

BESK. 16

BEW. AX 1-18

BEW. 23 + 24

AX1

No. 16

7/9/87

Y.M. 2.
Menthorate

Ben "AX1"

POSITION STATEMENT ON THE 'COLOURED - INDIAN ELECTION
FOR THE TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT.

We, representatives of the Black Majority in the form of Civic Associations and Residents Organizations throughout the Rural and Urban Areas of the Transvaal, in the so-called 'African' Townships. We the ^{white} majority confined to 13% of the land of South Africa, in the barren Bantustans, ^{they} declaring us foreigners in the land of our birth.

NOTING:

- (1) That the 'Coloured' and Indian people are being asked to participate in elections under the New Constitution of the White racist minority in South Africa. See AX 15/3
- (2) That the present government, representing whites only, (15) 7/3/6 is an illegal and an illegitimate government with no (SCA disapprov.) authority to make a constitution for the people of South Africa.
- (3) That this constitution excludes and confirms the denial of political rights to the African majority.
- (4) That such an exclusion of the African majority is part of a wider manifestation of the total strategy of restricting Africans to the Bantustans, through pass laws, resettlement and suppressive state apparatus, to allow P.S.C. for the emergence of this racist constitution.
- (5) That thousands of our people have been brutally killed and some tortured to death others maimed by the police force and army of this Apartheid Regime for rejecting and resisting Apartheid. ?
- (6) That many of our leaders are languishing in jail and many others have served long (and short) sentences in the Apartheid prisons resisting this Apartheid Regime.

WE THEREFORE WISH ALL SOUTH AFRICANS AND THE WORLD AT LARGE TO KNOW.

- Q (1) That peace cannot be realized in South Africa until all the people in ^{our} South Africa are allowed to determine their

own future after the destruction of Apartheid and the outlawing of all its manifestation.

- b(2) That there can be no resolution of South Africa's problems initiated by the racist Apartheid regime, and rubber-stamped by a bunch of puppets, whether these be in the Bantustans, or in the New Tricameral Parliament or even in the so-called 'Black Local Authorities'
- c(3) That all those who choose to participate in this so-called New Constitution, like those in the Bantustans and Black Local Authorities will hence forth become enemies of the ^{fraction} Black Majority in the country.
- d(4) That all those who will vote in the elections of this racist constitution must be responsible for the passed crimes of the Apartheid system against the oppressed majority and will also bear responsibility for future laws of the Apartheid State, laws that will not only oppress and exploit the African majority but their own "Coloured" and Indian Communities.
- e(5) That the implimentation of this New Constitution further endangers peace in our country and thus all participants in this New system will bear joint responsibility for due consequences that are likely to ensure out of it.

FURTHERMORE WE WISH TO DECLARE

- f(6) That Hendrickse, Rajbansis and their counterparts have no right to claim to represent the African people.
- g(7) We wish to reiterate that our true leaders are now in prison, in exile and in democratic people's organizations within the country.

FINALLY

We wish to express our confidence in our brothers and sisters

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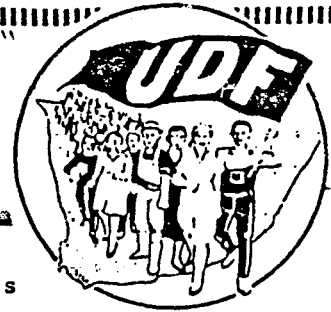
in both the Indian and 'Coloured' communities, that having been part of a long tradition of unity, suffering and struggling together, ^{highly united with the people} will desert us at this crucial hour of history, but will refuse to be co-opted into the Apartheid system.

We are therefore confident that they will once again say;
NO TO APARTHEID, NO TO HENDRICKSE AND RAJBANSI, NO TO
COLLABORATION WITH THE ENEMY. BUT FORWARD TO AN UNFRAGMENTED
FREE AND JUST SOUTH AFRICA.

(16) 8/9/57 (CF C32)

Glen & Miantha

Rev "A x 2"



TO ALL TRANSVAAL UDF AFFILIATES:

Please pass around within your organisation.

- * Does your organisation need help with media?
- * Do you need information for speeches, seminars and workshops?
- * What about posters and leaflets for your part in the Programme of Action?

UDF wants to assist affiliates in upgrading and sharing skills. For this reason, TVL UDF has set up a media committee. Affiliates are invited to:

1. Send people to help the committee.
2. Make use of the committee for training in media production.

How the committee works:

The committee works with affiliates rather than doing the job for them. In this way, skills are passed on and affiliates strengthened.

Publications and media work takes time, and there are big demands on the media committee. So affiliates are asked to give as much advance notice as possible.

Affiliates should try to cover costs of any media they produce.

What the committee offers:

1. Research & training in research

This concerns information for publications, seminars, speeches and house meetings. Topics covered are housing, Koornhof's laws, the constitution, conscription, and other matters relevant to UDF.

The committee helps both with research and with training people to do research independently.

2. "On the job" training in producing media

This covers writing, design, and production of

- a. A4 or A5 size leaflets and handbills
- b. Newsletters.
- c. Posters: Black-and-white A3 size
Colour silkscreened posters
Printed posters
- d. Banners, stickers, logos.

3. Printing advice

4. Decorations for meetings (posters and banners)

5. UDF NEWS

Suggestions and helpers from affiliates would be very welcome.

6. Advice in dealing with the commercial press

This covers the use of press statements and press conferences.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:

UDF, Fourth Floor, Khotso House, De Villiers Street, Johannesburg.

(16) 89/87

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Journal article in English
in South Africa
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Box "A x 3"

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DYNAMICS OF THE BLACK STRUGGLE
IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR BLACK THEOLOGY

by Lebamang J. Sebidi

St. Francis Xavier
Crawford, Cape Town
10th - 14th September, 1984

INTRODUCTION

The struggle or conflict that this paper is focusing on has now entered into its three hundred and thirty secondth year - 1652-1984. It has been a long and arduous conflict. And far from being a merely exciting academic head-trip, or a fitting topic for some highfalutin, cerebral, palaver, this protracted struggle, in all its stark reality and immediacy, has already claimed thousands of human lives, particularly black human lives. The sixty seven that were left stone dead at the 1960 Sharpeville massacre (Gerhart 1979:238) were but a long distant echo of the 1921 Bulhoek slaughter, where hundred and sixty three black Israelites were gratuitously mowed down by the sputtering rifle and machine power of the South African police and the defence force unit (Roux 1948:136-7). This struggle has always been dead serious.

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The aim of this paper is, first of all, to give a brief historical survey of this struggle. This survey will then serve as a kind of backdrop against which an analysis of the nature of this three century saga will be attempted. An analysis, any analysis, is a process of understanding. Its goal is knowledge. But, unless one belonged to that Greek school of philosophers, who believed in the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, the knowledge that accrues to one through the process of analysis is subservient to an evolution of practical solutions to life's problems. Analysis is akin to diagnosis in medical practice. The

goal of diagnosis is prescription. In political parlance, the terms analysis and strategy are, broadly speaking, a rendition of diagnosis and prescription. A strategy or prescription which is not based on a sound analysis or diagnosis is at best 'dangerous whistling in the dark'. Analysis is important. This old Jewish proverb can hardly be bettered on this score:

'If you don't know where you
are going (diagnosis), any
road will take you there (strategy)'.

The paper will then attempt to show that since the early 1970s the South African problematic has been subjected to two conflicting kinds of analysis. It will be seen that the dividing line between these two analytic paradigms approximates the line that cleaves black opposition in this country into two seemingly irreconcilable ideological camps. This is the so called RACE/CLASS debate.

This debate will then be followed by an attempt at assessing or weighing the validity or non-validity of Black Theology in the light of the afore-mentioned debate. Finally a personal assessment will be made of the debate in question and of the status of Black Theology in the maelstrom of this debate.

THE STRUGGLE: A PANORAMIC VIEW OF SOME HISTORICAL LANDMARKS

The conflict between the Natives of this country and Europeans, emigrant non-Africans, may be divided into four broad historical periods - phases of the struggle:

- *The Khoisan phase
- *The Tribalistic phase
- *The Nationalistic phase, and
- *The Black Consciousness phase.

We shall briefly look at each of these historical phases in turn.

THE KHOISAN PHASE: 17th CENTURY

The term 'Khoisan' is used in recent scholarship to refer, collectively, to the so called 'Hottentots' and 'Bushmen'. The pejorative overtones traditionally associated with these latter terms are avoided by substituting 'Khoi' (or 'Khoikhoi') for Hottentots and 'San' for Bushmen (Davenport 1977:3).

When the first permanent European settlement was put up at the Cape in 1652, it was the Khoisan group of South Africans which was destined to deal with this new, portentous encounter. As we all know, the elements of that encounter are the stock-in-trade of every primary school history book. But what is often not given sufficient emphasis and clarity is the fact that in the minds and eyes of the native Khoisan, the setting up of that Cape settlement was no more and no less than a blatant invasion of their native land by curly-haired and blue-eyed, white-skinned foreigners. And against this foreign invasion, the Khoisan were prepared to put up a fight. They resisted the usurpation of their land by means of at least two recorded wars. Richard Elphick captures the core of that Khoisan resentment and determination to fight as he writes:

'As soon as the freeburghers put their hand to the plough the Peninsular Khoikhoi realised that the European presence at the Cape would be permanent and most probably expansive. The Khoikhoi resented not only the loss of exceptional pastures near Table Mountain, but also the way the new farms blocked their access to watering areas on the Cape Peninsula' (Elphick et al, ed. 1979:11-12).

It is a matter of no little significance that the Khoikhoi were themselves pastoral farmers who kept cattle and sheep and who, therefore, harboured a keen interest in the land, water and

pasturage. The Cape settlement community and the freeburghers also shared the selfsame interest. It is therefore the frontiers of trade and agrarian expansion that quickly brought about a bitter conflict of interests: Khoikhoi interests vs White settler interests. As intimated above, contrary to popular South African history the Khoikhoi resisted: in 1659, led by a courageous and determined man by the name of Doman, the Khoi furiously attacked the seven-year old foreign settlement, destroying its food supplies, its farms, and livestock. This was the first Khoikhoi-Dutch War. The indigenous people were defending their land, water and pasture against incipient colonial expansion (Elphick et al, ed. 1979:12). The second Khoikhoi-Dutch War was led by the famous Gonnema and this war was waged intermittently between 1673 and 1677 when Gonnema and his followers were finally brought to heel in the obviously unequal conflict.

From this time onwards both the Khoi and the San were gradually, but inexorably incorporated into white society as farmhands, herders and kitchen servants. By the middle of the 1800s, these fascinating people, who lived so close to 'Mother Nature', were completely defeated and subjected to white rule (Davenport 1977:26).

There are two points that one would wish to make here, namely, that the Khoisan did not willingly submit to their systematic incorporation into foreign, white rule; and that the Khoisan economic base - land and cattle - was the bone of contention between these indigenous people and the white foreigners, right from the onset.

This then was the 17th century phase of the black struggle for the land, water, and pasturage. The scene of the struggle was mainly in the North-Western Cape.

THE TRIBALISTIC PHASE: 18th CENTURY AND EARLY 19th CENTURY

The dramatic events of the second phase of the black struggle were enacted mainly in the eastern frontier. The protagonists in the conflict, this time round, were the so called Bantu and the eastern vanguard of the white settler community in the Cape. The earliest recorded skirmish between Bantu and Boer was in 1702 - exactly a century and a half after the arrival of the Dromedaries, Reiger and Goodehope at the Cape in 1652 (MacMillan 1963:25).

It is this longish time-span between the arrival of white foreigners at the Cape (1652) and their first contact with the indigenous Bantu (1702) which has provided a basis for the popularisation of the thesis that :

'...the Bantu-speakers arrived as immigrants on the highveld of the trans-Vaal at about the same time as the white men first settled in Table Bay' (Davenport 1977: 5).

But recent scholarship is diametrically opposed to this thesis. Radio-carbon dating, for instance, bears testimony to the fact that there were negroid iron age settlements in the trans-Vaal as early as the fifth century AD (Davenport 1977: 5). And if this is true, it means that the Bantu have a head-start of centuries in their occupancy and possession of this southern tip of Africa, relative to white occupancy and arrival. And as regards that particular region called the Cape, the historian, MacMillan, has this to say:

'Undoubtedly the tribes were in effective occupation down to the Fish River long before the Europeans. Williams, of the L.M.S, the first missionary to the 'kaffirs', took up residence at the "great place" of

the paramount chief, Gaika, in 1816. The "great place" of a chief is not an outpost, and Williams' grave remains to show that Gaika was within three miles of the later Fort Beaufort, very near the Fish River. Even the outposts still further west in the Zuurveld must have been fairly strongly held' (MacMillan 1963: 25).

The Bantu were here long before the turn of the 17th century. Now, as in the case of the Khoi, the Bantu were pastoralists, with a keen interest in cattle and sheep. But over and above this, they were almost like the Boers in that they tilled the soil and were, therefore, less nomadic than the Khoi and San. It is these characteristics of their economy - pastoral and agricultural - that were destined to initiate and fan some of the fiercest conflicts between Bantu and Boer on the eastern frontier, starting from the latter part of the 18th century.

The eight or so wars that characterised this second phase of the struggle came down in liberal history as the 'Kaffir Wars'. The first of these was in 1779 and the last in 1879 - a hundred years war between several clans of the black vanguard, Xhosas, in the eastern Cape, ancestors of a Mandela, Biko, Pityana and an Ntwasa, on the one hand, and the white settler communities, on the other hand. More often than not when there is talk about this period, the impression is given that the basic reason for this hundred year conflict was the fact that the Xhosas were bellicose savages, filled with lust for colonial cattle and an irrational desire to spill white Christian blood with their metal assegais, - in short, an inevitable clash of two cultures, one superior and civilised, the other inferior and barbaric. The historian, C.W. de Kiewiet, provides us with a different version of this ferocious saga:

'For the most part the wars were not caused by the inborn quarrelsomeness of savage and war-

like tribes, but by the keen competition of two groups, with very similar agricultural and pastoral habits, for the possession of the most fertile and best-watered stretches of land' (de Kiewiet 1957: 74).

Again as was the case in the first phase, in this second phase, the land was indisputably the issue. The indigenous people were dispossessed, sometimes by violent force of arms, at other times, by sheer 'non-violent' chicanery. Either way, the bone of contention was the land. Says de Kiewiet:

'Land was bought with harness, guns, and cases of brandy. It was acquired by the process of turning a permission to graze into the right to occupy' (de Kiewiet 1957: 75).

These sordid deals were made possible because of the Natives' different philosophy or understanding of ownership. In the white settlers' minds, ownership was more important and more decisive than 'use'; whereas for the African Native it was 'use' that formed the basis of their relationship towards their communally-owned land.

'The notion that a signature or the gift of a spavined horse gave a white man the right to hold land to the exclusion of all others was foreign to the native mind. Even more foreign was the notion that land where all men's beasts had grazed without let could be reserved for the herds of a single individual' (de Kiewiet 1957: 75).

However, be that as it may, the dispossession of the people's land and livestock went on unabated. The 1878 routing of the British forces by King Cetshwayo's Zulu army at Isandhlwana and the 1906 Bambata Rebellion were but late 19th and early 20th century echoes, in the interior of the land, of

the tumultuous hundred years war in the Cape eastern frontier.

The Sand River Convention (1852) and the Bloemfontein Convention (1854) recognised and ratified the sovereignty of the Boers both in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. This meant that the Boers in these newly 'established' Republics would deal with their 'kaffirs' in the way they saw fit. So could the English in the Cape and Natal. All what this meant was that by the turn of the 20th century there was relatively little independence left among the indigenous people of this country. Their socio-political structures and their economic base had been overrun by the ruthless and insatiable white settlers' hunger for land and labour.

'In the land in which they (Natives) lived the free resources of soil, water, and grass had been expropriated or diminished. These resources represented the capital upon which tribal life had been based. Without these resources of soil, water and grass the natives were obliged to do labour for those who now controlled them. Acquisition of land by Europeans was quite frequently a method of annexing labour as well. Since the earliest days it was frequent practice for farmers to buy land, not for the land's own sake, but in order to command the labour of the natives upon it. It was a process that deliberately extinguished native property in the land and their security of tenure upon it, so that they were helpless before the power that private ownership conferred on the whites' (de Kiewiet 1957: 82).

The land had been foundational to the lives of the indigenous people. When they lost the land, they lost their independence and the ability to shape and determine their destiny.

The Natives lost the land, but not without struggling valiantly to keep it.

This is what we would refer to as the Tribalistic phase of the struggle. It was characterised by the individual African tribes struggling to hold onto their land; each tribe labouring under the illusion that it could win that struggle on an individual, tribal basis. The beginning of the 20th century saw almost every tribe or clan in South Africa virtually incorporated into the socio-political and economic system of the white settlers. The conquest was all but complete at the turn of the present century.

THE NATIONALISTIC PHASE: END OF THE 19th CENTURY- BEGINNING 20th

By the mid-19th century the delineation of South Africa into the four provinces was already a de facto reality: the two Boer Republics in the North, Natal and the Cape. Each of these provinces dealt with its 'native problem' in the way it saw fit. The Natives, in turn, generally responded to this provincial handling severally and fragmentally, in a haphazard, un-coordinated manner. Individual, small tribes still believed in 'bargaining' with the white conquerers in the hope of getting a better deal for their individual communities. It is for this reason that very often when there was a military clash between a given tribe or clan and the white settler commandos, the latter invariably found it quite easy to enlist the help of the 'good, loyal' Natives against the recalcitrant 'black rebels'. This is exactly what happened in the 1906 Bambata resistance: not only the Native police (Nonqai), but also Native 'soldiers' recruited from 'loyal tribes' made it extremely difficult for Bambata and his courageous followers to mount an effective resistance (Roux 1948: 95).

This fragmented response to white settler encroachment was a characteristic feature of both the first and second phases of the struggle for the land.

The tail-end of the 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s in South Africa were clearly marked by the defiant stand of the

two Northern Boer Republics - the Transvaal and Orange Free State - against any imperial interference in their affairs and attempts at annexation to the two Southern British Colonies, Natal and the Cape. At this stage South Africa's 'native policy' was in a fragmented state. For instance, the Cape Colony during this period operated a non-racial, qualified franchise, property and education being the only qualificatory factors. It is on record that by the 1880s there were well over 12,000 Africans on the common voters roll in the Cape, having considerable influence in at least five constituencies in the eastern Cape. In 1886 they made up 47% of the electorate in these five constituencies (Walshe 1973: 5). This so called 'Cape tradition' came to be idealised by many African leaders as a system which offered '...a new method of political adjustment, an alternative to the wars of resistance' (Walshe 1973: 5). This idealisation of the Cape liberal tradition was made to look even more attractive by what was at the time obtaining in Natal and the two Boer Republics - up North.

Natal had evolved its own brand of native policy. Despite Natal's non-racial constitution, less than a dozen Africans appeared on the common voters roll. Clever administrative devices insured that this was so (Walshe 1973: 6).

In the independent Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State their constitutional stand was simple and straightforward: there was to be no equality between Bantu and Boer, both in church and state. The extension of the franchise to the Bantu in this two Republics was a matter that could never be contemplated.

Thus both Natal and the two Boer Republics offered an unattractive alternative to the slightly lenient and partially open Cape liberal tradition. The extension of this tradition to the rest of the country became the *raison d'etre* of the black struggles of this period and after.

This was the cry of the Transvaal Native Congress (TNC) founded

in 1905. Comparable organisations in the Orange Free State and Natal also hankered after the Cape tradition. The African People's Organisation (APO) established in 1902 in the Cape aimed at fighting for the maintenance of the much valued Cape liberal tradition (Denoon 1982: 110).

It is in this context of the idealisation of the Cape liberal tradition that one can understand why the bulk of the indigenous people of this country had their sympathies, and often, active support, on the side of the British imperial armies in the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War. As T.R.H. Davenport so aptly notes, this was a white man's war, a war between whites '...fought to determine which white authority held real power in South Africa' (Davenport 1977: 144). But the Natives, no doubt naively, had come to believe in and rely on '...the sense of common justice and love of freedom so innate in the British character' (Walshe 1982: 38). And so, in this sense, British victory over the Boers would represent, in the eyes and minds of the Bantu, the extension of the Cape liberal tradition, which was the only non-violent and constitutional way to the total incorporation of every South African in a unified socio-political and economic structure of their fatherland.

In this context, the Treaty of Vereeniging, which was signed by Boer and Briton in 1902 came as a world-shattering disillusionment to the Africans. In the incisive words of de Kiewiet: 'Downing Street had surrendered to the frontier' (de Kiewiet 1957: 144). Native policy and political unity of the four provinces were the two issues that clamoured for immediate attention at the Vereeniging peace treaty. Britain, for fear of fragmenting white unity, left the decision on the enfranchisement of the Natives in the hands of those who thought the very notion of native enfranchisement anathema.

For Britain to have insisted 'upon a higher place for the natives was to offend the white communities, especially Natal and the Republics, in their deepest convictions. Humanity and liberty became opposites which for long years had paralysed action' (de Kiewiet 1957: 143).

It was the British failure to uphold and defend the well-appreciated Cape liberal tradition, the non-racial albeit qualified franchise, which prompted African leaders, in the four provinces, into realising that 'white unity' had to be met with 'supra-tribal African unity'. This crucial awakening was long in coming.

As it is now known, the 1902 Vereeniging peace treaty was but a prelude to the 1910 exclusive white union of South Africa. The impending white union gave rise to the Native Convention, which met in Bloemfontein in 1909 to discuss the burning problems spawned by the exclusion of Blacks from the union talks. Writes Edward Roux:

'This was the first occasion on which politically minded Africans came together from all corners of South Africa to discuss common problems. To this meeting came Walter Rubusana from the Cape, John Dube from Natal, M. Masisi and J. Makgothi from the Orange Free State. In addition, were delegates from the Transvaal and from Bechuanaland' (Roux 1948: 108-9).

The mild and sycophantic requests that were issued by this 1909 Native Convention were hardly heeded by the British Crown or the architects of the union. The white union of South Africa a constitutional reality in 1910.

It was only at the end of 1911 that a more permanent form of African political opposition to the union began to take shape. One of the moving spirits behind this historic move was one Pixley ka Izaka Seme. On October 24th, 1911, Pixley made this impassioned plea:

'The demon of racialism, the aberrations of Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other Native must be buried

and forgotten...We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today' (Roux 1948: 110).

Pixley advocated the immediate formation of a South African Native Congress and suggested an agenda for an inaugural meeting. So on 8th January, 1912, several delegates assembled in Bloemfontein. This was considered by many as the triumph of supra-tribalism and the birth of a South African black Nationalism.

The executive of this all important Congress consisted of eleven members, who clearly represented the ideals of the elite of the African people. Of the eleven, four were ministers of religion, three were lawyers, one, Solomon Plaatje, was a newspaper editor, whilst Makgatho and Pelem were teachers and Mapikela a building contractor (Walshe 1982: 36). It was therefore not surprising that the general characteristic of this first group of leaders was political moderation. The fact that the newly formed Union Government was invited by the conveners of this first permanent African National Congress to send its representative to open the inaugural meeting of Congress, is sufficient indication of Congress' political moderation and unwillingness to unnecessarily anger the powers that ruled over the country (Denoon 1982: 110).

The leaders and delegates of this Bloemfontein Conference were anything but hot-headed trade unionists or fire-eating political radicals. Their demands were simple and straightforward. In his key-note address to the Conference, Pixley ka Izaka Seme intoned:

'The white people of this country have formed what is known as the union of South Africa - a union in which we have no voice in the making of laws and no part in their administration. We have called you therefore to this Conference so that we can together devise ways and means of forming one national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges' (Walshe 1982: 34).

Mobilisation at a national level, creating a supra-tribal organisation, was obviously a means towards the attainment of what they considered to be their 'constitutional rights' - that is, 'equality of opportunity within the economic life and political institutions of the wider society' (Walshe 1982: 34). The ideal was always the Cape qualified but non-racial franchise, which they had so fervently hoped that at the end of the Anglo-Boer War, would be extended throughout South Africa as the foundation for the creation of a just and harmonious South African polity.

In contrast, therefore, to the first two phases of the struggle, where arrows, spears, assegais and shields were used in an extra-constitutional or extra-parliamentary effort to win back the land - this third phase tended to concentrate on non-military strategies and tactics in an attempt to win 'constitutional rights'. This is, obviously, a crucial distinction. Peter Walshe seems to confirm this shift in strategies, tactics and principles, when he writes:

'In his letter accepting the presidency, Dube (the Rev. John Dube, first ANC president, elected in absentia) set out to clarify the objectives of Congress and his own hopes. The eighth of January (1912) had been a day heralding the renaissance of the Native races. Although the first-born sons of Africa, they were now the last-born children and citizens of the glorious British Empire. In the excitement of this awakening to political life, the emphasis was nevertheless to be on prudence, restraint, and dutiful respect for the rulers God had placed over them. The motto, he suggested, was festina lente (Walshe 1982: 37).

Thus the period between 1912 and 1960 was, on the whole, marked by the sometimes powerful, at other times intermittent and hesitant activities of the ANC. We used the qualificatory phrase 'on the whole' because in 1919 another powerful African organisation called the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU),

led by men like Clements Kadalie and George Champion, emerged to share the stage with the ANC. But by the end of the 1920s, ICU was a spent force.

The period between 1912 and 1960 would not come to a close before a very significant split between the ANC and the Pan-Africanists within Congress became a formal reality. The Pan-African Congress (PAC), led by stalwarts like Robert Sobukwe, Potlako Leballo, and Peter Raboroko, was formed in 1959. Many people believe that the formation, in 1943, of the Congress Youth League, foreshadowed this 1959 split.

Three things stand out clearly in this third phase of the struggle:

- * Africans made a valiant attempt to struggle as a 'Nation' instead of on the basis of tribal or clannish fragmentation.
- * These first South African Nationalists operated within the parameters of a completely conquered and dispossessed people. At this stage, conquest and dispossession were a fait accompli. Hence their integrationist demands. The overthrow of the State was furthest from their minds and hearts. They merely pleaded for the end to their collective exclusion from the system. Their perspective on the land had shifted considerably compared to what it was in the two previous phases: the Khoisan and the Tribalistic.
- * For almost half a century the ANC refused to let the flickering flames of the black struggle to die. At the end of the '60s, this sensitive torch was handed over to younger hands.

THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS PHASE: END OF THE '60s ONWARDS

Ideologically this fourth phase - the Black Consciousness phase of the struggle - represents an almost total break with white liberal tutelage. The classic definition of B.C. as 'an attitude of mind, a way of life', puts this movement at the philosophic and introspective level (Lodge 1983: 322). It was a hefty attempt at severing what one may call, for lack of a better term, the 'psychological umbilical cord' that held the black man tied to the slow-moving liberal band-wagon. The black man was to be on his own because, the B.C. ideologues reasoned, the black struggle for genuine liberation could only be waged on the basis of black unity, black solidarity.

The Black Consciousness philosophy made itself felt through organisations like SASO, BPC and many others. For instance, the BPC constitution declared that membership of BPC 'shall be open to blacks only'. It continued to say 'unless inconsistent with the context, "black" shall be interpreted as meaning Africans, Indians and Coloureds' (van der Merwe et al ed. 1978: 92). Here was a clear rejection of the integrationist and multi-racialist approach adopted by the ANC in the 48 years of its struggle for black freedom. This shift was no doubt significant. But it remains to be seen whether it was a shift at the level of principles (ideology) or merely at the level of strategies and tactics.

It is about time we brought this sketchy but necessary historical overview to a close, and went on to the analysis of that enormous political terrain.

THE ANATOMY OF RIVAL VISIONS

That there is a struggle, a conflict, in South Africa, nobody can deny. The existence of this conflict has been amply evidenced by what we have, perhaps artificially, referred to as the four phases of the black struggle in this country. Conflict, red-hot and acrimonious, exists in this country and stares every South African in the face. The controversy is rather about how one can best charac-

terise and analyse the exact nature of this conflict. And it is important to realise that this controversy is not spawned by South Africans' puerile and inane desire to indulge in mere academic palaver or logic chopping. No, South Africans are engaged in this debate because they suddenly realise that there must be something disastrously wrong for a people to struggle along for well over three hundred years and yet have very little to show by way of tangible and lasting results at the end of that gruesome period. There must be something very ineffectual with regard to the way they go about the struggle, their chosen strategies and tactics, and, perhaps, this lack of effectiveness may be due to poor, careless and inaccurate analysis of their problem. Strategies and tactics, it must be remembered, are derivatives. Good, effective strategies, like good, effective medical prescriptions, are those which are based on painstaking and accurate social analysis, diagnosis, in medical parlance.

This controversy about how best one can understand the root-causes of the South African socio-political problems, analyse them and gain deeper insights into the present situation, and thereby be in a position to evolve correct and effective strategies for change in South Africa's Apartheid society, gained particular ascendancy in the beginning of the 1970s, probably occasioned by the publication of the Oxford History of South Africa in 1971, which epitomised the liberal interpretation and analysis of South African society. The attack on the liberal interpretation of South African history came fast and furious. For instance, Harrison M. Wright says that:

'In 1972 alone four influential reviews (of the Oxford History of South Africa) by four South African historians living abroad - Martin Legassick, Shula Marks, Stanley Trapido, and Anthony Atmore - directly challenged the assumptions, the interpretations, and the social value of the liberal historians' (Wright 1977: 18).

Indeed, ever since that time the two opposing kinds of socio-political analysis, which can be roughly termed the Liberal and the Radical paradigms, have openly fought it out in the country's debating arenas. And as it was stated earlier on in this paper, this controversy between these two paradigms split black opposition into two seemingly irreconcilable and mutually exclusive camps. The now well known obstreperous RACE-CLASS debate had begun in earnest. Furious and unremitting, it was.

There were those who were fully persuaded that 'race' provided them with an adequate explanatory key to the understanding of the peculiarities inherent in the South African scene, while others rejected this approach and opted, just as strongly, for the adoption of a 'class' analysis of the South African situation. The basic problem, the class-analysts intoned, was not so much who should sit on the 'park benches', but who should enjoy the largest share of the 'goodies'. The controversy, as we know, often presented its participants with an EITHER/OR, clear-cut dichotomy between these two opposing views, with the protagonists on each side refusing to accept even the slightest possibility of a tertium quid.

THE TWO PARADIGMS IN SILHOUETTE

In this section we shall give a general outline of each of the two paradigms and see how the insights yielded by each position would apply to our so called four phases of the black struggle. This is crucial because a good paradigm ought to be always open to empirical correction.

THE RACE-ANALYSTS' POSITION

What do the race-analysts say in general? For them the basic ingredient in the South African three hundred year conflict is 'race'. The primacy of racial ideology or politico-racial factors, they say, should be obvious to any unbiased analyst of the South African problematic. This is their point of departure. And it is this which leads them to reject what they term the non-racial myth of proletarian unity between South Africa's black workers

and white workers. The basic polarisation is not between 'classes' but between groups that are segmented on the basis of pigmentation. Pigmentocracy, therefore, is the name of the South African game. The whole wide world knows that. Interests are polarised on the basis of race, not class or economics. It is for this reason that the high-priest and architect of racism in South Africa, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, could feelingly argue that he would rather remain white and poor, than rich and mixed (Botha 1967: 111). The proponents of the race-analysis approach point to such sentiments as being affirmations of the primacy of 'race' in South Africa's social formation. For them 'race' is the unmistakable criterion of differential incorporation into the South African social system. And it is this differential incorporation which determines what size of the economic cake one is entitled to; it is not the size of the economic cake that determines the nature of this incorporation; otherwise financial heavy-weights like our own E.T. Tshabalala, Habakuk Tsikwane, Sam Motsuenyane, etc., would be enjoying full franchise and parliamentary rights on the same par with South Africa's white oligarchy. They do not. The South African situation, therefore, seems to indicate that it is rather the ideology of 'class consciousness' - and not that of 'race-consciousness' - which is false, erroneous, twisted consciousness, an inverted image of the South African reality. Race is still a valid analytical concept to use for the understanding of South Africa's core problems, this approach argues.

The protagonists of the race-analysis approach do not see how the struggle of the people, at least at this stage, could be anything but a nationalistic struggle. They point to the obvious fact that in this country the so called 'non-whites' are oppressed, excluded, discriminated against as a black nation, and not as a class. And, therefore, the proper response to this blatant and obvious national oppression, is some form of 'nationalism', - not classism. Nationalism at this present stage is still the only rallying cry which has the potential to rouse the oppressed African masses to join the struggle and substitute genuine democracy for an oppressive pigmentocracy.

Another point, the situation in South Africa has an unmistakable

colonial character. Some would like to describe it as 'internal colonialism'. However, this designation does not alter the basic picture. The basic picture is colonial: a white settler community lording it over a black indigenous community. Colonialism is by definition collective exploitation and oppression of a whole people - not classes of people. Colonialism is not the selective exploitation and oppression of certain strata of people, but that of the indigenous people as a totality. Such an oppression gives rise, not to a class consciousness, but to a national or race consciousness. Thus national oppression not only transcend class, but it also turns it into an irrelevant, strategically weak, variable in the people's struggle.

Ours is therefore a fundamentally Black versus White struggle, the race-analysts argue. The 1922 Rand miners' strike, is regarded, within this paradigm, as a classic example of lack of 'natural' homogeneity between the interests of white workers and those of black workers. In this 1922 strike white workers unequivocally perceived their interests as being antagonistic to the interests of black workers. White labour and white capital would finally forge a perfect alliance against the subordinated black workers. The predominant factor here was not the so called 'objective material conditions' or 'one's relationship to the forces of production', but the ideological force of racism.

It is this failure of working class solidarity between members of different races which is regarded by race-analysts as being decisive in their decision to carry on the struggle solely on the basis of black solidarity. There is no other realistic formula for change in South Africa, they argue.

The following words are an inference drawn from the above analysis:

'What blacks are doing is merely to respond to a situation in which they find themselves the objects of white racism...We are collectively segregated against - what can be more logical than for us to respond as a group? When workers come together under the auspices of a trade union to

strive for the betterment of their conditions, nobody expresses surprise in the Western world. It is the done thing. Nobody accuses them of separatist tendencies. Teachers fight their battles, garbage men do the same, nobody acts as a trustee for another. Somehow, however, when blacks want to do their thing the liberal establishment seems to detect an anomaly... The liberals understand that the days of the Noble Savage are gone; that blacks do not need a go-between in this struggle for their own emancipation' (Gerhart1979: 266-7).

Let the Blacks do their thing, on an exclusively black vantage point. This is the clarion cry of this camp.

THE CLASS-ANALYSTS' POSITION

Class-analysts inveigh against what they see as the superficiality of the race-analysis of the South African situation. They feel that race-analysis arbitrarily isolates the South African struggle not only from struggles against world capitalist exploitation, but also from liberating currents that have been a long standing feature along the borders of this country. To de-internationalise the struggle in South Africa is to cling to a truncated, myopic view of that struggle. It is to be inexcusably unrealistic about the people's struggle.

South Africa, they argue, is part of the oppressive and exploitative capitalist world. This country is not peripheral to Reaganomics. It is part of the heart-beat of this monster. Reagan's 'constructive engagement' approach and the heavy presence of international corporations, IBM, Siemens, Mobil, etc., in our economy, is sufficient evidence of the fact that the profile of the real enemy is much broader than that which is suggested within the race-analysis purview. And if the real enemy is broader, perhaps, by the same token, the victims' profile should be broadened to include people who are, prima facie, excluded in the narrow profile provided by the race-analysis picture.

Race-analysts are reminded, over and over again, that the international subsidiaries operating in this country are part and parcel of the oppressive and exploitative machinery that grind workers, regardless of their colour, for what the workers can produce to feed the already over fed affluent, capitalist minority. Now, to employ colour or race as a primary criterion in a liberatory struggle is to, automatically, alienate black South Africans, many of whom are workers, from the rest of the worker world. Given the existential set-up in South Africa today, it would be naive in the extreme to imagine that the struggle could be successfully waged internally without a massive dose of external cooperation from the non-black workers of the world. This is not merely to reject the criterion of 'race' for the sake of an ephemeral, passing theory, but it is an attempt to put aside the superficiality of a political-racial analysis in favour of an approach that ferrets out the causal-rootage of the South African conflict.

Racism, they say, lacks an independent explanatory power of analysis. Racial prejudice is either inborn or acquired. If it is inborn or innate, then there is very little that one can do about it. Such inborn-ness of racism would certainly call for acquiescence, not militant involvement on the part of the victims. But the very history of South Africa furnishes us with ample evidence that racism is not an innate factor in man: the origin of the so called 'Cape Coloured', the de-classification of, first, the Japanese, and now Chinese, the existence of legislation to prohibit 'mixed' sexual relations and marriages, etc., etc. All these phenomena point to the fact that there is nothing inherent in man which naturally orients him antipathetically to members of other races who manifest different skin-coloration. Racism is not innate. Thanks God this is so, because if it were innate, it would never be eradicated!

So racism does exist. But it exists as a social, not natural, construct. It is a socially acquired habit, the source or origin of which is something other than itself. White people do not discriminate against black people simply because, innately,

they do not like 'blackness' in colour. Such a theory would easily break down in the face of the numerous experiences such as those at Sun City, Swaziland Spa, Lesotho Hilton, etc. Racism is an acquired habit, and because it is acquired, it can be de-learned through force of circumstances. Radical analysis often locates these circumstances in the 'competition-for-scarce-resources'. This is the pulse-beat of the South African conflict: economic interests. Racism is, therefore, a function of capitalist exploitation and serves to legitimate the status of those who own the means of production and the position of their functionaries. As such 'race' is not a peculiarly South African problem.

South African Blacks are oppressed not primarily because they show a different skin-colour, but because, basically, their economic interests are antithetical to those who are the economically dominant class. So whilst the conflict manifests itself in forms that are racial, its origin is decidedly non-racial. Its origin is a collective attempt to protect group-interests: ^{of the Capitalist} the land, water, pasture, and later the mines, manufacturing industry and commerce. It is, therefore, not race-relations that one should study and focus on, but class-relations. In short, the 'face' of the problem is racial, but its essence is non-racial. Genovese summed it up neatly:

'...race relations are at bottom a class question into which the race question intrudes - and gives it a special force and form, but does not constitute its essence' (: 8).

To assess the explanatory power of race as a tool of social analysis, it might help to look at the treatment of Whites by other Whites in other countries, e.g. the Jews in Nazi Germany. It was not the colour of their skin, the shape of their noses, the texture of their hair that was the central motive behind the inhuman treatment meted out to them, -but the position the Jews held in Germany's economy at the time.

For the class-analysis approach racial conflicts are simply epiphenomena of much deeper conflicts - class conflicts. And classes are by definition determined by their relationship to the means of production. Economic - not racial - criteria are used in this analytic approach. The basic, structural polarisation is not between Black and White, but that between Labour and Capital. It is this latter polarisation that has international repercussions or implications: workers are workers, everywhere. Capitalists are capitalists, everywhere. Their colour or race is peripheral and incidental to these pivotal categories, 'Labour' and 'Capital'. This stand, class-analysts argue, is both theoretically and pragmatically correct. It is a stand fraught with ideological, strategic and tactical implications for the struggle of the oppressed masses in this country.

According to this analysis, a nationalist liberation movement, which is easily countenanced by a race-analysis approach, is by definition a bourgeois movement. It is bourgeois because, as in the South African case, every black man, simply by reason of his blackness would belong to the movement, regardless of his class position. The fact that he may be a rabid, exploitative capitalist would not seriously affect his participation in the national liberation movement. It is rather the wrong kind of colour or race that would throw one right out of the liberation movement. For instance, in a national liberation movement an E.T. Tshabalala and a Joseph Mavi can march cheek by jowl, shoulder to shoulder, completely oblivious of their deeply polarised interests. Such a movement cannot but be bourgeois, - and somehow reactionary.

It is this sort of reductio ad absurdum which clearly shows the inadequacies and oversimplifications of the race-analysis approach.

Thus whilst class-analysts would not be averse towards 'working together with progressive whites in the liberation struggle', the race-analysts would be wary of 'collaboration with whites - whether progressive or reactionary'. By reason of the racial

category to which they belong, they are basically part of the 'problem', and not 'solution', in this country.

The two paradigms are painfully at daggers drawn.

What then would be the respective views of these paradigms vis-a-vis Black Theology?

BLACK THEOLOGY IN SEARCH OF A BASE

It is perhaps about time we saw how Black Theology, that wave-raising phenomenon of the late '60s and early '70s, relates to our two conflicting paradigms: race and class analyses.

Now, since the concept of Black Theology has found entry into so many books and documents, the world over, our discussion of it will be very brief. In fact, our primary interest here is simply to map out the relationship Black Theology might have with the two warring analyses sketched above.

Let us start the discussion with a citation from one of the unpublished articles by James H. Cone, who is easily one of the foremost proponents of Black Theology. In one of his most blistering attacks against people who challenged the validity and Christian status of Black Theology, Cone had this to say:

'(They say) Theology is colourless! Such judgements are typical of those who have not experienced the concreteness of human suffering expressed through colour, or whose own comfort has so long accepted a theology which is colourless only if one is talking about 'white' as the absence of colour.

To ignore Black Theology is the easy way out...But what is more interesting, though not surprising, is the white response that

theology does not come in colours. They who are responsible for colour being the vehicle of dehumanisation are now telling us that theology is raceless, that it is "universal" (international). This seems a bit late after nearly 400 years of silence on this issue. Black Theologians wonder why we did not hear the same word when people were being enslaved in the name of God and democracy precisely on the basis of colour? We wonder where were these colourless theologians when people were being lynched because of the colour of their skin?...to criticise the theology of the victims because it centres on that aspect that best defines the limits of their existence seems to miss the point entirely' (Unpublished article).

There seems to be no doubt that central to the concerns of Black Theology stands the category of 'blackness'. This type of theology has taken up the role of uncovering, in a systematic way, the structures and forms of the black experience. In short, it aims at investigating anew 'the problem of the color-line' (Cone 1975: 16). Black Theology hates to trifle with the social phenomenon of colour. It takes colour seriously because it regards colour as being tragically co-terminous with the 400 years of slavery in the Deep South and the 320 years of blatant discrimination in this southern tip of Africa. In these regions, 'blackness' connotes man-imposed suffering. This category of 'blackness' needs to be put in theological perspective and expressed in God-oriented terms. The beginning and end of this exercise is the beginning and end of Black Theology.

This is in essence the theology of black victims, whose faces have been ground to the dust by a specific group of victimisers, fair-skinned victimisers.

Such a theology finds its natural home or base in an analytic approach which diagnoses South Africa's problems as being first

and foremost 'racism'. Within the race-analysis paradigm, therefore, Black Theology is merely a systematic religious manifestation of a state of oppression experienced primarily in racial, colour terms. 'Blackness' is the vehicle through which this oppression comes through. Liberation or salvation, outside this specific category of 'blackness' becomes an obscene irrelevancy. Black Theology is a theology of liberation from this specific category of suffering. To introduce 'class' into this process of liberation, is to intrude dilatory dynamics that would hamper the natural momentum of the national liberation movement. This would have the effect of diluting the struggle to a considerable degree.

The fad of class-ism divides the real opposition in this country and dampens the militancy of the oppressed masses. Therefore, in our situation of racial oppression, it is argued, a theology that concerns itself with class oppression will be to that extent chasing after a chimera, at worst, or a marginal issue, at best. Such a theology would be anaemic for lack of a natural source or base.

In short, race-analysts are the natural proponents of Black Theology. For them, if the reasons that gave rise to black theologising in the late '60s and early '70s were valid and impelling, the situation today has not changed one iota. Blacks, not as individuals, but collectively, are still catching hell from a specifically white system that is systematically rigged against them. This is something that cannot be easily overlooked and forgotten by the average black man in this country. The struggle of the races is still on, - and, if the recent hair-raising and mind-boggling events in the Vaal triangle are anything to go by, this struggle is not about to grind to a halt.

Black Theology is the religious manifestation of this conflict.

Class-analysts turn round to reject Black Theology as a theology which is based, not only on a superficial, but also erroneous reading of the South African situation. Whilst colour in South Africa, they argue, enjoys high visibility and biting pervasiveness, it must be read not as the cause but as the effect of a much deeper

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structural malady in society. Therefore, to base one's theologising on an epiphenomenon of a social sickness is to run the risk of being incurably shallow in one's theological task. Black Theology operates at the level of 'mopping up water' from a room, whilst the tap is left completely uninterfered with. Needless to say, this is the classical exercise in futility. It is Liberation Theology, a la Latin American style, that one should opt for, because whilst Liberation Theology does not minimise the 'nuisance value' of the water, (if we be allowed to carry on with our metaphor), it throws its whole weight behind the attempt to close the tap.

It is in fact Black Theology that fragments real, effective opposition to oppression and exploitation by refusing to forge meaning links with other 'oppressed classes' of the world. This unfortunate refusal, apart from being Christian-ly suspect, narrows the parameters of the struggle by its ideological exclusivity. Thus the prime locus theologicus of Black Theology, namely, race/colour, is rejected by this paradigm as inadequate, shallow and misdirected. Talk of something as being only skin-deep! You are talking about the insights of Black Theology.

What should provide a point of departure for a truly liberatory theology is economic dependency or economic exploitation, not racial oppression. A theology that treats the Labour-Capital polarity as secondary can only be half-heartedly liberatory. The history of the ANC, at least up to the 1960s, has amply proved this point.

In short, there is no room for Black Theology qua Black in the inn of the class-analysts. On the contrary, it is theologians like Gustavo Gutierrez, Miguez Bonino, etc., and not a James Cone or a Manas Buthelezi, who are expressive of the class-analysis theological point of departure and basic concerns. In this paradigm the locus theologicus is economic dependency, not racial oppression. In this sense, therefore, Liberation Theology finds its natural home or base in the class-analysis camp.

Thus the controversy between our two paradigms has far reaching implications for the exercise of Black Theology in this conflict-ridden country.

THE NEGLECTED DIALECTIC: A PERSONAL VIEWPOINT

The reason why we started this paper with a kind of kaleidoscopic presentation of some important historical landmarks or phases of the black struggle in South Africa, is because we believe that any analytical paradigm or theory worth its salt is, perforce, derivative. It is derived from contexts that are real, concrete and historical. In short, theory must have historical and empirical rootage. Reality fathers theory, and not the other way round. This is trite but true.

Therefore the two paradigms we have been discussing thus far will only be true and useful to the extent that they mirror the concrete, historical and contemporary situation in South Africa; and they will be false to the extent that they subject the South African situation to a kind of Promethean solution: if the situation does not fit the theory, then alter the situation!

Which of the two paradigms is true to the South African situation? This is a toughie. But before we can take the risk of answering this all important question, let us first try to trace what we choose to call the historical roots of these two analytical approaches. This, of course, can only be done very sketchily here.

There is ample evidence that the two approaches share in the well known mid-19th century conflict between Hegelian Idealism and its Marxian rebuttal, which could be called Realism or, to use the more common term, Materialism. Idealism, as the general mode of understanding and interpreting reality, played and still plays the role of what may be called 'conventional wisdom', the commonsensical way of how people generally think about reality. Christian philosophy, history and practice, in particular, are marked by this mode of interpreting reality. Marx and Engels,

in the mid-19th century European context, mounted a vicious and vitriolic attack against this well accepted, 'conventional wisdom' (Kolakowski 1978: 55-8).

What is idealism? At the risk of over-simplifying what German idealism stood for, and what idealist-philosophers like Hegel taught, let us say this: according to idealism, ultimate reality is 'spiritual' and not 'physical'. The spirit, the idea, the mind is supreme. All that is is simply an unfolding of the idea or thought. It is the idea which creates what we see in the external world. This is so important that we have to say it again: the idea is creative, thought is creative and the world is merely a product of thought or human consciousness. This is, very briefly, the central point of idealism.

How would an idealist approach to reality affect one's strategies and tactics in the arena of social transformation? The answer is obvious. An idealist strategist would have his primary focus on the mind, attempting to change people's ideas with the hope that once people's ideas are changed, social reality, which is a product or effect of ideas, would ipso facto change. As we have just said, this would be strategically logical because in the idealistic context it is ideas that are creative of reality. The tools that an idealist strategist would employ would be on the whole psychological: education, preaching, heuristically oriented discussions, and so on and so forth.

As stated above, it was in the mid-19th century that social analysts like Marx and Engels opposed this line of thinking very strongly. Ideas, Marx and Engels taught, are not the causes of things; on the contrary, ideas are the effect of things. This is materialism or realism. Realism, as a mode of understanding and interpreting reality, says that ultimate reality is matter, and not spiritual. Ideas are the product of the material conditions of life. All ideas, thoughts, are subject to extra-mental social conditions.

This is, very briefly, how these mid-19th century social gurus understood the relationship between human thought and material

conditions.

How would this materialist approach to reality affect one's strategies and tactics? Obviously, a materialist strategist would not focus his transformative efforts on the mind or ideas, but on the material conditions of life, because for him these are the fons et origo of ideas.

So whilst an idealist strategist takes his point of departure from human consciousness, the materialist strategist takes off from the material or economic relationships between men. The latter believes, as Marx and Engels did, that

'The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness' (Bochenski 1962: 32).

We, therefore, wish to suggest that there seems to be a very close relationship between the idealist approach and the race-analysis paradigm, on the one hand, and the materialist approach and the class-analysis paradigm, on the other hand.

Race-analysts are, strategically, mind-oriented; class-analysts would focus almost exclusively on the material conditions of life.

How then, does all this apply to our four phases of the struggle? What was the origin and nature of the conflict between the Khoisan and the white settler community at the Cape?

To us it does seem that to the Khoisan it would not really have mattered whether those 17th century invaders at the Cape were white, yellow or black; what would have mattered was the fact that the invaders harboured interests, material interests, antithetical to the interests of the indigenous Khoisan. The Settlers occupied and used the land, water and pasturage that the Khoisan had a

stake in. 'Competition-for-scarce-resources', to use a hackneyed phrase, was at the heart of this Khoisan-Settler conflict, it does seem. To describe this initial conflict in primarily racial terms would be to imply that the Khoisan would have easily acquiesced in the expropriation of their land, water and pasturage if only the expropriators had a different skin-colour or racial origin.

The dynamics at play in this struggle would indicate a definite de-emphasis of 'race' as the root-cause of the conflict, at least at this phase. The second phase of the struggle does not seem to be immune from this de-emphasis. In this Tribalistic phase, the Xhosas clearly resented being continually pushed east-ward across the Zuurveld, then the Fish River, the Keiskama, then the Kei River, etc., etc. The racial origin or pigmentation of these 'land-grabbers' had no room in the high motivations that lay behind the persistent attacks against what the Xhosas perceived as the source of an unjust usurpation of their land rights. In this conflict situation, these Settlers were, first and foremost, 'land-hungry grabbers' and only tangentially 'white'. The fact that they were 'white' and the Natives were 'black', visible as it was, was coincidental and not essential to the reprehensible rapaciousness of the invading Settlers. Again, 'competition-for-scarce-resources' seemed to have provided an explanatory key to the conflict. It was a clash of interests, not a clash of skin-colours. Historico-empirical observation does point, unmistakably, to the fact that, at least in these first two phases of the struggle, the Natives of this country fought valiantly and lost their lives in order to keep their L A N D to themselves. And, as the historian C.W. de Kiewiet so rightly observes:

'...the native were a process which gave the white communities more than possession of the bulk of the best land. It gave them a considerable measure of control over the services of the natives. The land wars were also labour wars (de Kiewiet 1940: 180).

Thus from being independent possessors of their land, the Natives, through having lost the various battles over land, were turned

into servile, obsequious, dependent kitchen boys, garden boys, herders, tenants or renters on the newly acquired white man's land. The land wars, which the Natives lost, were part of the classical process of proletarianisation. The Natives, thanks to this process, almost en masse, became dependent wage-earners. It is easy to see that almost all the crucial ingredients of the labour-capital model are already present in this scenario, at least embryonically.

So, a simple, straightforward response to the question why there was conflict between the Khoisan/Xhosas and white Settlers in the 17th and 18th centuries, should be: the embattlement was over the possession of the land. All other considerations are historically subservient and secondary to this: the imbroglio centred around the land. And if the Khoisan and Xhosas gradually became, in the eyes of the white Settlers, 'black vermin' or 'stinking black swine', it was because they had first become the white Settlers' arch-rivals in the competition for land.

Therefore, it would seem that a class-analysis fits these two phases of the struggle almost like a glove. To fully understand these two phases one would have to start from a materialistic point of departure. Something other than 'colour', which is some sort of prejudice lodging in the mind, became at this stage of our history the criterion of social segmentation.

But having said this, one would have to go on to say that because the protagonists on each side of the battle lines were of different races or colours, (although the basic motivation for the battles was not at the level of race or colour, as we have tried to state above), as time went on, colour gradually became an operative symbol for distinguishing one's competitors from the members of one's in-group. It would seem that from the second half of the 19th century, when South Africa with its discovery of diamond (1867) and gold (1886) began seriously to enter into the arena of world capitalism, the dividing line between the initial motivation of 'conflict of interests' and that of 'colour differences', had become dangerously blurred, especially in the minds of the white protagonists. 'Blackness' in the mining industry,

manufacturing and agriculture, somehow became an inseparable symbol of those who belonged to the other side of the great economic divide. Colour became increasingly significant in this way. From the initial stance of 'push them out because they disturb our peaceful possession of the land' to 'push them out because they are black' was a gradual but easy step of psychological association and internalisation on the part of the white conquerers. Most of them would soon forget how this white-black polarity originated. But as it was stated above, this apparent 'natural-ness' of racial antipathy is only skin-deep. Racism is acquired. It is not innate. Whether one explicitly recognises its origin or not, racism is born out of man's rapaciousness, competition for scarce resources. And in South Africa this is not a theory, but it is an historico-empirical assertion.

Any way, back to the point we wanted to make: with time the 'racial motivation' became inseparable from the motivation of 'conflict of interests'. The third and fourth phases of the struggle coincided with the blurring of the line between these two motivational categories of conflict. South Africa soon became known as the colour-bar society, - in which the indigenous people of colour were blatantly discriminated against solely on the basis of their colour.

This is also how the South African National Congress fundamentally perceived the conflict, especially judging from the strategies they employed. Their strategies were derived from and informed by what has been called in this paper 'conventional wisdom', namely, idealism. For Congress the basic location of the South African problematic was in the mind of the discriminators. It was therefore not surprising that these early 20th century black leaders employed strategies that were characteristically psychological: tactics of moral persuasion, sonorous appeals for justice, endless attempts to enter into negotiatory talks with the dominant group. But what was even more fundamental in their approach was the fact that these early nationalists seemed to have had no basic quarrel with the economic system that was then operative in South Africa; their gripe was instead aimed at the state racism which prevented them from their full

and rightful share in that economy. They were, as we know, ardent admirers of the Cape liberal tradition and the Westminster system. All they wanted was to prise open the doors of racial discrimination (Walshe 1973: 33). In short, their approach was idealistic, - that is, their point of departure was the consciousness or ideas of those who discriminated against them; their approach was also moralistic, that is, they believed in the transformative powers of preaching and teaching. Change of heart and change of mind could be effected by the power of argument and logic. Yes, they believed strongly in the goodness, inherent goodness, of human nature and in the supremacy of reason and logic. So they kept on arguing, persuading...and hoping. The aim of their approach was also integrationist, that is, they wanted to be part of the current system. The only serious obstacle was 'racism'.

Why, even an overtly trade union movement like the 1919 Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU), failed to remain immunised against this idealistic, moralistic, and integrationist approach. For some time after its foundation in 1919, ICU, under the leadership of Clements Kadalie and George Champion, to all intents and purposes, usurped the role of the ANC. It became the principal vehicle of African discontent. And in so doing it was derailed from clearly and directly addressing the South African problematic from a purely economic, industrial platform. It became, like the ANC, a populist movement with but a slight touch of trade unionism or worker concerns.

It is on record that when the ICU leadership was challenged on this 'confusion', their general retort was that in South Africa economic and political issues were inseparable; that these issues had to be fought concurrently, at one and the same time (Webster, ed. 1978: 115). Their diagnosis might well have been correct, but their cure or prescription was of doubtful validity. Populism was substituted for trade unionism.

It is clear that both the ANC and ICU leadership were held in thrall by the idealistic approach to problems. As Philip Bonner so rightly says in connection with ICU:

'...for the best part of the decade they mistook protest for pressure and numbers for strength, ignoring all the while that there had to be some way for pressure to be brought to bear for it to have any effect' (Webster, ed. 1978: 115).

Whilst the reading of the conflict in South Africa from an idealistic point of view was not so explicitly articulated in the ANC and ICU, it did find an explicit and well articulated expression, we believe, in the fourth phase of our struggle, namely, the Black Consciousness phase. The Black Consciousness philosophy, particularly at the beginning, made it explicit that it would refuse to be derailed from viewing the South African problematic from the race-analysis point of departure. Without wishing to waste time in enunciating this well documented stance, it would suffice to cite the words of one of Black Consciousness foremost ideologues and proponents on this point:

'(The Liberals) tell us that the situation is a class struggle rather than a race one. Let them go to Van Tonder in the Free State and tell him this. We believe we know what the problem is and will stick by our findings...' (No Sizwe 1972: 125).

In yet another similar context, this ideologue said:

'A number of whites in this country adopt a class analysis primarily because they want to detach us from anything relating to race in case it has a rebound effect on them because they are white' (Noluntshungu 1983: 158).

It is assertions like these which led political scientists like Sam C. Noluntshungu to think that, despite some uneasiness with capitalism within the Black Consciousness philosophy

'...there was no systematic economic analysis

of class, nor, even a political account of what the interests and roles of the various classes might be in the process of liberation' (Noluntshungu 1983: 155),

The black Nationalists of the early 20th century implicitly espoused the idealistic methodology of analysis and practice; the Black Consciousness leaders, while vehemently rejecting the integrationist tendencies of the earlier movement, explicitly adopted the latter's idealistic methodology: racial prejudice became the starting point of their struggle.

It was in the aftermath of the October 1977 bannings that objections against this idealistic approach were openly and persistently raised within black political circles, in favour of a materialist methodology. Matters have reached a stage where one is either an idealist in one's approach or a materialist.

But as we have suggested, this either/or dichotomy between idealism and materialism breaks down in front of what we have called the inseparability of the two motivational categories: 'conflict of interests' and 'colour differences'. We would like to suggest that the either/or manner of posing the problem introduces an air of artificiality into the race/class debate.

The materialist or class-analysis approach is certainly right in holding fast onto the idea that the material conditions of life are the root cause of the conflict between Black and White in this country; but they are less than right when they deny that 'beliefs' or 'ideas' pertaining to racism have also a role in shaping society. To subscribe to the fact that racial attitudes are the effect of infra-structural economic conditions, does not carry the logical necessity of inextricably binding one to the acceptance of the relative unimportance or role-insignificance of racism and other non-economic ideas (e.g. the Christian Crusades in the 11th century) in shaping and stratifying society and affecting the life-chances of a large section of members of this country. Heribert Adam, himself a strong believer in the determinative role of material conditions, is right in posing

this question:

'Why should the independent role of beliefs (racism) not be granted, even in shaping an economic environment? Marxist (materialist) interpretations of South Africa rarely go beyond the notion of base and superstructure. By mechanically relegating the realm of ideology to a mere reflection of underlying interests, Marxist usually ignore the subjective reality. A peculiar sterility - therefore - characterises much of the recent leftist writing on South Africa' (Adam : 47).

Those who grant an almost exclusive and absolute autonomy to material, objective conditions, and deny even relative autonomy to a system of beliefs, ideas, prejudices, etc., will be hard put to it to explain some obvious South African examples which point to the powerful influence and motivational dynamics of these beliefs, ideas, prejudices, etc. Examples abound which show that a belief system does play a role in shaping the course of history. For instance, as we noted before, in 1963, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, addressing a mammoth Afrikaner crowd on the threat of economic sanctions against South Africa, defiantly and feelingly declared:

'I am absolutely opposed to concessions of any kind. I personally would rather see South Africa poor but white rather than rich and mixed' (Botha 1967: 111).

The 2,000 strong audience gave him a thunderous applause and chorused 'Amen'. It does seem that there are a hundred and one factors, outside the purely economic sphere, which are as capable of motivating individuals and groups of people as well as the so called infra-structural objective conditions of life advanced by the class-analysts. Take another example, outside South Africa this time. The planned return of Jews to Israel under

the charismatic leadership of people like Ben Gurion, Moshe Dayan, Golda Meir, etc], is one example among many of numerous incidents in human history which simply refuse to be unlocked by the explanatory key of economic determinism. Something much more than mere economics impelled this particular people to some heroic feats. The Masade experience? The motivation behind this wholesale self-emulation of men, women and children is explainable in other than mere economic terms. The recent Guyana religious tragedy in the USA? How can this be fully and adequately explained within the parameters of the base-superstructural model alone? Reality seems to be much more vast than this model allows. The South African situation is such a complex reality which refuses to be subjected to the over-simplification of the materialist, economic calculus. Says Heribert Adam, once more, in *Perspectives in Literature*:

'In the South African case, material rewards are at present only one part of the payoff that accounts for the maintenance of Afrikaner unity. Almost equally important would seem the cohesive power of a symbol system, rewards of esteem and status, the integrating role of ideology, which is frequently underestimated, if not altogether rejected in economic analysis. Only a genuine synthesis of the interplay between ideology (beliefs) and economy, not focus on either at the expense of the other, would seem to hold the key for deeper insights into the complex conflict' (Adam : 49-50).

If the materialist or class-analysis approach errs, not by acknowledging the determinative role of material conditions, but by down-playing the determinative role of belief systems as mere reflections of the base, the idealist or race-analysis approach errs by down-playing and de-emphasising the role of economic motivations in South Africa's social formation. It is not in what both camps uphold, but in what both camps tend to reject or de-emphasise that the fault lies. Heribert Adam's plea for '...a genuine synthesis of the interplay between ideology and economy' is crucial. The separation of these two possible

motivational bases in the South African situation inevitably leads to paucity of explanatory theory. Yes, to gloss of the dialectical relationship between these two important variables - class and race - in the South African situation, can only lead to a Promethean explanation of the conflict.

As Deborah Posel says, in substance, it is disastrous to seek a uniform ranking of one variable over another. It is to their concrete interrelationships, their dialectical relationships, that we should focus on (Social Dynamics 1983: 52). We can neglect this dialectic at our own peril. Hermann Giliomee suggests:

'The challenge in this case is to show how racial ideas and cleavages, on the one hand, and class relations, on the other hand, structured and reinforced each other' (Social Dynamics 1983: 18).

The phrase used by some people to describe the South African system as 'racial capitalism' may be more than just a fad, after all. This phrase tries to come to grips with the whole South African reality. South Africa is both a racial oligarchy as well as a capitalist society. But the two do not run parallel; they are mixed and inter-twined. Even the protagonists in the game do not know when they are being only racially motivated, or when capitalistically impelled. The two variables reinforce each other all the time.

ANALYSIS INFORMS STRATEGY

But it is important to realise that when one says that the two variables are mixed and intertwined, one speaks only of analysis - not of strategy or tactics. It is tragic to confuse analysis with strategy or diagnosis with the cure. It is this which probably led to the relative ineffectiveness of ICU. Because its leaders analysed the situation in this country in political and economic terms, in the sense that in South Africa politics

is inseparable from economics, they concentrated mainly on political manoeuvres to the virtual neglect of industrial, economic action, thus confusing analysis with the cure.

Now, how does this apply to our analysis of the situation in terms of racial capitalism? The determination of strategy to transform this kind of situation cannot be assumed automatically from hearing what the analysis is. For instance, there are those of us who believe that racial capitalism can be effectively combatted only on the basis of black solidarity, whereas others take the stand that it can be successfully fought only on the basis of forging trans-racial links and alliances with other people who are sympathetic to our course. These are strategies which may or may not be the correct remedy for racial capitalism. But they are strategies, - and it is important to remember that they are strategies and not principles (i.e. goals, the focal point of political actions). Strategies are by nature flexible: what may not be a good strategy today, may be okay tomorrow. Strategies have a flexibility which principles do not quite enjoy. That is why it is important to realise that disagreement, however deep, at the level of strategy is not disagreement about principles. Strategies and tactics are subservient to principles.

'IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES'

The term 'ideology' runs through our everyday political conversation like a greased pig. It is slippery; it lacks a precise content. But somehow we cannot allow this term to stride the world like a colossus. It must have some residual connotation that one can trap and look at.

In the contemporary scene, there seems to be some measure of agreement among social scientists that 'ideology' refers to a system of ideas or beliefs containing assertions about the nature of the desirable society and the actions required for the attainment or maintenance of that desirable society. It is, in short, a group's blueprint of, or visualisation of the desirable society. But I think Albert Nolan is right when he clinches this notion of ideology by saying that this set of ideas about what society should be like '...is called an ideology only when the set of ideas is adhered

to uncritically, dogmatically, and with a great deal of emotion rather than as a result of some kind of objective reasoning based upon facts' (Nolan 1982: 1).

In short the term 'ideology' has come to have, in politics, almost the same meaning the terms 'creed', 'faith' have in religion. It is for this reason that Daniel Bell regards 'ideology' as '...a set of beliefs, infused with passion, (seeking) to transform the whole of a way of life' (Waxman, ed. 1968: 261). In essence, therefore, the residual meaning of 'ideology' is: a blueprint, adhered to with passion, of what society ought to be. If this notion of ideology is correct, it follows that only people who happen to possess such 'blueprints' may differ ideologically. 'Ideological differences' are differences at blueprint level. The challenge of the hour is to look at and examine our contemporary political groupings and clearly distinguish at least three distinct elements in their political doctrine and practice:

- * Their blueprint
- * Their strategy, and
- * Their tactics.

Ideological differences are differences at the level of blueprints of society. And if this notion is strictly adhered to, then one say there were no 'ideological differences', say, between the older ANC strategists and the white regime that the former so persistently fought against. This is so because the older ANC membership seemed to have had no serious quarrel with the basic blueprint of their current society. Our plea here is simply this: let us distinguish our differences at the level of blueprints from our differences at the level of strategy or tactics. The two sets of differences are like day and night.

The first level is that of 'what-to-achieve' (the blueprint); the second level is that of 'how-to-achieve' (strategy, or general plan of action); the third level is that of 'what-specific-tools-to-use' (tactics, or immediate, specific plan of action). Differences at the second and third levels may be very important, but not half as serious as those at the first level. Untold confusion is

often created when people pretend to have ideological differences whereas in fact, their differences are merely strategic and tactical. Dr. Neville Alexander, in his 1983 Hammanskraal talk, seemed to sense this distinction. Weighing against those who supported the thesis that our struggle is not for national, but class liberation, thereby de-emphasising the race/colour category, Dr. Alexander said:

'To deny the reality of prejudice and perceived differences, whatever their origin, is to disarm oneself strategically and tactically' (National Forum Publication 1983: 25).

These words allow us to think that Dr. Alexander believes that at this juncture in our history the strategy and tactics of fighting the struggle at the level of National liberation and, by implication, on the basis of black exclusivity, carries decided advantages. To say this is not to say, automatically, that one's blueprint is Pan-Africanist, Socialist or Capitalistic. In fact to say what Dr. Alexander said about is not to speak about one's blueprint at all. This is a crucial distinction which must not be lost on us.

In our contemporary situation the million dollar question is: whether to forge alliances trans-racially for the struggle, or to operate solely on the basis of black solidarity, black unity. At what level do we locate this question? At the level of blueprints or at the level of strategy and tactics? The answer to these questions may yet bring about greater tolerance, effectiveness and sophistication in the formulations of our principles (blueprints), strategies and tactics, within the all important struggle that all of us are engaged in.

When one looks at some of the NFC and UDF 1983 write-ups on their respective policy statements, one is struck more by their similarities than dissimilarities. NFC explicitly visualises what it terms 'anti-racist and socialist Azania'; but at the same time we know that the 1955 Freedom Charter, which most UDF affiliates accept and respect, has definite socialist elements in it. So

it does seem that both the NFC and the UDF are attracted and fascinated by blueprints, albeit not completely spelled out, which are not that dissimilar. The challenge of the hour therefore is for this conference on Black Theology to ferret out the fundamental differences, dissimilarities between these two 'embryonic blueprints', If there are dissimilarities, then we can truly say that the two seemingly irreconcilable camps differ ideologically, that is, they differ at the level of blueprints about the nature of the desirable society. In short, if they differ ideologically it means they have antagonistic visualisations of tomorrow's South Africa/Azania/Maluhdi, the name is immaterial.

But as we all know, the most visible difference that one observes between the NFC and the UDF camps is that whilst the former operates on exclusive black solidarity, the latter operates on a non-racial basis. But even AZAPO, one of the moving spirits within NFC, has repeatedly declared that its racial exclusivity stance is only confined to what they term the 'pre-liberation phase of the struggle', - thus implying that in the 'post-liberation phase' the said exclusivity would be phased out. What this says to us then is that this exclusivity is not a principle or a goal or a blueprint; it is a strategy, as Dr. Neville Alexander seemed to suggest; it is a broad plan of action to achieve a socio-political blueprint, namely, 'an anti-racist, socialist Azania'.

If this is the case, what we called the most visible difference between the UDF and NFC affiliates, must be located at the level of strategy, not at the level of blueprints about how society should be organised. Differences at this level are more shattering than differences at any other level.

BLACK THEOLOGY: BIENVENU OR ADIEU?

As long as the black people in this country suffer a double bondage: racial oppression and economic exploitation, the task of Black Theology will always be double-pronged. Racial capitalism is the name of the game. This is the sin that Black Theology wants to uncover and eradicate in God's own name. The term 'black' must perforce remain

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Towards a New Marxism

Edited

by

Bart Grahl and Paul Piccone

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A. Botes

Towards a New Marxism

Proceedings of the First International
Telos Conference

October 8-11, 1970
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MODERN MARXISM
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TOWARDS A NEW MARXISM

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Introduction

Paul Piccone

The revival of radicalism in the sixties as a result of the Vietnam war and the shipwreck of both the New Frontier and the Great Society, took place in a theoretical vacuum. Almost two decades of the Cold War had decisively contributed to either the destruction or integration of any type of internal opposition to the general policies followed by the two ruling parties. At the theoretical level, the only critical remnants surviving the McCarthy era were a few Old Left sects with no popular base nor any relevant alternative. With the possible exception of Marcuse, Goodman, and a few other obscure intellectuals whose works had remained relatively unknown, there was no radical analysis available to either forecast the storm on the horizon or provide what was to become known as "the movement" with that minimal self-understanding necessary to conceptually prefigure viable alternatives and politically implement them.

At the beginning, this lack of historical identity, combined with a spontaneous resurgence of self-responsibility and social commitment in the face of meaningless death in a foreign land and racial and sexual injustices at home, presented itself as a breath of fresh air—a new optimism unshackled by the weight of the past. Only when this spontaneity had degenerated into chaos and the inability to turn "the movement" into a major political force did it become obvious that theory was unavoidable. Like Hegel's owl of Minerva, serious theoretical work began precisely at dusk: when the movement, through intensified governmental repression and the forestalled promise of ending the Indochina war, had already been defused and practically dissolved.

It is indicative that the conference where the following papers were originally presented took place roughly five months after the Cambodian invasion and the movement's last show of liveliness. Aware of the rapid internal disintegration of the movement, the staff of the journal Telos, in collaboration with the student body of the University of Waterloo, organized a conference on "The New Marxism" in order to investigate the possibility of salvaging valuable theoretical indications from the forgotten Western Marxist tradition. Under attack from both official bourgeois ideology and Stalinism, this tradition had been completely obliterated, only to be gradually rediscovered in the late sixties by inquisitive New Leftists in search of historical self-understanding.

Of all the papers delivered at the conference, two have been omitted and one has been substituted with another by the author. Robin Blackburn's paper on "Structuralist Marxism" was hijacked by Dick Howard and Karl Klare, and a subsequent version of it has already appeared in another anthology.¹ Silvia Federici's paper on "Gramsci's Theory of Education" was withdrawn by the author because of radical changes in her political perspective; and Lucio Colletti's original paper on "The Marxism of the

1. Cf. Robin Blackburn and Gareth Stedman Jones, "Louis Althusser and the Struggle for Marxism," in Dick Howard and Karl Klare, eds., *The Unknown Dimension: European Marxism since Lenin* (New York, 1972), pp. 365-387.

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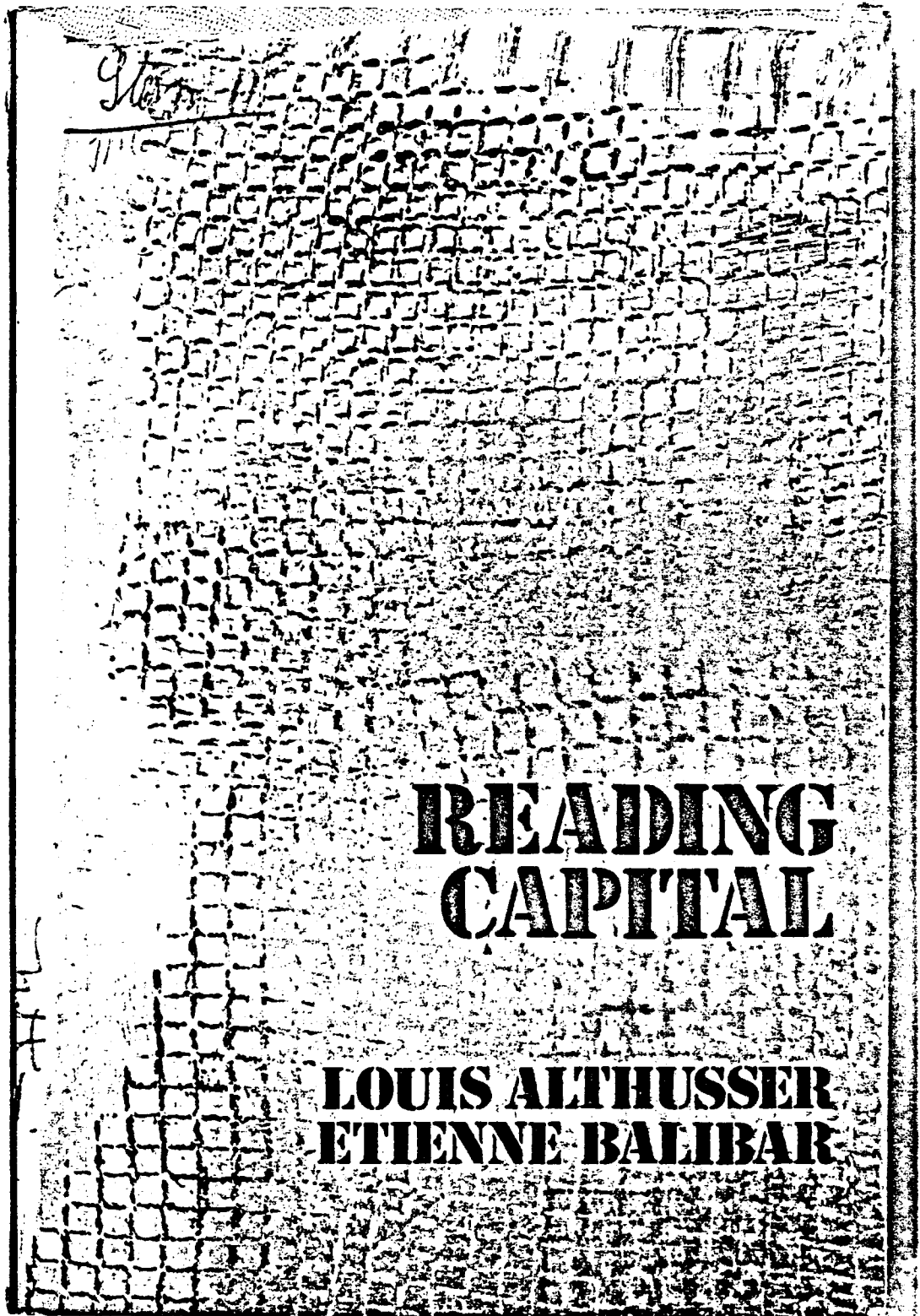
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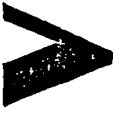
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Louis Althusser

Étienne Balibar

Reading Capital

Verso

Translated by Ben Brewster

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Foreword to the Italian Edition

Translator's Note on References: In the original French text of *Reading Capital*, quotations from *Capital* were taken from the Éditions Sociales version. The first three volumes of this edition, containing Volume One of *Capital*, are in the French translation of Joseph Roy, originally published by Maurice La Châtre in 1872, and discussed in the letter from Marx to La Châtre which is printed on p. 9. This translation, the proofs of which Marx read and corrected, modified the German original in many respects, both in order to simplify the text for French workers, and to incorporate Marx's later corrections and additions. This being the case, in this English translation of *Reading Capital*, I have translated the quotations from Volume One according to Roy's French text; and references are given both to the three Éditions Sociales volumes (T.I, T.II, and T.III) and to the corresponding passage in Lawrence and Wishart's edition of the English translation by Moore and Aveling (Vol. I). The French translations of Volumes Two and Three of *Capital* are more orthodox, so quotations are taken from the English translation published by Lawrence and Wishart, with minor modifications to bring them into closer accord with the German text where this is important for Althusser's or Balibar's argument. References to Volumes Two and Three are to this English edition (Vol. II and Vol. III). The occasional references to the German text are given to the edition by Dietz Verlag of the *Werke* of Marx and Engels, in which *Das Kapital* occupies the twenty-third, twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth volumes (Bd. XXIII, Bd. XXIV and Bd. XXV). Quotations and references to the *Theories of Surplus Value* are taken from the English translation of the Dietz Verlag edition of 1956-66, two volumes out of three of which have been published by Lawrence and Wishart in 1964 and 1969 (Vol. I and Vol. II). The 1857 *Introduction to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and the *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* have been translated from the German text and references are given to the volume with the latter title published by Dietz Verlag in 1953, referred to as *Grundrisse*, and where applicable to *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, translated from the *Grundrisse* by Jack Cohen and Eric Hobsbawm (Lawrence and Wishart, 1964) referred to as *PCEF*. Other references are explained when they occur.

Ben Brewster

1. This edition of *Reading Capital* differs from the first edition (*Lire le Capital*, Vols. I and II, Maspero, Paris 1965) in several respects.

On the one hand, it is an abridged edition, since we have omitted a number of important contributions (the papers of Rancière, Macherey and Establet) in order to allow the book to be published in a smaller format.

On the other, it is a revised and corrected edition, and therefore in part a new edition: several pages, notably in Balibar's text, were published in French for the first time in this edition.

However, the corrections (cuts and additions) we have made to the original text concern neither the terminology nor the categories and concepts used, nor their internal relations, nor in consequence the general interpretation of Marx's work that we have given.

This edition of *Reading Capital*, although different from the first, and abridged and improved, therefore *strictly* reproduces and represents the theoretical positions of the original text.

2. This last comment was a necessary one. Indeed, out of respect to the reader and simple honesty, we have maintained an integral respect for the terminology and the philosophical positions of the first edition, although we should now find it indispensable to correct them at two particular points.

Despite the precautions we took to distinguish ourselves from the 'structuralist' ideology (we said very clearly that the 'combination' to be found in Marx 'has nothing to do with a combinatory'), despite the decisive intervention of categories foreign to 'structuralism' (determination in the last instance, domination, overdetermination, production process, etc.), the terminology we employed was too close in many respects to the 'structuralist' terminology not to give rise to an ambiguity. With a very few exceptions (some very perceptive critics have made the distinction), our interpretation of Marx has generally been recognized and judged, in homage to the current fashion, as 'structuralist'.

We believe that despite the terminological ambiguity, the profound tendency of our texts was not attached to the 'structuralist' ideology. It is our hope that the reader will be able to bear this claim in mind, to verify it and to subscribe to it.

On the other hand, we now have every reason to think that, despite all

the sharpening it received, one of the theses I advanced as to the *nature of philosophy* did express a certain 'theoreticist' tendency. More precisely, the definition of philosophy as a *theory of theoretical practice* (given in *For Marx* and again in Part One of *Reading Capital*) is unilateral and therefore inaccurate. In this case, it is not merely a question of terminological ambiguity, but one of an error in the conception itself. To define philosophy in a unilateral way as the Theory of theoretical practices (and in consequence as a Theory of the differences between the practices) is a formulation that could not help but induce either 'speculative' or 'positivist' theoretical effects and echoes.

The consequences of this error in the definition of philosophy can be recognized and delimited at a few particular points in Part One of *Reading Capital*. But with the exception of a few minor details, these consequences do not affect the analysis that we have made of *Capital* ('The Object of *Capital*' and Balibar's paper).

In a forthcoming series of studies, we shall have the opportunity of rectifying the terminology and correcting the definition of philosophy.

Louis Althusser

NOTE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

For the *conjuncture* in which this text was prepared (1965), for its character as a theoretico-ideological *intervention* in that conjuncture, and for its theoretical limits, lacunae and errors, the reader should refer to the presentation, 'To My English Readers,' in *For Marx*.

Louis Althusser, 17 May 1970

To the citizen Maurice La Châtre

Dear Citizen,

I applaud your idea of publishing the translation of *Das Kapital* as a serial. In this form the book will be more accessible to the working-class, a consideration which to me outweighs everything else.

This is the good side of your suggestion, but here is the reverse of the medal: the method of analysis which I have employed, and which had not previously been applied to economic subjects, makes the reading of the first chapters rather arduous, and it is to be feared that the French public, always impatient to come to a conclusion, eager to know the connexion between general principles and the immediate questions that have aroused their passions, may be disheartened because they will be unable to move on at once.

This is a disadvantage I am powerless to overcome, unless it be by forewarning and forearming those readers who zealously seek the truth. There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits.

Believe me,

dear citizen

Your devoted,

KARL MARX

London, 18 March 1872.

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Reading Capital presents Althusser's systematic theory of an anti-historicist Marxism whose influence has been steadily gaining in the West since it was first developed a decade ago. Althusser and his colleague Balibar expound the key concepts of overdetermination, structure in dominance, structural causality, and differential historical times. It then elucidates in their light the basic concepts of historical materialism: the social formation, mode of production, productive forces and relations of production, contradiction, and the transition from one mode of production to another. In the course of these analyses there are detailed discussions of the ideas of Gramsci, Della Volpe, Colletti, Sartre and Levi-Strauss. The text is accompanied by a preface by Althusser explaining his attitude to this volume, and a glossary by the translator.

The strength of Althusser's objections to the Hegelian interpretation of Marxism is substantial, the acuteness of his analysis of certain weaknesses of the thought of Gramsci and of Sartre is impressive, the critique of model-building, including that of Weberian ideal-types, is to the point. One reads his passionate study with attention, even with excitement.

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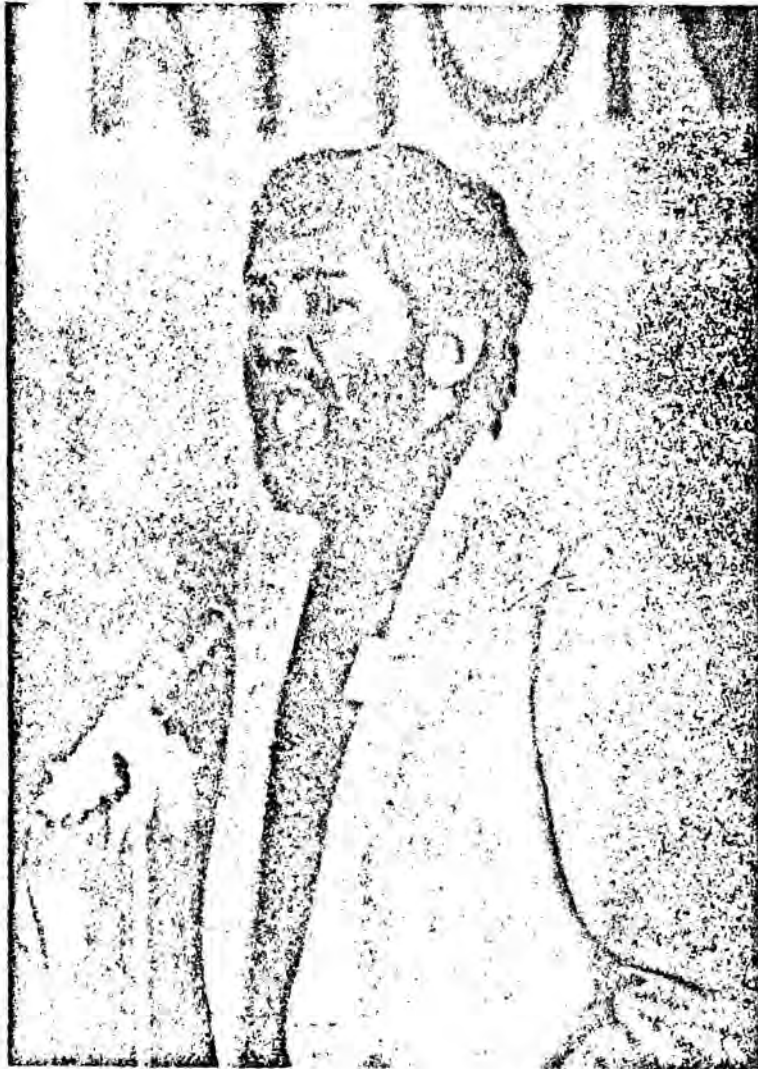
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THE NATIONAL FORUM COMMITTEE



MR SATHS COOPER, SASO/BPC trialist - recently released after serving six years on Robben island, is Vice-President of AZAPO and convenor of the National Forum Committee.

Foreword

The history of political resistance in this country has been an interesting, if not exasperating, one. Controversy has been aroused not merely by the form and content of the liberatory effort but, importantly to some, by the question of leadership and hegemony of the struggle.

Whilst the unity of the oppressed and exploited Black majority in this country has always seemed to be foremost in the minds of those striving for a liberated Azania, free of race, class, sex or other considerations which tend to create artificial differences, merely wishing this seemingly elusive unity or adhering to it 'in principle' is not enough. The people desire actual unity of effort in the process of struggle and constantly charge those in the leadership of the struggle not to be deflected from this course, lest the ruling class benefit further from the disunity.

And now, for the first time in the country's history, this united effort based on certain non-negotiable principles, untainted by particular organisational positions, is being actively forged. It has never happened before that all political tendencies in the country have come together under one roof to discuss the future direction that the struggle is to assume. This remarkable feat was achieved on 11-12 June 1983 at Hammanskraal under the aegis of the National Forum Committee.

Despite the blatant attempts by sections of the media and vested interest detractors to surround the National Forum with confusion, organisations involved in all facets of Black life and which operate outside system-created platforms were represented and participated actively in the deliberations.

The National Forum, which is non-sectarian, was launched in response to the crises facing the oppressed and exploited Black masses at this time in their dispossessed history. It is the realisation of a long search for a common working basis that began with the advent of the Black Consciousness Movement in the early seventies in the course of which Steve Biko paid with his life. When the 'new-deal' strategy of the minority settler regime was fast becoming a reality and individuals and groups were becoming seduced by the politics of co-option, the dire necessity for the National Forum became obvious.

But, as the Manifesto of the Azanian people and the various resolutions and commission reports clearly state, the basis for a future closer working relationship of all relevant organisations of the people cannot be a marriage

of convenience which would embrace elements of the ruling class and thus be a sell-out to bourgeois interests. Those numerous organisations present at the First National Forum know that they are on the only road to total liberation when the white press attacks the outcome of our deliberations and posits other groups as a counter. (No existing structure has either the ambit and principled broad base of the National Forum or is as qualitatively informed in socialist content for national liberation.) When the mouthpieces of the capitalist system, like the *Financial Mail*, condemn the only clear socialist document to emerge from amongst the ranks of the Black people, then we are assured that our chosen path is correct. The struggling Black masses can never seek to appease the ruling class or solicit approval from its liberal apologists. Where in history has it ever been a revolutionary task to utilise programmes that emanate from the oppressors and exploiters or to gain sanction for struggling against them?

At the rendezvous of victory, the mass mind will not forget all those elements that attempted to engender division and further the inroads of Pretoria and diminish the significance of the National Forum.

In the years of attending gatherings, the writer has not attended more democratic and open sessions as the AZAPO congress in February this year and this first National Forum. The four commission reports, the seven resolutions and the Manifesto were accepted unanimously, and often with acclaim. Clearly, also, those present at the National Forum have sufficient revolutionary insight and political maturity to accept that in this country there are various ideological tendencies and that the variation of emphasis, far from being an insurmountable obstacle, enhances the quality of struggle and guards against future totalitarianism and present monopoly of sectional leadership.

Saths Cooper
(NFC Convenor)

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MANIFESTO OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLE FOR:

- Anti-racism and Anti-Imperialism
- Non-collaboration with the oppressor and his political instruments
- Independent working-class organisation
- Opposition to all alliances with ruling-class parties

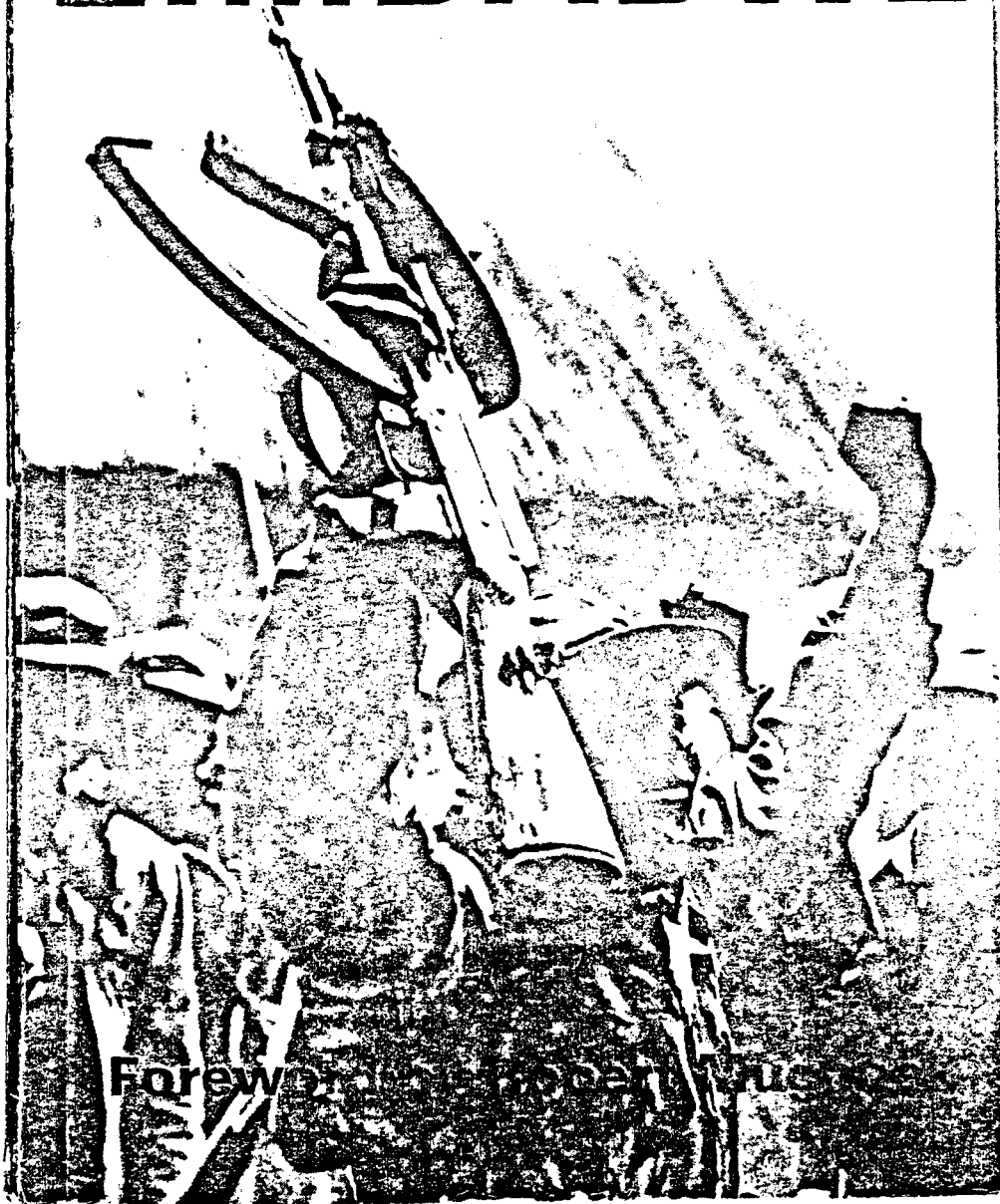
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The Struggle for ZIMBABWE



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The Struggle for Zimbabwe
The Chimurenga War

David Martin and Phyllis Johnson

RAVAN PRESS



JOHANNESBURG

*Dedicated to Josiah Tongogara
and others who died in the
Struggle for Zimbabwe*

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Thanks are due to the Ford Foundation which agreed to fund the final expenses for completion of the book; to Lori Grundy who began the mammoth task of reorganizing the library in Lusaka; to Kate McCalman who stoically finished it in Salisbury and who ably assisted with research; and to Charles Mutangabende, a remarkably fast and accurate typist who gave up his weekends—and towards the end his evenings and lunch hours—to type the manuscript.

Last, and most importantly, we must thank the late Josiah Tongogara without whose help and confidence this account of the struggle for Zimbabwe could not have been told.

Foreword

To date, the only work which, in some detail, describes and portrays the resistance of the African people to white settlement and subsequent settler rule is *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia (1896-7)* by Terence Ranger. Where Terence Ranger studies the causes and describes the organisation and mode of struggle of the first national War of Resistance or First Chimurenga of 1896-7, David Martin and Phyllis Johnson carry the story further by dwelling principally on the second War of Resistance or the Second Chimurenga.

The Struggle for Zimbabwe concentrates mainly on the decisive phase of the Second Chimurenga, from December 1972 to April 1980 when victory was finally won at the elections by ZANU (PF).

In writing the history of our struggle, the authors are compelled by historical reality to trace the revolutionary process through ZANU's history. This is unavoidable, because the armed struggle pace of the revolution was set by ZANU and ZANLA, while credit must be given where it is merited to ZAPU and ZIPRA for their complementary role. To record these true facts is not bias but objectivity.

I have been particularly impressed by the degree of the research that has gone into this book. Our struggle, which pitted the masses and their vanguard liberation movement on one side against the minority settler bourgeoisie (backed overtly and covertly by western powers, western capital, and the apartheid regime of South Africa) on the other, was the ultimate stage in a dialectical process. It represented the final phase in the development of a conflict situation between the colonised and the coloniser, between the land-hungry peasantry and the settler bourgeois land-mongers, between the exploited working class and the capitalist entrepreneurial class. The antagonism that expressed itself finally in the form of a liberation war had been nurtured by a host of ever growing grievances, chief among which was that of land-hunger. It was mainly on the principle of the recovery of the fatherland that the armed struggle was built.

The armed struggle was indeed a transformation of the earlier non-violent or sabotage-oriented forms of national struggle. Its development was necessarily gradual for there was an absence of leadership with the requisite armed revolutionary orientation. Soon, however, the necessary orientation took place and a definite decision was taken by the ZANU Central Committee at Sikombela Restriction Camp in 1965 to establish abroad a Revolutionary Council charged with the task of prosecuting an armed liberation struggle. It was this transformation on the part of the leadership which in turn transformed the nature of the Zimbabwean struggle for liberation and equated it in form to the First Chimurenga, although in its organisation, content and quality it was of a much higher stage than the latter.

The authors have successfully told the story of a vivid drama of conflict and as they trace the development of its theme, they bring into the scene the principal characters and make them speak for themselves through interviews the authors personally conducted.

The authors have also made ample use of the documents of ZANU and other organisations they bring into the drama. At the same time there is the important recognition that the 'Struggle for Zimbabwe', though primarily a responsibility of the Zimbabweans, was also, albeit it secondarily, a responsibility of the whole of Africa. Accordingly, the role played by the Frontline States is highlighted in relevant circumstances.

Obviously the story being told is that by an on-looker and on-lookers have the limitation that they are not the actors themselves. When the actors themselves finally publish the drama of their struggle, as they planned and prosecuted it, they will no doubt find this work a most useful supplement.

R. G. Mugabe,
Prime Minister

Zimbabwe September 1981

Preface

Chimurenga is a Shona word which has its political origins in the uprisings of the 1890s as the Africans north of Limpopo River fought to prevent the white settlers from the south occupying their land. The uprisings were crushed in 1897 and for almost seventy years the Africans of the country the settlers called Rhodesia witnessed their most fertile lands being taken away. They were subjected to increasingly repressive legislation and became virtual slaves in their own land, subjects of the whim and the will of the settler.

Throughout these harsh years the word 'Chimurenga' lived on in the folklore of the villages and townships as the elders passed on the stories of the resistance of the 1890s to new generations. A second Chimurenga war was inevitable in the face of settler obduracy, and it began fitfully in the early Sixties as the Africans gradually came to recognize that only through armed struggle could they liberate their land. On 28 April 1966 a squad of seven guerrillas of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the military wing of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), died near Sinoia, north-west of Salisbury, in a fierce twelve-hour battle with Rhodesian security forces backed by helicopter gunships.

Today ZANU marks the anniversary of that battle as Chimurenga Day, officially the start of ZANLA's armed struggle. The word 'Chimurenga' has a number of meanings in current usage—revolution, war, struggle or resistance—and one of ZANU's main slogans during the second Chimurenga war was 'Pamberi ne Chimurenga', meaning 'forward with the struggle or the revolution'.

This book concentrates on the decisive phase of the struggle, from

PREFACE

21 December 1972, when a squad of nine ZANLA guerrillas attacked a settler farm in north-eastern Rhodesia. This attack marked the change from the sporadic, and militarily ineffectual, actions of the Sixties, to protracted armed struggle. Seven years to the day later, at Lancaster House in London, Rhodesia finally capitulated. On 18 April 1980 the nation of Zimbabwe was born from the sacrifice and suffering of thousands of young men and women who fought and who became affectionately known as the '*vakomana*' and '*vasikana*', literally the 'boys' and 'girls'.

Some of these, whom the Smith regime and much of the Western press referred to as 'terrorists', are introduced here. The book is mainly about ZANU, who won a clear-cut victory in the 1980 independence elections, and ZANLA, who did over 80 per cent of the fighting during the final decisive seven years. This is not intended to suggest that young people of ZIPRA did not also lose their lives in the struggle for Zimbabwe, but it sets out to explain the background to the election result and the historical reasons why ZANU and not ZAPU acquired Mozambique as a vital rear base for the war. It traces the evolution of ZANLA's new military strategy based on the mistakes of the Sixties, the development of the war from Mozambique, the mass mobilization and political education which were to lay the groundwork for ZANU's election victory, the inevitable convulsions within the movement during the struggle, and Robert Mugabe's emergence as undisputed leader. Interwoven with this are the many international attempts to end the struggle—from the détente exercise to Lancaster House. Its shape and form derive from a remark made by Mozambique President Samora Machel, who said in an interview in Dar es Salaam in September 1976: 'You see in Zimbabwe today we have an armed struggle, that is the secondary school. When it becomes a revolutionary struggle, that is the university, and Dr Kissinger is coming to close the university before they can get there.'

DM, PJ

Salisbury October 1980

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Chronology

- 1890 On 12 September the 'Pioneer Column' ran up the Union Jack on Harare Hill in Salisbury and 'in the name of Queen Victoria, took possession of Mashonaland, and all other unpossessed land in South-Central Africa that it should be found desirable to add to the Empire'.
- 1891 Order-in-Council in London declares Mashonaland a British Protectorate.
- 1893 Matabeleland invaded and occupied by settlers.
- 1894 Death of Lobengula.
- 1895 Mashonaland and Matabeleland renamed Rhodesia.
- 1896 Mashona and Matabele uprisings. Matabele uprising crushed in October and Mashona uprising a year later.
- 1898 The spirit mediums Nehanda and Kagubi are tried and hanged. An Order-in-Council renames Rhodesia 'the Colony of Southern Rhodesia'.
- 1899 An all-white Legislative Council is formed.
- 1900 Mapondera uprising at Mazoe, the last military assault on white rule until the 1960s. Mapondera was captured four years later and died after a hunger strike.
- 1902 Death of Rhodes. All Africans over fourteen years required by law to register and carry passes (*situpas*).
- 1914 Nyamanda and Matabele National Home Movement lead protest at decision to vary 'native' reserves in quality and size.
- 1919 Privy Council in London rejects case for African and British South Africa Company ownership of the land and decides that it belongs to the Crown.

'Anyone who wants to know where Zimbabwe's new rulers have come from and how and why they reached power will have to read this book.'

Prof. Terence Ranger, The Observer, 10 May 1981

'The most detailed and comprehensive account yet on the guerrilla struggle . . .'

Michael Chege, Nairobi Times, 31 May 1981

' . . . meticulously interviewed, strikingly illustrated account of the national liberation war.'

Ivan Winstanley, The Tribune, 29 May 1981

'Nobody is likely to improve on it for years.'

Clyde Sanger, Toronto Globe & Mail, 4 June 1981

'South African readers will be led to wonder whether they — like the white Rhodesians — are living in a fool's paradise . . .'

Peter Wilhelm, Financial Mail, 15 May 1981

'And if a South African argues that Zimbabwe holds no lessons for this country, let him read this book and think again.'

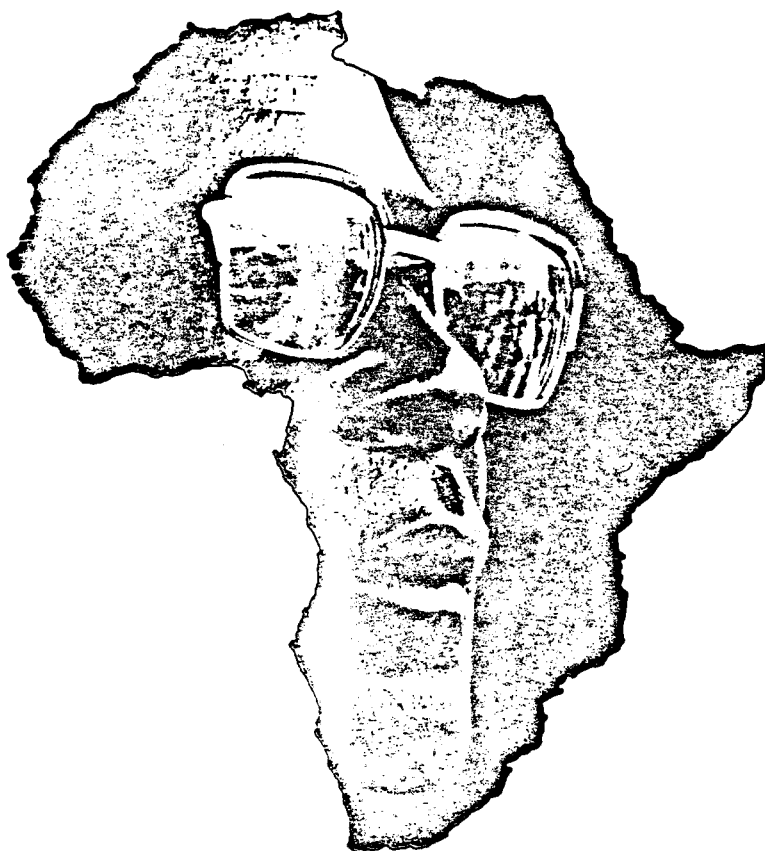
Allan Greenblo, Finance Week, 28 May 1981

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MUGABE



DAVID SMITH & COLIN SIMPSON
with Ian Davis



ABOUT THE AUTHORS

David Smith joined Reuters from Oxford and was a correspondent for them in Spain and Italy before moving to Independent Television News (ITN) in 1978. For ITN he has worked widely in Africa. In 1979 he covered the Lancaster House conference on Rhodesia and then, from Salisbury, the subsequent ceasefire and election which brought Mugabe to power. He and his American wife, Pam, live in London.

Ian Davies who has worked for the *Sunday Times* Insight team is now with the *Melbourne Age*.

Colin Simpson has been a special correspondent of the *Sunday Times* since 1964. He uncovered the Rhodesian sanctions scandal of 1969 and is the author of several best sellers including *Lusitania*, *Lawrence of Arabia* and, most recently, *The Ship That Hunted Itself*.

Mugabe
DAVID SMITH and COLIN SIMPSON
with IAN DAVIES



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THE MAN BEHIND THE MYTH

For twenty years, Robert Mugabe has been typecast as an extremist: a colourless Marxist-Leninist ideologue and a fanatical guerrilla leader. Now, in his fifties, with the bitter experience of political imprisonment behind him, he represents the long sought-after reconciliation of a nation – and a continent – that has been many years in the making.

Mugabe was the last person the British, the Americans, and even the Russians, either expected – or wanted – to be Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. His victory in that country's first democratic elections came as a surprise to, and terrified, his opponents. And yet Mugabe's moderation, pragmatism and apparent sympathy for his opponents, have utterly mystified them.

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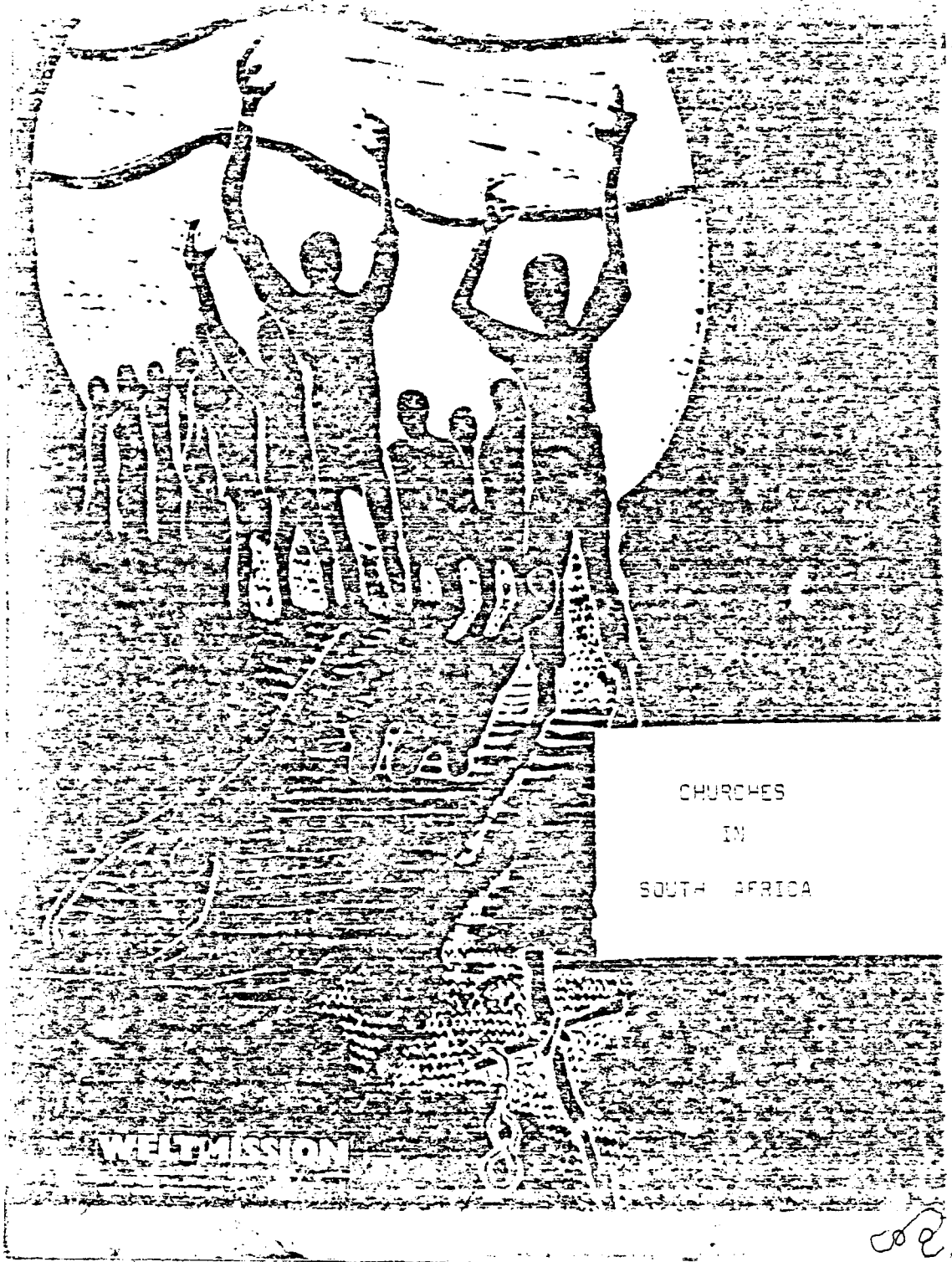
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P.J. GOTES

BIBLICAL MESSAGE AGAINST APARTHEID

The Bible clearly takes a stand against the sin of racism. All people are created in God's image (Genesis 1,27). Christ has died to justify and give life to all people (Romans 5,8). The Church of Jesus Christ may not allow itself to be divided according to races (Galatians 3,28). As the body of Christ, we are called upon not to participate in injustices, but to put our life at the disposal of God and (give to him) our members as weapons of righteousness (Romans 6,13).

The Synod confesses that we as Regional Church and its members are implicated in our industrial society which aims at material wealth. We are entangled in hostility against foreigners, who live among us, in oppression on a global scale and in racism. We hesitate to allow ourselves to become aware with the necessary profoundness of the social causes of racial oppression and of our personal entanglement and to take a stand on the side of the poor and the suffering.

Our Regional Church is challenged to participate in the confession of the Church of Jesus Christ against the doctrine and practice of apartheid in South Africa. This doctrine perverts the biblical message, divides the church and violates human rights. We therefore reject 'on the basis of faith and in order to manifest the unity of Church', 'publically and unequivocally the existing apartheid system' in South Africa. Even if the white Churches in South Africa have discarded the fellowship, we appeal to them not to remain outside our unity.

We appeal to our congregations and their members to do everything in their power, to recognise the entanglement in this system and to co-operate in changing it.

SOUTH AFRICA - THE COUNTRY

South Africa is five times the size of the Federal Republic of Germany. South Africa has got 30 million inhabitants. Of those, 4,5 million are Whites. The Whites own approximately 87% of the land which has got extraordinary resources. Blacks, Coloureds, and Indians who live in the white areas mainly as cheap labourers, are confined in so-called townships within these White areas. These townships are racially segregated residential areas on the fringe of the "White" cities. 13% of the land is reserved for Blacks. These are the so-called "Homelands". Some of these Homelands have been declared independent states by the South African Government. No state in the world, however, has recognized this arbitrary policy of White South Africans. The "Homeland-policy" is aimed at making all Blacks lose their claim to rights as citizens of South Africa. For Whites, this is the simplest and cheapest way of depriving 21 million Blacks of all their rights in their own land. 9 Million Blacks have already been dumped in this way in ethnically segregated areas.

In this country, African Churches proclaim the Gospel.

SOUTH AFRICA'S HISTORY

Whites in South Africa, when talking about their history, say that the country was unpopulated when Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape with the first group of Dutch citizens in 1652. But the truth is that the cattle-keeping, originally so-called Khoi-Khoi (known to us as Hottentots), and the hunting and gathering Bushmen were inhabiting the country. Bantu-speaking people like the Xhosa and the Zulu, subsequently moved down from the North. For centuries, these, together with the Hottentots, fought in their defence against the Whites who were penetrating the interior of the country.

Due to the superior arms technology of the Whites, however, they were killed, enslaved, or pushed into infertile regions, which partly form the basis of today's reserves ("Bantustans", "Homelands"). The term "Bantustans" which denoted the reserves of Black Africans, was later substituted by the word "Homelands", which mystifies the harsh realities. The Boers (= peasants) of Dutch origin, who form the mainstream of the Nationalist Party which is in power today, only got into power after continuous conflicts with the English-speaking people. On the basis of their religious belief of being God's chosen people in the midst of the heathen peoples and therefore being the rightful owners of all the resources of this country, they developed the system of racial segregation. The architect of the practical implementation of Apartheid in the form of reserves, was Dr. Verwoerd, who at first was Minister of Bantu Affairs and subsequently Prime Minister, until his assassination in 1966. He was followed by J.B. Vorster, who was Minister of Police under Verwoerd. Prime Minister Voster, continuing his previous activities, secured the implementation of Apartheid by passing security laws and state apparatuses for their application (Security Policy, Police, bannings of all publications, individuals and organisations which worked for peaceful change). His successor, P.W. Botha, formerly Minister of Defense, is since 1979, engaged in military attempts to secure the survival of the Whites (relocations conducted by the military, of dispersed Black settlements to more easily ruled "Homelands", attempts to gain military support from the West by conjuring up communism as the threat that the Christian West will have to fight against, and by making concessions to a minority of collaborating Black Africans and Coloureds, which give the impression that Apartheid is being abolished and which are aimed at effecting division amongst Blacks).

Ever since 1912, organised liberation and resistance movements against the violent rule perpetrated by a White minority are being formed. Most of them work with non-violent methods (education, conscientisation,

Since the 1970's, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) started an armed struggle which is, however, not directed at people but at certain targets.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Approximately three quarters of all South Africans belong to some Christian Church or other.

The majority of Churches - as e.g. Methodists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, congregationalists, the Black Reformed and Lutheran Churches, and the Moravians, have joined to form the South African Council of Churches (SACC). They represent c. 15 million Black and White Christians.

The SACC has close links with the Catholic Church and with the Independent African Churches. The White Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) is not a member of the SACC.

The SACC openly and emphatically criticizes the policy of Apartheid. Its present general secretary, Bishop D. Tutu, is internationally known and recognised for his active opposition against racism and injustice in his country.

The individual divisions of the SACC deal with mission, evangelism and ecumenical relations, with issues of marriage and the family (seeing that millions of families are threatened by the system of migrant labour), and with theological education. The latter is of special importance for those Black Churches which do not have any training centres. The work that is being done within the Division of Justice and Reconciliation is particularly difficult and yet indispensable for the Council of Churches. The people who work within this division examine issues like conscientious objection, the stop to further investments, a code of conduct for overseas firms, civil disobedience, violence and counter violence. They are searching for theologically founded

answers to the questions of Christians who have to live in a country where injustice rules.

The Churches have furthermore entrusted the SACC with the defence of political prisoners, and with the support of their families, as well as rehabilitation after their release. The financial resources for this task are supplied by the Asingeni Relief Fund. Other mandates of the SACC are the encouragement of self-help projects, financial aid for pupils and students, and enquiries into the special plight of relocated farm workers and domestic servants. This work contributes to alleviating people's misery throughout the country as well as conscientizing people.

At a visit to Berlin in January 1982, the Black Lutheran Bishop of Johannesburg, Dr. Manas Buthelezi, stressed the important role of the South African Council of Churches. Buthelezi emphasized the fact that, after the banning of other organisations with similar aims in 1977, the Council of Churches was the only organisation which could legitimately talk in the name of the majority of people in South Africa. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa expressed its support for the South African Council of Churches in the face of Government hostility, and its gratitude for the solidarity which overseas Churches have shown.

A GREETING FOR THE CHURCHES IN EUROPE AND THE USA

From Bishop Tutu

The Prime Minister of South Africa, in order to get the support of the white electorate, said South Africa is facing a total onslaught, mainly communist, from outside. Anybody or anyone who refused to participate in his total strategy against the total onslaught was unpatriotic and would bear the brunt of official and popular (white) hostility.

The SACC has been seen by most whites and certainly by the Government as a thorn in its flesh, constantly speaking about God's demand for righteousness and justice, for peace and reconciliation and serving the least of our Lord's brethren in supporting the families of political prisoners and in providing legal defence for people charged with political offences. These two activities, especially, have not endeared the Council to the Government and to the white community. More recently we have focussed attention on the diabolical policy of mass population removals when over 2 million blacks have been uprooted from their homes and dumped as you dump rubbish and not people, in unviable, arid and poverty stricken bantustans into which South Africa has been balkanised on ethnic grounds. There is massive starvation and suffering in a country of plenty and all because of deliberate Government policy. Men have to leave their families for 11 months as migrant labourers living in single-sex hostels. So black family life is also being destroyed by deliberate Government policy. The world saw how apartheid treats God's children in what was done to the Nyanga squatters who were forced out of accommodation to sit in the open with no covering against the rain and cold. And we have condemned and continue to condemn apartheid as totally evil and unChristian as Nazism and Communism and we continue to call on the international community to help us by exerting pressure (political, diplomatic and above all, economic) to persuade the South African Government to come to the conference table before it is too late.

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There is no real change in South Africa. International hotels, mixed sport, etc. are merely cosmetic and superficial. Real change has to do with political powersharing. We have said if the Government did only four things as the beginning to change, we would tell our people, "Be patient, they are now talking about real change".

- a) have one citizenship for all South Africans in an individed South Africa;
- b) abolish the Pass laws even if it is phased, to avoid chaos;
- c) stop immediately the vicious policy of population removals and
- d) establish a uniform education system.

We talk peaceful change and we are vilified. Soon blacks will get disillusioned and embittered and then we will have the bloodbath which could start World War III. We talk justice and reconciliation and the Government smear us and certain of the Press join in this well-orchestrated campaign to discredit us by calling in question our handling of funds. We had an investigation by Mr. T.S. Potter, past president of the Transvaal Society of Chartered Accountants. He gave us a clean bill of health. Now new innuendos and rumours have been started. We then decided to set up a commission of enquiry headed by a senior advocate. To gain political capital, the Government has now set up its own judicial commission. We have nothing to hide and we are not afraid. "If God be for us, who can be against us".

Many in your country who would like to be involved in South Africa without considering the political and moral implications are happy to see us being discredited. We rely on our friends to set the record straight.

God bless you and thank you for your support.
Yours sincerely

Bishop Desmond Tutu

THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH (NGK)

In the 1930's, South Africa witnessed increasing social antagonisms between the poor white workers (who were originally of Dutch descent). At that stage, the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) (which had, through its mission activities, already won over many Christians from amongst the Blacks), sided with the white workers. It developed theological arguments which were to become the basis of the argument for racial segregation. Ever since that time, those principles form the religious backing of the Apartheid programme of the Nationalist Party which is in power since 1948. Until this day, the NGK adheres to its unbiblical racism.

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH THREATENED WITH ISOLATION

Johannesburg, February 1, 1982 (epd). A delegation of the Reformed League (Reformierter Bund) in Germany, which is presently visiting South Africa, has submitted an ultimatum to the Dutch Reformed Church. This ultimatum relates to the Dutch Reformed Church's support for the Apartheid-policy. This delegation consists of four members of the Reformed League. The general secretary, Joachrim Guhrt is leading this delegation, which also represents the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD). In a press statement, the delegation threatened to cut all their ties with the White NGK, in case the latter continues the Apartheid-policy and maintains racial segregation in its member churches.

This declaration was preceded by the resolution taken by the Federation of Protestant Churches in Switzerland, who had discontinued their dialogue with the White Dutch Reformed Church.

THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES' OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID

When the SACC, on the basis of Christian conviction condemned Apartheid in its "Message to the People of South Africa" in 1968, the reaction of the majority of Whites was one of indignation. According to the "Message" (Authorised Summary), "Apartheid as a doctrine of separation is a false faith, a novel gospel; it inevitably is in conflict with the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which offers salvation, both individual and social, through faith in Christ alone. It is keeping people away from the real knowledge of Christ; therefore it is the Church's duty to enable our people to distinguish between the demands of the South African state and the demands of Christian discipleship."

"But in South Africa, everyone is expected to believe that a man's racial identity is the most important thing about him: only when it is clearly settled can any significant decisions be made about him. Those whose racial classification is in doubt are tragically insecure and helpless. Without racial identity, it seems, we can do nothing; he who has it, has life; he who has not racial identity has not life. This belief in the supreme importance of racial identity amounts to a denial of the central statements of the Christian Gospel."

"The Gospel of Jesus Christ declares that God is love; separation is the opposite force of love. It reinforces distinctions which the Holy Spirit is calling the people of God to overcome; it calls good evil. This policy is, therefore, a form of resistance to the Holy Spirit. "

At the same time, young Black people, especially students who were influenced by Christianity and by the tradition of their forefathers, made African aware of the fact that they had the same human dignity as Whites, that they were not born to be servants of the Whites, and that they had a claim to equal human rights.

This new identity, called "Black Consciousness Movement" finally emerged after Blacks had been oppressed for centuries, which is something that impressed its mark deeply in the consciousness of many Blacks. For many Whites, this quest for a new identity on the part of Blacks, is difficult to understand.

The "Black Consciousness Movement gave an impetus to many students' demonstrations against the system in 1976/77 in Soweto and throughout the country. The Government replied with terrible massacres. The SACC and especially the Christian Institute offered assistance to many thousands of people who were threatened with imprisonment, torture, and death. The various organisations of the "Black Consciousness Movement", and the Christian Institute were subsequently banned by the Government. The present moves by the Government make it seem likely that it will now attempt to put an end to the work of the SACC.

THE STATE'S CONFRONTATION WITH THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

(A summary by H. Serfontein, South Africa)

The appointment by the Government of a judicial commission to investigate all aspects of the activities of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), is a new phase in the ongoing and escalating Church-State conflict in South Africa.

The five man commission under Chairmanship of Mr. Justice F.C. Eloff, a respected Supreme Court Judge, has already begun with its investigations. It will start hearing evidence at public sessions in May or June this year.

This investigation is seen as the first step by the Government to take some form of action against the SACC, its leaders and officials.

The SACC represents all the main English language multi-racial Churches with a total membership of about 15 million Black and White Christians.

The scope of the mandate of the commission is virtually unlimited. It covers all aspects of its administration activities, finances (donors and recipients), history, theological views, and links with overseas churches and organisations.

Regardless of whether the commission makes specific recommendations to the Government or not (and in terms of the mandate, it is optional), the final decision lies with the Government.

As with the recent controversial Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the press, the Government can use such a report to create the necessary public climate for some later action, although it might reject or ignore some immediate recommendations.

This inquiry takes place against the background of two important developments in recent years.

Firstly, there have been a series of clashes between the SACC and its leaders and the Government on a number of important religious and political issues.

Secondly, the SACC has been in the news because of allegations in and outside the courts of financial maladministration involving some of its senior former officials.

At the root of this Church-State conflict is the deep belief of Ministers and ordinary Christians of the SACC member Churches and also a few NGK theologians such as Dr. Beyers Naude, that the apartheid policy and laws are evil, immoral and therefore non-Christian.

THE CHURCHES DEMAND RESISTANCE AGAINST APARTHEID

July 1979 was perhaps a watershed in Church-State relations in South Africa, because at the annual Conference at Hammanskraal outside Pretoria, Dr. Alan Boesak, the Theologian of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Sendingkerk (for Coloureds) made a clarion call challenging the SACC member churches: The time has come that Churches and Christians should adopt a programme of civil disobedience to actively defy the apartheid laws.

that sparked off a series of events which caused a further deterioration in the Church-State relationship. And it also caused increased tension inside the SACC member churches between the younger and more radical Black and White Christians, and the conservative leadership and the majority of Whites - the latter resenting the outspoken criticism against the Government and apartheid.

In May 1980, the SACC conference discussed specific acts of civil disobedience, which was followed shortly afterwards by a march of 53 clergymen on the Police headquarters, John Voster Square, in Johannesburg, when all were arrested.

And following a series of sharp attacks by Cabinet Ministers on the SACC, the removal for the second time of Bishop Desmond Tutu's passport. The SACC Secretary General and the news that the Government was sponsoring the ultra conservative Christian League with the specific purpose of undermining the SACC, a second round of talks with Prime Minister P.W. Botha was finally cancelled in April last year.

The Government is particularly incensed about the stand of the SACC and its member Churches on issues such as civil disobedience, conscientious objection to military service, and decisions that Ministers should marry racially mixed couples in defiance of the apartheid legislation and financial support to the Nyanga "Homeless" to return to Cape Town after they were deported to the Bantustans.

The antagonistic mood of the Government and its supporters about the SACC and Bishop Tutu is reflected in the latest Steyn Investigation- on the press) and Rabie Commission (on security legislation).

In both the SACC and its stand on issues such as civil disobedience was criticized. The Steyn Commission specifically warned Bishop Tutu because of his support of Black theology and liberation theology which involved support for the terrorists.

OPEN CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SACC

The Eloff Commission differs from the Schlabusch Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry in the early 1970's into the Christian Institute, Nusas and the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. That inquiry sat behind closed doors and legal representation was not allowed.

The outcome was that the Christian Institute and Nusas was declared affected organisations, and could thus no longer receive funds from overseas and some of its officials were immediately banned, and others in 1977.

This inquiry will be in the open, with the SACC allowed to have legal assistance and representation. It is clear that the main purpose of the inquiry is to seriously damage the influence and witness of the SACC. Its strategy with the inquiry and afterwards will be to attempt to drive a wedge between the SACC and its member Churches and between the radical Blacks and conservative Whites to embarrass it and to damage its international prestige.

Therefore, the public hearings, lasting over many months will be an opportunity where the "dirty washing" and "embarrassing" political facts and other facts about the SACC would be displayed. Thus the hearings will be exploited by the Government to embarrass the Council.

The Government apparently hopes to prove that there is a close link between the SACC and overseas Churches and organisations, which again have a close link with "terrorist" organisations, such as the ANC and Swapo. In particular, it wants to expose the SACC links with the WCC, which have been mentioned in both the Steyn and Rabie Commissions, as part of the "total marxist onslaught" against South Africa.

Should the investigation reveal that there had been mismanagement of funds, it opens the way for the Government to take action in terms of the Fund Collecting Act which controls the use of public funds. Of course, as long as the investigation continues, and it can last for longer than a year, the activities of the SACC are seriously hampered. Already understaffed, it delays the appointment of new personnel and the launching of new projects.

THE EXISTENCE OF THE SACC IS THREATENED

(The inquiry and its findings will open the way for legal action by the Government)

It is unlikely, at this stage, for a number of strategic considerations, that the Government will harm the SACC and its officials, for such action a lengthy and costly judicial inquiry is not needed.

It seems more likely that the Government would want to cripple the SACC by cutting off its international support. At the moment, at least 90% of its 5 million rand annual budget comes from overseas sources.

The Government has two options: it can declare the SACC an affected organisation in terms of which it may receive no overseas funds, or: it might forbid the SACC to receive funds from overseas bodies, which also have close ties with the "terrorist" organisations and are financing the SACC.

There can thus be little doubt that the SACC is at present involved in a desperate fight for survival. Its very existence and operations are threatened by the inquiry and inevitable subsequent Government action.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN GERMANY (EKD) DEFENDS SACC

In South Africa, suspicions are being spread against office-bearers of the SACC, because of alleged irregularities in its finances. In the face of these suspicions, the EKD Commission on "Church Resources for Development Service" ("Kirchliche Mittel für den Entwicklungsdienst") wrote a letter to the general secretary of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu. This letter which was dated December, 1981 stated the following:

- "1. Following the unrests in Soweto and elsewhere in June 1976, the SACC has set up the Asingeni-Fund to assist victims. KED has, from the beginning, participated in financing the Asingeni-Fund, because protection of basic human rights is part of KED's concept of development. KED was always aware, that some of the assistance through the Asingeni-Fund had to be anonymous and without identifying the receivers. The Asingeni Fund was therefore put at the discretion of the General Secretary of the SACC.
2. The KED-Committee is grateful for the many detailed reports about the use of the Asingeni-Fund. The KED-Committee is satisfied with these reports. The KED-Committee is satisfied with these reports. The KED-Committee knows, that not all grants of the Asingeni-Fund can be accounted for publicly because this might put the receivers in a dangerous position.
3. The KED-Committee will continue to co-operate with the SACC and the churches in the Republic of South Africa for the broad aims of development to the benefit of human persons and for the sake of justice and reconciliation."

TOTAL STRATEGY

In 1978, South Africa's Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, announced a "Total Strategy" in order to strengthen his regime. First of all, he tried to include even the churches and the SACC, as well as the small non-white middle class in this strategy. At a meeting of cabinet-members and senior members of the SACC, he declared:

"All of us believe in Christ our Lord... we reject communism...we reject violence as a means of undermining the State".

"I am prepared to lead my people on the road to take positive steps to create new dispensations, but I am not prepared to lead them on the road of a Government of one man one vote".

But this one man, one vote system is exactly what the Black majority demands. For the SACC, Tutu reiterated the demands of South Africa's Blacks and of individual Whites. A National Assembly of recognised leaders of all population groups should be called to work out a common constitution. As preconditions for this, the Government should grant: South African citizenship to all people who live and work in South Africa, equal education for Whites and Blacks, abolishment of pass laws, and discontinuation of relocations (until now, round about 2 million Blacks have been affected by relocations, and another 2 million are still to be relocated). In May 1981, the SACC, the Catholic Church, and many political groups - also White groups - boycotted the celebrations on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Republic of South Africa. Such boycotts are unpleasant to the rulers of South Africa, for it is through such church activities that the true conditions in South Africa become known internationally. This is another reason why the Government tries to stop the work of the SACC.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

More and more people in South Africa see that civil disobedience becomes their Christian obligation to resist the laws which are contrary to God's commandments. Thus, A. Boesak, an internationally known theologian from Cape Town, already stated in 1979: "The Church has to start exercising pressure against the system, ... planning civil disobedience on a greater scale, and challenging Christians, particularly White Christians, on this topic. It is no longer sufficient to condemn unjust laws and tomorrow obey the same laws as if nothing had happened". Boesak wrote to the Minister of Justice in an open letter: "I would like you to understand that I have called for civil disobedience as a Christian ... I am surprised that some people want to see this call an instigation to violence. In actual fact, this call poses an alternative to violence".

The protests of young people in 1976/77, the schools-boycott by 100 000 "Coloured" pupils in 1980, which was sustained for months, and the increasing number of workers' strikes and consumer boycotts since the 1970's - all these are part of the civil disobedience which Blacks have been carrying out for decades now. This history of civil disobedience is hardly known in Germany. Civil disobedience, as it was started by Gandhi, and continued by the African National Congress, is now also being taken up by the Churches. When the "Coloured" pupils demanded equal education for all of South Africa's young people, they were supported by their parents, teachers, ministers, and by Indian and Black pupils. The Government arrested hundreds of them, amongst them also the former general secretary of the SACC, Reverend J. Thorne. At Pentecost in 1980, 53 ministers and bishops of different races and churches marched to the police headquarters in solidarity.

They demanded Thorne's release; however, they were arrested themselves for a short time.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

In 1974, the Annual Conference of the SACC already declared that the Republic of South Africa is a "fundamentally unjust, discriminatory society" which "institutes structural violence and (provoked) the counter-violence of the terrorists or freedom fighters". Since the SACC rejects violence as a means of solving conflicts, it appeals to its member churches to examine whether Christ's call to "take up the cross and follow him in identifying with the oppressed, does not, in our situation, include conscientious objection".

The (White) parliament consequently extended the "Defence Act". Ever since then, conscientious objectors are being threatened with 6 years' imprisonment and/or a fine of R5 000. In 1980, round about 5 200 conscripts are said to have evaded military service. In the period 1975 - 1978, over 2 300 conscripts were sentenced because they had refused to obey their call-up.

MARRIAGE LAWS

In October 1981, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa urged its Ministers to also conduct racially mixed marriages in future, despite the law against mixed marriages. This does not only mean a refusal to co-operate with the State, but it is also a call for conscious transgression of laws (civil disobedience), for ministers in South Africa

to fulfil at the same time, the function of marriage officers. Beforehand, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Methodists, and Congregationalists had asked the Prime Minister to abolish these laws. However, Botha demanded an agreement of all churches on this question instead. He demanded this in the knowledge that the White Dutch Reformed Church upholds the prohibition of mixed marriages on principle. Consequently, a unanimous decision on the Mixed Marriages Act cannot be reached by the churches. The decision taken by the Presbyterians, however, serves as a signal for other churches and groups.

BOYCOTT

At a visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1978, the General Secretary of the SACC, Bishop Tutu declared that the investments by foreign banks and firms would only "serve the continued exploitation and oppression of the Blacks" in South Africa. To the question as to whether Blacks would not have to suffer even more in case investments were withdrawn, he replied, "We cannot see an end to our present suffering. If, however, we were to suffer for a worthwhile cause, this suffering would at least be meaningful. I would like to emphasise that putting a stop to further investments is the last chance for peaceful change in our country. I hope that there are people in your country who will understand this". At a visit in Denmark in 1980, he added, "I think it is a disgrace that Denmark buys up South African coal and thereby strengthens its dependence on South Africa at a time when one hopes to reduce South Africa to a weaker bargaining position, so that change will come to us as soon as possible.



As a consequence, the South African Government confiscated Tutu's passport, so that, ever since then, he can no longer travel into foreign countries to admonish people there.

As early as 1963, the Black South African Peace Nobel Prize Winner, A. Luthuli, a convinced Christian, wrote to the member states of the UN: "I would like to urge you not to be deferred from acting by the pretext often expressed by our oppressors, that boycotts and sanctions would bring about more suffering for us Blacks than for the White South Africans. We are prepared for that suffering which will lead us to liberation - as it has always been the fate of all oppressed. What we are not determined to do - at whatever cost - is to consent to a status quo which reduces us to serfs in our own country".

WHAT CAN CHRISTIANS IN GERMANY DO?

Already in 1972, the Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany expressed its "growing concern" that the system of racial discrimination against the Black and Coloured population in South Africa and in South West Africa would inevitably lead to an escalation of violence.

We cannot expect a peaceful development for as long as a White minority is denying essential human rights to the majority of the population. As Christians, we cannot keep quiet about this. We would like to do everything we can to ensure that conditions of justice and human dignity for all people in Southern Africa will be brought about in a peaceful way.

Many congregations, deaneries and other groups have since developed their own initiatives to help people in South Africa. The Evangelical

Women's Work in Germany (Evangelische Frauenarbeit in Deutschland) advocates a boycott of South African food products, and of the South African Kruger Rands, etc. With this boycott action, this group of women has evoked continuing discussions about problems in South Africa and conscientisation of people in their own country.

Many congregations and deaneries have established close links with individuals or congregations or groups in South Africa who are working on projects for social change. Members of these congregations in Germany and in South Africa visit each other. During the last few months, groups from several congregations held vigils in front of the South African Embassy in Bonn. In this way, they demanded the release of people in detention without trial, who are not protected by any legal rights and who are exposed to torture. In this way, they also support the families of political prisoners in South Africa who have, in many parts of the country, formed groups to demand the release of their relatives and the abolishment of unjust laws. The families of political prisoners appreciate the vigils which are being held simultaneously in front of South African consulates, tourist bureaus, etc. in the Federal Republic of Germany, in the Netherlands, in the U.K. and elsewhere; they find them helpful for their work.

More and more congregations ask the question: What can we do? And they realise that any activities presuppose detailed information. The South African Government, in turn, tries to give financial aid to institutions, media, and individuals in order to gain worldwide recognition or at least tolerance for its policies. On orders by South Africa, advertising agencies in the Federal Republic of Germany organise and finance trips to

South Africa for German journalists and also for church representatives. This often necessitates the correction of false reports and half-truths even in church circles. We base our knowledge of South Africa mainly on the witness of the churches which are joined together in the South African Council of Churches; it is this witness that we regard as the decisive one. Our congregations should also take this witness as a criterion for assessing the information that the South African Government and its media disseminate.

There are many Black South Africans and Namibians who live in towns and cities of the Federal Republic of Germany. Many of them were granted political asylum. Most of them are Christians. They have grown up under South Africa's racial laws. They know the injustice and the suffering, but also the attempts to resist this system and the work of the churches. By this time, they also know the Federal Republic of Germany, us and our churches. If you want to help people in South Africa to live in human dignity, you can also ask those who lived there what is to be done.

Services and prayers can give people a sense of community beyond all boundaries and distances. Continued prayer is an important way of helping. This is also what many of us experienced at a time when people and churches in our own country were persecuted by a totalitarian state.

PRAYER OF THE FIFTH PLENARY ASSEMBLY OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

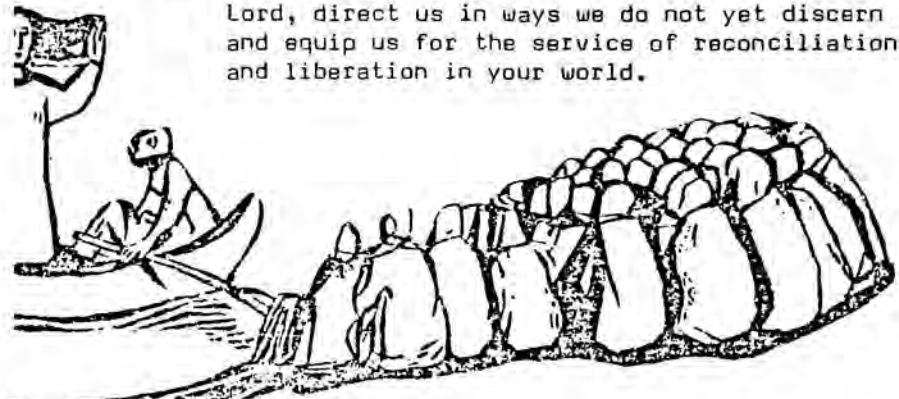
L: Lord, we shall need ever-new insights into the truth, awareness of your will for all humanity, courage to do what is right even when it is not allowed, persistence in undermining unjust structures until they crumble into dust, grace to exercise a ministry of reconciliation.

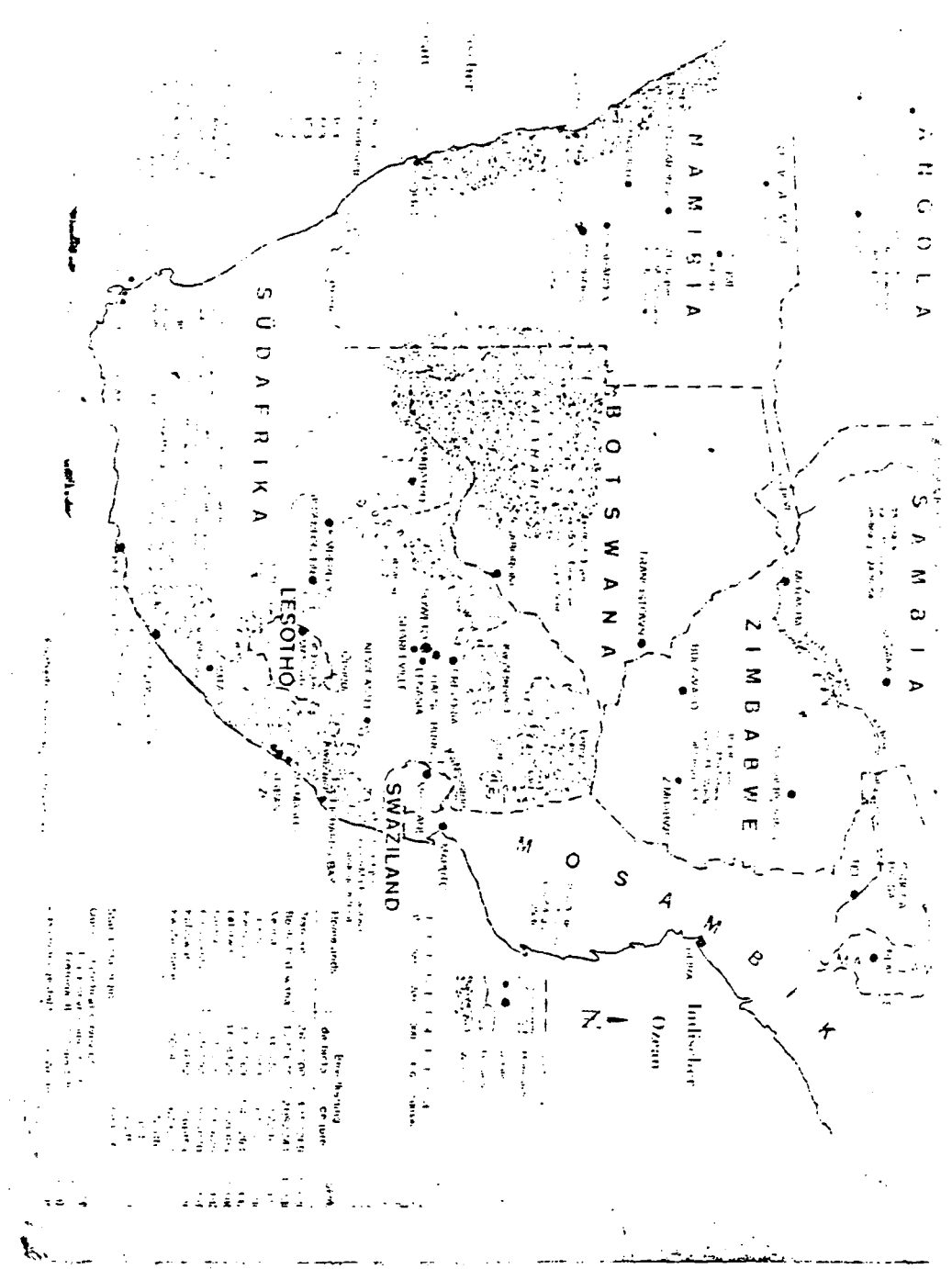
P: Break down the walls that separate us and unite us in a single body.

L: Lord, share out among us the tongues of your Spirit, that we may each burn with compassion for all who hunger for freedom and humanness; that we may be doers of the Word and so speak with credibility about the wonderful things you have done.

L. and P:

Lord, direct us in ways we do not yet discern and equip us for the service of reconciliation and liberation in your world.





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Azanian People's Organization (SOWETO BRANCH)

P O Box 84
Tshiawelo 1818

Telephone: (011) _____

Ref.:

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING : 2 FEBRUARY 1985

No 15
8/19/87

Revolutionaries and Comrades

The Organisation's leadership has been changed, firstly, at the National Congress in December and secondly, at our Regional Council on 19 January 1985. This has therefore brought a need for a new branch leadership to lead our people within Soweto and other townships.

It is needless to emphasise that the Organisation has never needed the contribution and support of each member and supporter than in the times we are going through. The struggle needs all committed and dedicated freedom fighters among us.

You are notified of the Organisation's A.G.M. on 2 February 1985 at Bridgeman Memorial, Zola at 2.30 p.m. The business for the day shall include the following items in the Agenda:

- (i) Minutes
- (ii) Annual Report
- (iii) Elections
- (iv) General

We request all members and those interested in taking our membership to bring their dues.

Forward with the People's struggle and down with imperialism!

Yours in struggle

P.P. *W. Khabela*
LETSATSI MOSALA
Secretary

*2 aksampere
gwenel boe in ngibonole
kes in hoophakane.
05h20 = 85/2/19
P.S. BOTES*

J. M. M. M. M.

AX 11

Item 16

CONFERENCE REPORT

BLACK THEOLOGY *and the* BLACK STRUGGLE

St Francis Xavier - Cape Town
10th - 14th September 1984

P.O. Box 32047
Braamfontein
2017
RSA



Portland Place
37 Jorissen Street
Braamfontein
2017

*Original in 2014 was later
digitized by the Open Scholarship Programme*

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P R E F A C E

1. INTRODUCTION

The 1984 Black Theology Conference took place from 10-14 September 1984 in Cape Town. The Conference was a follow-up to the 1984 Wilgerspruit Conference on "Black Theology Revisited".

In the report of the conference the following areas were identified as needing attention before the 1985 conference:

- * The ideological ferment amongst the oppressed and an analysis of the situation in South Africa.
- * The question of ideology and Theology in relation to ideologically divided oppressed masses.
- * The link between Black Theology and the African Independent Churches and African Traditional Religions.
- * The question of the content to Black Theology.
- * The historical materialism approach in doing Black Theology.
- * Problem of biblical hermeneutics in regard to women's oppression.

This report of the 1984 conference concludes

"In our research / study we must bear in mind the resolution contained in the Final Statement of the Seminar that we develop together with the oppressed people of this country a black theology of liberation and that this theology must emerge 'from within the struggles of oppressed people'"

The papers of Fr. L.J. Sebidi and Rev. J. Mosala as presented in this report for example are the product of much research; but there is still need to move beyond simply reflecting theologically on the Black Struggle and "develop together with the oppressed people of this country a black theology of liberation (which) must emerge from within the struggles of oppressed people".

Most of the areas needing attention were addressed at the conference except "The question of the content of Black Theology".

2. POLITICAL PRAXIS AND CONTEXT

(a) Ideological Divisions

Since the last conference, ideological divisions within the Black Struggle have deepened even further; hence the need to address the question of "Black Theology and the Black Struggle in Southern Africa".

What happens in the Black Struggle affects the process of theologising about this Black Struggle and therefore Black Theology itself. As will be seen from the first two resolutions of this conference the participants battled with this issue and while agreeing that Black Theology is a theology of the Black oppressed and exploited black people, they recognized the "divergences" and "convergences" in the premise from which theologising. The conference members agreed that a way should be opened to allow creative black theological reflection and action irrespective of ideological differences, to avoid a paralysis in the movement of Black Theological ideas.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

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Pastor in the Reformed Church of Africa and
General Secretary of Belydende Kring

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Director of New Horizon Projects, Wilgerspruit and
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Youth Worker in the Anglican Students Fellowship
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John Ngubane

Roman Catholic Priest and Lecturer
at Scholasticate Cedara

Harry Ngada

Archbishop of the African Spiritual Church and
Formerly Field Worker of the Christian Institute

Jerry Mosala

Minister in the Methodist Church of South Africa
and Lecturer at University of Cape Town

Takatso Mofokeng

Minister of the N.G. Kerk in Africa and now
Lecturer at University of Botswana

AX 1a

Albert Luthuli

LET
MY
PEOPLE
GO

ILLUSTRATED

Q107m 314
7 10/11/1961

The autobiography of
the great South African
leader—awarded the
Nobel Peace Prize 1961

fontana books

Gavin ni ni
Swart ni ni
laugs ni
handzok
spilikas
by/steepkammer
85/2/19

LET MY PEOPLE GO

Immense restraint has been shown in South Africa by the African people in the face of continuous provocation. This is largely due to the influence of Albert Luthuli, whose greatness has recently been acknowledged by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize.

The author of this autobiography is one of the most important figures in South Africa today. Grandson of a Zulu chief, he became a schoolmaster, local chief, and finally President of the pan-African organisation, the African National Congress. His stand on public affairs has led to imprisonment on several occasions.

He is a Christian whose religion has had a profound effect on his activities: he once said, "I am in Congress precisely because I am a Christian."

ALBERT LUTHULI

*Let my people
go*

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

*Introduction by
Charles Hooper*

Collins

FONTANA BOOKS

*First published 1962
First issued in Fontana Books 1963
Tenth Impression August 1978*

*This book was prepared for publication
by Charles and Sheila Hooper*

*The front and back cover photographs are
reproduced by courtesy of Drum Magazine*

*To Mother Africa, so long in fetters;
To all who love her and strive to set her free;
And to two noble women of Africa:
Mtonya, my late mother, and Nokukhanya, my wife,
To whom, under God, I am most deeply indebted.*

CONDITIONS OF SALE: *This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser*

*© Albert Luthall, 1962
Made and Printed in Great Britain by
William Collins Sons & Co Ltd Glasgow*

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saw no other effective peaceful way than to burn my own pass. This I did.

There comes a time, sir, when a leader must give as practical a demonstration of his convictions and willingness to live up to the demands of the cause, as he expects of his people. I felt that was the hour in our history, and in my life, for this demonstration. I am not sorry nor ashamed of what I did. I could not have done less than I did and still live with my conscience. I would rightly lose the confidence of my people, and earn the disrespect of right-thinking people in my country and in the world, and the disdain of posterity.

In all humility, I say that I acted as was my duty in response to the highest moral law in the best interest of the people of South Africa, because I am convinced that the urgent need of our country, for the maintenance of peace and harmony amongst the various races, black and white, is the immediate and whole-sale abolition of the pass. It is my firm belief that it is the duty of all right-thinking people, black and white, who have the true interest of our country at heart, to strive for this without flinching.

A. LUTHULI

Also available in Fount Paperbacks

The Prayer of the Universe

TEILHARD DE CHARDIN

A selection of Teilhard's most beautiful writings. This book will appeal to the thousands of readers who have read and re-read his best-sellers *Le Milieu Divin* and *Hymn of the Universe*.

To Me Personally

WILF WILKINSON

'When Wilf Wilkinson talks about the Bible, he makes it seem as though it has just been written, and not what some people think it is – 2,000 years out of date!' *Roy Trevivian*

The Great Divorce

C. S. LEWIS

'It is all very witty, very entertaining, very readable, and Mr Lewis's fecundity of imagination is a thing to marvel at.' *Roger Lloyd, Time and Tide*

The Difference in Being a Christian Today

JOHN A. T. ROBINSON

'Dr Robinson is addressing himself not to the rarefied world of *haute theologie* but to men of more modest academic pretensions or of none, which he does, nevertheless without talking down . . . His is the theology of the people and for the people.' *Clifford Longley, The Times*

Also available in Fount Paperbacks

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MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE

'For me, Mother Teresa of Calcutta embodies Christian love in action. Her face shines with the love of Christ on which her whole life is centred. *Something Beautiful for God* is about her and the religious order she has instituted.' *Malcolm Muggeridge*

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ALAN PATON

'Worthy of a permanent place on the short shelf of enduring classics of the life of the Spirit.'
Henry P. van Dusen, Union Theological Seminary

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These religious poems are of many kinds: there are hymns of praise and worship of God; prayers for help, protection, and salvation; pleas for forgiveness; songs of thanksgiving for God's blessings; and petitions for the punishment of enemies. This translation of the *Psalms in Today's English Version* has the same freshness and clarity of language, the same accuracy of scholarship based on the very best originals available as *Good News for Modern Man* and *The New Testament in Today's English Version*.

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ROBERT L. SHORT

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What is Real in Christianity?

DAVID L. EDWARDS

The author strips away the legends from Jesus to show the man who is real, relevant and still fascinating. A clear, confident statement of Christian faith taking account of all criticisms.

Parents, Children and God

ANTHONY BULLEN

This book attempts to guide parents in their role as Christian educators. How they may answer their children's questions, how they may meet their children's needs from infancy to adolescence, how they may pray with their children, how they may talk to their children about sex: these and other topics are dealt with.

Ethics in a Permissive Society

WILLIAM BARCLAY

Professor Barclay approaches difficult and vexed questions with his usual humanity and clarity, asking what Christ himself would say or do in our world today.

Dialogue with Youth

AINSLIE MEARES

'This is a first-class general introduction to the world of young adults . . . (It) is in general terms which convey a wealth of valuable insight . . . a quantity survey which helps to identify and map out a field of personal encounter in which few are competent, many are hesitant, all are involved.' *Church Times*

Also available in Fount Paperbacks

Double Zero

DAVID COLLYER

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CARL BURKE

'Short, pithy little essays' by the best-selling author of *God is for Real, Man*.

Where the Action Is

RITA SNOWDEN

Short sketches of interesting people from a wide variety of backgrounds; some famous and some who are not well-known. At the end of each story Rita Snowden sums up the theme in a short prayer.

The Parables of Peanuts

ROBERT L. SHORT

The Christian message is crystal clear and shows convincingly that Peanuts is essentially theological and deeply Christian.

Bible Stories

DAVID KOSSOFF

'To my mind there is no doubt that these stories make the Bible come alive. Mr Kossoff is a born story-teller. He has the gift of making the old stories new.' *William Barclay*

"One of the greatest man

produced by Africa

in this century . . .

A far greater man

than most of those

who presume to



call themselves his masters." DAILY TELEGRAPH

"Luthuli's love for his country transcends his loyalty to any one racial group within it. This book will surely convince the world that the Nobel Prize was most justly awarded to its author." TREVOR HUDDLESTON, SUNDAY TIMES

"From each page emerges Luthuli's calm courage, compassion, sincerity and integrity. Like Father Huddleston's Naught for your Comfort, his autobiography is a class

ISBN 0 00 620067 6
UK \$9.95, Australia \$12.95, Canada \$2.95, New Zealand \$3.25

(16) 8/9/87

Letter 24.

Res 'AX 13'

We, the African majority, confined within the urban slums and barren bantustans ^{by the Apartheid regime} in the country of our birth South Africa, the country of our very birth

We, the ^{absolute} majority of South Africans, confined in slums and barren bantustans by the Apartheid regime ~~in the~~ through its unjust and inhuman laws ~~in the~~ very countries of our ~~birth~~ which deny us our birthright in the very country of our birth, noting ~~that~~

We therefore declare to all South Africans and the world to know that:

- (a) South Africa shall never know peace until the oppressed majority of the people ~~of South Africa~~ can determine their own destiny in a single undivided South Africa

Gevind in 2de ^{pak} ~~klas~~ van onder Res 35/2/19
 Linterkarse hangkas- hoofslaap-
 kamer
 Res Top
 35/2/19

(16) - 1/9/87
7/9/87
8/9/87 p 34, 35

(20) 22/9/87 p 38
1/10/87

Dr Matlana 15/6/88 p 2

It agreed that all the T-shirts with
the Committee of Ten members be
collected by the AGM committee for
sale.

Mr. Ceba was to enable the SCA to
have a flag.

Date of the next meeting:
the 11 Nov. 1984.

o d & h e t

17

P.O.Box. 126
KWA XUMA
1868

2nd August 1984.

The Secretary
Soweto Civic Ass.
~~Soweto~~

No 16 7/9/84

Dear Comrade(s)

INVITATION TO A PROTEST CONFERENCE AND RALLY IN SOWETO.

You are invited to attend a "protest" conference and rally of Civic Associations/Organizations and representatives of rural and resettlement areas to be held at the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH in PHIRI, SOWETO, on the 12th August 1984, starting from 11a.m. to 3p.m.

The Protest Conference will consist of two sessions. The first session will be a business session to adopt a position statement on the 'Coloured-Indian' elections and the New Constitution. The Statement will then be read in the second part of the meeting which shall take the form of a Rally.

The aim here is to "raise" the "voice" of those affected by the Bantustan System and the Black Local Authorities which are the basis for the New Constitution. To register a message that participating in these elections (New System) is accepting ~~and~~ endorsing the pain and misery of the oppressed majority in the country. We want to make a decision as to what we should do with the Hendrickse's and the Rajbansi's who claim that they are going to represent 'Africans' in the New System.

The Draft Position Statement is enclosed for your consideration and suggestions. Please Telephone the office of Rev. F. Chikane at 339-2513 (011) for ammendments and additions to the Statement before or on Thursday the 9th August 1984.

AX 15/3

DO COME TO THIS HISTORICAL DAY THAT WILL TURN THE TIDE AGAINST THIS EVIL SYSTEM AND THE PARTICIPANTS THEREOF.

YOURS SINCERELY

FRANK CHIKANE
(On behalf of ~~the~~ ^{most of} the Civic Associations in the Witwatersrand)

C. C. B. M. Motlana

B L A C K C I V I C A S S O C I A T I O N

DRAFT ABRIDGED CONSTITUTION

C O N T E N T S

P R E A M B L E

- 1. NAME | 1 NAME
- 2. AIMS AND OBJECTS
- 3. MEMBERSHIP
- 4. STRUCTURE
- 5. POWERS AND DUTIES
- 6. ELECTION AND APPOINTMENTS
- 7. MEETINGS
- § 8. QUORUM
- § 9. VOTING
- § 10. MINUTES
- § 11. PROCEEDINGS AT MEETING
- 12. ASSETS
- 13. TENURE
- 14. DOCUMENTS
- 15. CONDUCT
- 16. INDEMNITY
- § 17. AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION
- § 18. SUSPENSION OF CONSTITUTION
- 19. HEAD QUARTERS
- 20. AFFILIATION
- 21. DISSOLUTION
- 22. INTERPRETATION CLAUSE

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS WE, the Black people of South Africa, having realised the need and purpose of effectively organising and helping residence in their respective arrears to form an association of residence and having wholly committed ourselves to the improvement of the lot of our people in their civic and others spheres of life

AND WHEREAS residence in their respective localities, throughout the country need to measure up to the challenges of the present time in this, our father land;

AND WHEREAS the establishment and founding of an association of Black residence guarantee the solidarity of and creates mutual understanding amongst residence and promote fellowship and encourages participation in community projects.

AND NOTING

That the Black people of South Africa have been deprived of their best right to land ownership and that the living conditions in Black residential arrears throughout the country fall much below acceptable standards of human habitation .

NOW THEREFORE IT IS HEREBY RESOLVE

To adopt this constitution with the belief and the determination that unity amongst black people and a meaningful change in our way of life will result in this our country to the best benefit of the entire Black community.

SECTION 1

NAME

The name of this organisation shall be the BLACK CIVIC ASSOCIATION, (B.C.A) hereinafter referred to as the Association.

AIMS AND OBJECTS

The association shall seek to:

- 2.1. Cultivate amongst residence a spirit of civic awareness.
- 2.2. Design programmes, projects, and activities and also provide facilities which will lead to a sound residential environment and general upliftment of the Black Community.
- 2.3. To provide assistance related to proper and decent residential accomodation.
- 2.4. Organise receive and administer on behalf of and distribute to the Black Community finances or assistance in any other form. Encourage and organise participation by the Black Community in and support and promote schemes that are geared on the part of Black Community liase work and co-operate with other Black organisation which have similar or relate. aims and objects, including black organisation which are committed to formulating and promoting relevant Black education programmes which are intended to improve the quality of life of the Black Community.

MEMBERSHIP

Any adult member of the Black Community who shall be eligible for membership of the Association.

STRUCTURE

The Association shall consist of the following organs:

...../3

The National Executive Committee, The National Executive Council, The Biennial Convention and Branches also known as Local Civic Association.

4.1. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The National Executive Committee shall also be known as the Committee of ten (10) whose members shall occupy the following positions.

- (a) President
- (b) Vice President
- (c) Secretary-General
- (d) Treasurer
- (e) Permanent Organiser
- (f) Director of Community development and housing
- (g) Director of educational affairs
- (h) Director of publication
- (i) Director of recreation and sports
- (j) Director of cultural and religious affairs

4.2. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The National Executive Council shall consist of:

- 4.2.1 Members of the National Executive Committee;
- 4.2.2 All chairman of the respective local civic association or their duly authorised representatives.

4.3 BIENNIAL CONVENTION

It shall be the supreme and policy-making body of the Association and shall comprise the Committee of Ten, delegates and observers from the constituent Civic Association.

4.4 LOCAL CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Local Civic Associations also known as branches shall be administered by a Branch Executive consisting of five members who shall occupy

The following port-folios equivalent to those of the Committee of ten.

- a) Chairman
- b) Vice-Chairman
- c) Secretary
- d) Treasurer
- e) Co-ordinator of sub-committees on:
 - (i) Community development and housing
 - (ii) Educational affairs
 - (iii) Publications
 - (iv) Recreation and sports
 - (v) Cultural and religious affairs

SECTION 5

POWERS AND DUTIES

A. THE COMMITTEE OF TEN

1. The Committee of ten as the National Executive of the Association shall, in implementing the aims and objects of the Association, be in perpetual session and in charge of the management, business and canteal.
2. The Committee of ten shall have power to appoint, remove or suspend employees and functional members and also determine remuneration and duties of the said employees and functional members.
3. Provide for the management, organisation and transaction of the affairs of the association in constituent branched and may set up Regional Committees and Programmes for an relevant purpose and delegate the necessary powers.
4. The Committee of ten shall with all matters delegated to it by the Bieneiel Convention and the national executive Council or with any other matter upon which policy has already been

decided upon by the Biennial Convention.

23

5. The officers of the association shall be ex-officio members of all the committees and sub-committees.

B. THE FIRST PRESIDENT

1. He shall convene and preside over all the meetings of BLA namely the Committee of Ten, National Executive Council and Biennial Convention.
2. He shall be the official spokesman of the association and in collaboration with the General Secretary, shall be responsible for all press statements.
3. He shall represent the association whenever necessary and shall perform all other duties that are customary to this office.

C. THE SECOND PRESIDENT

He shall assist the First President in the execution of his duties and in the absence of the President, his powers shall devolve in the Second President.

D. THE SECRETARY GENERAL

1. The Secretary General shall be employed by the Biennial Convention as chief administrator and chief of staff with defined duties responsibilities and conditions of employment.
2. He shall co-ordinate, organise, plan, direct and programme the activities of the association in the conjunction with the committee of ten.
3. He shall submit a written report covering all activities of the staff at every Biennial Convention or wherever asked to

do so by the Committee of ten.

24

E. THE TREASURER

He shall keep an accurate account of the funds of the association, and make this available whenever required to do so and shall together with either the President or secretary General, be the signatoress of the Association.

F. THE PERMANENT ORGANISER

1. He shall suggest plans and programmes and see to the practice application of all the resolutions and such plans and programmes.
2. Funds permitting, he shall be in the full time employ of Association and be charged with the responsibility of visiting all the branches of the association, and be available for advise and assistance to these branches.

G. DIRECTOR OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING

1. He shall do everything possible to ensure that residence have suitable housing accomodation and shall collaborate with Black organisations and personalities that are engaged in community development.
2. He shall initiate, encourage and enable such projects that will emoliorate the quality of life in the Black Community and design schemes that will provide black residents with skills that will lead them to self-reliance and self-determination.
3. He shall be the liason officer between the Committee of Ten and the branch sub-committees on community development and housing .

Meeting of the 25 Nov. Continued

Name

Address



Branch

~~Ann Mervy~~ Mahlalela
J. D. P. L. W. e. ————— 170 Polo

Chairman
is to refer

Meeting of the 28 Oct. 1982

Present: -

Chairman: Dr. Motlana



Matters arising:

UDF affiliation - radical membership.
The AGM to discuss and endorse the policy stand.

Clarification on what UDF is
The matter to be ratified by the AGM.
Let the matter be raised by the branches
The matter arose because of the neglect of duty by the Comm of Ten members

Student-Parents Committee

meeting, will not be reporting.

Students - Crisis: - whether the SCA was ignored
Ed

Committee met with COSAS - AZASO;
AZAPO - AZASMI: COSAS - AZASO gave the committee the mandate to mediate.
AZAPO - AZASMI not committed.

Dr. Motlana
15/6/88

16 Demands release of the detained leaders corporal punishment according to the rule

19/8 Campaign ^{by the SCA} that the student initiate in February - a "crash program" for preparing the students the exams
Whether the SCA has another grouping of the parents to campaign for the admission of students for the February

08369-1 (8/82) MHT

Examination

The members of the SCA in the Parents, students committee should suggest to the Committee to invite the SCA.



The secretary to conduct contact the Trade with view of meeting ATASIM.

The AGM committee's suggestions:-

- 1, Active branches -
- 2, Inactive branches - Dobsonville.

Venues: Dube Y. Ipelegeng

Time: 4am - 4pm

Voting: 10 delegates.

Org. to be invited - 2 delegates

AZAPO - UDF affiliates NAFLOC
 CUSA; FOSATU; SADWA; SPORTS
 BLACK SASH

All branches to submit their reports
 Wilgers, Fruit Fellowship - New Horizon
 catering, accommodation for 80 people
 provide a lunch

Branch reports; presented at the next meeting to the secretary for compilation
 The President's report

Credentials committee Resolutions

Marshalls

Rev. Xundu Mucibisi

R2 registration fee per delegate

The A letter to Bishop Tutu for congratulation.

T-shirt SCA to be submitted by the TEM
 1/11 to the

Meeting of the 11 Nov. 1984

Minutes ~~at~~ corrected
Minutes adopted:



AGM Committee's report.

- a, Rev. Xundu has accepted the invitation. Formal letter of invitation to be written by the AGM committee. The AGM to fund his travels
- b, 10 delegates the only people to deliberate
- c, Secretary to collect names of the delegates of the branches a week before the AGM.
- d, Education, houses, comfort and security for all:-
- e, Credential Committee and the Marshalls
- f, Structure: SCA altered
 - (a) 3 presidents: 1 president, deputy, Gen Sec. assistant
 - Cor & Pub 3, Secretaries: 1, Rec. Org. Pub.
 - 1 treasurer
 - (b) committee members
 - Inter-branch delegates ~~3~~ ^{authorised}
 - delegates
 - Need for a policy document.
- g, Invitation to Orgs. by Jarda
Pakweni to collect the registration fees from branches



AGENDA

I,

- Registration
- Introduction - Chairman
- Prayer -
- Opening Remarks
- Guest speakers
- Comments - discussion
- messages of support
- President's address
- Discussions
- Lunch.
- Secretary's report
- messages of support
- Discussions
- Financial report.
- Discussion
- New Constitution
- Discussion.

Women's organisations.
 FOSATU call for consumer boycott
 this Xmas.
 Sub-Committee on the R30 elect and
 R9 monthly - Lucky Mohlavana (16)
 2/9/87

Meeting of the 25 Nov. 1984
Minutes



Mr. Jada has sent invitations
catering: Ipelegeng takes charge
± 150 people at a total of R400 -
light lunch

Main speaker: available: booking confirmed
Accommodation: Gen sec

branch reports: A. Masondo

Press Release

Banner: Jada working out on one; over head
banner - Masondo & Ceba

MC: Vusi Khanyile / Pat Lephunya.
Resolutions Committee - Masondo
At the door - Ramokgopa

Constitution. Mr. Mohammed Bam working on ~~the~~ it.

Under General:

1, Mr. Selebi: owes ± R100 - approached the
Mofolo branch; together with Nthato went to
Mofolo superintendent office. Nthato could not
understand what was on. Mr. Selebi is
pensioned.

2, PUTCO meetings with the D.C.A. to submit
a report. - Resolution.
Petition against the fare increases before the
3rd Dec. 1984 - a walk on the 3rd Dec. 1984

3, Parents Committee meeting with De Beer;
Report back on the 2nd Dec. 1984

16
2/9/87

16
2/9/87

Name	7.10.84	Address	Branch
J Manthata		6937 Orl. West	Orl. West.
C Mkhama		220 Zona Mood/afid	Zone 4 M/lan
J. Kekana		62180 Dikloof	Zone 4
A. K. GABAGU		982. MOFOLO	MOFOLO
THABO MDABENI		663 MOFOLO NORTH	MOFOLO N.
ADDISON CEBU		1522 O/EAST	O/E
Vusi KHANYILE		622 DIKLOOF EXT.	DIKLOOF
SIMON SEBOTHOM.		4263 PIKLOOF	D C/A
NTHATO MATLANA		1401 Mtjyesh.	DUSE
I. MogaSE		4750 Dikloof Ext	
Ramokgopa			
Pat			
Shasha			
<u>Nick MogaTuri</u>			

7 Oct. 1984: Dube Chapel

Protest meeting on the detentions of our people eg. Masondo

Finding out the legal position of regarding the rent increases. How what procedures the Council is to follow before raising the rent.

Community efforts/support to the lawyers through signatures and public protest meetings.

The Local Authorities Act empowers the Council to raise the rents. The SCA cannot fight the Councils on the basis of the Act.

PUTCO gave increase to ~~find~~ find out the state of things. Vusi to investigate the matter for a report back.

Bus Coupons: A coupon of exact days - rather than a coupon

PUTCO USERS:- Age and physical state of people to be taken into account
PUTCO - take note of the physical state and not age:-

Identity cards needed ^{for the} ~~to be~~ users.

Time-table: NOT drawn yet as the ^{naming of the} bus stops are not well recorded yet;

Bus stop shelters erected by the Council.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON PUTCO - led by Vusi Khanyile; Shasha; Ramokgopa; Louis Ramona; coordinating the work

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1/9/8
2/9/8

D. G. M
1.5/6/84

... .. Dube Chapel
of the branches:

Agenda:

Education:

Nthato-
meetings with other Org. COSMS:

AZASMI:

Need for constant meetings of
the leadership.

Line with Org. the Students Org.
before declaring the SCA Stand.

Delegates:

Dr. Motlana Pat:-

Vusi
NICK
Thabo

AGM: * Until the branches are
fully organised.

[Signature]
15/6/88

(16) 1/9/87

Matters arising:

1, Meetings with the Students organisations
COSAS & SCA: Students ~~would~~ ^{decided} to continue with the boycott; Consult with the students on the issue of boycott.
AZASMI: No meeting yet.

COSAS would like the SCA to play a part. COSAS desires to discuss the type of the SRC the COSAS wants with the SCA. ~~PE~~ ^{PM} Western Cape has its own SRCs.

The Transvaal COSAS executive is in detention. "all the members"

continued contact with others.

COSAS - SCA relationship: not part of the brief.

Committee comprising: Dr. Motlana, Moyaure Palwen; the Sec. Ramokgopa; Yuri; Pat; Nick

2, AZASMI - Pat to see Ndabeni.

R: CORRESPONDENCE:

The DCA letter:

i) The financial statement: No financial statement. We still hope that Moyaure will issue a statement at the AGM.

ii) Relationship with the UDF - NF. no formal link yet. We are not a political body but an organisation which could accommodate ^{all} sides:

The ~~SCA~~ meeting ^{has} agreed that the SCA affiliates to the UDF. The meeting ^{urged} ~~agreed~~ that the secretary writes a formal

15/9/87
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2/9/87

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Letter of formal membership to the UDF.
Delegates are - Isabela & Mofase:

British - Consulate: Richard Thomas put a request for a photo-copying machine or anything up to R1000. This was instead of paper material: Approach a manufacturing company of Renocopy machines and then present the consulate with a quotation.

Press statement: On support of the students' bookies' demands.

24 Nov. 1984

AGM: Date: 1st Dec. 1984

Lutheran Centre: Ipelegeng; Dube Y. ^{publicity for the AGM.}
Committee Vusi: Ramokgape, Isabela, Palweni, Kekana; Louis Ramono Lunka:

Funds put in the petrol; present the the cash-slip for refund.

Branch Reports:

Dube: No report to give.

Pimville: Established an office; 3 trained people in the making of posters; loaned money from the office - Comm Ten for the training and buying the money.

No (16)

2/9/87 Mass-CRIC: community resource inst. centre. Met the superintendent on a broken down statement of rent. ~~Or test~~ ^{Dube} consulted with the LRC.

Applied for a permanent site for an office: House meetings on the sale of houses - research on the houses: Increasing the sales.

~~NO~~ loans - lease hold: Sym scheme on housing - contract: contract to be reprinted reprinted.

Youth groups: - leadership seminars for drop-outs - 23rd Nov. 1984. self-development project for the unemployed eg welding - brick-laying: girls in the craft and skills. Wilgerspruit - Holland with the \$ 500.

Dr. West: - Nako Thumba: Masoga. Educ. credit and the care for the aged.

Mafoto: house meeting: difficulties with renewing membership: - No youths - difficulties to reach them.

Naledi: continuation of the electricity campaign. meeting with Malan, those who installed electricity on their own should pay only service charges of R4 and what shall be reflected on the account. rather than the flat R7 R17. People who have been ripped off ^{rate of} should be credited.

(19)

29/87

House owners' rent not R22.16 but the normal ± R30. He promised to look into it. He has since flown out to London.

The R5. administration - salaries of the councillors - the staff cost of the houses been sold ± R1000

Diepkloof: PUTCO: Ref to the minutes test cases: Durban.

Public meeting not yet Area meeting halted Information pamphlets - electricity

water meter - teaching people how to read meters.

Timing of a news letter - quarterly
the 20.21st Inst. showing a video.

Flat rate charge reduced i.e. for those
where meters are installed.

Let the publication be a SCA one rather
than a branch matter.

Jabavu meet fortnightly - mostly SOYCO
discussing with the ^{Church} ministers on the joining
of the SCA.

ABC: differences in rental payments:

clinic problem ^{to be discussed} with the ~~area~~ superintendent
- i.e. eg. Pensioners ^{AAA} charged

R1 - health ^{levy} services charged in the rent
a strong hold of ET Tshabalala. ~~Need~~

Tladi - Moletsane: no proper report - the
detention of Vincent Mogyane regretted and
diminished the progress. The problem of the
venue - contact with the church ministers -
needed: - House meetings Membership cards
complicated with the detention of Mr. Mogyane.

releases letter to Mathabane

Urban Foundation survey on influx control
to show videos on urbanisation

Ms. Anne Bernstein

Next meeting: 28 Oct. 1984

Minutes of the Inter-Branch of the Soweto Civic Association meeting held on the 28 Oct. 1984 at Dr. Motlana's house - Dube

Present were: - Chiawelo, Dube; Diepkloof, Meadowlands; Mofolo, Moletsane/Tladi; Naledi; Orlando East; Orlando West; Pimville

^{MA} Chairman: Dr. H. N. Motlana.

Minutes of the previous meeting were read; corrections made and adopted.

Matters arising:

- i, Affiliation to UDF: It was agreed that it was subject to the ~~AGM~~ ~~AGM~~ review by the AGM and adoption.
- ii, SCA's delegation's meeting with AZASM

In the absence of Thabo Ndabeni, the secretary was mandated to meet with Thabo or the AZASM leadership to discuss the possibilities of an appointment between the two bodies.

New Matters:

- i, Students' boycott: The meeting was informed about the parents' committee ^{on} which some of the SCA members are serving. The report that that committee would be reporting at the Regina Mundi meeting of that day in the afternoon was corrected, i.e. that the committee will not be reporting.

19
19/8

Re-the examinations, it was agreed that the SCA campaigns that the students should be allowed to write in February 1985. The SCA was further to consider organising crash tutorial aids for the students in preparation for the February 1985 examinations. (19/1/85)

It was suggested that the SCA members serving on the Parents Committee, suggest to the Committee to invite the SCA to its (Committee) meetings.

The AGM.

1. The AGM committee gave its report on:-

- a, Branches active and in-active
- b, Organisations - invited.
- c, Venue: Ipelegeng

ii, Time - 9am - 4pm.

iii, Delegates per branch = 10 paid up members of the SCA.

d, Branches are to present reports today
e, The President and Secretary to bring suggestions on what they are to report on, in to-day's meeting.

f, Committees: Credentials; Resolutions, disciplinary

Each delegate should pay R2- registration fee.

The guest speaker: Rev. M. Xundu.

H. DIRECTOR OF EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS.

- 1. He shall set up programmes, organise workshops, seminars and lectures that are designed to eradicate illiteracy and enhance the intellectual ability of the Black Community.
- 2. He shall co-operation with black educationists and organisations that are working towards attaining the best education for the black child be setting-up a research bureau or a similar institute for exploring the problem area that effect the black man.
- 3. He shall set-up a comprehensice programme that will familiarise and equip the residents with skill on all matters pertaining to civic administration.
- 4. He shall be the liason officer between the committee of ten and the branch sub-committees on educational affairs.

I. DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATION

- 1. He shall set up periodics newsletter that will cover the affairs and reflect the philosophy of the Association.
- 2. He shall be the editor of the Association's newsletter.
- 3. He shall be the liason officer between the committee of tem and the branch sub committees on publications.

J. DIRECTOR OF RECREATION AND SPORTS

- 1. He shall collaborate with relevant sporting bodies in the formulation of seeking a beneficial deal for the black sportsman including the procurement of adequate recreational and sporting facilities for the black community.
- 2. He shall liase between the Committee of ten and the branch sub-committees on recreation and sports.

K. DIRECTOR OF CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

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1. He shall co-operate with black Theologist in the propagation of a liberatory religion and formulation of a true cultural perspective by seeing to the correct interpretation of religion and culture.
2. He shall liase between the Committee of ten and the branch sub-committees on cultural and religious activities.

L. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

1. The National Executive Council shall assist the Committee of ten with the management of the affairs of the Association during the interregnum of the Biennial Convention.
2. It shall deal with all matters delegated to it by the Biennial Convention or with any other matter upon which policty has already been decided by the Biennial Convention.
3. Matters of urgency in respect of which no policty has been 1 done, may dealt with by the National Executive-Council.

M. BRANCHES

1. A branch is a local Association whose responsibility is the management of civic affairs in that particular locality.
2. It shall consist of a minimum of fifteen (15) local residents. As the local agent and representative of the Association, it sha be guided by the rules, regulations and policies adopted by Biennial Convention, the National executive Council and the Committee of ten.
3. Every branch shall have an annually elected executive committee which shall

.... /9

- 27
- a) Provide for the management and transaction of the affairs of the association in specified locality and maintain the property and equipment of the association which is entrusted to it.
 - b) Prepare, submit and acquaint the Committee of ten with the budget proposals over the ensuing fiscal year and the general needs of the community which the branch committee serves.
 - c) Appoint sub-committees and define their duties.
 - d) In addition to the Executive committee referred to above, the branch shall have five(5) programmers who shall each head a sub-committee equivalent to the port folios of the directors in the National Executive.
 - e) The powers and duties of the branch chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and co-ordinator shall be the same as those of the First President, Second President, Secretary General and Permanent Organiser of the Committee of ten, respectively.
 - f) The branch Executive Committee shall be elected at the beginning of each year.

SECTION 7

MEETINGS

1. THE BIENNIAL CONVENTION

The Biennial Convention shall be held once in two (2) years and shall comprise:

- 1) The Committee of ten
- 2) Branch representatives and observers.

2. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

These shall be held at least once a year and shall comprise the Committee of ten and the Chairman of branches or their authorised representatives:

...../10

3. THE COMMITTEE OF TEN

These shall be held at least thrice a year. Any three (3) of the Executive Committee members may petition an emergency meeting.

4. BRANCH AND SUB-COMMITTEES

- a) Branch meetings shall be held at least three (3) times a year.
- b) Sub-Committee meetings shall be held as frequent as the need arises,

SECTION 8

QUORUM AND VOTING

1. The quorum at the Biennial Conventional shall be half of the constituent member branches.
2. The quorum at the National Executive Council Meeting shall be $\frac{1}{3}$ one third of the constituent branch chairman or their representatives.
3. All other different meetings of the association with a one third ($\frac{1}{3}$) attendance of its qualified members shall be regarded as quorate.
4. Voting shall be by secret ballot or by show of hands. This decision shall be taken by a simple majority vote of those present in a particular meeting.

SECTION 9

MINUTES AND PROCEEDINGS AT MEETINGS

1. Proper minutes shall be kept of all meetings of the Association and shall after confirmation in the next meeting, be signed by the President or Chairman and when so signed be binding upon members related to that meeting.

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2. If at any meeting neither the President nor the Second President is present within forty-five (45) minutes after the time appointed for holding such a meeting, the members personally present shall choose a member of the association to be chairman pro-term.

SECTION 10

ASSETS

A FINANCES

- a) The association shall see to the management of her own assets and liabilities.
- b) The fiscal year of the association shall end on 31st March of each Biennial period or each year in the case of branches.
- c) The association shall open an account with any registered bank. Bank accounts shall be made in the name of the association or or branch name.
- d) The treasurer shall be responsible for the safe custody of, and shall keep a register of all capital assets.

B ACCOUNTS

- a) The Committee of Ten shall cause books of accounts and such books of accounts as may be necessary or required so as to reflect a true statement of the association affairs, its assets and liabilities, which books of accounts shall be kept at the registered office of the association or at such other place or places as the Committee shall deem fit and shall always be open to its inspection.
- b) The Committee of Ten shall from time to time determine whether and to what extent and at what time and places and under what conditions or regulations the accounts and books of the

of the association shall be open to the inspection of members not being members of the general membership. No member of the association (not being a member of the Committee of Ten) shall have the right of inspecting any account or book or documents of the association except as conferred or authorised by the Committee of Ten or by the association on the Biennial Convention of the National Executive Council.

- c) Once in every two (2) years a report shall be prepared by the Committee of Ten covering the activities of the association for the Biennial period ending 31st March, preceding the Biennial Convention of the association and such report, together with the audited Balance Sheet and Accounts of the association shall be laid before the members at such a Biennial Convention meeting.

C. AUDITORS

Auditors shall be appointed and shall perform their expected duties as authorised by the Committee of Ten.

SECTION 13

TENURE

1. Members of the Committee of Ten shall hold office for two (2) years. A retiring member shall be eligible for re-election for two further terms of office only. After an interval of two years he shall again be eligible for election to the office.
2. Members of the Committee of Ten shall serve until the next Biennial Convention. In the event of any vacancy occurring in the Committee of Ten either by death, resignation, disqualification, absence from three (3) consecutive meetings of the Committee of Ten without tendering an apology to the Committee of Ten for any other reason, the vacancy may be filled by the remaining members of the Committee of Ten, and such an appointment shall hold good until the next Biennial Convention.

SECTION 14DOCUMENTS AND PROPERTIES

All documents, including Powers of Attorney, Agreements, Onequest Bill of Exchange, or any other documents requiring to be signed or executed in relation to any of the affairs of the association shall be signed by such persons as may from time to time be appointed and be authorised to do so by the Committee of Ten. All assets, funds and properties of the association shall be held or registered in the name of the BLACK CIVIC ASSOCIATION.

SECTION 15IDEMNITY

1. Members of the association shall not incur any liabilities without the consent or authorisation by the Committee of Ten, Treasurer or his/her duly authorised representative.
2. Every member of the Committee of Ten or employee of the Association shall be indemnified by the Association against all costs, loss and expense which such member may incur or become liable for in any way in the execution of his office, unless same shall be incurred or occasioned by his own wilful act or default.

SECTION 16AMENDMENT AND SUSPENSION OF THE CONSTITUTION

1. This constitution and its rules and regulations may be amended at a Biennial Convention by a two thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) majority of those present. Notice of such amendment shall be made to the Secretary General for consideration by the Committee of Ten and thereafter be forwarded to the Biennial Convention.
2. Committee of Ten may, by a two-thirds majority vote, suspend

any party of this constitution for purposes of expedience andy only in the interest of the Association.

SECTION 17

HEADQUATERS

The Headquarters of the Association shall be situated in Johannesburg or such other centre as the Biennial Convention may determined.

SECTION 18

AFFILIATION

1. The association may affiliate to any Black Organisation that expouses the policy and interests of the association.
2. The subscription fee shall be R2,50 per person annually. This payment shall be forwarded to Head-Office and R1,00 thereof may be requisitioned to the constituent branch.

SECTION 19

DISSOLUTION

1. In the event of the Association disbanding due to any circumstances or agent, the President of the association shall call and emergency meeting of the Committee of Ten and if possib the Biennial Convention to deliberate upon the cause for dissolution.
2. The Committee of Ten or Biennial Convention shall first convince itself through legal advise that indeed the life of the association is seriously endangered to the extent of Warranting dissolution.

3. The Committee of Ten or Biennial Convention shall then sell the existing property of the association to defray costs and then apportion the remaining assets to Black Organisation, of institutions whose aims and objects are in consonant with those of the Association.

SECTION 20

INTERPRETATION

RATANDA CIVIC REPRESENTATIVE
:ASSOCIATION:

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DATE: 01 AUG.. 1984.

VENUE: CHAMBER BOARD.

:NOTICE OF MEETING:

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Paul Sparks Mokoena.
VICE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jones Moagi.
SECRETARY: Mr. Daniel Nkosi.
Mr. Thomas Motsile.
Mr. Meshack Sehloho.
Mr. Andries Sebeko.

A G E N D A:

1; HOUSING PROBLEM.

- 1.1. High number of waiting list.
- 1.2. Last two blocks of Section were built in 1968.
- 1.3. After a decade Rembrandt View followed of which was meant for employees.
- 1.4. Sites were introduced with minimum of 18 months using shacks.
- 1.5. Projects of these sites was poor. e.g. No toilets, no street lights, only water pumps were installed. Yards without fencing.

2. SEWERAGE SYSTEM.

- (a) The whole location without sewerage.
- (b) Bucket system is unhygienic to the society.
- (c) Night workers lack of supervision.
- (d) Sceptic tank of tractor is leaking most of the time. That is why rate of patients is deterrorating.

3. ELECTRIFICATION.

- (a) Failure of power due to weather condition.
- (b) Project which was proposed three years ago to electrify houses was incomplete, only four lines were electrified.
- (c) Due to the delay of installation, some people decided that they shall arrange electrical contract to do the job. Total amount for wiring and tubing is R1000.00, plus R300.00 to the East Rand Development Board (E.R.D.B).
- (d) Half of location supplied with the main lights (Apollo) whereas half is not supplied.
- (e) Telephone Exchange Station.

4. RECREATIONAL CENTRES.

- (a), Creche, Cinema, Tennis Courts etc, incomplete Stadium. No sites are allocated for the above area.

...../2

5. ROAD CONSTRUCTION.

- (a) Main Road not complete tarred.
 - (b) Main Road lights not installed.
 - (c) Main Bus Rank without shelter and toilets.
 - (d) Obscured taxi rank.
-

Galcoena

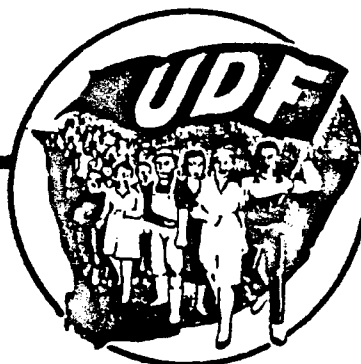
THE SECRETARY
SOWETO CIVIC ASS.

BEW[^] AM22[']

WDF RE: AFFILIATION TO THE UDF

NITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

DF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



TRANSVAAL
REGIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREE
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

1984/10/26

TO ALL AFFILIATES

FROM FINANCIAL COMMITTEE

Dear Comrades

As you are aware UDF (TVL) is in debt to the tune of approximately R17 000. At the general council meeting on the 20th October 1984, a financial committee was formed to work on finances and ways of fundraising. This committee has now met. One of its recommendations is that area committees deal with fund raising as one of their primary tasks. We propose that this issue be raised at one of your next meeting and fund raising activities be planned.

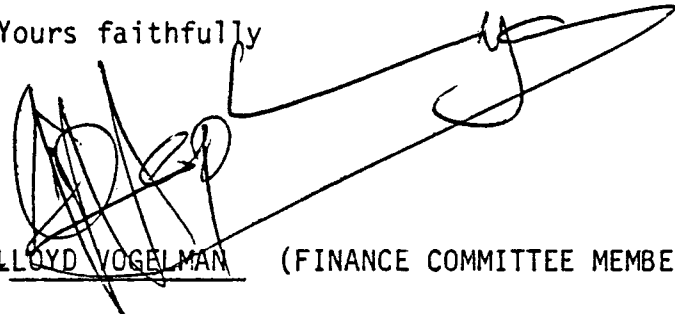
Some ideas for fund raising have been forthcoming are the followings:

- Concerts
- Movies, drive inn show
- Fates
- Cake sales outside individuals shopping centre, getting contributions from affiliates in your areas.

Having set out a programme of activities, a delegate from each area committee is requested to attend a meeting with the financial committee on the 13th November at 5.15pm. at Khotso house.

The urgency of this matter can no longer be overstated. Fundraising work is of absolute importance. Together we can rease this debt and put our finances in healthy position.

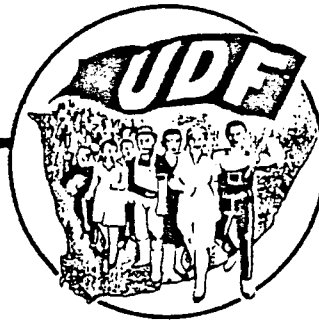
Yours faithfully



LLOYD VOGELMAN (FINANCE COMMITTEE MEMBER)

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

CIRCULAR TO THE TRANSCVAAL SECRETARIES

CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE VISIT OF DONALD ANDERSON

1. The decision by the Durban 6 to move into the British Consulate has caused an international furore. The British government came under heavy fire for its handling of the situation and its attempts at 'quiet diplomacy' with South Africa. Similarly, the South African government has been messed up to some extent internationally.
2. The British Labour Party had been part of the attack on the Thatcher government. It had thus through its leader, Neil Kinnock, sent Donald Anderson to South Africa on a 'fact-finding mission'.
3. Anderson's mandate was to collect facts relating to the consulate saga and the broader issue viz. detention without trial.
4. This was primarily the reason for his visit.
5. The other issue currently topical abroad is the situation in the Vaal Triangle. Mr Anderson thus requested to acquaint himself with this situation.
6. It was thus that Mr Anderson had requested a visit to the Transvaal through the legal representatives for the 'Durban 6'.
7. This request was communicated to comrades in the Transvaal on his arrival in South Africa on Sunday 14 October.
8. An itinerary was arranged for his Transvaal visit by persons in the Transvaal office. This included i) an opportunity to meet representatives of Transvaal-based affiliates. It was felt that a supper would fulfill this need ii) meeting the families of detainees and also the Descom iii) a visit to Soweto and iv) a visit to the Vaal.
9. Since Mr Anderson's visit had attracted so much publicity, he had arranged a press conference at the termination of his S A visit viz on Wednesday afternoon.
10. Some general points about the visit:
 - 10.1 Anderson's discussion with people in Soweto and the Vaal had clearly altered his perception of the struggle in South Africa. By his own admission he now understands more clearly the difference between national democratic and civil rights struggles. He accepts (possibly with his own reservations) that our struggle is not a civil rights struggle.
 - 10.2 Undoubtedly, his exposure to the reality of life in S. A. will have a lasting effect on the further isolation of the South African government - which will be advantageous to the struggle.
 - 10.3 Every bit of international mileage makes it increasingly more difficult for the state to ban the UDF.
 - 10.4 Certain persons have claimed that the appearance on SATV news is a violation of UDF policy. There is a major difference between participation in a programme on SATV and that of a press conference situation. Whilst the appearance on SATV was unfortunate, it does not constitute a violation of UDF policy.

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22/9/8

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1/10/8

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2.2.2 PEOPLE'S WEEKEND

That the NEC has declared the weekend of the 27th to the 28th the peoples weekend, to focus on the repression. The suggested slogan is "LONG LIVE UDF BAN APARTHEID".

2.2.3 UNIONS

The head office will write to all head offices of the unions to draw their attention to the threat issued by Mr. Louis Legranje

2.2.4 INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

The secretariat also looked into the question of how to enlist the support of the international world. The view was that the more international publicity we generate the lesser possibilities of the UDF ban. The concesus was that regions should brief the embasies about the situations in our country.

2.2.5 MEDIA

The regions were asked to have lead articles on sympathetic newspapers. To produce media to draw people's attention on the peoples weekend

AB

Western Cape agreed to produce stickers provide regions pay for them in advance.

2.2.6 FINANCE

Regions were sked to reduce reliancy on the head office for funds.

2.2.7 IYY

Regions were requested to have meetings with youth organisations and students organisations to make arrangements for this event. It was suggested that youth meeting focusing on the IYY be held in Kimberly on the 10 November 1984 during the NEC meeting.

2.2.8 BY ELECTIONS

Regions were asked to check when the bye-elections will be held, so as to look into how UDF will respond to these elections.

2.2.9 SACOS

SACOC requested a meeting with the UDF to look into areas of co - operations.

2.2.10 PREPARATIONS FOR NEC WORKSHOP

The NEC will have the work shop on the 10 to 11th November to look into the question of the future of the FRONT. This will depend largely on the regional feed backs.

2.2.11 MATTERS ARISING

The genral coucil agreed that area committees should look into what they could do in theire respective areas- for the peoples weekend.

8. ANTI REPRESSION

8.1 Prof. Mohamed presented a report as Barbara Creecy was not in the meeting. The report was as follows:

8.2 That DESCOM is planning a meeting either in the Vaal area or in any other area that is in crisis situation. All affiliates are invited to bring delegates to the meeting.

8.3 UNIONS

Unions reported that they wanted to focus on the harrasment as a number of trade unionist are also involved in the detentions and harrasments. They were asked to co ordinate their efforts with the Anti repression Committe above.

9. ANDERSONS'S VISIT

T. Manuel the acting national secretary was to prepare and present a report on Mr. Andersons's visit. He did prepare a report to be presented however he was not present in the meeting.

The general council meeting felt that this was not sufficient more information is left out.

10. The general council felt that there is a need to work shop the resolution taken at the national launch against imperialism in order to reach a common understanding on this issue.

EVALUATION COMMITTEE REPORT TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING HELD 84/10/20

1. AREA COMMITTEES FORMED

JOHANNESBURG, SOWETO, LENZ AND ELDORADO PARK, PRETORIA, W. RAND, E. RAND.

2. AREA COMMITTEES TO BE FORMED

VAAL, WWESTERN TRABSVAAL, AND THE NORTHERB TRANSVAAL.

3. UNIFORMITY IN STRUCTURES IS NEEDED.

WE SEE THIS DEVELOPMENT AS LEADING TO THE CREATION OF NEW EXECUTIVE. WE HOPE TO ESTABLISH ALL THESE AREA COMMITTEES, AND WORK OUT REPRESENTATION FOR THEM INTO THE NEW EXECUTIVE. ALL THE DETAILS NEED TO BE WORKED OUT AND MUST BE SEEN AS A PROCESS.

BEFORE ELECTION, THE UDF TRANSVAAL NEEDS A NEW CONSTITUTION. WE SEE THE NEED -:

* FOR A WORK SHOP. TO BE HELD IN DECEMBER.

* ELECTIONS TO BE TAKE PLACE IN JANUARY.

4. IN ORDER TO FACILIATATE WORK

AREA COMMITTEES TO MEET ON MONDAYS.

EACH AREA COMMITTEE TO APPOINT ONE REP. FOR A MEETING ON THURSDAY.

(16) 2/9/87

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Mr. T.M.Manthata
Secretary - Committee of Ten
c/o Khotso House
42 De Villiers Street
JOHANNESBURG
2000

THE MAGGIE MAGABA TRUST

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TRUSTEES
ELLEN KUZWAYO
MAGDALENE MOKGATHA
SALLY MOTLANA
JOYCE SEROKE

SECRETARY/TREASURER
PRISCILLA HLOMUKA

P.O. BOX 31580
BRAAMFONTEIN
JOHANNESBURG 2017
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
TELEPHONE: 39-8212
TELEPHONE: 39.3551 (Chairman)

Mr. T. Manthata
Secretary - Committee of Ten.
c/o KHOTSO HOUSE
42 De Villiers Street
JOHANNESBURG 2000

22nd April, 1983

Dear Mr. Manthata,

This is a reply to your letter dated 11.4.83, wherein your Committee applies for for Mr Thapedi's family, at 10030A Mzimhlope.

The Trust will meet the first or second week in May. The uncertainty of the exact date is due to the lack of quorum. As soon as the matter has been tabled and the decision taken you shall be informed accordingly.

There is no doubt the Thapedi family is in a disturbing situation. I hope and trust the position does not become worse before they receive assistance.

This letter applying for Mr Thapedi's assistance found me away on holiday.

Yours faithfully

E.K.Kuzwayo

E.K.Kuzwayo
Chairman

Meeting of the 5 Aug. 1984

PA:

Present :

~~Matters~~

Chairman: Mogane

Minutes : -

Matters : Autocratical elections efforts.

Mogane's visits to the branches
document read
correction

84
23
56

all publications under the SCA

Letter from PUTCO:

Diepkloof branch: a group to study the letter: acknowledged receipt of the letter: house meetings telling people about the busfare increase
The need for all the branches to respond.

PUTCO's sponsorship of the AMAZULL
PUTCO forming a committee with the Councilors. Phoned Mogane about the committee. The committee to approve the increases NOT to discuss

Pass raids:

Threat to public safety:-

PUTCO: Accidents - Not the drivers but the requirement in terms of time - maximizing turn-around time. Avoid talking about the drivers for fear of antagonising. Talk to the drivers through their unions.

les

930 - 3248

Meeting of 11 Nov 1984

Name	Address	Branch
1. Mantsata	6937 Ori. West.	Ori. West
2. J. K. Pulwer	9116 117 of. o. o. c. u. o. l.	Ori. West
3. NAT SAMOKAOTA	2747 Naledi	Naledi
4. Vusi KHANYILE	622 Dikloof Ext.	Dikloof
5. S. S. Malane	ASOS. ofc.	
6. FJ Rantas	Tladi	Tladi
7. M. P. Lephanya	2260 Naledi	Naledi
8. Mr Christian	1346 Tladi	
9. KGAZAGO	982 Mofolo	
10. M. C. MOKODITOA	895 MORAPO	
11. M. M. LAMA	140, Jubel	
12. J. Kekana	62188 ZONE Dikloof	
13. Norman	189 Senarane	
14. Sibaso Sibisi	75 Dikloof Ext.	Dikloof
15. Addison Ceba	1522 O/East	
16. Sans Taintain	4093 Z.7 M/lands.	



ie, President
Deputy President
Assistant President

Secretariat: Gen Sec; Pub & Correspondence &
Rec. Sec.

Treasurer: 1 man
1 Committee Member.

Inter-branch delegates: 3 authorized by each
branch. - no longer anybody nobody.

The need for a Policy document.

Mr. Jada is inviting other organisations
Mr. Paulweni will collect the registration fees
from the branches.

The Agenda was read.

The SCA supports the call for a "black Xmas"
initiated by FOSATU.

Mr. Lucky Mhlaivana to form a sub-committee to consider action against the R30-
and R9 monthly increase on electricity
coming into effect on the 1st Dec. 1984.

Next meeting 25 Nov. 1984

Rent: The unknown rent increase

R40 20 to R42,25 Rockville.

All ~~water~~ flat rate for water.

Zone 4 Ext., assess the rate of the house.

The value of the area and not the house - in town.

Rent increases no longer published but confronting individuals.

The need for public application to the Minister for rent and related increment

Payment of loans

(16)

1/9/87

Naledi branch: involving the labour research & Black Sash.

We welcome the services of offered by other research bodies: Barbara

Need for a document demanding that the Councils inform the people rather than victimising them at individual level when paying the rent by the Clerks.

Resource Office Catholic Church zone 3 - Dipkloof - for the Diepkloof branch.

~~Amor~~

The detention of Amor Masondo

Orlando Branch meeting to-day
FEDSAW invitation to the meeting of the 12 at the Dube y Centre. Thursday

Next meeting - Branch report.
Senecunda branch - in

49

that the SCA has affiliated to the
UDF and this fact will be explained
in the president's report to the AGM.
This does not sound like what is
recently said here!!

- 51
- 1, Clarification of policy stand
 - 2, Sharmer a platform with Gatscha
 - 3, Invitation to the unveiling of the tombstone.
 - (i) by the family
 - (ii)

Meetings.

- (i) Chairman & Vice ~~& Secretary~~ with the President;
- (ii) with COSA Exec. Tuesday

Mogare; Paul, Ramokgopa
 Mog Mpolweni; - Catholic Church D/kloof
 Zone 3

Lease RAMONO
 10th floor

GARDEN PLAZA

COR STEPHEN + BICCAR STS

Sharfonte

Minutes of the meeting of the Inter-Branch of the SCA on the 11 Nov. 1974 held at Dr. Motlana's house Dube

Present were: Dube; Diepskloof, Meadowlands, Mofolo; Motapo, Naledi, Orlando West; Orlando East; Pimville, Tladi/Moletsane Senoane.

Apology: Pimville.

Chairman: Dr. Motlana.

Minutes of the previous meeting were read, corrected and adopted

Correction: The recording on the UDF affiliation it should read: The affiliation is done/made except a branch presenting its opposition through a drawn resolution and submitting it before the AGM, the affiliation will not be discussed at the AGM.

Matters arising:

The guest speaker:

It was reported that Fr. Xundu has accepted the invitation.

The SCA will fund his travel costs.

Other matters

The report of the AGM Committee:
1, Active debaters at the AGM, Only the 10 branch delegates; and those considered members of the now inactive branches.

2, Branches will register with the Secretary before the AGM - a week

3, Theme: Education: Houses; Comfort and Security For All.

4, The New SCA proposed structure:
14) 3 presidents;

10. We can not live without food
11. within
12. or My ~~one~~ ^{own} ~~car~~ bike is broken.

1. I wear a vest inside. ✓
2. The car is parked outside the garage. ✓
3. Mother drives a slow car. ✓
4. The ~~she~~ cock crow. ✓
5. The star rises. ✓
6. low ✓
7. We start with prayers at school. ✓
8. My sharp pencil rights well. ✓
9. boys throw stones at us. ✓

Meeting of the 25 Nov. 1984

Name	Address	Branch
J. M. Moutsheta	6437 Orl. West	Orl. West
N. Kamogopa	2707 Naledi	Naledi
H. M. M. M. M.	1401 J. B. M.	
A. M. M. M.	524 Senneville	Senneville
D. K. GASAGO	982 Mofolo	
J. Kekana	6218 B Zone 4 J. B. M.	
V. MOGANE	1607 MOLETSANE - TRADI MOLETSANE	
C. M. M.	1346 Tradu	
A. C. M.	1522 O/EAST	
J. M. F. O.	2879 O/West	O/West
S. L. M.	10100A Mzimhlaba	
T. M. M.	9892B Mzimhlaba	
M. M. M.	1898 TRADI	
P. M. M.	2260A Naledi	Naledi
H. S. MALEBYE	547 DIEPKLOOF EXT.	D.C.A.
V. P. KHANYILE	622 D/KLOOF.	D.C.A.
J. M. MAKOGA	2433 ^a M/lands	M.C.A.
E. M. M.	204 ^c /2 M/lands	M.C.A.
W. W. M.	2054 M/lands Dhamini	D.C.A.
M. M. M.	1444 Dhamini	D.C.A.

A polagey
Mr Nakone



Name	Address	Branch
Imantlanta	6937 Oil West	Oil West
N. RAMOKGOLA	2747 Naledi	NALEDI
P. K. ASAGO	982. Mofolo	
J. Spalover	496 Mofolo	Mofolo
A. M. Masand	824 Senoane	SENOANE
FJ Rawoo	1551 Tladi	
Vusi KHANYILE	2622 Dikloof Ext.	Dikloof
M. THAPEDI	1898 Tladi	M/Tladi
S. R. Lunalis	10500 Mzimba	Mzimba
A. M. CEBA	1522 O/E	O/E
G. M. Mkhaha	18-18 zone 1 M/Lands	
L. M. Matlabathe	70 Ext. Diepkloof Ext.	
GEORGE HOVENI	CHAWELO	
Jano Jansain	M/Lands	
ANANDA KWAJO	Orlando East	
N. N. G. T. L. N. N.	140. Duke	
H. JADA	8419 Zone 6 Brumby	
M. J. Tedile	2713A zone 2 Pimville	
S. J. H. H.	203A Zone 1 M/Lands	

08369-1 (8/82) MHT

J. Kekena
w. M. Matlala 62188 ZONE 4, District DCA
1004/1005/1006 - 436 - 1172

1004/1005/1006

1004/1005/1006
1004/1005/1006
1004/1005/1006

An Ex-Ordinary Meeting: 1st Oct 1934

Name	Address	Branch
J. Mawthata	6937 Orl. West	Orl. West
Melife	204 ^c M/Land	M/Lands
S. Mureythe	2265A Naledi	NCA
P. Letlunyane	2525 Naledi ex	NCA
D. J. Kgaso	982 - M/FOLC	
H. Ramo	208 20221 M/Lands	M/Lands
J. N. P. Ramo	9961 Naledi Central	Naledi
J. S. Ramo	D.C.A.	
N. Ramo	270 Naledi	Naledi CA
S. J. Ramo	409B	M/Lands
S. S. Ramo	450S	efe.
Mandla Nkefi	1420 ^B	Enders S.
L. M. Ramo	681	Moroka
S. Motate	1433	Naledi

Louis Ramo

Meeting of the 14 Oct. 1984

Name	Address	Branch
J Mantsela	6937 Orl. West	Orl. West
M. J. Tedile	2713A Zone 2	Pimville
DJ K CASPAD	987 MOFOLO.	MOFOLO.
O. M. Maweni	9961 Topolo Col. Col.	Topolo
P. Kephunyane	2260 A Naledi	Naledi
V. P. KHANYILE	622 Dikloof EXT.	Dikloof.
M. Mogatani	63 Dikloof	Dikloof
S. SEBETHOMA.	DIKLOOF	D. A.
Z. Kekana	62158 ZONE 4/DIKLOOF DCA.	
S. H. Meregottle	2525 Naledi EXT	NALEDI
J. Joqane	D. C. A.	
N. Ramokgola	2747 Naledi	NALEDI
M. MOTLANA	1401 Durse	Durse
M. MARHUBU	8108 PIMVILLE	
T. Mali	176A White City	Jabavu
H. TADA	8619 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE	
C. Tshale	1346 Tladi	
FJ Rantso	1551 Tladi	

The SCA Inter-Branch meeting held on the 5 August 1984 at the Duke Chapel

Chairman : Mr. J. Mogase
Matters arising from the minutes:

vide
A + 15
1/60

(i) The Anti-Tricameral election document it was read and adopted as the SCA document:

The Committee responsible for the campaign against the election was ~~met~~

further mandated to continue with the arrangements for the meeting of the Transvaal Civic Association delegates on the 11 August 1984 and the relevant publications.

(16)

2/9/87

(ii) The Letter from PUTCO on the fare increase.

Diepkloof Branch: Reported that it had assigned a special group to study the letter, and ~~write~~ ^{write a} letter of

2

acknowledgement to the Company.
 The branch reported further that it
 holding housing meetings ~~to~~ to discuss
 the implications of the increase. ~~with~~
 It was suggested that all branches
 should respond to the PUTCO letter.

iii. PUTCO's invitation of Mogase ~~to~~ ^{to} the
 Committee with the Councilors:

With this Committee the Company wants
 give an impression that it consult with
 the Community when it increases
 the fares and on other related issues.

The meeting noted that the Committee
 is expressly to approve what the
 company has resolved to do unilaterally.

The meeting noted with disgust that
 the Company ^{links} ~~seems~~ the Association
 with the Community Councils

The sponsorship of the Amazulu
 by ~~the~~ the same PUTCO that claims
 to be running at a loss was noted

3

with concern.

(iv) PUICO practices and possible contact with the Company.

a. Accidents: They seem to be common day occurrences which are a threat to the commuters and other road users.

b. Response to time: It is undependable. These and other related ^{circumstances} ~~def~~ seem not to be exclusively resting with the drivers. The Company subjects the drivers to maximizing turn-about time.

The meeting recommends discussions with the trade union of the bus drivers rather than with the Company.

Rent increases:

16

2/9/87

4
 (16)
 2/9/87

The meeting needed specific commitments of increases. The RII-flat rate for water demands utmost vigilance of the SCA in areas where meters are installed and yet the changes in payments not taken into account. The branches should guide the residents to demand dropping of the RII flat rate where the water ~~is~~ is metered and pay according to the meter reading.

Further the branches should teach the residents how to read the meters.

The practices of the council offices to announce the rent increases to the people at the offices when the people pay the monthly rents ^{was} strongly condemned. It is construed as naked victimization of and confrontational with the residents. Challenges of these nature can only lead to

No
 (16)
 1/9/88

16
1/9/67

5
~~have~~ arrests. The meeting decided to seek, even at this late stage, legal redress. ~~The Association~~ ^{the meeting} concluded that agencies like the Black Sash be contacted to establish whether there can be a legal ^{channel} ~~method~~ of forcing the Council to publicise the rent increases in a manner the residents can respond before the due date of the increases.

(v) Assessment of the value of houses in Zone Diepkloof Zone 4 Ext. ~~with~~ by the Diepmeadow Council with the view of raising the rents accordingly ~~to the~~ —

The meeting scoffed at the idea, as the concept of raising the rents is based on the value of the area.

Resource centres/offices:
 Diepkloof announced its St. Margaret

①

41

Catholic Church Zone 3 Diepkloof.

1/9/87

Amos Masondo's detention:

The meeting expressed strong feelings condemning the SCA's Secretariat to have been quiet on the detention. The secretary reported of his efforts with the Sowetan, Mail & Star, which seemed to have all failed as no publicity of the Association's concern was ever given publicity. Further the secretary reported of about his visits to Mr. Masondo's home.

Announcements.

The Orlando branch's public meeting at 1pm at the NQK in Orlando East, the same day.

The Federation of the Women of S.A.'s

meeting, at the Duise Y centre
~~invests the meeting decided~~
at 1 pm. the same day.

THE MINUTES OF THE SCA INTER-BRANCH MEETING HELD ON
THE 5TH AUGUST, 1984 AT THE DUBE CHAPEL:

2
67

CHAIRMAN: Mr. I. Mogase

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES:

(a) The Anti-Tricameral election document:

It was read and adopted as the one SCA document. The Committee responsible for the campaign against the election was mandated to continue with the arrangements for the meeting of the Transvaal Civic Association delegates on the 11 August 1984 and the relevant publications.

(b) The letter from PUTCO on the fare increase:

DIEPKLOOF BRANCH: Reported that it had assigned a special group to study the letter and write a letter of acknowledgement to the company. The branch reported further that it is holding housing meetings to discuss the implications of the increase. It was suggested that all branches should respond to the PUTCO letter.

(c) PUTCO's invitation of Mogase to the Committee with the Councillors:

With this Committee the Company wants to give an impression that it consults with the community when it increases the fares and on other related issues. The meeting noted that the Committee is expressly to approve what the Company has resolved to do unilaterally. The meeting noted with disgust that the Company lumps the Association with the Community Councils. The sponsorship of the Amazulu by the same PUTCO that claims to be running at a loss was noted with concern.

(d) PUTCO practices and possible contact with the Company.

- (i) ACCIDENTS: They seem to be common day occurrences which are a threat to the commuters and other road users.
- (ii) RESPONSE TO TIME: It is undependable. These and other related abnormalities seem not to be exclusively resting with the drivers. The company subjects the drivers to maximizing turn-about time.

The meeting recommends discussions with the trade-union of the bus-drivers rather than with the Company.

RENT INCREASES:

The meeting needed specific amounts of increases. The R11-00 flat rate for water demands utmost vigilance of the SCA in areas where meters are installed and yet the changes in payments not taken into account. The branches should guide the residents to demand dropping of the R11 flat rate where the water is metered and pay according to the meter reading. Further the branches should teach the residents how to read the meters.

2/.....

The practices of the Council offices to announce the rent increases to the people at the offices when the people pay the monthly rents was strongly condemned. It is construed as naked victimization of and confrontational with the residents. Challenges of these nature can only lead to unrests. The meeting decided to seek legal redress. The meeting concluded that agencies like the Black Sash be contacted to establish whether there can be a legal channel of forcing the Council to publicise the rent increases in a manner the residents can respond before the due date of the increases.

Assessment of the value of houses in Diepkloof Zone 4 Ext. by the Diepmeadow Council with the view of raising the rents accordingly. The meeting scoffed at the idea, as the concept of raising the rents is based on the value of the area.

RESOURCE CENTRES/OFFICES:

Diepkloof announced its St. Margret Catholic Church Zone 3 Diepkloof.

AMOS MASONDO'S DETENTION:

The meeting expressed strong feelings condemning the SCA's Secretariat to have been quiet on detention. The Secretary reported of his efforts with the Sowetan, Mail & Star, which seemed to have all failed as no publicity of the Association's concern was ever given publicity. Further the secretary reported of about his visits to Mr. Masondo's home.

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

The Orlando branch's public meeting at 1p.m. at the NGKA in Orlando East the same day.

The Federation of the Women of S.A.'s meeting at the Dube Y Centre, at 1p.m. the same day.

16

1/9/87

2/9/87

7/9/87

8/9/87

SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS

Soweto Youth Congress
c/o Methodist Youth Centre
P.O. Jabavu

27 September 1984

SOWETO CIVIC ASS.

Comrades

16 8/9/87

Your organisation is invited to a plannery meeting of the UDF Area Committee. This follows a meeting called by the UDF evaluation commission where SOYCO was mandated to convene this plannery meeting.

The meeting will specifically look into the following:

1. Formation of an area committee (UDF)
2. Improving communication amongst our organisation in SOWETO.
3. Other issues.
- ..

The meeting will be held at:

VENUE : Methodist Youth Centre (C.W.J.)

DATE : Wednesday the 3rd October 1984

TIME : 6.00 pm

Please send at least 2 delegates. The success of this meeting depends on your participation.

Yours in the Struggle

(GODFREY MOKATE; PUBLICITY SECRETARY)

Gmokate.

Minutes of the SCA Meeting held on the 8th April 1984
at the Dube Ex-Servicemen Memorial Chapel

2

<u>PRESENT:</u>	Name	Branch	Address
1.	T. Manthata	Orlando West	6937 Orlando West
2.	J. Kekana	Diepkloof	6218B Diepkloof
3.	Khehla	White City	396A W/C/J
4.	Amos	Senaoane	824 Senaoane
5.	Mahlaule	Orlando East	3593 Orlando East
6.	E. Thapedi	Tladi	1898 Tladi
7.	W. Mahlalela	Chaiwelo	1898 Chaiwelo
8.	N. Ramokgopa	Naledi	2747 Naledi Ext
9.	P. Mogopa	Diepkloof	1746B Zone 2
10.	V. Mogane	Tladi/Moletsane	1607 Moletsane
11.	W.S. Magcai	Diepkloof	2593 Zone 2
12.	M. Morobe	Orlando East	
13.	I. Mogase	Diepkloof	4730B Zone 4
14.	W. Malepa	Moletsane	2068 Moletsane
15.	I. Mkhabela	Moletsane	2088 Moletsane
16.	S.S. Dlakani	Orlando East	4505 OrlandoEE
17.	E.L. Makhetha	Dube Village	1443 Dube
18.	A.M. Ndala	Meadowlands	
19.	N.MMotlana	Dube	1401 Dube

CHAIRMAN: Mr A. Masondo

MINUTES: Minutes of the meeting of the 25th March 1984 were read.

Omissions: Omitted in the minutes of the meeting of the 25 ultimo were:

- i) Most branches are unable to organise and retain potential members due to lack of membership cards. And consequently
- ii) It was agreed that Mr Hoveni contact Mr Johny Motata to collect membership cards.

MATTERS ARISING

1. Membership Cards: The absence of Mr Hoveni at this meeting necessitating greater concern in the wake of lack of a report on the mandate given to him to collect cards from Mr Motata.
The meeting noted that it shall need +-500 membership cards on a stop gap basis. It was suggested that with the 3 or so procurable cards the secretary and/or chairman, Dr N.H. Motlana, should call at a printer's shop for a quotation to print the estimated number. The treasurer would then be informed of the quotation and he in turn to show cause why there may not be funds to pay.
To prepare for the worst from the treasurer, namely, that there are no funds, it was suggested that a pledge for R10 from either the individual or branch be made. The chairman, Dr N.H. Motlana, however, requested to be given time to check with the bank first.
It was concluded that the Chairman, Dr Motlana, would communicate with Mr N.M. Ramokgopa his findings with the bank.
2. Dube: Mr Makhetha reported about his contact with some ladies in Dube. He was furnished with names of people who have shown willingness to be members of the SCA and to organise for it. Dr N.H. Motlana suggested the likelihood of an immediate house meeting with the suggested people.

- 3. Diepkloof: Mr Mogase, chairman of the branch announced the public meeting of the branch to be held that day at St James Anglican Church, Zone 3, Diepkloof at 2 p.m.
- 4. Education Crisis: It was reported that the Committee of 7 continues meeting preparing for a continuation meeting to be held on the 28th April 1984.

OTHER MATTERS

1. Correspondence: It was maintained that correspondence directed to the SCA is both never read nor responded to. Members belonging to both SCA and other organisations felt very strongly about this. It was however agreed that correspondence should be handled first by the Executive Committee; that on receipt of correspondence the secretary should intimate the chairman, Dr Motlana about it and the two should then strive to convene a meeting of the Executive Committee where the matter would be considered.

19
2/9/84

2. Branch Reports

- (a) Chiawelo: Mrs Mahlalela reported about the branch's problem to find a venue for public meetings. She, however, raised the meeting's hope when she promised to contact Rev J. Tshawane of the Swiss Mission which was a traditional venue.
- (b) Meadowlands: It was reported that the branch holds house meetings twice a week. For public meetings the branch is breaking virgin soil by applying to the Catholic Church at Zone 2 since confusion still reigns with the old venues, namely the Lutheran Churches at Zone 2 and Zone 9.
- (c) Naledi: It was reported that the area is divided into Naledi Extension and the Old Naledi for the convenience of membership to attend meetings. The branch discusses thorny issues like Local Authorities Act, etc. Further it has resorted into a campaign to identify old and new members.
- (d) Emmdeni: No report.
- (e) Tladi: Vincent and Ishmael Mkhabela are to work together to revive the Tladi-Moletsane branch. Concern was expressed about these two areas as they once were promising branches.
- (f) Jabulani: - No report.
- (g) Mapetla: Mr Masondo reported on the likelihood of combining Mapetla Extension, Phiri and Chiawelo Extension for a public meeting.
- (h) Moroka: No report.
- (i) White City - CWJ: No report.

An announcement of the UDF Seminar on Education for the 27-29 April 1984 was made

16
7/9/84

NEXT MEETING: The date for the next meeting 29 April 1984.

The meeting closed.

<u>PRESENT:</u>	Name	Branch/Organisation	Address
	T. Manthata	Orlando West	6937 Orl. West
	D. Thathe	Orlando West	10099 Orl. West II
	P. Lephunya	Naledi	2260A Naledi
	N. Ramokgadi	Naledi	2747 Naledi Ext
	S. Ramogase	Orlando	4730B Diepkloof
	G. Hoveni	Chiawelo	639 Chiawelo
	H. Jada	Pimville	8419 Zone 6
	M. Makhubedu	Pimville	8108A Zone 6
	L. Nongo	Klipspruit	620 Klipspruit
	J. Mazibuko	Pimville	8123B Zone 6
	N. Motlana	Dube	1401 Dube
	P.J. Kgasago	Mofolo	982 Mofolo B
	Eric	Diepkloof	6405A Zone 4
	N. Mogatusi	Diepkloof	63 Diepkloof Ext
	P. Pule	Emdeni/Azapo	Box 84, Chiawelo
	N. Poee	Naledi	973B Naledi
	M. Maruping	Meadowlands	2328 Zone 9
	E.L. Makhetha	Dube	1443 Dube
	L.M. Mathabathe	Diepkloof	1458A Mofolo C
	Sidney Temba	Moletsane	2088 Moletsane
	I. Mogase		

Dr Motlana chaired the meeting.

MINUTES: Not available. but could remember some vital past issues namely:-

1. The Klipspruit Public Branch meeting held on the 11th March 1984: Mr Jada reported on the following:-
 - i) An advice office at St Andrews Church. He appealed for the stationery and furniture. The office functions on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Saturdays. For more knowledge and expertise on how to run an advice office he was advised to use the services of the personnels of the existing advice offices - the Black Sash, Legal Resources, Law Clinic, Centre for Applied Legal Studies, etc.
 - ii) The meeting passed a resolution on Education, i.e. the need for a national strategy on education to be drawn by Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, Rev F. Chikana and Mr N. Mogatusi. (16)
8/9/87
 - iii) On PUTCO the meeting resolved to write a letter together with the Diepkloof branch to PUTCO. Further it was reported that the branch was considering a delegation for a follow up of the letter. (16)
2/9/87
2. Diepkloof Meeting: to be held on the 8th April 1984.

The branch is monitoring the conditions of PUTCO shelters and its services with the view of a meeting with cooperation the same way the Pimville branch is doing. The branch teaches the residents about water and electricity meter reading. Meetings and talks are held and given at churches e.g.: 1 kiloliter is at 24c and a household consumption per month is +- 8 kl and to this is added R8 flat rate.

3. Meadowlands Branch Meeting: to be held on the 8th and venue not fixed yet. The meeting is primarily for the revival of the branch.

4. Meeting on Education held at the Fund^a Centre: on the 24th March 1984
The meeting was attended by 18 organisations. Minutes are being typed. It was reported that a committee of 7 members was elected to convene the next meeting for a follow-up and involvement of more organisations. The committee was further mandated to provide an agenda and an introductory paper.

18
1/9/87

The meeting of the 24 March 1984 expressed concern about the active school teachers' and inspectorates' absence at such vital meetings. The chairman offered to speak to Mr Engelbrecht to allow the teachers to attend should the committee of 7 deem it necessary. The seven are:

Mr L.M. Mathabathe, Mr L.S. Makhaphela, Mr S. Radaimane, Mr G. Nekota, Rev F. Chikane, Mrs J. Seroke and Mr T. Manthata.

5. Branch Reports:

- i) Orlando East: There was no delegate. A concern was expressed that the branch has weakened with the end of the demolition of shacks. It needs revival.
- ii) Orlando West: David Thate reported. He maintained that the branch now includes Meadowlands Zone 5.
- iii) Dube: It was suggested that Mr Makhetha joins forces with Mr Sekgwale for the revival of the branch.
- iv) Mofolo: The chairman of the branch reported that the branch holds fortnightly house meetings. The branch has no church halls for larger public meetings. Presently the branch comprises Mofolo Central only.

f. No..... 292 Age..... 16 Sex..... male
 NAME: Wellington Mboweni Thumbe
 ADDRESS..... Gleditsia Road, Steyners, P.O. Box 110, King Mankwani 345

HOME CIRCUMSTANCES: HEAD OF H/HOUSE = father
 OCCUPATION = Dentist
 NO OF H/HOLD = 16
 NO AT SCHOOL = 5
 NO WORKING = 1
 PARENTS = pt Both alive
 TOTAL INCOME = R100

SCHOLASTIC RECORD:
 JUNE REPORT: Zulu 65%, Afr. 67%, Eng 60%, Gen Science 63%, Maths 61%, S Stud. 66%,
 (Age 16y)
 CLASS POSITION: 3
 STANINE: ENGV. Eng. Non-Verb. Arith. Afrik. Afr.S Non-Verb. Total /63

BURSARY REQUIRED: STD 7 JC matric I and II

INSTITUTION: RICHIE BHO 567
 KENNELIA
 3450

AMOUNT: R 282.

OTHER BURSARIES: NO

TESTIMONIAL: PRINCIPAL - A conscientious and hardworking young man.
 MINISTER OF RELIGION - A BAPTIST MEMBER OF THE SULLIVAN ARMY, AND A STUDENT OF THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT. HIS HELP WOULD BE APPRECIATED

COMMITTEE COMMENTS: 4th Floor
 Total House
 SMIT Street.
 DECISION:
 ABF 22
 07.09.1981

Dr. M. Sinclair
P.O. Box 23053
Joubert Park
2044

Dear Dr. Sinclair
Re: USSALEP's offer to fund the Soweto Civic Association's leadership seminars.

The Soweto Civic Association expresses its heart felt gratitude to USSALEP's offer generous offer to fund the Association's project on leadership training.

At the time the SCA approached USSALEP for assistance, the Association had already made applications to two other funding groups. Granted, their response delayed and accentuated us anxiety.

One has replied and to our great delight, ~~their~~ response is positive. The ~~Assoc~~ Association will avail itself of this group's offer instead of ^{the} USSALEP's for the time.

~~Trusting that the Association~~
Yours faithfully
Mamthata

~~last~~ instructed Adv. Nqoye
Temporary order 1st May 1984
final

Estimate costs = 121500
Total account = 2000

SAACC =
family =

in the event of a success
the University will pay the costs.

Meeting of the 25 March 1984

Name s	Branch /org.	Address
J. Mantsoa	Orl. West	6937 Orl. West
D. Tsoa	Orl. West	12000 ...
P. Kephauyoi	Naledi	2266 Naledi
N. Simons	-	2747 ...
J. ...	Orlando	2722 ...
E. Mkhabela	Mokwane	2033 Mokwane
G. Heveni	Chicane	639 Chicane
A. Jada	Pimville	3419 Zone 6
M. Makhubane	Pimville	2100 Zone 6
L. Nene	Klipspruit	620 Klipspruit
E. ...	PIMVILLE	8123 Zone 6
N. ...	Dube	1420 Dube
D. ...	Diephloof	6405 Zone 4
N.	23 ...
P. ...	Emami / Ngwenya	P.O. Box 34, ...
N. ...	Naledi	973 Naledi, ...
M. MARUPING	MEADOWLANDS	2328 Zone 9
E.L. MAKHETHA	DUBE	1443 DUBE VILLAGE
L.M. Matabatho	Diephloof P.T.O.	1400A ...

①

Meeting Of The 25th March 1984: Held
at the Ex-Service Men Memorial Chapel
Dube:

3 de
stel

Present were as per list:

Dr. N. Motlana chaired the meeting.

Minutes: Not available: but could
remember some vital past issues
namely:-

1, The Klipspruit Public Branch meeting
held on the 11th March 1984:

Mr. Jada reported on ~~the~~ following

(i) an Advice Office at St. Andrews
Church. He appealed for the stationery
and furniture. The Office functions on
Tuesdays; Wednesdays & Saturdays.

For more knowledge and expertise
on how to run an advice office he
was advised to use the services of
the ~~existing~~ personnels of ^{the existing} other
advice office, the Black Sash; Legal
Resources, Law Clinic, Centre for
Applied Legal Studies etc.

Sidney Temba Moletsane 2088
Dir/ N. Moflana
Mr. J Mogase

Digitised by the Open Scholarship Programme in support of public access to information, University of Pretoria, 2018.

2.

The meeting passed a resolution on Education; i.e., the need for a national strategy on Education to be drawn by Mr. Fanyana Mazibuko; Rev. F. Chikana & Mr. M. Mogatusi.

On PUTCO the meet resolved to write a letter together with the Diepkloof branch to PUTCO. Further it was reported that the branch was considering a delegation for a follow up of the letter.

Mr. Jada reported that his branch does not operate on a formal Committee but a Working Force of proven workers.

- 2. Diepkloof Meeting: To be held on the 8th April 1984.

The Branch is monitoring the conditions of PUTCO shelters and its services with the view of a meeting with COOPERATION

③

the same way the Pimville Branch is doing.

The branch teaches the residents, water and electricity meter reading. Meetings and talks are held and given at churches eg: 1 kilometer is at 24c and a household consumption per month is ± 8kl. and to this is added R8 - flat rate.

3, Meadowland Branch meeting: To be held on the 8th 1984 and Venue not fixed yet. The meeting is primarily for the revival of the branch.

4, Meeting on Education held at the Funda Centre: on the 24 March 1984

The meeting was attended by 18 organisations.

Minutes are being typed.

It was reported that a committee

④

of 7 members was elected to convene the next meeting for a follow-up and involvement of more organisations. The committee was further mandated to provide an agenda and an introductory paper.

The meet of the 25 March 1984 expressed concern about the active school teachers and inspectorates' absence at such vital meetings.

The Chairman offered to speak to Mr. Engelbrecht ~~on~~ to allow the teachers to attend should the committee of 7 deem it necessary.

The seven are: Mr. L. M. Mathabathe

Mr. L. S. Makhaphela

Mr. S. Radaimane.

Mr. G. Nekota

Rev. F. Chikane

Mrs. J. Seroke

T. Mantlata.

5. Branch reports: -

- (i) Orlando East: There was no delegate. A concern was expressed that the branch has weakened with the end of the demolition of shacks. It needs revival.
- (ii) Orl. West: David Thate reported. He maintained that the branch now includes Meadowlands zone 5.
- (iii) Dube: It was suggested that Mr. Matketha joins forces with Mr. Sekxwale for the revival of the branch.
- (iii) Mofelo: The chairman of the branch reported that the branch holds fortnightly house meetings. The branch has no church halls for larger public meetings.

Presently their branch comprises
Mojoro tta Central only.

Meeting of the 22nd July 1984.
 Chairman: Mr. Mathabane.
 Present as per list.

Minutes: NOT available. On recapping
 the following issues were raised
 Leadership seminar: & the
 Education crisis meetings held
 at Funda Centre.

1, Leadership Seminar:
 Jada reported on the two seminars
 i.e. successful. Report available for
 branches and individuals at R\$-

Announcement of the next seminar
 the 28 July 1984. in kits.

2, Education Crisis Meetings.

Committee meetings.
 involvement of the community
 Church involvement -

Madibane PTA

Catholic Church Zone 3

Thabakabula PTA.

Lutheran Church. Tladi

Re Organising the Inter-branch Committee.
 Mr. Mogase to reorganise the committee
 and actions -

Action Committee:
 Program of action:

The action committee replaced the Inter-branch meeting.

Inter-branch - Action Committees

Utterances ~~that~~ from the Hendrickses -
for their election campaign -
Rachibanzis to be refuted by the SCA. -
Line of NA action.
Action Committee work

Date of the Next meeting - 5th August 1984
Assessment of Rates:

- 1. Anti-Triacamereral Elections
- 2. ~~The citizenship of S~~ ^{Freedom of Soweto} ~~to Mrs. Isutha~~
~~to Mrs. Koorndorf~~
- 3. Situations in Welkom
Ratuncla
Tembisa
- 4. Increasing pass raids around
entrances of the blacks into ~~town~~
~~town~~ or city centre.

Kard uit die dokumente
van Bessie Tom M. M. M. M.
tydens ondersoeking, maar by
persoonlike teenwoordig was.

'19

The Meeting of the ^{re-organised} Inter-branch
 mee chairman: Mr. Mathabane.
 Present as per list..

Minutes: Not available. On recapping
 the following issues were raised
 Leadership seminar: & the
 Education crisis meetings held
 at Funda Centre.

1. Leadership Seminar:
 Tada reported on the two seminars
 i.e. successful. Report available for
 branches and individuals at R4-
 Announcement of the next seminar
 the 28 July 1984. in kits.

2. Education Crisis Meetings -
 Committee meetings.
 involvement of the community
 Church involvement -
 Madibane PTA
 Catholic Church Zone 3
 Thabajabula PTA
 Lutheran Church. Tladi

Re Organising the Inter-branch Committee.
 Mr. Mogase to reorganise the committee
 and Actions -
 Action Committee:
 Program of action.

Meeting of the 22nd July 1984		
Name	Address	Branch
J Manthata	6937	Orl. West.
T. Mahi	176 A W J	White City
H. JADA	8419 ZONE 6	PIMVILLE
M. J. TEDILE	2713A Zone 2	PIMVILLE
L.M. Matabathe	70 Diepkloof	Mofolo
Jogase	4730B Diepkloof	D.C.A
Shasha Magothe	2525 Naledi EXT	Naledi
M. Moko	6405 Z/A	Diepkloof
Molobi E.	2814A ZONE 2.	Pimville branch
Lepunya P.	2260A Naledi	NCA
M. THAPED	1898 TLAZI	NCA
N. RANDKGOBA	2747 Naledi	N.C.A.
L. Mavuka	7943 Zone 1	PIMVILLE EXT
2211 Palwena	9461/1C	1. 1016 Central
DJ Kgasapo	- 952.	MOFOLO . V.

meeting of the 5 August 1984

Name	Address	Branch
Jmantsatu	6937 Or. West	Orl. West
Thabedi	100309 C/W	
Lumka	10100A O/W	
GEORGIE HEVENI	639 E-HAVELD	
WILFRED WILLIAMS	270 ZANELE MASHALANE	
MOTHE TATA	8419 ZANELE MASHALANE	
Sagasa	47300 AS D.C.A	
S Sebena	4263 D.C.A.	
DP Thathe	10099 O/W	
N MASHALANE	1401 Durba.	
PT KGA SAGO. 982	Motolo.	
Mohoki E.	Pienville	
Mogatsi. N.	D.C.A.	
P. Lepunya	2260A Naledi N.C.A	
N. Ramckgopa	Naledi N.C.A	
D. Molemela	190 Moleksane	
A. K...	TLADI/MEJERANE CIVIC	
A. Kwadi	3609 Orlando East	

Minutes of the SCA meeting held on the 8th April 1984 at the Dube Ex-Servicemen Memorial Chapel:

Present were - His per attached copy

Chairman Mr. A. Masondo

Minutes of the meeting of the 25th March 1984 were read.

Omissions: Omitted in the minutes of the meeting of the 25th March were i, most branches are unable to organise and retain potential members due to lack of membership card. And consequently, ii, it was agreed that Mr. Hovemi contact Mr. Johnny Motata to collect the membership cards.

Matters arising:-

Membership Cards: The absence of Mr. Hovemi at this meeting necessitating greater concern in the wake of lack of a report on the mandate given to him to collect cards from Mr. Motata.

The meeting noted that it shall need ± 500 membership on a stop gap basis. It was suggested that with the 3 or so procurable cards the secretary and/or chairman ^{Dr. N.H. Motlana} should call at a printer's shop for a quotation to print the estimated number. The treasurer would then be informed of the quotation and he in turn to show cause why they may not be funds to pay.

from the treasurer
to prepare for the worst, namely, that there are no funds it was suggested that a ^{AAA} pledge for R10- from either the individual or the branch be made. The chairman ^{Dr. N.H. Motlana} however, requested to be given ~~to~~ time to check with the ^{AAA} bank first.

It was concluded that the Chairman, Dr. N.H. Motlana would communicate with Mr. N.M. Ramoagopa his findings with the bank.

~~Branch Reports~~

- 2 Dube: Mr. Makhetha reported about his contact with some ladies in Dube He was furnished with names of people who have show willingness to be members of the SCA and to organise for it. ~~to~~ the Dr. N.H. Motlana suggested the likelihood of an immediate house meeting with the suggested people.
- 3, Diepkloof: Mr. Mogase Chairman of the branch announce the public meeting of the branch to be held that day at St. James' Anglican Church, Zone 3 Diepkloof at 2pm.
- 4, Education Crisis: It was reported that the Committee of 7, continues meeting preparing for ~~another~~ a continuation meeting to be held on the 28th April 1984.

Ref. No. N263..... Age..... 15..... Sex..... MALE.....

NAME: MARWALE JACOB BOHADI.....

ADDRESS: MANKOPANG L.P. School. P.O. LEFALANE. 0761.....

HOME CIRCUMSTANCES:

HEAD OF H/HOUSE	=	FATHER
OCCUPATION	=	FARM LABOUR
NO OF H/HOLD	=	8
NO AT SCHOOL	=	4
NO WORKING	=	1
PARENTS	=	BOTH ALIVE
TOTAL INCOME	=	R 124.

SCHOLASTIC RECORD:

JUNE REPORT: N. SOTHO 73% AFR. 56% ENG 55% G. Science 33% MATHS 74% AGRIC. SCIENCE 77%
S. Studies 72%

CLASS POSITION: 2

STANINE: ENGV. Eng. Non-Verb. Arith. Afrik. Afr.S Non-Verb. Total /63

BURSARY REQUIRED: STD 7

INSTITUTION: BOHADIWALE COLLEGE
P.O. BOX 4613
MABALE HALL
0430

AMOUNT: R 130

OTHER BURSARIES: 4/11

TESTIMONIAL: PRINCIPAL - A PROMISING STUDENT, ACHIEVED A FIRST IN STD VI AND I RECOMMEND HIM HIGHLY.

MINISTER OF RELIGION - BOHADIWALE MEMBER OF LUTHERAN CHURCH. FAMILY ARE POOR AND CANNOT AFFORD TO FURTHER HIS STUDIES.

COMMITTEE COMMENTS:

DECISION:

ABF 22
07.09.1981
/dr

Meeting of the 8th April 1984

Name	Branch	Address
1. J Mantlata	Orl. West	6937 Orl. W.
2) J KEKANA	Deephog	62152 D/Kloof
3 KHEHLA	White City	396A W/C/S
4. Amos	Soweto	824 J ...
5. MAHEFULE	ORLANDO EAST	3593
6 E THAPGA	TLADI	1898
7. KETLHAKO	ORLANDO	4004 Orlando
8 N. RAMOKGOPA	NALEDI	2747 NALEDI EXT.
9. EPO MOCOPA	Deephog	17428 ...
10. V. MOGANE	TLADI/MOLETSANE	1607 MOLETSANE
11 W.S. Magcai	D/Kloof	2593 Zone 3
12. M. MOLOSE	Orlando East	7504 G/S 7
13 I Magaal	D/Kloof	47300Z/NA
14. W. MALEPA	MOLETSANE	2048 MOLETSANE
15. I. MKHABELA	MOLETSANE	2088 Moletsane
16. S.S. Makhani.	ORLANDO EAST	1506.
17. E.L. MAKHETHA	DUBE VILLAGE	1443
18. P. M. NDALA	M/LANS.	
19 N Moshane	Dube	

2,

Other Matters:

Correspondence. It was ~~suggested~~ ^{maintained} that correspondence directed to the SCA is both never read nor responded to. Members belonging to both the SCA and other organisations ~~maintain~~ that their organisations felt very strongly about this.

It was however agreed that correspondence should be handled first by the ~~Comm~~ Executive Committee, namely that on receipt of the correspondence the secretary should instruct the Chairman Dr. N.H. Motlana about it and the two should then strive to convene a meeting of the Executive Committee where the matter would be considered.

2, Branch Reports

- (a) Chicwelo: Mrs. Mahlalela reported ^{about} the branch's problem to find a venue for public meetings. She, however, raised ~~at~~ the meeting's hope when she promised to contact Rev. J. Eshwane of the Swiss Mission which was a traditional venue.
- b, Meadowlands: It was reported that the branch holds house meetings twice a week for public meetings the branch is breaking virgin soil by applying to the Catholic Church Zone 2 since confusion still reigns with the old venues namely the Lutheran Churches zone 2 & 9.
- c, Naledi: It was reported that the area is divided into Naledi Extension and the Old Naledi for ^{the} convenience of membership to ~~the~~ attend meetings. The branch holds discusses thorny issues like: Local Authorities Act etc. Further it has resorted into a campaign to identify old and new members.
- d, Emdeni: No report.
- e, Tladi: Vincent and Ishmael Mkhabela are to work together to revive the Tladi-Molletsame branch. Concern was expressed about these two area as they once were promising branches.
- f, Jabulani: No report.
- g, Mapetla: Mr. Masondo report on the likelihood of combining Mapetla Ext; Phiri and Chicwelo Ext for a public meeting.

Moroka: - No report.

White City - C.W.J.: - No report.

An announcement of the UDF seminar on education for the 27-29 April ~~was~~ 1984 was made.

Ref. No. N. 261 Age 14 Sex FEMALE
 NAME: AGNES MCTLOU
 ADDRESS: MASSEMBLA TRADING STORE PRIVATE BAG 606 MARBLE HALL CLUTO

HOME CIRCUMSTANCES:
 HEAD OF H/HOUSE = MOTHER
 OCCUPATION = N/A
 NO OF H/HOLD = 5
 NO AT SCHOOL = 3
 NO WORKING = NIL
 PARENTS = MOTHER
 TOTAL INCOME = NIL

SCHOLASTIC RECORD:
 JUNE REPORT: U science 56% MAR 53% Eng 44% Maths 49% Agr. 49% S. Science 43%
 S. Studies 68% Rel ED. 42%
 CLASS POSITION:

STANINE: ENGV. Eng. Non-Verb. Arith. Afrik. Afr.S Non-Verb. Total /63

BURSARY REQUIRED: J.C. MATRIC 1 AND 2

INSTITUTION: N/A

AMOUNT: R N/A

OTHER BURSARIES: J.C. MATRIC 1 AND MATRIC 2

TESTIMONIAL: PRINCIPAL - (TEACHER) GOOD PUPIL AND COULD IMPROVE HERSELF
 (PRINCIPAL) BEHAVIOUR STUDENT, DUTY-CONSCIOUS AND SOCIABLE
 MINISTER OF RELIGION - MEMBER OF THE CATHOLIC MISSION. WELL BEHAVED STUDENT WITH A
 GOOD CHARACTER, AND IN NEED OF FINANCIAL HELP.

COMMITTEE COMMENTS: DECISION:
 ABF 22
 07.09.1981
 /dr

3,

The meeting

Date for the next meeting 29 April 1978.⁴
The meeting closed.

Ref. No. N 259 Age 15 Sex FEMALE

NAME: MARGARETH MNCUBE

ADDRESS: ST. FRANCIS HOSPITAL P.O. BOX 73 MAHLABATINI

HOME CIRCUMSTANCES:

HEAD OF H/HOUSE	=	FATHER
OCCUPATION	=	CLERK
NO OF H/HOLD	=	10
NO AT SCHOOL	=	3
NO WORKING	=	2
PARENTS	=	BOTH ALIVE
TOTAL INCOME	=	R 70

SCHOLASTIC RECORD:

JUNE REPORT: Account 50% Eng. 41% Afr. 57% Zulu 32% Maths 62% S. Studies 64%
 G. Science 55% CLASS POSITION: 7

STANINE: ENGV. Eng. Non-Verb. Arith. Afrik. Afr.S Non-Verb. Total /63

BURSARY REQUIRED: FORM 2 - J.C. MATRIC 1-2

INSTITUTION: IMPHELED SECONDARY SCHOOL
 Box 6
 MAHLABATINI
 3365

AMOUNT: R 134.

OTHER BURSARIES: FORM J.C. MATRIC 1 AND MATRIC 2.

TESTIMONIAL: PRINCIPAL - VERY DEDICATED AND PLEASANT PUPIL. SHE IS WELL BEHAVED AND POLITE.

MINISTER OF RELIGION - AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, SHE IS OF VERY GOOD CONDUCT AND CHARACTER, ALWAYS FULL OF FUN AND OUT GOING.

COMMITTEE COMMENTS:

DECISION:

ABF 22

07.09.1981

/dr

Minutes of the SCA meeting ^{held} on the 13 May 1984
at the Duibe Ex-Servicemen Memorial Chapel.

Present were: As per list.

Chair

Chairman: Mr. Amos Masando

Minutes: The Secretary read a draft as the prepared minutes were sent for typing.

Matters arising:

- (i) The R10 pledge for printing the membership cards: This was no longer necessary as Mr. N.M. Ramokgopa and Shasha retrieved the cards from Mr. Mbatia.

A discussion followed regarding the distribution of funds accruing from ~~the~~ the sales of ~~the~~ the membership cards. There was confusion whether part of the money could be for the branch should not actually be left to the branches. This meant that branches should have banking accounts of their own ~~as~~ distinct from the Association's.

It was, however, agreed that funds should remain centralised, namely: in one banking account under the Executive Committee, as before.

As the control of funds is a constitutional matter, it was realised that most branches and/or members are ignorant of the constitution it was suggested and agreed that branches should have copies of the constitution with them to the ~~meetings~~ fortnightly meetings.

Branch Reports:

Mogoto: Reported that it will ~~have~~ hold its public meeting on the 20 Inst. 1984 in the Salvation Army Hostel Hall. The branch's secretary Mr. Mbatweli was introduced.

Diep: It reported its meetings with the UDPR and PUIC official as mandated by the branch's public meeting. The branch extended invitation to members of the SCA who would be able to attend such meetings by the meeting of the 16 Inst. with PUIC.

The branch reported that on the 20 Inst it ~~is~~ will be running a series of meetings in almost every ~~thing~~ zone on various matters in preparation for a report-back public meeting on the 27 Inst.

The branch expressed a desire to ~~be~~ be clarified on the following: -

- (a) The Chairman's Dr. N.H. Motlana's press and TV. statement on ~~investment~~ foreign investment.
- (b) The stand of the Association regarding membership to the UDF.
- (c) The financial report of the recent ~~Branch~~ Fund Raising Branch.

Ref. No. N 252 Age 1 Sex FEMALE
 NAME: MMOPULA EPHISEN MARGARIE
 ADDRESS: KRANSPLAAS TRADING STORE PRIVATE BAG 7390 PETERSBURG 6700

HOME CIRCUMSTANCES:

HEAD OF H/HOUSE	=	MOTHER
OCCUPATION	=	TEACHER
NO OF H/HOLD	=	8
NO AT SCHOOL	=	7
NO WORKING	=	1
PARENTS	=	MOTHER
TOTAL INCOME	=	R197 07

SCHOLASTIC RECORD:

JUNE REPORT: Maths 57%, Eng 39%, Afr 48%, Account. 67%, S. Studies 55%, G. Science 69%
Maths 63%

CLASS POSITION: 23

STANINE: ENGV. Eng. Non-Verb. Arith. Afrik. Afr.S Non-Verb. Total /63

BURSARY REQUIRED: STD. 7 T.C. MATRIC. 1-2

INSTITUTION: MOTSE MARIA HIGH SCHOOL
PRIVATE BAG 7336
PETERSBURG
6700

AMOUNT: R 300.00

OTHER BURSARIES: J.E. MARRIE + MARRIE W

TESTIMONIAL: PRINCIPAL - HARD WORKING, VERY GOOD CONDUCT AND A DESERVING PUPIL.

MINISTER OF RELIGION - FULL MEMBER OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH. SHE IS OBEDIENT AND HARD WORKING.

COMMITTEE COMMENTS: _____ DECISION: _____

ABF 22
 07.09.1981
 /dr

Meeting 13 May 1984

Name	Address.	Branch
J Manthata	6437	Orl/West
N. Mngobane	63	Diepkloof
A MASHANE	824	SOMAAMIE
J Kekana	6215B	Diepkloof
V. MOGANE	1607 MOLETSANE	TLAM/MOLETSANE
N. RAMOKGOLA	2747 NALEDI	NALEDI
E MOLOBI	2814A ZONED.	Painville (Clipspruit)
E.P. Kgasoqo	982 MOFOHLE	
J. Mpaumi	446 MOPOLLO central.	
P. Lepya	260A Naledi	Naledi
K. Shubane	396A W/C/J	
C. Jhale	1346 Tlad.	
E THAPEDI	1898 TUMBI	
Sebito Molekae.	875 Cw. J.	Jabavu.
Pepo Moleje	1746B	Zone 2 OK
Dr. MAlana		

and (iv), The state of the Action Committee which was elected the beginning of the year.

At this time, the meeting was behind time. The hall had to be vacated for the Church groups.

The meeting adjourned outside. Since the Chairman Dr. N. H. Motlana had joined us, the statement of foreign investment was ~~raised~~ brought under discussion.

The draft that was prepared by Dr. N. H. Motlana together with the Executive Committee was read and accepted in principle.

It suggested that it be improved and issued in two forms, i.e., a full copy and an abridged one.

The full text is to be given to the branches and the abridged one to the press. It was agreed that for press publicity it should be given to Mr. Zwelakhe Sisulu for the Sowetan Mirror.

Regarding a policy statement on foreign investment and other crucial issues it was agreed that only the AGM is empowered to do so and that the Inter-branch together with the Executive Committee can provide interim measures.

It was consequently agreed that the SCA shall ~~refuse~~ avoid and refuse to release anything or talk to the SABC and/or its T.V.

- The following announcements were ~~made~~ made
- (i) Invitation to Leandra for a prayer service by the Leandra Action Committee on the 20th Inst at 10 am. ~~used~~
 - (ii) The leadership seminar by the SCA for the week-end 8-10 June 1984 in Wilgenfruit for the branches. It was agreed that at least the chairman and secretary from each branch should attend.

Date of the next meeting, the 27th May 1984 at the Dube Ex Servicemen Memorial Chapel.

Ref. No. N246..... Age.....22..... Sex....Male.....

NAME: .Piet Mabu Mokalapa.....

ADDRESS...P.O. Soetvelde 1064.....

HOME CIRCUMSTANCES:

HEAD OF H/HOUSE	=	Mother
OCCUPATION	=	
NO OF H/HOLD	=	5
NO AT SCHOOL	=	2
NO WORKING	=	Nil
PARENTS	=	Mother
TOTAL INCOME	=	-

SCHOLASTIC RECORD:

JUNE REPORT: N. Sotho 89% Afri. 62% Eng. 68% Math. 65% S. Studies 62% G, Science 7
R. Education 54%

CLASS POSITION: 2

STANINE: ENGV. Eng. Non-Verb. Arith. Afrik. Afr.S Non-Verb. Total /63

BURSARY REQUIRED: Std 7

INSTITUTION: Lobethal School
Private Bag x1555
Middlebyrg
1050

AMOUNT: R 55.50c

OTHER BURSARIES: Std 7 Std 8 Std J.C. Matric 1 Matric 11

TESTIMONIAL: PRINCIPAL - A very promising applicant and very highly recommended

MINISTER OF RELIGION - Hard working and has passed write through. I recommend very highly.

COMMITTEE COMMENTS:

DECISION:

ABF 22

07.09.1981

/dr

Minutes of the SCA Meeting held on the 13th May 1984
at the Dube Ex-Servicemen Memorial Chapel

<u>PRESENT:</u>	Name	Branch	Address
1.	T. Manthata	Orlando West	6937 Orlando West
2.	N. Mogatusi	Diepkloof	63 Diepkloof Ext.
3.	A. Masondo	Senaoane	824 Senaoane
4.	J. Kekana	Diepkloof	6218B Diepkloof
5.	V. Mogane	Tladi/Moletsane	1607 Moletsane
6.	N. Ramokgopa	Naledi	2747 Naledi
7.	E. Molobi	Pimville (Klips.)	2814 Zone 2
8.	E.P. Kgasago		928 Mofolo
9.	J. Mpalweni		996 Mofolo Central
10.	K. Shubane		396A W/C/J
11.	P. Lepeya	Naledi	2260A Naledi
12.	C. Tlhale		1346 Tladi
13.	E. Thapedi		1898 Tladi
14.	S. Molekane	Jabavu	895 C.W.J.
15.	P. Molefe		1764B Zone 2, DK
16.	Dr N.H. Motlana	Dube	1401 Dube

CHAIRMAN: Mr A. Masondo

MINUTES: The secretary read a draft as the prepared minutes were sent tfor typing.

MATTERS ARISING:

1. The RIO pledge for printing the membership cards: This was no longer necessary as Mr N.M. Ramokgopa and Shasha retrieved the cards from Mr Motata.
A discussion followed regarding the distribution of the funds accruing from the membership cards. There was confusion whether part of the money said to be for the branch should not actually be left to the branches. This meant that branches should have banking accounts of their own, distinct from the Association's.
It was, however, agreed that funds should remain centralised in one banking account under the Executive Committee, as before.
As the control of funds is a constitutional matter, it was realised that most branches and/or members are ignorant of the constitution. It was suggested and agreed that branches should have copies of the constitution with them to the fortnightly meetings.

Branch Reports

Mofolo: Reported that it will hold its public meeting on the 20th instant in the Salvation Army Hostel hall. The branch's secretary, Mr Mbalweni, was introduced.

Diepkloof: It reported its meetings with the WRAB and PUTCO officials as mandated by the branch's public meeting. The branch extended invitation to members of the SCA who would be able to attend such meetings, e.g. the meeting of the 16th instant with PUTCO.
The branch reported that on the 20th instant it will be running a series or meetings in almost every zone on various matters in preparation for a report-back public meeting on the 27th instant.

(19) ~~The~~ branch expressed a desire to be clarified on the following:-
2/9/87

- (a) The chairman's, Dr Motlana's, press and TV statement on foreign investment.
- (b) The stand of the Association regarding membership to the UDF.
- (c) The financial report of the recent fund raising braai.
- (d) The state of the Action Committee which was elected at the beginning of the year.

At this time the meeting was behind time. The hall had to be vacated for the Church groups. The meeting adjourned outside. Since the chairman, Dr Motlana, has joined us, the statement of foreign investment was brought under discussion.

The draft that was prepared by Dr Motlana together with the Executive Committee was read and accepted in principle.

It suggested that it be improved and issued in two forms, i.e. a full copy and an abridged one.

The full text is to be given to the branches and the abridged one to the press. It was agreed that for press publicity it should be given to Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu for the Sowetan Mirror.

Regarding a policy statement on foreign investment and other crucial issues it was agreed that only the AGM is empowered to do so and that the inter-branch together with the Executive Committee can provide interim measures.

It was consequently agreed that the SCA shall avoid and refuse to release anything or talk to the SABC and/or its TV.

The following announcements were made:-

- i) Invitation to Leandra to a prayer service by the Leandra Action Committee on the 20th instant at 10 a.m.
- ii) The leadership seminar by the SCA for the week-end 8-10 June 1984 in Wilge gespruit for the branches. It was agreed that at least the chairman and secretary from each branch should attend.

NEXT MEETING: Date of the next meeting: 27th May 1984 at the Dube Ex-Servicemen Memorial Chapel.

2 de 8el

P.O.Box: 126

KWA XUMA
1868

2nd August 1984.

The Secretary of
Soweto Civic Ass.
SOWETO

Dear Comrade(s)

INVITATION TO A PROTEST CONFERENCE AND RALLY IN SOWETO.

You are invited to attend a "protest" conference and rally of Civic Associations/Organizations and representatives of rural and resettlement areas to be held at the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH in PHIRI, SOWETO, on the 12th August 1984, starting from 11a.m. to 3p.m.

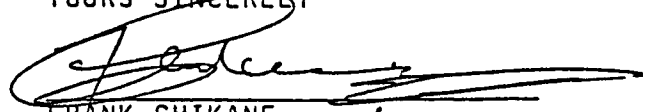
The Protest Conference will consist of two sessions. The first session will be a business session to adopt a position statement on the 'Coloured-Indian' elections and the New Constitution. The Statement will then be read in the second part of the meeting which shall take the form of a Rally.

The aim here is to "raise" the "voice" of those affected by the Bantustan System and the Black Local Authorities which are the basis for the New Constitution. To register a message that participating in these elections (New System) is accepting and endorsing the pain and misery of the oppressed majority in the country. We want to make a decision as to what we should do with the Hendrickse's and the Rajbansi's who claim that they are going to represent 'Africans' in the New System.

The Draft Position Statement is enclosed for your consideration and suggestions. Please Telephone the office of Rev. F. Chikane at 339-2513 (011) for ammendments and additions to the Statement before or on Thursday the 9th August 1984.

DO COME TO THIS HISTORICAL DAY THAT WILL TURN THE TIDE AGAINST THIS EVIL SYSTEM AND THE PARTICIPANTS THEREOF.

YOURS SINCERELY



FRANK CHIKANE ^{most of}
(On behalf of the Civic Associations in the Witwatersrand)

C. C. B. M. Motlana

48

Item 26 Tom Marthata (gevinel in urinde blin rak van linker
ingebouste bas in hoofstroom).

15/6/82

PROPOSED POSITION STATEMENT ON THE "COLOURED INDIAN"
ELECTION FOR THE TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT.

We, the confined majority within the ghettos and deserts of this our motherland through the inhuman and unjust laws of this Apartheid Regime executed through the Apartheid Courts, police and the army. We, the confined majority within 13% of the land in the barren Bantustans (and so called independent national states), resulting in the loss of our citizenship and thus becoming foreigners in the land of our birth, noting:

- (1) That the New Constitution of South Africa as endorsed by the white minority at the November 2nd 1983 referendum is based on this brutal act of confining us into the Bantustan by force after the long and painful process of dispossession.
- (2) That this New Constitution is found on the pain and suffering and even unto death, of about 3 million Africans who have been forcefully removed and relocated to complete the confinement of the African majority, thus paving paving a way for the New Constitution.
- (3) That this Constitution is based on the success of the Apartheid Regime in confining the African majority within the Bantustans and proclaimed "white" areas through the racist influx control which has resulted in the prosecution of millions of our people (at a rate of more than 500 people per day in 1982) in the Apartheid Courts of the Racist Regime with many serving jail sentences and others "deported" to the said Bantustans.
- (4) That thousands of our people have been brutally killed and some tortured to death others maimed by the police force and army of this Apartheid Regime for rejecting and resisting Apartheid.
- (5) That many of our leaders are languishing in jail and many others have served long (and short) sentences in the Apartheid prisons resisting this Apartheid Regime.

We therefore wish to declare to all South Africans (both White and Black) and to the world at large.

- (a) That there will never be peace in South Africa as long as the majority of the oppressed is not involved in determining their own destiny but confined in a brutal way to 13% of the land.
- (b) That those who have chosen to participate in the racist Tri-Cameral Parliament have henceforth crossed the battle line (like all participants in the Bantustan System and the Black local authorities) to join the white minority in the oppression of the Black Majority.
- (c) That all those who are going to put their vote on August 22nd and 27th shall also be declaring their side with the enemy against the oppressed majority and thus will be taking the blame for the evils of this system as perpetrated against the defenceless majority and also for the blood that will be shed in South Africa after August 1984.
- (d) We further wish to warn, in the strongest possible terms, Hendrickse and Rajbansi and their parties to stop the crime of saying they are going into the system to represent Africans when they are doing so for their own personal gains. We want to make it clear that we do not need their representation. We are here to represent ourselves, our leaders are here to represent us, they are languishing in prison.

We express nevertheless our confidence in our brothers and sisters in both the Coloured and Indian communities that they will never abandon our long tradition of suffering and struggling together, and that they will refuse to be co-opted to the system on the election-day by staying away from the polls in solidarity with the oppressed.

Institute For Contextual Theology

1st Floor
Portland Place
37 Jorissen Street
Braamfontein
2001



P.O. Box 32047
Braamfontein
2017
South Africa
Tel. (011) 339-2513/62

30th January 1985

Dear friend

Due to the enormous cost involved in producing this report we would appreciate a donation of R8.00 to meet our expenditure.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'D. Ramodibe'.

D.M. Ramodibe (Mrs)
Administrative Secretary

BEW AM 44.
INVETATION TO A PROTEST
CONFERENCE AND ROLLY
IN SOWETO.

-45-

prefixed to 'theology' because for the past 117 years 'blackness' in this country has been the symbol of economic, class exploitation. That prefix emphasises this crucial point, which no black can forget in a hurry.

No, not yet adieu! but bienvenu, BLACK THEOLOGY!

75.

95

P.O.Box 126

KWA XUMA
1868

New AL 13"

2nd August 1984.

Dear Comrade(s)

INVITATION TO A PROTEST CONFERENCE AND RALLY IN SOWETO.

You are invited to attend a "protest" conference and rally of Civic Associations/Organizations and representatives of rural and resettlement areas to be held at the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH in PHIRI, SOWETO, on the 12th August 1984, starting from 11a.m. to 3p.m.

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YOURS SINCERELY



FRANK CHIKANE ^{most of}
(On behalf of ~~the~~ the Civic Associations in the Witwatersrand)

AX 16

16

879/87

Item 28

Box '17 x 16'

FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN



women unite against Botha's new deal

13th July, 1984

Dear Friends,

The Federation of South African Women has set up an interim Co-ordinating Committee in the Transvaal. Women's groups from rural areas and around the reef have been meeting regularly over the past few months.

Since this committee was started, we have had a successful rally at Mamelodi. The purpose was to pay tribute to women in our struggle and to celebrate the 30th Anniversary of the Federation.

We have also had a workshop and it was at this workshop of women's groups that a program was drawn up for National Women's Day - August, 9th.

We call on all women in our organisations, in our women's groups, to participate in making this program a success. We also ask for financial support for this program.

On Saturday 21st July, at Khotso House at 10 a.m. we are convening a meeting of all women's groups and women in our organisations generally. The purpose is to co-ordinate activities and to plan together for Aug. 9.

We call on you to support us in our efforts.

PROGRAM FOR AUG. 9 - THEME: WOMEN UNITE AGAINST BOTHA'S NEW DEAL

Thursday 9th of August	Women will organise programs in their local areas
Friday 10th of August	Cultural program with the focus on women and resistance. 7 pm at Khotso House
Sunday 11th of August	Women's rally - women against the constitution Venue to be confirmed.

FORWARD AGAINST BOTHA'S PLANS

Mrs Mlangeni

Federation of South African Women

we call our women

AX 17

JOHN M. SWOLETT

ethics

A
political
scientist
examines the role
of violence
in
revolutionary
change

LIBERATION ETHICS

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

The Macmillan Company • New York, New York

Collier-Macmillan Limited • London

To Joanna, John and Jean

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This is not the place to outline a program for community action. Such action cannot be blueprinted but must arise out of the needs of those who feel in their bodies or minds that they have had all the injustice they are prepared to take and now want to do something about it. This is, however, the place to indicate that revolutions ought always to grow out of human need and ought always to transform systems rather than destroy persons.

The fundamental difference between liberation and political liberalism is that the former seeks to eliminate or transform systems and structures of violence, whereas the latter seeks to maintain the basic structures while trying to improve them gradually. The fundamental differences between liberation ethics and a traditional revolutionary approach are that the former believes a humanizing result requires nonviolent means and can usually be achieved best through a progressive conquest of power, whereas the latter emphasizes the use of violence, usually with the aim of a military or paramilitary seizure of the central government.

Liberation ethics also views the struggle against oppression as a continuing one. There is no final revolution which by definition brings utopia. It is possible to end specific systems such as human slavery, monopoly capitalism, war, subordination of women, and racial segregation; but the ending and replacement of such systems is simply a crucial part of a much longer task of continuing liberation. That task belongs to everybody but uniquely to those who are committed to human freedom. There is such a thing as the liberation of a person's intelligence and will so that he or she is prepared to live as if the liberated community were already here. Such persons will associate with each other to begin the process of structural change and the liberation of others. Anyone who behaves on a lower level of freedom than he can, diminishes and helps destroy freedom for others. Something extraordinary is required of those who want to be free and who want others to be free.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

“Power does not grow out of the barrel of a gun as Mao asserted,”

John M. Swomley, Jr. comments in *Liberation Ethics*, a study of revolution, violence, and social change. His work advances a provocative thesis—that the elements of value implied in liberation are contravened by violent revolution and that humanistic and lasting liberation requires basic change in the social systems that oppress men. Not men but social systems are the enemy.

Using as examples the Russian, Chinese, Algerian, and Cuban revolutions, Swomley argues that violent revolution has traditionally been romanticized in terms of its accomplishments, with a consequent obscuring of its militaristic, bureaucratic, and manipulative tendencies which retard the fundamental reorientation of social systems. *Liberation Ethics* analyzes the realities of revolution, the results as opposed to the initial aims, and the effects of violence. It further offers a redefinition of revolutionary goals and strategies.

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR., professor of social ethics at St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City, Missouri, holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Colorado. He is the author of *The Military Establishment, Religion, the State and the Schools*, and *American Empire*.

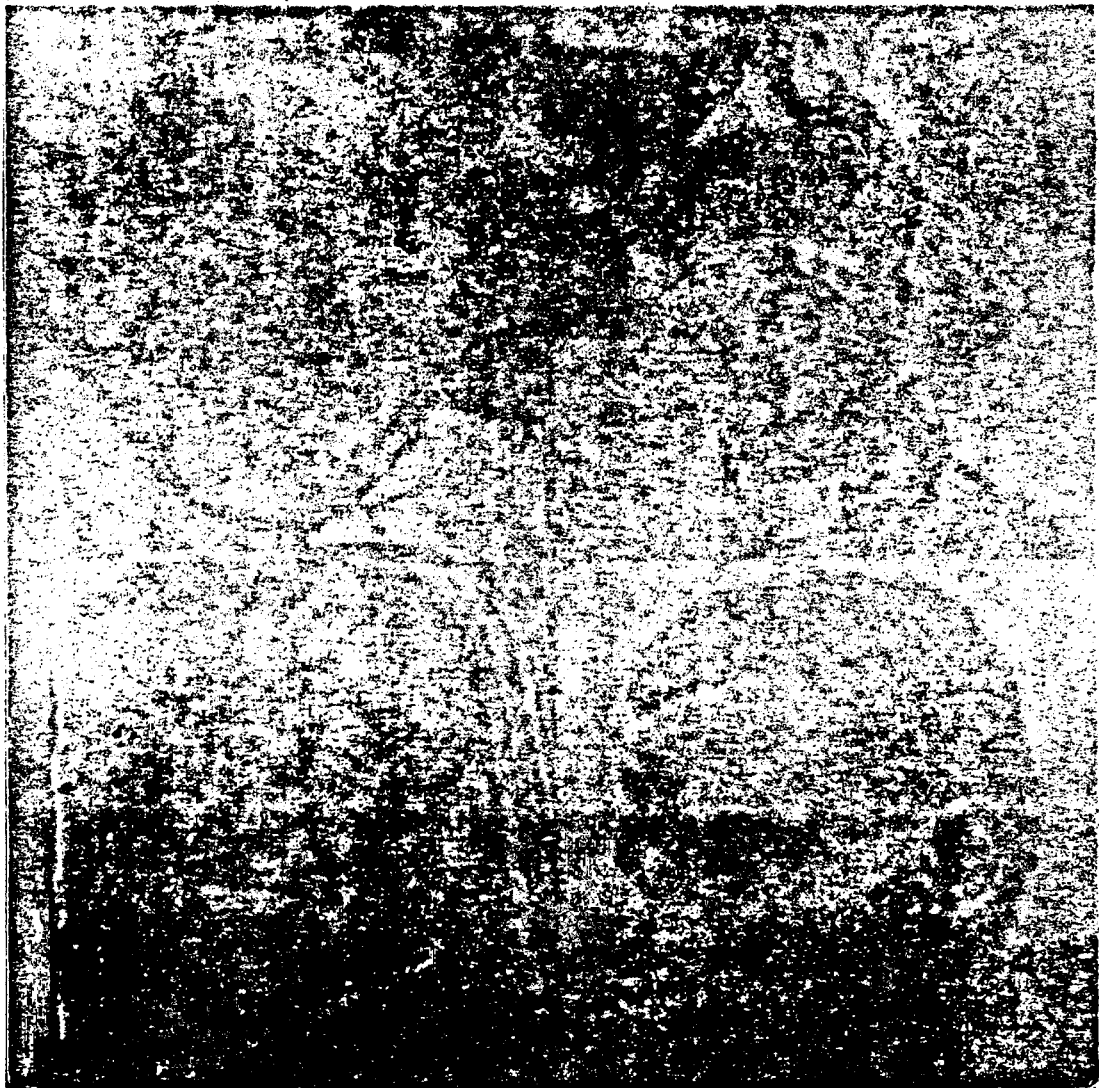
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AX 18

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
**BLACK
RESISTANCE
TO APARTHEID**

— A SOCIAL-ETHICAL ANALYSIS —

Mokgethi Motlhabi



THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF
**BLACK
RESISTANCE
TO APARTHEID**

A SOCIAL-ETHICAL ANALYSIS

Mokgethi Motlhabi



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Front cover photographs: clockwise, Winnie Mandela (*RDM*); Steve Biko (*Drum*); Chief Albert Luthuli (*RDM*); Mangaliso Sobukwe (*Cape Times*).

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Acknowledgements

This study was originally presented to Boston University, Massachusetts, in 1980 in partial fulfilment of doctoral degree requirements. A few changes have been made for this publication, while the central argument of the original document still stands. The major change is in Chapter 5, where the sections discussing natural law, the American social gospel, and ecumenical social thought as part of the argument in favour of a 'common ground morality' have been discarded. This does not, however, seriously affect the trend of the argument nor the dependence of the subsequent chapters on this one. The original Chapter 8, 'Conclusions,' has been replaced by an epilogue.

Had it not been for the persistent prodding of Buti Tlhagale, an old friend and colleague, the thought of submitting this dissertation for publication would still be remote from me. For this reason I decided to rope him in by asking him to write the foreword that would primarily update the reader on the state of affairs in South Africa since this presentation was made. Although the study covers the years 1948 – 1978, when it was written in 1980 very few changes had taken place in the country from what is already recorded here. Since this time, however, a number of changes have appeared both in the Black approach to achieving their goal and in the government's response – or counter-response – to it. One major change – certainly not to the advantage of Africans – is the government's establishment of the President's Council to replace the Westminster system of government. I shall not attempt any explanation of this or other changes hinted at here, lest I anticipate their more elaborate discussion in the foreword.

The encouragement received from Fr Tlhagale came to

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THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BLACK RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID

A SOCIAL-ETHICAL ANALYSIS

Mokgethi Motlhabi

In this stimulating and thought-provoking social-ethical analysis of the internal struggle for political and social change in South Africa, Mokgethi Motlhabi evaluates the resistance movement during the period 1918-78 in terms of the moral laws. The South African problem, he argues, is the problem of the sharing of values - material, spiritual, and cultural. A group of selfish people seeks to have and retain all, leaving the majority with wounds and bones and thus subjugating them. This tendency has no regard for moral laws. Those struggling for change must necessarily seek to realize these laws for the benefits of all, but are first confronted with the question of how to get rid of the present state of affairs. He states that the moral laws are themselves not fixed rules of action but methodological principles of decision-making.

In examining the theory and practice of Black Resistance, M. Motlhabi points out that since the banning of Black consciousness and other related organizations in 1977 the general situation has gradually receded to the pre-Youth League era. Gone is any idea of a principled programme of action.

Mokgethi Motlhabi was born in 1945 in Kagiso. He attended St. Peter's Seminary in Hammanskraal where he studied Philosophy and Theology for four years before deciding against ordination. He holds an M.A. in Religious Studies (Chicago Theological Seminary, 1975) and a Ph.D. in social ethics (Boston University, Mass., 1980) for which this book was submitted in partial fulfillment. Dr M. Motlhabi is now the director of the Educational Opportunities Council based in Johannesburg.



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