COLOURED EDUCATION STRUGGLES IN SOUTH AFRICA: EDUCATION BOYCOTTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE, 1976

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ABSTRACT

This is an empirical study which is informed by a broad theoretical perspective. The major part of the work is a historically descriptive investigation of the Coloured education system and related conflict in South Africa. The work's main focus is an analysis of the Coloured participation in an initially African education protest which developed into a national political revolt.

The South African State requires an ideological force to gain the Black populace's acceptance of the government's legitimacy and, thus, to bolster its political supremacy. Education institutions are examples of mechanisms which the State can employ for such ideological and political purpose. Such institutions do not, however, have an ideological function for the State alone; education becomes a contested terrain because both rulers and ruled seek its use for their opposing political ends.

This theoretical approach is reflected in the study's focus on the Coloured population category's opposition to elements of the State education system. This study displays the relationship between education, ideology and politics. The government's attempt to propound its ideology through education is manifest in the examination of the Coloured education system. The contrasting hopes and ideals of Coloureds give rise to a series of educational struggles. The examination of these reveals distinct phases which are characterised by an altered opposition leadership, new political trends, new organisational forms and internal ideological divisions.

Much of this study traces the historical development of Coloured educational and related political protest from 1948 to 1976. This historical analysis aims to explain the emergence, in 1976, of educational institutions as the main site of national struggle and the reasons for the Coloured role therein.

Armed with the essetial historical context, the study provides a detailed analysis of the Coloured participation in the 1976 events. It examines mobilisation, motives and methods; alliances, organisations and focus; conditions, conflicts and consequences. The Coloured role in the 1976 events was a continuation of educationally and politically linked struggles of the past; was significantly new due to more recent political developments, the emergence of new student and scholar organisations and the growth of the Black Consciousness ideology. The study shows that Coloured participation in the Black education struggles of 1976, despite certain limitations, posed a significant challenge to government ideological and political hegemony in South Africa.

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CONTENTS

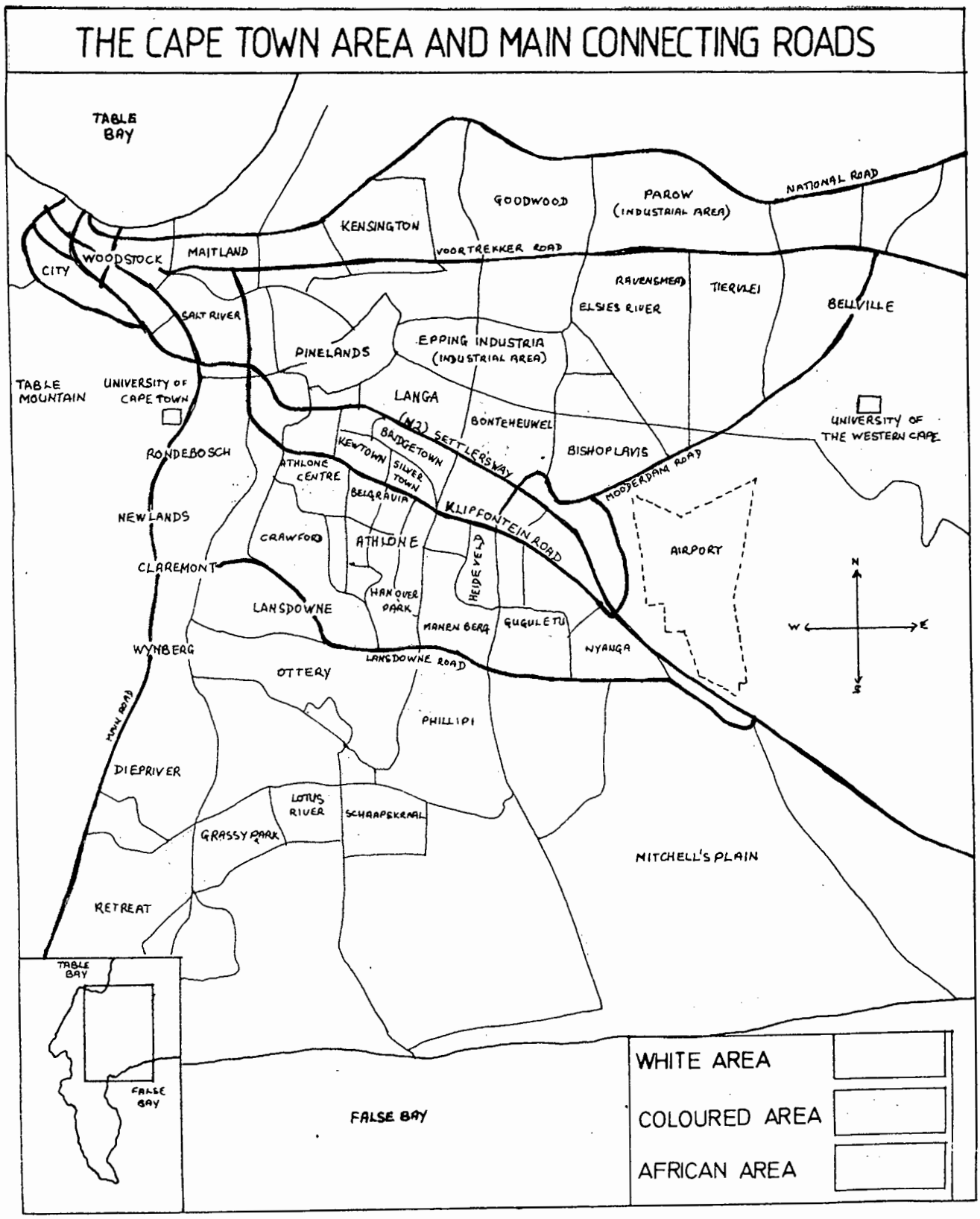
ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.A.	Administration of Coloured Affairs
ACROM	Anti-CRC Movement
A.N.C.	African National Congress
Anti-CAD	Anti-Coloured Affairs Department Movement
A.P.O.	African Peoples Organisation
A.S.A.	African Students Association
A.S.U.S.A.	African Students Union Of South Africa
B.A.D.	Bantu Affairs Department
B.C.M.	Black Consciousness Movement
B.C.P.	Black Community Programmes
B.P.C.	Black Peoples Convention
C.A.C.	Coloured Advisory Commission
C.A.D.	Coloured Affairs Department
C.A.T.A.	Cape African Teachers Association
C.C.C.S.	Centre For Contemporary Cultural Studies
C.D.C.	Coloured Development Corporation
C.I.	Christian Institute
C.I.G.S.	Centre For Inter-Group Studies
C.N.E.	Christian-National Education
C.P.R.C.	Coloured Persons Representative Council
C.T.A.	Cape Teachers Association
C.T.F.C.	Cape Teachers Federal Council
C.T.P.A.	Cape Teachers Professional Association
C.Y.A.	Christian Youth Association
C.Y.L.	Congress Youth League
Educational News	C.T.P.A. Educational News
F.A.K.	Federasie Van Afrikaanse Kultuurstudie
Federal Party	Federal Coloured Peoples Party
Fort Hare	University College/University of Fort Hare
FRELIMO	Front For The Liberation Of Mozambique
I.C.N.O.	Instituut Van Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys
Labour Party	South African Labour Party
M.P.L.A.	Popular Movement For The Liberation of Angola
M.Y.M.	Muslim Youth Movement
N.E.U.M.	Non-European Unity Movement
NUSAS	National Union Of South African Students
NUSED	National Union Of Students Education Department
P.A.C.	Pan-Africanist Congress
P.N.S.O.	Progressive National Students Organisation
P.T.A.	Parents-Teachers Association
S.A.B.S.A.	South African Black Scholars Association
S.A.F.T.A.	South African Federation Of Teachers Association
S.A.I.R.R.	South African Institute Of Race Relations
S.A.S.M.	South African Students Movement
SASO	South African Students Organisation
S.O.Y.A.	Sons Of Young Africa

S.R.C.	Students Representative Council
S.R.R.	A Survey Of Race Relations In South Africa (annual)
S.S.R.C.	Super Students Representative Council
T.A.T.A.	Transvaal African Teachers Association
T.E.P.A.	Teachers Educational And Professional Association
T.L.S.A.	Teachers League Of South Africa
U.C.C.A.	Union Council Of Coloured Affairs
U.C.M.	University Christian Movement
U.C.T.	University Of Cape Town
U.C.W.C.	University College Of The Western Cape
UNISA	University Of South Africa
U.N.N.E.	University Of Natal Non-European Section
U.S.F.	United Students Front
U.W.C.	University Of The Western Cape
W.C.Y.O.	Western Cape Youth Organisation
W.I.P.	Work In Progress

M A P


THE CAPE TOWN AREA AND MAIN CONNECTING ROADS
TABLE BAY
GOODWOOD
PAROW (INDUSTRIAL AREA)
NATIONAL ROAD
KENSINGTON
MAITLAND
VOORTREKKER ROAD
WOODSTOCK
CITY
RAVENSMEAD
TIERVLEI
ELSIES RIVER
BELLVILLE
SALT RIVER
PINELANDS
EPPING INDUSTRIA (INDUSTRIAL AREA)
TABLE MOUNTAIN
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
LANGA
BONTEHEUWEL
UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE
(N2) SETTLERSWAY
BADGETOWN
KEWTOWN
SILVER TOWN
BISHOPLAVIS
RONDEBOSCH
ATHLONE CENTRE
MOOSERDAM ROAD
BELGRAVIA
KLIPFONTEIN ROAD
NEWLANDS
CRAWFORD
ATHLONE
AIRPORT
CLAREMONT
HEIDEVELD
HANOVER PARK
LANSDOWNE
MANENBERG
GUGULETU
WYNBERG
NYANGA
LANSDOWNE ROAD
OTTERY
MAIN ROAD
PHILLIPI
DIEPRIVER
LOTUS RIVER
SCHAAPKRAAL
GRASSY PARK
MITCHELL'S PLAIN
RETREAT
TABLE BAY
FALSE BAY
FALSE BAY
WHITE AREA
COLOURED AREA
AFRICAN AREA
N
W
E
S

INTRODUCTION

> The man who claims that schools are not political will lie about other things too.
>
> -W.C.Mouton

1. The Problem Stated

In 1976, the South African government faced widespread Black protest in opposition to its policies of segregation and fragmentation. The "Soweto Boycotts", as they have come to be called, touched on Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites in many major centres of the country. Black students and scholars led these protests from their educational institutions. The Black education system was at issue and provided the core of the protests, from which the limbs of broader political issues extended.

A notable feature of the 1976 events was the participation of Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula. A number of studies have remarked on the support which Coloureds here gave to what was initially an African scholars' struggle. This support has varyingly been described as "striking", "outstanding" and "unprecedented". (See Brooks and Brickhill 1980:111-2; Hirson 1979:255; Kane-Berman 1979:151-2; Van Heyningen et al 1976:38) Although there was Coloured (and Indian) participation outside the Western Cape, this appears to have been of a lesser degree. (Kane-Berman 1979:152).

This study sets out to analyse the significance of the Coloured participation in the Western Cape boycott events of 1976. It aims to describe and explain two main phenomena which surfaced at this time:

firstly, how and why education emerged as the main site of struggle; secondly, how and why Coloureds in the Western Cape supported this struggle. In so doing, the study examines the following hypothesis: Coloured participation in the 1976 events was an extension of similar struggles in the past, but emerged in a new form due to developments during the preceding years - in particular, because of the influential growth of the Black Consciousness ideology and movement; the nature of their participation cast a new role for Coloureds in South African politics.

2. Theoretical Perspective

The work's broad theoretical concern is with the relationship between education, politics and ideology in South Africa. The study takes the stand that the protest actions of students and scholars around education must be seen in the context of the social, economic and political conditions in which the protestors exist; the diverse ideologies with which they are in contact; and the conditions of their education. No attempt has been made here to provide a substantive analysis of the South African political-economy which underlay the 1976 protests; this area is well covered elsewhere. (In Hirson 1979 and Kane-Berman 1979, for example.) The theoretical overlap between education, politics and ideology is outlined below.

The South African State seeks an ideological force in order to gain the populace's acceptance of its political legitimacy if it is not to resort to constant physical repression. Education institutions, the churches and the media are examples of mechanisms which the State can employ for such ideological purpose. Arguments which concentrate solely on the ideological function of such institutions for the State alone, however, do not allow for the role of political struggles therein. (See de Villiers 1979:82-3)

Education becomes a contested terrain precisely because both rulers and ruled seek its use for their own opposing political ends. South African governments have provided Black education for two basic reasons which, though related, stem from opposite poles. The first is because Blacks, through struggles or struggles on their behalf, as with early missionary education, have pressurized their rulers into providing them with access to formal education. The second reason is that government allows its Black subjects access to institutions such as education in order for the latter to perform their ideological role for the State.[1] By virtue of such access, those who are to be dominated may use the ideological institution as a site of struggle which can confound the government's aims. (See Hindson 1980:4-6; Wolpe 1980:55-60). As Webster has stated, "education is a double-edged weapon"; although usually a weapon for capital and the state, it can also be used "to fight for democracy and freedom". (Webster 1982:2). The government does not have a free rein to impose the policies it chooses, but must contend with the populace's efforts to have the education it desires. (Kallaway 1982:18-9).

The education system is thus in a constant state of flux, conditioned by the ongoing competition between representatives of different powers and interests.

Scholars and students are not impartial observers in this educational push-and-pull. Their attitudes are moulded by experiences in their main field of occupation - formal education institutions. Scholars and students also live within a wider social, economic and political context. To varying degrees, they are subject to the influences of external and national events; the social and economic conditions of their home environments; contrasting political ideologies of the government, sectors of the public, their parents, adults, teachers and their peer groups. In sum, student and scholar attitudes are the more or less clearly defined product of a complex combination of conflicting factors. Under certain historical conditions, these factors can motivate them to launch struggles for change in their formal education.

Black educational institutions in South Africa can thus be depicted as an intricate battlefield in which the protagonists fight for the maintenance or destruction of the ruling sector's hegemony. This is not to suggest that such struggles can be lost or won in the classroom alone. It merely indicates the potential significance of the ideological and political conflicts incorporated in educational institutions. When students and scholars wage struggles against the dominant ideology in their education institutions, they may pose a serious challenge to the State.

The extent of such a challenge depends on a number of factors. It is curtailed by the relative importance of education's ideological function in society. It depends also on the extension of education struggles into other areas of conflict with the ruling sector (the work-place, for example). The State education system is but one of a network of mechanisms which the dominant can exploit to control the dominated, and thus where the latter can stage resistance.

The above theoretical outline can be broadly categorised as dialectical materialist in approach, but lays no claim to a specific line within this academic tradition. The theory is of little value without practical application; it is used here to frame an analysis of historical events. Dialectical materialism demands that the analysis explains phenomena in terms of their existential conditions and development forms as well as shows their immediate appearance and context. (Sumner 1979:226)

3.Procedure and Scope

In 1976, Coloured students, scholars and adults joined in protest against an education system which had emerged over a number of years and within the framework of a national political policy. The first chapter examines the national Coloured school and university system, illustrated by examples from the Western Cape, with a view to identify sources of Coloured criticism. The chapter first provides a summary of Coloured

social, economical and political status under National Party rule in South Africa. The bulk of the chapter examines the way in which government policy was implemented in the Coloured education system. It covers the period from 1948 to 1976 - from the time the National Party introduced its updated version of Coloured education to the major Coloured revolt against this system. Although there were technical and administrative changes within this period, they in no significant manner altered the broad course of Coloured education policy, which is therefore treated as one continuous phase. In conclusion, some Coloured criticisms of this system are noted.

Coloured participation in the Western Cape boycotts of 1976 was not isolated from its national and historical context. In order to understand the significance of these protests a study of earlier resistance is essential. Chapters two to four examine the nature of Black education and related political struggles from the late forties to the mid seventies. During this period two distinct phases of activity can be identified. Chapter two studies the first in which Coloureds and Africans, usually separately, launched various education protests. These protests were organised and led by teachers and parents; they were generally related to national political movements and campaigns. During this phase, Black student and scholar protests usually involved Africans concerned with local educational conditions at the University College of Fort Hare or rural boarding schools respectively. This phase was brought to a close in the early sixties when the State repressed almost all political opposition.

The third chapter analyses the national emergence of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and Black Consciousness. From 1968 to 1976, these developments introduced a new phase: Black students helped push educational issues into the forefront of the political tension which characterised the early seventies. In examining this process, the chapter will argue that Black Consciousness offered a course whereby Coloureds could overcome their isolation and thus held a strong appeal for Coloured youth.

Chapter four focuses on the activities of Coloured students and scholars in the Western Cape. It shows that from 1968 to 1976 the national Black student activities were paralleled by a new phase of organization and protest at the University of the Western Cape. In the same period, student activities and Black Consciousness came to influence a growing number of Coloured scholars in the area. From the schools came signs of organisation and a concern with politics. The chapter argues that the developments over this period laid the foundations for Coloured student and scholar activities and attitudes in 1976.

The fifth chapter provides an empirical account of the Western Cape boycotts in 1976. It covers the period from June to December of that year, with special emphasis on the peak months of August and September. The geographical concentration is on the Cape Peninsula, where most Coloured activity took place. The main protests examined are those of the Coloured high school pupils because their activities were so novel and influential. No analysis of the events is attempted in this chapter.

The sixth and final chapter analyses the issues raised by Coloured participation in the Western Cape boycotts of 1976. The preceding chapters enable the analysis here to show the continuities and discontinuities of the 1976 events with earlier Coloured educational and political struggles. The chapter provides explanations for the protestors' attitudes, demands and actions; the role of Coloured scholars, students and the wider community; the Black solidarity manifest in the Western Cape; the government's response to all of these; and the influence of the 1976 events of Coloured political attitudes. In conclusion it shows the influence of Black Consciousness ideology, identifies reasons why education emerged as a central site of Coloured struggle and notes the overall political significance of the Coloured role in the protests.

4.Sources

The writer's theoretical approach stems from work done in the fields of the sociology and philosophy of education. A selection of relevant studies can be found in the bibliography at the end of this work. The work has also been informed by a range of studies focused on the South African political-economy. These include R.Davies et al 1976; Kaplan 1977; O'Meara 1982; Saul and Gelb 1981; and Wolpe 1980.

For the main body of the work, the writer has relied on primary material which consisted of the following:

(i) Reports of Government Commissions of Inquiry;

(ii) Hansard Record of Debates in the South African House of Assembly;

(iii) Newspapers - Die Burger; The Cape Argus up to 30.11.69, thereafter The Argus; The Cape Times; The Daily Dispatch; The Daily News; Muslim News; The Natal Mercury; The Observer (United Kingdom); Rand Daily Mail; The Sunday Times; The Weekend Argus;

(iv) Pamphlets;

(v) Records of interviews, essays and pamphlets collected for the History Workshop, University of Cape Town (U.C.T.), 1976 - lodged in the Manuscripts Division of the U.C.T. Libraries;

(vi) Records of interviews, affidavits, essays and comments collected by the Centre of Inter-Group Studies (C.I.G.S.), U.C.T. - for a report submitted to the Cillie Commission of Inquiry (Lodged in the C.I.G.S. files at U.C.T.);

(vii) The writer also conducted and recorded in writing a number of interviews held on the U.C.T. campus or in private homes. The list of interviewees and their status is contained in Appendix VI.

The primary material was supplemented by secondary sources which included the following:

(i) Black Review Annuals (Black Community Programmes);

(ii) The Educational Journal (Teachers League of South Africa);

(iii) C.T.P.A. Educational News/Educatio (Cape Teachers Professional Association);

(iv) A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa - Annuals, 1948-1977 (South African Institute of Race Relations);

(v) Periodicals, articles and books listed in the bibliography;

(vi) Unpublished material: seminar, conference and work-in-progress papers and theses.

5. Terminology

Since 1948, government policy has undergone a number of shifts; it has been officially termed "apartheid", "separate development" and "plural democracy";it has vacillated between "segregation" and "separation". (Simons 1982:120). Shifts in government policy have related to altered economic and political conditions along with power struggles within the ruling party. In effect, however, government policy has not departed from its overall aim of White domination in all spheres of South African activity. In this study, the term "apartheid" has been used to cover all periods of National Party policy.

In the South African context, reference to the population categories is a particularly sensitive issue. The need for such terminology, which

is offensive to many, mirrors the nature of South African politics. In an attempt to retain clarity the writer uses the following terms in the manner noted:

.Whites - those officially termed Europeans or Whites;

.Coloureds - those who fall within the broad official Coloured population category;

.Africans - those officially termed Bantu, or more recently, Blacks;

.Indians - those officially considered to be of families originating from the region which is now India and Pakistan, included in the official category of Asiatics.

.Blacks - Africans, Coloureds and Indians or any combination of these categories as defined above.

In order to provide continuity and avoid confusion, the writer refers to the recipients of formal education in the following way:

.students - those who attend tertiary education institutions;

.scholars/pupils - those who attend primary or secondary/high schools;

Studies and reports often use the term "student" in the broader sense of all recipients of formal education and this usage may be found in quotations cited in the text.

6.Footnote To Introduction

1. A third motive, not detailed in the scope of this work, is government's need to use the education system in order to satisfy the labour requirements of the national economy. (See chapter one:13-4)

CHAPTER ONE

COLOURED EDUCATION UNDER NATIONAL PARTY RULE

1.1 Introduction

> Education has long been a highly charged political issue in South Africa. Administrators and politicians have recognised it as a powerful instrument for moulding citizens in a desired shape. Conflict arises, of course, when the group or groups being moulded reject the shape and means used to achieve it.(Welsh 1974:13)

In the 1976 protests, education was the issue and educational institutions were the focal point of protests. A study of Coloured participation therein calls for an examination of the Coloured education system which they appeared to resist strongly. This chapter provides such an examination in the framework of broad national and educational policy. Only with an understanding of official policy and the nature of Coloured education, can an explanation of the education struggles begin.

It should be noted that, in the analysis which follows, the economic imperatives underlying education policy and practice appear to be underplayed. Education policies are, in part, the result of a complex interplay between economic and political factors. The work of Christie and Collins, for example, attempts to redress the imbalance in studies of Black education in South Africa which tend to emphasise the "racial"

aspects of government policy.(Christie and Collins 1981) In a study of more recent events, John Davies also examines the influence of the needs of capital on education policy in South Africa. (J.Davies 1982; for a more comprehensive review of the literature on Black education in South Africa see Kallaway 1981) The significance of economic imperatives notwithstanding, this study takes Molteno's line that National Party education policies were the result of an overriding concern with the overtly political challenges of the time. (Molteno 1983:81) The study therefore focuses on these political elements.

Sections 1.2 and 1.3 provide a broad perspective in which the Coloured education system will be examined. Section 1.2 is a summary of the Coloured political, economic and social position as it developed under National Party rule. The following section, 1.3, is a description of the government's broad aims in Black education policy.

The remainder of this chapter examines the immediate terrain in which the Coloured education struggles were based - the education system itself. Section 1.4 considers the government's measures to assume centralised control of a segregated education system. Sections 1.5 to 1.9 examine the conditions which developed in the Coloured schooling system under Department of Coloured Affairs (C.A.D.) control. Sections 1.10 and 1.11 examine official measures to control the ideological content of the schools. University education is an aspect of the Coloured education system and forms the subject of section 1.12. Finally section 1.13 studies some of the attitudes towards education dominant within the Coloured population category. The examination of government

policy, resultant conditions and Coloured attitudes with regard to education provide some explanation of why education struggles have developed.

1.2 Government Policy and the Coloured Political, Economic and Social Position - A Summary

Prominent features of colour categorization and ethnicization in South Africa are that they have long been instruments of social, economic and political control. (Simons 1982:16;Sizwe 1979:46-7) Segregation policies have had an interlinked, albeit highly complex and sometimes contradictory, function: to protect the political hegemony of the White rulers and the economic interests of capital. The cumulative result has been the intricate intermarriage of "race" and "class" to form the bond of racism and capitalism which charaterises the South African scene. By the late forties, the United Party government had set up segregation policies which provided a basis for National Party apartheid policy. (See Kaplan 1977; Davies et al 1976; Johnstone 1976)

In 1948, the National Party's electoral success was a victory both for Afrikaner Nationalism and for the party's strategy to cope with economic and political crises which loomed. Bozzoli argued that the new government faced a labour-supply shortage and increased Black political opposition. (Bozzoli 1978:48) The government designed its apartheid policies, she argued, to counteract those threats to White political hegemony and increased economic prosperity. (Bozzoli 1978:48; see also,

Saul and Gelb 1981:12) The government employed physical repression along with new security legislation, pass laws, group areas, the Bantustan system and new government departments to implement the entrenched segregation policy of apartheid. The National Party provided ideological backing for its policies through, in particular, legislation, the churches and education. (Simons 1982:16; Sizwe 1979:46-7)

Before considering the government's policy with regard to the Coloured population category, it should be noted that there exist no distinct and consistent criteria by which members of the latter can be identified. Within the Coloured population category there are those who speak different languages, those whose religion differs and those who appear to share no common culture. Furthermore, individuals classified as Coloured vary in physical appearance from some who could "pass-as-White" to others with Khoi-Khoin or Negroid characteristics. (Vosloo 1972:361) Official attempts to provide more clarity for the categorization of Coloureds have not been successful. In the mid-seventies, the Theron Commission found the Coloured population category to be notably lacking in general homogeneity. (Theron Commission Report para 2.16:26) To this it can be added that individual Coloureds represent a wide range of socio-economic classes and political interests. (See Whisson 1973)

The government faced a dilemma with respect to its treatment of people categorized as Coloured. The latter constituted a minority sector of South African society, which did not fall clearly into either the Black or White folds. They shared much of the Afrikaner culture and

language but not their skin colour. Coloureds enjoyed more status and access to the political institutions of government than Africans, but less so than Whites. The ruling sector was divided as to whether they should draw Coloureds into their fold as "Brown Afrikaners", or segregate them as a "non-European" category. (Dickie-Clarke 1966:61)

In order to increase their political bargaining power, Coloureds could either ally with the numerically superior Africans, or support the politically dominant Whites. (Welsh and Van Der Merwe 1980:266) Over the years, Coloureds chose standpoints which fell across the whole range of these options. A small, but influential, number forged an alliance with Africans in the form of the Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.), for example. By contrast, many others identified their interests with those of Whites, albeit with non-Afrikaner Nationalist Whites. Neither of these alliances suited the new government.

The prospect of a Coloured electorate/White opposition alliance swung the National Party decision. The government of 1948 had only a small parliamentary majority and feared that such combined opposition could bring them an electoral defeat. This fear underlay government measures to terminate links between Coloureds and Whites as well as to end the Coloured franchise. (Welsh and Van Der Merwe 1980:265-6) Early apartheid policies with respect to Coloureds were as much to prevent an electoral defeat as they were to combat the possibility of a united Black resistance.

From the early years of its rule, the National Party introduced a

series of legislative measures to entrench the segregation of Whites, Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Government legislation which applied to Coloureds was geared to remove them from the common voters' roll, prevent Coloureds from competing with Whites for jobs, to move them out of newly defined White "group areas" and to isolate them as much as possible from the other population categories. In particular, the Population Registration Act (1950), the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Separate Representation of Voters Act (1951) introduced marked changes to the status of Coloureds in South Africa. To accommodate Coloureds, the government set out to provide a separate political organ, a stipulated zone in which they gained preference above Africans for jobs, and separate residential areas.

In South Africa, the majority of the Coloured population category live and work in the Cape Province. In 1970, figures for the location of the Coloured population were as follows: 87.3 per cent in the Cape Province; 51.6 per cent in the South Western Cape; and the largest concentration, 29,7 per cent, was in the Cape Peninsula. The figure for the Cape Peninsula was due, in part, to the increase in Coloured urbanisation during the previous decade. Between 1960 and 1970, the Coloured population of the Cape Peninsula grew by 43,3 per cent whereas the overall Coloured population growth was 33,7 per cent. In 1970, the concentration of Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula enabled them to make up 54,6 per cent of the area's total population. (Theron Commission Report Tables 1.23; paras. 1.43,1.45,1.60,1.67:15-6,18,21)

The concentration of so many Coloureds in the Cape Province

encouraged the government to declare a large part of the province a Coloured labour preference area. This meant that Coloureds here should be given preference over Africans in employment. (See Hirson 1979:217-219) During the sixties, economic imperatives enabled a number of Coloureds to make advances in the occupational hierarchy.[1] In 1960, the unskilled labour category accounted for over fifty per cent of the Coloured labour force. By 1973, this figure had dropped for Coloured males (42,6 per cent) and Coloured females (45 per cent). Through the sixties and early seventies, more Coloureds found jobs in the semi-skilled, skilled, commercial and professional sectors. (Theron Commission Report, Tables 5.9-10:85) Nationally, the number of Coloured apprentices grew and in the Western Cape Coloured artisans came to dominate some industries. (Beinart 1976:101-2;Weichel 1979:17)

Despite the degree of upward mobility experienced by Coloureds, their employment opportunities continued to be hampered by the attitudes of employers, White workers and government restrictions. (See Beinart 1976:97-102; Weichel 1979:16-7; for regulations governing general employment see Horrell 1978:248-277) The occupational advancement and economic position of Coloureds remained below those of Whites. Between 1960 and 1970, the "per capita" Coloured income remained at around 16 per cent of that earned by Whites. Despite some improvements since 1970, the wages of unskilled and semi-skilled labour remained relatively lower than for White counterparts. (Theron Commission Report, paras. 5.105-6:108-9) In the Cape Town area, Coloured unemployment exceeded White unemployment and poverty was reported to be widespread within the Coloured population category. (Beinart 1976:104,106)

There were,however, Coloureds who benefited from the government's apartheid policies. The majority of Coloureds employed within the higher occupational levels worked within government departments such as the Administration of Coloured Affairs. In 1962, the government established the Coloured Development Corporation (C.D.C.). The C.D.C. assisted a number of people to set up their own businesses within the framework of official policy. (Beinart 1976:95-97) Generally, Coloured occupational advancement remained within the scope of government policies which did not allow a threat to White economic interest.

The government introduced the Group Areas Act (1950) as one of the prime instruments of spatial apartheid. (For details of this legislation see Horrell 1978:71-76) Government spokesmen have described this legislation as the "essence of apartheid" and the "cornerstone for the preservation of White South Africa". (Western 1981:76) The Act caused considerable hardship and illfeeling towards government amongst the Coloured population category.

Studies have pointed to numerous ways in which implementation of the Group Areas Act caused Coloured living conditions to deteriorate. They have noted the break-up of families, the loss of security experienced by Coloureds and the escalated crime rate in the new residential areas, around Cape Town in particular. (See, for example, U.W.O.,n.d.:1-6,30-40; Pinnock,n.d.:59-64) The Coloured townships which mushroomed around the Cape Peninsula were set in bleak surroundings and had few facilities. Families generally experienced higher transport costs to cover the greater distances to shopping facilities and their

jobs; rents in the new townships were usually higher. (Theron Commission Report, paras. 9.21-9.23.5:210)

The government's implementation of the Act aggravated the poor and inadequate housing for Coloureds. Although there were large numbers of Coloured families in need of improved housing facilities, the officials moved many from good houses in the "White areas". In some cases such families were allocated up to seventy per cent of the houses built in the new Coloured residential areas. (Theron Commission Report, para. 9.16:209) This policy compounded the squatter situation. By 1974, there was an estimated number of 200 000 people who squatted in the Cape Town area; the Cape Peninsula experienced the worst bottleneck in the provision of Coloured housing. (C.I.G.S. 1983:13-4; the Theron Commission Report gives a detailed account of the effects of the Group Areas Act on Coloured housing and the communities, see in particular paras. 9.32-9.62:212-220)

The majority of Coloureds were highly dissatisfied with the conditions they experienced in their new residential areas.

> According to evidence, the Group Areas Act, as well as its application, has brought frustration to and embittered the great majority of the Coloured group. The Commission found that this particular aspect was a matter which elicited the sharpest language and the most negative feelings - time and again reference was made to a "cruel law". (Theron Commission Report para. 9.35:213)

The above provides an overview of the Coloured situation in South Africa by the mid-seventies. (For more detailed studies see Van Der Ross 1973, also Van Der Merwe and Groenewald 1976 and other studies listed in

the bibliography.) Educational qualifications offered some prospect of improved employment opportunities. These did not, however, counteract the erosion of Coloured political rights; a process which, in 1970, removed Coloureds from the common municipal voters' roll - their last official, non-segregated, political platform. Conditions in the townships did little to foster contentment within the Coloured population category. It is against this background that official Coloured education policy will be examined.

1.3 The Broad Aims of Official Black Education Policy

The National Party placed strong emphasis on the role which education could play in the South African power struggle. It had before it the example of existing education policy. From the early part of the century, government applied the "colour-bar" in education "as a chief instrument of policy". (Maurice 1966:437) The authorities used education policy to give the Whites the benefit of a superior education and to perpetuate segregation on the basis of "colour" and "race". (See Shingler 1973:293-4;Maurice 1966:437;Hirson 1979:12-27;Collins 1980) Furthermore, Afrikaner Nationalists had emphasised the use of education in their attempts to protect the Afrikaner identity and to wrest control from what they perceived as pro-British elements. (Hirson 1979:41;Shingler 1973:249) Prior to 1948, National Party education policy had been moulded by ideologues within the Broederbond and the Instituut van Christelike - Nasionale Onderwys (I.C.N.O.). Some of the main principles of the I.C.N.O. were to foster Christian - Nationalist sentiments and to

counteract what its member perceived as the unsatisfactory anglicizing influence of much of the education then available to Blacks.[2] Their doctrine of Christian-National Education (C.N.E.), was congruent with much of National Party education policy. (See Malherbe 1977:Part 1, expecially - 39-55,82-92 and 691;NUSED 1971) The 1948 government enlisted education to support its political battle on two fronts : on one side, it faced the challenge of Black nationalism; on the other, that of English-speaking Whites. As a result, government introduced an educational system which segregated English and Afrikaans speaking Whites as well as Africans, Coloureds and Indians.

The National Party's education system structurally represented apartheid's entrenchment of segregation, but it also had an ideological function. A government administrator reflected official sentiments when he stated that "our fight against non-whites must be won in the classrooms and not in the battlefields". (Mr. F.H. Odendaal, Administrator of the Transvaal - quoted in Rand Daily Mail 15.5.61 and NUSED 1971:3) A number of South African education studies have argued that the National Party's education system was a crucial ideological complement to its more physical attempts to control opposition. (See, for example, Shingler 1973:153; Molteno 1983:81-87) As one government critic noted:

> They (the government) did, however, understand that this mailed fist was not sufficient, for while it suppressed all opposition, it did not and, indeed, could not secure the acceptance of their ideas, attitudes and outlook by the oppressed poeple. The rulers now invoked the policy of educational tribalization to come to the rescue of their policy of political tribalization. (Peche 1976:8)

On the basis of such arguments, Molteno concluded that "the goal was to bring greater numbers of Black youth into the ambit of direct control" in a "calculated attempt to subvert the political and economic aspirations of Black South Africans". (Molteno 1983:87)

1.4 Central Government Control of Black Education

In its earliest days of government, the National Party directed its attention towards Black school and university education. Its immediate objectives was centralised government control of a segregated education system. In January 1949, it appointed a Commission of Native Education, under Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, which submitted its report in 1951. In 1953, the government passed the Bantu Education Act which was based on the Commission's recommendations. In accordance with the Act, all African education fell under the control of the Department of Native Affairs and, ultimately, the Minister of Native Affairs. The Minister regulated the establishment, conduct and content of all the African education institutions. (Hirson 1979:44-5)

Coloured schooling was next in line for government attention. In 1953, the government appointed a Coloured Education Commission (Botha Commission). Among the Botha Commission's recommendations were increased provincial control over the mission schools (mainly for financial reasons), improvements in school facilities and the introduction of compulsory education; it accepted the principle of separate Coloured schools. (Botha Commission Report 1956:5,27,66,67) The government,

however, desired the shift of Coloured schooling from provincial to central government control. The implications of such a transfer were investigated by a Commission of Inquiry into the Financial Relations Between Central Government and the Provinces (Schumann Commission). In 1964, the Schumann Commission recommended that Coloured schools and other aspects of Coloured education be controlled by the provinces. (Schumann Commission Report paras. 1141-2:158-9)

Before the Schumann Commission published its Report, however, the central government proceeded with moves to assume control of Coloured education. On 13th June 1962, the Minister of Coloured Affairs announced that legislation was to be introduced to facilitate the transfer of Coloured primary and secondary education to the control of his department. In 1963 this proposal was realised when the Coloured Persons' Education Act was passed in Parliament. Official transfer took place during 1964. (Theron Commission Report; para. 8.21:163; Horrell 1970:93,95,101) After the transfer, the Coloured Affairs Department (C.A.D.) appointed a Deputy Secretary (Education) above the Coloured Education Division and introduced an Education Branch to his Department. (Theron Commission Report para. 8.37:167)

In accordance with the Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act (1968), the mechanisms for the control of Coloured education were again altered. The Coloured Education portfolio became the responsibility of an executive member of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council (C.P.R.C.). The C.P.R.C. executive member for education was advised by the Commissioner and the Director of Education and was under the

authority of the Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs.[3] Although the C.P.R.C. gained the power to draft laws pertaining to Coloured education, these could only be introduced with the approval of the Minister in consultation with the Minister of Finance. The Adminstration of Coloured Affairs (A.C.A.) was instituted as the administrative organ of C.P.R.C. duties. (Theron Commission Report para. 8.38:167)

By 1970, the government had restructured Indian schooling and completed its framework for centralised control of segregated Black schools. In terms of the Indian Education Act (1965), schooling for the Indian population category was transferred from provincial control to that of the Department of Indian Affairs. In 1966, Natal became the first province to fall under the provisions of the Act and in April, 1970, the Cape was the last. (Molteno 1983:79)

Whereas, in 1948, schools were segregated but not yet under central government departments, the government controlled university education, which was not entirely segregated. Blacks were at this time admitted to the predominantly White universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand and a "Non-European" section of Natal; Coloureds and Indians were also admitted to the mainly African University College of Fort Hare. The Eiselen Commission supported the principle of separate institutions for Africans. In 1955, however, the Hollaway Commission reported that separate training facilities for Blacks were financially unviable.

Nevertheless, the government proceded with its plans to establish increased segregation at the university level. (For a fuller account, see Bhana 1977:213-216) In 1959, Parliament passed the Extension of University Education Act. In accordance with this Act, separate University Colleges were to be established to cater for the different Black population categories. In 1960, the University College of the Western Cape opened in Bellville South to cater for the Coloured, Malay and Griqua population categories. (Horrell 1978:362,365) In addition, the government opened the University Colleges of the North (Turfloop) and of Zululand (Ngoye) for African students and the University College of Durban Westville for Indian students. (Blignaut 1981:19)

1.5 Coloured Schools - Finance

Educational services are as dependant, if not more so, upon finance as they are upon policy. Policy changes made with the best of intentions are of naught without adequate funding; public statements of intended educational improvements can be belied by the withholding of finance. Thus, an examination of the funds allocated to Coloured education gives some indication of the latter's importance in the eyes of government; more so when compared with those offered to other population categories.

The amounts allocated to Coloured education have increased steadily over the years. From 1964 to 1969, expenditure on Coloured education services stemmed from the Department of Coloured Affairs (C.A.D.) and the Department of Public Works (for building operations). Horrell estimated that between 1961/2 and 1969/70, such expenditure more than doubled.

(Horrell 1970:106-7,169) Over the same period, the authorities made additional funds available for mission and other aided schools and for scholar and student bursaries. (Horrell 1970:107) The C.A.D. also provided financial assistance to schools for the purchase of library books and school equipment. From the start of 1969, pupils at Coloured schools were to be provided with text books, stationery and basic equipment without charge. (Horrell 1970:108-9)[4]

From 1970, increased expenditure on Coloured educational services continued. Educational finance stemmed from three sources: the Administration of Coloured Affairs (A.C.A.), the Department of Public Works and the Department of Coloured Relations (mainly for salaries of White administrative and teaching staff). (Theron Commission Report, para. 8.232:202) The major part of the A.C.A.'s budget was allocated to Coloured educational services. The estimated combined total of expenditure on Coloured education rose from R52 507 379 in 1970/71, to R97 789 300 in 1974/5. (Figures taken from Theron Commission Report, Table 8.44:202)

Despite the steady growth in overall funding, overall per capita expenditure on Coloured education was relatively lower than for some other population categories. State per capita expenditure for Coloureds was higher than for Africans, but lower than for Indians and Whites. From 1971/2 to 1975/6, per capita expenditure on each of the Black population categories was at least 70 per cent lower than per capita expenditure on White education. (See Table 1)

TABLE 1

Per Capita Expenditure By The State As A

Percentage of Expenditure On Whites

Year	Africans (exc. Homelands)	Coloureds	Indians	Whites
1971/2	5,5	20,5	27,0	100
1975/6	6,5	20,7	28,3	100

(From Blignaut 1981, Table 1.2:48)

Government provision of Coloured education facilities was hampered by the under-utilization of available funds. Figures cited by the Theron Commission reveal that for the period from 1964/5 to 1972/3:

.R54 000 000 was voted for the purpose of additional accommodation;

.R37 318 251, or 69 per cent, was utilized;

.R16 681 749, or 31 per cent, reverted to the Treasury. (Theron Commission Report, Table 8.18:174).

It was estimated that the amount unspent could have provided 2 259 classrooms for 79 000 pupils, or approximately 95 schools of 850 pupils in each. (Cloete 1977:8) The underutilization of funds continued after 1972/3, but there was a marked decrease in such.[5]

It is likely that the relatively low level of funding, both voted and used, affected Coloured education provisions and conditions in many areas. It did little to raise the standard of Coloured educational facilities to meet that of those available to Whites.

1.6 Enrolment, Accommodation and Double-Sessions

The official attitude towards the funding and provision of educational facilities, as noted above, had serious implications for the capacity of the Coloured education system. Schools which experience an increased enrolment need more classrooms. If the latter are not forthcoming, then classrooms become overcrowded and teaching is difficult. Coloured schools experienced such a problem.

In the sixties and seventies, the enrolment of Coloured schools grew constantly, but was not matched by an adequate increase in classroom facilities. From 1966 to 1972, the enrolment figures grew from 390 000 to 534 613.[6] An estimated 4 549 new classrooms were therefore required. The net number of additional classrooms provided over this period was 1 608; this left a shortfall of 2 941 classrooms. (Theron Commission Report, Table 8.20:180)

In the seventies, classroom shortages caused "double-sessions" to become a characteristic feature of Coloured schools. In the double-session system, crowded classes are divided into two shifts which use the same classroom in either the morning or the afternoon; in the overlapping periods at mid-day, both classes may have to use the classroom simultaneously. (See Strauss 1976:9) In 1964, the C.A.D. inherited the double-session system but official policy was against its extension. Nevertheless, the pressure of unaccommodated pupils grew as did the number of double-sessions. In 1971, the C.A.D. along with the executive of the C.P.R.C. gave official sanction to the de facto

existence and growth of the system. Double-sessions could be introduced from Sub-Standard A to Standard V, and in "exceptional cases" for Standard VI classes. (Theron Commission Report 8.74-8.76:177) From 1970 to 1976, there was a rapid increase in the number of pupils and classes involved in the double-session system.

TABLE II

Double-Sessions In Coloured Schools

Year	No. of Second-Shift Classes (i.e. Classroom Shortage)	Estimated No. Of Pupils In Second-Shift Classes
1964	269	9 415
1966	363	12 705
1968	473	16 555
1970	1 349	47 215
1972	1 667	58 345
1974	2 158	75 530
1976	2 065	72 256

(Figures for 1964-1974 from Theron Commission Report Table 8.21:180; figures for 1976 from Blignaut 1981, Table 5.3:74)

In 1970, the extended use of the double-shift system enabled most applicants for primary school places to be accepted. A shortage of places for Standard VI applicants, however, remained. The rapid drop-out rate in the higher standards ensured that there were sufficient places for all the more senior applicants. (Horrell 1970:116)

The Theron Commission found the measures which the C.A.D. adopted to counteract classroom shortages...

> a serious drawback in the school system as a whole...Where there are double-sessions the Coloured child who, because of domestic and environmental problems already has a tremendous handicap compared with the average White child, is subjected to a learning situation which is educationally undesirable and most unsatisfactory. (Theron Commission Report para. 8.89:180)

1.7 The Holding-Power Of Coloured Education

The factors noted by the Theron Commission, above, contributed to the early "dropping-out" of many Coloured scholars. Coloured schools had little holding-power in comparison with the effective compulsory system of White education.

Figures for the distribution of Coloured pupils within the academic standards indicate that few proceeded beyond the primary education levels (Standard V and occasionally Standard VI marked the top level of primary schools). In 1972, nearly 12 per cent of the Coloured school population were in Standards VI to X. In the same year, the figure for equivalent White pupils was 35,5 per cent. (See Table III)

A number of factors caused the drop-out rate to be higher among Coloured pupils than among Whites. Studies have attributed the former to bad housing conditions, the generally low socio-economic level of the home environment, overcrowded conditions and the lack of compulsory

education. These factors combined to produce, amongst Coloured scholars, a poorer adjustment and motivation to study. They compelled or encouraged scholars to leave school at an early age in order to seek employment. (Theron Commission Report para. 8.57:174; Burgher 1980:22)

TABLE III

Coloured and White Pupil Distribution By Standard - 1972

	Coloureds		Whites	
Standard	Pupils	Per cent	Pupils	Per cent
Adaptation Classes Sub-A to Std.V	471 489	88,1	571 546	64,5
Std. VI	28 115	5,3	78 139	8,8
Std. Vll	17 091	3,2	75 463	8,5
Std. VIII	11 102	2,1	68 240	7,7
Std. IX	4 468	0,9	52 874	6,0
Std. X	2 348	0,4	39 881	4,5
TOTAL	534 613	100,0	886 143	100,0

(Figures calculated from Theron Commission Report Table 8.8:172)

In January, 1968, the Coloured education authorities introduced compulsory education measures in an effort to diminish the drop-out rate.[7] Registered school pupils who resided within three miles of their school were compelled to attend for the whole of the school year. (Horrell 1970:169) Initially, this policy met with some success, but by 1973, figures indicated that once again increasing numbers left school

during the academic year. (Theron Commission Report para. 8.97:181)

When the authorities adopted more comprehensive measures to introduce some compulsory education for Coloureds, they again achieved no great success. The Adminstration for Coloured Affairs (A.C.A.) reported that from the start of 1974, compulsory school attendance would be introduced for seven year-olds. Compulsory education was to be extended annually so that by 1981 education would be compulsory for all Coloureds between the ages of seven and fourteen years. (Report of the Administration of Coloured Affairs 1973/4 para. 5.4.:3) It has not been possible to measure the success with which such moves were implemented by 1976. Figures for 1974 indicated that the percentage of Coloured pupils who progressed further than primary level or Standard VI was still small. (Coloured pupils above the Standard VI level made up the following percentages of the total Coloured enrolment: 1964 - 4,94; 1969 - 5,7; 1974 - 7,8. These figures were compiled from information in the Theron Commission Report Table 8.9:172)

The introduction of compulsory education alone was unlikely to reduce significantly the drop-out rates among Coloured scholars. The Theron Commission reported that the implementation of compulsory education was not effectively controlled, partly because exclusive responsibility seemed to have rested upon principals. (Theron Commission Report para. 8.99:181) The effective enforcement of school attendance would have aggravated the problems of overcrowded classrooms and the double-session system. Furthermore, the socio-economic factors which contributed to early school-leaving still remained. As Mr. E. Jonker,

president of the Cape Teachers Professional Association (C.T.P.A.) argued, it was impractical to force compulsory education on the Coloured community when the majority existed at a very low socio-economic level. This needed to be improved along with the provision of a comprehensive welfare and social system. Only then, Mr. Jonker concluded, could compulsory education be introduced and the high drop-out rate be eradicated with any success. (Educatio Fourth Quarter 1975:13)

1.8 Teachers - Supply and Qualifications

The efficiency of formal education is dependent upon the teaching staff as much, if not more so, than classroom conditions. Coloureds schools, as with all schools, needed a sufficient supply of adequately qualified teachers. The satisfaction of such a demand was, in turn, influenced by economic factors.

In the sixties and early seventies, the Coloured education system experienced a shortage of teachers. The number in the Coloured schools grew from 1 1860 in 1963, to 16 149 in 1970; the growth in staff numbers, however, did not match the requirements of the greater pupil numbers. (Horrell 1970:171) In 1971, the Cape was short of 821 Coloured school-teachers at all levels. (Venter 1974:138)

In terms of government policy, White teachers were employed in the Coloured school system only where Coloureds were unavailable; Whites could only hold temporary posts and were replaced by Coloureds whenever

possible. Apartheid policies also demanded that Whites fall under a different Department as well as salary structure to those of their Coloured colleagues. (Theron Commission Report paras. 18.16,18.23,18.27,18.28,18.30,18.36:389-392) Although most teachers in Coloured schools were of the Coloured population category, this percentage dropped slightly in the early seventies. (See Theron Commission Report para. 18.3:392) In 1976, Cape Province junior and secondary schools under the A.C.A. were staffed by 2 261 Coloured teachers, 323 White teachers and 17 Indian teachers. (Report of the Administration of Coloured Affairs 1976/7:16)[8]

The shortfall in teacher numbers was aggravated by a large exodus from the Coloured education system. This exodus could not be accounted for by those who left due to superannuation or marriage. Over and above these two categories, there were 1 900 teachers who resigned between 1965 and 1969. (Calculated from figures cited in Horrell 1970:141-2)

Low teaching salaries did not encourage people to join or remain in the Coloured education system. A prominent source of teachers' complaints was the salary discrepancy between Coloureds and Whites. Horrell noted that in 1970, the time taken for some teachers to reach the top notch of their salary scale varied for White males (ten years), for White females (nine years), for Coloured males (eighteen years) and for Coloured females (nineteen years). This meant that over a nineteen year period, White women could earn 89 per cent, Coloured men 58 per cent, and Coloured women 48 per cent of the salary that could be earned by a White male teacher. (Horrell 1970:140) In 1976, the C.T.P.A. reported that,

despite some increased salaries,the salary disparity between certain categories of White and Coloured teachers had increased under the A.C.A.. (Educatio Fourth Quarter 1976:8)

The problem of a teacher shortage in Coloured schools was compounded by the generally low level of qualifications held by people in the profession. The Theron Commission found that in 1964, only 4,4 per cent out of a total of 772 student teachers qualified for secondary teaching. In the period from 1964 to 1973, there was no significant improvement. In 1975, only 20 per cent of all teachers at Coloured high schools possessed the minimum qualifications set for such posts. (Theron Commission Report para. 8.194:195) At the time of the Theron Commission's investigations, only about ten per cent of all Coloured teachers possessed the minimum qualifications demanded of similarly placed White staff. (Theron Commission Report para. 18.25:390-1)

Changes in the broad economic sector were a major influence on Coloured job selection. Teachers in all population categories were unsatisfied with salary scales and Coloured teachers were always paid less than their White counterparts. Nevertheless, for many years teaching represented high-status employment for Coloureds (Simons 1976:225) In the sixties, however, government policy changed and economic expansion opened up new employment opportunities to Coloureds. Protected from African competition in the Cape, Coloureds were able to find jobs in commerce or industry and in the rapidly expanding Coloured Administration Department. (See Beinart 1976:90,99) To a certain degree, many Coloureds in the Western Cape gained some benefits from these aspects of apartheid policies.

One result of the changes in Coloured employment opportunities was the reduced status of the teaching profession. Members of the Coloured communities with lower qualifications than some teachers, were able to earn higher salaries in other employment. As artisans or in commerce, for example, Coloureds could find more lucrative and less frustrating employment than as teachers. (Horrell 1970:139; Venter 1974:325) Better qualified teachers could take up posts in the public sector, while some graduate teachers sought improved conditions of service in overseas posts. (Whisson 1971:62)

1.9 Coloured Schooling And The Group Areas Act (1950)

Coloured education was part of broad government policy and must be seen in terms of the Group Areas Act (1950) in particular. The government ensured that in its treatment of Coloured education, implementation of the Group Areas Act was given priority.

In accordance with the Group Areas Act, Coloured pupils had to be schooled in Coloured "group areas" only. This meant that Coloured schools situated in the areas classified for Whites had to be either closed or shifted. A substantial drain was consequently placed on the finances available for Coloured education buildings. Of 4 618 new classrooms built between 1966 and 1972, 3 005 were to replace accommodation shifted or closed due to the Group Areas Act removals. (Theron Commission Report Table 8.20:180) No additional funds were made

available to offset the replacement loss over this period. (Cloete 1977:8)

Schools were not erected in the new Coloured townships in time to cater for the population influx and classrooms were extensively overcrowded.[9] School provision in the new Coloured areas had to accommodate pupils shifted from White areas as well as the increase in school-going population. Pupils from the housing schemes which mushroomed in the Cape Peninsula were affected by overcrowded classrooms the worst. In 1971, it was reported that one school in Hanover Park had replaced seven schools and was run on a triple-shift basis. At Belgravia High School (Athlone) there were sixteen Standard VI classes and ten Standard VII classes, each with about forty pupils. (The Educational Journal XLIII,(5)Jan.-Feb. 1971:12) By April, 1972, the situation was said to have reached chronic proportions in areas adjacent to the Cape Flats. Daily in Bellville and Wynberg, 479 and 301 double-shift classes respectively were held. Comparative figures for Coloured schools elsewhere were much lower: Bloemfontein (7), Port Elizabeth (178), Johannesburg (130). (Venter 1974:334) In 1975, it was reported that four new schools opened to cater for 10 000 pupils who had been displaced and uprooted. The reports noted that, at the same time, Coloured schools in White areas stood empty. (Argus 18.7.75;Weekend Argus 11.10.75)

In the older Coloured communities the value placed on education had resulted in much community concern and involvement. In areas such as District Six, Claremont and Cape Town, members of the Coloured community often funded and controlled local schools. Parents were prepared to make sacrifices for their children's education and children were encouraged by

adults to attend classes. In the areas where community members gave time and money to maintain schools, they had a pride in and commitment to the institutions. Coloured pupils and adults were involved in the schools educationally, culturally and socially. The schools formed an integral part of the community. (Davids 1971;1-3; U.W.O. n.d.:9,11)

The new township schools did not inspire the same sentiments among Coloureds. Parental control and involvement in the schools was reduced. (See Horrell 1970:100-2) A number of Coloured parents felt that the quality of new schools was poor. Some of the wealthier parents sent their children long distances to "good schools" in order to avoid local ones in the new residential areas, or to maintain traditional links with the older schools. (Western 1981:183,230; U.W.O. n.d.:32)

The ethos of community concern and sacrifice for education was destroyed by the implementation of the Group Areas Act. The new schools were characterised by a lack of tradition and the absence of parental involvement. The "schools became cold institutions of learning associated with the same authoritarianism that was responsible for 'resettlement'". (Davids 1971:3) Whereas schools had at times been a focus for the community in a positive sense, this phenomenon disappeared.

The priority which government accorded to the official policy of separatism aggravated problems within the Coloured education system and placed considerable restraints upon the educational opportunities of Coloureds. As a C.T.P.A. teacher noted: "The implementation of the Group Areas Act enjoyed precedence over the provision of education facilities

for our children. Their education was sacrificed on the altar of ideology, unsolicited and unacceptable." (Cloete 1977:8) Although the number of Coloureds who gained access to schooling increased, their education system was characterised by low funds, a shortage of classrooms and an insufficient supply of teachers. These factors controlled the horizons of Coloured schools as much as government measures to regulate the ideological content of lessons.

1.10 Government Control Of Education Content

The limitations of Coloured education noted in previous sections may not have been the considered intentions of government, but they complemented deliberate measures to regulate the ideological content of the schools. Once the C.A.D. had assumed control of Coloured education, central government was in a position to change the curriculum. The government's curriculum changes were designed to place the content of Coloured education in line with national policy.

The C.A.D. designed separate syllabi for Coloured schools which differed from those offered in the White school system. The syllabus guidelines for Coloured and White schools had hitherto been the same. In 1963, the C.A.D. began to work on syllabi to suit the government's perception of the different needs of Coloureds as a separate population category. Coloured education officials asserted that, despite differences, the Coloured syllabi were based on those in White schools; and that educational standards in the Coloured system would not be

lowered. In 1967 and 1968, the C.A.D. published new syllabi which, by 1970, all Coloured schools began to follow. (Information in this paragraph is drawn from Reports of the Department of Coloured Affairs 1964/5, 1965/6, 1967/8; Report of Administration of Coloured Affairs 1969/70; Theron Commission Report para. 8.23:164)

Some critics objected to the fact that the separate syllabi reflected National Party ideology both in principle and content. (Maurice 1981(a):17-8) Maurice noted that the ideological content of Coloured education offended some scholars and teachers:

> ...specifically, in the History syllabuses it tried to make teachers and pupils consciously aware of their political and social position by compelling them to teach and learn all the details about the Coloured Representative Council and the Department of Coloured Affairs, the National Flag, and the national anthem - all issues calculated greatly to influence political sensitivities and sensibilities. (Maurice 1981(a):18)

At an orientation lecture for History teachers at Coloured schools, for example, the audience was informed that -

> the sum total of positive citizenship is ... contained in positive nationalism, patriotism, a creative urge, traditional adaptability and respect for the past ... Pure nationalism, therefore, is the cornerstone of positive citizenship. (Quoted by Stanley Uys, Sunday Times 30.9.67)

Teachers were obliged to attend orientation lectures on the subjects they taught. (Report of the Department of Coloured Affairs 1968/69 para. 7.1:16) Studies have shown that education authorities used the syllabus, history in particular, to foster the National Party ideology in the school systems of all the population categories. (See for example, W.I.P. Nov.1979(10) and September 1980(14); Auerbach 1965; Maree 1981)

The administrators of Coloured education also introduced measures to control all the reading material available to pupils in their schools. In 1969, the C.A.D. stipulated that all text-books and readings were to be selected by a special committee set up for that purpose. Previously, principals were allowed to select textbooks of their own choice. (Report of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs I April 1969-30 June 1969 para. 2.4:2) The C.A.D. stressed to principals that no books, irrespective of their subject matter, could be accepted from private sources prior to the approval of the Department. Censorship of this nature was absent from White schools. (Cape Argus 30.9.67)

In a comprehensive manner, the government attempted to inculcate its ideology of population category separatism through Coloured schools. To do this, the C.A.D. (and later the A.C.A.) organised separate syllabi in separate schools and rigidly controlled the content of material available to pupils in those schools. In addition, the Coloured education authorities intended, although they could not always ensure, that teachers give a favourable representation of government policies in the classroom.

1.11 Control Of Teachers

The authorities controlled the teachers as well as what they taught. At one level, teachers were bureaucratically accountable for their daily teaching activities. At another level, their political activity was circumscribed by regulations. As teachers in the government

education system, their job security and promotional prospects depended upon satisfactory performance at both of these levels. The influence of these factors on teachers had serious implications for the Coloured education system.

Teachers in Coloured (and other government) schools were accountable to senior staff, the principal and inspectors for all material (pieces of chalk, paper, etc.) used in the classroom. Many were concerned that they would make mistakes in the numerous forms they were compelled to complete in this regard. This task was an arduous addition to the day's teaching and preparation. Reports stated that these factors caused teachers to be dissatisfied with senior staff and principals; they contributed to a low morale among teachers as a whole. (See for example, Cape Argus 30.6.69; Cape Herald 6.5.72; Venter 1974:324-5)

The second aspect of teacher accountability arose from official restrictions on their political activity. In terms of the Coloured Persons Education Act (1963), teachers were guilty of misconduct if they participated in, or furthered the objectives of any political party to which the Minister objected; if they took an active part in party-political matters or publicly criticised any institution, office or department of the State. Miscreants could incur anything from a reprimand to a dismissal from service. When questioned in parliament about the need for such extensive measures, the Minister claimed that it was to cover the intolerable activities of some teachers who had become political figureheads. (Horrell 1970:96-98)

Teachers who the education officials suspected of being critical of government had their promotional prospects at risk. Reports alleged that government supporters or individuals more susceptible to official manipulation were favoured for promotion, especially for the position of principal. (Simons 1976:225; Beinart 1976:108) This policy appeared to continue during the period of Federal Party control of the C.P.R.C. executive. Press reports claimed that some Federal Party members were favoured for promotion and appointments as school principals. (Sunday Times 2.7.72; Cape Herald 22.7.72 and 18.8.73)

Security Police sometimes applied more forceful means of control on teachers than were available to principals and inspectors. Reports stated that among teachers there was a fear of being watched by suspected informers in both the staff-room and class areas. Some teachers felt that a suggestion of criticism directed at the education system would incur recrimination. (Cape Herald 6.5.72; Venter 1974:324-5) These fears appeared to be substantiated by evidence that Security Police regularly gave their attention to politically active or outspoken teachers. A number of people stopped teaching in Coloured schools because they were prevented from doing so by restriction orders or dismissals, while others chose to emigrate. (Horrell 1970:141; Horrell 1978:161)

Official measures to control teachers had a debilitating influence on the Coloured education system. These measures caused much ill-feeling amongst the teaching body. They contributed to the issues of salaries and overcrowded conditions which detracted from the appeal of teaching as a profession. Both directly, through restriction orders and dismissals,

and indirectly, by encouraging resignations, official control measures contributed to the exodus of teachers from the Coloured education system.

1.12 The University Of The Western Cape

At the pinnacle of the Coloured education system lay the University of the Western Cape (U.W.C.) in Bellville South - an institution which fell within the government's concept of a "volkuniversiteit". Government intended the "volkuniversiteite" to serve the interests of specific population categories or "ethnic groups". (Welsh and Savage 1977:139; Degenaar 1977:164) The "volkuniversiteit" had to transmit the "culture" of the population category it was designed to serve and teach the students the qualities of "good-citizenship". It was the prerogative of government officials, however, and not members of the respective population categories, to decide what constituted such culture and the principles of good citizenship. (Degenaar 1977:161)

The concept of the "volkuniversiteit", as with all National Party education policy, had its basis in the programme laid out by the Instituut van Christelike-Nasionale Onderwys. (See Degenaar 1977 and footnote 2) The government established U.W.C. to propogate, at the tertiary level, the ideology of "racial group separatism" as well as the culture and values which it considered to best suit the Coloured population category.

In 1960, when the University College of the Western Cape (U.C.W.C.) opened, it was governed by a number of regulations which did not apply at White universities. Student organisations, societies, associations and committees had to be approved by the University Council. Other student meetings, magazines, publications, pamphlets or press statements needed the approval of the rector. (Horrell 1970:153-4; Venter 1974:339)

On 1st January, 1970, U.C.W.C. gained full university status in terms of the University of Western Cape Act (1969). It, like the other new Black universities, was again governed by regulations which did not apply to White universities. The most significant of these were the wide powers of control vested in the State President and the Minister of Coloured Relations in particular. (See Van Wyk Commission Report para. 2.8.1:4) The Minister held the power to appoint, after consultation with the University Council, the rector and the vice-chancellor and to direct the appointment, promotion and discharge of university staff. The latter functions were carried out by the University Council which consisted of at least eight members appointed by the State President and two elected by and from the University Senate. The Senate comprised the rector, as chairman, two members of the Council and a number of professors and lecturers appointed by the Council. In addition, universities which specifically served Coloureds, Africans or Indians were excluded from provisions which allowed representation on the Committee of University Principals or joint representation to be made to the government. (Blignaut 1981:18,20; Horrell 1974:336-7) Authority remained firmly in the hands of the State President, the Minister, their appointed officials, a predominantly White staff and (until 1975) a White rector. (S.R.R. 1969:212-3)

The University College and later University of the Western Cape grew to provide many members of the Coloured population category with access to tertiary education. Up to 1959, Coloured students could apply for admission to the universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand (mainly White), the "Non-European" section of the Natal University (U.N.N.E.), the University College of Fort Hare (mainly African), and for correspondence courses through the University of South Africa (UNISA). Thereafter, Coloured students had to be accommodated at U.C.W.C./U.W.C. or could still register with UNISA. Alternatively, Coloured students could attend the "open" universities (Cape Town, Witwatersrand) or U.N.N.E.; for this, they had to study courses not available at U.W.C. and needed a government permit. During the sixties, student enrolment at U.C.W.C. grew steadily. In the seventies, U.W.C. experienced rapid growth in student enrolment to meet the rising number of high-school graduates. (See Table IV)

The growth of U.W.C. was reflected by an increase in the number of staff members and the number of degrees and diplomas awarded by the university. The teaching staff increased from 17 in 1960 to 187 in 1976. From 1962, the first year in which students completed degree or diploma courses, to 1976, 750 diplomas and 855 degrees were awarded by the university. (Report of Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations 1976/77:5-6)

Although the growth in student numbers had been paralleled by an increase in teaching staff, government provisions of additional facilities did not match this expansion. The Theron Commission Report

indicated that U.W.C. exhibited many of the characteristics found in Coloured schooling. A shortage of boarding facilities for U.W.C. students meant that many had to reside in overcrowded and poor housing. There was no hall which could accommodate large meetings, university ceremonies or social functions. Library, cafeteria and recreational facilities were inadequate. These limitations, the Commission claimed, hampered the social and academic activities of the students. It pointed out that "these shortcomings must be seen against the relatively poor socio-economic circumstances of the students and the fact that very often no alternative facilities were available in their own residential areas". (Theron Commission Report paras. 8.218-9:200)

TABLE IV

Coloured University Enrolment

YEAR	U.C.W.C./U.W.C.	OTHER UNIVERSITIES	TOTAL
1960	164	451	615
1969	805	206	1 011
1976	2 531	232	2 763

(Enrolment figures for U.C.W.C./U.W.C. include Indians, I in 1960 and 23 in 1976. The Table does not include enrolment at the non-residential university of UNISA. Figures for Coloured student enrolment do not always coincide from one report to the next; in compiling this Table, figures have been taken from the Report of Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations 1975/6:5; and S.R.R. 1959/60:230; Report of Department of Coloured Affairs, 1 April 1969-30 June 1969:5)

Under National Party rule, more Coloureds gained access to schooling and the possibility of university education, albeit within the frame-work of segregated institutions. Nevertheless, the educational opportunities of Coloureds continued to be hampered by socio-economic factors in their home environments and the conditions of their education institutions. Those who progressed through to the tertiary level of Coloured education received a clear picture of their designated role within the scheme of apartheid. The growth of the Coloured education system meant that more and more Coloureds had their attitudes towards education and government policy influenced by their experiences within the Coloured education system.

1.13 Attitudes Towards Education Among Coloureds

Among Coloureds, as with all the population categories, access to formal education was valued highly. Blacks looked to education as a means of access to better paid employment, as the road to greater political rights and as the "panacea for all social ills". (Van Der Ross 1973:661; Moteno 1983:58-9) They felt also that, if education was to achieve the ends they desired, it must be of the same nature and quality as White education. (Herbstein 1978:85-6; Molteno 1983:59) It was the valued potential of education which caused Coloureds to view with care official policy changes.

A number of Coloureds objected to the structural changes in the Coloured education system. The Theron Commission reported that people

were dissatisfied with the transfer of Coloured education to C.A.D. control; opposition was "based mainly on the contention that standards of education for Coloureds would be lowered; that teachers' security would diminish; that a kind of ideological indoctrination of teachers and pupils would result". (Theron Commission Report para. 8.20:163)

The post-1960 era of formal education placed Coloureds in a dilemma. They watched the education system expand but in the framework of a segregated system. Equality of educational provision was not a characteristic of this system. Some Coloureds welcomed the increase of school and university educational opportunities while others rejected the form taken by this expansion; many were compelled to compromise and held a combination of these attitudes.

The position taken up by the Teachers League of South Africa (T.L.S.A.) serves as an example of the predicament faced by some. Long a staunch critic of government policies, the T.L.S.A. maintained, through The Educational Journal, constant condemnation of the results of government education policy.[10] Nevertheless, T.L.S.A. members continued to value their educational ideals and remained in teaching "for our children's sake" (the T.L.S.A. motto). The attitudes of these and other less outspoken critics contributed to a tension in the arena of education.

It is clear that the Coloured education system represented a conflict of interests between government and many Coloureds. This goes far in explaining why Coloured education has emerged as a sensitive and highly contested terrain in South Africa.

1.14 Footnotes To Chapter One

1. The Western Cape is somewhat peripheral to the national economy due to the dirthe of heavy industry and a dependence upon the production of consumer goods. (Lewis 1976:178-9) Nevertheless, Coloureds here were not untouched by the economic prosperity of the sixties.

2. These principles were, for example, manifest in Article XIV of an I.C.N.O. policy statement, in which the attitude towards Coloured education was outlined.

> "The education of Coloureds should be seen as the subordinate part of the Afrikaners' task of Christianising the non-white races of the fatherland. It is the Afrikaners' sacred duty to see that the coloureds are brought up Christian-nationalist. Only when he is christianised can the coloured be truly happy; and he will then be proof against foreign ideologies which give him the illusion of happiness but leave him in the long run unsatisfied and unhappy.
>
> "He must be nationalist. The welfare and happiness of the coloured lies in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group (hence apartheid is necessary in education), and in his being proud of it." (Abridged translation of I.C.N.O. pamphlet issued by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurstudie - F.A.K.)

   For more detailed studies of Afrikaner Nationalist ideology and education of the South African population categories, see Robertson 1974 and Shingler 1973.

3. The Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs (later the Department of Coloured, Rehoboth and Nama Relations) assumed the functions of the former C.A.D. which did not fall to the C.P.R.C.. The C.P.R.C. executive assumed the portfolios for Coloured education, local government, community development and rural settlement. Some aspects of Coloured education, such as matters relating to U.W.C., fell under the new government Department. (See Theron Commission Report para. 18.16:389)

4. Improvements in Coloured educational provision were hampered by a variety of factors. The provision of books and stationery appears to have been badly administered. Inexperienced teachers did not always complete the necessary application forms at the correct time or in the correct manner. The quantity of provision was said to be insufficient and was sometimes reduced over the years. (The Educational Journal XLIII(1) July-Aug. 1971:9; The Educational Journal XLIV(7) April-May 1973:9-10)

5. See annual Reports of Administration of Coloured Affairs; the correlating figures were: 1973/4 - 6,69 per cent; 1974/5 - 0,58 per cent; 1975/6 - 0,67 per cent.

6. The figures cited in various reports reflect the substantial growth in the Coloured school-population, but they tend to differ in the exact figures involved. The same can be said of virtually all sources concerning Coloured education statistics. For consistency, the writer used the Theron Commission Report wherever possible.

7. Compulsory education for some Coloured youths had been introduced in the province of Natal and six small districts of the Cape by 1953. Education had been compulsory for Whites within defined age-groups since 1913. (Horrell 1970:37,169)

8. At times, government attempts to remove White teachers from Coloured schools were found to be injudicious and premature. (See Horrell 1970:131; and The Educational Journal XLI(5) Jan.-Feb. 1970:2-3)

9. The new classrooms tended to be poorly structured and sometimes developed into health hazards. For a description of conditions in some of the schools, see Molteno 1983:108.

10. See, for example, the following:

> "This year...usual chaos came in the usual form: double-shifts, triple-shifts, classes of 50-60 pupils, classes without teachers, rooms and books; parents rushing desperately from one school to another to find accommodation for their children, people being admitted to...one school and then drafted to a different one. It was all there once again in its sick and sorry sameness." (The Educational Journal XLV(5) Jan.-Feb. 1974:9)

CHAPTER TWO

BLACK EDUCATION STRUGGLES: 1948-1968

2.1 Introduction

The importance of education for Coloureds caused many to resist what they perceived as the government's discriminatory policies - education developed into a site of struggle. Intellectual and political leaders in the African, Coloured and Indian communities were often teachers who also spearheaded education struggles. The education-politics nexus combined with the political role of teachers meant that education struggles overlapped with and reflected the broader political conflict. Black students and scholars were open in varied degrees to the influence of the protests which took place. Their actions were conditioned by their positions - geographically, within the education structures and in relation to the political milieu at particular times.

This chapter provides the background to the education protests of the seventies by examining the Black, particularly Coloured, education struggles from the forties to the late sixties. The first part, section 2.2, studies the role of teachers and parents, the strategies and divisions of various active groups and the response of government to resistance in the education sphere. The study in section 2.3 covers the protests by students: the factors which influenced their action and the

altered conditions which led to a new role for student resistance. Section 2.4 examines the role of scholars and provides an explanation for their relative quiescence prior to the seventies. Although the actions of teachers and parents, students and scholars are here studied as separate topics, they were all elements of the same broad education struggle.

2.2 Teachers And Parents Lead The Challenge

From the early part of this century to the mid-sixties, sectors of the teaching profession were the main activists who opposed official education policy and sought improvements in Coloured education. It was not surprising that educationists were prominent in the campaigns both for educational and political change. South Africa's discriminatory policies limited the options of high-status professions for Coloureds and other Blacks. Coloured community leaders, therefore, could often be found in the ranks of the teaching profession. (See Simons 1976:225)

Organised Coloured involvement in education struggles from the early 1900's to the mid-1960's can be divided into three phases: (i) pre-forties - the phase of peaceful negotiation representing sectional interests only; (ii) forties to early sixties - the phase of active resistance to government education policies from diverse perspectives; and (iii) sixties - the phase in which Coloured teacher and parent resistance waned. All three phases of education struggle echoed the broader nature of Coloured political activities at the time.

The Teachers League of South Africa (T.L.S.A.), founded by Coloured teachers in 1913, gave organisational expression to the first phase of the Coloured education struggle. (Mann 1969:9) The T.L.S.A. concerned itself with the Coloured population category only and sought improvements in their education in order to gain parity with Whites. As such, the T.L.S.A. policies reflected the stance of the (Coloured) African People's Organisation (A.P.O.). (Maurice 1966:148-151; Maurice 1981(c):4-6) The T.L.S.A.'s tactics consisted of peaceful negotiations with officials. As Maurice described, they hoped to gain improvements in the education of Coloureds through "conferences, committees and commissions; meetings, motions and memoranda; and requests, recommendations and resolutions". (Maurice 1981(b):17)

Up until the early forties, the moderate policies prevailed within the membership. Although the Coloured education system grew steadily, Coloureds, along with other Blacks, experienced more segregatory policies and the political power of their franchise was eroded. In the late thirties, government attempts to introduce further segregation schemes met with increased Black militancy. Some teachers in the T.L.S.A. responded to these developments with criticism of the League's ineffective policies. (Mann 1969:9-10)

In 1944, increased conflict and divisions within the T.L.S.A. resulted in a split. This marked the start of a new phase in Coloured organisation and resistance. In the previous year, the United Party government introduced the Coloured Advisory Council (C.A.C.) to provide separate Coloured political representation. Ultimately over the issue of

participation in the C.A.C., a section of T.L.S.A. members broke away to form the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association (T.E.P.A.). More radical critics of government policy assumed control of the T.L.S.A..

The teachers who formed the T.E.P.A. argued that a teachers' organisation should only deal with matters directly related to Coloured education; in so doing, they should be prepared to participate in peaceful negotiations with officials. The T.E.P.A. members argued that their political activities should be separate form their actions in a teachers organisation. In the latter they desired to avoid conflict with the government; corespondingly, a number of T.E.P.A. members accepted government nominations onto the C.A.C. and, in later years, stood for election onto its successor body, the Union Council of Coloured Affairs (U.C.C.A.). Those who remained in the T.L.S.A. labelled the T.E.P.A. as "segregationist" and "collaborationist". (Mann 1969:10)

The new T.L.S.A. leadership rejected the government's segregatory policies and argued that the educational activities of the League must be part of the political struggle for democracy - they saw no purpose in peaceful negotiation with government. They altered the T.L.S.A.'s constitution accordingly - henceforth, the T.L.S.A. adopted the task of combating educational segregation and striving for democracy both in education and nationally; the League's membership was opened to all population categories; it sought alliances with similarly goaled organisations. (Mann 1969:10) In accordance with its stated aims, the T.L.S.A. formed alliances with the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department Movement (Anti-CAD) and the Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.) to

combat the policies of the Smuts and later National Party governments. (Van Der Ross 1973:703; for more details on the N.E.U.M. see Khan 1976 and Gentle 1978)

The 1948 government's education policies gave added impetus to Black education struggles. Africans, Coloureds and Indians resisted the National Party's policies of Bantu, Coloured and Indian education; they did this separately, or from the basis of tactical and ideological alliances. Both the T.L.S.A. and the T.E.P.A. opposed apartheid policies, albeit from different perspectives.

There was widespread African opposition to the government's proposals for the Bantu Education system. Members of the Cape African Teachers Association (C.A.T.A.) and the Transvaal African Teachers Association (T.A.T.A.) launched the first active resistance to the Eiselen Commission. They publicised the implications of the Eiselen Commission's recommendations through a campaign of teachers' and parents' meetings. (See Molteno 1983:89-90) From the outset, African parents were generally opposed to the Bantu Education proposals. In a significant new tactic, C.A.T.A. and, to a lesser degree, T.A.T.A. drew parents into the organised education struggle by encouraging the formation of Parent-Teacher Associations (P.T.A.'s). (Stradling 1976:6; Molteno 1983:91) The African National Congress (A.N.C.) also based a campaign for the boycott of Bantu Education on the mobilisation of parents. (See Molteno 1983:91-97; Hirson 1979:47-59; Stradling 1976:6-7) In 1953, African resistance notwithstanding, parliament passed the Bantu Education Act and thus introduced the first facet of apartheid education.

The T.L.S.A. members made some attempt to provide a united Coloured, African and Indian resistance to the government's education proposals. In 1952, the T.L.S.A. combined with C.A.T.A. to form the Cape Teachers Federal Council (C.T.F.C.) - "to consolidate the campaigns against tribalised schools and prosecute the struggle for equal education in a democratic South Africa". (Stradling 1976:6) The C.T.F.C. also aimed to unify all the teaching organisations in South Africa. (The Educational Journal XXIII(10) July-Aug. 1952:14) In 1953, the C.T.F.C. issued a manifesto in which it criticised the system proposed in the Bantu Education Act (1953). (Molteno 1983:90)

The degree of united Coloured, African and Indian protest at this stage is not altogether clear. Statements of intent and common purpose were not necessarily accompanied by combined action. Simons suggested that the lack of Coloured support for the African's struggle against Bantu Education (and this would appear to have included some of the T.L.S.A. membership) caused rifts in the Coloured and African alliance suggested by the N.E.U.M.. (Simons 1976:226) By 1955, the T.L.S.A. had formed links with the Transvaal Indian and Coloured Teachers Association, but the extent to which Coloureds and Indians were united in their actions is not apparent. (Van Der Ross 1973:706; there has been little work done on the role of Indians in the education conflicts; an exception is the work of Bhana 1972) Although the T.L.S.A. policy favoured an overall Black resistance, the education struggles appear to have been conducted mainly through sectional action. Nevertheless, the intentions, if not the practise, set the precedent for united Black education struggles in the future.

The T.L.S.A.'s programme to resist Coloured Education was similar to those of C.A.T.A. and T.A.T.A.. The T.L.S.A. encouraged the novel development of P.T.A.'s which drew in parents and broadened the base of Coloured education struggle. (Mann 1969:11; Stradling 1976:6) The T.L.S.A. and its network of P.T.A.'s spearheaded opposition to the transfer of Coloured education to C.A.D. control. (Molteno 1983:102) Its stated position was that "opposition to 'transfer' is not a defense of the 'status quo'. It is a continuation of our opposition to and struggle against, a segregated and discriminatory system of tribal schooling". (The Educational Journal XXXIII(6) Jan.-Feb. 1962:1-2)

The events of the fifties encouraged T.E.P.A. members to become more outspoken on political matters, but not in a manner which healed the rift with the T.L.S.A.. In 1958, T.E.P.A. convened a conference with its moderate counterpart, the Indian Teachers Organisation - this gave rise to the South African Federation of Teachers Association (S.A.F.T.A.). S.A.F.T.A. grew to include a number of Coloured and Indian teachers' associations and members hoped that African associations would also join. (C.T.P.A. 1977:6) Although the S.A.F.T.A. affiliates were opposed to apartheid policies in general, T.E.P.A. focused its attention on Coloured education matters. The issue for T.E.P.A. appeared to be C.A.D. control of Coloured education rather than the existing education segregation. Thus, the stand it took was "don't tamper with our education". (Quoted in Van Der Ross 1973:675; see also Van Der Ross 1973, Document 101) This stance implied an acceptance of the educational status quo which the T.L.S.A. could not abide. Like the T.L.S.A., T.E.P.A. conducted its campaign through meetings and public statements.

Despite T.E.P.A.'s moderate stance, it was unable, for long, to avoid a clash with government. In 1961, some T.E.P.A. delegates secretly attended, in Malmesbury, a convention which the government had tried to prohibit. At Malmesbury they took a more overtly political stance and resolved to strive for a democratic and non-racial South Africa. T.E.P.A. still opposed militancy, however, and continued to favour peaceful negotiation rather than confrontation with government. (C.T.P.A. 1977:6) Nevertheless, the Malmesbury convention placed T.E.P.A. on a collision course with the latter.

The authorities actively opposed all campaigns against their education policies. They invoked their central authority and exploited the vulnerability of teachers as government employees. In 1955, for the first time, the government barred two people, both T.L.S.A. members, from the teaching profession because of their political activities. (C.T.P.A. 1977:5) In the years that followed, official action against politically active teachers increased - they were transferred, dismissed or restricted in terms of security legislation. (Stradling 1976:8-9: Van Der Ross 1973:707, Molteno 1983:102; Mann 1969:11) The disfavour of government was not limited to T.L.S.A. members. In 1961, the education officials withdrew their recognition of T.E.P.A. because of its part in the Malmesbury Convention.

Official repression and the vulnerability of teachers were two main factors behind the slump which characterised the next phase in Coloured education protests. T.E.P.A. had scalded itself in its brief venture

into outspoken resistance. In 1963, more conservative members broke away to form the Cape Teachers Association (C.T.A.) because they were dissatisfied with the developments within T.E.P.A. T.E.P.A. sought no further clashes with government and, in 1967, reunited with C.T.A. members to form the Cape Teachers Professional Association (C.T.P.A.). The C.T.P.A. did not address itself to contentious political issues. (Van Der Ross 1973:716-718)

The authorities needed stronger measures to curb the confrontation tactics of the T.L.S.A. Government bans on public meetings and its restriction of individuals reduced the public role of T.L.S.A. members. Those whom the government did not weed out of the schools resolved to continue their struggle in the classrooms. In line with C.T.F.C. policy, they would refuse to "indoctrinate" pupils in accordance with government policies and would "defend true education regardless". (Stradling 1976:7) By the mid-sixties, official restrictions confined the T.L.S.A.'s opposition to behind-the-scene activities in the classrooms and the publication of the association's mouthpiece, The Educational Journal.

During the sixties, many Coloured teachers curbed their expression of opposition to the government and avoided membership of the professional associations. In 1955, the dismissal of two T.L.S.A. members had led to widespread protest from many Coloureds, irrespective of their attitude towards the League. (Van Der Ross 1973:706) Subsequently, government action against T.L.S.A. and T.E.P.A. members quelled overall Coloured teacher resistance. Many avoided membership of

the teacher associations for fear that it would threaten their job-security and promotional prospects. (Van Der Ross 1973:725)

Membership of the T.L.S.A., T.E.P.A., C.T.A. and later the C.T.P.A. was not encouraged by the mutually antagonistic stance of these bodies. The basis of much of the antagonism stemmed back to the principles which had caused the T.L.S.A. split in 1944. To many observers, however, these differences did not warrant the absence of unity which prevailed. It was reported that most Coloured teachers in the Cape became "apathetic and disinterested" and offered little or no support for the professional teaching associations. (C.T.P.A. 1977:9)

By the mid-sixties, Coloured teachers and parents were in no position to conduct an organised education struggle. The government had imprisoned or restricted most opposition movement leaders. It destroyed the impetus of the Black resistance which characterised the previous two decades. Blocked by government action and handicapped by a divided teaching body, the Coloured education struggle had reached an impasse. The government was now in a position to implement the conditions of the Coloured Persons Education Act, and other apartheid policies, relatively unopposed.

2.3 Black Students - Peripheral Participation

Up until the late sixties, most Black student protests were centred at the University College of Fort Hare (Fort Hare) in the Eastern Cape

town of Alice. Before 1960, Coloured, Indian and African students made up a small percentage of the student enrolment at the universities of Natal, Cape Town, Rhodes and the Witwatersrand. At these universities, Coloureds and Indians appear to have participated more than Africans in student affairs, and more than their Coloured and Indian counterparts at Fort Hare. The numerical dominance of Africans at Fort Hare helped them to make the institution the main focus of Black student protests. (Hirson 1979:33,35)

In the early forties, Fort Hare students initiated a number of protests and strikes which brought them into conflict with the university authorities. The student protests were usually germane to the university - concerned with the standard of meals and disciplinary issues. Hirson argued that the domestic nature of the protests were because Fort Hare students were geographically isolated and distant from the main current of political events. He continued to say, however, that they symbolised the African students' resistance to White domination. (Hirson 1979:33-34) In contrast, Beard placed greater emphasis on the Fort Hare students' awareness of national conditions. He argued that Fort Hare provided an environment which stimulated the political socialisation of its students and that campus conflicts were mainly generated by external events. Hence, he continued, the growing militance of Black political movements enhanced Fort Hare's role as a centre for the political mobilisation of Black students. (Beard 1972:156-7)

By the late forties, youth organisations brought Fort Hare students under the more direct influence of Black political movements. In 1948, the Congress Youth League (C.Y.L.) of the African National Congress

formed a small branch at Fort Hare. At about the same time, the Sons of Young Africa (S.O.Y.A.), a youth section of the N.E.U.M., established itself on the campus. Initially, S.O.Y.A. enjoyed the dominant support of the student body, but this waned as the popularity of the C.Y.L. was boosted by the A.N.C.'s role in the Defiance Campaign of the early fifties. (Hirson 1979:34) By 1956, the C.Y.L. had won the support of most Fort Hare students; S.O.Y.A. followers diminished to a small number. (Beard 1972:168) Beard argued that student support shifted because S.O.Y.A. confined itself to theoretical discussions whereas the C.Y.L. mobilised students in line with the more activist policies of the Congress Movement as a whole. (Beard 1972:168-9)

Between 1957 and 1959, the C.Y.L. dominated the Fort Hare student body and the Students Representative Council (S.R.C.). During this period, the students played a significant role in the Lovedale nurses' strike (1958), had a confrontation with the university authorities (1958), and participated in a potato boycott (1959). (Beard 1972:168-9) The study is not in a position to assess whether the exclusivist Africanism within the C.Y.L. accounted for the inactivity of Coloured and Indian students at Fort Hare, nor to what extent Coloured and Indian students participated in S.O.Y.A.. (See Hirson 1979:34-5)

The political mood which developed at Fort Hare ensured that students played a part in the campaigns against apartheid in the schools and universities. In the Eastern Cape, students from Fort Hare led the A.N.C.'s boycott campaign against Bantu Education. (Hirson 1979:48-9,52) In 1959, the government's Extension of University Education Act made provision for the establishment of separate Black universities - colleges

which would be controlled by the Ministers of Bantu Education, Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs; Fort Hare would, in future, be allowed to admit only Xhosa-speaking Africans. (Blignaut 1981:19; Hirson 1979:53) A number of Blacks, including some Fort Hare staff and students, strongly criticised and condemned the Act. (Bhana 1977:217-8; Fredericks 1980(b):4,8,9; Hirson 1979:53-4; Stradling 1976:9)

In 1960, Fort Hare, for the first time, opened under the ultimate authority of the Bantu Affairs Department (B.A.D.) and amidst a fresh wave of protest. Staff-members, students and members of the public participated in a march to protest against the new Fort Hare authorities. (Fredericks 1980(b):5) In the light of previous opposition, the authorities chose not to readmit nine members of staff, including the principal, and eleven students. Four more staff-members resigned to avoid serving under the Bantu Affairs Department. The authorities instructed the Fort Hare S.R.C. to resign from the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). These official directives led to a series of student demonstrations and protests on campus. New regulations and the prospect of dismissal brought the students temporarily into line, but the measures which the officials had adopted contributed to student complaints. (Hirson 1979:55)

For most of the sixties, as members of the oldest of the Black university colleges and with a strong tradition of protest Fort Hare students were most articulate in raising issues common to all the colleges. Despite a number of ideological and organisational divisions among Fort Hare students (see chapter three:75-6), they generally

objected to the principle of official interference in their affairs. In 1960, this led them to protest and disband their S.R.C. when the university authorities demanded its withdrawal from NUSAS. Up to 1968, Fort Hare, and other university-college students, mounted a strong but ineffective campaign to win official approval of affiliation with NUSAS. Along with this issue, Fort Hare students protested about the low academic standards of their courses, the discriminatory attitudes of some staff-members, college regulations, restrictions on their right to organise and the powerlessness of their S.R.C. in terms of the official constitution. (Hirson 1979:55,64-5,68)

From the opening of the University College of the Western Cape (U.C.W.C.) in 1960, there were critical elements evident within the student body. In 1961, some students went on strike in sympathy with student protestors at Fort Hare and the University College of the North (Turfloop). (The Educational Journal XXXIII(3) Sept. 1961:9) In 1966, U.C.W.C. officials cancelled lectures in order to celebrate the fifth anniversary of Republic Day, but the ceremonies were rejected and boycotted by the students. (The Educational Journal XXXVIII(1) July-Aug. 1966:9) A report indicated that, in 1967, all the students present walked out before a visiting lecturer, Dr. R.E.Van Der Ross, could begin his address on the topic "Coloured Culture". (The Educational Journal XXXIX(2) Sept. 1967:9)

Initially, as evidenced above, student protest at U.C.W.C. was erratic. The student body was small with no S.R.C. and these factors may have contributed to the lack of student activity. With the increased annual student intake and the subsequent growth of the College, U.C.W.C.

assumed a more cohesive form. Students formed casual groupings through contact in lectures or residential halls. (Hirson 1979:64) It must not be forgotten that, at U.C.W.C., there was no history of past student organisation and action as examples for the new students.

Ironically, the government's establishment of a separate Coloured tertiary institution created a stronger political identity for U.C.W.C. students. What was clear, was that the students rejected repeated attempts by staff-members to foster a "Coloured tradition" at U.C.W.C.. (Fredericks 1980(b):5; Van Der Ross 1973:666; Dr. Van Der Ross, a future rector of U.W.C., had experienced first-hand evidence of the student attitudes towards such at his lecture in 1967 - see above.) Coloured students from diverse backgrounds congregated at U.C.W.C.. There they were confronted with different ideas and new political ideologies. For some students these new concepts provided a shocking challenge to the apathy or conservatism of their home environments. A significant number of Coloured students revised their political attitudes at U.C.W.C. and later U.W.C., although they did not all bow to such influences.[1] (Interview-JH) Urban and rural youth who passed through the institution exhibited less and less support for apartheid and separate education. In the latter part of the sixties, the developments among students were reflected through their involvement in increased protests and activity linked with external events.

The government's implementation of apartheid in the universities introduced a new dynamic to the Black education struggles. On segregated campuses and, to a large extent, blocked from contact with Whites,

African, Coloured and Indian students were compelled to forge their own identities relevant to the conditions of their education institutions. Black students did not generally accept the concepts of "ethnic identity" and "ethnic separatism" which the government had hoped to propagate through the university colleges. Instead, the colleges became centres of Black student mobilisation against government policies, in much the same way as Fort Hare had been. The existence of new student bodies and increased activism had an influence on the education sphere which filtered down to scholars.

2.4 Scholars - Limited And Isolated Protest

Prior to the fifties, Black scholars repeatedly, albeit sporadically, protested in their schools in much the same way as their student counterparts. In the earliest example of scholar resistance, school education was rejected outright - the authorities of the first Cape slave-school had to close the school down because the pupils repeatedly ran away. (Molteno 1983:63) Although Blacks came to place more value on education, the recipients were not always satisfied with their schools. From the last part of the nineteenth century to the first half of the next, Black scholar protest grew in frequency. The protestors were generally African secondary school pupils in rural boarding schools. Their demonstrations (class-boycotts, strikes and some incidents of arson) were centred on issues about food, punishment and teacher attitudes. The scholars usually made representations to the school authorities and conducted discussions before turning to collective

protest action. The decision to oppose deliberately the school authorities was not a light one for scholars who thereby placed their whole education careers in jeopardy. (Molteno 1983:63-67; Hirson 1979:27-32) The extent to which any of these scholar protests were influenced by political events is uncertain.

Hirson suggested that from the early forties, scholar protests tended to escalate at times of increased political conflict. (Hirson 1979:29) Other studies have argued that it was in the fifties and early sixties that increased scholar protests appeared to be more closely connected with national Black opposition. (Molteno 1983:99; S.R.R. 1963:229) Despite the coincidence of events during these periods, African scholar protests continued to be focused on domestic issues, except when African parents withdrew their children in support of the A.N.C.'s boycott of Bantu Education. (See Molteno 1983:87-89;99-102)

Coloured scholar protests appeared to be rare at this stage. In the sixties, however, some Coloured scholars demonstrated about authoritative action taken against their teachers. Cape Scholars at Trafalgar High School (1961) and Arcadia High School (1968), for example, protested about the official transfer, dismissal or restriction of some of their teachers. (The Educational Journal XXXIII(10) May-June 1962:9; Cape Argus 4.4.68 and 22.1.69)

Black scholar disaffection with the government (and White rule) was overtly displayed in their resistance to national celebrations such as Republic Day. There were reports that Black scholars participated in

widespread protests against the first Republic Day celebrations in 1961 and again on the fifth anniversary in 1966; despite official efforts to gain their involvement in the festivities. On both occasions, T.L.S.A. members and supporters encouraged pupils not to participate in the celebrations. Education officials and Security Branch members pressurized teaching-staff to co-operate or attempted to arrange scholar participation without the knowledge of parents. These measures alongside the support of pro-government Coloured sectors notwithstanding, a general lack of interest caused officials to cancel their arrangements in some areas, including Port Elizabeth and Kimberley. Elsewhere, Coloured participation was often notably low. (Adam 1966:6-7; Van Der Ross 1973:390,708; see various articles in The Educational Journal XXXII(7) April 1961; XXXVII(4) Nov.-Dec. 1965; XXXVII(5) Jan.-Feb. 1966; XXXVII(6) March 1966; XXXVII(7) April-May 1966)

Although Black scholars, particularly Africans, revealed a preparedness to challenge their school authorities, their elders did not give them any role of great significance in the struggles against Bantu, Coloured and Indian education. Scholars had little involvement with political movements and this may explain why their protests were generally domestic. (Molteno 1983:71) Under pressure from the C.Y.L., the A.N.C. extended its youth activities to include students, but neither section concerned itself with scholar organisation. (Hirson 1979:29,34) In contrast, the C.T.F.C. and related P.T.A.'s in the fifties, had a policy to keep scholars informed about the political struggles around education. (Stradling 1976:6) Neverthelesss, neither teachers nor parents considered it necessary or desirable to encourage scholar

organisations, not even when the T.L.S.A. encouraged scholars to resist Republic Day celebrations. Prior to the seventies, Black scholar protests were on the sidelines of the main education struggles.

2.5 Conclusion

Initially, teachers and parents were at the forefront of Coloured education struggles. This was explained both by the dominant position of teachers in the political movements and the isolation of students and scholars from the latter. Coloured teachers expressed strong but divided criticism of official education policies. The authorities took determined action against politically involved teachers. By the mid-sixties, repression and divisions had eroded the impetus of Coloured teachers and parents in education protests.

Before the late sixties, Coloured students and scholars played a minor role in political action and education protests. They formed minority groups on African and White university campuses where the dominant political groups made little or no effort to include them. The political moods and traditions in South Africa did not encourage Coloured students and scholars to adopt a more active role on the campuses or in the schools.

During the sixties, the conditions - political and educational - changed in South Africa. The government suppressed, banned and exiled national political movements; teacher organisations lost their ability to

pose much opposition. At the same time, the government set up segregated educational structures under its central control and injected quantitative growth in student and scholar numbers. Although the government had decapitated Coloured education resistance in the form of teachers and parents, U.C.W.C. was developing a head of its own. The expanded Coloured school system nurtured the latter's growth.

The Coloured education struggle was one facet of a broad Black opposition to apartheid policies. In the sixties, the government won the time and room to introduce its segregated education system at every level. Coloureds as well as Africans were segregated from Whites; English from Afrikaner. The study turns now to examine the manner in which these conditions encouraged African and Coloured (and Indian) students to concentrate more on attempts to overcome divisions among themselves.

2.6 Footnote To Chapter Two

1. Factors at the segregated U.C.W.C. were similar to those which had pushed Fort Hare into the forefront of Black student activism. As Beard notes: "Most students had common experiences in White South Africa, and there were few who had not encountered directly the humiliation of White superiority attitudes, while all suffered in some degree the effects of legal discrimination. The very fact of their common positions of inferiority in South African society, unameliorated by contact with White students, created a bond which formed the basis for their political socialisation and hence their political mobilization. As a result students at Fort Hare tended to be more militant than Black students at the so-called 'open' universities, or at the U.N.N.E. (University of Natal Non-European Section)". (Beard 1972:158)

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANISATION, BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

In 1968, Black students revitalised the South African educational and political scene through their formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO). SASO manifested the desire of the students to overcome the prevailing restraints on their organisational and political expression. Its members developed the philosophy of Black Consciousness as a guideline for their activities. Their principles and practices inspired the growth of groups which fell under the umbrella title of the Black Consciousness Movement (B.C.M.). SASO and the B.C.M. participated in a range of social, cultural and political activities. Educational issues were a major concern of the Black campuses throughout SASO's existence (1968-1977). The first concern of this chapter is the manner in which the educational scene was influenced by SASO and Black Consciousness, up until the boycotts of 1976. The second issue to be examined, is the appeal of Black Consciousness for the Coloured student sector.

The late sixties and early seventies formed a period internationally characterised by assertive youth action. In Britain, Europe and the United States of America, the demonstrations and protests of young people

gave a vivid expression of revolt against traditional ideas and figures of authority. These youth activists demanded a stronger voice in political and educational matters, demands which often led to bloody clashes with the police or military. Television, radio and the press helped to highlight these events throughout the world. The birth and activities of SASO contributed to similar trends in South Africa.

3.2 The Birth of the South African Students Organization

Prior to the mid-sixties, there were a number of ideological and organisational divisions within Black student sectors. At Fort Hare, the issue of affiliation with the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) brought these divisions to the surface. The Fort Hare students' relationship with NUSAS - a predominantly liberal, English-speaking and White student organisation - had not been smooth. The Fort Hare student body conducted its affairs much in accordance with the sentiments of whichever Black political movement held the dominant sway on campus. Thus, the S.R.C. seceded from NUSAS in the early fifties, but re-affiliated in 1957.[1] At this stage, Black students opposed to NUSAS formed the Progressive National Students Organisation (P.N.S.O.). The P.N.S.O. followed the ideological line of the N.E.U.M. and considered NUSAS to be a youth front of the "imperialists", it adopted the N.E.U.M. slogan of "non-co-operation with the collaborators". (Khoapa 1973:18) In the early sixties; African students, not content with the position of either NUSAS or the P.N.S.O., formed the African Students Association (A.S.A.) and the African Students Union of South Africa (A.S.U.S.A.);

these reflected the ideologies of the African National Congress (A.N.C.) and the Pan Africanist Congress (P.A.C.) respectively. (Khoapa 1973:19; S.R.R. 1965:280) By 1963 the N.E.U.M. was virtually inactive and the P.A.C. and A.N.C. were in official exile. None of the student wings of these organisations appeared to survive the official repression of the period.

By the mid-sixties, therefore, Black students were dependent upon NUSAS for national organisation. Although officially prohibited from activity on the Black campuses, Black students were able to participate in NUSAS on an individual basis. NUSAS and, from 1967, the University Christian Movement (U.C.M.) conferences were thus able to provide an opportunity for students, Black and White, to overcome the isolation of segregated campuses. Ironically, they served as the vehicle which allowed Black students to form their own separate organisation.

It was the increasing Black student criticism of the "White-liberal" orientation of NUSAS and U.C.M. which encouraged the emergence of SASO. In the eyes of these critics, both organisations (despite a Black majority membership in the U.C.M.) were dominated by an articulate White leadership with liberal principles but which paid little attention to specifically Black issues. (Khoapa 1973:19; Gerhart 1978:260-1)[2] The future leaders of SASO also objected to what they perceived as double-standards in NUSAS - they felt that few NUSAS members had a practical commitment to the organisation's principles. (Motlhabi 1980:41)

It can be argued that the hiatus in Black educational and political opposition over much of the sixties, also contributed to SASO's birth. Coloured, Indian and African political expression within the country functioned mainly in accordance with government guidelines. Segregated bodies such as the Bantustans and the Coloured Person's Representative Council(C.P.R.C.) were products of apartheid policy and did not actively oppose government. Many Black students rejected the Bantustan - and C.P.R.C. - type leadership. The absence of radical groups both enabled Black students to perceive a need for alternative organisation and left scope for SASO to emerge. (Gerhart 1978:280)

It was in this context that some African, Coloured and Indian students formulated the consensus that a united Black student organisation was a viable basis from which to focus on their concerns. In 1968, about forty students from African, Indian and Coloured education institutions formed a Black caucus at the U.C.M. conference. Students from the ranks of this caucus formed SASO and planned its inaugural conference in July 1969. (Gerhart 1978:261)

3.3 SASO - A United Black Organisation

SASO symbolised both a rejection and a utilisation of apartheid's racial features. Government identified separate population categorisation as fundamental to its policy and it is this which is a prominent characteristic of apartheid. The SASO members therefore concentrated on this aspect. Ironically, they sought to overcome

official attempts to divide the population categories but stressed the tactical need to be separate from Whites. Black (African, Coloured and Indian) unity and the exclusion of Whites were the two complementary principles which underlay SASO.

This stance adopted by SASO indicated a heightened degree of polarisation in South African society. (Welsh and Savage 1977:141)

> Polarization - the simplification of the conflict from a series of skirmishes into a battle perceived as a total confrontation between black and white - required not just the initial redefinition of all whites, including liberals, as oppressors, but also required the conceptual regrouping of all non-whites into the single category of 'black'. (Gerhart 1978:281)

SASO leaders believed that liberal Whites who claimed to support Blacks were more than irrelevant; they had undermined the initiative of Black opposition and constituted part of the Black problem.

> What I have tried to show is that in South Africa political power has always rested with White society. Not only have the Whites been guilty of being on the offensive but, by some skilful manoeuvres, they have managed to control the responses of Blacks to the provocation. Not only have they kicked the Blacks but they have also told him how to react to the kick. With painful slowness he is now beginning to show signs that it is his right and duty to respond to the kick 'in the way he sees fit'. (Biko 1972(b):195)

At first, SASO students maintained friendly links with some liberal Whites but kept a cautious distance from NUSAS. By 1970, SASO had grown sufficiently in strength and conviction to withdraw its recognition of NUSAS as a national union. In July 1971, SASO students adopted a manifesto which clearly stated their attitude: "we believe that in all

matters relating towards realising our aspirations whites must be excluded". (Khoapa 1973:40-1; see also Gerhart 1978:262-267, and Sizwe 1979:123)

The idea of a separate Black student organisation was open to a variety of interpretations. SASO members and supporters repeated that it was a tactical necessity which reflected a desire for positive unity rather than Black chauvinism. (See, for example, the SASO manifesto reproduced in Wolfson 1976:49-51, and Black Review Annuals.) Some Black students expressed concern that such a separate organisation was in line with the government's concept of "racial" segregation. (Gerhart 1978:267; Hirson 1979:71-2) Such sentiments were shared by NUSAS and sectors of the English-language press. (For a summary of the varied White reaction see Khoapa 1973:48-54; also Nettleton 1972.) Initially the government adopted a similar interpretation and therefore welcomed what liberals criticised. The authorities at the University of Zululand (Ngoye) and the University of the North (Turfloop) accepted SASO onto their campuses with little or no opposition. At the University of Fort Hare, the authorities viewed SASO less favourably, probably because the campus's history made them wary of any student organisation, but did not ban it. (Gerhart 1978:265-6; Hirson 1979:73; Simons 1982:20)

From the start, the SASO leadership included students from the African, Coloured and Indian population categories. (Hirson 1979:72) At its July, 1970, conference, SASO rejected the term "non-white" as a negative definition of its membership; the students substituted the term "Black". (Gerhart 1978:227) Their adoption of the more inclusive term

defined Africans, Coloureds and Indians as a single group. This posed a psychological and a political challenge to apartheid ideology. Psychologically it was an attempt to overcome the negative aspects associated with being "non-White" in South Africa. This in itself was political, but so too was the implication of a unified Black body. This challenge was carried further when SASO condemned Bantustan and C.P.R.C. leaders in the years ahead.

The government's initial welcome of SASO indicated that it did not (or chose not to) understand the Black unity which SASO hoped to represent. It interpreted SASO as an African or "tribalistic" organisation. (Motlhabi 1980:197) On the basis of "differences" between the population categories, the authorities forbade Indian students (at the University of Durban-Westville) and Coloured students (at U.W.C.) from SASO membership. (Hirson 1979:72-3)

The attitudes nurtured by apartheid society posed additional problems for the SASO students who sought Black unity. Some Africans hesitated to open their ranks to the possibly dubious commitment of Coloureds and Indians. Within the latter two sectors there was uncertainty as to whether their best interests lay in an alliance with Africans, or in the more privileged position they held as separate categories, or in seeking a common cause with Whites. (Gerhart 1978:278-280; Murray 1983(c):675) The position of Coloureds was particularly ambivalent: "they are bound to Africans and Indians by their common oppression and to Whites by their common culture". (Simons 1976:232) When these factors are considered alongside government

measures to ensure population category separatism, the prospect of Black unity appeared dim. SASO, nevertheless, proceeded with its aims.

3.4 Black Consciousness

The SASO students moulded their philosophy from the same experiences and perceptions which gave rise to their organisation. In order to resuscitate Black political influence, they considered new forms of organisation guided by new mental attitudes to be essential. Black Consciousness has been most aptly described as "Black Renaissance" - a reawakening of the Black mind. (Motlhabi 1980:203)

This philosophy was geared towards Black psychological transformation. The initial task, therefore, was to make Blacks accept the need for such transformation -

> ...to make the Black see himself, to pump life into his empty shell, to influence him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. (Quoted in Pityana 1972:180)

As Murray pointed out, Blacks were to identify with the ideology of Black Consciousness as "a conscious effort to disregard the sentiments of dependence, inferiority and deference towards whites". (Murray 1983(c):674)

The underlying theme was that Blacks should be entirely self-reliant and united if they were to make social and political advances.

> The realization that power accedes nothing without demand will bring us to the true meaning of Black Consciousness as an instrument for social change. The Black man must realise that he is on his own. (Pityana 1972:188-9)

Black Consciousness was the vehicle which would provide for Black solidarity. The latter, SASO ideologues argued, was the essential prerequisite for Blacks to bargain with Whites from a position of equality.

From the outset, Black Consciousness aimed at enhanced Black political bargaining power, but the political and economic system envisaged by its supporters was unclear. Motlhabi noted that the B.C.M. favoured universal suffrage in a unitary South African state. (Motlhabi 1980:212) Equal suffrage was the B.C.M.'s solution to the racial aspects of apartheid. In the early seventies, Steve Biko suggested that any future Black South African government would be socialist (Biko 1972(b):192) and the Black Peoples Convention (B.P.C.) spoke of an amorphous "Black Communalism". (See Motlhabi 1980:225) Such sentiments were seldom clearly expressed at the surface of Black Consciousness rhetoric, but they received a boost at the time of Angolan and Mozambican independence. In 1976, D. Mji, the SASO president, stated that their concern with colour interests should be coupled with class interests. (Brooks and Brickhill 1978:78; Sizwe 1979:125) It is not clear that the trend apparent amongst SASO and B.P.C. leaders extended far along the ranks of the B.C.M.. Radical observers were able to criticise the fact that Black Consciousness supporters did not develop a working-class ideology or a mass-based political programme. (See, for example, Sizwe 1979:121-2; Mafeje 1978:22-24) Generally, Black Consciousness was geared to placing Blacks in a position where they could make their demands forcefully - just what those demands would be were left unspecified.

3.5 The Roots Of SASO and Black Consciousness

SASO and other sectors of the B.C.M. had both continuities and discontinuities with earlier political movements. Black Consciousness contained many strains of the earlier Black nationalist movements - particularly the Africanism of the C.Y.L. and later the P.A.C.. (Motlhabi 1980:210-1; for a brief history of Black Nationalism, see Walshe 1973) In the mid-forties, C.Y.L. members made statements on Black exclusivism and Black awareness which were echoed by the Black Consciousness writers. C.Y.L. leaders did not, however, agree about whether non-African Blacks should be included in their movement (Mda, for example, favoured such inclusion but was opposed by Lembede). (Hirson 1979:309-311)

Gerhart found precedents to the B.C.M.'s policies in both the P.A.C.'s rejection of White assistance and the Congress Alliance's efforts at African, Coloured and Indian Unity. (Gerhart 1978:248) Yet neither the P.A.C. nor the Congress Alliance combined a broad Black unity and the exclusion of Whites in the manner of the B.C.M.. A more apt, but oft forgotten precedent was contained in the Non-European Unity Movement (N.E.U.M.). The principle of an all inclusive Black unity which excluded Whites was fundamental to the N.E.U.M.. Two other features of the N.E.U.M. taken up by SASO were the rejection of "dummy-institutions" and the use of the boycott tactic. (Murray 1983(c):675-6)[3]. Black Consciousness appeared to borrow directly from the older political traditions in many areas. Motlhabi, however, argued that censorship and repression virtually discounted the possibility of such. (Motlhabi

1980:211) In contrast, Gerhart showed that some of SASO's earliest supporters had been pro-P.A.C. members of the African Students Union of South Africa; the P.A.C. and A.N.C. were not long banned and there were still people to pass on their history. (Gerhart 1978:261.284; Hirson 1979:324) The South African political situation of the sixties made it difficult for SASO leaders to acknowledge such debts. (See Gerhart 1978:284)

External influences played their part in the development of Black Consciousness. The battle for decolonisation elsewhere in Africa, the increasing popularity of Fanonism and the Black civil rights struggles in the U.S.A. gave impetus to the B.C.M 's growth. The influence from the U.S.A. also contributed to the B.C.M.'s emphasis on Black Theology. Many SASO leaders were very religious (as had been some C.Y.L. members) and had spent some of their time in the U.C.M.. The political role of Black theology in the U.S.A. and the activities of the South African Christian Institute helped to push theology into the forefront of B.C.M. activities and concerns. (Hirson 1979:325) Additional external and internal factors will be considered in the following section.

3.6 Black Consciousness Movement Activities

A wide range of youth, theological and cultural groups which were based on a common rejection of White dominance emerged under the mantle of the Black Consciousness Movement. (See Black Review Annuals 1973-1977) In 1972, SASO was instrumental in the formation of a broad

alliance of Black organisations which gave rise to the overtly political Black People's Convention (B.P.C.). (Gerhart 1978:291-2; Khoapa 1973:8-13) In 1974, SASO was again the driving force, along with various religious groups, behind a Black Renaissance Convention; here, a wide cross-section of Black intellectuals and leaders met and revealed a general consensus over a number of issues. (Murray 1983(c):674-5; Gerhart 1978:294)

The B.C.M.'s strategy was one of gradual progression towards an ultimate bargaining point with Whites, rather than the confrontation tactics of earlier movements. (See Motlhabi 1980:240-245) In line with this strategy, it focused on projects among the Black communities which would encourage self-reliance. It spread the Black Consciousness ideology through educational programmes, cultural activities, health and social-welfare schemes, talks and pamphlets.

On two occasions, the B.C.M. transgressed their non-confrontation strategy in major campaigns. The first campaign was the SASO-instigated student boycott which will be considered in more detail below. The second was the pro-FRELIMO campaign of 1974.

From 1973, political activity in South Africa took place in a markedly altered atmosphere. Close on the heels of Black student demonstrations, the country witnessed an escalation of labour-strike activity. (See Hirson 1979:133-142; Khoapa 1973:128-163) Outside South Africa, guerilla forces in Mozambique and Angola made substantial advances in their anti-colonial wars. (See Johnson 1979:129-161) These

events lent support to the B.C.M. message of Black self-reliance and inspired a more militant language among the movement's leaders. (Hirson 1979:8) In September 1974, this new mood of assertiveness encouraged the B.C.M. to ignore a government ban on public-meetings - they proceeded with rallies arranged to celebrate the new FRELIMO (Front For the Liberation of Mozambique) government in Mozambique. Consequently, many B.C.M. leaders were arrested. Defendants and Black spectators were reported to have carried their defiant attitudes into the courtrooms. (Mbanjwa 1975:77-81; Gerhart 1978:298)

It was inevitable that the government would shift from support to assault as the B.C.M.'s path became clearer and more outspoken. In 1973, it served restriction notices on eight B.C.M. leaders (and also on eight NUSAS leaders). When new Black Consciousness leaders emerged, they also received official restriction orders. (Gerhart 1978:296-7) The government stepped-up its action against the B.C.M. after the pro-FRELIMO rallies. Along with those arrested at the rallies, police later detained over forty people. (Mbanjwa 1975:81) In the subsequent trials, the State attempted to "impute subversive motives into the Black Consciousness Movement" and the ideology of Black Consciousness. (Mbanjwa 1975:131; see also Mbanjwa 1975:76-95; and Rambally 1977:82-86) Despite the government's growing concern about the B.C.M., it was not until after the events of 1976, and then only in the latter part of 1977, that it banned the Black Consciousness organisations entirely.

3.7 SASO And Education

SASO and Black Consciouness were generated from the ranks of Black students and it is not surprising that education remained one of the organisation's main concerns. A number of SASO projects had an educational aspect - literacy campaigns, home-education schemes and the building of rural schools. At the same time, SASO drew students into critiques of and discussions on the South African education system.

The B.C.M. rejected the government's policy of segregated education and its ideological implications. The B.C.M.'s concept of the ideal education has been summarised as follows:

> It had to promote self-reliance, critical awareness, understanding of the community and its problems, and a sense of positive self-identity. Education had also to aim at the destruction of imperialist, racialist, tribalist, sectionalist, colonialist and neo-colonialist notions - because education in South Africa was 'unashamedly political', black education had to be connected with the liberation of Black people in South Africa and abroad. (Motlhabi 1980:216)[4]

SASO persistently drove home its political ideology and its condemnation of the official education system. It was in direct and regular contact with students on the Black campuses, to whom it put forward this message. Ironically, these students were, for their formal education, entirely reliant on the apartheid institutions which they criticised. The Black students were thus forced to compromise their political ideals or sacrifice their education. They generally settled for the former but the SASO activists fed a growing tension on the Black campuses.

In 1972, the mood on Black campuses was portrayed in a series of student boycotts. In April, Mr. O.R.Tiro, a SASO member and student at the University of the North, voiced a critical attack on the Black education system in a controversial graduation ceremony speech. The university authorities expelled Tiro, whereupon the students met and decided to boycott lectures in protest. Solidarity boycotts followed from the University of the Western Cape (U.W.C.) and the Black section of the University of Natal (U.N.N.E.).

Initially, the student boycotts supported a call for Tiro's re-instatement. The students soon brought in broader issues and the boycotts spread. SASO leaders held a seminar in Alice which produced the "Alice Declaration": Black students "as a sign of protest against oppressive and racist education they were being given should force the institutions they were studying at to close down by a mass walk-out". (Khoapa 1973:22,176-7) Students on Black campuses throughout the country proceeded to take part in a series of protest demonstrations. (See Khoapa 1973:176-180; Hirson 1979:86-88) In 1973 and 1974, Black students sporadically disrupted university activity; campus protests aimed at broad political concerns as well as educational conditions. (See Wolfson 1976 and Mbanjwa 1975:176-183)

The organisation and activities of SASO introduced a new vibrance to the South African education conflict. In the period from 1972 to 1974, it was students under their own organisation who led the integrated protests over educational issues; not, as in the past, parents, teachers and adults in national bodies. SASO also inspired the first combined

protest of all the segregated Black higher education campuses since their inception. This event had a dual significance. Firstly, it pushed educational issues into the forefront of national events. Secondly, it indicated the extent to which SASO's call for Black unity had been taken up by the students. The dramatic nature of the boycotts also contributed to the spread of Black Consciousness ideals to high school pupils. (Motlhabi 1980:255)

3.8 The Appeal of Black Consciousness

Black Consciousness was a diffuse nationalist ideology geared primarily towards the psyche - the transformation of Black minds. Support for SASO and the B.C.M., therefore, stemmed predominantly from university students, clerics, educated intellectuals and high school pupils. The narrowness of the immediate appeal of the Black Consciousness ideology was caused by the attitudes of some of its spokesmen as well as by its mental focus. Where SASO spoke of political action it reflected an elitism which was portrayed in its constitution and manifesto - SASO members perceived themselves as the "vanguard of the struggle". (Phaahla 1982:39) A statement made by one U.W.C. student reflected this attitude:

> We, the real Black students, are part of a wider suffering community. The Black university should offer intimacy with the Black people. We, the Black students, should take over the responsibility of our people's destiny. This is the leadership role we are destined to play towards the liberation of our people. (Quoted in Venter 1974:344)

The significance of Black Consciousness, however, extended further than the titillation of a few Black intellectuals. Community programmes and cultural projects put a wide range of Blacks in contact with the language and ideas of the ideology. Black Consciousness suggested new alternatives to the separate, government established, political bodies. B.C.M. organisations and activities provided channels for Africans, Coloureds and Indians to start to overcome the barriers which separated them. Biko suggested that the importance of SASO and Black consciousness was "to be found in the fact that a new approach...made Blacks sit up and think. It heralded a new era in which Blacks are beginning to take care of their own business and to see with clarity the immensity of their responsibility". (Biko 1972(b):197) For students, and in turn scholars, it provided a basis for the reactivation of the education struggle in a manner in which they assumed a leading role.

3.9 Coloured Students And Black Consciousness

In chapter one, it was noted that Coloureds selected political options which ranged from support of the politically dominant Whites to alliances with other Blacks in opposition to government. Unity with Africans or Whites was always a divisive issue among Coloureds. During the course of this century, sectors of the Coloured population-category made numerous and varied attempts to foster political alliances with Africans. Generally these attempts were shortlived and there is little history of consistent Coloured and African unity in the Western Cape or elsewhere in South Africa. More consistently, there have been Coloureds

who shared the "racial" attitudes of their rulers in the hope of reaping personal gain and a foothold in the White domain. (See Simons 1976:209-228)

Since the forties, the question of Coloured participation in government-established, separate, political institutions had always brought to the surface longstanding Coloured political divisions. From 1969, the Coloured Person's Representative Council (C.P.R.C.) posed the same questions for Coloureds as the Union Council for Coloured Affairs (fifties and sixties) and the Coloured Advisory Commission (forties and fifties) had done so before: do they participate and, if so, on what basis?

In the late sixties and early seventies, three main ideological divisions within the Coloured population category were represented by the Federal Coloured Peoples Party (Federal Party) and similar groups, the South African Labour Party (Labour Party), and the Teachers League of South Africa (T.L.S.A.) respectively. The Federal Party accepted the government's concept of a separate Coloured "group" which ought to conduct its political affairs through the C.P.R.C. - members either accepted apartheid or sought future advances through a policy of co-operation with government. The Labour Party opposed apartheid but accepted the use of the C.P.R.C. as the only legal political platform available. The T.L.S.A. rejected outright the concepts of a separate Coloured group or organisation and the C.P.R.C..(Khoapa 1973:85-6; Simons 1976:219) The Black Consciousness organisations, as did the T.L.S.A., rejected participation in separate bodies such as the Bantustans and the

C.P.R.C.. (See Hirson 1979:114,173; Khoapa 1973:12; Mbanjwa 1975:68,133-4)

Among Coloured youth in particular, many did not share some of their parents' hopes that co-operation would lead to a more equal status with Whites. Others became disillusioned with the Labour Party tactic of opposition within the official framework. Black Consciousness provided a persuasive argument for relinquishing the tenuous hopes of being "nearly-White" or a reliance on institutions such as the C.P.R.C.. To a number of Coloured students, Black Consciousness seemed to speak in a language which reflected their perception of South African society and which depicted their needs. The Coloured student boycott in solidarity with University of the North students and the "Alice Declaration" indicated, by 1972, substantial U.W.C. support for the Black Consciousness cause. (This will be examined in more detail in chapter four.)

The similarities between Black Consciousness programmes and the old N.E.U.M. had a significance for Coloured students in the Western Cape, where the T.L.S.A. (an N.E.U.M. affiliate) had played an influential role. The dynamic political climate of the early seventies demanded more than the T.L.S.A.'s political rhetoric was able to offer. Coloured students in the region who opposed the government could, however, adopt a traditional political stance but in the new organisational form of SASO. Ironically, the T.L.S.A., through its mouthpiece, The Educational Journal, maintained a very critical attitude towards the B.C.M.. (See, for example, articles by Poswa 1976)

SASO, through its organisation and activities on the campus, mobilised Coloured students. Along with other sectors of the B.C.M., it offered alternatives to isolation on segregated campuses, government political institutions and inactive radical movements. It is not surprising, therefore, that Coloured students at U.W.C. responded favourably to the immediate appeal of SASO and Black Consciousness.[5]

3.10 Footnotes to Chapter Three

1. In 1952, Fort Hare students, under the influence of S.O.Y.A.(which excluded Whites) and the Africanist strand of the C.Y.L., voted to secede from NUSAS - then the only national student organisation with Black members. (Hirson 1979:52,54) In 1957, Fort Hare students decided to re-affiliate with NUSAS. Beard argued that this attitude reversal was spearheaded by the C.Y.L. which had come to favour a tactical alliance with White students in the struggle against university apartheid. Nevertheless, Beard continues, C.Y.L. members at Fort Hare were primarily concerned with the A.N.C. and the NUSAS issue was of secondary importance. (Beard 1972:169-70)

2. See SASO Newsletter, August 1970: "... cherished liberal principles - academic freedom, the rule of law, civil liberties - were intermediate goals meaningful to whites but largely irrelevant to blacks who were struggling for even more fundamental freedoms". See also footnote five.

3. The A.N.C. shared these features, but its support for the use of boycott tactics can be traced to N.E.U.M. influence. (Hirson 1979:311)

4. These sentiments were reminiscent of the T.L.S.A. stance adopted in the post-forties.

5. It is interesting to note that U.W.C. students did approach NUSAS for organisational backing and support. NUSAS, however, was not able to cater for the specific needs of Coloured students in the Western Cape; it also had problems dealing outside of the S.R.C. framework. U.W.C. students turned to SASO which was more suitable for its needs. (Interview - GBu)

CHAPTER FOUR

COLOURED STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS - ORGANISATION AND PROTEST: 1968-1975

4.1 Introduction

During the first half of the seventies, sectors of South African society displayed increased concern about Black education. NUSAS students at the University of Cape Town set up literacy schemes and established a tutorial programme up to matriculation level for Blacks. In 1970 and 1972 they included pamphleteering of White high schools in the Cape Peninsula as part of their education programme. (See Thurteigh 1972:4-5) Throughout the latter year, NUSAS focused on a "Free Education" campaign.[1] In 1973, Coloured parents in Hanover Park formed an action committee to campaign for the provision of proper schools in the area.[2] In 1974, Coloured parents and teachers formed another Action Committee on Education after chaos and bad results in the December 1973 examinations.[3] Also in 1974, a number of Black intellectuals examined the political and social context of Coloured education as part of a programme on the "upliftment" of the Cape Flats.[4] In addition, as the previous chapter has shown, Black students launched their own education campaigns in the early seventies.

Between 1970 and 1976, students at the University of Western Cape (U.W.C.) campaigned over two main issues: first, to organise in the

manner of their own choice; second, to criticise the nature of their education. These two issues contain a number of sub-elements which will be examined in the first half of this chapter. In the previous chapter it was suggested that Coloured students on the whole responded positively to Black Consciousness and SASO - this hypothesis will be tested in the analysis of U.W.C. activities during the first part of the seventies. It will be shown that student activity over this period shifted through a series of phases which were influenced by national and international events. It is significant to note the extent to which the U.W.C. students took their demonstrations and influence into the communities and high schools - thus spreading their ideas and publicising their campaigns.

Coloured schools in the Cape Peninsula are numerous and widespread; the examination of scholar activity is therefore broader than that of U.W.C. students. For many schools in the Cape Flats, the early seventies was a period of orientation and organisation. The pupils of the relatively new products of apartheid had to form their own school traditions in the Coloured township environment. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were open to the ideological influence of their student elders. By contrast, there were pupils in older schools which already had a strong tradition with a powerful ideological influence from the teaching body. The latter part of this chapter examines the trends amongst Coloured scholars in the early seventies: their attempts to organise, the influence of events and ideologies, and scholar protests. The aim is to establish the extent to which Coloured pupil participation in the 1976 boycotts had its roots in the earlier years of the seventies.

4.2 University of the Western Cape Student Protests

The story of U.W.C. student activity in the first half of the seventies is one of the struggle for organisation and autonomy. The students' struggle for organisation involved protest and a challenge to university authority and, thus, government ideology. The last point was not always recognised by students when they focused on campus grievances, but became more apparent as the campaigns progressed. The grievances which students raised, the manner in which they protested and the basis of their organisation were dialectically interrelated: campus grievances inspired the need for student organisation; student protests established a unity on which organisation could be based; the manner of student organisation and protest provoked specific responses from the authorities; consequently campus conditions altered and student organisation and protest had to be adjusted. This mutually influential pattern becomes apparent in the examination below.

4.3 Student Organisation

The first Students' Representative Council (S.R.C.) at the University College of the Western Cape (U.C.W.C.) lasted little more than a year due to insufficient student support. In October, 1967, U.C.W.C. students elected their first S.R.C. which functioned until the end of 1968. Generally, however, the students were not satisfied with the S.R.C.'s official constitution which, they felt, rendered it a "dummy body". (Horrell 1970:159-60) In 1969, they resolved not to elect an

S.R.C.. Although some students made themselves available for the S.R.C., students did not cast the required minimum number of votes and thus invalidated the election. In 1970, no candidates offered themselves for election. (Horrell 1970:160; Van Wyk Commission Report para. 5.3.2:9)

In 1970, the government conferred full university status on the Coloured and other Black colleges. It was reported that U.W.C. students were wary of this entrenchment of higher education segregation and feared that academic standards would decline. (Horrell 1970:160) By this stage, U.W.C. student enrolment was up to 936. This growth created a greater need for an efficient means of communication between the student body and the university authorities.

In 1970, underlying student tensions came to a head when the rector, Professor N. Sieberhagen, suspended a student who refused to wear a tie in lectures. This incident sparked off a protest by about 400 students who staged a "sit-in" at the administrative block. The rector eventually commuted the student's punishment to a twenty-five rand fine. (Horrell 1970:160; Van Wyk Commission Report para 10.2.1.:28) The "tie-incident" was not crucial in itself, but enabled the students to stage a symbolic protest against the rigidity of university regulations. This was the first example of united U.W.C. student protest and it portrayed the depth of tension within the student body. The tie-incident provided them with a support base with which to make demands for improved channels of communication with the university authorities and for a more responsible status for students. The rector met with a student deputation to discuss their complaints. He invited these students to plan the draft of a new S.R.C. constitution for official consideration. (Horrell 1970:160)

Over the next few years, U.W.C. students continued their efforts to establish an S.R.C. of their own design and which would meet with official approval. In May 1971, the student body adopted a constitution which had been drawn up by the student-appointed committee. For the remainder of the year, students wrangled, with the rector and an"ad hoc" committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the Senate, over various aspects of the constitution. The university officials objected to two of the constitution's clauses in particular: the first empowered the S.R.C. to represent the U.W.C. student body in national and international student organisations; the second empowered the S.R.C. to summon and conduct mass meetings of students. Ultimately, the deliberations surrounding the new U.W.C. constitution were circumscribed by government regulations covering U.W.C.. These stated that only the University Council (i.e. not the rector or an "ad hoc" committee) could approve U.W.C. student organisations and that campus meetings which involved other organisations needed the rector's permission. (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 5.2.4-5.3.6:9-10)

U.W.C. students sought increased autonomy in their organisations. Internally they wanted official acceptance of the expanded powers of a newly consituted S.R.C.. On an external but related issue they claimed the right to affiliate and liaise with other organisations of their own choice. These student demands led to increased conflict with the university authorities.

In March, 1972, the students proceeded on the assumption that their constitution had met with official approval and elected a new S.R.C.. As

noted above, it was not within the rector's authority to award the S.R.C. with official status. In an attempt to avoid further friction, however, the rector gave provisional approval for the S.R.C., pending the necessary University Council acceptance. Such acceptance was not forthcoming. The S.R.C., nevertheless, functioned on the assumption that the rector's approval was sufficient. (Van Wyk Commission Report paras 5.3.9-10:10)

4.4 U.W.C. Student Links With External Groups

In the months ahead, disputes between the S.R.C. and the rector focused on the former's liaison with SASO and other Black campuses. The U.W.C. authorities had declared SASO a prohibited organisation on the campus. (Van Wyk Commission Report para. 4.5.2:9) Nevertheless, U.W.C. students joined SASO individually and some were prominent members of the organisation.[5] The S.R.C., in the face of official disapproval, strengthened its links with SASO by inviting the organisation's members to give talks on the campus. In April 1972, the rector refused permission for SASO president, Temba Sono, to address students but the S.R.C. went ahead with the meeting. (Van Wky Commission Report para. 5.3.12:11)

In May, 1972, U.W.C. students continued to challenge their authorities when they became the first campus to boycott lectures in solidarity with the students at the University of the North; U.W.C. demonstrations continued after SASO students passed the "Alice

Declaration". (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 5.3.18-5.3.23:11; see also chapter three: 88; and Khoapa 1973:174-180) In July, students again defied their U.W.C. rector when they proceeded with a meeting addressed by the new SASO president, Mr. G. Modisane. The U.W.C. disciplinary Committee fined Mr. J. Issel fifty rand for his part in chairing the meeting. The Van Wyk Commission reported that "evidently after this meeting the Security Police often appeared on campus" but does not state who instigated this appearance. (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 5.3.27-29:12)

In August, 1972, U.W.C. students elected an S.R.C. for the following year. Of the eleven new S.R.C. members, eight were SASO members and the S.R.C. chairman, Mr. H. Issacs, was the SASO president in 1973. (Van Wyk Commission Report para. 5.3.30:12; Gwala 1974:94-5)

The University Council continued to refuse its approval, and to deny the legitimacy of the S.R.C. and its constitution. In November, 1972, the S.R.C. applied to the Supreme Court for legal recognition. (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 5.3.31-2:12) The Supreme Court deliberations and the campus dispute continued into the following year.

4.5 The U.W.C. Conflict Escalates

In 1973, student unrest at U.W.C. reached its peak. The new rector, Professor C.J.Kriel, and S.R.C. members continued deliberations over the status of the S.R.C.. In February, the students held three unauthorised

meetings, two of which were addressed by external SASO officials. The university authorities subsequently held Mr. Isaacs responsible for a statement which the S.R.C. released to the press. The Disciplinary Committee imposed a fine on Mr. Isaacs and later suspended him when he refused to pay it. Thereafter, tension between students and the university authorities mounted. Students ignored Disciplinary Committe directives not to convene more meetings. "Weekly gatherings during the lunch hour now escalated into daily mass meetings which were attended by a large number of students." (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 5.4.1-12:12-13)

In mid-1973, the student protest changed in form. In April, 1973, the Supreme Court rejected the S.R.C. application for legal recognition. This judgement prompted the students to alter their focus. Henceforward, the U.W.C. students used the organisation and support base established in the S.R.C. struggle to broaden the scope of their protests. On 5th June, the students held a meeting at which they disbanded the S.R.C. and replaced it with an Action Committee. The Action Committee members submitted two memoranda of grievances to the rector: the first on campus issues, the second on disciplinary measures adopted in respect of Mr. Isaacs. (The memoranda are reproduced in full in appendices M and O respectively in the Van Wyk Commission Report.) On 8th June, about three hundred students marched on the Administration building and demanded the rector's response to the memoranda. They were dissatisfied with his handling of the matter and called for his resignation. The growth of student unrest on the campus caused the University Council to end the academic term four days prematurely. The Council announced that all

students would have to apply individually for re-admission in the third quarter. (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 5.4.13-19:13-14)

At this stage, U.W.C. students, for the first time, took their demonstrations into the community in order to publicise their protests and win wider support. Their efforts were backed by the U.W.C., Coloured "Personeelassosiasie", which expressed solidarity with the students, and by the outspoken support of two Coloured lecturers, Mr G.J.Gerwel and Mr A.Small. (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 5.4.20,5.4.22:14)[6] The Action Committee arranged a series of public meetings in centres around the country (Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Oudtshoorn and Johannesburg). (Muslim News 13.7.73) The Minister of Coloured Relations then announced that all students would be readmitted to U.W.C..

On 16th July, 1973, the first day of the third quarter, students held a large meeting and many lectures were either boycotted or disrupted. The students rejected a university-appointed commission of enquiry and demanded one of an impartial nature. Student meetings and class boycotts continued. The university authorities adopted a stricter policy and temporarily expelled six students. On 25th July, conflict between students and officials reached its height - hundreds of students "walked-out" in sympathy with those who had been suspended. Many of the students chose not to return and some were refused re-admission. (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 5.4.27-40:15-16)[7]

The government adopted two measures in response to student demands and events at U.W.C.. In August 1973, it appointed Mr. Justice J.T.Van Wyk to conduct a Commission of Enquiry into the campus incidents. In October, a government spokesman announced that Dr. R.E.Van Der Ross, a Coloured educationist, would assume the appointment of U.W.C. rector from the start of 1975.

4.6 The 1972/3 Events Explained

According to "Black Review", a Black Consciousness publication, the 1972 revolts on Black campuses were the result of the strong resentment of "racist education". (Khoapa 1973:172) It pointed out that student criticsm revolved around the link of Black universities with the Departments of Bantu, Coloured and Indian Education. These departments, it argued, were geared to prepare Blacks for an inferior role in South African society. The Black Review article also criticised the White control of institutions allocated to Blacks. (Khoapa 1973:172,174)

In contrast, the Van Wyk Commission blamed the activities of SASO and its U.W.C. members as the immediate cause of the unrest at U.W.C.. The Commission recommended that -

> For as long as the policy of separate ethnic universities continues to exist, the State should...retain sufficient control to ensure that SASO, in whatever guise, does not gain control of any student body, staff association or any other university body. (Van Wyk Commission Report para. 6.4.1.:17)

According to the Van Wyk Commission, the only justifiable student complaints related to the salaries of Coloured staff and the autonomy of the university. It noted, as a background to the events, a general dissatisfaction and frustration of many Coloureds "with certain views, customs and laws that differentiate between Coloureds and Whites ... that the Coloured group lagged behind in its development" and "...that Whites rather than Coloureds control the university". (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 16.1-2.3:50-1)[8]

SASO and Black Consciousness had a significant influence on the U.W.C. events. It has been noted above that a number of U.W.C. leaders were active in SASO. It was also reported that general student support for SASO and Black Consciousness grew in the early seventies. The Black theological strand of Black Consciousness was significant here. A significant number of the U.W.C. student leaders during 1973 were theology students. (Interview - JH; see also Van Heyningen et al. 1976:37)

This is not to suggest that U.W.C. students would not have attempted to improve their organisation and seek greater autonomy without the existence of SASO. These student goals were partly the result of the institution's maturation in years and the coincident growth in student numbers. The significance of SASO was that it provided external support for the U.W.C. students' attempts to strengthen their internal organisation. It also provided the ideology and language with which students could formulate their demands. In addition, SASO allowed U.W.C. students to identify with common grievances on other Black campuses. It

was this identification which led U.W.C. students to launch the demonstrations of solidarity with other Black campuses. The S.R.C.'s determination to maintain open links with SASO created much of the friction on campus. The campus meetings addressed by SASO members indicated more than student support for the organisation - they symbolised that students were determined to have greater control over their university lives.

The 1972 and 1973 memoranda of student grievances reflected some Black Consciousness influence. Both memoranda complained about strict regulations, poor academic standards and the salary discrepancy between White and Black staff. The students emphasised demands for more Black teaching staff, particularly a Black rector, and deplored the virtual absence of Blacks from the university Senate and Council. Student placards borne during the 1973 demonstrations echoed these sentiments: "Blacks, Blacks" and "White arrogance means Black frustration", for example. (Van Wyk Commission Report para. 5.4.16:14)

The U.W.C. students' concern with the skin-colour of the university authorities clouded the issue of university control. The 1972 memorandum called for a Black rector in a way which made it clear that the students overestimated the rector's authority.[9] As the university authorities pointed out, university control was vested in the Council and ultimately the Minister of Coloured Relations and not the rector. (Van Wyk Commission Report Appendix J:69)[10]

The target of student criticism on this issue should therefore have been government control. This point was acknowledged in the 1973 memorandum. Here, the students called on the U.W.C. officials to make a "determined stand for greater autonomy, to try to convert U.W.C. into a university rather than allow it to continue existing in its present nature as an instrument of apartheid". (Van Wyk Commission Report Appendix M:72) At the same time that students submitted the memorandum, however, they directed their criticism at the rector and repeated the call for a Black replacement. The government's appointment of Dr. Van Der Ross neither alleviated campus problems nor came up to student expectations. Press reports in 1975 and early 1976 indicated that U.W.C. students still clashed with their university authorities, including the new Coloured rector. (Cape Times 18.9.75 and 9.3.76)

4.7 U.W.C. Students Convalesce

In 1974, there was a lull in U.W.C. student protests. Despite the excitement and activity generated on other Black campuses and in the community, U.W.C. was relatively quiet. The aftermath of the previous year's demonstrations help to explain this. The walk-outs, expulsions, police activity and detentions combined to sap U.W.C. of much militant leadership. (Mr. Isaacs was one of the many SASO members served with restriction orders during 1973.) The national depth of SASO and the B.C.M. supplied ready replacements for individuals affected by Security Police action against the Black Consciousness organisations. U.W.C. students, however, took more time to overcome the assault on their campus

leadership and organisation. 1974 was a year when the U.W.C. student body re-assessed the previous year's events, avoided confrontation with the authorities and concentrated on their academic pursuits. The surge of national activity that year, along with the inflow of recruits from the high-schools, meant, however, that U.W.C. could not for long remain inactive.

4.8 1975 - New Dynamics, New Goals

In 1975, the U.W.C. students shifted their attention to broader political and community issues in a resurgence of activity. In this year, they played a prominent role in the campaign against Coloured Persons' Representative Council (C.P.R.C.) elections. (Mbanjwa 1975:181) In February, Black Consciousness supporters formed the Anti-Coloured Representative Council Committee (ACROM). ACROM's prime aim was to encourage support for a boycott of the C.P.R.C. elections in March. (Mbanjwa 1975:66-69) ACROM also adopted a broad educative function to spread the values of Black Consciousness and politicise people. (Mbanjwa 1975:132-3) In September, U.W.C. students again demonstrated against the C.P.R.C. and criticised the Labour Party's participation in the latter. (Daily Dispatch 6.9.75; Cape Times 6.9.75; Sunday Times 7.9.75))

U.W.C. student participation in the anti-C.P.R.C. campaigns placed them within an area of Coloured political activity which had covered more than three decades. (See chapter three:91-2) The ACROM campaign, of which U.W.C. students were a part, echoed the Non-European Unity Movement

(N.E.U.M.) line as well as revitalised the boycott strategy. ACROM appealed to those poeple who opposed or had become discontented with the C.P.R.C., but were not satisfied with the T.L.S.A. inactivity. This was an early example of the way in which the Black Consciousness groups whittled away the T.L.S.A.'s traditional domain in the Western Cape.[11]

Renewed and broader protests by U.W.C. students were coupled with attempts to reorganise and re-establish links with SASO. U.W.C. students formed an organised branch of SASO on the campus and again invited SASO leaders to address the students. (Mbanjwa 1975:181) Along with their anti-C.P.R.C. campaigns, student activists focused on other sensitive community issues. For example, in the middle of 1975, U.W.C. members of SASO erected a shanty to protest about the housing shortage in Cape Town. This protest appeared to gain much public support within the local community. (Muslim News 4.7.7.5)

4.9 U.W.C. Student Protests - Summary

By 1976 U.W.C. students had moved a long way from their passive boycott of the unsatisfactory S.R.C. in 1969. Over the period from 1970 to 1975, five phases in U.W.C. student activity can be depicted.

In 1970 and 1971, the first phase, students focused on the task of establishing an autonomous student organisation which could convey campus grievances to the university authorities. In the second phase, 1972 and early 1973, they extended the question of organisation and autonomy to

include their relationship with students external to U.W.C.. Visits by SASO speakers and boycotts in soldarity with other Black campuses were the main source of conflict.

Towards mid-1973, the third phase in student activity emerged; it was characterised by a hardening of attitudes on both sides of escalating campus conflict. The Supreme Court judgement against the students caused them to appreciate the limitations of official channels. This was symbolised by their formation of an Action Committee and the shift away from the prior concern with a legal S.R.C.. At the same time, students sought a wider base by enlisting support from the external community. This propelled the student campaigns beyond the scope of solely campus issues.[12] The July "walk-out" portrayed the extent to which some of the students had become more radical during the year's protests. At this stage, a number of the student leaders did not return to the campus; either by official order or voluntarily, they left academics for external political activity. (Interview - JH)

Post-July 1973 and 1974 marked the fourth phase in U.W.C. activity. In this period, the authorities appeared to have the upper hand and U.W.C. students provided no visibly active repsonse to national protests. Official constraints handicapped student organisation and kept the campus subdued.

Reorganisation and a concern with more than campus issues signified the fifth phase in U.W.C. student activity. By 1975, the process of re-establishing a student organisational base had begun. The students'

retrospective assessment of the 1973 events and the surge of Black Consciousness campaigns in 1974 contributed to their shift away from localised concerns. This was a precursor to the socio-political demands which the students raised in 1976.

The growing enrolment of high school graduates also contributed to the resurge in U.W.C. student activity. A number of Coloured scholars passed through youth organisations which had close links with student ideas and an awareness of the campus activities. These scholars did not experience the brunt of the official reaction to the student protests in 1973: they were eager to take up where their elders had left off. (Interview-JH) The influence of students and their activities on Coloured scholars will be examined below.

4.10 Scholar Organisation, Attitudes and Action: 1968-1975 - Introduction

In the early seventies, attempts by Coloured scholars to form organisational bases and external links were important elements of their activity in the Western Cape. Coloureds were, at an early age, politically sensitised by the immediate effects of Group Areas removals, the influence of apartheid policies on their lives and conditions in their schools. (See The Educational Journal XXXVII(6) March 1966:I) Scholars were also influenced by general political, industrial and educational unrest. The vibrant political mood of South Africa in the early seventies helped to make Coloured scholars receptive to the organisational and ideological influence of teachers and students. Not

content merely to listen and observe, scholars too played their part in protest activity. The following sections study:(i) the diverse ideological influences of teachers on their pupils;(ii) the manner in which scholars organised;(iii) scholar protests between 1968 and 1975; and (iv) the attitudes apparent among Coloured scholars prior to mid-1976.

4.11 The Influence of Teachers On Coloured Scholars

Teachers exerted an influence on their Coloured pupils which varied according to area and school. Organised Coloured teachers in the Western Cape were members of either the Teachers League of South Africa (T.L.S.A.) or the Cape Teachers Professional Association (C.T.P.A.). In this area, however, most Coloured teachers were not members of the organised bodies. Due to the constraints upon teachers and their general political inactivity over this period, any ideological sway they held over scholars was not widespread. (See C.T.P.A. 1977:8-9; Backman 1973(b):9)[13] Those in the C.T.P.A., for example, tended to avoid political matters. A clear contrast could be found in the schools where T.L.S.A. members dominated the staff. Exceptions were also found in a few of the newer Cape Flats' schools.

The ideological stance of the Non-European Unity Movement was carried into Coloured schools which were traditionally T.L.S.A. strongholds. These were older, established schools in the Cape Peninsula:Trafalgar High School (District Six), Livingstone High School (Claremont). Harold Cressy High School (Cape Town) and South Peninsula

High School (Diep River). (Interview-KG: Molteno 1983:115) T.L.S.A. members had been in the forefront of past educational struggles. They were less openly active in the sixties but continued to wield a political influence over their pupils.

In some of the newer Cape Flats schools, there were teachers who openly favoured the Black Consciousness ideology. This sector of the Coloured teaching profession consisted mainly of younger teachers who were annually reinforced by graduates from U.W.C. and the teacher-training colleges. (Interviews-KG and JH) The overall influence of these teachers in the early seventies should not be exaggerated yet their presence suggested the growing force of Black Consciousness in the area. The Black Consciousness-related activities over these years stimulated this growth.

Scholars beyond the reach of the T.L.S.A. or Black Conciousness supporters in the teaching staff were not solely reliant on their own resources. The emergence of new youth organisations provided forums where they could sharpen their teeth on political debate.

4.12 Scholar and Youth Organisations

In the first half of the seventies, there was a significant growth in the number of Western Cape scholar and youth organisations. These bodies facilitated wider contact between Coloured scholars of different schools, scholars and students, and African and Coloured scholars. The

meetings and activities of the organisations also introduced the participants to diverse ideological standpoints and directly exposed them to discussions on current political events.

Religious youth groups played a large part in supplementing the casual interaction of youth within the communities. (See Rathbone 1979:130) In the early seventies, the Christian Youth Association (C.Y.A.) worked actively. Students from Hewat Training College (Athlone) and U.W.C. played a prominent role in the regular C.Y.A. functions. (Educational News June 1973:29) The political content of the C.Y.A., if any, is not clear but the group encouraged contact between students and scholars of different schools. The Muslim Youth Movement (M.Y.M.) served a similar and more overtly political funtion. It made efforts to "inspire, educate, dynamise and mobilise the youth". (Muslim News 8.11.74) Black Consciousness organisations also played an active part in religious groups.

Black Consciousness supporters inspired varied new youth organisation and contact. Coloured teachers in the Black Peoples Convention were reported to have been influential in the emergence of the South African Black Scholars Association (SABSA). (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:120) In 1972, SABSA emerged as an umbrella body which linked Coloured and African schools in the Cape Peninsula townships. SABSA was the Western Cape equivalent of the South African Students Movement (S.A.S.M.) in the Transvaal. Its programmes included social, cultural and political meetings which local scholars are reported to have enthusiastically supported. (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:120)

In early 1973, the Western Cape Youth Organisation (W.C.Y.O.) was established as an official Black Consciousness group geared for youth in the region. (Gwala 1974:63)[14] In June, the W.C.Y.O. held a conference for high school pupils, the theme of which was "Black Consciousness and the High School Student". The W.C.Y.O. noted the existence of a wide variety of denominational youth clubs (in the Wynberg, Lansdowne, Hanover Park and Claremont areas); it organised a "unification" seminar out of which came the Ecumenical Youth Front. (Gwala 1974:64) The W.C.Y.O., together with youth groups from Natal, the Transvaal and Border regions, formed part of the National Youth Organisation under the co-sponsorship of SASO and the Black Community Programme. (Gwala 1974:64-65)

The first half of the seventies also saw a proliferation of societies within schools. Under euphimistic titles such as "History" or "Cultural Affairs" society, these groups conducted a wide range of discussions. In a number of instances they invited sympathetic outside speakers to address meetings on topics such as "Popularised People's History", political and current affairs. (Interview-KG; see also Molteno 1983:295) This new phenomenon in the schools owed much to the national political climate of the time.

Ideological divisions amongst schools were revealed by the way in which scholars selected topics and speakers. There was an increased polarisation between T.L.S.A. dominated schools and those which fell more in the Black Consciousness encampment. Black Consciousness supporters would usually invite Black speakers only. Such a policy was anathema to the T.L.S.A. which strongly criticised the "Blacks Only" orientation of the B.C.M.. (Interview-KG)

The attempts at organisation by Western Cape scholars were, like those at U.W.C., hampered by education authorities and the Security Police. SABSA members and their parents were regularly questioned by police. It was also alleged that the education authorities had deliberately victimised SABSA scholars who failed their 1973 examinations. (Cape Herald 29.9.73; Muslim News 1.2.74) In July, 1973, a cultural society at Spes Bona High School arranged talks on Black Consciousness and discussed affiliation with SABSA. Security Police subsequently approached members of the society and warned them that their society would be dissolved if they proceeded with such a course. Similar police interference in scholar activities was reported to be a regular occurrence. (Interview-KG) In 1974, SABSA was forced to break-up after education authorities had dismissed sympathetic teachers and police "harassed", "intimidated" and arrested SABSA activists. (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:120-1)

By 1976, Student Representative Councils (S.R.C.'s) had been formed in some Coloured schools of the Cape Peninsula. High schools with S.R.C.'s included Harold Cressy, Livingstone, Grassy Park, Crestway and Salt River. (Molteno 1983:295; Cillie Commission Report paras 30.9.3,3.8.3:297,576) The emergence of these S.R.C.'s owed much to the influence of broader organisations and events. One study suggested that some of them were offshoots of SABSA. (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:120) It is likely that scholars found it more functional to concentrate on local school organisation after SABSA was forced to dissolve. Press reports also suggested that school S.R.C.'s were inspired by the need for a machinery to consult on the school and community protests in 1975.

(Muslim News 14.3.75 and 11.4.75) Protest activity encouraged scholars to perceive a need for scholar organisation.

The surge of scholar organisations opened up fresh spheres of activity for Black youth in the Western Cape. Students carried their Black Consciousness ideas and activities into the schools; Coloured and African scholars were encouraged to overcome the official barriers which kept them separate and to confront socio-political issues. Although official intervention handicapped youth activities of this nature, they were a significant development amongst Western Cape scholars. A core of organised scholars established a loose network of communication which enabled issues discussed at meetings to reach a wider audience. There was a two-way process in which students made contact with scholars who later fed their experiences at this level into their higher education institutions. By 1976, there were others, still in the schools, who were in a good position to inform their less knowledgeable fellow scholars.

4.13 Scholar Resistance and Attitudes: 1968-1975

From 1968 to the start of 1975, scholar protests followed the U.W.C. pattern - they focused on school issues but reflected a criticsm of apartheid policies in general. Thereafter, scholar protests covered a wider field. In the early seventies, Black Consciousness was still an emerging force in the schools, where its supporters concentrated on organisation and discussion. A sense of group cohesion was only just beginning in the newer schools where Black Consciousness gained a

foothold. It was not until 1975 that increased activism surfaced in the schools of the Cape Flats. The older Coloured schools had more history of political activism and demonstration; scholars in the T.L.S.A. dominated schools played the prominent role in the few protests prior to 1976. (See chapter two: 70)

There were two notable occasions when Coloured scholars demonstrated over issues unrelated to official action against their teachers. In 1971, Livingstone High School pupils protested about a CAPAB acting troupe which visited their school. The scholars objected to the visit because CAPAB was associated with the "Whites Only", Nico Malan Opera House and forthcoming Republic Day celebrations. (Varsity 10.3.71) In the second incident some South Peninsula High School scholars refused to board buses which were to guide them around White zones. The pupils objected to the "racist tags" on the buses which were labelled "Discovery Tours For Coloured Pupils". (The Educational Journal XLVI(5) Jan.-Feb. 1975:10)[15] Although the above were isolated incidents, they indicated the degree to which some scholars in T.L.S.A. schools were sensitive about segregatory policies.

More generally and consistently, Coloured scholars continued to oppose participation in Republic Day celebrations. Members of the Coloured population category were still divided over this issue. Some headmasters, staff and parents were in full support of the celebrations. Others succumbed to the considerable pressure exerted by officials and Security Police. Nevertheless, in 1971, as in former and later years, the majority of Coloured teachers and scholars boycotted the government's

programme for what was the tenth anniversary celebrations of Republic Day. (The Educational Journal XLII(7) April-May 1971:9-10; The Educational Journal XLII(8) June 1971:1-3,8-9)

By 1973, teachers began to notice a marked shift in the attitudes of Coloured high school pupils. Inactivity or a concern with domestic issues among scholars gave way to a new interest in political matters. (Educational News June 1979:29) J.G.Van Der Heever of the C.T.P.A. attempted to explain the scholar mood:

> Our youth witness the disparity in the reward meted out to different racial groups. What frustrates them even more is the fact that they see no end to this disparity, no hope is held out that this discrimination will ever cease in the near future. It is a natural thing that they, like the Afrikaner youth before them, should protest and react to these unfair practises. (Van Der Heever 1973:21)

Racial discrimination was not a new phenomenon in the seventies, however, and it was contemporary events which contributed to the adjustment in scholar attitudes. As another C.T.P.A. spokesman pointed out at the time:

> Dissatisfaction by the users of education is also a general trend today. Student unrest, working class dissatisfaction and even apathy on the part of students, teachers and public are all symptoms of their dissatisfaction. Student unrest has swept through the universities of the Western World. (Educational News September 1973:8)

International and national unrest, combined with school and youth organisations directed an increased number of scholars towards political matters. Wars in nearby African countries added impetus to the trend. In 1974, the fall of the Portuguese dictatorship sparked off much interest among pupils and teachers. Increased attention in the Cape Peninsula schools was said to be directed at the Southern African

regional conflict. (The Educational Journal XLV(7) April-May 1974:1) The FRELIMO and MPLA victories, and South African military intervention followed by withdrawal from Angola are all likely to have stoked up this interest. (See Kane-Berman 1977:106 and Johnson 1977:172-3)

In 1975, scholars, along with students, broadened the scope of their demonstrations to encompass community and political matters. A part of this shift in scholar activity included a more assertive role for scholars in the newer schools. In the Cape Peninsula, scholars from Livingstone, Harold Cressy, Trafalgar and Hanover Park High Schools joined community-based bus boycotts. Scholars embarked on long walks to their schools rather than catch the boycotted buses. (Muslim News 14.3.75 and 11.4.75) At the same time, some Coloured pupils participated in the ACROM campaign against the C.P.R.C. elections. Scholars at Alexander Sinton High School protested about the use of their school-hall for voting purposes. Two days before the ballot, they staged a "sit-in"; during the election they distributed anti-C.P.R.C. pamphlets to voters. (Muslim News 28.3.75)

Scholar protests in 1975 reflected a heightened political awareness among the Coloured scholars. A newspaper editorial which described the events at Alexander Sinton High School examined the attitudes evident there.

> These school children, through their demonstrations, showed a maturity of thought one would not normally associate with their age in their rejection of an institution that condemns them to second class citizenship. The principal of the school said that he was surprised at the political awareness among the pupils and their strong opposition to the CRC. The Black school child becomes aware

> of the political realities of life while still at a tender age and refuses to accept an appointed place in South African society. White South Africa should give serious thought to the future when the school-children of today are of age. They will be confronted by thousands of embittered young men and women with sufficient reasoning who will not find second-class citizenship a palliative position. Equal citizenship is what is required and not endless courses of detente. (Muslim News 28.3.75)[16]

By the start of 1976, teachers detected what one journal described as a "new spirit in the schools and a general emergence from the dark and grim experience of 1960's". (The Educational Journal XLVII(5) Jan.-Feb. 1976:9) Teachers needed to be better prepared for penetrating questions from pupils, the article stated. It added that scholars cast a critical eye over the content of their courses, the stance of their teachers and the conditions of their schooling. Assertive scholars placed pressure on their teachers and were more readily available to voice their protests.

The events of the early seventies provided the context in which scholars utilised their organisational bases to develop their political attitudes. The latter, in turn, led scholars to adopt a more critical perspective towards the specifics of their education. These developments underlay the combination of educational issues and socio-political concerns which came through in the school boycotts of 1976.

4.14 Conclusion

The irony of apartheid was that the extension of segregated education produced more schools and higher education institutions with scholars and students who opposed government ideology. The growth in

education expanded the base of the Black education struggle. The new institutions housed more African, Coloured and Indian students divorced from the dominance of their White counterparts. The Black Consciousness ideology encouraged a unity amongst these Black students; SASO activities re-emphasised educational issues. The result was an outburst of student protests which pushed Black education into the national limelight. Teachers and parents no longer spearheaded the Black education struggle; Fort Hare was no longer the solitary centre of Black student protest; scholars were drawn in more by the main political and educational activists.

From 1968 to the start of 1976, these national developments introduced new trends within the growing number of active Coloured students and scholars in the Western Cape. Black Consciousness helped to provide an organisational and ideological framework for newer institutions such as U.W.C. and Cape Flats schools. During the period of heightened national activity, organisations spread ideas directly among students and scholars. U.W.C. student protests provided early examples of Coloured support for Black solidarity. Coloured scholars were close at hand to forge stronger links with students and African scholars. These activities contributed to scholar politicisation and gave them first-hand experience of official hindrances to organisation and political expression. On 16th June, 1976, when African scholars in Soweto embarked on their demonstrations, a groundforce of support was already established among Coloured youth in the Western Cape. Those who had been relatively untouched by developments in the previous years were rapidly drawn into the fray during the protests themselves.

4.15 Footnotes to Chapter Four

1. The following year, the government set up the Schlebusch Commission to enquire into the affairs of the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute and Nusas; all of which had included educational features in their activities amongst Blacks.

2. They were angry about overcrowded, unsafe and unhealthy conditions of (supposedly temporary) pre-fabricated school buildings. With the influx of between forty and fifty families to the area weekly, rapid deterioration seemed inevitable. (Argus 17.2.73)

3. The prevailing impression among Coloured parents, teachers and pupils was that the Department of Coloured Affairs had introduced inferior education; see the article entitled "CAD Introduces Inferior Education In High Schools". (Muslim News 28.2.75)

4. At this conference Dr. Fatima Meer noted that the position in the Cape Flats was political in nature and thus could not be adequately overcome simply by additional schools. (Muslim News 2.8.74)

5. Mr J. Issel, for example, was the S.R.C. secretary and an active member of SASO; in 1973 he was served with a restriction order.

6. At U.W.C., White teaching and administrative staff were represented by the "Personeelvereniging", whereas all Coloured staff on the campus had access to a separate "Personeelassosiasie". (See Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 2.10.1-3:4)

7. Of the 1 572 students enrolled at U.W.C. at the start of the year, 935 were reported to be attending lectures after the walk-out. (SRR 1973:338)

8. The Commission also found that the book "Student Perspectives On South Africa" contributed to the mood of the students; sections drew parallels between South African student action and student revolts in Europe and the U.S.A.. The influence attributed to the book should be viewed with a degree of scepticism, but the chapters by Biko and Pityana were probably widely read and it is not unlikely that news of student unrest in other countries provided inspiration for local students.

9. "It is an undisputed fact that the Rector at a Black university in our country has the supreme power which implies that he has the prerogative to manipulate or gear the situation into whatever direction he desires." (Van Wyk Commission Report Appendix I:64)

10. The rector was appointed by the Minister of Coloured Relations after consultation with the University Council. In 1973, the U.W.C. Council consisted of sixteen members, thirteen of whom were State President appointees - two members were Coloured. (Van Wyk Commission Report paras. 2.2.1-3,7.2.1:3,18; see also chapter one:47)

11. Up until the early seventies, the T.L.S.A. influence in the Western Cape caused a number of Coloureds to scorn U.W.C. as a "Bush College". Although SASO was critical of what U.W.C. represented, the institution became an important centre of Coloured student protest. By the end of 1976, many politically concerned Coloureds were more supportive of going to U.W.C.; they would rather be at the hub of Black activity than at U.C.T. for example. (Interviews - WL AND JH)

12. At a rally of nearly 12 000 people in Crawford, Messrs. Gerwel, Small and Isaacs were joined by prominent Blacks in a call for a "relevant" and "free" education. (Muslim News 13.7.73)

13. The ideological divisions between the Coloured teaching organisations and the causes of their inactivity were discussed in chapter two. Conflict between the T.L.S.A. and the C.T.P.A. continued into the seventies. In 1973, the C.T.P.A. president cited his body's lack of political motivation as the necessary basis for Coloured teacher unity. He also blamed the T.L.S.A.'s boycott strategy as a source of apathy amongst teachers. (Backman 1973(b):9,12))

14. The W.C.Y.O. constitution stated that its objectives were:
"1. To provoke 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 effect them in their community situations.
3. To heighten the senses of awareness and encourage them to become involved in political, economic and social development of 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 opinions to represent these nationally." (Khoapa 1973:63)

15. The authorities designed the tours to show aspects of the White world never experienced by Coloured pupils. In 1973, a school inspector found that only one or two members of a Coloured class had ever spoken to a White child. (The Educational Journal XLIV(8) June 1973:9)

16. By 1975, foreign schools were affected by educational unrest as well. A newspaper article described the struggle in British comprehensive schools where scholars boycotted and campaigned. The caption to a picture of protesting British scholars read: "British 'pupil power' in action when thousands played truant to present demands to the authorities. Can it happen here?". (Sunday Tribune 14.9.75)

CHAPTER FIVE

COLOUREDS AND THE WESTERN CAPE BOYCOTTS, 1976 - AN EMPIRICAL OVERVIEW

5.1 Introduction

The Soweto boycotts fanned the coals of a smouldering South Africa. In the first part of the seventies, the political stability which the country had experienced during the previous half-decade was rocked by international and national developments; Blacks in Mozambique and Angola successfully terminated their struggles against the Portuguese colonial power; South Africa was hit by the international economic depression; waves of Black worker strikes washed across the country; Black students united under South African Students Organisation (SASO) leadership and crippled campus classes with protests. For many South Africans it was a period of increased Black organisation and protests which invoked increased State repression.

In 1976, Black scholars and students mounted an education protest which gave rise to a national revolt. On 16th June, African scholars in Soweto began a peaceful protest march which led to a violent clash with police, many injuries and the death of a thirteen year-old scholar. A well documented period of violent conflict between Blacks (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) and White authority followed. (See, for example, Brooks and Brickhill 1980; Hirson 1979; Kane-Berman 1979; SAIRR 1978) As

with past large-scale protests in South Africa (1946 Miners' strike; 1952-3 Defiance Campaign) they began with immediate and fairly minimal demands - but precipitated into a total confrontation with State power. (First 1978:96) Sowetan scholars originally organised demonstrations about the compulsory use of Afrikaans in their lessons. As the struggle in Soweto escalated, the Afrikaans-language issue extended to scholar criticism of Bantu Education and apartheid policies in general. At the same time, there was widespread sympathetic protest by Black youths in universities and schools. The pattern which emerged nationally was one of sympathetic demonstrations followed by heightened conflict with the authorities and the police; protest spread beyond the grounds of educational institutions; and community members became more involved. The boycott events in the Western Cape were a part of this national pattern, but with their own regional distinctions.

In 1976, the protests which took place in the Western Cape and elsewhere encompassed various forms of action: class and lecture boycotts, group demonstrations, protest marches, meetings, conflicts at education institutions, fights in the streets and work boycotts. In line with common usage, the terms "boycotts" and "boycott events" are used here to refer to any or all such forms of protest action.

This chapter provides an empirical account of the Western Cape boycotts in 1976. Its aim is to reveal the course of events, particularly those which involved members of the Coloured population category in the Cape Peninsula. Details have been selected to illustrate the general description and a fuller chronology is provided in Appendix I. (Sources for the summary contained in this chapter include: various press reports; Cillie Commision; private interviews; S.A.I.R.R. 1978)

The events which occurred in the Western Cape boycotts have been divided into five constituent phases. The critieria upon which the phases have been adopted consist of: (i) the nature of the participants, (ii) the scope of the actions, and (iii) the location of the action. The phases thus identified are as follows: (i) Coloured students boycott, (ii) African scholars boycott, (iii) Coloured scholars boycott, (iv) Coloured Community members join the protest, and (v) Joint action beyond the townships. These phases were interlinked and not necessarily chronologically distinguishable. Nevertheless, the break-down of the boycott events into such phases assists the purpose of analytical clarity. The description of Coloured participation in the 1976 events raises a number of educational and political issues which demand more detailed analysis.

5.2 Coloured Students Boycott

In June, 1976, African and Coloured students and scholars in the Western Cape showed little public reaction to events in Soweto. There were, however, reactions from members of the Black teaching staff at the University of the Western Cape (U.W.C.) in Bellville South. On 18th June, they released a press statement in which they expressed support for the Sowetan demonstrators. On the same day, White students at the University of Cape Town (U.C.T.) demonstrated with placards such as "Soweto Bleeds" and "Solidarity With Soweto".

The first phase of prolonged protest action in the region was initiated by U.W.C. students. Immediately after their mid-year vacation (26th July) they held a meeting to discuss the events in Soweto. On 29th July, the students met again and decided to boycott classes for a week. After they re-affirmed this decision at later meetings, some students painted slogans such as "The Revolution is Coming" and "Burn U.W.C." on campus buildings. The rector of U.W.C., Professor R.E.Van Der Ross, suspended lectures for the week in which the student boycott was planned (3rd-7th August).

During the week of 3rd to 7th August, students headed the boycott action which began to gain momentum in the Western Cape. Students at Hewat Training College (Athlone) revealed a mood similar to that of their U.W.C. counterparts and met to discuss the boycotts (2nd August). The U.W.C. students mounted an alternate education programme on their campus. Protest escalated on the U.W.C. campus and spread elsewhere. On 3rd August, Ben Palmer Louw, a member of the U.W.C. Students Representative Council (S.R.C.) and an ex-SASO president, was detained by the police. On 4th August, U.W.C. students moved off their campus to protest in Modderdam Road (a major road outside the university) and they clashed with police. Incidents of arson were reported at U.W.C. (5th August), Hewat Training College (6th August) and at the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education in Bellville South (10th August).

U.W.C. and other tertiary education students were involved in protests and clashes with the authorities for the duration of the third academic quarter. A number were arrested or detained, including most of

the student leadership. By the end of September, Coloured students were generally back at lectures and no further incidents were reported in the press.

5.3 African Scholars Boycott

The second phase of the Western Cape boycotts involved African scholars in the townships of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga. On 11th August, Langa High School pupils demonstrated in sympathy with the Sowetan scholars. Police moved into the school to disperse the protestors. The police fired teargas at the scholars who retaliated with stones and bottles. African community members who had gathered nearby joined the demonstrations at this early stage.

Scholars then moved from school to school in the African townships, where they sought support for their protests. Scholars in Nyanga and Guguletu joined the demonstrations. By nightfall there were battles between police and African township residents which resulted in serious injuries and deaths.

On 12th August, violence and confrontation continued in the three African townships. Local police were reinforced by others flown in from the Witwatersrand. The police sealed off the township roads and only police helicopters were allowed to fly above the areas.

The African scholars maintained their protest activity throughout the year and into the start of 1977. They stayed out of the classrooms and refused to participate in examinations at the end of 1976. In the December vacation they initiated campaigns against liquor and Christmas celebrations which gained much community support.

5.4 Coloured Scholars Boycott

The third phase of the boycotts involved Coloured scholars. After the Soweto scholars began their protests, teachers in Cape Town noted that a tension developed amongst local Coloured pupils. The start of demonstrations by African scholars in local townships appeared to be a catalyst for Coloured scholars to become more active. This phase of Coloured scholar protest emerged from 12th August, when there were reports of arson attempts at four Coloured schools.

On 13th August, some Livingstone High School (Claremont) pupils refused to attend classes. Scholars at three other schools (Oaklands High School - Lansdowne, Belgravia High School - Athlone, Alexander Sinton High School - Crawford) also met to discuss the boycotts. Oaklands High School pupils carried placards and gave the Black Consciousness, clenched-fist salute. At Alexander Sinton High School, scholars met, drew up a list of complaints and planned a prayer meeting. When the principal refused permission for the prayer meeting, the scholars decided to demonstrate and boycott classes.

On 16th August, the first pre-planned class boycott at Alexander Sinton High school took place. Scholars marched around their school grounds, sang and displayed placards. They were later joined by Belgravia High School pupils. The riot-squad arrived at the school. Their requests for leaders to come forward and for a return to classes met no positive response. After consultation with the acting principal, the police left the school grounds.

News of the boycott spread to most of the Coloured schools. On virtually every day of the remainder of August related incidents occured in Coloured areas. In the latter part of the month, the spate of incidents tended to focus on the bleaker areas such as Bonteheuwel. On 23rd August, pupils at the three Bonteheuwel high schools. (Bonteheuwel High School, Arcadia High School, Modderdam High School) held separate demonstrations. At the Arcadia and Bonteheuwel High Schools, where headmasters persuaded the riot-police to leave, no trouble was reported. At Modderdam High School police dispersed the scholars with teargas.

On 24th August, police confronted Arcadia High School pupils who demonstrated inside their school grounds. The scholars proceeded to congregate outside the school grounds where they were joined by protestors from the other two Bonteheuwel schools. A police officer arrested two scholars. The mother of one of these scholars was amongst the onlookers and remonstrated with the police officer. The crowd of scholars and local residents approached his vehicle. The police officer fired some shots and a scholar was wounded.

5.5 Coloured Community Members Join the Protests

The events of 24th August and the week which followed marked a new phase in the Western Cape boycotts: Coloured community members became more involved in boycott events and more supportive of the protests. The rapid spread of the boycott activities beyond the campus, college and school grounds had touched the wider community at an early stage. Participation by the latter, however, was initially small. As the student and scholar activity escalated along with the more forceful methods adopted by the police, the situation altered.

After the shooting outside Arcadia High School (24th August), scholars and adults participated in violent clashes with the police. The conflict spread through Bonteheuwel and the riot-squad moved in force into the area. Thereafter, police tactics seemed to change. They moved onto school grounds more promptly, confronted crowds of pupils and other community members on the streets and pursued individuals into private homes. At the same time as the police changed their methods, active support for the protests broadened within the Coloured community.

The Coloured scholars made more concerted efforts to combine their demonstrations and hold meetings, but were hampered by the police. On 31st August, police attempted to end a march of Oaklands High School (Lansdowne) pupils to Alexander Sinton High School (Crawford). Scholars who reached their destination were later joined by others from St. Columbas (Athlone) and Salt River high schools. At the Athlone Stadium, police broke-up a meeting of scholars from Bridgetown, Athlone, Cathkin

and Belgravia high schools. In the unrest which followed, police allegedly assaulted or shot individuals and entered people's homes. (Essay on the boycotts by Alexander Sinton High School pupil, lodged in C.I.G.S. files)

Violent conflict continued in the Coloured residential areas during the first half of September. Damages and injuries were particularly high during the first three days of the month which coincided with marches into the city-centre; between the 7th and 10th, during the week in which the Director of Coloured Education, Mr. W. Theron, closed all Coloured high schools in the Cape Peninsula; and from the 15th to the 17th, the same days as workers stayed away from their jobs.

5.6 Joint Action Beyond The Townships

At the start of September, demonstrations in the centre of Cape Town marked a fifth phase in the boycotts. It was an extension of the phases which had already evolved: action hitherto restricted to the Coloured and African residential areas spread beyond these parameters into the common and White classified group areas. Here, African and Coloured protestors combined in a display of united action.

On the afternoon of 1st September, African scholars congregated at Cape Town railway station and marched into the city-centre bearing placards which read "Away With Apartheid", "Equal Education For All" and "How Long Must We Suffer?". Police took no action during the hour or so

of the march's duration and no violent incidents occurred. It was estimated that by the time scholars returned to the railway station in order to go home, they numbered around one thousand. This was the first time that protesting Black scholars anywhere in the country had taken their struggle into a city centre.

On 2nd September, Coloured scholars and students began a similar march. About six hundred Coloured youths collected in the central business district of Cape Town and marched for about half an hour. They sang "protest songs", gave cries of "power" and waved clenched-fist salutes. They were then joined by more Coloured students and scholars, around four hundred African scholars, Black youths (both employed and unemployed) and adult onlookers. The crowd swelled to between two and three thousand people. The police tried to clear the streets by means of tear-gas, thunder-flashes and baton-charges. Marchers dispersed but repeatedly regrouped until teargas prevented anyone from remaining on the streets. By mid-afternoon, the city-centre was cleared. On 3rd September, similar protest marches and police dispersals took place in the centre of Cape Town. After the long-weekend (4th-6th September), crowds again clashed with police in central Cape Town on 7th and 8th September. (For more detailed chronology of the city-centre demonstrations see A. Paul Hare 1976:Appendix C)

During the first half of September, Black community members supported protests in a number of areas outside of the townships. Many participated in street demonstrations and clashes with the police. Coloured nurses and medical staff at Somerset Hospital in Green Point

(9th September) and U.C.T. campus workers (13th September) for example, demonstrated in sympathy with people in the areas of unrest.

The strikes of mid-September marked the peak of the fourth and fifth phases of boycott action: wider community participation and combined Black protest action outside the townships. In Soweto, students and scholars called for workers to stay at home from 13th to 15th September. By 12th September, anonymous pamphlets had appeared in the Western Cape. These called on Black workers to stay-away from work on the 15th and 16th September (See Appendix II:1-r) In spite of counter-pamphlets and attitudes of "no work, no pay" adopted by employers, Black workers provided substantial support for the boycott. Estimates suggested that absenteeism ranged from 50 per cent to 80 per cent in the Cape Peninsula; a number of industries had to cease production entirely on one or both of the boycott days. (Weekend Argus 18.9.76)

After the strikes, boycott activity in Coloured townships abated, although sporadic incidents continued. By 21st September, class attendance had improved. When schools opened for the fourth quarter (5th October) Salt River High School pupils boycotted classes and there were clashes between scholars and staff at Alexander Sinton High School. Generally, however, the situation in the Coloured townships, the White business and industrial areas had calmed down. Press reports noted occassional stone-throwing but little other activity. Most Coloured scholars were back at school to write their examinations at the end of the year.

The phases of Coloured participation in the boycotts had ended. Although African scholars continued their protests, these were located mainly in the African residential areas. The period of joint and concurrent Coloured and African action was over.

5.7 The Extent Of Participation

In August and September 1976, during the height of the Western Cape boycott activities, Coloureds and Africans participated in large numbers. A policeman estimated that at one stage a crowd of 6 000 gave the Black Consciousness salute in one of the Cape Peninsula demonstrations. (Kane-Berman 1979:6) Press-report estimates stated that thousands were involved in the city-centre marches. Official figures declared that 93 people died in boycott related incidents in the Cape Peninsula during August and September. (Cillie Commission Report, Annexure C:I) During the period from 18th June 1976 to 28th February 1977, 618 people were injured, 486 of whom by police; 596 Blacks and 86 Whites were arrested or detained. (See Appendix III) Statistical reports on the Western Cape vary and the authors acknowledge that the data were incomplete. It is clear, however, that hundreds were killed, injured or arrested and that a considerably larger number played some part in the boycotts.

CHAPTER SIX

COLOUREDS AND THE WESTERN CAPE BOYCOTTS OF 1976 - AN ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

It can be seen from the preceding chapters that the national revolt of 1976 was part of a long tradition of Black educational and political protest. The analysis of Coloured participation in the Western Cape must, therefore, show how this participation differed from previous struggles and its overall significance. The nature and reasons for the Western Cape, Coloured solidarity with Africans must also be explained.

The main features of this Coloured participation can be summarised as follows:

(i) Coloured students and scholars left their classrooms - (a) to express solidarity with African scholars in Soweto and, (b) to protest against the Coloured education system;

(ii) Coloured students and scholars included general political issues in their protests;

(iii) Members of the wider Coloured communities joined and supported the student and scholar protests;

(iv) Coloureds united with Africans to express combined opposition to government policies.

These features point to nine main areas which call for analysis:

1. The initial mobilisation of Coloured scholars in support of Africans; the influence of Black Consciousness and the University of Western Cape (U.W.C.) students.
2. The educational grievances and demands raised by the protestors and how these extended to include political issues.
3. The nature of the links between Coloured protest and organisation; the degree to which Coloured youth followed expressions of Black solidarity with organised links with African scholars.
4. The part played by teachers, who had dominated the education struggle until the sixties; the influence of the 1976 events on their position and attitudes.
5. The manner in which the adult Coloured community was drawn into active protest for the first time since the sixties.
6. The role of the political-strikes in the boycotts.
7. The government's response to the resurgence of national Black protest; its consequent attitudes towards changes in policy.
8. The reasons for the large degree of Coloured support for the boycotts.
9. The overall politicising effect on Coloureds of the 1976 boycotts; the implications of this for future Black struggles.

The identification of these issues shapes the design of the analysis which follows. The study is thus able to provide an informed conclusion as to the importance of the Western Cape, Coloured involvement in the 1976 boycotts.

6.2 Black Consciousness And The Mobilisation Of Western Cape Protests

Expressions of solidarity with Black Sowetan protestors characterised the initial demonstrations by Coloured students, African scholars and Coloured scholars respectively in the Western Cape. Black solidarity remained a characteristic theme of the Western Cape boycotts. As Van Heyningen et al have noted, sympathy among African scholars was to be expected; there was, however, an unprecedented response from Coloured students and scholars. (Van Heyningen et al 1976:38) In 1972, U.W.C. students boycotted classes in solidarity with other Black students but 1976 marked the first occasion that they took their lead from scholars. Prior to 1976, Coloured scholars had not come out in united and widespread protest.

In 1976, it was the ideology of Black Consciousness which facilitated the unique expression of solidarity in opposition to government. (First 1978:97) Previous chapters have shown the growth of Black Consciousness at U.W.C.; this was a significant feature behind the initial actions of the students in 1976. Although not ubiquitous, Black Consciousness ideology had also been expressed at the school level. Black Consciousness language helped to mobilise Coloured scholars in support of their African counterparts and the ideology gained increased backing during the course of the boycotts.

Consequently, Black Consciousness based slogans were the most regularly evident throughout the boycotts, in the university, the training colleges and the schools. The protestors shouted out their

slogans and displayed them on banners and placards -

"Black Consciousness Means Solidarity";

"As Black as tomorrow";

"The White flame is fizzling out". (Cillie Commission Report para. 30.24.2:307)[1]

6.3 Grievances and Demands

The protestors' banners and placards also echoed the grievances and demands articulated in lists submitted to principals, official bodies or the press. (See Appendix II) The boycotts in the Western Cape were centred on education institutions and the main activists were students and scholars. The relationship, however, between educational conditions and political factors allowed for the immediate extension of educational concerns into those of a more general political nature.

In August, 1976, during the first week of class-boycotts at U.W.C., the students mounted an alternative education programme. Within this programme they tried to clarify their position in relation to the Soweto boycotts. The students also examined the type of education provided at their university. In addition the programme included topics of a wider nature such as the social, economic and political status of Coloureds. This led on to their examination of the Theron Commission's Report on Coloured development, which was tabled on 18th June, 1976, and the government's response to the report. The government's rejection of major policy changes suggested by the Commission did little to appease the students.[2]

Some student conclusions from their week of deliberations were contained in a memorandum of grievances which they submitted to the rector. Here, the students focused on campus issues and repeated complaints raised in the previous U.W.C. demonstrations. They criticised staff-student relationships, called for equal salaries for all staff and demanded student representation on the university Council and Senate.

At the same time, the U.W.C. students produced a pamphlet entitled "U.W.C.- Soweto". The pamphlet again echoed issues raised in the U.W.C. protests of earlier years and covered topics which ranged from criticism of their education to condemnation of government bodies such as the Coloured Persons' Representative Council (C.P.R.C.). It also contained student expressions of Black solidarity and their pledge to fight for Black liberation.

Scholars touched on a similarly wide range of issues in the course of their protests. As police strategy hardened, both scholars and students called for the release of individuals arrested or detained and for an end to violent police methods ("We want rights, not riots."). These calls accompanied the protestors' demands in other areas.

Aspects of the education system which the protestors criticised can be summarised as follows:

.the separate schools and education systems for the divided population categories;

.poor facilities;

.overcrowded classrooms and double-shift sessions;

.the shortage of qualified teachers;

.the gap between the salaries of Coloured and White teachers;

.separate syllabi;

.aspects of the syllabus which backed the apartheid ideology of "racial" categorisation.

The protestors demanded the removal of these grievances in an equal, compulsory, free and "open" education system. All of their complaints were attributable to government policy which the protestors therefore included in their complaints.

Students and scholars explicitly denounced the government's apartheid policy and its effects, namely:

.the categorisation and division of population categories;

.the Group Areas Act;

.the lack of citizenship rights;

.job reservation;

.unequal salaries;

.the absence of control over important aspects of their lives.

The demands which folowed were for more political rights, improved opportunities for advancement and freedom for all; the protestors wanted "fully equal citizenship"and an end to apartheid.

It is clear from the above that the demands made by students and scholars were far from revolutionary. They may be construed as "radical", in the South African context, but they posed no fundamental challenge to the structure of the capitalist system. As Hirson noted, boycotters did not seem to question the underlying nature of education in

South African life - for Blacks and Whites. (Hirson 1979:287) Nor did they specify any alternative form for the education they desired.[3] (See Maree 1981:12-13)

The political demands which the 1976 protestors raised can be described as "popular-democratic". (Moss 1983:8)[4] As such, they cut across specifically class-related issues and drew upon widespread hostility amongst Blacks towards apartheid. This was the nature of the Black Consciousness ideology which encouraged Blacks to identify and unite around their perception of a common oppression. A strength of the popular-democratic approach was that it enabled the boycotters to achieve rapid and widespread support for their protests. The emotive appeal and momentum of the boycotts, however, sometimes caused protestors to gain an exaggerated impression of their strength and to underestimate the power of the forces which they opposed.[5]

6.4 Links, Co-Ordination And Organisation

In 1976, boycotts again raised questions of unity and organisation for protestors. On a general level all the Black protestors demonstrated solidarity with Soweto and raised similar grievances and demands. Regional solidarity in united action was more problematic. In the Western Cape there were two levels of co-ordination and linkages which need to be examined. The first concerned unity amongst Coloured protestors; the second, Coloured and African unity. Within these two levels the nature of links varied from hearsay reports of activities

elsewhere to more formalised organisations. The main issues involved were - (i) the manner in which the different Black sectors of the Western Cape influenced each other; (ii) the way in which they tried to co-ordinate their organisation and protest; (iii) handicaps to co-ordinated activity; and (iv) the extent to which they mounted combined protest.

U.W.C. student involvement in SASO assisted the spread of the Soweto protests to the U.W.C. campus. It was reported that some Western Cape members of SASO travelled to Soweto soon after the boycotts there had begun. They returned with details of the protests. (Cillie Commission Report para. 3.6.4:574) The U.W.C. students, centred on a single campus, were able to develop a co-ordinated campus strategy.

Students also distributed their pamphlet, "U.W.C.-Soweto", and some made direct contact with scholars. (Cillie Commission Report paras. 30.7.4,5:274-5; Brooks and Brickhill 1980:114-5) These were isolated examples and the U.W.C. students concentrated mainly on their own protests. They did not adopt a deliberate policy to draw in scholars or other members of the communities. (Interview - JH)[6]

Once the U.W.C. students began their protests, they played an influential, if indirect, role in the spread of the boycotts in the Western Cape. Their actions beyond the campus boundaries spread news of the boycotts which snowballed locally; students at tertiary education colleges in Bellville and Athlone mounted similar protests. The location of the university and colleges in or nearby coloured residential areas,

where most of the students lived, enabled an informal network of information to evolve. (This was supplemented by press coverage of the events.)

There were diverse links between students and the schools. Some teachers were ex-students of U.W.C. or Hewat Training College and still kept in contact with the student bodies. Scholars had relatives and friends who were amongst the student boycotters. These casual links, if nothing else, meant that there were people at Coloured schools who could contribute information to discussions on the contemporary developments.

The scholar protests in the Western Cape were characterised by the absence of outside individual or organisational leadership. U.W.C. students did not provide such direction. As the Bridgetown High School headmaster suggested, nobody came to "give the children ideas" for the scholars had "their own ideas". (Argus 2.9.76) Scholar attitudes were touched by events and developments in the previous years and by the more immediate effects of the student and African scholar boycotts. It was, nevertheless, ultimately the Coloured scholars themselves who formulated their strategies and guided their protests.

Coloured scholars began attempts to co-ordinate the demonstrations of various schools at an early stage of their protests. Schools attended by scholars from many areas, such as Belgravia High School, helped the spread of information amongst the pupils. On 16th August, the link-up of Belgravia High School scholars with their counterparts at Alexander Sinton High School was the first clear example of inter-school

co-ordination. In the weeks which followed, Coloured scholars made repeated attempts to march and meet at focus points such as Alexander Sinton High School, the Athlone Stadium or one of the Bonteheuwel high schools. The combined street-marches and meetings showed a growth in united action by Coloured scholars. They also provided additional means of communication and decision taking. (See also Brooks and Brickhill 1980:121) Police action taken to disperse marches and meetings, however, hampered these activities.

The police efforts to prevent the liaison of protestors also acted against united action by Coloureds and Africans in the townships. Although Coloured and African townships sometimes bordered, police cordoned these areas off at an early stage of the unrest. On a number of occasions they were thus able to prevent groups of African and Coloured marchers from proceeding out of their designated "group" areas. On 2nd September, for example, police were able to obstruct separate groups of Coloureds and Africans who tried to join the protestors in the city-centre. Similarly, the police effectively dispersed later marches by Coloured scholars who attempted to join African demonstrators in Guguletu. In these two cases, the police did not find it difficult to control and obstruct the large groups of marchers which moved along the main Settler's Way road. The police were under-staffed for the large scale of the boycotts, however, and would have had more difficulty in stopping smaller groups which proceeded along backroads. Early in September, such tactics had enabled a number of Blacks to swell the ranks of the city-centre demonstrations. Scholars did not appear to have picked up on this point in order to mount combined African and Coloured demonstrations in the township areas.

The absence of Coloured and African unity in the townships must not be attributed solely to police action. The protestors faced the realities of years of separation in almost every sphere - the physical, political, cultural, social, economic and educational. Although the Black Consciousness ideology had begun to break down some of the barriers to Black unity, there were still numerous obstacles to be overcome. These factors meant that Coloured and African protest action in the townships was generally separate although often simultaneous.

In spite of the obstacles, African and Coloured scholars did achieve some organisational co-ordination. The South African Black Scholars Association had not been replaced, but along with the Western Cape Youth Organisation it provided recent examples of combined Coloured and African organisation. Around the start of September, a loose organisation called the United Students Front (U.S.F.) emerged in the Western Cape. It was reported that the U.S.F. functioned by means of large meetings attended by Africans, Coloureds and Indians. The U.S.F. had no leading committee and the meetings consisted of an informal cross-section of scholars from a number of schools. Decisions taken at the meetings were passed on to others by those present. (Cape Times 25.10.76; Brooks and Brickhill 1980:120-1)

The emergence of the U.S.F. had a dual significance. Firstly, it enabled the Black protestors to overcome some of their isolation; to act on common decisions if not in combined action. Secondly, the U.S.F.'s strategy signified a novel form of political organisation in South Africa. Its loose, democratic mode of operation prevented the

authorities from identifying specific leaders for removal as they had done with SABSA and did with the South African Students Movement in the Transvaal. (See Hirson 1979:102-105)[7] The U.S.F. is likely to have contributed to the momentum of the boycotts, but was not directly responsible for the examples of combined Black action which took place.

It was only on leaving their respective areas that Coloureds and Africans could make visible to South Africa and the world their common purpose. Despite years of isolation and separate schooling, the city-centre demonstrations of September crystallized the boycotts into a combined-Black versus White conflict. Coloured and African scholars used the momentum and support gained in the preceding protests to move beyond the townships into the heart of the White business area. This event was doubly important for the protestors. It enabled them to portray a unity of purpose which had not been possible in the separate township areas. It also, for the first time, brought many members of the White population category into immediate contact with the boycotts.

The latter was the main intention of the Coloured marchers. There was a strong feeling among Coloureds that their township demonstrations had not attracted the desired attention from the politically powerful, White sectors of the population. The protestors believed that this was partly because Whites had no first-hand experience of the Black townships and were therefore dependent upon statements by the press and government. (See Appendix II:g) The Prime Minister's comment that there was no crisis in South Africa did nothing to allay this impression. (Cape Times 28.8.76) One Coloured scholar's response to this statement was that Mr. Vorster might only recognise the crisis if White areas were affected.

(History Oral Evidence:40) The African scholars' march into Cape Town prompted Coloureds to take a similar path. Coloured participants explained that the marches were intended to "bring their protest for social change in the country forcibly to the attention of Whites"; they pointed out that their posters were geared to educate Whites about the situation in South Africa and carried a simple message - "Down with apartheid, release all detainees, equal rights for all and so on". (Sunday Tribune 5.9.76) The protestors believed that general White ignorance of township events allowed the police to adopt harsh methods in these areas. This led them to include, in the marches, public protest against the actions of the Riot Police in the Black townships.

The protestors achieved more than they had originally intended when they took their demonstrations into the business centre of Cape Town. The Coloured and African unity extended beyond the townships to include the hundreds of Black youths and workers who joined the city demonstrations. Many more who lived nearby spread the protests to local streets and the industrial areas near Cape Town. (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:124) These events led up to the mid-September work-boycotts.

The city-centre marches also brought about notable changes in the nearby T.L.S.A. dominated schools. Scholars at Harold Cressy High School (Cape Town) and Trafalgar High School (District Six), hitherto distanced from the hub of boycott activity, were enveloped by the events in and around the city. At this stage they became clearly supportive of the boycotts.

The assertion of Black unity in the Western Cape was of national political importance, but it was problematic and of a tenuous nature. David Curry, deputy-leader of the Labour Party, suggested a significant element of the Black demonstrations in Cape Town: "the myth that the Coloured people will stand with the white man against the Africans has been finally destroyed". (Quoted in a press article by Denis Herbstein - The Observer (UK) 5.9.76) Yet Black unity in the Western Cape was shortlived. Coloured students and scholars returned to classes in time to write the end of year examinations. African protests in the Western Cape continued into 1977. Towards the end of October 1976, African calls for the continued support of Coloureds in their protest went unheeded. (Muslim News 22.10.76) For the time being, Coloured students and scholars had completed the political statement they wanted to make.

6.5 The Role Of Teachers

Few, if any, teachers in the Coloured schools were left untouched by the protest actions of their scholars. Generally, the authority of teachers was usurped by the boycotters. As government employees, the teachers were in a highly sensitive position which made active support for the boycotts difficult. Whether teachers opted for direct supportive participation or attempted to distance themselves from the protestors, their positions were forcibly altered by the 1976 events.

As with similar organisations in the fifties, the political turmoil of 1976 forced the Cape Professional Teachers' Association (C.T.P.A.) to become more openly critical of government. In September, the C.T.P.A. executive issued a press statement which criticised police assaults on, and the detention of teachers. The statement argued that these teachers had merely attempted to control the situation in their schools. In the same statement, the C.T.P.A. condemned all kinds of violence. Although the Association did not openly support the boycotts it called for legitimate grievances to be redressed. (Cape Times 6.9.76) The C.T.P.A.'s main objective, as indicated in the press statement and a document of proposals, was for some sort of order to be restored to the schools. (See Appendix II:j,k)

Attempts by individual C.T.P.A. members to keep control of their scholars demanded a more explicitly political stance. Mr. Franklin Sonn, president of the C.T.P.A. and principal of Spes Bona High School (Athlone) provided an example of this. He claimed that he and his staff were able to gain the confidence of their pupils because they showed support and were prepared to discuss political matters. They thus avoided all but one violent incident at the school. (Weekend Argus 21.8.76; Cillie Commission Report paras. 9.4.2,30.8.5:546,276) Others, such as Mr. Titus, headmaster of Bridgetown High School, had less success in this regard. (See also the scholar condemnation of C.T.P.A. inaction, Appendix II:f)

The 1976 boycotts produced a rift between scholars and teachers at the schools where T.L.S.A. members formed a majority on the staff. The

T.L.S.A. has been described as having a "tradition of revolutionary puritanism with its abstract theoretical reservations and its record of abstinence rather than engagement". (First 1978:97) In line with this tradition, the T.L.S.A. members criticised the limitations of Black Consciousness and condemned the protestors' use of the boycott tactic as inappropriate. They dissociated themselves from the 1976 protests and considered the boycotters to be over-enthusiastic and naive. (First 1978:97)[8] Their scholars faced a dilemma - encouraged by their teachers to criticise the Black education system and government policies, they were then told that the 1976 boycotts were not a suitable channel of action. Ultimately, the political niceties of the T.L.S.A. ideology gave way to the force of contemporary events. Livingstone High School pupils were among the earliest to stay out of classes as an expression of solidarity with Soweto demonstrators. At an early stage, South Peninsula High School (Diep River) scholars rejected staff attempts to persuade them not to join the pretests. (Interview - AL) At Harold Cressy High School, scholars met and discussed the boycotts with the approval of their principal, but were not encouraged to provide supportive action. (Muslim News 20.8.76) As noted above, scholars from Harold Cressy High School and Trafalgar High School were eventually drawn into the general boycott by the city-centre demonstrations.

These developments gave some indication of the impact which the 1976 boycotts had on the Western Cape political scene. For the time-being, they signalled the end of the polarisation between scholars at T.L.S.A. and Black Consciousness oriented institutions and undermined the T.L.S.A. in its traditional areas of dominance. This caused the T.L.S.A. journal

to note that "too many teachers found themselves left far behind in the recent rush of events". (The Educational Journal XLVIII(4) December 1976:11) In future years the T.L.S.A. members would have to adjust their approach in order to regain the hold over their scholars.[9]

It is not clear to what extent individual teachers involved themselves in support of the demonstrations. The Director of Coloured Education suggested that over the years teachers had "systematically inculcated resistance" and "a sense of injustice" in their pupils. A regional Coloured Education representative went so far as to claim that "many teachers had incited pupils, had been sympathetic towards rioters and had connived at things inadmissible". The Cillie Commission, however, reported that "it was generally believed that teachers merely looked on passively at what was happening". (All quotations in this paragraph from Cillie Commission Report para. 30.8.2:275)

The police took official action against a small number of teachers. Two Salt River High School teachers were accused of "incitement" and it was suggested that others at the school had helped to arrange marches which they later joined. (Cillie Commission Report para. 30.8.3:275) At early stages of the protests, the Alexander Sinton High School headmaster intervened and prevented clashes between his scholars and police; he and a fellow member of staff were later arrested. (Cillie Commission Report para. 30.8.4:276) Some members of school teaching bodies were caught by police baton blows. (History Oral Evidence:35)

The evidence suggests that most teachers were not willing participants in the boycott events. An important reason for this was a fear of recrimination and the loss of their jobs. Another reason was that scholar antagonism did not encourage teacher participation.

Generally, scholars appeared critical of their teachers. The scholars lumped teachers together with other adults whom they saw as inactive acceptors of apartheid policy. At times, excited scholars vented their anger on staff-members. Some teachers secluded themselves in the staff-room or stayed away from school to deny the pupils a target for their stonings; they hoped to reduce opportunities for conflict. (Interview - MS)

Scholars also criticised the presence of White teachers at their schools. They objected to the attitudes of some White staff-members. A number of scholars believed that White teachers were paid special concessions for teaching at Coloured schools; they found this insulting. (See Appendix II:f) (This belief probably arose because Whites were on separate and generally higher payrolls.) In terms of the Black Consciousness ideology, White teachers, irrespective of their attitudes, were identified alongside Whites in general and the government. These scholar attitudes were directly opposed to the impression held by the education officials noted above. Early in 1977, almost one hundred White teachers were dismissed from Coloured schools around the country. Ironically, it was suggested that this was because the authorities believed that White teachers had somehow instigated the Coloured school uprisings. (Sunday Tribune 23.1.77; Kraak 1979:50)

6.6 The Role And Participation Of The Wider Coloured Community

At an early stage, the escalation of Coloured student and scholar protests in the townships touched on members of the wider community. Youths who had completed or left their schooling joined the street marches and clashes with the police. Parents saw their children become immersed in the boycott events which spread into their local streets. Although adult attitudes towards the boycotts varied, the events could not be ignored and an increasing number were drawn into the uprising. There were a number of reasons for this wider participation.

Coloured youths not involved in education often swelled the ranks of the protestors. These youths were linked to the students and scholars as relatives, friends or by their presence in a common neighbourhood. The reasons for wider youth support were not always clear. Some youths are likely to have joined the protest because their education had offered them few job prospects; they shared the criticism of apartheid policies. Others, unemployed, idle and bored, were drawn in by the excitement of events. (See Sunday Times 12.9.76; and Van Heyningen et al 1976:39-40)

In some cases youths took advantage of the disturbances and crowds to steal, loot or commit assault. Such actions upset scholars and adults because attention on the main participants and their major issues was partially deflected. (Van Heyningen et al 1976:40)[10] The actions of "skollies" allowed the authorities to cite "criminal elements" as a major factor in the conflicts. (Cillie Commission Report paras. 30.11.1-14:280-1) Nevertheless, students and scholars constituted the

core in what were predominantly educationally and politically oriented protests.

Parents had little control over their children once the protests began. The momentum of the scholar protests was too great to be halted by individuals or families. The scholars spent their days in a highly emotive environment of protest action and meetings. When they returned home, they refused to discuss matters with parents and elders. (See, for example, History Oral Evidence:30)

The Cillie Commission suggested that parental authority was undermined in homes where the children had more education than their parents. (Cillie Commission Report para. 30.10.3:279) Mr. Franklin Sonn also suggested that the most active scholars were from lower-class areas, where schools and homes had problems with discipline. (Van Heyningen et al 1976:37) These points must be viewed with circumspection. More formal education is not necessarily the criterion upon which children become more assertive than their parents or which enables them to set the tone in the home; nor are these isolated working-class phenomena. In Cape Town, Group Areas removals did not re-site Coloured families in accordance with socio-economic status. Therefore, the class-categorisation of Coloured residential areas was problematic. (See Burgher 1980:115)[11] The same can be said of many Coloured schools in the townships and this casts some doubt on Mr. Sonn's generalisation. To a large extent, the socio-economic mixture of Coloured residential zones complemented the non-class oriented approach of the Black Consciousness ideology and enabled the 1976 boycotts to cut across economic class

groupings amongst Coloureds. The Cillie Commission made the more succint point that parental authority was undermined when Coloured children witnessed their parents "addressed in a humiliating manner by officials, policemen and Whites". (Cillie Commission Report para. 30.10.6:280) Such experiences were not confined to working-class Coloureds.

A cogent reason for the general rift between adults and scholars was the latter's dissatisfaction with the political attitudes of their parents. In the eyes of their children adults seemed to be helpless and to have done little to oppose the government - "we have lost faith in you; you are the 'ja-baas' people". (Quoted in Van Heyningen et al 1976:37; see also Sonn's comments in Weekend Argus 21.8.76) The protestors wanted to succeed where their parents had failed. (History Oral Evidence:40; The Observer (UK) 12.9.76)

The scholar attitudes indicated the extent to which the history of Coloured political action had been lost to the youth. They revealed no appreciation of the Coloured role in opposition movements of the fifties, for example. This ignorance was partly due to their relatively new contact with political debate and protest; it was less apparent among Coloured students. Over the previous decade, Coloured adults had appeared inactive and ineffective in opposition to the government. Prior even to the sixties, there had been little political unity in the Coloured communities. Many of the older generation became apathetic after the repression of the sixties. The disenfranchisement of Coloureds contributed to this slump in activity. The deliberations of the C.P.R.C. also provided no consequential advances for most Coloureds.

Nevertheless, adults must have remembered their past history of activism. As recently as 1970, official measures had ended Coloured representations on Municipal Councils. The student and scholar protests freshened their parents' sense of grievance.

Generally, the attitudes of Coloured parents changed under the influence of the boycott events. At first most were critical of the protestors. This attitude came from Coloureds who favoured more legal and conservative channels of activity and those who feared for their children's safety. It also stemmed from the adults who used radical theory to criticise Black Consciousness and the use of education boycotts. The critical attitude of most parents shifted markedly during the course of the boycotts. Many became more supportive and claimed that the protestors were justified. (History Oral Evidence:13) Adult participation became a regular feature of the later township protests, the city-centre marches and, ultimately, the work-boycotts.

The strongest factor behind this attitudinal swing was the increased evidence of aggressive police tactics. (Muslim News 3.12.76) A number of adults who witnessed or heard of the police action taken against protestors and community members shifted their criticism towards the authorities.[12] A complementary factor was the sense of guilt felt by adults confronted with the courage of their children. The scholars and students faced personal danger when they expressed grievances long felt by their parents.[13] The adult Coloured responses to the boycotts were aptly described in the following press excerpt.

> The attitude of parents extends from angry disapproval to complete sympathy. As a Coloured father expressed it: 'My emotions are pride, shame and fear: pride that my children should be doing what I failed to do; shame that I was afraid to do it; and fear that one day or night they will not come back alive". There has been a described shift in parental attitudes in recent weeks towards more sympathy for the children, who have returned home with eyes red from tear gas, welts from police batons, and birdshot punctures from police shotguns. (Stanley Uys, The Observer (UK) 12.9.76)

These developments encouraged many adults to move off the sidelines and join the protests.

6.7 The September Work-Boycotts

The mid-September work-boycotts in Cape Town marked the height of adult African and Coloured unity as it emerged during the 1976 boycotts. The whole period of activity in the Western Cape during the first half of September, was characterised by a high level of Black solidarity; it was unique in the 1976 uprisings. Political strikes in the fifties and early sixties had gained Coloured support but not to the same degree as the 1976 stay-aways. (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:120) From 1973 to mid-1976, for the first time since the early sixties, Black South African workers were galvanised by widespread strike activity. There strikes were not overtly political - the main issues were pay and working conditions. (See Hirson 1979:133-139) Nevertheless, they are likely to have contributed to the mood which allowed the worker solidarity in 1976.

The work-boycotts in Cape Town did not have obvious instigators. Anonymous pamphlets appeared in the area after similar strike-calls had been made in the Transvaal. By this stage the township protests had

spread into the city-centre and industrial areas. The participation of adults and workers did not necessarily imply their direct concern with educational issues. The older protestors were able to pick up on the broader political issues which had become a part of the protests. The fact that the workers were willing to embark on a political strike did, however, indicate the overall political climate which had developed during the seventies and which had stoked up the mood of the younger protestors.

In the Western Cape there were strike pamphlets which supported the calls with a political explanation. (See Appendix II:n,o; and Hirson 1979:254-5) In Mafeje's analysis, he claimed that Coloured students in the Cape were the only people in the country to provide such a back-up. Ironically, he attributed this political sophistication to their connection with the radical tradition of the T.L.S.A. in the region; the T.L.S.A., as noted above, wanted no part of the 1976 events. (Mafeje 1978:19-20,24) First shared Mafeje's conclusion that the most significant outcome of the 1976 events was that young militants discovered the need to establish links with workers and "other forces in the struggle". (First 1978:94)[14] It is not clear that students and scholars in the Western Cape, or elsewhere, appreciated this point.

The main aims of the strike-calls appeared to be more publicity for the student and scholar protests and a further expression of Black unity. This impression was shared by some of the strikers and employers. (Cillie Commission Report para. 30.17.3:297) Certainly, in 1976, the Black Consciousness ideology and the educationally centred protests were not sufficient to inspire a long-term worker-based revolt. (For further

analysis of the 1976 work-boycotts see Moss 1983 and Hirson 1979:253-261)

6.8 Official Responses To The Boycotts

As in the past, the government's prime response to the 1976 protests was that control should be re-asserted. It deployed its forces into the areas of unrest in order to end the illegal resistance. Official policy statements indicated that the government would not be pressurized into making concessions for Blacks - but the impact of the boycotts could not be ignored. The evidence of combined African, Coloured and Indian protest posed a potentially strong threat to White dominance. The boycotts placed pressure on government which led to a re-assessment of official policy within the Afrikaner ranks. Within government the response to these developments was varied.

At the first signs of unrest, the authorities sent the police and riot squad to the scenes of protest. It is not clear what directives they received but these forces adopted harsher tactics as the protests escalated. In the Cape Peninsula the widespread conflict created numerous problems for the police. Although recruits were flown in from the Witwatersrand, the police were insufficiently numbered to cover all the areas of protest. They had to concentrate their forces in the centres where most demonstrations took place. In early September, the Minister of Police, Mr. J. Kruger, acknowledged that there were not enough police to control the disturbances. He urged people to adopt their own methods to protect their homes and business premises. (Johnson 1977:195)

The Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, maintained a "no-compromise" attitude throughout the protest. In June 1976, he remarked that the boycotts in Soweto gave no cause for panic. (Cape Times 19.6.76) By late August, the conflict had escalated and spread. At this stage, the Prime Minister acknowledged that South Africa faced a critical period, but that the government was not confronted with a large crisis - he saw no reason for a change in official policy. (Cape Times 28.8.76)[15] Members of the National Party Congress, which followed in Durban, called for the accelerated implementation of government segregation policy as a means to reduce conflict. (See Van Heyningen et al 1976:33)

The government was united in its stand on official policy for Africans. Kane-Berman noted some Afrikaner Nationalist criticism of official policy on Africans, notably in some "heretical" articles in Die Burger. (Kane-Berman 1979:174-5) He concluded, however, that although there were some "divergences of opinion in the Cabinet...as far as the fundamentals of policy towards urban Africans are concerned, there does not seem to be any differences of opinion". (See Kane-Berman 1979:171-182)

The prospect of African, Coloured and Indian unity brought to the surface long-standing divisions within the ruling sector. In June, Mr. P. W. Botha, Minister of Defence (erstwhile Minister of Coloured Affairs and future Prime Minister) called for adjustments to official policy in order to forge stronger White links with Coloureds and Indians. (Die Burger 26.6.76; Cape Times 25.6.76) In September, at the Cape National Party Congress, he again stressed that Whites, Coloureds and Indians needed each other. He also warned Coloureds that it was not in their

interest to seek political unity with Africans. (Sunday Times 5.9.76; Brooks and Brickhill 1980:133)

Sectors of the Afrikaner Nationalist press echoed Mr. Botha's arguments for more Coloured and Indian political rights. It was noted that many Afrikaans newspapers supported similar recommendations made in the Theron Commission Report tabled in June. (Simons 1980:129-30) Die Burger argued that the unrest was related to an atmosphere of necessary change in the country, but that the latter should be controlled. (Die Burger 5.8.76) Mr Willem De Klerk, editor of Die Transvaler, suggested that government give Coloureds and Indians full South African citizenship; that Whites, Coloureds and Indians should participate jointly on a Council which handled communal affairs; but that Coloureds and Indians should have separate political structures because an "integrated unitary state" would be "too explosive" and "unacceptable". (Kane-Berman 1979:172)

The 1976 government leaders responded sharply to criticism and kept to stated policy on Coloureds and Indians. They issued a government White Paper which rejected the central Theron Commission proposals for closer political links between White Afrikaners and Coloureds. They condemned Afrikaner press-criticism and accused the latter of "disloyalty". (Kane-Berman 1979:171) Kane-Berman noted that similar rifts in the past had usually dwindled to nothing. (Kane-Berman 1979:175) Such was the case in 1976. The Afrikaans press could ill-afford to appear supportive of Coloureds and Indians whose participation in the anti-government demonstrations became more evident.

As a whole, the Afrikaans press again rallied to the support of Mr. Vorster and his followers. (Simons 1980:130) This display of White Afrikaner unity could not, however, negate the impact of the 1976 Black solidarity.

6.9 Reasons For Coloured Scholar Participation

The 1976 boycotts marked the first occasion of widespread protest by Coloured scholars. Both participants and observers expressed surprise at the degree and duration of this participation. (See Appendix II:k)[16] The Coloured scholars' action in support of Africans requires explanation. Contributory factors were the age of the protestors, the existence of common complaints and their involvement in education. Such conditions were not new to the seventies, however, and do not adequately explain the Coloured scholar response. (See Molteno 1979:62) It was the developments during the earlier seventies which helped to complete this picture.

The fact that the protestors were school-pupils had more than the obvious significance for the Coloured scholar boycotts. It had been argued that over the years of Coloured education, faith in the social and economic worth of such education had diminished; furthermore, additional education institutions had not altered the political impotence of the Coloured people. (Maurice 1981:9) By the mid-seventies, Coloureds had built up a strong resentment of the Coloured education system, Group Areas removals and government policy in general. What the schools offered were centres where youths were drawn together for much of their

daily lives. Other members of the families which were moved to the Coloured townships had no such communal focus. The schools provided one of the few arenas where large groups of Coloureds could channel their resentment. It was also suggested that, as young scholars, the youth were not engrossed in earning a living and thus had more time in which to "ferment their grievances". (Sonn and A. Paul Hare, cited in Weekend Argus 21.8.76)[17] These factors combined to leave the education institutions readily open as a site of struggle for Coloured youth.

It was noted above that scholar criticism of their parents played a significant role in the Coloured boycotts. The scholars, and students, tended to be involved more intensely about some issues, it was argued, and had more earnest desires for change because the position of their parents lacked appeal. (See footnote 17) Maurice said of the 1980 Coloured boycotters that their's was the response of a new generation who were perhaps "more cogently motivated, better equipped and certainly more impatient than all those who went before them". (Maurice 1981:11) The 1980 boycotters had 1976 behind them, but these remarks were relevant to the scholars of the earlier year; they had the developments of the early seventies to influence their attitudes.

In 1976, Coloured scholar support for what was initially an African scholars' protest owed much to the emergence of Black Consciousness in the preceding years. Legislation helped to isolate Coloureds from Whites and did nothing to prevent the development of anti-White attitudes among Coloured youth. (See footnote 17) The Black Consciousness ideology exploited such conditions in order to encourage greater unity and a more

assertive attitude among Blacks.[18] In the Cape Peninsula, Coloured scholars were exposed to this ideology through national events and their own youth organisations. Near at hand, they had the example of Coloured U.W.C. students who did not hesitate to boycott in solidarity with Blacks elsewhere.

Without such a picture, the Coloured scholars' support for the 1976 boycotts would remain inadequately explained. The disillusionment with their parents, dissatisfaction with their education and the resentment of apartheid policies laid the grounds for scholar unrest. The recent growth of Black Consciousness and the activities of U.W.C. students created reinforcing conditions. It was thus that the 1976 boycotts were able to draw on the potential of Coloured schools as sites of struggle.

6.10 The Politicisation Of Coloureds In The Western Cape

The 1976 boycotts introduced a new dynamic to the Black education struggle and South African politics as a whole. The Coloured participation alongside Africans and Indians marked the first nationally widespread Black activism for almost two decades. For the first time such activism stemmed from a national focus on education. The trend of educational protest, which had flowed down from adults and teachers into the Black campuses, spilled over into the schools. The novel mobilisation of youth which took place in the seventies enabled scholars to play the dominant role in the 1976 protests. The nature of the South African system did not allow the struggle to be contained in educational

institutions; they consequently altered both the political and the educational milieu in the country. Coloureds who had been bypassed by the developments of the previous years were caught up in the magnitude and depth of the 1976 events.

At U.W.C. some students experienced a markedly radical shift in political attitudes during the boycott events. Not all the students supported the protests. The increased presence of Security Police on the campus stirred up and gave added impetus to the tension. Vacillating students therefore became more involved. Some were attracted by the ephemeral emotionalism which electrified events; their lack of commitment was revealed by the ease with which they later returned to their studies. (Interview-JH) By contrast, other students experienced periods of detention yet returned to protest activity and later sacrificed their studies for politics. Similar trends were evident on the U.W.C. campus in 1973. In 1976, "in a very short space of time, the discontent of U.W.C. students swung to an unforeseen militancy; some of our friends gave up their education to join military organisations in exile 'until a free Azania is established'". (Interview-JH)

The Coloured scholars' response to the boycott calls indicated the changes which had taken place over recent years. 1976 was the first time that such a call was made on Coloured scholars. It was, however, unlikely that their predecessors would have had the ideological basis and motivation to give the support provided in 1976. The central demands made by the scholars were for considerable changes in the education system. Their assertive demands were coupled with criticism of

apartheid. These and their use of the Black Consciousness, clenched-fist salute pointed to a heightened degree of politicisation among Coloured scholars; even if some of them had only a superficial understanding of the ideology. (Van Heyningen et al 1976:39)[19]

After the Coloured scholar phase of the boycotts subsided, the scholars carried their attitudes back into the classrooms. It was reported that scholars spent a lot of time conducting political discussions, sometimes with sympathetic teachers. (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:120) At the end of the academic year, Coloured scholars adopted a highly critical attitude towards the ideological implications of some examined set-works and topics.[20] The critical mood which prevailed in the classrooms resurfaced in 1980 when Coloured scholars initiated their own series of boycotts; on this occasion African scholars followed the Coloured lead. (See Molteno 1983) Coloured scholars were also able to carry their experiences of 1976 into higher education institutions or community activities.

The Coloured youth uprisings exerted a profound politicising influence on the adult community. The participation of Coloured scholars, in particular, broadened the influence of the boycotts. Their numbers swelled the ranks of the protestors, filled local streets and brought in many parents with children in the schools. Fewer Coloureds were as directly related to the student demonstrations of earlier years. The "sacrifices of their children" made parents more politically assertive, said Mr. F. Joshua, headmaster of Alexander Sinton High School. (Cape Times 15.12.76)

> The schoolchildren's protest triggered off the pent-up frustrations of a people who are contained by legislation from having all the rights of the land. These protests may not have changed the attitude of the Government, but it certainly made apathetic Blacks more aware and jolted them from their slumber. (Muslim News 3.12.76)

The 1976 boycotts brought into question the belief that Coloureds would unanimously support Whites (or remain inactive) in times of crisis. It was, however, optimistic to suggest, as did one newspaper article, that Blacks were now "one entity". (Muslim News 3.12.76) The Black solidarity manifest in 1976 was indeed unique; but half a month of concerted African and Coloured, adult and youth, combined protests did not mark the evaporation of all the divisions within the Black sectors of the population; nor did they dissolve segregation policies. The boycott events revealed some of the problems to be faced in forging a more consistent and long-lasting united Black opposition. In the next few years, many Blacks re-assessed the efficacy of Black Consciousness - it had revealed both strengths and weaknesses.

The adult and youth participation in the protests provided some new sense of unity in the townships. Together, many Coloureds had actively pressed for change in South Africa. These experiences contributed to the growth of community social, cultural and political organisations in the Coloured (and African) townships. They laid the ground for an improved organisational base for future Black political activity. "1976 is the year when students raised a voice in anger and became a catalyst for a permanent movement for change in South Africa", claimed the Muslim News. (Muslim News 3.12.76) The future will tell just how permanent was this move which, thus far, has continued into the 1980's. In 1976, Coloured students and scholars of the Western Cape were a part of that movement.

6.11 Conclusion

There was much that was novel about the 1976 boycotts, both in the Western Cape and nationally. Previous chapters have shown the continuities and changes in Coloured education protest and the context in which the 1976 events took place. Coloureds and other Blacks protested about their education for two main reasons. The first was because of the potential for advancement which they attributed to education. The second reason was that they identified the political nature of the Black education system and included it as an issue in broad political struggles. In 1976, education was, for the first time, the main site of a Black struggle. The 1976 revolt was also new in terms of the extensive use of the boycott tactic in schools, the leading role of the scholars and the extent of Black solidarity. Never before, at any one time, had South Africa's rulers faced such a concerted challenge to their policy from Africans, Coloureds and Indians, old and young.

Why were education protests able to provoke such a challenge? For some time, Blacks had resented segregatory policies. In the first half of the seventies, this resentment was brought to the boil against the backdrop of an economic slump, labour unrest and the new independence of nearby African states. In this context, Molteno suggested that Black workers could have led the national revolt; and Volbrecht suggested that any urban problem such as a rents protest, a bus boycott or an economic strike could have provided the necessary catalyst. (Molteno 1983:1; Volbrecht 1977:23) There is some truth in these suggestions, yet neither author explains why it was youths in educational institutions, and not

others elsewhere, who took the lead in 1976. A key factor here was that rent protests, bus boycotts and strikes were generally localised issues, although worker action against national labour legislation did hold the potential to inspire widespread protest. Black education was national and therefore shared this potential. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that if the relevant authorities had judicously handled the Afrikaans language issue behind the initial Soweto demonstrations, these too may have remained short-term and localized. (Welsh 1984-private communication)

The emergence of education as the central site of Coloured struggle was, however, more than a chance occurrence. Other than in the work-place, the government, through legislation, had effectively prevented the emergence of a clear arena of struggle. In the Western Cape there was little history of worker organisation combined with political activity. (See Lewis 1976:186-198) In the years preceding 1976, Coloured adults showed little inclination to unite around community issues, although their children's education proved, at times, an exception. The only place left for Coloured people to gather were the educational institutions; it was only here that the new forces in society could raise themselves.

For the Coloured scholars and students, educational institutions were an appropriate site for their protests. Educational issues were very real to them and held their future prospects in hand. This made them particularly sensitive to the educational issues publicised in the boycotts. On the political level Coloured youths saw their parents as inactive. The Coloured scholars themselves had no access to the

national, legal political process and indicated no desire for such - they rejected the C.P.R.C. type leadership. They therefore had to make their own political statement where they could. For the growing number of Coloureds in education, this was in their school, college or university.

During the sixties and seventies, the expansion of the Coloured education system provided an organisational centre for an increasing number of youths. They congregated and nurtured their mutual sense of injustice about their education and government policies in the state education institutions themselves. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should use these institutions as the starting-block for their educational and political protests. It can be argued that without the presence of U.W.C. and the new township schools the Coloured protest movement of 1976 may never have left the ground. If this had been the case, the 1976 boycotts would not have attained the same degree of Black solidarity. Thus, the government reaped undesired fruits from its ideology and policy: its legislation imposed very real barriers between Blacks, but the educational "institutions of divide and rule became the site of struggle against the state". (Simons 1982:20)

It was the Coloured scholar support for Black solidarity, more than anything else, which brought in the wider Coloured community. The attitudes of Coloured scholars can only be explained with reference to the rise of Black Consciousness and the student activism at U.W.C.. Sizwe, who argued the limitations of Black Consciousness, acknowledged that it was this ideology which enabled Blacks in almost all the main centres of South Africa to take part in simultaneous revolt. (Sizwe

1979:124) These developments helped mobilise the Coloured scholars of the Western Cape to act on the grievances long felt in the schools.

The 1976 protests had considerable impact on many sectors of South African society. The protestors never had the power to defeat South Africa's rulers. Nevertheless, their popular-democratic approach produced a joint-Black opposition which posed a challenge to government. (Saul and Gelb 1981:108) Ultimately, the might of the rulers prevailed but the confrontation produced lessons for both the dominant and the dominated.

In 1976, the boycotts struck a blow to the myth which had prevailed among South African Blacks - that education was the panacea of social, economic and political ills. Malherbe noted that in earlier South African educational struggles both sides had sought to exploit the education system for political goals. They thereby, he continued, shared the belief in Dewey's dictum that "to an extent characteristic of no other institution, save that of the State itself, the school has the power to modify the social order". (Malherbe 1977:39-40) The inability of the 1976 protests to be contained in the areas of education institutions belied this belief. In South Africa, segregated education was but one of numerous cogs in the administrative wheel which regulated the social, economic and political order.

This was one of the reasons why the protests spread so rapidly into explicit political issues and drew in the wider communities. The source of the education protests lay in the political order and, some would

argue further, more basically in the relations of production. (See Volbrecht 1977:27)

Some writers have suggested that there were elements of the 1976 demonstrations which pointed to the economic forces which underlay apartheid. J. Davies claimed that the protests were anti-capitalist as well as anti-apartheid in form. (J. Davies 1982:4) Attempts to read too far into the political strike-calls of September should be treated with caution, as this study's examination has shown. Simons asserted that, in 1976, the protestors identified capitalism as their enemy. (Simons 1982:31) There were a few protestors, in the Western Cape at least, who made this connection during their demonstrations. Simons' comment could be more accurately read to mean that such perceptions informed the future attitudes of protestors rather than the 1976 boycotts themselves. Her claim indicated an ideological shift among Black youth. Soon after the boycotts subsided, Black students produced radical critiques of Black Consciousness (echoing, in part, the T.L.S.A. attitude); they also claimed that workers should lead future battles for democracy in the country. (Simons 1982:21) Some comments on the Coloured school boycotts of 1980 suggested that here the protestors deliberately confronted the role of capitalism in South Africa. (See Levin 1980:36)

The 1976 boycotts had dual implications which the capitalist sector viewed with concern. On the one level, they were worried about the anti-capitalist tendencies which they identified amongst protestors. (O'Meara 1982:4) On the second level, the protestors attracted international criticism of South Africa which, coupled with the political

instability of the time, reduced the flow of foreign investments needed to pull the country out of economic depression. (Nattrass 1981:23-24; O'Meara 1982:3-4) During the sixties and early seventies the nature of capitalist development in South Africa had increased demands for skilled-labour which, by the mid-seventies, the education and training system were unable to meet. The 1976 revolt emphasised the country's need for political stability in order to maintain the economic prosperity of the sixties.[22] The capitalist sector, therefore, stepped up its pressure on government to implement changes to its educational, economic and political policies. The country needed policies which it could justify to foreign investors, which would provide the labour needs for economic expansion, win Blacks over to the capitalist system and which would ensure political stability.

The 1976 protests thus faced government with the prime task of reforming its ideological and political mechanisms of control. It needed to achieve a stability which would both maintain White hegemony and bolster the capitalist economy. The government designed its "Total Strategy" in an attempt to meet these needs. (J. Davies 1982:2; for analyses of the "Total Strategy" see O'Meara 1982 and Moss 1980) On the political level the government, in 1977, announced new constitutional proposals as a response to the Black solidarity manifest in the protests. It designed the constitutional proposals to win Coloured and Indian support of Whites rather than of Africans. If the policy set out in the proposals met with success, it would neutralise the political influence which Coloureds and Indians discovered in united action with Africans; also, Coloureds and Indians would provide a bulwark against Africans. (See Simons 1982:22-31)

The government's manoeuvres to regain the upper hand were not without their problems for the ruling party. Kaplan has made the point that popular struggles effect splits in the ruling bloc. (Kaplan 1977:369) This was illustrated in the 1976 protests. The divisions which arose within the government were described above. These divisions widened as the government faced its "Information Scandal" or "Muldergate". In the internal struggle which ensued, Mr. P.W. Botha emerged victorious, Mr B.J. Vorster resigned and Mr. Botha's opponents split from the National Pary to form the Conservative Party. (See O'Meara 1982:5-9)

The protest also raised issues for the protestors. An important aspect of the 1976 solidarity was that it came from "mass-action" below rather than "concerted leadership from above". (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:120) The popular-democratic appeal of Black Consciousness ideology enabled its student and scholar supporters to mount their widespread protests without external guidance. They have been criticised, however, for embarking on these protests with no political programme. (Mafeje 1978:24) The absence of such a programme helps explain why Coloured youth were not in a position to exploit the community support of September. They were not able, and could not be expected, to provide the leadership and programme demanded at this stage. By mid-September, Coloured participation in the boycotts had transcended the bounds of an educationally centred protest led by students and scholars.

Nevertheless, this breakdown in Black unity highlighted questions of organization and focus and the differences which remained between

Coloureds and Africans. Despite displays of solidarity and protests at common grievances, Coloureds who remained in their education system, although critical of it, could still gain better employment prospects than their African counterparts who did the same. This was probably a cogent reason why Coloureds returned to classes at an earlier stage. If they were to avoid similar breaches in the future, there was a need for more organization, co-ordination and the identification of priorities among scholars and students, Coloureds and Africans. Although the political-strikes signalled the end of the main Coloured and African unity in 1976,they indicated ways in which people of different population categories and those occupied in different areas could interrelate their struggles.

The Coloured students and scholars learnt from these lessons. They forged stronger links with the adult community members. The politicisation of both adults and youth was channeled into democratically structured community organisations which emerged in the townships. (Simons 1982:25) By the 1980's, the stronger interaction between Black youth, adults and workers in the Western Cape found expression in community supported boycotts of red meat, buses and, again, schools. (Saul and Gelb 1981:112)

A study of this nature raises questions which are inadequately answered due to lack of data and touches on issues which call for further research but which fall outside the scope of the work. It attempts to fill lacunae but does not claim to be the definitive work on the area of study. One area which calls for further examination is that of the

political role for Blacks of religious organisations. (See Rathbone 1979:130) In the context of this study, such research could examine how Black Consciousness spread its appeal through the medium of Black Theology and at U.W.C. in particular. A more in-depth study of Coloured schools in the Cape Peninsula could provide a fuller account of teacher attitudes and their political statements made to scholars before, during and after 1976. This would relate to the varied input of White teachers in the Coloured schools. The importance of certain geographical locations in terms of boycott action calls for more consideration. For example, what factors made scholars in the Bonteheuwel area or at Alexander Sinton High School appear more active than those in other township areas? As students examine this work, there are various unmapped territories which come to the surface. Nevertheless, it has been able to provide some clarity about previously unexplained issues.

Coloured participation in the 1976 boycotts cast a new light on Black opposition in South Africa. Coloureds helped to rock the complacency of their rulers in what amounted to less than two months of concerted protest alongside Africans. Government was compelled to re-examine its political dispensation for Coloureds; something which Coloureds had been unable to achieve in over a decade of legal action in segregated political channels. They showed that government could no longer depend upon the support or inactivity of Coloureds. The Coloured solidarity with Africans posed a new threat to White hegemony and realigned the South African political situation.

Furthermore, Coloureds brought about these political developments on the basis of educational protests. Education was clearly revealed to be inextricably interwoven with the political. The 1976 events showed that the government could no longer hope to rely on the ideologically supportive function of state education in its existing form. Government opponents discovered both the possibilities and limitations of state education as an arena for opposition struggles.

6.12 Footnotes To Chapter Six

1. It was reported that at times the clenched-fist salute became the only way to avoid trouble in the Coloured townships. (U.C.T. History Workshop Papers, Oral Evidence File:21; hereafter referred to as History Oral Evidence)

2. The Theron Commission Report recommended that Coloureds be given direct representation in Parliament, the Provincial Councils and in local government; the repeal of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act. The government rejected all of these proposals. The wide range of Theron Commission proposals included: all universities should be opened to Coloureds; education should be compulsory for Coloureds under sixteen years of age; job reservation should be ended. The government neither rejected nor endorsed these proposals. Books and Brickhill suggested that the goverment's response to the Theron Commission proposal upset the middle-class and politically moderate Coloureds the most; contributed directly to the radicalisation of the Coloured wing of the Dutch Reformed Church; and encouraged sympathy for U.W.C. students. (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:113-4; see also Blignaut 1981:31-35)

3. Molteno makes a similar point about the 1980 Coloured boycotters who, he said, ultimately sought the same education as Whites. (Molteno 1983:326,328)

4. Moss says of "popular-democratic" demands that "they are not class specific". They are made "by the people" or the "oppressed", rather than the working-class, and are addressed to the ruling class power or the "oppressor". (Moss 1983:8)

5. See, for example, the following quotation from a U.W.C. student leader's speech: "We totally reject this so-called education. We are simply no longer prepared to participate in that system of exploitation. We refuse to supply cheap qualified workers to the system. The rebellion has already changed a lot. The Whites are seized by a deep seated fear....The big establishments of the economy feel the result of our rejection, and the riots have attracted the attention of the outside world. The loss in foreign investments since last year is already very encouraging. If we only persevere, we can get them down economically". (Quoted in Kraak 1979:34) Although notably radical in tone, the speech has an underlying assumption that a student-led revolt could ultimately undermine the South African economy and State.

6. Despite the Cillie Commission's interpretation of the "U.W.C. Soweto" pamphlet (see Cillie Commission Report para. 30.74:274), students did not deliberately gear it to incite more protestors (although it may have contributed in such a way) but as a publicisation of U.W.C. student attitudes.

7. The form taken by the U.S.F. lent support to the scholars' oft-voiced claim that there were no specific leaders; their demonstrations, they said, were a spontaneous repsonse which drew upon widespread grievances. The wisdom which underlay the amorphous form of the U.S.F. prevented the writer from gaining more concrete information about its activities and influence. The U.S.F. issued a list of demands which is contained in Appendix II, article h.

   The Cillie Commission claimed that a Super Students Representative Council (S.S.R.C.) also emerged in the Western Cape. The S.S.R.C. was said to have consisted of members of the Coloured school S.R.C.'s already in existence. (Cillie Commission Report paras. 3.8.3.,30.9.4.:572,278) No further evidence of such a body has been found.

   Later in 1976, African scholars formed the Comrades Movement which played a significant part in the African community protests at the end of the year. (See Cillie Commission Report, para. 3.9.1:576-7; and Brooks and Brickhill 1980:122-124)

8. Examples of this attitude are to be found in <u>The Educational Journal</u>; "Some content ourselves with saying that we have formed the impression that, in recent days, a good many people have begun to think very hard and have learned more than they ever suspected about the nature of the South African State; about the limitations of the protestor and demonstrator who is armed with little more than a pure heart, militancy, integrity and courage; about the utter irresponsibility of the student who has never begun to study the warp and woof and workings of the society he claims he wants to change: about the gross oversimplification and error of seeing the struggle for citizenship as being reducible to a mere matter of 'Blacks' in 'confrontation; with 'Whitey'." (<u>The Educational Journal</u> XLVIII(2) Sept. 1976:4)

9. By 1980, the T.L.S.A. teachers appeared to have regained some influence over their scholars. Again, the pressure of boycott events undermined their preference for radical theory and abstention; scholar attitude swung in support of the boycotts. (See Molteno 1983:296-7)

10. As has been noted by others, the "categories of 'pupil' and 'skollie' are by no means exclusive". (Van Heyningen et al 1976:40)

11. This situation has altered somewhat with the development of new housing estates such as Mitchell's Plain; but in large areas a residential mixture of families of different socio-economic position was the norm.

12. At one stage there was a rumour doing the rounds that forty babies had died as a result of teargas released by police in the townships. (History Oral Evidence:38) Such rumours played a part in altering adult attitudes.

13. "These observations (of police action against protestors) bring out the shared experience of the different generations of humiliation at the hands of the White racists, the passivity of the older people until their children were attacked, and then the eruption of anger and violence directed against the police and the system. Without some such picture it is hard to explain the sustained ferocity of the conflict in many Coloured areas around Cape Town." (Brooks and Brickhill 1980:112)

14. First responded to radical critiques of the youths' attempts to employ the political strike-weapon as follows:"...the assertion of working-class leadership of the liberation struggle is too often reduced to a worker-boss struggle, and such a workerist approach fails to confront the fact that the state carries out the purpose of capital. In this sense, the great political strikes of the late 1950's, 1960's and again 1976 - the stay-at-home - were the use of the working-class strike weapon for political demands that challenged the hegemony of state and capital both." (First 1978:99)

15. Mr. Vorster argued that "looking over the history of South Africa's achievements, I say we have no reason to have guilty conscience about anything. I want to make it clear that nowhere in the world have four million done so much for eighteen million as in this despised South Africa:". (Quoted in Muslim News 3.9.76)

16. The same was said of U.W.C. students. An ex-U.W.C. student pointed out that, at the start of 1976, the students would never have predicted the events of the second half of the year; even when the boycotts began they did not forsee their rapid spread. (Interview-JH)

17. Mr Sonn explained the youth unrest in the following manner:
" .In the townships, especially the African townships, he said, schools were the main centre of organised community activity. Widespread demonstrations of grievance could therefore be expected to come from schools.

.The process of separate development has led to a compartmentalising of people. Pupils have little contact with Whites on a normal human basis. It is easy to hate what you do not know, Mr. Sonn said.
.Among the working classes the pupil was often the best-educated member of the family and felt honour-bound to articulate the feelings of the parent.
.The disenfranchisement of Blacks rendered many of the older generation apathetic. The prospect of growing up in that way disenchanted youth...'they rather opt out. Even people with degrees are often regarded as simply voiceless and useless.'
.Teachers are forbidden to talk politics in the classroom. While this is a safeguard against those who would abuse the right, Mr. Sonn said, it precluded sound guidance from those who were prepared to guide and direct the feelings of the pupils constructively." (Weekend Argus 21.8.76)

18. David Curry, deputy-leader of the Labour Party, claimed that the Black Consciousness movement "had created a new social structure among black people, by which I mean African, Coloured and Indian. The older generation, whom the whites have called 'non-whites', had a different attitude - one of submission. Our young people refuse to walk the streets of South Africa apologising for their existence." (Quoted in The Observer (UK) 5.9.76)

19. See the Cillie Commission comment: "The young people, or a large group of them, with their organizations, feel that the riots have prepared and inspired them; they reject negotiations with the Government and the White community and are prepared to continue their liberation struggle by force of arms." (Cillie Commission Report para. 9.5.1:546)

20. Most of the Standard IX pupils at Alexander Sinton High School boycotted an Afrikaans setwork exam. They felt that a book that was being examined was biased and they found the literature frustrating and humiliating in tone. (Cape Times 12.11.76)

Pupils were also reported to be angry about questions in the section on contemporary South African history. Scholars selected two questions for strong criticism: the first referred to a province with no "Indian problem"; the second asked candidates to write on the "Cape Malays as a Coloured Group" (Cape Herald 23.11.76)

21. Since the 1960's, capital-itensification of the South African economy had created a problem with the supply of certain skilled labour power. Generally, skilled labour categories had been the preserve of Whites, but employers were able to offset their problems by means of job-redefinitions (floating the "colour-bar"). Skilled-labour shortages were, however, also the result of education policy. By the mid-seventies, employers could no longer make up for the limited numbers of skilled Black workers. These factors had caused the growth in unskilled Black unemployment and contributed to the strike activity of the early seventies. These developments supplemented the capitalist sector's concern about the 1976 events.

More detailed studies of the South African political economy can be found in: R. Davies et al 1976; Innes and Plaut 1978; Bozzoli 1978; R. Davies 1979; Saul and Gelb 1981; O'Meara 1982. For a more specific study of the political economy and education in South Africa, see J. Davies 1982.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BOYCOTT EVENTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE - 1976

This chronology was compiled from the following sources:

Primary sources - Press reports in the The Argus, Die Burger, The Cape Times, Cape Herald, Muslim News;
Cillie Commission Report;
U.C.T. History Workshop Material;
C.I.G.S. Research Material;
Private Interviews;

Secondary Sources - Brooks and Brickhill 1980;
A. Paul Hare 1976;
Hirson 1979;
Kane-Berman 1979;
SAIRR 1978

Where accounts vary in the dating of events, the version adopted in most of the sources has been adopted. It is difficult to compile an entirely accurate account of the events; the events pertinent to this study have been selected; the writer is satisfied that the summary included here is as accurate as the facilities allow.

Chronological Summary of Coloured Boycott Events.

JUNE 1976

Wednesday 16 June
African scholars in Soweto embark on protest marches.

Friday 18 June
Teaching staff at U.W.C. release press statement saying that they side with Soweto demonstrators.
U.C.T. students demonstrate with placards:"Soweto Bleeds", "Solidarity with Soweto".

Thursday 24 June
Principal's office at an Nyanga primary school burnt out.
Langa - two officials threatened by crowds; riot squad move in.

Saturday 26 June
Langa - an attempt to burn down the post-office and the Mimosa School.

JULY 1976

Monday 26 July
U.W.C. students meet to consider their position in relation to the Soweto demonstrations.

Thursday 29 July
U.W.C. students hold a meeting to show solidarity with students of other Black universities and out of sympathy for those who died in Soweto and other Black residential areas; decide to boycott classes for a week.
U.W.C. rector states that staff share feelings of students but do not necessarily approve of their methods.

Friday 30 July
U.W.C. students meet and affirm previous day's decisions; decide to disrupt lectures if boycott call fails. Slogans on campus walls - "The Revolution Is Coming", "Burn UWC".

AUGUST 1976

Monday 2 August
1 000 U.W.C. students re-affirm boycott decision in sympathy with other Blacks and in protest against the South African "social structure"; they plan an alternative education campaign. The U.W.C. rector suspends lectures.
Students at Hewat Training College (Athlone) echo actions at U.W.C..

Tuesday 3 August
U.W.C. students protest against the attitude of the White staff association which dissociated itself from the rector's supportive statement.
Ben Palmer Louw (SRC president and former vice-president of SASO) detained under security laws.

Wednesday 4 August
Riot Squad at U.W.C. where lecture boycott continues. About 800 students demonstrate in front of the campus on the main Modderdam Road; police vehicles stoned. Posters - "Identify With Soweto", "Silence gives consent", "Save the children and raise Africa", "Fight For Freedom".

Thursday 5 August
U.W.C. administration building burnt down.

Friday 6 August
U.W.C. boycott continues.
Unsuccessful arson attempt at Hewat Training College.
Black Peoples Congress (B.P.C.) (Cape Town branch) release statement in support of students.

Monday 9 August
About 300 U.W.C. students attempt to persuade other students to join the boycott; march on university offices and present list of demands to the rector. Riot squad arrive but asked to leave by rector. U.W.C. students distribute pamphlets in Black residential areas.

Tuesday 10 August
Part of the Peninsula College for Advanced Technical Education (near U.W.C. in Bellville South) destroyed by fire.
Two unsuccessful attempts at arson at Hewat Training College.
S.R.C. of U.C.T. vote for an expression of solidarity with Black students and political detainees.

Wednesday 11 August
Police move to disperse scholars demonstrating at Langa High School. Crowds gather and teargas fired as stones and bottles thrown. Scholars throughout the Black townships join the demonstrations. Teargas used at Guguletu and Nyanga. Scholars move from school to school seeking support in "peaceful protest" of sympathy with Soweto and for release of detainees. At nightfall intense disruption in all three Black townships; 16 people reported dead and 51 seriously injured. Numerous buildings burnt down. Unrest spreads to Philippi and towards Lansdowne Road.

Thursday 12 August
600 Bellville Training College students protest march; police armed with batons and shotguns move to U.W.C. campus; crowds controlled by baton charges, teargas and arrests. Posters - "Sorry Soweto", "The Revolution is Coming"

Coloured schools become active: protest at Belgravia High School, a number of arson attempts at Coloured schools.

Guguletu, Nyanga and Langa experience 36 hours of intense conflict and unrest; buildings burnt; police cars attacked; police recruits fly in from the Witwatersrand; police roadblock the townships which are sealed off.

U.C.T. students march along Klipfontein Road (Mowbray) carrying banners, singing and giving Black Consciousness salutes; 73 students arrested.

Friday 13 August
Large sections of Cape Town area roads sealed off by police; estimated cost of week's unrest is R2 000 000.

Ten men, including eight U.W.C. students and the S.R.C. president, arrested and charged with Riotous Assemblies Act and with arson.
23 people, including 5 U.C.T. students detained under security laws.
Students pack courts and sing.

Police adopt harsher measures.
Minister of Interior states that government will not deviate from stated policy and that tension caused by unfulfilled aspiration, communism and inflation.

Belthorne Primary School (Lansdowne) - Black Consciousness slogans on walls.
Belgravia High School - pupils meet and discuss boycotts.
Livingstone High School (Claremont) - pupils refuse to attend classes.
Oaklands High School (Lansdowne) - pupils meet to discuss boycotts; pledge solidarity with all Black students; sing "freedom songs", give clenched-fist salute and carry placards.
Arson reported at Athlone, UWC women's residence, Bonteheuwel, Kuils River.
Stones thrown at Heathfield rail way station.
Principal of Esselen High School closes school because pupils refuse to attend.

Saturday 14 August
Two U.W.C. students detained.

Five prefabricated classrooms at a Kraaifontein primary school destroyed.
Municipal offices at Hanover Park scheme damaged.

Monday 16 August
Riot squad disperses large crowd of U.W.C. students and others demonstrating at the Bellville Magistrates Court.

Alexander Sinton High School (Athlone) - pupils leave classrooms and demonstrate in school grounds.
Belgravia High School (Athlone) - pupils join Alexander Sinton demonstration; joined by Grassy Park High School scholars. Riot-squad arrives but leaves without conflict after addressing scholars.
Grassy Park High School - pupils disrupt classes.

Tuesday 17 August
Alexander Sinton High School - boycotts continue.
Arcadia High School (Bonteheuwel) - fire damages classrooms.

Wednesday 18 August
U.W.C. rector threatens to close the university if campus violence flares up.
Bellville South - scholars carry placards but terminate protest when police arrive.

Thursday 19 August
Eight U.W.C. students expelled for disrupting classes.

Coloured Labour Party expresses support for U.W.C. rector who urges students to return to classes because academic education is important for cause of Black Freedom.

Friday 20 August
Athlone High School pupils issue a statement through their principal's office.

Stonings and arrests in Langa.

Saturday 21 August
Fire at Florida High School (Ravensmead).

Monday 23 August
Pupils from three Bonteheuwel high schools demonstrate. No confrontation at Arcadia and Bonteheuwel High Schools where headmasters persuade riot police to leave. Teargas used at Modderdam High School.

Tuesday 24 August
Hewat Training College - classes boycotted and textbooks on the rules and regulations of Coloured education burnt.

Arcadia High School pupils demonstrate in school grounds. Police attempt to disperse pupils who stone them. Arcadia scholars congregate outside their school and are joined by others from Modderdam and Bonteheuwel High Schools. The headmaster and teachers try to persuade pupils to go home. A police car stops among the pupils, two of whom are arrested. The angry crowd approaches the car and shots are fired; one pupil is injured. Many pupils and adults take to the streets and conflict escalates throughout Bonteheuwel. The riot squad move into the area.

Wednesday 25 August
Demonstrators at Arcadia and Modderdam high schools teargassed by police. Violence spreads through Bonteheuwel, into Klipfontein Road, Athlone and onto Settlers Way freeway. Bonteheuwel is sealed off. Workers dropped on the outskirts are reported to have teargas cannisters thrown at them as they walk home. Stoning and arson worsen at nightfall; police confirm one death and five seriously wounded.
Livingstone High School - pupils demonstrate with placards in the school grounds.
Cathkin High School (Heideveld) - a fire.
Bellville railway station - trains stoned by Coloured youths.

Thursday 26 August
Intense conflict continues in Bonteheuwel.

Friday 27 August
U.W.C. students disrupt classes.

Bonteheuwel and Kensington - stonings.

Saturday 28 August
Statement issued by Hewat Training College students published in Cape Times. The Prime Minister, Mr. B.J.Vorster, reported to have stated that there was no crisis.

Sunday 29 August
Belgravia High School - two classrooms burnt-out; anti-White and anti-apartheid slogans on the school walls.

Meeting held between Coloured principals and officials of the Administration of Coloured Affairs; principals told that the Commissioner of Police would not send his forces into schools unless asked to do so by the principals.

Monday 30 August
U.W.C. - arson attempt at women's hostel.

Statement issued by three Bonteheuwel High Schools published.
Alexander Sinton High School - protest march in school grounds; joined by pupils from Belgravia, Athlone, Cathkin and Bridgetown High Schools. After a meeting, pupils march down Thornton and Klipfontein roads until dispersed by police with batons and tear-gas. Scholars seek sanctuary in private homes but flushed out by police. Arrests and casualties reported.

Tuesday 31 August
Rondebosch East (White) - petrol bomb damages shops.

About 500 Oaklands High School pupils march towards Alexander Sinton High School; disrupted by police. About two hundred reach destination where joined by pupils from St. Columbas and Salt River High Schools. These scholars decide to continue the boycotts indefinitely.
Scholars from Bridgetown, Athlone, Cathkin and Belgravia High Schools meet on a field opposite Athlone Stadium; dispersed by police. Unrest sparked off in Athlone; police reported to have assaulted people at bus-stops and in homes.
Bridgetown Primary School, Cathkin High School - fires.

SEPTEMBER 1976

Wednesday 1 September
Athlone - demonstrations by pupils at Oaklands, Alexander Sinton, St. Columbas and Athlone High Schools. Pupils attempt to link-up their marches but dispersed by police. Immediate and angry reaction from residents in the area. Police use guns, batons and teargas to disperse large crowds near Athlone Stadium.
Bonteheuwel, Lansdowne - crowds congregate.
Manenberg - stone throwing incidents.
Bridgetown High School, Crawford Trading Store - petrol bombs start fires.

During the afternoon about two to three hundred African scholars leave Cape Town railway station and begin a march into the city-centre. Their posters read: "Away with Apartheid", "Equal Education for all", "How Long Must We Suffer". More students arrive by train. Protestors march to Caledon Square police station, along Darling Street and down Adderly Street. They return to the railway station without incident.

Thursday 2 September
In the morning, Coloured scholars and students congregate in the central business district of Cape Town. They march, sing protest songs, give cries of "power" and the clenched-fist salute. By the City Hall they are joined by a small group of adults. More groups join the demonstrators until the crowd is estimated at 1 000 strong. Traffic is disrupted and many shopkeepers begin closing doors. Riot police disperse the crowd which breaks up into smaller groups. They are reinforced by a group of African youths and people on their lunch hour, until the numbers have swelled to around 2 000. They are repeatedly dispersed after regrouping. After much conflict with police the crowd has grown to about 3 000; they move out of the town which is full of teargas. The city-centre empties as demonstrators move away; most shops and businesses have closed for the day and sent staff home.

Hanover Park, Athlone - conflict between protestors and police.
Marches from Salt River High School, Hewat Training College and Langa (headed for the city-centre demonstrations) broken up by police.

Friday 3 September
Early in the morning about two hundred Coloured student teachers from Roggebaai Training College assemble in the city-centre but are dispersed. In Athlone, Bishop Lavis, Grassy Park, Kensington, Retreat, Tiervlei and Woodstock, people congregate to proceed to the city-centre. Later in the morning, demonstrators arrive in the city-centre despite police attempts to cordon-off the area. Crowds are forcefully dispersed; they move through the surrounding areas of Woodstock and District Six.
Police fire on pupils at Trafalgar High School; one is killed.
Demonstrations broken up at Maitland and Grassy Park.

Saturday 4 September
A fire discovered at a primary school in Retreat.
Two arson attempts in Hanover Park.
Most of the administrative block at Lavistown High School destroyed.

Sunday 5 September
Elsies River, Crawford - fires.
Hanover Park library - arson attempt.
Cars stoned on De Waal Drive.
C.T.P.A. issue a press statement.

Monday 6 September
Coloured schools closed down for the week.

Petrol bomb thrown at Athlone Magistrates Court.

Tuesday 7 September
Violence and disturbances reported from Athlone, Crawford, Heideveld, Kommetjie, District Six and Woodstock.
Coloured protestors join Africans in demonstration.
Police fire birdshot at Coloured pupils who march from Heideveld towards Guguletu; break up marches in Manenberg and Guguletu.
Ravensmead and Tiervlei - a large crowd of students and adults gather and march towards the industrial area of Parow. Police block their path and

open fire; a fierce battle ensues - barricades erected, vehicles overturned, petrol bombs and stones thrown.
Inside Parow, workers take to the street and stone factories. White managers and workers trapped until rescued by police. By mid-afternoon most factories closed for the day.
Demonstrations move into Ravensmead.
Demonstrations in the city centre.
Stonings at Hewat Training College and U.W.C..
South Peninsula High School (Diep River) - scholars express solidarity with other Black demonstrators.
Two Alexander Sinton High School teachers charged in court.

Wednesday 8 September
Riot squad disperse crowds in the town centre, Ravensmead, Tiervlei, Athlone, Elsies River, Retreat, Paarl, Stellenbosch, Guguletu and Nyanga. Incidents also at Salt River, Manenberg and U.W.C..
Gardens - a White school extensively damaged by fire.

The Minister of Police calls on people to protect their own premises as there were not enough police.

Thursday 9 September
One of the worst days of widespread disturbances in most Coloured, African and some White districts. The police have difficulty in maintaining control.

Coloured nurses and medical staff at Somerset Hospital (Green Point) demonstrate in sympathy with those injured in the strife-torn areas. They stage a protest march.

Friday 10 September
Renewed trouble in Manenberg (in particular), Athlone, Eerste River, Lavender Hill and Ravensmead..
U.W.C. - buildings set-alight.
Nico Malan Nurses College (Athlone) - Coloured nurses hold a demonstration.
Woodstock - 500 workers strike and throw stones at passing vehicles.

Saturday 11 September
Widespread disturbances continue.
Petrol bombs thrown at cars and buildings in Athlone, Elsies River and Bellville South.
Crowds stone cars in Melkbosstrand.

Sunday 12 September
Isolated stone-throwing incidents in Coloured and African townships.
Dr. L.T. Van Der Poel, of Somerset Hospital, detained; protests follow.
Pamphlets calling for a two-day strike distributed anonymously.
Alexander Sinton High School - parents, teachers and scholars meet.

Monday 13 September
Stoning at Bonteheuwel, Manenberg, Heideveld and U.W.C.. U.W.C. rector calls for police protection on campus.

Mountain View High School (Hanover Park) - window-panes smashed.
U.C.T. Workers Association stage a demonstration in sympathy with the boycotts.

Tuesday 14 September
Police appear on U.W.C. campus. Rector threatens to expell disruptive students.
Arson and violence in a number of Coloured areas.
Stone throwing on Settlers Way, Modderdam Road and in Heideveld.

Wednesday 15 September
First day of stay-away from work gains at least 50 per cent support.
All shops in Manenberg, Athlone and elsewhere closed.

Thursday 16 September
More workers stay away on second day of scheduled strike.
After a power-supply failure there is much conflict and violence in the Coloured townships.

Friday 17 September
About ten per cent work absenteeism reported.
Incidents of arson and violence in Wynberg, on Settlers Way, De Waal Drive, Retreat, Plumstead, Athlone, Bishop Lavis and Belgravia.

Hereafter, protest action by Coloureds abates.

Tuesday 21 September
Petrol bomb thrown at a Hanover Park high school.
Stones thrown in Athlone and Crawford.
Attendance at Coloured schools improves.

Wednesday 22 September
Trains stoned in Bonteheuwel.

Saturday 25 September
Small fire at Athlone administrative offices.

Sunday 26 September
Some stone-throwing in Coloured township of Ravensmead and elsewhere.

OCTOBER 1976

This month incidents involving Coloureds were much reduced. Numerous trials of individuals charged with public violence, incitement, illegal meetings and under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Tuesday 5 October
The fourth school term begins.
Boycotts at Alexander Sinton High School continue but the group has shrunk.
Salt River High School - boycotts continue.

Wednesday 6 October
Isolated cases of stoning take place in various parts of the Peninsula.
Salt River High School - boycotts continue and some damage done to classrooms; police not called.

Thursday 7 October
Some boycott activity continues.

Friday 8 October
A number of U.W.C. students pay admission of guilt fines for having attended prohibited gatherings.
One incident reported in Bonteheuwel.

Sunday 10 October
Trains stoned near Salt River and Kalk Bay railway stations.

Tuesday 12 October
Salt River High School - following the suspension of several pupils, some classrooms and the sick-bay are ignited.
Stoning occurs on Settlers Way.
Alexander Sinton High School - after a PTA meeting scholars return to class.

Wednesday 13 October
Arson attempt at a Hanover Park high school.

Thursday 14 October
Some books destroyed in a fire at Belgravia High School.

Friday 15 October
Fire put out in a Hanover Park high school store room.

Sunday 17 October
Passenger trains stoned at Salt River and Woodstock.

Tuesday 19 October
Manenberg - primary school classrooms destroyed by fire.

Wednesday 20 October
Hanover Park and Manenberg - fires at schools.

Thursday 21 October
Tiervlei - fire at primary school.
Hanover Park - fire at high school.
Isolated stone-throwing incidents.

Monday 25 October
Alexander Sinton High School - a fire in the music block is extinguished.
Salt River High School - scholars meet and are called upon to support an African scholars' march into Cape Town on 1 November; cars belonging to staff who allegedly supplied information to police are set alight.

Tuesday 26 October
Hanover Park - fire extinguished at high school.
Alexander Sinton High School - a toilet smashed and graffitti on walls.

Wednesday 27 October
Fires at Alexander Sinton High School and Trafalgar High School.

Thursday 28 October
Petrol bomb incident at Bishop Lavis.

NOVEMBER 1976

Monday 1 November
About 100 Modderdam High School pupils start a protest march but disperse when police arrive.

Thursday 4 November
Modderdam High School - fire in classroom.

Friday 5 November
Cathkin High School - fire in classroom.

Few incidents hereafter.

DECEMBER 1976

In this month there were only three incidents related to the boycotts which were reported in Coloured areas: one case of arson and two of stone-throwing.

APPENDIX II

PAMPHLETS, MEMORANDA AND STATEMENTS FROM THE WESTERN CAPE BOYCOTTS - 1976

Students

(a) "U.W.C. - Soweto"

(b) U.W.C. Memorandum to Rector

(c) Hewat Training College Meeting

(d) Hewat Training College Statement

Scholars

(e) Athlone High School

(f) Three Bonteheuwel Schools

(g) Harold Cressy High School

(i) Alexander Sinton High School

Adults

(j) C.T.P.A. Press Statement

(k) C.T.P.A. Proposals

(l) Coloured Leaders

Anonymous Strike Pamphlets

(m), (n), (o), (p), (q).

Anti-Strike Pamphlet

(r)

(a) "U.W.C. - Soweto":- a pamphlet thus entitled was prepared and distributed by U.W.C. students during the week of 2 August 1976. In the absence of a full copy, its contents are summarised below.

The pamphlet: objected to the type of education provided at U.W.C.;

described the suffering of their people;

noted that, as Black people, Coloureds had no say over their working conditions;

stated that the C.P.R.C. was not for the benefit of Black people but for those who wished to perpetuate the suffering and oppression of Black people;

stated that Black people suffered together and should stand together;

the students pledged themselves to fight for their own and their people's liberation.

(Summarised from Cillie Commission Report para. 30.3.8:263)

(b) Summary of Memorandum Handed to U.W.C. Rector by Students - 9.8.76

The memorandum began thus: "Students are no longer prepared to be rational".

Among the demands were: that the university be opened to all students;

a fair trial be given to Ben Palmer Louw;

the list of banned works be revised;

equal salaries for all;

student representation on the University Council and Senate.

(This summary was compiled from an account in the Cillie Commission Report, Vol.I p132)

(c) HEWAT TRAINING COLLEGE

Professor H.W. van der Merwe and Alan Flederman attended a meeting at Hewat College with the students who had comprised the S.R.C. the previous year. The interview was arranged by Veryl Herbert.

None of the students were prepared to give evidence before the commission. Their reasons are set out here under:

1. That the commission is just a device to but time and to give people overseas the impression that the Government is really interested in solving the problems, when it really had no intention of making the changes that are the root of the trouble.

2. That the Government well knows what the problem is, having itself created the problem - the whole system of aprtheid which is abhorrent to the Coloured community is the problem.

3. Complete feeling of disillusionment with all Whites no matter who they are. A feeling that no Whites really want to help the Blacks and Coloureds, but only to further their own interests.

4. That the Coloureds are no longer prepared to be treated as people with no self-respect, rights or dignity or feeling. Why should they suffer the insults of being called Hotnots by some Whites, be forced out of their houses that families have occupied for years and moved to the worst areas, given inferior education, paid lower salaries for the same work.

5. The whole system of apartheid is anathema to them - as one student said "I would not mind if the communists came here".

6. They regard themselves as deprived and depressed annex and they express their solidarity with the Blacks in South Africa.

7. They are most incensed at the brutality used against the them by the riot police.

8. They scorn the use of the word "disturbances" and point out that what happened was not a disturbance but a rising throughout the country against the system. (It would appear that because of the system some young Coloureds grew up so cut off from everything that they had never even spoken to a White person).

(It was noticable that any of them did not have much time for Veryl Herbert as he worked in conjunction with the Coloured Representative Council and the students felt that to co-operate with this council was itself an acceptance of the system of apartheid.)

Annexed hereto is a statement bythe Hewat students setting out their attitude and was drawn up to counter any possible misconceptions which might have been derived from articles in the press or from any other news medium.

(d) Declaration by Students of Hewat Training College.

To counter any possible misconceptions which might have been derived from articles in the press or from any other news media. we - the Hewat Students - declare clearly and categorically that:

1) the boycott of lectures at Hewat College is not divorced from the legitimate struggle of all other oppressed, deprived groups in South Africa.
2) the purpose of a demonstration is to display solidarity with our fellow oppressed in this country.
3) we condemn any form of brutality and intimidation used against our demands.
4) we condemn, as immoral, and unjust, any form of discriminatory legislation and practice.
5) we do NOT believe that it is possible to stir up a contented people.
6) the basic cause of discontent in this country is the denial of full democratic rights to all its people.
7) we, as South Africans, demand the extension of these rights to all the peoples in our country.
8) WE will not stop any form of legitimate protests in whatever manner we are able to, until these basic demands are met.
9) we do not consider that there are problems unique to our college. We believe that our problems are indissolubly tied up with the problems of other oppressed peoples throughout this country.

10) we demand that all detainees be brought to trial or are released.

11) we also reject the use of any type of violence to persons or property.

As a result of the above-mentioned grievances, we therefore reject:

1) any ethnic educational institution.

2) discriminatory salaries between lecturers on our staff.

3) inadequate accomodation of the second year students.

4) inferior and inadequate lecturing by staff members.

5) the ineffective criticism system used during practise-teaching.

6) we also demand that there should be no victimisation of students.

7) we request that the Rector, on behalf of the students, approaches the College Council to meet the mass at a meeting to be held on 6 September at 2 pm.

(Cape Times 28.8.76)

(e) Summary of a list of Grievances drawn up by Athlone High School Pupils - 20.8.76

They stated that they were prepared to sacrifice everything to assure "a better and more just future".

> "They criticised specifically the injustice of the regime, the suppression of legitimate protest and the brutality of the police, as well as their inferior education. Their boycott, they explained, was a sign of solidarity against the oppressors. 'In conclusion we must stress that our aim is equality in every sphere. We dissociate ourselves from violence'."

(Taken from Van Heyningen et al 1976:15)

(f) Grievances of Pupils

Monday 30 August 1976 - pupils of three Bonteheuwel high schools issue a joint statement of grievances:

1. The system of coloured education and the policy of apartheid;
2. The lack of compulsory education for coloured people;
3. The lack of facilities at the coloured schools;
4. The lack of good sportsgrounds and playgrounds at the schools and in the residential areas;
5. The general behaviour of the police during the unrest in the black areas;
6. The interference by police in demonstrations on school grounds which were not forbidden;
7. The taking into custody of fellow students;
8. The attitude of white teachers on the staff;
9. The inconvenience allowance given white teachers at coloured schools is seen as an insult;
10. The silence of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association during the unrest.

The schools were Modderdam, Arcadia and Bonteheuwel high schools.

Rev. J. Hartney of N.G. Sendingkerk in Bonteheuwel said

> "'The pupils were obviously frustrated and upset but they had no way of effective expression because they feared the authorities would immediately pounce on anyone who came forward.'" (Cape Times 31.8.76).

(g) 7 September 1976

750 pupils of Harold Cressy High School, Roeland Street, CT, issue a statement, sequel to peaceful demonstration held on Friday 3rd September.

We, the students of Harold Cressy High School, wish to state our rejection of the whole system of apartheid which, along other things:

1. Divides the people of South Africa into separate groups;
2. Includes separate schooling systems;
3. Imposes group areas and pass laws;

We demand full and equal rights for everybody, which would mean one free and equal educational system for all children.

We are also disgusted at the police brutality towards peaceful demonstrations and the unnecessary closing of schools.

Finally, we request unbiased journalism and no speculation from reporters.

(Cape Times 8.9.76).

(h) The United Students Front issued a statement which called for:

1. The abolition of job reservation, pass laws, the Bantu, Coloured and Indian Affairs Departments, the Coloured and Indian Representative Councils and what they term the "White Administration Department."
2. The release of all political prisoners;
3. A stop to police raids on private homes;
4. One equal educational system for pupils of all races in South Africa;
5. A free education for all races;
6. All universities to be opened to all races; and
7. More schools to eradicate the "double-shift system" and over-crowded classes.

USF claims to have been in operation for nearly three months. (Cape Times 25.10.76).

(i) Statement in an Essay Written by an Alexander Sinton Pupil after 27.10.76.

Although students are back in their classes the atmosphere is still tense. The students are aware of what's happening and coupled with victimisation by teachers they are liable to cause great damage. The reason why there is trouble at our school is because:

1. No communication between teachers and students. Communication stretches as far as the text book.

2. Decisions that will affect our future are not allowed to be made by us, e.g. placing of students in streams they think they can manage.

3. Victimisation.

We are determined to wipe this out and no matter what, we will succeed.

(Lodged in C.I.G.S. files.)

(j) Teachers Views

5 September 1976

Violence of any kind, including stone-throwing was condemned by the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA), in a statement issued by its executive.

The CTPA said it accepted that it was the task of the police, even under difficult circumstances, to maintain law and order.

"However, we cannot accept that it is necessary for the police in the presence of a dismayed public, to openly and, in some cases, brutally use force against people who, in some instances, are not guilty.

The statement said that the association further deplored the police assaults on and detentions of teachers who stepped into the breach and had taken the part of students and who wanted to keep the situation under control.

"We want to make an urgent call for the release of these teachers and students and to stress repeatedly that the police must use restraint."

In conclusion, the statement said that the CTPA wished to see calm restored and a hearing and positive redress given to legitimate grievances.

"But we are convinced that if the police continue with their actions, it will serve only to further stir up emotions."

(Cape Times 6.9.76).

(k) PROPOSALS ON BEHALF OF HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS OF THE BELLVILLE AND WYNBERG REGIONS FOR A PROGRAMME OF CONCERTED ACTION IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE:

6 SEPTEMBER 1976.

1. Background:

It is perhaps fair to state at the outset that when unrest in our schools began it was generally believed that it would be shortlived. Needless to say this has not been so.
We are now faced with basically two categories of schools viz.:
1.1. Those who have erupted
1.2. Those who have not yet done so.

2. The role of the principal in the circumstances:

2.1. To protect pupils against:
(a) The police
(b) Thugs
(c) pupils who favour protest
(d) protesting pupils from other schools.

2.2. To protect staff specially white and female staff members.
2.3. To protect image and authority of school as an organised educational institution.
2.4. To keep outsiders from the campus.
2.5. To protect the school building.
2.6. To protect himself and his own property as well as his family(i.e. his own children on their way from school).

NOTE: It is important to note that in the light of the present extreme unpopularity of the police the principal does not have recourse to the police for assistance in the above matters and is virtually left to his own resources.

3. Options:

3.1. Scrap the September Examinations.

Motivations:

3.1.1. This will have the effect of defusing the tensions which have built up around the examinations.

3.1.2. It will ensure that the authorities retain the initiative to some extent.

3.1.3. It may be construed as an act of understanding, goodwill and magnanimity on the part of the authorities.

3.2. Close the schools for a period of time as from tomorrow 7.9.76 for one, two, three weeks?

Motivation:

3.2.1. This can serve as a cooling off period.

3.2.2. It will give principals and their staffs an opportunity to plan to deal with crisis situations.

The following experts could be approached to assist:

1. Prof. A.Paul Hare:

Head of Dept. of Sociology U.C.T. who is an internally recognised authority on conflict resolution having had experience

in dealing with conflict situations in Washington D.C. , Kent State University riots, Cyprus, India, South America and Ireland.

2. Brigadier Harbottle:

Formrmer chief of staff of the United Nations.Peace keeping Force in Cyprus.

3. Mr Charles Walker:

Programme Leader of Quaker reconciliation programmes in different parts of the world.

It is considered important that neutral agencies and individuals be employed and consulted for this purpose.

3.2.3. It will give the schools and authorities an opportunity to consider the legitimate grievances of the pupils.

3.2.4. It will demonstrate to the pupils and the public that the Administration of Coloured Affairs take their demands seriously.

3.2.5. Very little constructive work is done at schools in any event.

3.3. Continue as usual and meet each situation as it presents itself:

Motivation:

3.3.1. The riots will abate (burn themselves out).

3.3.2. It will confirm that the authorities are retaining control.

3.3.3. It might benefit those pupils who prefer to continue with their studies.

3.4. Close only certain schools:

3.4.1. This will provide those schools who wish to continue the option of doing so and will place the initiative in the hands of individual principals.

STEERING COMMITTEE:

F.A.Sonn, J.F.S.Titus, J.Lochner, K.Desai, W.Williams, J.G. van den Heever, J.S.G.Strauss, L.Overmeyer, Mr Africa.

(1) Grievances Announced by Coloured Leaders

Coloured leaders informed Mr. H.H. Smit, Minister of Coloured Relations that racial friction and tension could be avoided if the Government:

1. Gives Coloured people fundamental rights of citizenship including political rights;
2. Repeals the Job Reservation Act;
3. Pays equal salaries for equal work;
4. Improves opportunities for advancement;
5. Removes the Group Areas Act;
6. Implements the recommendations of the Erika Theron Commission.

(Argus 17.9.76).

A CALL TO ALL

NOW IS THE TIME TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN DIGNITY

AWAKE AND RISE AGAINST THE UNJUST SYSTEM

WE THE STUDENTS OF THE CAPE PENINSULA DECLARE THAT:

- WE IDENTIFY WITH THE STRUGGLE FOR A BASIC HUMAN SOCIETY
- WE WANT FREE AND EQUAL EDUCATION FOR ALL
- WE CONDEMN ALL INSTITUTIONS WHICH RETARD HUMAN PROGRESS EG BAD CAD CRC IAD
- GIVE THE WORKERS EQUAL WAGES AND WORK ACCORDING TO MERIT
- STOP INFLUX CONTROL

STUDENTS YOU HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN THE CHANGE

ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE MUST STAND UP AND BE COUNTED. SO UNITE NOW

Strike Pamphlets Cited In Brooks and Brickhill 1980:228

(n) "1. We call on the workers to strike in protest against a slave system and in solidarity with all oppressed and exploited groups on the 15th and 16th September.

2. The barbarous state repression of peaceful demonstration tragically underlines that fundamental changes by the rulers is a pipe dream.

3. Workers are compelled in defence and in pursuit of a better life to call into being worker organisations in the locations and in the factories.

4. The situation demands the the oppressed and exploited rally around the slogans of WORKER POWER AND PEOPLES POWER."

(Anonymous typed and duplicated pamphlet)

(o) "In this vital period of a just struggle for freedom against the oppressive forces who, with ruthless and racially orientated minds have directed the destiny of 20 million people, our forefathers, CRC, Indian Council, Homeland and Management Committees have failed hopelessly in their attempts to eliminate the tyranny of this system. Therefore, my fellow countrymen, it is imperative that we strike while the iron's hot, in order to achieve freedom for our people in this land.

We will start with a workers' strike whereby we will prove that South Africa's economy is wholly dependent on the Black people."

(Cape Times 10.12.76)

Pamphlet distributed prior to the mid-September Strike

(p) STRIKE

The racists do not spare their bullets. Their guns try to cut down our march for freedom. But the march for freedom must not end.

Reject all concessions that the Racists grant us.

Concessions are crumbs. We want freedom not crumbs.

Reject the CRC, Indian Council, the Homelands, the Management Committees.

All Black people suffer alike. Get rid of apartheid. Ban all apartheid places such as Three Arts, Nico Malan Stadiums, etc..

STRIKE! STRIKE! STRIKE!

Wednesday 15th Thursday 16th

DO NOT go to work or school. Nobody must be in the streets.

You will go to work at your own risk.

If you strike you will hit the system where it hurts.

Take this home. Spread the word

FREEDOM COMES WITH SACRIFICE.

WE SHALL OVERCOME!

(q) Another strike pamphlet ended thus:

"The "White" man can never survive without you!!!"

(r) Anti-Strike Pamphlet said to have been dropped by helicopter

Workers! Workers! Prepare Yourselves!!!

Pamphlets have been spread - Threatening you not to go to work on the 15 and 16 September 1976.

Be not intimidated: Defy the agitators.

We have been deprived of many of our facilities. We have suffered heavily - lost lives and property. Now they are aiming at starving us by demanding us to stay away from work.

Stand together and resist.

Let us fight these Tsotsies, Skollies and Robbers. If necessary we must resist them by forcible means.

Issued and Printed by Workers Association, Cape Town.

APPENDIX III

STATISTICS ON THE WESTERN CAPE BOYCOTTS - 1976

(a) Incidents of Civil Unrest in the Cape Peninsula During August and September 1976

Persons killed:	113
Damage to houses:	7
Motor Vehicles stoned:	23
Shops and factories damaged:	27
Protest marches:	10
Hospitals, Clinics and Post Offices damaged:	6
Liquor Outlets damaged:	25
Civil Halls, Community Centres and Libraries damaged:	15
Municipal buildings damaged:	9
Damage to educational institutions:	28
Total:	263

(Putteril and Block 1978 Map 10; they suggest that the information could be incomplete as they did not have access to police records.)

(b) Numbers of Coloureds and Africans Injured by Police in the Cape Peninsula During the Period 18 June 1976 to 28 February 1977

	Gunshot Wounds	Baton Wounds
Black Males Over 18 Years	321	27
Black Males Under 18 Years	83	
Black Females Over 18 Years	31	
Black Females Under 18 Years	24	
Sub-Totals	459	27
Overall Total	466	

There were also 132 people (Black and White) injured other than by police during this period.

(c) Number of Black Persons Arrested in the Cape Peninsula for Activities Related to Boycotts During the period 16 June 1976 to 28 February 1977

Reason for arrest	Males Over 18 Years	Males Under 18 Years	Females Over 18 Years	Females Under 18 Years	Totals
Public Violence	158	97	8	9	272
Arson/Attempted Arson	61	52	9	1	123
Possession of Petrol Bombs	10	1			11
Unlawful Possession of petrol	2				2
Housebreaking/ theft	69	19	3	3	94
Possession of Stolen Property	5				5
Deliberate Damage to Property	15	11			26
Assault and Malicious Damage	4				4
Incitement to Public Violence	3	1			4
Riotous Behaviour	16				16
Incitement to strike	12				12
Incitement re. prohibited gatherings	1				1
Attendence - prohibited gatherings	7	11	2		20
Intimidation		1			1
Internal Security Act	5				5
Sub-Totals	368	193	22	13	596

In addition, 86 Whites were arrested or detained in connection with the boycott activities - all before 31 October 1976.
Thus the overall total of people arrested or detained by police in the Cape Peninsula was 682.

Tables (b) and (c) compiled by the author from data in Cillie Commission Report paras. 30.22-30.23.6:303-306. The Cillie Commission notes that the data may be incomplete.

APPENDIX IV

COLOURED HIGH/SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN THE CAPE PENINSULA - 1976

School	Address	Opening Date
Arcadia	Karee Rd.,Bonteheuwel	
Alexander Sinton	Thornton Rd.,Crawford/Athlone	1951,moved 1969
Athlone	Calendula Rd.,Athlone	1947
Belgravia	Veld Rd.,Belgravia/Athlone	1957
Bellville-South	Oop St.,Bellville	1964
Bishop Lavis	Helderberg Rd.,Bishop Lavis	
Bon Esperance	Private Bag X4,Kasselsvlei	1973
Bonteheuwel	Dissel Rd.,Bonteheuwel	
Bridgetown	Brushwood Rd.,Bridgetown	1964/5
Cathkin	5th St.,Heideveld	1973
Elsies River	Halt Rd.,Elsies River	
Elswood	Epping Lane,Elsies River	
Florida	Stroebel St.,Ravensmead	
Grassy Park	Victoria Rd.,Grassy Park	1952,moved 1962
Hanover Park/1-Crystal in 1975	Green Turf Rd.,Hanover Park	1971
Hanover Park/2-Mount View (1976)	Athwood Rd.,Hanover Park	
Harold Cressy	Rowland St.,Cape Town	1951
Heathfield	Consta Rd.,Retreat	
Immaculata(RC)	Clare Rd.,Witteboom	
John Ramsay	John Ramsay Drive,Lavistown	
Kensington	Sunderland St.,Kensington	
Livingstone	Lansdowne Rd.,Claremont	pre-1935
Manenberg	Tugela Rd.,Manenberg	1976
Modderdam	Bonteheuwel Lane,Bonteheuwel	1966/7
Oaklands	Racecourse Rd.,Lansdowne	1957
Ocean View	Aquilla Rd.,Ocean View	
Saint Columbas	Newton Lane,Athlone	1942
Salt River	Rochester Rd.,Salt River	
Silverstream	Sonderend Rd.,Manenberg	1970
Spes Bona	Jan Smuts Drive,Ahlone	1964
Steenberg/1	Symphony Lane,Steenberg	1965
Steenberg/2-Crestway	Concert Boulevard,Steenberg	1975
South Peninsula	Kendal Road,Diep River	
Southfield		1951
Trafalgar	Birchington Rd.,District Six	
Uitsig	Jacaranda Lane Ravensmead	
Vista	Upper-Whiford St.,Cape Town	1970/1
Windermere	Boston St.,Maitland	
Wittebome	Ottery Rd.,Wynberg	

Training Colleges	Address
Athlone	
Battswood (NGK)	Gosport Rd.,Wynberg
Bellville	Kasselsvlei
Hewat	Kromboom Rd.,Crawford Athlone
Roggebaai	Prestwich St.,Cape Town
Wesley (Met.)	Durham Lane,Salt River
Zonnebloem	Kollege Rd.,Cape Town

The above list is compiled from information submitted by the C.T.P.A. and from the writer's personal calls to the schools; it has not been possible in all cases to get the required information; where more than one date is offered, the informant has been in doubt as to correct one.

APPENDIX V

COPY OF AN ANNEXURE TO A LETTER SENT BY MR. F.A. SONN, PRESIDENT OF THE C.T.P.A., TO PROFESSOR DE LANGE DURING THE COURSE OF THE DE LANGE COMMISSION'S WORK

In this letter, Mr. Sonn describes some of the conditions in Coloured schools; similar points were made by Molteno in his description of Coloured school conditions in Hanover Park. (Molteno 1983:108)

SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION FOR COLOURED CHILDREN

1. Brief History

1.1 When the Department of Coloured Affairs took over the control of the education of Coloured children on 1.4.1964, the Government accepted the responsibility of providing accommodation.

1.2 About $\frac{2}{3}$ of the approximate 2 000 schools with an enrolment of approximately 38 000 were state-aided schools in 1964, whereas in 1979, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the approximate 2 000 schools with an enrolment of approximately 770 000 were state schools.

1.3 Up till 1976 the policy was to give precedence to the building of replacement accommodation rather than providing accommodation according to the need for additional accommodation.

1.4 The number of schools did not increase because big state schools were built to replace the many smaller church schools.

2. Factors which have led to the present accommodation crisis

2.1 About $\frac{2}{3}$ of all accommodation provided up til 1976 were replacement accommodation with the result that the number of double shift classes increased to about 2 400 in 1977.

2.2 The high growth rate. From 1964 to 1979 the total enrolment doubled. At present the growth rate in secondary education is approximately 10% p.a. and for Std 10, 40% p.a.

2.3 Apart from underproviding, the funds that were voted annually for the period 1964/5 to 1972/73 were underspent:

Basic amount noted	R54 000 000
Amount spent	R37 318 251
Amount unspent	R16 681 749

(Theron Report par. 8.83)

3./..2

3. Type of accommodation provided

3.1 As a result of inadequate funds, underspending and the resultant backlog that was building up, contractors were invited to experiment in order to provide accommodation cheaply and within a short space of time.

3.2 In this way the following main types of building originated:

(a) De Novo-type of buildings

(b) Light-mass buildings - a great variety of types of constructions were placed on the market.

(c) Heavy-mass buildings - here too a great variety of types of constructions were placed on the market.

4. The functions of the various Departments

4.1 The Department of Coloured Affairs as the consumer identifies the needs, determines the priorities, indicates the type of construction and lays down the standards.

4.2 The service or supplier department, the Department of Public Works, budgets for buildings, provides the buildings, supervises the projects under construction and reserves the right to determine the priorities. The type of construction to be used was always determined by the Department of Coloured Affairs.

4.3 During the course of 1980 the Department of Public Works unilaterally decided to change the procedure followed in the past viz. they determined the type of construction to be used.

4.4 Since 1978 it was decided that only brick buildings had to be erected, in order to provide the Coloured community with the type of buildings they demanded. In spite of the longer construction time, the number of double shift classes decreased to 1 600 in February 1980. This

was .../3

was possible because our priorities were based on needs and not on other considerations.

5. The Dilemma

5.1 When the Department of Coloured Affairs discovered that the type of construction was changed without its knowledge, the Department took the matter up with the Department of Public Works.

5.2 The Department of Public Works then informed the Department of Coloured Affairs that since it had already planned for the 92 projects for 1980, the 98 for 1981 and some of the 103 for 1982, any changes in the type of construction would delay those projects by at least 6 to 12 months.

5.3 Faced with the dilemma of an ever expanding accommodation shortage - Dysselsdorp, Oudtshoorn, Knysna, George, Kleinmond, to name but a few - the Department of Coloured Affairs submitted.

5.4 The Department of Coloured Affairs then agreed that all the primary schools planned for the period in question could be of the heavy-mass type of construction, but the Department of Coloured Affairs insisted that all secondary schools be conventional buildings.

5.5 This new directive has already affected two schools (Athlone and Kraaifontein). These projects will be re-advertised.

6. Pre-fabricated buildings v. conventional buildings

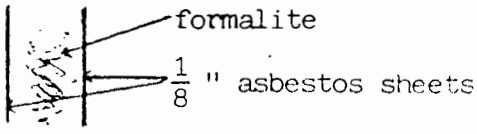
6.1 The contractor using pre-fabricated structures has the following advantages over the contractor using conventional building methods: Some of these are:

(a) They draw up their own specifications whereas the conventional builder has to tender on specifications given to him.

(b) The contractors of pre-fabricated structures are allowed to specify the building period, whereas the conventional builder has to tender on the period given to him.

(c) It .../4

6.1 (c) It also does seem that anything they specify goes (i.e. is accepted) e.g. Chris J. Botha Senior Secondary School in Johannesburg has the following type of wall between class-rooms (a building classified as heavy-mass)



6.2 Of greater importance are the social implications of these cheap structures. The recent schools boycott started when a group of pupils at Mountview Senior Secondary School refused to receive tuition in a light-mass construction type of building which was in a bad state of repair.

6.3 The crux of the whole set-up is that the Department of Coloured Affairs

- has no buildings (school) of its own
- has no funds for the erection of buildings
- cannot decide when and where a school has to be built
- has no power to decide upon the type of building
- does not supervise building operations
- has no jurisdiction over the state of repair of the building.

The Department is completely at the mercy of the Department of Public Works in this regard. Yet the Department of Coloured Affairs is blamed for the present state of affairs.

7. Conclusion

We have now reached a stage where a community is increasingly rejecting the "housing scheme sub-economic" school buildings.

The growing demand is - "Give us what you provide for the Whites."

APPENDIX VI

LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED DURING THE COURSE OF THE WRITER'S RESEARCH FOR THIS STUDY

GB - Graeme Bloch: ex-NUSAS/UCT; lecturer at UCT.

GBu - ex-NUSAS.

KG - Keith Gottschalk: ex-NUSAS/UCT; lecturer at UCT.

JH - U.W.C. student, 1973-76.

AL - ex-South Peninsula High School teacher.

WL - Willie Leith; UCT researcher.

MS - ex-Steenberg/Crestway High School teacher.

RW - Coloured school teacher; UCT student.

The initials noted here are those used for reference in the text; full names have been withheld on request.

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