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BLACK GRAHAMSTOWN

The Agony of a Community

, TRH DAVENPORT

A Institute of Race Relations 32,00

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TRH DAVENPORT

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The South African Institute of Race Relations

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This account of race relations in Grahamstown in the shadow of the Group Areas Act is based on an experience of life in Grahamstown beginning effectively in 1965, and on information derived from the files of the Grahamstown Joint Council, the Group Areas Action Committee, the Fingo Village Action Committee, the records of FUNDA (a private fund-raising organization set up to promote the building of schools), and the papers of the Grahamstown municipality and the Grahamstown Urban Bantu Council for the period 1969-73, during most of which time I was spokesman for Non-European Affairs on the City Council.

Nancy Charton, Betty Davenport, Keith Hunt and Jeff Peires have read the book in draft and made some helpful suggestions; but mine is the responsibility for what appears in these pages.

Maps 1 to 5 were drawn to my specifications by Oakley West, Cartographer to the Rhodes University Geography Department. Photographs A and C were taken by Mr and Mrs Rex Reynolds, now of Cape Town. For the reproduction of the Fingo Village title deed, I am indebted to Mr J D Dlepu. Photographs F and G are reproduced by kind permission of the Eastern Province Herald.

T R H Davenport.
Rhodes University,
Grahamstown,
December 1980.

THE ROOTS OF AGONY

roup areas were proclaimed in Grahamstown in March 1970, twenty years after the passing of the Group Areas Act, and thirteen years after the government had first announced its intention to impose them on the town. Ten years later, in October 1980, formal steps were initiated by the government to re-proclaim the Fingo Village, which had been zoned for coloured and Indian ownership and occupation, as an African residential area. Shortly before the re-proclamation proceedings began, Grahamstown was caught up in the widespread protest movement which swept South Africa during 1980, emanating from the African and coloured universities and schools; but whatever its connection with events in the country at large, there are reasons for thinking that the unrest in Grahamstown arose directly out of the policies which have been applied to the town in recent years.

I have therefore tried in these pages to set out the story of the past half-century in the belief that a historical perspective on the events is both easy to lose and essential to have if one is to plan with understanding for the future of a depressed and demoralized community - above all, if one is to plan with that community for the future of the town as a whole. It is very difficult to convince blacks who have begun from anger to destroy their own amenities, and to convince whites who see such actions as flowing from 'itsotsi-ism' or 'tingratitude', that the life of the wider community has not been damaged beyond repair. But unless we start from an agreed basis of fact, there is little hope of repairing anything at all.

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1. THE SETTING AND THE PEOPLE

Grahamstown is divided into three parts. There is a large residential area occupied by whites, almost surrounding the central business district, which is also mainly in white hands. There is a much smaller sector for the coloured people, of which the nucleus is the old Hottentot Village set up in about 1829, to the north of the town centre, beyond the railway line and extending behind the eastern slope of Sugar Loaf Hill.¹ There are also three African residential areas on the eastern side of the town. These are:

1. Fingo Village, which straddles the King William's Town road, together with the New Town cottages (built in 1927) and the southern municipal location down to 1A' Street.
2. The northern municipal location, to the north-east of Fingo Village, which was established in the early twentieth century and which is commonly known as Tanti.
3. The municipal housing scheme built above the eastern escarpment on King's Flats between 1957 and 1962, which is alternatively known as Joza or (from the historic hillside associated with the Battle of Grahamstown in 1819) as Makana's Kop. (See Map 1.)

Built on the site of Lukas Meyer's farm, De Rietfontein, Grahamstown became the focal centre of the British 1820 settlement after the decision had been taken to make it the administrative capital of the eastern districts in 1828. It grew up as a predominantly English-speaking market centre and frontier town, in which the European community developed a many-sided relationship with the coloured and Xhosa-speaking population of the area - a relationship shaped in the confrontation of frontier wars, in the rigours of master-servant encounters, in the bargainings of the marketplace, and in the orderly routine of the mission stations.

The African residents of Grahamstown are nearly all Xhosa-speaking. They include many descendants of the original Mfengu (the Fingo) settlers, refugees from Shaka's wars of

the 18203, who had first been given hospitality by the Gcaleka paramount Hintsa before moving into the Cape Colony by agreement with Governor Sir Benjamin DiUrban in 1835. Broken and detribalized as a result of their experiences, they had a stronger incentive than others more shackled to tradition to adopt the customs of the white community with whom they had been brought into contact. 30 they took to school education, to Christianity and the teaching and clerical professions; to the institutions of private property, peasant-farming and shop-keeping. They were the first blacks to register as voters in significant numbers. They thus had emerged by the fourth quarter of the century as a black social and political elite.²

Even though the Mfengu element in Grahamstown may have been diluted over the years through inter-marriage and contact with others, there is still a distinctive style about the typical Fingo Villager. His long and close contact with the white community, to which he has been prepared to adapt on their terms, has created a stable association across the cultural barrier for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in South Africa. It is an utterly unequal relationship at the level of material wealth. At the level of social intercourse the communities are rather like Jinnahis Hindus and Muslims iwho neither intenmarry nor even interdinei - or if they do eat together, it is always at the white manis home. Yet it is a mature relationship based on trust and convention, in which low wages and human consideration to some extent balance out, in which certain weaknesses are tolerated on both sides, and privacies respected. In the past few decades there have been signs of a growth of mutual understanding between the black and white leadership of eRhini (the Xhosa name for the city), who have been drawn together by the insensitive and overbearing attentions of remote policy-makers. But the burden has been unequal. The strain on the black residents has been enormous; the relationship has been severely tested, and at the time of writing it is a question of whether black-white accord can be salvaged at all.

The story of black-white community relations has not

been written up to any extent, save in respect of the early heroic decades, though current research will, it is hoped, significantly close the gap.³

For present purposes we may start in the year 1921, when, rather self-consciously, a Grahamstown Welfare Association was set up to promote 'limprovement in the mutual relations between the European, Coloured and Native populations'⁴

For much of the 1920s, this body does not seem to have been very sure what it ought to have been doing. But in 1930 it suddenly sprang into life, no doubt in response to the hard times and to new tensions connected with the activities of one Douglas Danga, who was successfully urging the non-payment of rates by the African property-owners.⁵

It began to concern itself with such matters as the building of a recreational hall in the Village, or with legal aid for domestic servants who had fallen foul of their employers, or with "the danger to law-abiding Natives, who do not carry sticks, being attacked by roughs, especially on Friday, Saturday and Sunday evenings, even on their way to church".

In 1931 the society converted itself into the Grahamstown Joint Council, a branch of the nation-wide Joint Council Movement, with the explicit object of trying to increase contact between the communities. It seems to have wanted to set some limits to its own paternalism, of which the white leadership was certainly aware; yet the whites felt they could and should call the tune, and evidently considered that the Africans shared their standards and ambitions, for the chairman Mr J E H Mylne, told the Africans at a Joint Council mass meeting that "without the good will of the Europeans the Natives will never attain to what they desire . . . For the existence of your schools and your education you have to thank the Churches and the Europeans".⁶

It should not be thought that the African townships of Grahamstown even remotely resembled a Garden of Eden in the days before control was taken over by the central government, though the vision of such a paradise did sometimes appear to official visitors. The evidence given by Joint Council members to the Native Economic Commission in 1931 on rural and urban wages (by Messrs Nicholas Cewu

The dilapidation of houses in Fingo Village has been aggravated by the insecurity of tenure of its inhabitants for over a decade.

(Top) New Town cottages. The concrete, semi-detached houses
at Makana k Kop shown below were built between 1957111103 1962

and Ambrose Mazwai), on police brutality in criminal investigations (by Mr H Rushmere), and on health, housing and liquor abuse (by Mr Andrew Moyake) all suggest that life for black Grahamstonians was tough.⁷ Mr Fred Rodseth, inspector of Urban Locations in the Department of Native Affairs, found Happing slum conditions" in Fingo Village in 1936, and attributed these to "inadequate and unsuitable sanitary arrangements" and unchecked immigration to the township, whose population had grown by 62.8 percent between 1921 and 1935, and then stood at about 3 000. The municipal location (Tantyi) pleased him better, with its "healthy and pleasant" situation, its "suitable roads . . . covered by natural lawn"; its "ample supply of filtered water" and the absence of over-crowding through the operation of effective municipal controls. Had it not been for the poor quality of many of the owner-built homes and the undisciplined use of public latrines, Rodseth thought the place had "in many respects the makings of an ideal and picturesque location" capable of further improvement if fuller use were made of the gardens and if hedges were planted between stands.⁸

About a year later, a representative of the Central Housing Board, Mr F Walton Jameson, produced a rather fuller report on the Grahamstown locations. He deplored the lack of proper supervision over house-building - "a mushroom-like growth over the years of innumerable shacks" - together with the uncontrolled influx of lodgers without permits, which caused intolerable difficulties for the night-soil removal service, in a township where the removal of ordinary refuse was also chaotic. He also found fault in an administrative system which tied the Location Superintendent down to clerical work, and gave too little work in the locations to the Town Engineer and the Medical Officer of Health. He recommended the establishment of a Native Affairs Committee of the council. On the positive side though, Mr Jameson noticed that "the Native and Coloured people . . . treasured their large plots and splendidly cultivated the soil", but that there was "no evidence of any credit being due to the public authority for such results". Echoing Mr Rodseth, he

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Firgo Village title deed of 1856, by courtesy oer/ D Dlepu
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concluded that there was no reason Why the Grahamstown Native and Coloured locations and villages should not be at comparative small cost the most healthy and beautiful in South Africa"?

One feature which constantly bothered the municipal authorities was the system of tenure in Fingo Village. The Village is the oldest example in Southern Africa of an African settlement established under a European system of land ownership. There is a strong tradition that the grant of freehold titles was made in recognition of services performed in the defence of the Cape Colony by the Mfengu levies in the frontier wars of 1846 and 1850-53. This cannot be the whole truth, for the first proposals for the establishment of a Mfengu township predate these two wars and seem to have been aimed mainly at bringing the Mfengu under control; but there is no doubt that the military services in question were handsomely performed. The essential facts were that the Municipal Commissioners of Grahamstown appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor on August 7 1843 for land "with a view to locating and domiciling the Fingos and to improve their condition - to confer upon them the rights and privileges enjoyed by Resident Householders of the Municipality".¹⁰ Then in 1848 the Commissioners received control of the town lands for the first time, and a superintendent of locations, George Cyrus, was appointed. The Commissioners, after taking up the question of titles for the Mfengu with Sir George Cathcart, eventually gained their objective through Sir George Grey, who on March 5 1855 authorized a survey for the provision of plots at a cost of 81 per erf. Three hundred and twenty erven measuring 160 by 80 feet were surveyed, and titles distributed by the Governor acting "in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty VICTORIA".¹¹ (It seems possible that the prominence given to the royal name on the title deed itself, at least as much as a verbal explanation by Cyrus on distribution of the titles, which is suggested by Professor Maxwell, may be the explanation of how the story of a direct royal grant came to be handed down.) The titles, which contained an educational servitude of five shillings a year, were quickly taken up.

The local authority came to regret that it did not have proper control over the Fingo Village, especially after blanket rules for the control of urban locations were laid down in the Cape Native Reserve Locations Act of 1902 and in the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, from which the Fingo Village was excluded.¹² The city council's motives may at times have been suspect, for Grahamstown had been one of the local authorities listed in the Tuberculosis Commission Report of 1914 as having made a profit out of its location.¹³ Mr Walton Jameson considered in 1937 that 'Fingo Village properties had not been excessively valued for rateable purposes, however. The council was then subsidising the (Native Revenue Account, from the general rate fund. But the campaign by Mr Douglas Danga to persuade the Villagers to withhold their rate payments resulted, according to Mr Rodseth's report, in the Village being over \$1 100 in arrears at the end of 1935 _ a position which he described as rather less than a Ugeneral repudiation of liability", but "serious enough" to warrant action in law, a suggestion which received Mr Walton Jameson's approval the following year. The Town Clerk Mr J T Yeomans, went a step further in 1941 , by recommending to the Native Affairs Commission that there was only one solution to the problems of rent arrears, illicit brewing, slum development and crime, and that was for the government to expropriate the entire Village and transfer ownership of all properties to the council, which could offer to repay the purchase price over fifty years.¹⁴ Mr Rodseth had considered and rejected such a drastic step, arguing that it would be an "unmoral act deeply resented by the Natives and one which (the Native Affairs) Department could not rightly support", but he did urge the introduction of influx control. The most forceful rebuttal of Mr Yeomans' memorandum came from three African leaders, Dr R T Bokwe, Mr Thomas Nkosinkulu and Mr B N Foley. They stressed that the land had been given Uin perpetuity". They recalled a joint meeting of the Fingo Village and members of the Location Advisory Board with municipal councillors on June 30 1941, at which they had discussed influx control in the light of the expulsion

of Africans from surrounding farms, and they accused the municipality of encouraging the influx of Africans into Grahamstown by attracting over 500 workers from outside to take part in municipal development projects. They countered the argument that the independence of the Fingo Village property owners had promoted slum conditions by asserting that the health department had not been enforcing its own regulations with regard to building standards, and that the Village received far less than its due in the form of municipal services. If over-crowding produced slum conditions, they urged further, then the answer was to apply for the adoption by Grahamstown of a sub-economic housing scheme such as was now available for African townships as well as for other races.¹⁵

The weakest point in the Villagers' case to be allowed to retain individual title was that in the actual transfer of titles over the years, chaos had reigned. Whether the blame for this should be attributed to the owners of the properties or to the local authority is debateable; but conditions had reached the point of such confusion by 1927, that provision was made in the Native Administration Act of that year for a system of substitute title, under which an occupier whose right to possess was not contested, could receive a simplified title deed which cut through the irregularities of the past for a down payment of 591. ¹⁶ In this way, titles were systematically regularized by Major Apthorp at the end of the second world war, and again, after the proclamation of group areas, by a retired magistrate, Mr Warner, in 1972-73. On the matter of title the Villagers were, however, doubly exposed, for the very possession by Africans of freehold title in a white area was a practice repugnant to the principles of public policy as these had taken shape since 1913. From this fact, trouble would ensue.

What the advocates of territorial segregation needed to understand, though, was that it was one kind of restriction to deny residential rights and property rights to black migrants moving to an urban area in search of work and leaving their families behind; but it was quite another to tamper with residential and property rights in a town of un-

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doubted antiquity which itself supplied migrant workers to other areas. In the terminology of the later Verwoerd era, Grahamstown's black townships were already a de facto homeland. This was reflected in a very high preponderance of adult females over adult males, as was noted in the city council's evidence to the Smit Committee in 1942, in James Irving's report of 1958, and by the authors of another survey of Fingo Village households in 1970, which suggested that as many as 40 percent of the households had female heads.¹⁷

11 GRAHAMSTOWN AND APARTHEID

(1) The Imposition of group areas.

Prior to 1948, governmental attempts to handle the problems of Grahamstown were pragmatic and flexible. After that date they became rigid, insensitive, and almost incurably doctrinaire.

When the war came to an end, the Grahamstown municipality turned its attention to a new town plan for the city and the proposals put forward made light of the sanctity of Fingo Village title by suggesting the conversion of the lower part of Fingo Village between the railway line and Orsmond Terrace as a possible area for the development of light industry. Other things being equal, this would have been sensible land use, for the ease of creating railway siding facilities would have made the site very attractive for industrial purposes. The Joint Council, however, put in a plea for the preservation of African freehold residential rights there on the ground that, if removed, it was unlikely that they could be acquired in any other area that was equally suitable.

It is noteworthy that, at that time, the government was moving towards the possible extension of freehold rights for urban Africans, and had made provision in the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 for just this possibility. At the 1946 conference of the Location Advisory Boards Congress in East London, the government had stated that it was now possible for local authorities to assume responsibility for land outside locations which blacks might be permitted to acquire in freehold, subject to the government being satisfied as to the existence of proper controls. The Grahamstown Joint Council urged the municipality to make such application. The municipality dodged the request: it replied that the town-planning scheme could not deal with matters such as land ownership. But it affirmed that the Department of Native Affairs would not permit any encroachment on the Fingo Village unless they are satisfied that an equal area of good land is added in lieu thereof.

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MAP 2U The group areas proposals of '195 7

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Even then they may withhold their consent".¹⁸

This exchange took place shortly before the 1948 general election, but that election transformed the whole situation. The National Party government began to restructure the policy of residential segregation on the basis of the Group Areas Act of 1950. At first the Fingo Village was not affected by this, and the local authority was given to understand that it would never be.¹⁹ But the amendment to the Act in 1955 removed this security by bringing freehold black communities like Fingo Village within range of Group Areas Board (GAB) determinations, as idesignated areas in terms of the Act. The GAB was empowered to demarcate areas in which members of any particular race group might reside or own property, and to expropriate property for this purpose. It decided to move on Grahamstown in 1957.

The proposals put to the citizens of Grahamstown in May 1957 involved two firm suggestions and several tentative ones.²⁰ The first firm suggestion was for the conversion of the area between the railway and Orsmond Terrace (which the council had wanted to make light industrial in 1947) into a buffer strip, between the white and African communities, in which all buildings would be demolished - including the Katherine Webb TB hospital and a row of very substantial private homes. The second proposal was for the creation of a coloured group area bounded by Lavender Valley, Fitchat Street, Union Lane and Froude Street, extending to include the new housing development at the north-east of Sugar Loaf Hill.

This was to set firm ethnic boundaries where they had not existed before (though the residential overlap of race groups was slight), perhaps to deprive the coloured people of the properties on Albany Road which had once been inside the Hottentot Village, and certainly to place four much-used coloured institutions in the white group area. These were the Sole Memorial Methodist Church, the Anglican Church of St Clementis, the Good Shepherd School in Huntly Street, and the Bethlehem Home in New Street.

The tentative proposals made by the GAB were for a possible extension of the coloured area down to the Grave

StreetCurry Street intersection, (in which case the Albany Road area would have been saved for them), and a possible establishment of Chinese and Indian group areas either in the region of Albany Road or on Raglan Road on the town side of Orsmond Terrace.

There was much opposition at the public inquiry. Most of it was based on principle, though some of it came from the spokesmen of interested parties; but there was no public support for the proposals at all. Prof James Irving, the eminent Rhodes University sociologist, commented that "there is nothing in this scheme but raw pain, suffering and the loss of an integrated community". The day after the inquiry, a Group Areas Action Committee was formed, on which the names of leaders of nearly all race groups appeared - coloured, Chinese, Indian, African, English-speaking.²¹

The following year the GAB tried again, and advertised a public hearing for February 16-18 1959. This time there was more friction over the boundary between the white and coloured zones, for the proposal now was to take that boundary along the full length of Curry Street. This would have involved the expropriation of a few whites. The Afrikaanse Skakelkomitee now came out in open support for group areas; but once again the city council stood firm.²²

It looked for a while as if the opponents of group areas had won, especially when the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration went on record as saying in the House of Assembly on April 30 1963 that

HFingo Town can become a designated area (under the Group Areas Act) only with the approval of the local authority, the Town Council concerned . . . There is no intention as far as we are concerned for any immediate action in this connection". Even If Fingo Village were to become a designated area, he continued, "it does not necessarily follow that . . . ownership there will automatically be in jeopardy". But in spite of this assurance, the Regional Secretary for Community Development told Grahamstown on June 24 to get on with the

planning of group areas, because over four years had elapsed since the investigation by a committee of the GAB and so far nothing had happened. The Town Clerk replied that the council preferred the status quo. This was noted with regret. 23 "We must have proper proposals" wrote the Under-Secretary for Community Development on September 12. So the council on October 24 produced a plan which predictably endorsed the status quo, where white and coloured were concerned, and left the African areas for the time being out of account. Then in November it carefully defined an African area running along the edge of the Fingo Village at the back of the Orsmond Terrace cottages, to the point at which the African homes are separated from those of other groups by the SAR marshalling yards and the open space between the Methodist Church and the Wylde Street cottages. The council's group area proposals reflected, almost exactly, the residential pattern as it was. The only respect in which it seems to have created consternation was that by deciding to buy Scott's Farm in the valley separating the coloured residential area from Tanti in order to build more coloured homes, it would have put the legal security of African residents in lower Tanti (in T0 and TQ' streets) at risk if the government were to insist on the normal 500-yard buffer zone.

It turned out not to have been good enough for the council to wrap the new law round the status quo. That was defiance. The Bantu Administration Department and the Community Development Board (as the GAB was now known) began to compare notes, having already made up their minds that Fingo Village had to go. So on October 22 1964 another public meeting was called to consider a new plan which set aside the whole of Fingo Village below the railway, and the whole of the Village north of Raglan Road above the line, as a group area for either whites or Indians, and incorporating the whole of the rest of the Village and the south municipal location in the white area.²⁴

There was an instant outcry. The advisory board, which spoke for the African community as a whole, protested

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MAP 3. The group areas proposals of1964

"emphatically against these proposals because they will uproot thousands of people, and bring distress and misery to many". Moreover, it continued, "this area includes the location hall, the health centre, five schools, one creche, six churches, the SANTA settlement and our burial grounds". Encouraged by this stand, the city council stood firm, and at the public inquiry on October 22 some robust speeches were made, some attacking the principle of the proposal, others - as tended to happen on these occasions - objecting on the ground that the interests of particular groups were damaged by it.²⁵

One new feature of the 1964 inquiry was the opening of a rift (which had appeared on an earlier occasion and been closed) between some of the coloured leaders and the Group Areas Action Committee. With the encouragement of Mr W Holland, one of the representatives of the coloured people in parliament, a group of coloured leaders was induced to support the government's group area plan, and they ceased to attend the meetings of the Action Committee.

It seems to have been this success with a section of the coloured people that determined the change of tactic on the part of the government. This resulted in a new proposal to turn the Fingo Village over to the coloured people. The suggestion put forward by the Department of Planning in October 1965 called forth even sharper reactions. It was found wholly unacceptable by the city council on October 18, by nine votes to two. There was yet another public hearing on December 2, another onslaught on the government proposals, and yet another governmental retreat. But this was not the end of the story.

Five years later, just before the Easter week-end in 1970, the government imposed its will on Grahamstown and gazetted the Fingo Village above the line as a coloured group area, attached by a narrow wasp waist to the historic Hottentot Village. A white/coloured boundary along Currie Street was similarly proclaimed.²⁷ But the public reaction was less than might have been expected, because this shock move also coincided with a new feeling which had begun to appear in the city council that the time had come to call a halt to

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Grahamstown's stance of opposition if the city was to receive the kind of official favours which would enable it to advance. Concede over group areas, it was argued, and industry would be encouraged to come, and with industry, jobs for the blacks to make up for their lack of houses and the inconveniences group areas would cause.

In the month before the proclamation, two city councillors and the Deputy Town Clerk, had met the regional representative of the Department of Planning and received some inkling that there was a plan to remove the African population from Fingo Village and the adjacent Tentyi location at some time in the future; but they had also received the impression that the ethnic destiny of Fingo Village itself was still unresolved.

The government's step in making Fingo Village a coloured group area did of course take cognizance of the shortage of living space in the coloured area. But the proclamation was a bad bit of town planning in that it established a coloured residential and business area straddling all the available routes between the Africans' homes and their places of work, inviting racial conflict between Africans made angry by expropriation and the new coloured owners of their old homes. The danger was serious because most Africans in Grahamstown walked to work. It was indeed ironic that such a plan should have replaced the excellent existing radial plan, the merits of which had been pointed out to the GAB at the 1957 and 1965 inquiries. 28

The city council met on April 2 1970, listed a number of objections to the proclamation, and decided to take advice from a professional consultant who had once been adviser to the Minister of Planning, as to the right line to follow. The consultant's advice was that once a group area had been proclaimed, there was no prospect of having it deproclaimed - indeed, no machinery for doing so short of special legislation. (A small rectification of boundaries to enable the removal of stock fair pens from the market square to the north-western corner of Fingo Village was, however, arranged administratively). The council accordingly decided not to object in public, and during the May council meeting a

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motion by one of its members to have this decision reviewed and rescinded was defeated in open debate.²⁹ The council's spirit of resistance was wilting, because by this time it was beginning to feel new pressures on three fronts.

(2) Resettlement, the bousmg crisis, and the carrot of border industries.

On the one hand, the government was beginning to press ahead with its homeland development policy, involving the repatriation of urban Africans and those living on white farms to the Bantu homelands. Mr I P van Onselen, the Secretary for Bantu Administration, was firmly committed to this policy. To make Fingo Village a coloured group area, thus displacing 6 000 Africans, was to create a need for alternative accommodation for such people, and this, the government had decided, could be provided in the homelands.

Group areas and homeland repatriation were therefore brought together as two parts of the same policy. The government's intention to remove large numbers of Africans from Grahamstown had been explained to the city council by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Eastern Cape in August 1969, over six months before the group areas proclamation.³⁰

In September Mr van Onselen stated privately that he intended in the near future to look for likely village sites in the Fish River valley.³¹ He visited the Peddie district on the banks of the Fish River on the side of Committees", runs Mr van Onselen's account according to the Grahamstown official minute, "and we found an ideal site on which we could establish a fairly big city with the water available."³² He then went on to say that the building of family houses would thenceforth be prohibited in Grahamstown, only hostels for migrants being permissible.

Shortage of housing was the second form of pressure to which the Grahamstown council had been subjected. The story here, in brief, was that despite the construction of over 1 000 houses at Joza between 1957 and 1962, during the

peak years of Dr Verwoerd's blitz on urban African slums, no houses had been constructed for Grahamstown's Africans since 1962. The shortfall in 1968 was estimated at 1 260 houses, 33 and requests by the city council to build more houses from 1967 were regularly turned down. With the urban African population growing at the rate of about 1 000 a year (a very approximate figure) the housing position was rapidly becoming worse. Consequently it became increasingly easy to find cases of overcrowding, and the more talk there was about overcrowding the more plausible it became to argue that the residents of the African townships needed to be removed to new areas. The alternative suggestion, that it would have been simpler to build more houses for them on the spot, was unanswerable in terms of plain common sense. But it was not the way the council could meet the challenge when it was not given access to loan funds, nor allowed to build family houses, nor allowed to add to the area of the location by buying more land or by building on its own commonage, nor allowed to sponsor any building on African-owned land in the new coloured group area, where there was room - namely the Fingo Village. Perhaps if it had simply been a question of standing up to the government on the issue of homeland repatriation and housing, the city council might have had the will to renew its stand of the mid-1960s and oppose the government. It was discouraged from doing so by a third influence - the carrot of border industry, the promise that if Grahamstown's blacks agreed to move to the new town at Committees Drift, they would be the first in the queue for jobs in the new border industries which the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industries would try to entice to Grahamstown in the near future. The reward for co-operation by the City Council was to be the industrial development of Grahamstown. In November 1969, therefore, the city council agreed that it would co-operate fully in the movement of surplus-Bantu population to this new township (at Committees Drift) provided -

Vumo H.

No. 36 Wood Street, Fz'ngo Village. One of the worst examples of
backyard Slum development

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(a) This is 21 vol untary movement induced by a better economic outlook and living conditions.

(b) that schools and health services are adequate.

(c) that the Department of Bantu Administration uses its powers and influence to promote the establishment of Border Industries on the site selected on the east side of Grahamstown in collaboration with the Department of Planning . . . 1

and That in order to promote the establishment of Border Industries during the interim period and to employ existing surplus Bantu, this Council urges Bantu Administration to use its influence with the Department of Planning to grant interim Border Industry privileges utilizing local labour on the understanding that when the proposed Bantu Township is ready, this labour will be drawn from the new Township on a daily basis . . . "34

This meant that, in order to get its border industries going, on a basis of favourable tax concessions, cheap labour and other special perquisites, Grahamstown was in theory to be allowed to bend even these generous regulations by employing resident Africans as if they were migrants from the homelands, even before the commuter city of Committees Drift was built.

The terms seemed so attractive that when they were put to the urban bantu council the same month, members, while professing bewilderment; at the necessity of going to live at Committees Drift in order to be given work in Grahamstown, nevertheless took the white councillors at their word if that was the way the game had to be played. One of them, reflecting what had in fact been a very close sense of community through the earlier group area conflicts, came out with the statement: 11We believe that our council will never mislead us under any circumstances".35

But to most people today with hindsight, and to the less

sanguine of observers at the time, there was a great deal that was wrong with the border industry offer. First, it was an offer made on the wrong side of the Fish/Kat line from the point of view of another government department, the Department of Coloured Affairs. It meant granting Africans work preference in a coloured preference area. If the Fingo Village was to be cleared of Africans to make room for coloured people, those coloured people moving into Grahamstown were also going to need work, and it was unreasonable to suppose that Africans commuting from Committees Drift were going to be able to compete for employers favours with coloured people living on the spot. In a letter dated September 16 1971 to the Town Clerk, the Secretary to the Board for Decentralization of Industry later explicitly stated that employment in border industries in Grahamstown would be open to coloured as well as African workers, "coloureds who are in search of employment and not only those who are unemployed".³⁶ It was either a case of the left hand not knowing what the right hand was doing, or of its knowing well but keeping quiet about it. The second thing that was wrong with the border industry offer was that without very special favours Grahamstown stood no chance of getting industry. This meant that Grahams-town at least had to be treated as a 'growth point', not just a border area, for only as a growth point would it receive proper government attention.³⁷ Such a proclamation was being considered, so the council was at last told by the Department of Planning on August 26 1971; but Grahams-town was never actually made a growth point. The industrial files of the Grahamstown city council over the period 1956-69 reveal a long catalogue of failure to attract industrial enterprises to the city. Invitations had been extended in that period to four firms involved in or connected with the motor industry to start factories, to a chocolate manufacturer, to two processors of textiles (one wool and one mohair), and to a firm which manufactured vacuum cleaners, but none had responded positively. Over the same period, interest in the possibility of setting themselves up

in Grahamstown had come from a sanitary ware manufacturer, a few clay processing firms, firms interested in the manufacture of cowlicks, animal feeds and fertilizers, oil products and Salagas. Many other suggestions for types of industry were canvassed.

One of the clay-processing firms indeed received a five-year concession in 1965; but no new industry established itself during the period in question save for a small fish-fly factory and a steel furniture manufacturing establishment which used almost no labour. The SA Wool Textile Research Institute, previously established in Grahamstown, decided in the same period to move away as did the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The Grahamstown Potteries went into liquidation and passed into other hands.

In brief, Grahamstown found it hard to attract industry because it had limited water (although the building of the Settlers Dam had made this commodity plentiful but expensive); because although fed with electricity by Escom from East London, it was still not on a power grid (however, that would change within a few years); because it was too far removed from markets and because it suffered from unfavourable rail tariffs (which made it cheaper to export clay to Benoni and make it into pots there, than to make it into pots in Grahamstown, pay a higher rail tariff, risk breakages on the way, and sell them in Benoni). It also suffered from difficulties placed in the way of private road transportation by the traditional government policy of protecting the railways.

Ironically, in order to obtain industries, the Grahamstown council had received authority to establish an industrial area on the one part of the commonage which might otherwise have been used for the extension of its African township at Joza. This area had not been Grahamstown's choice.

The site asked for in 1957 was Goodwin's Kloof, at the western end of the town, not far from the existing brickfields and served by a railway siding leading to the military camp. This site was rejected by the government on the ground that black workers would have had to travel through the centre of town in order to get to work. The new industrial site pro-

claimed in 1971 had the disadvantage of not being within reach of railway facilities without enormous expenditure, but was selected for the industrially irrelevant reason that its furthest extremity was just within a twenty-mile radius of the Fish River, and therefore qualified - at a stretch - for concessions under the border industry regulations.

(3) Insecurity for Indians.

After the imposition of group areas in 1970, there remained one detail of the new allocation of residential areas to settle: nothing had yet been done to deprive the Fingo Villagers who lived on the town side of the railway line of their residential or property rights. But it was announced in September 1970 that there was to be an Indian group area in this region, and that there would be provision for the 200-odd Indian residents at a spot where, being on the national road, they might make a living as traders from the custom of passing traffic, at the cost of losing white residents, custom which they currently enjoyed in their strategically located shops. 33 An objection that the establishment of the Indian group area involved displacement of over 400 Africans for whom no alternative home yet existed was not regarded at the public hearing on February 3 1971 as sufficient to invalidate the scheme, more especially as the city council had decided to support the plan. The alternative feared by many people was that all Indians might be moved to Port Elizabeth.

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III THE CONFLICT OVER IMPLEMENTATION

(1) State committee and Committees Drift.

he history of the Grahamstown group areas epic reached a turning point in 1971. Until that time government policy was being worked out in its broad lines, the blue-prints were being drawn up and released as guidelines for the future. Now came the problem of implementation; but before implementation could be effected, the government had to face the backlash of protest, which now came not so much from the council, which was tied up in the toils of its own industrial gamble, as from the independent Ratepayers, Association which decided to work through the local member of parliament, Mr Bill Deacon, who was then a member of the opposition caucus, in an endeavour to achieve the reversal of the Committees Drift scheme by political pressure.³⁹ Of necessity the council responded to pressure from the Ratepayers' new Fingo Village Action Committee, especially when the latter found that it could enter into correspondence with the Department of Bantu Administration and receive replies - even if not convincing ones - to its letters. Thanks largely to Mr Deacon's influence, a municipal deputation went to Cape Town to lobby the Minister of Planning, Mr J J Loots, and the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr P G J Koornhof, in March 1971.⁴⁰ It was listened to but its representations were ignored.⁴¹ For the council, this response by the government was no laughing matter. In a rare burst of anger, it decided to appeal directly to the Prime Minister, over the heads of Bantu Administration, and threatened to release information to the press unless action followed.⁴²

In December Dr Koornhof accompanied by Mr van Onse-len, visited Grahamstown, and for the first time in the history of the controversy a cabinet minister went to inspect the Grahamstown African townships.⁴³ He was shown and expressed displeasure at the overcrowding of the well-spaced shacks in Fingo Village. He agreed that building could be done and

even let slip the phrase Ha thousand housesii, provided that these were built in those parts of the location not affected by the group areas proclamation. It was subsequently calculated that, by cutting up the rather smaller erven between TL' and TM, streets in Tanti, it might be possible to find room for perhaps 500 houses. But even supposing that that number had been built, it would have not come near to meeting the backlog, already standing in the region of 2 000 thanks to the moratorium imposed in 1967. Eventually - but not as a result of this offer by the minister - 200 semi-detached dwellings were erected in 1974, in response to the city council's 1967 application which had then been turned down. Control of the locations had meanwhile passed from the hands of the council to those of the Cape Midlands Administration Board based in Port Elizabeth, which had taken over responsibility in July 1973.

The planning of the move to Committees Drift had also begun to get off the ground, together with the replanning of the new coloured and Indian group areas. As a first step in this development the government had established a state committee under the Senior Deputy Secretary for Community Development in September 1971. It began to hold meetings in Grahamstown at fairly regular intervals from April 1972.44 When the turn-out was good, the state committee contained representatives of not only the city council, but of the Departments of Planning, Bantu Administration, Community Development, Coloured Affairs, Social Welfare and Pensions, Indian Affairs, and the Cape Provincial Administration, together with technical experts who sometimes met as a technical sub-committee, as well. The state committee had three main areas of concern: first, the development of Fingo Village as a coloured group area; second, the development of the fraction of Fingo Village below the railway line as an Indian group area; and third, the re-development of a depressed section of the central business district, the so-called Tfrozen area, at the lower end of the white town. The last of these problems, which took up a good deal of the state committee's time, lies outside the scope of the present study.

The Indian group area was largely a matter for the drawing board, since it had been decided to replan the block de novo, and plans for a shopping centre consisting almost entirely of greengrocers¹ shops and laundries were ready for public discussion by April 1975.⁴⁵ The re-planning of the coloured group area brought to light proposals for a new street plan which eliminated the Fingo Village grid and therefore the street names bearing witness to the era of the Crimean War, but nevertheless paid more rational attention to contours¹⁶. Little progress could be made in respect of either of these areas, however, because it proved impossible to obtain from Bantu Administration a reliable time-table for the removal of Fingo Village residents to Committees Drift. Bantu Administration waited in turn for information from Water Affairs regarding the piping of water from the Orange to the Fish rivers, which was essential to the Committees Drift scheme. Because neither Bantu Affairs nor Water Affairs was represented at the state committee meetings by people authorized to discuss administrative problems in detail, as distinct from re-iterating decisions taken in Pretoria, the state committee meetings could not fail to be unproductive. The implementation of government policy was therefore stymied. No African removals could take place because no place was prepared for them to go. Therefore no purchase of African properties or eviction of African tenants could be allowed lest owners or occupants should be rendered homeless. Vigilance was necessary here, however, for there was no lack of enthusiasm on the part of officials in Port Elizabeth to coax the Villagers into agreeing to sell. In November 1970, Bantu Administration circulated a questionnaire which invited Villagers to agree to removal but left no space for them to write. ¹⁷ Municipal officials persuaded them to withdraw it. In 1972 the city council took steps to ensure that property owners whose titles were not in order were provided with substitute titles under the 1927 Native Administration Act. Subsequently Community Development tried to make the registration of these titles conditional on an agreement to sell the properties within a year.¹⁸ This time it was the Bantu Affairs Administration Board which attacked the termites;

but there were signs at the beginning of 1975 that they were at it again.

Meanwhile the passage of years may have made Committees Drift look greener, as the Eastern Cape emerged from a five-year drought, but its suitability as a settlement was not improved by time. The cost of building a proper tarred road through Plutois Vale, with its fourteen culverts, had risen sharply since the rise of the world price of oil. Doubt was also cast about the brackishness of the Fish River Valley, which could be fatal to an irrigation scheme. And the continuing silence of the authorities about any industrial undertakings to provide employment for the putative residents of Committees Drift either on the spot or in Grahamstown or elsewhere gave an air of unreality to the scheme, with undertones of potential tragedy on a grand scale. The record of distress at several other resettlement villages, which shocked the public conscience after the appearance of Cosmas Desmond's book,⁴⁹ had alerted some, notably Dr Koornhof himself, to the danger of creating more Dimbaza's and it was obviously the intention of the department to build tolerable houses, schools and clinics at Committees Drift. Yet it was not over the probable quality of the houses, but over the capacity of the settlement to sustain life, that the debate really raged.

(2) The Ciskei's bits back

In August 1974 a clash of views became public between the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Eastern Cape, Mr T R H Gaffney, who supported the scheme which was already well advanced on the drawing boards in Pretoria, and the Chairman and Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board, (CMBAAAB) Messrs J C K Erasmus and L C Koch, whose function it would be to see to the employment of migrant workers from Committees Drift. Mr Gaffney won the first round.⁵⁰ It was decided that the scheme must go on. But in September, for the first time in the history of the affair, the Ciskeian Government entered the lists, claiming that it had never been consulted over the

Committees Drift project though it was to be established on Ciskeian territory, and urging the Republican government to cancel the scheme. The Ciskeian Chief Minister, Mr LC Sebe, flew to Cape Town to discuss the question with the Prime Minister of the Republic, Mr B J Vorster.⁵¹ Mr Vorster subsequently announced that the Committees Drift project had been suspended and that alternative sites were being considered.

In April 1975, however, the government went back on this decision and announced that the Committees Drift scheme was to go ahead after all.

At this point Chief Minister Sebe, exploded. "I am definitely against it," he said. "Committees Drift is like a desert. Why put my people there when we have Peddie as an alternative?"⁵² Peddie was at least on a main road and had a municipal infrastructure. Mr Sebe was to return to the attack in July with a threat to denounce the governments policy before the world, and, as will be seen, his eleventh-hour intervention was to have its effect. But not immediately. Before the end of April, Mr Gaffney announced that R45 millions were to be spent on Committees Drift over the next twenty years.⁵³

An angry meeting of Fingo Village freeholders and residents on April 29 resolved "in this era of dialogue and detente" to ask for a meeting between the government and their representatives, expressing themselves "totally opposed to the loss of our lands and title deeds" and to "removal to the barren and jobless environs of Committees Drift".⁵⁴ Their resolution was delivered personally, through the good offices of Senator Dennis Worrall, by Mrs Nancy Charton of Rhodes University to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr W A Cruywagen, in Cape Town.⁵⁵

The government rode the blow. Very smartly, on May 2 the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha affirmed in parliament that all Africans with urban residential rights under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act would be provided with homes in Grahamstown.⁵⁶ However this was not to be the end of Committees Drift. Far from it. On October 18, the Port Elizabeth newspaper, the Eastern

Province Herald reported that the CMBAAB was about to start work on construction of the township, having appointed a project engineer and rented part of the Committees Drift outspan at R100 per month from the Albany Divisional Council for a works camp.

There were, however, signs of hesitancy on the part of government spokesmen. The new Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr Punt Janson, told a National Party meeting in Grahamstown the day after this announcement that investigations had been instituted into the quality of the Fish River water (which was allegedly brackish), as well as into the industrial potential of Grahamstown. He also insisted that only the unemployed would be required to move to the township, thus conjuring up a picture of the kind of ldumping ground, against which Dr Koornhof had so strongly expressed himself. Dr Janson made the point, though, most explicitly, in conversation with the Mayor of Grahamstown, Mr L Reich, hoping, it seems, to convince him thereby. 57 At the beginning of February 1976, a meeting of Fingo Village freeholders, the press report of which is tantalisingly incomplete, 58 decided to demand a decisive answer from Minister M C Botha on the subject of the security of their property rights _ apparently as a result of a recent meeting with Mr J D du Preez of Community Development, who had given them certain assurances.

(3) G/enmore, and (be referendum tbat wasn 't y March, the government had sufficiently recovered from Chief Sebels attack for the Secretary of Bantu Affairs, Mr I P van Onselen, to visit Grahamstown and tell a selected meeting of title-holders and members of the urban bantu council (UBC) in the city hall, from which some city councillors had been excluded, that the site for the settlement was no longer to be Tyefuls Location at Committees Drift, to which Chief Sebe had objected, but the farm Himmediately across the bridge to the left of the road", later to be identified as the farm Glenmore, owned by Mr Ronnie Knott. 59 As this was still in the white area, Chief Sebe would

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have no ground for objecting. Mr van Onselen wanted those present to go back to their people and put the case for moving. There were R80 000 on the current estimates and the work could begin as soon as he was given a mandate.

- True to his word, Mr Van Onselen put his offer in writing in a letter to Mr L C Koch, Chief Director of the CMBAAB, dated March 19. The farm Glenmore was mentioned by name. Mr Koch distributed copies of the letter to Fingo Village residents under a covering letter dated April 21, in which he announced that "it is proposed to hold a referendum in Fingo Village on 29 April". Mr D Bush, Area Manager of CMBAAB, _later explained that "the decision to hold an opinion poll was made at a meeting between the UBC, the Chief Director and other Senior Officers of the BAAB ...on April 1, 1976".⁶⁰ This was to clarify an assertion made by Mr M C Botha in parliament that the UBC had organized the opinion poll, which the UBC had subsequently denied.⁶¹

It is quite clear that CMBAAB organized the referendum, and that the UBC considered that insufficient time was given between April 21 and 29 to inform the Villagers of the issues in sufficient depth. Its objection was not sustained, however. CMBAAB vans broadcast a statement of the issues throughout the Village. Opponents of the move managed to circulate a manifesto attacking the government proposals, exhorting the Villagers to stand together and reject them:

"Let us wake up from the rotten egg, people, and fight together. Both the tenant and the landlord, young and the old, should unite together and speak (with) one word (voice) on this issue. The landlords should not maltreat the tenants so that they may be attracted by the promises of Vorster, promising them houses in the new township of their own."

Official secrecy over the result of the referendum was kept until late June. On June 9 Mr M C Botha was reported as denying in parliament that he had any knowledge of a referendum in Fingo Village. On the 22nd, however, he replied to a question by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert (now leader of the

Opposition), that in a 20 percent "opinion poll" 647 Villagers had voted against the Van Onselen proposals and 65 in favour.⁶² He thought that the poll was too low to be conclusive. What actually seems to have happened is that a bid to split the tenants from their landlords had failed. Mr van Onselen had emphasised the high quality of the homes to be offered at the new site: "Decent four-roomed houses plus indoor latrines with piped water and waterborne sewerage", with all the amenities which form part and parcel of a modern township . . . e.g. schools, community centres, halls, clinics, parks, recreational centres", trading facilities, and job opportunities, at a cost of R20 for a 500-square metre plot, and rents between a third and two thirds of the Makana's Kop figure of R1750 to R20. But this did not succeed in turning tenants against their rack-renting landlords (who may well not, by current standards be generally classifiable as rack-renters).

(4) Reprieve for Indians; windfall for Dead Horse Kloof

The Fingo Village referendum may well have been influenced by reports which had been circulating in April that the African residents of the proclaimed Indian group area (Le. Fingo Village below the railway line) were to be moved out. According to press reports in May, 450 tenants were transferred, preferably on a voluntary basis" into temporary zinc huts which had been sent COD to CMBAAB by the Department in Pretoria without having been solicited.⁶³ This information was received at a time when large-scale unrest had broken out in townships elsewhere, notably in Soweto. Pressure was brought to bear on CMBAAB from several quarters, official and private, and it took the responsible decision not to require any Africans in the Indian area to move while the unrest persisted, though any who wished to move into what later became known as 'Silver City' would be assisted.⁶⁴ (In August 1977, by an imaginative gesture, responsibility for which remains unpublicised, a number of these iron huts were used to

provide accomodation for an overspill squatter settlement with no amenities whatsoever, on the edge of the black township, in a valley called Dead Horse Kloof. None of the African residents of the Indian group area were moved).

(5) An offer to the landlords.

the government now used another line of attack on the problem area east of the railway line. If the tenants could not be divided from the landlords, would it not be possible to divide the landlords from the tenants? It went ahead with the Glenmore scheme despite the result of the referendum. The farm's owner, Mr Knott, was given notice of expropriation in November.⁶⁵ This news inflamed Village opinion, especially when it was followed by information from Pretoria that the referendum had been "for the information of the Minister only".⁶⁶ A public meeting on December 8 accordingly endorsed the resolution of April 1975, which Mrs Charton had delivered to Deputy Minister Willem Cruywagen, and a delegation was chosen (all, apparently, Fingo Village free-holders) to meet Mr Cruywagen, who visited Grahamstown on December 13. Mr Cruywagen came as the bearer of good tidings: the Village freeholders would not lose the right to live in Grahamstown.⁶⁷ They could have the right to build homes at a number of sites which would be made available at Makana's Kop, on terms which were not immediately made clear, though a press report in March 1977 said that Mr Cruywagen "warned property owners that while they could become registered property owners at Glenmore in terms of Proclamation 193 of 1962, they would only gain right of occupation for an undetermined period at Makana's Kop".⁶⁸ Speaking for the landlords, Mr B B Zondani, who represented Fingo Village on the UBC said he thought the offer would make them "delighted. We have a foot in the door now", he added "and we must just continue to struggle" to win rights for the tenants and other residents of the Village. It seems most unlikely that Mr Zondani, in leading a movement of freeholders anxious to do a deal with the govern-

ment and buy what security they could, was in fact acting against the interests of the tenants; but what looked like an easy escape route had been offered to the landlords, so that the suspicions of other residents were aroused. These came to a head in September 1977, when a group of residents took exception to the decision of the UBC to accept the governments new system of community councils without consulting public opinion, even though this meant an unconstitutional extension of the UBC's term of office to March 1978.⁶⁹

(6) Glenmore: a tragic irrelevantfalse start.

Meanwhile concerned citizens of Grahamstown began seriously to view the problem from another angle. If all the Villagers with Section 10 rights were to be housed in Grahamstown, in terms of Mr M C Botha's promise of May 1975, quite clearly much more land had to be made available for their use. The city council now came to the rescue. It resolved to make land available on Commonage East. The Mayor had written to Mr Cruywagen in August 1976, giving "the undertaking that the Municipality would be prepared to make level land available for a possible site and service township opposite King's Flats, near the old rifle range".⁷⁰ Because this offer was merely exploratory, the Grahamstown Soroptimists induced the council to make a more formal offer in May 1977, and the offer of 688 hectares was accordingly made to the Department of Bantu Administration.⁷¹ By September it had not apparently become a negotiable issue between the municipality and CMBAAB, though its importance - in view of the housing shortage which had now reached an estimated figure of 3 590 houses for a population of close on 40 000 - was undoubtedly very great.

What made the provision of more land in Grahamstown even more pressing was that, although the Glenmore resettlement scheme was due to go ahead, the government backtracked sensationally in May 1978 by announcing that it

was no longer intended as a location for the settlement of surplus blacks from Grahamstown.⁷² "It will not be a dormitory town", said Dr C P Mulder, Mr M C Botha's successor as minister, the name of whose department had been changed to lPlural Relationsl. "It will be developed as a normal town which ultimately can be incorporated in the Ciskei homeland territory," he said. By June 1978 it was becoming clear that the pioneers of Glenmore, the development of which was to cost R26m over a five year period, were to be squatters (mainly pensioners and children) then living on the farm Klipfontein, near Kenton-on-Sea, at Colchester on the Sundays River, and in other illegal settlements spread across the south-eastern Cape Province. Little if any, pressure was put on Grahamstown's black residents to go.

But a report in the East London Daily Dispatch in June⁷³ hinted darkly that if the Fingo Village property owners were to receive new homes at Makana's Kop, this might unhouse as many as 7 000 lodgers in Fingo Village for whom no alternative provision had been made - nor, apparently, could be - in Grahamstown itself. Neither the Chief Director of CMBAAB in Port Elizabeth, Mr Koch, nor the Chief Commissioner for Plural Relations in the Eastern Cape, Mr Hitge, could say for sure what would happen to the lodgers, according to the same report. Mr Koch insisted that the community council would be consulted, but it is not easy to imagine what kind of helpful advice it might have given.

(7) The community council puts its case.

he community council made its position very clear in a memorandum addressed to the minister, Dr Mulder, on June 27.⁷⁴ It attributed a serious deterioration in race relations in Grahamstown, which had broken surface in an outbreak of violence between police and black schoolchildren, to "tremendous insecurity in the community". That insecurity, it stated, was due to the proclamation of group areas in 1970, to the almost complete ban on house building since 1967, to the refusal of the government to accept the results of "numerous opinion polls" in Fingo Village over the Committees

Drift and Glenmore resettlement schemes, and to the alarming growth of unemployment. The council therefore asked for an immediate deproclamation of Fingo Village as a coloured group area, a relaxation of building restrictions in the case of all persons with Section 10 rights, the granting of 99-year leasehold rights so that building society loans could be put within the reach of Africans in Grahamstown, the acceptance of the city council's offer of land on Commonage East, a site-and-service scheme for this land as soon as it was transferred, and the creation of new work opportunities in Grahamstown.

The memorandum concluded with a request for assurances that lawful Grahamstown residents would not be forced to go to Glenmore, or be driven there by excessive rentals in Grahamstown; and it asked further that if Glenmore development were to be abandoned, the money should be allocated to alternative local road construction, transport facilities, housebuilding, school-building, hospitals and salaries of medical and administrative staff.

(8) The government relents On Glenmore and Fingo Village

Dr C P Mulder, the minister to whom this address was sent, fell from office as a result of his part in the information scandal of 1978, before he had been able to reply to it. But after the lapse of well over a year, the government went further to meet the community councils' objections than could have been anticipated in the light of its earlier attitude.

This change of heart may have been precipitated by the fact that Glenmore soon proved to be the kind of human dumping ground that the jeremiahs had all along warned that it might become. The resettlement happened with enough inattention to human detail to ensure that it was a propaganda disaster for the government, not least because the authorities became very defensive on the subject of publicity. The scheme was starved of three-quarters of the funds which the Treasury was supposed to have made avail-

able in the first year, perhaps because the department lost confidence in it from the moment of its inception. The distribution of rations was incompetently handled until a private agency stepped in, with the approval of the new minister, Dr Koornhof, and arranged both for the provision of adequate food and for its distribution through black community leaders. Equally serious, work opportunities offered at a satisfactory wage fell very far short of need. Then in August 1979 the minister made the important decision to halt the expansion of the scheme, pending the provision of sufficient work opportunities. Mr J, C K (tBoetl) Erasmus, chairman of the East Cape Administration Board (as the CMBAAB responsible for the area was now known) professed not to be surprised. "We suspected something was going on when the money dried up two months ago and resettlement stopped about a month ago," he said. 75 Even more important changes were to follow. The Sunday Times on February 3 1980 carried an announcement that Dr Koornhof had decided to de-proclaim Fingo Village as a coloured. group area. It would now revert to Africans. This decision was "dictated by humanitarian and moral considerations", Dr Koornhof explained, for llafter all they have had the land for more than 100 years". Deproclamation was likely to be a lengthy business, for as many departments as had been involved in its change in legal status now had to be involved in the great unwind. Nevertheless, a second and even stronger assurance given at the end of July seemed to indicate that a firm policy decision had been taken.76 Unfortunately, the policy change was too late to avert the reaction from the black community, which had long been feared, to the threats and deprivations which it had experienced during the preceding fourteen years.

The N V Cewu higher primary school, built by the city council in 1972 with wattle board and asbestos from funds contributed by the Bantu Welfare Trust. At that time only temporary buildings were allowed, and these could be erected only at Makanak Kop

IV THE AFTERMATH: BLACK ANGER

Crisis in the Schools.

he cannot attribute all the problems of Africans in Grahamstown to government incompetence. Over-shadowing everything, for example, was a phenomenal growth of population, whether from natural increase or from rural influx it is still difficult to say. The African population, which had risen from about 9 000 in 1936 to about 26 000 in 1970, had grown to 40 000 by the census of 1980, (an increase of 53,9 percent) and during the same decade the rural African population of Albany had fallen by an even more sensational percentage (71.5) from 23 000 to 13 500.⁷⁷

The African school-going population grew from about 2 000 in 1942 to well over 10 000 in 1979. To maintain existing standards in the matter of amenities was a task in itself under these circumstances; to improve them a near impossibility. The endemic poverty which had helped to bring about the baby boom was compounded by increasing joblessness, by the inability of the authorities to keep pace with a housing programme, and the inability of the educational authorities to keep down classroom numbers or an escalating pupil-teacher ratio, or to train teachers and pupils to a level of proficiency which would enable the products of the schools to hold down responsible jobs. Population growth, by promoting overcrowding, also destroyed privacy. The Roux-St Leger Report had found that the 128 households which had been investigated, comprising 752 persons, occupied only 244 rooms including kitchens and washrooms.⁷⁸ Such overcrowding was bound, further, to undermine parental authority, in so far as this had not already been destroyed by the system of outward male labour migrancy and the undermining of the family unit. Not surprisingly, therefore, the first sign that the situation was becoming serious came from the schools.

If the concern of Grahamstown's citizens to improve the quality of African education could have influenced the

course of events on this front, there ought not to have been school boycotts in Grahamstown. The citizens had a very good record for helping African education in three main directions. First, the GADRA⁷⁹ school feeding scheme, which was started in 1958 by Dr Margery McKerron, had managed to cope with increasing numbers and rising costs until it was feeding 10 500 pupils three times a week by 1978, its boast being that none of the money raised from the public was spent on overheads.⁸⁰

Second, the GADRA bursary fund administered by a voluntary committee, was providing bursaries of the order of R20 000 annually, and there was a sharp increase in the funds collected in the mid-1970s, to meet a growing demand for education at the secondary and tertiary levels. And in the third place the local authority, with the help of money donated by private charities inside and outside Grahamstown,⁸¹ and assisted by a local private fund-raising body, FUNDA, had been responsible for building the equivalent of three complete schools during the early 1970s, at a time when it was the policy of the central government not to spend any money on the building of African schools in white urban areas. The annual Funda week arranged by the black members of the FUNDA committee, netted a total of R2 311 in 1975-77, towards the building of classrooms, entirely from black township sources. The periodic ceremonies held when new classrooms were officially opened were marked by at least some measure of community enthusiasm. When government policy changed to allow the building of classrooms with central funds once more, the CMBAAB built the Ntsika Junior Secondary and the Archie Mbolekwa Higher Primary schools, while FUNDA redirected its activities towards the provision of amenities, such as electric lights,

But there had been mounting discontent within the school system itself, which these developments helped to mask. Demand for places in the one high school so far exceeded available openings that a Parents' Association was formed in 1974 to press for educational reform, and this body found a number of reasons for crossing swords with the administra-

tion. They expressed dissatisfaction over the qualifications of the teachers, their treatment by the circuit inspector, and the staffing ratio, among other things. They failed to secure satisfaction. 32

The high school pupils protested in 1975, refusing to write their mid-year examinations on the ground that they had not been properly prepared.⁸³ Their complaint to the school board focussed on the relationship between the circuit inspector and the school staffs, incompetence and alleged misconduct by teachers, inefficiency on the part of the school board and the school committees, the poor condition of their classrooms, and the lack of sports facilities. Even allowing for plenty of trouble-making by the exam-shy, there were grievances here which cried out for a speedy remedy, and this the system proved unable to supply. The confrontation led, after a succession of untoward incidents, to the dismissal of the entire high school teaching staff in mid-1975, following an inquiry by three outside inspectors into a confrontation between the school board and the teachers over what was apparently construed, in a still unpublished report, as an issue of discipline.⁸⁴

During 1976, the year of the Soweto outbreak, the Grahamstown schools were quiet, although there was an abortive attempt to start a workers' stay-away. The high school pupils even mounted guard over their buildings at night to prevent outside attempts at arson, after vandals had done considerable damage to windows during the December holidays.⁸⁵

But in October 1977 the troubles began again. Pupils from the high school marched, perhaps 300 strong, to deliver a protest to the circuit inspector's office, apparently ignorant about the reimposition of a ban on outside gatherings which had recently expired. They were stopped by the police, and over 100 were arrested without any prior warning to disperse. In the subsequent trial in the magistrate's court they were nearly all found guilty of taking part in an illegal gathering, and sentenced, in the case of the younger ones, to two or more cuts, and in the case of the older ones to fines.

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after the troubles of 1980. The remains of the prefabricated block shown in the previous picture are seen here in the foreground

The grievances which the matriculation pupils had wished to present to the department, and which the author took to the circuit inspector by arrangement with both parties, consisted partly of complaints about their inferior facilities and the inferior quality of the education which they received, but also contained a demand for the ending of iBantu Education,, and the unification of the black and white educational systems into a single department, with equal salaries for teachers across the board, together with free and compulsory education for all.⁸⁶

It was becoming harder to separate genuine educational demands from a broader strategy of political confrontation. This was the month after Steve Biko's death in detention. Biko had a particularly strong following in Grahamstown and the Eastern Cape as leader of the Black People's Convention, and his death greatly angered many people, white as well as black, in town. At least one person, thought to have been responsible for tipping off the police before his arrest, had his house burnt and had to leave the area. The subsequent banning of the BPC did nothing to assuage popular feeling.

In September 1978, an attempt was made to burn down three of Grahamstown's African schools. Five classrooms were destroyed at Makana's Kop Higher Primary,³⁷ and damage was done to classrooms at Tentyi and Samuel Ntlebe lower primary schools. Arrests were made, and one youth who pleaded guilty and was convicted, claimed to have been persuaded by others (who were not discovered) that they had done it in the name of Black Power. Floodlighting was then installed at most of the schools, as a security measure. No further damage, bar the interminable shattering of window-panes, was done during 1979; but there were further class boycotts in the middle months of 1980, and these were followed by further confrontations with police, whose behaviour, in general, was more discreet than it had been in 1977, although the provocation by the pupils in 1980 was much greater.

But an almost rhythmic cycle set in between May and July in which schoolchildren and youths, acting under provoca-

tion, stoned first a black vigilante and later a prominent African shopkeeper to death. The police apparently acting in self-defence, shot innocent by-standers while patrolling the streets after the funerals of some of the victims. These Saturday funerals became occasions for galvanizing opposition to the system. In the aftermath of the first, several more of Grahamstown's black schools were set on fire by politicised groups who had managed with some tactical skill to gain temporary control of the township streets. Grahamstown's burning classrooms were a sad commentary on the way in which the agonies of a fairly isolated, somewhat atypical local community had been drawn into a wider conflagration over national issues, in spite of major efforts to resolve difficulties at the local level.

V THE EXPERIENCE IN RETROSPECT

he performance of the government in its handling of the Grahamstown crisis can best be considered under the headings of employment, education, housing, and local government.

The government saw that it had to try to provide jobs. But the rules which it laid down not only failed to create stable employment for Africans either in Grahamstown or across the Fish River, but threatened to dislocate the existing labour market. The government assumed in one part of its mind that coloured labour preference did exist in the area, and in another part that it did not. It took no account of the difficulties likely to be encountered by the lowest-paid employees, who include domestic servants and are the most common category in Grahamstown, if forced to face long hours of travelling and unnecessary commuter costs. Pretoria offered border area privileges but refused to make Grahamstown a growth point. It insisted on the industrial site being located in an area where it would block the only possible expansion of the black townships, even though this placed it a long way from railway facilities.⁸⁸ The one positive step taken by the government to relieve the shortage was to enlarge the labour districts within which the jobless might go and seek work without coming under the 72-hour rule of the Urban Areas Act. This encouraged voluntary outmigration, but it could have been done without introducing any of the ideologically-inspired restrictions.

Education and fitness for employment go together. But once the government committed itself to the removal of a large part of the black population of Grahamstown, it set its face against the improvement of schools, or the building of new schools, in those parts of the African townships threatened with removal. Even at Joza - which it was commonly known, the government also intended to remove in the longer term - only temporary structures were allowed.⁸⁹ Secondary education was doomed to stagnation until the late 1970s, when there was a radical change of policy. But by that time it had been as good as killed, and parents in-

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creasingly sent their children away to high school in spite of attempts by GADRA to dissuade them.

Meanwhile nothing was done until 1979 to promote technical education, and attempts by white individuals and groups to make up for the shortfalls in the Bantu Education system by offering private coaching were discouraged, because such activities fell foul of the Bantu Education Act. When the Bantu Education Act was repealed in 1979, the fact was scarcely noticed because the crisis situation in the Grahamstown schools did not immediately improve. Government education policy, in short, was primarily responsible for a collapse in public morale, for the generation of anger among the youth, the driving of wedges between pupil and teacher, and parent and child, and ultimately for the rebellion of 1977-80.

A bold housing policy might have done something for morale, and for the first fifteen years of Nationalist rule the government responded to the challenge. It granted the loans which made the building of Joza possible. But housing development was undermined by group areas and resettlement. After the group areas proclamation of 1970, the security of the 6 000 African residents of Fingo Village was utterly undermined. The African residents of the 'Indian' area would almost certainly have been moved into Silver City' if it had not been for the Soweto disturbances of 1976. It was only in 1979 that the Villagers were clearly told that Glenmore was not for them, and even then a cloud of uncertainty hung over the lodgers in the Village, should their landlords be required to sell: there was now no policy for them at all. Meanwhile the law was clear: any property owner who died or wished to dispose of his property in the Village after 1970 had either to sell it to a coloured person (or Indian), or to the Department of Community Development. Until late in the day, no offer of compensation was made for improvements, so that the existing housing stock was allowed to deteriorate. Meanwhile the shortage of houses grew - from about 1 200 in 1970 to over 4 000 in 1980. The Grahamstown municipality and, later, the administration board, were forced to turn a blind eye to unlawful struct-

ures - some of them very well built of wattle and daub e
even when these infringed municipal health regulations with
respect to over-crowding.

The government steadfastly refused to authorise the
purchase of land for the extension of the African residential
areas, although such action, accompanied by a site-and-ser-
vice scheme, might quickly have taken ay lot of pressure off
the community. This would not have solved the employment
problem, but it would have made it no worse. So short
was land, that the new schools built by the council in 1972-3
had to be built in the grounds of others. (Not surprisingly
one heard of teachers who refused to apply for jobs in
Grahamstown because there were no satisfactory houses in
which they could live.)

The alternative to a home in Grahamstown was resettlement.
Much of the propaganda for the resettlement policy at
Committees Drift and Glenmore focussed on the prospect of
substantial houses, cheap rents, 80 secure tenure, and flush
toilets. Resettlement on a voluntary basis, with genuine work
Incentives to draw people away from Grahamstown, could
not have failed to attract. But resettlement of the kind pro-
moted by this scheme, inspired as it was by a desire to re-
move from an urban' area a group of property-owning
Africans because official policy held that Africans in white
areas should not be property-owners, could not fail to go
sour. It engendered suspicion, and rightly so, on a large scale.
This was particularly clear from the evidence given by Fingo
Villagers in the Roux and St Leger Report:

Is it true that we are going to Committees Drift? . . . I would pray
to God to end my life immediately rather than leave my house,
my home and my children's home (p 25)

I'm too overcome to be able to think properly about my future.

If you could see what is in my mind you would be shocked (p 25)

I cannot see how I can keep up with the rush of travelling up and
down at ungodly hours and living a long distance from my place
of work (p 26)

To me it is rather strange that the Fingo Village was granted to our forefathers in honour of their services which they rendered for the interests of the whites who today deem it fit to forget our fathers sacrifice and also tend to be dishonest to us and also to our future generations (p 27)

I prefer to die here and not to be interfered with in any manner and that I regard my property to be my castle (p 28)

I also heard that it is the non-productive African who will be sent there. Why dont they shoot us? A non-productive cow is slaughtered, Is this their way of doing it? (p 29).⁸¹

The atmosphere was not helped by the insensitive, not to say devious, reactions of the authorities when popular objections were expressed. An understanding government would have taken stock of the Grahamstown situation and called off resettlement long before the policy was proclaimed, let alone implemented. But the Pretoria administration fought local opinion for thirteen years, heard all the arguments against going ahead with the policy, and almost none in public in favour of it, but still decided to impose its will. Of course it then failed to resolve the difficulties which were known to be insoluble on the lines chosen. To make matters worse it subjected the residents to a full decade of uncertainty after the proclamation had been made, before admitting _ not all that humbly w that it had been wrong in its calculations. The powerlessness of the local community, black and white, to resist the decision of the central government to overturn the historic basis of its common life, was amply demonstrated by the Grahamstown dispute. The city council's alternation of resistance and co-operation was shown to be unprofitable. But whether Grahamstown could have won its point by maintaining an attitude of non-co-operation must be regarded as at best doubtful. By stating a position of principle, however, and then reverting to one of expediency, it is arguable that it allowed itself to be outwitted by planners who were never sufficiently concerned about the towns industrial development to promote it actively, but

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merely anxious to swing it into line on ideological issues, notably by destroying a looming black presence in a white area. Acceptance of the Committees Drift project in return for border area privileges, without also insisting on direct governmental help in the actual provision of industry, can now be seen to have been a mistake in tactics, though it may be objected that the Physical Planning Act would not in any case have enabled the government to give the kind of guarantees required.

In November 1980, a deputation consisting of the mayor and town clerk of Grahamstown, the MP for Albany, and the Chief Director of the East Cape Administration Board, visited Pretoria for talks with Ministers Koornhof and Hartzenberg (Education and Training), together with officials connected with education and housing.⁸² After this visit, it was reported that every major decision taken in recent years with respect to Grahamstown's black communities would be reversed, save two. The council was given permission to place its industrial site where it had initially asked for it, in Goodwins Kloof, and to remove it from King's Flats where it had been told to put it. Plans were confirmed for the building of a prestige high school for Africans, as against the previous refusal of the authorities (abandoned in principle in 1973) to allow only temporary structures. Plans were also revealed for the purchase of more land, and for the building of 3 500 houses, starting in 1981, on land in the deproclaimed industrial area which could now be made available for the expansion of the black townships. This involved the rejection of an earlier policy of refusing to allow either the extension of the townships or the building of more houses. — The two major policy changes instituted by the Nationalist government and not reversed were the application of the Group Areas Act and the break-up of the integrated system of local government. In the case of group areas, the taint of the legislation remains, though its more controversial details with respect to the African and Indian populations of Grahamstown appear to have been eliminated. Provided right can be done in the case of individuals already expropriated against their will, it can be said that the inequity has been

kept within bounds.

In the matter of local government, the last of the headings under which the governments record is being considered, we are still left with the racist idiocy of three ethnic local authorities to run a municipality of under 60 000 people and covering an area of barely 100 square kilometers. We may, indeed, be about to see further changes, for alongside the white local authority and the coloured management committee, it is expected that the African community council will be given local authority status, and that the East Cape Administration Board (ECAB) will be turned into a development agency. This could be a sensible way, not merely to dispose of ECAB, but to work towards a wider regional authority which could have great importance in the planning of regional industrial development and the necessary expansion of Water resources.

But where Grahamstown is concerned, the future seems to hang on the ability of the new Joint Planning Committee set up to control the development of the black townships (on which community council, ECAB and city council, but not the colonial management committee are represented) to remain in being until it is superseded - as it surely must be by a single local authority for the town as a whole, on which all communities are represented either as ethnic entities or, preferably, through the extension of the municipal ward system into the African and coloured residential areas. Simple expediency dictates this. So do the needs of better community relations.

It is also high time that the leaders of Grahamstown's African, Indian and coloured communities were treated with the dignity which they deserve. The revolt of the youth in 1977-80 is a measure of the extent to which that dignity has been eroded. The only way to restore the image of the senior members of the black community, and give them the influence in society which it is in the interests of all that they should have, is to ensure that they have positions of responsibility in the community as a whole. What better time to do this, than a moment when the white authorities are apparently admitting the error of their ways?

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NOTES.

The date 1829 is preferred to 1847 for the establishment of the Hottentot Location on the authority of K S Hunt, The Development of Municipal Government in the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope. 1827-62 (Archives Year Book, 1961) pp 154, 205.

See S Trapido, 'African Divisional Politics in the Cape Colony, 1884-1910', Journal of African History 1X,1 (1968) 69-98.

For the early period, see Hunt, op cit. Work on the history of Grahamstown between 1861 and 1902 is currently being done at Rhodes University by Miss M Gibbens and Miss R M Sellick.

The minutes of the Grahamstown Welfare Association, 1921-31 are in the Grahamstown Joint Council Papers, Cory Library, Rhodes University.

Address by J E H Mylne at a meeting in the location, June 8 1931 (Joint Council Papers).

Ibid

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1 Copy of a Report on Grahamstown with particular reference to Fingo and Hottentot locations", submitted by F. Rodseth, Inspector of Urban Locations), Group Areas Action Committee files, Cory Library.

F Walton Jameson, Report on Grahamstown Native and Coloured Wages and Locations', Oct. 11 1937. V M L Ballinger Papers, Wiltmetersrand University, A410/B2: Constituency Correspondence.

Hunt, op cit pp 206-15; W A Maxwell, 'The Fingo Wage, Grahamstown' (t/s. Dec. 2 1965). Photocopy in authors possession.

See the accompanying facsimile of a Fingo Wage, title deed.

Information as to the method of control of the three locations is vague. Although situated within the Municipal area, the management remained in the hands of the Government, the Council having no direct control except for the collection of municipal rates) (D. L. Smit, Secretary for Native Affairs to the Town Clerk, Grahamstown (?) Feb. 26 1942. V M L Ballinger Papers A410/B2: Constituency Correspondence). I owe this reference to

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Mrs M J Lacey.

UG 34 - '14. Second Report of the Tuberculosis Commission, 1914, para 248.

J T Yeormns, Memorandum Subm'tted to the Native Affairs Commission on behalf of the City Council on the Fingo and Hottentot Locations, Oct 17 1941. Published in Grocotfs Dzily Mail.

R T Bokwe, T Nkosinkulu and B S Foley, Memorandum submitted to the Native Affairs Commission in reply to one presented by Mr J T Yeomans (photocopy in author's possession).

Act 38 - 127\$7.

Evidence to be submitted to the Committee of Enquiry concerning conditions among urban natives, pp 4 -5 (Joint Council Papers) ; James Irving, Ecimomb Rent and Household Income among the African Population of Grabanmown (ISER Occasional Paper no. 2, Rhodes University), p 9; M Roux and M St Leger, Grabarmtoun Engo Village: an investigation into the socio economic comz'z'tions Of the inhabitants of tbe Fingo Village and their attitude to remowl. pp 9 - 10.

Town Clerk to Chairman, Gmhamtom J oint Council, Apr1 1948, replying to a memorandum signed by J V L Rennie, Chairman, Grahamstown Joint Council, Dec 4 1947. (Joint Council Papers).

See W A Maxwell, lGr'clharrtstovm and Group Areas -some factsJ (roneo memorandum drawn up for the 1957 Group Areas enquiry, Group Areas Action Committee film, Cory Library.) p 7. Grahamstown Grou p Areas Action Committee fl Ies, Cory Library. Grocotfs Dzily Mail, May 241957. List in Group Areas Action ter and D N Madhoo (joint secretaries), RevCWMoore, Very Rev J H Hodson, ProfJ Irving, Rev H F Kirkby, Rev Prof L A Hewson, F J Naidoo, G Namn, J N Naidoo, B K Patel, A H Heenro, M H Steenveld, G J Plaatjes, A A Moyake, B E Mahlasela, B N Foley, J D Dlepu, J Chan Henry. WChan Henry, J Chan Junkin, Lee Chan Junkin.

Graharmtown Group Areas Action Committee records; Grocotfs Dzily Mzz'l Feb 17, 18, 24, 1959. The council As continuing oppo sition was reported in the issue of 4 March 1959.

Grahamstown rmnicipality, group areas official correspondence: Regional Secretary, Department of Community Development

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to Town Clerk, June 8 1963; Town Clerk to Regional Secretary,
July 26 1963.

Grahamstown municipality, group areas official correspondence:
Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner to Magistrate, Grahamstown,
Oct 23 1964.

Resolution of the Location Advisory Board reported by Manager
of Non-European Affairs to Town Clerk, Sept 29 1964. For
reports of the inquiry, see Daily Dispatch Oct 2, 24 1964, and
Grahamstown Group Areas Action Committee records.

Grocott's Mail Oct 12, 19, Dec 3 1965. See also a four page
memorandum by W A Maxwell, 1111c Department of
Planning. . . 1, Grahamstown Joint Council (GJC) Archive, Cory
Library.

Government Gazette, Grocott/sz'1 Mar 26 1970.

111e city council had criticized abandonment of the radial plan
in its meeting on Oct 18. See Grocotfs MailOct 191965.

Grocotfs Mail, May 29 1970.

Town Clerk's circular Sept 8 1969.

Notes on a conversation between Mr I P van Onselen and the
author, Durban, Sept 30 1969.

Minutes of a meeting with representatives of the Department of
Bantu Administration and Development, City Hall, Graharrs-
town, Oct 30 1969.

This figure is based on annual health and housing reports.

Grahamstown City Council resolution, Nov 26 1969.

Notes taken by the author at a special meeting of the Urban Barr
tu Council attended by the Mayor (Cr S G Shuttleworth) on
Nov 17 1969. The official minute reads: "It was finally resolved
that the UBC unanimously accepted the establishment of factor-
ies in Grahamstown but strongly urged the City Council to plead
with the Government to waive the residential qualifications of
factory workers" (Le. obligatory residence at Committees Drift).
Grahamstown municipality, ordinary council meeting agenda,
Sept 29 2971, item 10.

R T Bell, Industrial Decentralization in South Afn'ca pp 42-3.

Acceptance as a tgrowth pointt implied that the centre concerned
would receive positive encouragement from the Department of
Planning, such as was being given to the new industrial develop
ment at Berlin, near King VWIIiams Town. But the powers of the

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Department under the Physical Planning Act were negative rather than positive: that is, it could prevent expansion in certain areas but not corripe! expansion in others.

Department of Planning to Town Clerk, Sept 17 1970, quoted in council agenda, Sept. 30 1970.

Grocotk Mail June 9 1970, E Pherala' Sept 10. 1970 (special Grahamstown section). See also correspondence in the Group Areas Action Committee Files which record the supersession of that body by a new Fingo Wlage Action Committee in Sept 1970 - an entirely white body, for black leaders no longer felt safe participating.

Graharmtown city council: Memorandum to the Hon the Minisr ter of Planning, Mr J J Loots, in connection with the proclama- tion of the major portion of Fingo Village as a coloured area, Mar. 16 1971; D Hobart Houghton, Notes for Memorandum by city council on the Fingo Wlage (t/s, n d.); Grahamstown Rate- payers and Municipal Voters' Association (Fingo Village Commi ttee), Memorandum to the Rt Hon (sic) Minister of Plan- ning, J J Loots, concerning the proclamation of Fingo Wlage as a coloured area, n.d. (author's possession); council draft memorandum for submission to the Minister of Planning, n.d. (author's possession); report of municipal deputation to meet Messrs Loots and Koornhof, Evening Post April 5 1971.

Grocotfs Mail Aug 24 1971.

Grahamstown municipality: memorandum by the Town Clerk, Sept 13 1971, citing draft letter to the Prime Minister.

Minutes, special meeting, Grahamstown city council, Dec 7 1971.

Dr Koornhof, it should be recalled, was then the Deputy Minister. The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, never paid a public Vlsit to Grahamstown during these years.

Summaries of matters dl\$CU\$ed and decisions taken at the meetings of the city coucil 15 committee and the state committee Apr 29, July 27 and Sept 7 1972.

The Final planning proposals for the Indian group area (Novem- ber 1973) provided for commercial and business houses along Raglan Road between Orsmond Terrace and the railway, with separate provision for special residential and duplex housing, a school, and open spaces.

The First plan for the Fingo VIIIage as a coloured area envisaged a

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total departure from the existing street plan, with recreational facilities on both sides of Raglan Road (save for a special residential area on the site of the Fingo Wlage municipal hall, extending southwards, and a site at the foot of Makana's Kop for a coloured university. The revised plan of November 1973 envisaged business sites and schools on both sides of Raglan Road extending for most of its length, with residential areas pushed back beyond Wood Street and Victoria Road.

Assistant Town Clerk to the author Nov 12 1970.

On February 7 the members of the local Ciskeian Board of Graham's town had appealed to the Ciskeian government to intervene with the Department of Community Development on behalf of the Fingo Village property owners who had surrendered their title deeds in order to obtain confirmation of their titles, but received back from Community Development only letters quoting the token numbers of the "new" title deeds,, with instructions to sell them to members of the coloured group within twelve months.

The Discarded People.

E PHerald Aug 27 1974.

E PHemld Sept 4 1974.

EPHemZd Apr 17, Grocott's Mail Apr. 18 1975.

Grocott's Mail Apr 18 1975.

Resolution by freeholders and residents of Fingo Village, Apr 29 1975, reported in the E PI-krald and Grocott's Mail of May 2 B B Zondani, Councillor for Fingo Village, to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Apr 30 1975 (in his possession).

Copies of correspondence between Mrs Charton and Senator Worrall and the Deputy Minister for Bantu Affairs; in author's possession. See also Dispatch May 5 1975.

E PHeraJd May 3 1975.

Grocott's Mail Oct 24 1975.

Grocott's Mail Feb 3 1976.

E PHemZd Mar. 12 1976.

Grocott's Mail July 2 1976.

E P Herald June 9 1976 (Botha's assertion); June 25 (Urban Bantu Council's denial).

EPHemld June 23 1976.

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Grocotfs Mail May 21 1976. Indian opposition to such a move was shown in a report in Grocotfs dated Aug 27 1976.

E PHerald Aug 26 1976.

E P Herald Nov 23, 24 1976. Offered R283 000 for his farm, Knott subsequently challenged the government in court, and was awarded an extra R192 000 plus R12 CDOcosts. (SeeEPHerald May 11 1980).

Grocozts Mail Dec 10 1976.

GrocottsMazY Dec 14 1976.

EPHerald Mar 8 1977.

E PHemld, Grocotfs Mail Sept 8 1977. Mr Major Fuku led this 'Voice of the People Action Committee', which failed in the event to move the urban bantu council or to have the community council system referred to the African residents as a body. Other members of the Action Committee were Messrs Douglas Veliti, Archibald Maseti and Milton Roxo.

GrocottkaZ Aug 27 1976.

E PHerald May 27 1977.

E P Herald May 4 1978, endorsed by statement of Mr L Koch in E P Herald July 31 1978, where details of the Glenmore scheme were given.

E L Dispatch June 22 1978.

Copy in authoris possession. The newspapers in 1980 would feature a dispute between G H Nduraa, as chairman of the community council, and B B Zondani, as chairman of the Fingo Village Ratepayers' Association, each of whom claimed to have brought the decisive lan uenoe to bear on the government over the deproclamation of Fingo Village as a coloured area. This memorandum of the community council constituted that body's main claim

EPHerald Aug 7 1979.

E PHemld Aug 1 1980.

Figures based on those supplied by Professor M Truu at the Small Businesses conference held at Rhodes University in Sept 1980.

Roux -St Leger Report p 21.

The Grahambtown Areas Distress Relief Association.

The growth of the school feeding scheme can be gauged by the fact that in 1967 it had only to cater for 6 660 pupils.

Notably the Bantu Welfare Trust, administered by the S A

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Institute of Race Relations, which built the N VOewu School (largely destroyed by arson in 1980) in its entirety, and contrier ted substantially towards the Cronje Vellem Lower Primary. The other contributor to the Cronje Vellem school was the Grahams-town Joint Council. Rhodes Rag contributed half the cost of a major restoration to the same school in 1977.

MJ lMlsworth, Strategies for Sunriml: tramcendz'ng the Culture of PovMy in a Black South Afh'can Township (ISER Rhodes University, 1980), pp 384 - 5.

Wilsworth, pp 386 - 88.

Wilsworth, pp 389 - 91.

Wilsworth, pp 392 — 93.

Letter frbm the author to the Circuit Inspector, Department of Bantu Education, Oct. 25 1977 (copy in author's possession).

These were not the FUNDA classrooms, as Wilsworth states on p 397. FUNDAis six classrooms were untouched.

This decision was reversed in November 1980, as is explained later.

The N VOewu Higwer Primary school had to be built with pre-fabricated rmterials for that reason.

After the establishment of the administration board, Grahams-town black township rentals were dramatically increased.

Many other examples of this kind of statement made to investigators are to be found in this extremely illuminating report.

92 Grocotfs Mail, Nov. 11, 18, 1980.

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Subject to the whims and wiles of an ideologically obsessed government, the long-settled African community of Grahamstown finally burst into violence in 1980.

This work tracing that development could hardly have a more authoritative author. Professor Rodney Davenport has held the chair of history at Rhodes University since 1975, and taught in its history department for ten years before that.

His academic expertise is counterpointed by the first-hand experience he gained of local administration in Grahamstown while serving as a town councillor between 1969 and 1973.

The type of local history Professor Davenport has produced is indispensable to an understanding of South African history in broader context.