that made Blacks live so far away from their working places. How could they be expected to get reading time? Moreover, since all trade unionism included inter-mediation the Black workers did not need whites or Bantustan leaders to mediate on their behalf. White liberals were part of the white establishment; many of them were shareholders in various companies. The Bantustan leaders were working within a system created for prevalence of adverse worker conditions. Only the workers themselves, together with Black students, could undertake true bargaining with the white employers.

The Academic Panel included by the Institute of Industrial Education was considered 'irrelevant'. On the other hand the very formation of the Institute had been prompted by the understanding that the Black workers had become impatient, said one student. (Ref. Pamphlet Inst. of Ind. Education).

Some Blacks were asking what goodwill the whites had if a surplus of the banana crop could only be spared through the intervention of the Minister of Agriculture, Mr H. Schoeman? (*Daily News* 4/12/73).

The anxiety prevailing amongst Blacks over their position as workers also stemmed from the fear that with the growth of border industries, the entire African population was destined to theoretically become migrant (*Rand Daily Mail* 14/9/73), either in the border areas or in the white centres.

The Minister of Labour had according to a newspaper report said that job reservation would not be abolished. He guaranteed the white workers' position over Black workers. (*Daily News* 5/10/73). Such fears against whites not wanting to realise the aspirations of Blacks greatly disturbed Blacks, especially as regards trade unions. White trade union organisers were suspected of coming to confuse the Black worker. Since they being part of a problem created by them as whites were working from a position of privilege.

The overseas visits by the homeland leaders were being regarded as futile and propagandist. Especially since these homeland leaders themselves opposed boycotts and ending of foreign investments. There was also lots of worrying about possible military ties between the United States and South Africa. Following the tendency of intensified foreign investment in South Africa by Western powers such as the U.S. it was being seen to be leading to

further ties between these countries and South Africa. A report 'urging' such ties did come out in a South African Sunday newspaper. It was made through a military journal—and quoted in that paper (*Sunday Times* 2/9/73).

Efforts to gain maximum bargaining though communal buying grew as Blacks resorted to bulk purchasing so as to beat the rising cost of living. In the townships there were 'societies' formed by women. The best known group of this nature is ASH (Association for Self-Help) at Merewent.

Advertisements came in for sharp criticism from Blacks. Many groups strongly criticised the white sales promotions that lowered Black ethics. Even advertisements meant for whites were being exposed as negative and out of touch with reality. One Sunday school group was shown an advertisement which was completely contradictory to normal values in communal life. The advertisement went this way: 'Save petrol with Edblo Fantasy. Stay in bed tomorrow'. The speaker then asked: 'Is this meant for you children of God who are here this Sunday morning to celebrate the Sabbath day? Is it also meant for your mothers and fathers, your uncles and aunties who early tomorrow will be holding queues about 100 yards long on their way to work so that you do not starve—whilst those bosses employing them are being brought tea in bed?'

It was fast becoming obvious that Blacks were becoming aware of their economic position and the power potential in it.

### **The Cultural Significations of Black Consciousness**

In the cultural sphere the Black Community moved further in defining itself with identifiable cultural values. Blacks were found to be suffering certain handicaps against them in the cultural field because of their lack of facilities. Most townships and semi-urban areas had inadequate facilities for the staging of plays, the organising of music shows and the showing of films.

*Recreation:* For outdoor recreation Africans had only been given free access to the first game reserve with full facilities at the Masinda Camp in the Umfolozi-Hluhluwe Game Reserve. Only camp facilities are provided at Manyeleti in the Kruger National Park.

Indians were recently granted chalets, camp facilities and a restaurant catering for Indian taste at Midmar Dam near Pietermaritzburg. Full facilities will be provided at the resort being developed on the North Coast at the Hazelmers Dam.

Albert Falls, it was said, would be granted to Coloureds as their resort spot with all facilities provided.

*Arts:* Blacks went deeper into their cultural roots. In a bid to dig up the lost cultural values that are fast being buried by Western norms and affluence,

conscientisation of the Black Youth was pioneered by the DASHIKI, a musical group that promotes Afro-jazz and Black verse. Led by an energetic young man, Lefifi Tladi, Dashiki have toured the whole country giving some backing to poetry readings, reading Black poetry (Lefifi's) and exhibiting sculpture by Lefifi.

This Ga-Rankuwa based group is all in for Black Consciousness; to the point of rejecting commercial approaches for the recording of their music. As the group put it, as if with one voice, 'Our music is too precious to us. We owe it to the hope we hold in our people, the Blacks of this country. For all they have suffered and for a brighter technological machinery to mass produce. And in the process polluting and debasing it'.

Dashiki has been seen as an encouraging development in the Black Community; when a white cultural group, the Natal Performing Arts Council (NAPAC), did not allow Blacks—those interested, to see its Christmas show 'Alice in Wonderland'. NAPAC had no directive to serve any other population group other than the white group, NAPAC's director stated. But Durban's Town Clerk readily revealed that Durban's Blacks also contributed to NAPAC in the R20 000 granted annually to NAPAC by the Durban City Council. The Blacks' contribution was through the rates they also paid (*Sunday Tribune* 1/6/73). Such attitude as that shown by NAPAC has been seen as being all more reason why Blacks have to organise their own cultural clubs and associations.

Two critiques on the now banned book *Eye of the Needle* by Dr Richard Turner (published by Spro-cas) a former lecturer at the University of Natal, appeared in the January issues of *Reality*. Dr Turner's book had stimulated much thinking in the Black Youth and reaction to it was varied and controversial. For the book brought several questions into focus. One of the two critiques in *Reality* was by a Black, the other by a white. The inclusion of the two reviews side by side was proof that Blacks were not letting issues affecting them go by without being scrutinised.

Further proof of this Black approach was the publication of a book *Being-Black-in-the-World* written by a Black clinical psychologist, N.C. Manganyi. Significant about Manganyi's effort is that he showed further impetus in the Black's wanting more to argue their case dialectically and therefore from an objective and more basic stand-point. The system of reference was no more based on white terms of reference but on Black terms.

A collection of Poetry consisting of Black poems by various Black South African poets appeared in November. Titled *To whom it may Concern* the anthology includes early poems by Black poets such as Oswald Mtshali, Mongane Serote, Mafika Gwala and Mafika Mbuli. There were also poems by Mandlenkosi Langa, Casey Motsisi, Sepamla, Ndebele, Stanley

Mogoba and others.

The outstanding character about the collection was that it contained background poetry—the writings from which developed Black Consciousness themes in poetry by Blacks. It is hoped more Black poetry of the Black Consciousness period is going to be published. As more and more Blacks are showing interest in Black literature, Blacks are definitely creating their own initiative.

The development of cultural activities in Black areas was being distributed by the unsettled position of Blacks in most urban areas. In many areas no facilities were available. At other places the people did not enjoy any sense of security. Even the Bantustan leaders have had to react to this.

The Minister of Community Affairs for KwaZulu, Mr B.I. Dladla, accused the Bantu Investment Corporation of encroaching on African freshhold areas. He was commenting on the buying of 3 sites at Clermont by the Corporation (*Natal Mercury* 5/6/73).

In music new groups were busy battling to infuse soul music with Mbaqanga elements. One group soul sounds had mbanqanga adapted into soul in their 'Next to You'. The Movers have tried to do pieces recorded by Masekela and groups such as Afrique and Osibisa.

The interest shown by associations such as Black Community Programmes in the upliftment of cultural values in the Black Community helped in the realisation of several projects. (See Self-Help and BCP).

SASO published its first book 'Creativity and Black Development' in March. This book, based on the talks during the 1972 annual conference of SASO, has been banned. The collection of Poetry 'Cry Rage' by James Matthews was also banned during the year.

Despite the bannings Black Consciousness continued to develop and spread.

The mutual knowledge implicit in Black Consciousness was seen as natural lead to Black solidarity. And to the awareness of Black Consciousness as a transient force. As Manganyi had to say, 'Black Consciousness is time bound'. Further, 'in its expression of the present, it is first of all mutual knowledge about its historicity'.

The significant factor about Black behaviour and aspiration was that Blacks had to be unified by common desire to take the initiative in deciding and determining their future generations of Blacks. The creative potential of Blacks would be measured against their action potential.

### **Theological Significations of Black Consciousness**

In 1972 a wide attempt was made by the various religious and cultural bodies in the Black Community to co-ordinate all work in the field of Black Theology in South Africa. So that Blacks could work on their

interpretation of the Gospel as Blacks, with a common approach. The Black Theology Agency formed last year was to fulfil such a function.

Blacks in the Theological field had come to the conclusion that in the persuance of the Scriptures as written in the Gospel:

1. The white man was not the norm or yardstick to humanness;
2. the Church had itself helped the Black realise he was a man; but
3. it was white-controlled Church institutions that refuted the equality of humans before God;
4. Black Consciousness meant Blacks being aware of all that stood in the way of freedom;
5. Black Consciousness was not necessarily a whip-back against whites although whites had to realise the harm they had meted out against Blacks;
6. there could be no talk of Black Consciousness in any form without it being a reference to white racism;
7. Blacks were rejecting white ethical values and learning to do things for themselves instead of waiting for white handouts;
8. Blacks had to come into a new relationship with whites—one based on love and mutual respect; but
9. that mutual respect could only come when Blacks had taken the power to demand their rights and then move from a strong position;
10. Blacks were waking up and working towards a solidarity that would support and sustain them; therefore whites had to take suggestions from Blacks—not vice versa (Ref: *Pro Veritate*, Vol. 11 No. 11 and Vol. 13 No. 12).

The Blacks within the Church were merely gaining back their spiritual rights of participating in religion and fighting against white domination even in worship.

After all the years spent on the true interpretation of the Gospel it had been discovered that, 'the Church needs to do something concrete. She needs to join Christ in His struggle for the poor, the oppressed and the hungry. She needs to write more theology along that line. There was a gap. This slot Black Theology is filling' (Rev E. Baartman—*Pro Veritate*, Vol. 13 No. 12).

### **White Reactions to Black Consciousness**

Reactions to the spreading of Black Consciousness came from different quarters during the year.

Opinionated newspapers and journals such as *Pro Veritate*, the *South African Outlook* and *Reality* continued to have their focus on the develop-

ment of Black Consciousness. They admitted the understanding and support of Black Consciousness. *Reality*, though, took on a guarded line bordering on the downright conservative on some aspects of Black Consciousness.

In a Spro-cas publication, *A Taste of Power*, the situation of the Black workers and their future was spelled out to mean that whites 'must recognise and entrench the rights of Black workers in trade unions—and accept a radical re-allocation of land wealth and income' (Peter Randall *A Taste of Power*, Chapter 4). The Spro-cas report was seen as a strong recommendation for Black Consciousness and Black initiative for the realisation of radical change to achieve a fundamental redistribution of power and wealth.

General white reaction to Black Consciousness ran along these lines:

1. That the initiative for change was passing into Black hands;
2. that there was basic consensus amongst all white groups to maintain white domination and hence white power and privilege;
3. That there were widely significant developments that would decide the future of the country viz:
  - (i) the growing impatience of homeland leaders and repeated calls for a common strategy;
  - (ii) the growing militancy of Black students and their ability to secure the support of their community;
  - (iii) the growing totalitarian measures being applied by the State to internal dissent;
  - (iv) the growing guerilla threat to Southern Africa's white regimes;
  - (v) increased foreign pressure against South Africa;
  - (vi) the growing militancy and bargaining power of the Black workers;
  - (vii) the socio-economic changes being made to meet these developments.
4. That South Africa's administration of Blacks was based on a parasitic and soulless bureaucratic machine that often decided vital policy on Black lives;
5. that the apparent divisions and tensions between the different exponents of Black solidarity had their own dynamics that would decide what trend solidarity took amongst Blacks;
6. that South African society was, apart from being racists also characterised by deep class cleavages;
7. that owing to the need for whites to find relevant role in social change there was developing white consciousness as a response to

**Black Consciousness and Black solidarity;**

8. and that whites had to make meaningful adjustments before the major initiative was wrested from their hands (Ref: *A Taste of Power*, Spro-cas final report).

A book dealing with workers' democratic participation and workers' control in the management and general running of factories came out in 1972 (R. Turner, *The Eye of the Needle*, Spro-cas). This book was later banned in 1973. As highly suggestive as this book was, it missed the point when it brought in solutions beside the true perspective of the developments in the country which could be misleading to the average Black in the face of historic, social, economic and political reality in Southern Africa. The criticism from Black Consciousness circles was that Blacks were by now quite aware that radical stance was one thing and radical action quite another thing. Only Blacks could move into solidified action, not the whites—by virtue of their privileged position (*Reality*, January 1973).

In the face of a growing polarisation by Blacks in their political contact with whites, the Spro-cas Political Commission findings on the present political position in South Africa was found to be lacking by those Blacks orientated towards a more realistic approach. Its chief failure was the non-definition of Blacks within a reference system created by people interested in keeping a position of power and privilege.

It was, nevertheless, hoped the findings of the Commission would help those whites who are honest about working towards progressive change to work on the factors brought out by the Commission.

The factors that emerged from the Commission were:

1. The continuing erosion of Black political rights through stringent white legislation.
2. The growing legislation aimed at protecting white power and white privilege.
3. The breaching of ethical principles in the long history of extraordinary executive powers being wielded over Blacks.
4. The growing legislative measures made in the name of maintenance of law and order but in fact curbing individual freedom in its various aspects.
5. The disregard and non-recognition of 'political prisoner' rights in the Government's dealing with persons convicted of political offences.
6. The growing centralisation of State Government whilst the latter sought to maintain control over Blacks through the creation of homeland 'states-within-states'.

7. The corrosion and destruction of Christian ethics in a white society that seeks to justify the implementation of white power and white privilege. (Ref. Chapter on 'The Present Political Position in S.A.' in *South Africa's Political Alternatives*—Spro-cas publication).

A leading member of the Progressive Party, Mrs Helen Suzman, was forced into conceding that South Africa's future lay in the Black man's destiny. 'Whatever changes are going to take place', she said, 'the future probably lies with the Black leaders'. This concession from a white member of the whites only parliament came at the time of crucial soul-searching by Blacks; when even the homeland leaders who work within the Government-created platforms had been forced to come together at Umtata and try to thrash out a common plan on the future of Bantustans. This was to be followed by a meeting of all race groups at East London.

On the other hand Black Consciousness was being identified with Black nationalism. A leading liberal, Mr Leo Marquard, said that Afrikaner nationalism had the same characteristics. 'I do not like Black Consciousness and its offspring, black nationalism, for the same reasons that I have never liked nationalism of any kind because it is a self-seeking doctrine that, however much it may protest to the contrary, thrives by the oppression of other groups' (*Reality*, September 1973, page 10).

The Justice and Reconciliation Committee of the South African Council of Churches said at its half-yearly meeting that Black Consciousness needs to be encouraged and supported by the churches.

Reasons for this open agreement on Black Consciousness were given as follows:

1. It would help Blacks throw off 'oppression by consent'.
2. It would help Blacks overcome their fear.
3. It would help Blacks realise their dignity.
4. It would urge Blacks to exercise their initiative and also support each other in acting on their convictions; and
5. It meant the Black had to first liberate himself and develop his attitude so that he can operate without the lead of the white man' (*Post*, 16/12/73).

The December issue of *Pro Veritate* carried resolutions made by churches of Southern Africa affiliated to the Reformed Ecumenical Synod. The resolutions passed by the Synod itself in 1968 at Lunteran and adopted by the Southern African member churches in 1972 March, were directly relevant to Black Consciousness on the following points in numerical sequences:

**The Church should speak courageously and relevantly on issues of the day:**

**In the proclamation of the Word, the Church to whom has been entrusted the message of Christ's Kingdom, should speak courageously and relevantly on the issues of the day, both for the edification and correction of the activities and policies of Governments and organisations.**

**Christians' responsibility towards all who suffer from poverty, under-development and political oppression:**

**Christians in general and the Church in particular bear a responsibility towards members of all races who suffer from poverty, under-development and political oppression.**

**Believers should be willing to bend every effort to alleviate the suffering of such peoples.**

**Churches to test conditions in own churches by these norms:**

**With a view to the great tensions in race relations in the world today, Synod urges the member-churches to test conditions in their Churches and countries by the norms set forth in the resolutions, to hold regional conferences in which the aforementioned decisions may be put into effect and to report to the next Synod'.**

The Archbishop of Cape Town, addressing Black Students at the University of the Western Cape, said that 'poverty is not cured by prayers or speeches but by providing all people with housing, education, training and employment opportunities' (*Argus*, 26/11/73).

*Poetry and Politics* by Ric Beattie (published by Spro-cas) showed in verse form the abhorrent situation existing in the country. Culture in South Africa, the small collection posed, was close to a standstill. Or, had come to a standstill.

# Chapter Eighteen

## NAMIBIA

### **Introduction**

THE FEELINGS of discontent and the subsequent activities by the Namibians aimed at their attaining full independence and self-determination continue to put Namibia in the world map. The Namibians have, through the past years, shown how ready they are to struggle for what is by birth theirs. The situation, which has attracted international focus, offers little comfort to those commissioned to settle the territory's disputes by looking into what they call a 'possible settlement'. And it cannot be denied that, in the process, Namibian blacks have created history which will go down in the annals of the United Nations and the South African Government as one of the most challenging situations ever to confront them.

### **Multi-racial Advisory Council for S.W.A.**

(a) *Negotiations by the Prime Minister for the formation of Council:* The formation of the multi-racial advisory council by the Prime Minister, was the outcome of the talks he held in Pretoria with Dr Escher on 30 October, 1972, and the agreement thereupon reached concerning the S.W.A. issue.

The Council, the Minister announced in the house of Assembly, would be representative of all the various regions and regional governments or authorities in the territory and would be personally headed by him. Basically it would function as a body through which the leaders of the different peoples of S.W.A. would have an opportunity to discuss matters

of common interest to them as well as act on an advisory capacity to the Prime Minister on all matters pertaining to the territory.

The Prime Minister maintained that this would assist the government in facilitating its concept of self-determination and independence so that as the Council becomes more experienced and effective it should progressively become an instrument for the development of co-operation and understanding among the inhabitants of Namibia as a whole.

### *Commissioner General's Responsibility*

Mr Jannie De Wet, S.W.A.'s Commissioner General of the indigenous peoples, was assigned the duty of forwarding names (to the Prime Minister) of African candidates willing to serve on the proposed multi-racial Advisory Council. He toured northern homelands explaining the goals of the Advisory Council and confidently predicted that he would get names of delegates from each group. Outstanding were the names of Kaokoveld representatives and of the majority Herero group led by Chief Clemens Kapuuo who rejected the Advisory Council. In the final analysis, the full list of delegates consisted of persons from the following groups:

1. Whites: Mr Dirk Mudge and Mr Eben van Zyl, both Nationalist Executive Committee members.
2. Coloureds: Mr A.J.F. Kloppers, leader of the Federal Party and President of Swancum and Mr David Bezuidenhout.
3. Rehoboth Baster: Mr Martinuf Olivier and Mr Hans Diergaardt, a member of the baster Council.
4. Ovambos: Chief Councillor Filimon Elifas and Pastor Ndjoba, both of the Ovambo Legislative Assembly.
5. Kavangos: Mr Alex Kidumo, a member of the Legislative Assembly; and Headman L. Hakusenbe.
6. Damaras: Chief Justus Garoeb and Councillor Andreas Tja-Tjamai of the Embryo Damara Homeland Council.
7. Hereros: Mr David Tjatjita and Munyuku Nquvauva.
8. Tswanas: Mr D. Mokalabatho.
9. Bushmen: Mr Sonewa.

Evidence points to the fact that membership in the Council was loaded with government homeland leaders. The Commissioner General's final responsibility with regard to this list, was to submit it before March 9 to the Prime Minister's office for approval.

### *(b) Reactions to the Formation of an Advisory Council*

*South Africa:* Mr Vorster's appointment of an Advisory Council for S.W.A. became an affair of high political significance for South Africa. It

certainly received impressive support in the ranks of United Party members who declared that it boosted their Federal policy and was thus seen by them as a major step in the direction of a federation.

A number of Parliamentarians indicated that the Advisory Council could, in fact, be a model for South Africa as there was a 'need for top level consultations between the races' (*Sunday Tribune*, 23/2/73).

*South West Africa:* Contrary reactions were observed in S.W.A. particularly among the majority of Black Namibians whose strong feelings were voiced through Black political bodies such as Swapo, Swanu, Demkop, Nudo and the Herero Chiefs' Council. Most outspoken and opposed to the Advisory Council was the National Convention of S.W.A. a joint all-Black political body which claims to represent the political aspirations of an overwhelming majority of Namibians.

These Black Nationalists were outright opposed to the Advisory Council, on the grounds that it would entrench and perpetuate South Africa's control over the territory. They were greatly opposed to the division of the indigenous people of Namibia into ethnic groups and, accordingly, called for these people to present a united front and reject the establishment of such a plan denounced by some of the Black leaders as 'the greatest fraud by the illegal South African Government' (*Rand Daily Mail*, 1/3/73).

Believing as it did that the South Africa's mandate in S.W.A. terminated some years ago, the Convention maintained that South Africa's right in determining Namibian's affairs was outright invalid.

By way of substantiation, the Convention sent a letter of protest to Dr Waldheim demanding that on the grounds of the ruling of the United Nations General Assembly in 1966, South Africa's activities in Namibia be terminated forthwith.

As far as the Convention was concerned the Council was composed of 'stooges' and 'puppets' who could not truly liberate them from the oppressive South African system.

The tension-enveloped discontents resulted in several riots and clashes with police. Rioting by migrant workers broke out in the township of Katutura (in Windhoek) when Dr Romanus Kampungu, a member of the Legislative Assembly, spoke in favour of the Advisory Council. He was denounced as a 'white man's dog' and shouted down as a government stooge. Police came to his protection when the workers attempted stone-throwing. It is further reported that the rioters burnt all the compound records of the Windhoek Native Affairs Department. Police detained a large number of the workers and some faced charges of being in Windhoek illegally. Further possible charges such as malicious damage to property, incitement and riotous behaviour were envisaged, provided ample evidence was collected.

### *Attack on Selection of Council Members*

Criticism on the criterion for the selection of Advisory Council members was levelled at Mr Vorster by Mr Brian O'Linn, an advocate and a leading United Party member in Windhoek. He intimated that Mr Vorster's criterion for the credibility and integrity of members was judged in terms of his own 'white man's' assessment of such qualities, which factor prejudiced any criterion forwarded that was contrary to his. He argued that if the government was intent on leading the entire territory to independence and self-determination, it should have considered not only its supporters but also its opponents (both black and white). Presenting his complaint in a five point dimension he further argued that:

1. Chief Clemens Kapuuo, the Herero leader with most support, was ignored.
2. Arbitrary rejection was meted out to Swapo, Swanu and the National Convention (all of them Black Nationalists movements and anti-government parties).
3. The 60 000 Damara who live outside the homeland were ignored and their council members were chosen from the minority who live in the homeland.
4. In Ovambo, where there is no freedom of speech or political activity, and 'where the present leadership is kept in power by dictatorial measures and mighty government support', representatives were chosen from the ruling hierarchy alone.
5. The coloured member was appointed without the slightest sign from the 29 000 coloureds that they accepted him.

In conclusion he mentioned that there was obvious and deliberate exclusion of Blacks who are more politically conscious than most of the homeland leaders.

### *United Nations Security Council*

Mr Vorster's plan of an Advisory Council for Namibia was unacceptable to the UN Security Council even though Dr Escher in his previous talks with the South African premier, was agreeable to such a scheme. The United Nations Security Council regarded the execution of such a plan as an act of defiance against itself since it does not recognise Mr Vorster's authority in South West Africa. Their sharp and reproofing reaction was embodied in a strongly worded cable which called on the 'illegal South African regime' to immediately disband the body which was not representative of majority opinion.

The Advisory Council is seen by African members of the UN as an extension of the South African Government's Bantustan policy aimed at

fragmenting the territory to assure its permanent control of it.

In the face of the tension building in the UN, an appointment of a top level Commissioner for S.W.A. was contemplated though it was foreseen that such an appointment would only precipitate conditions when it comes to administering the territory.

(c) *Launching of the Advisory Council by Prime Minister*

*Black Political Rally:* described by the Press as 'the biggest in S.W.A.'s history' was called by the National Convention in protest of the launching of the multi-racial Advisory Council in a week's time.

The football field of the Katutura township was packed with more than 3 000 Africans to share and express the anti-South African sentiments. The goal was to call for a united front against the government's separate development plans.

The rally was headed by members from Black Nationalist groups, viz., Swapo, Swanu, the Baster, Herero, Damara and Nama organisations. Main speakers were Mr David Merero, Swapo's chairman; Chief Clemens Kapuuo of the Hereros and Mr Gerson Veil, Swanu's vice-president.

Amidst shouts of 'Freedom' and 'Namibia' and raised clenched fists in the black power salute, the speakers fervently declared that they wanted S.W.A. not as a fragmentation but a unitary state. Comparing the racist South African Government with Hitler's regime, Mr Merero put it to the people that the choice was theirs whether they wished for true independence or continued suppression by the South African regime.

This was indeed a rally effusive with political identity and patriotism and, as Chief Kapuuo claimed, laid a foundation for the future government of S.W.A.

The meeting was orderly without any incidents save for the usual presence of uniformed police and white security policemen.

*Prime Minister's Consultations with Council Members:* Despite the tension-riddled state of the territory, the Prime Minister proceeded with holding consultations with the Advisory Council leaders. This first meeting was held in Windhoek on 23 February, 1973, at the Police Divisional Headquarters. Strict security precautions were taken to protect the Prime Minister and members of the Council.

Also attending the meeting as observers were senior government officials in the Secretaries for Bantu Administration and for Coloured relations, the Commissioner General for the indigenous peoples of S.W.A., and the Chief Commissioners of various homelands.

According to the Prime Minister, the main purpose of the meeting was for contact which would enable different Council members to get to know each other. Whatever transpired in the meeting was kept secret. So that the public was deprived the privilege of knowing the real substance of the

talks—except the Prime Minister's post-consultation 'warnings' to those who boycotted the Council to send delegates to future meetings. He maintained that everybody at the meeting had had an opportunity to express his views. He stressed too that the participants were not stooges of his department.

Inter alia, he pointed out that delegates reaffirmed their belief in the policy and that they had met in the interest of promoting the interests of the peoples of S.W.A. This, he believed, was substantiated by the fact that he had repeatedly told Parliament and the public at large, that Namibians were the only people who could decide on their future (*Natal Mercury*, 24/3/73). He announced too that he had appointed a full-time representative of his department to deal mainly with the affairs of the Advisory Council. The appointed representative (Mr Billy Marais) therefore, was to assume duties on 1 April.

#### **Further Geneva Talks over S.W.A.**

Further talks about Namibia were held in Geneva by South Africa's Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller, and the Secretary General of the UN, Dr Kurt Waldheim.

Certain presumptions were made about the otherwise secret shrouded talks which invariably had serious implications for continued dialogue between S.A. and UN over S.W.A. Dr Waldheim's report due to be submitted to the Security Council by 30 April, 1973, will be the deciding factor for a continued dialogue.

Because nothing was being said about the talks by either side, it made it difficult to give any assessment on the progress made towards the granting of self-determination and independence for Namibia.

It seemed, however, that Mr Vorster's present plan, whose motives are contrary to the resolution taken by the UN Security Council (on 6 December 1972, to the effect that independence should be granted to Namibia as a whole) would not be accepted by the African bloc of the U.N. This latter view was confirmed by the Ivory Coast delegate to the Oslo Conference (on apartheid and colonialism) who called for the immediate termination of the dialogue.

#### **Implementation of Separate Development Policy in Ovambo**

As Dr Waldheim was preparing to present his report on Namibia to the Security Council of the UN the South African Government declared Ovambo a Homeland on 1/5/73. It was Pretoria's contention that self-government was designed to give political and administrative experience to the indigenous people as a preparation to ultimate self-determination and independence. The government envisaged that it would not take longer than 10 years for the population to reach the situation of being able to

exercise its rights to self-determination. The setting of a target date has been criticised by several observers as likely to have a pressurising effect on the population, which could lead to change of events. It was for this reason that Dr Waldheim felt the government should be more open-handed with the people of the territory so as to put them in the proper perspective as regards their political future.

Elections, the first ever to be held in Ovambo, were scheduled for August. The legislative assembly was to be reconstituted—two fifths of the members being elected and three-fifths appointed. The present executive council would become a cabinet and Ovambo was to get its own flag and anthem. It is reported too, that self-rule would empower Ovambo to make laws and to amend or repeal South African laws and S.W.A.'s ordinances.

The inception of self-rule in Ovambo met with strong Black opposition. They denounced it as a policy of fragmentation. This sentiment was registered by a group of placard-bearing demonstrators, mainly supporters of Demkop and Swapo political organisations. Mr Johenna Nangutuuala, Mr Andreas Nuukwawo and Mr John Otto, met Chief Filemon Elifas (Chief Councillor of Ovambo) at the Chief Minister's office in Ondangwa, to protest against the Ovambo self-rule. The pleas, however, were firmly rejected by him.

The demonstrations were followed by arrests of the above named, three top oppositions leaders under *the quasi-emergency proclamation R17* which forbids the holding of public meetings without the permission of officials. The leaders were detained in a Grootfontein prison situated outside the homeland, before standing trial on 18 May. Overall, about ten arrests were made under the new regulation in force.

The Ovambo Government was regarded by others as being indirectly responsible for the arrests by imposing conditions in the homeland which restricted the activities of opposing parties. According to the Ovambo Government's constitution, political parties were required to apply for registration and, as Kornelius Ndjoba, Minister of Education and Culture put it, 'parties would be refused registration if their constitution did not 'reflect the interests of Ovambo' (*Star*, 10/5/73).

A sharp criticism of police arrests and detentions came from Mr David Merero, an executive member of the National Convention, who claimed that the arrests of opposition leaders was a direct contradiction of assurances contained in the Prime Minister's memorandum to the Security Council. Inter alia, that the government is 'prepared to allow all political parties in the territory 'full and free' participation in the process leading to independence' (*Rand Daily Mail*, 8/5/73).

ISBN 086975 037 2

*Photograph by Helen Aron*