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INTERACTION AND TRANSACTION

A study of conciliar behaviour in  
a Black South African township

Dissertation submitted in fulfilment  
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by

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"Opgedra aan my vrou  
en ons kleintjies -  
hulle weet"

"Most gulls don't bother to learn more than the simplest facts of flight - how to get from shore to food and back again. For most gulls, it is not flying that matters, but eating. For this gull, though, it was not eating that mattered, but flight. More than anything else, Jonathan Livingstone Seagull loved to fly"

Jonathan Livingstone Seagull - a story by Richard Bach.

PREFACE

Theoretical preparation for this study began in 1970. I spent 1970 and 1971 at the University of Florida in Florida, U.S.A., taking courses for the Ph.D. in Anthropology, specialising in African Urbanization, Political Anthropology and African Anthropology. Upon successfully completing the written and oral examinations for the Ph.D., I returned to South Africa to take up a lecturing position in Anthropology at the University of Port Elizabeth.

The rest of the years 1971 and 1972 were spent settling into the new job and investigating and considering various alternatives for field research. The main consideration in finally making a choice was to make a contribution to a neglected field of African Urban Anthropology.

With this in mind it was decided that the main focus of the study would be the Joint Bantu Advisory Board of the Black Port Elizabeth townships. The Advisory Board was examined within the wider context of the Port Elizabeth and South African socio-political and urban environment.

The full research period lasted from the end of 1972 to 1979. The early years were spent doing orientation research and the main strategy was to get the feel of the area, to reduce observer effect, to establish rapport and to become familiar with the patterns of social activity and the township urban culture. The intensive part of the research and early analysis was done until 1977. Finally, further analysis and the writing up was done in 1978 and 1979.

A great number of people have been a part of, and contributed to my Anthropological experience. The late Prof. J.P. van S. Bruwer first introduced me to the subject at the University of Stellenbosch. Also at the University of Stellenbosch, the first flame of intense interest and excitement that is anthropology, was ignited for me by Dr. B.M. du Toit. He later served as 'broker' in my first proper introduction to Anthropology - in the sense of a total exposure to all that the subject has to offer - at the Anthropology Department of the University of Florida in Gainesville.

My stay at Florida enabled me to benefit from a rich and wide range of Anthropological influences - as can surely only be possible in a department which has access to around twenty professional anthropological specialists. Most lasting of these influences came from :  
visiting Professor Eileen Krige and her meticulous and rigorous Social Anthropological discipline; 'elder statesman' of Anthropology Professor Solon T. Kimball and his partriarchal aura of experience;  
Professor G. Alexander Moore and his perspective of logic which proved that Anthropology can bring all human actions into relevant and meaningful focus; Professor Robert Heighton who, with Professor Brian M. du Toit and their 'sink or swim' philosophy, conditioned doctoral candidates to the importance of developing stamina for anthropological

reading; my doctoral student colleagues, especially Dr. Gary Brana-Shute, and the many hours of adventurous and experimental anthropological 'rapping'. I am deeply indebted to all these people.

The total co-operation of the Chief Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board and all his officials is gratefully acknowledged.

Mrs. V. Rathbone typed the manuscript competently and quickly, and I thank her.

My heartfelt thanks to all, councillors and residents, who were informants but became friends, for so much of their time.

The research was facilitated by a grant from the Research Committee of the University of Port Elizabeth and a grant from the Council for Social Research and I would like to record my gratitude to these institutions.

My thanks are due also to my students who were often unwittingly the sounding-boards for ideas expressed in this work.

Prof. P. Mayer read and commented on a large part of this work. For this and for serving as my promoter during the early part of the research, I thank him.

Finally, my thanks to my promoter Prof. M.G. Whisson, for his enthusiastic and invaluable guidance and for his sacrifice of so much time and energy.

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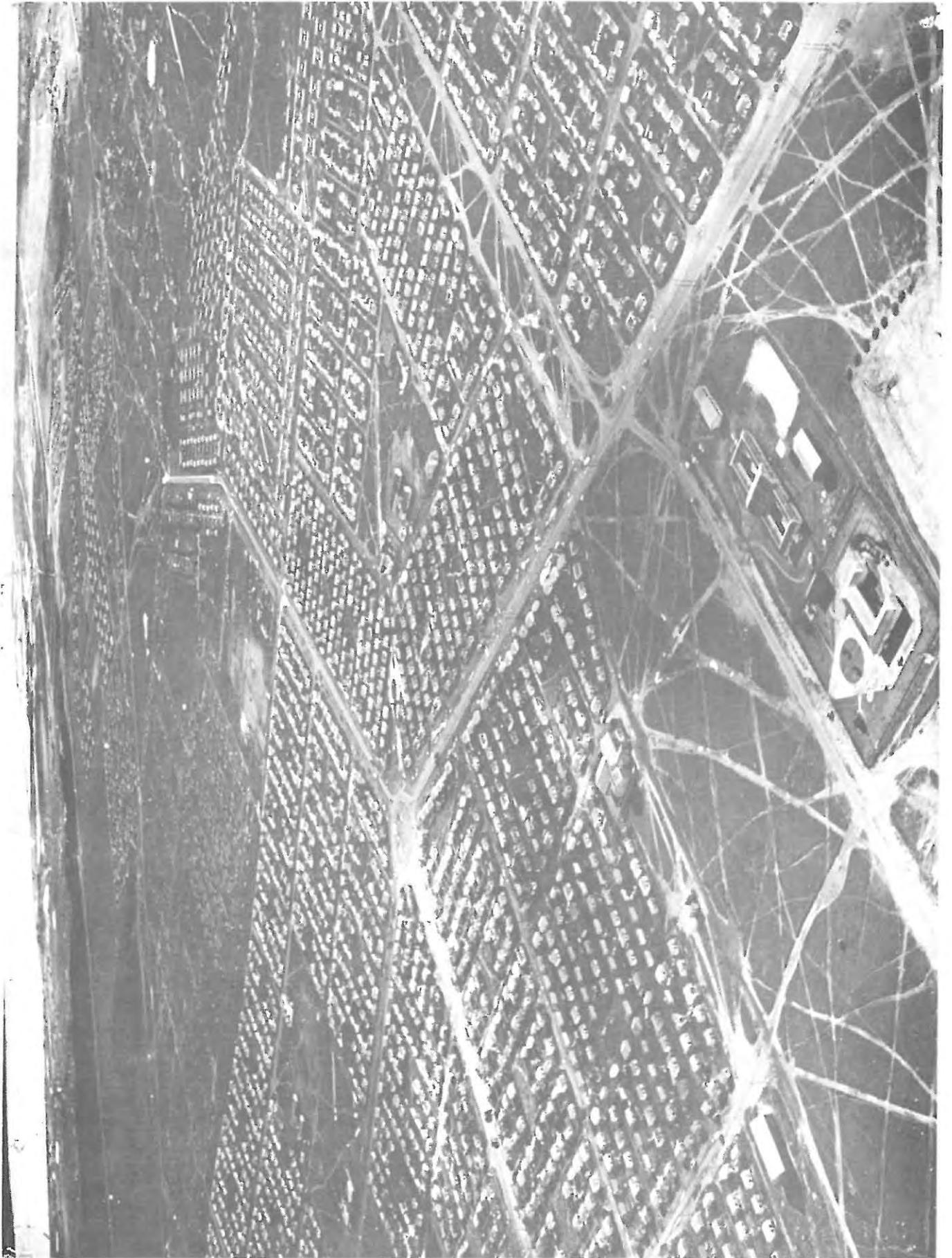
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Aerial view of part of the Port Elizabeth Black township

SECTION I - INTRODUCTORY

INTRODUCTION

The recent history of Africa is one of rapid change. This process is still continuing and even accelerating. The peoples of Africa are being drawn from a subsistence way of life to a money economy and, more often than not, from a rural to an urban environment. South Africa is no exception to this pattern. In fact, as the most developed country on the continent it is in the front-line of this transformation. Various facets of this problem have held the attention of anthropologists world-wide. Southern Africa specifically has produced some of the earliest urban studies (Hellman, 1948), as well as some of the classical contributions to the field (Mitchell, 1956, 1960, 1966, 1969, 1970; Epstein, 1958; Mayer, 1961, (1971), 1962; Pauw, 1963).

Complex as the urban problems are, anthropologists have obviously not been alone in this field. Workers from many disciplines have been and still are required to contribute to the understanding of the process of urbanization as well as the urban process. Partly for this reason no attempt has been made in the present study to illuminate all the varied facets of the urban field. In general, the focus has been on the urban process and more specifically, on part of a local-level political system. Thus only a limited problem has been selected for analysis.

The strategy has been to record and analyse how certain inhabitants of

the Black townships of Port Elizabeth play one part of their urban 'game'. The main reason for electing to use the Joint Bantu Advisory Board as the focus in a study of local-level politics, is that this area of research has been all but ignored by urban anthropologists working in South Africa. The reasons for this, if given at all, are that 'normal or natural' political activity in the Black urban areas is not possible because legislation does not permit it, and that Government-instituted bodies like the Advisory Boards play no role at all in the "real" political life of the people. The present study will investigate both these objections.

Anthropologists soon discovered that it was very difficult to gauge the Black urbanite's experience of the city. Part of the reason for this was, and still is, that much of the process of change and development seems to be beyond the control of the individual. Once people are committed to being in town they must adjust, adapt, and submit themselves to the demands of urban living. They arrive in, or are born in, and are caught up in, the urban stream of accepted behaviour patterns, of rules and regulations. This does not imply, however, that the result is a predictable life, free from problems and decision-making.

"The vast and impersonal administrative machine  
harnessed to economic and political forces be-

yond the migrant's control does not grind out all the answers for him automatically. It merely sets the limits ..... " (Mayer, 1971 : 58).

Officially, residence in the Black townships is still temporary<sup>(1)</sup> and hence by definition the township dweller is not in a strong bargaining position as regards any facet of his life in town. Collective bargaining in the work situation can be channelled only through the works or liaison committees provided for by legislation<sup>(2)</sup>. In the residential situation political activity and expression are partly channelled off to areas of origin, i.e. either the Ciskei or Transkei, where a resident (or ex-resident) has the vote and by implication a say in matters. The only official say a township dweller has (directly or indirectly) in the conditions and affairs affecting his every day life is through a vote for a representative on the Joint Bantu Advisory Board (and more recently, the Community Council)<sup>(3)</sup>. This, the only possible overt form of formal political expression, thus warrants study, if only to determine why people are willing to serve on these boards at all.

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(1) As defined by the 'Section 10' qualification of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act of 1945. See Appendix E # 34.

(2) Black trade unions started getting official recognition in the last few years.

(3) The anthropological or ethnographic present of this work embraces the years 1972-1976.

Within the limits of the memory of informants and the availability of documents, the membership and functioning of the board in its various forms has been traced back to 1920. In doing so a pattern was seen to emerge out of the chaos of particular events. This was especially so as regards recent years, where more detailed information was obtained. By examining the Board over successive periods of township history and viewing local political activity within the wider framework of the social system of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, and even further afield, it was hoped to attain a perspective from which the role of the local system as a promotor or inhibitor of change could be evaluated (Vide : Epstein, 1958 : XV).

While many anthropologists in the past tended to view their analyses of tribal cultural systems in temporal and geographical isolation, this approach is inadequate in any study to-day, but is more especially so in the study of urban systems.

An alternative approach was necessitated not only by the anthropologists' new-found interest in complex urban systems but also by the rapid acceleration of change everywhere, and especially by an urgent and practical need to understand and explain what was and is being observed. It is

not only the question of change that is important but also the question of stability or continuity. The earlier ethnographies described, but did not explain, the persistence of certain behaviour patterns and institutions.

Other strategies have been made possible through the development of certain techniques and models. The social network technique (Barnes, 1954; Bott, 1957; Mitchell, 1959, 1969; Mayer, 1961(1971), 1962, 1964; Epstein, 1961; Pauw, 1963; Adrian Mayer, 1966; Kapferer, 1972), transactional analysis or exchange theory (Barth, 1966; Bailey, 1965, 1968, 1970; Kapferer, 1972), combinations of these (Boissevain, 1974), game theory (Barth, 1959b) and other specialist contributions like that of Goffman (1959), produced actor-orientated research and constituted the necessary alternative.

The accusation of overgeneralization has also been directed at actor-orientated research. For this reason, and because as high a level of abstraction as that of the structural-functionalist orientation is not aimed at, I do not purport to make deductions and abstractions beyond the limited confines of my specific research focus.

The council members, officials, and other individuals referred to in

this study do not represent all the people of Port Elizabeth. However, the activities of the members of the Board, as members and as individuals, and their interaction with officials and with members of the public, reflect on an important area of township life. Much of the wider urban culture is epitomised in this selective microcosm, in the sense that here the nature of Black/White urban interaction is thrown into sharp relief.

The members of the Advisory Board constitute the only officially recognised hinge between the administration (White) and the township people (Black). Hence the study of this board presents, amongst other things, some insight into the nature of the intercalary position of its members. While striving for independence of action they find themselves dependent at the same time. The Advisory Board is presented in the general context of changing administrative, social, and political relationships in Port Elizabeth and South Africa over the period covered by the study.

Boardroom or council chamber behaviour obviously constitutes an important part of this study. Council meetings, especially in tribal societies, have been the object of anthropologists' interest before.

Generally, however, these studies have not been detailed and were done only to provide information on the wider structure of that community's political organization. More and more this void is being filled. In the present study the council mechanism is a possible means of achieving results, and conciliar behaviour as such (Vide : Richards and Kuper, 1971), is central.

Part of the reason for the relative paucity of detailed studies of conciliar behaviour might be found in the difficulties involved. While these difficulties will be dealt with in greater detail under "method of fieldwork", the problems encountered included : lack of or incomplete records of meetings; the difficulty of becoming an inconspicuous part of a meeting; maintaining a regular and constant enough period of meeting observation; grasp of the subtle innuendos of the repartee; and the even more subtle messages conveyed by the "body language" of facial expressions, movement of arms, shrugging of shoulders etc. Patterns of council behaviour emerged only after long and regular attendance of meetings. Certain rules of behaviour became clear, and interactional regularities revealed the different strategies and tactics that were being employed by individuals with varying degrees of success. While my study constitutes one contextual variation and cultural difference (Bailey, 1970 : IX) within the total spectrum of such studies, it is another example of the struc-

tural regularities which all political behaviour displays no matter what the trappings within which it may be encased.

The widely-held view of the Advisory Board as an impotent body consisting of members who are said to be 'sell-outs' or stooges, may from a certain perspective be justified. However, this study demonstrates that although the members of the Advisory Board have opted for a strategy which entails operating from within the system, their intentions are serious and their motivations include a genuine concern for the welfare of their people. Although faced with the disadvantage of an almost total lack of power, they do nevertheless achieve a certain measure of success. This study shows furthermore that in spite of their handicaps, the members of the Advisory Board attempt to activate every available resource in order to bring about the changes they desire.

The aim throughout this work is to project the point of view of mainly the Black members of the Advisory Board and certain Black members of the township community.

After sketching the practical circumstances of the research and the techniques and theoretical orientation which were used (Chapter 1 in

Section 1), the general urban setting is described. The historical background and development of the Black townships of Port Elizabeth is given (Chapter 2). The environment within which residents live and within which the Advisory Board, its members and their activities are situated is outlined from a legislative and administrative point of view (Chapter 3), as well as from a general socio-cultural point of view (Chapter 4).

Section III deals with the Advisory Board per se and with the members and other individuals involved in its functioning. Legislation, for the Advisory Board, as it evolved over the years, is discussed in Chapter 5, and Chapter 6 traces the Board's early function and development. The procedure for election or nomination to the Advisory Board is considered in Chapter 7. The general composition of membership is also given. The officially designated functions and procedures for the Advisory Board are investigated in Chapter 8. The roles and perspectives of officials and members are also considered, as are the all-important reasons why members opt for membership. Finally, a typology of the Board is attempted.

The interaction and transactions that members of the Advisory Board are involved in inside and outside the Boardroom is the subject of

Section IV. The general environment, the arena, within which this activity takes place is sketched in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 analyses the strategies that participants adopt to gain election to the Advisory Board. Some political capital in the form of electoral support which is activated for re-election is derived from councillors' roles as urban brokers. This too, is the subject of Chapter 10. In Chapter 11 events taking place outside the Boardroom, but involving councillors and having implications for activities within the Boardroom, are described and analysed. The context of Advisory Board activity is outlined in Chapter 12. The composition of the Board and participants' perspectives within the setting and on each other are investigated. Boardroom activity itself, in the form of detailed descriptions of 29 Advisory Board meetings (Chapter 13) and an analysis of these (Chapter 14) completes Section IV.

Finally, in Chapter 15, an evaluation of the present situation and a perspective for the future is given.

The names of all the important individuals who feature in this work have been changed. The names used bear no intended relation to any person living or dead.

CHAPTER 1.

METHOD OF FIELDWORK AND THEORETICAL  
ORIENTATION.

Practical circumstances.

The practical circumstances of the research presented some difficulties. The ideal of spending twenty-four hours in the field was impossible for as a white man in a black township I was 'permit-bound' and restricted to certain hours within the area. As permits go, however, mine was quite 'open' and allowed entry on any day from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. Nevertheless this did not allow for an easy blending into the township environment. White men go into a township only for a specific purpose - supposedly never just to visit or 'hang around'. For this reason and because whites are a fairly rare sight in the area, the residents tend to categorise them, familiar categories being those of administrator, 'inspector', churchman, policeman or (if not otherwise recognised) a member of the Special Branch<sup>(1)</sup>.

With a working knowledge of Xhosa and by virtue of the fact that most residents can speak English and/or Afrikaans, I found verbal communication to be no problem. Communication in the wider sense of the word, i.e. establishing rapport, was much more difficult. This was partly for the reasons stated above, which stem from the fact that I was a white man in a black area, but also because I was dealing, in comparison with workers in rurally orientated research, with more sophisticated, often politically sensitised informants. My job, thus, was not only to establish acceptable and satisfactory credentials for being in the

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(1) A police unit.

townships, but I was often also required by informants to advance my own views on some controversial social, economic and political issues.

Ever mindful of the fact that my initial contact with the field would structure my later relations I tried to establish my position from the start and to maintain this for the duration of the research period. This involved avoiding exclusive identification with particular individuals or groups, especially, as far as the black informants were concerned, unnecessary identification with administration. In this connection, not being able to sleep in the townships held one advantage namely that of sleeping in an 'outside', neutral area. I had free and total access to all the people in the townships, black residents as well as white officials. Exactly the same applied to all available records.

#### Research techniques.

The research itself was conducted using a range of the established anthropological procedures. This included the study of available documentary information, which in turn entailed, apart from studying the relevant literature on the subject, a study of the available records of all meetings of the Advisory Board beginning with that of

15th of July, 1920. The Board was then called the New Brighton Location Advisory Board.

The procedure of direct observation was used wherever possible and was found to be especially useful at all meetings and other gatherings. The more informal visiting and sociability patterns could not always be established by observation as direct participant observation in township social life was difficult, especially as regards any late-night activities. For the rest, information was obtained through interviews.

Structured interviews with the aid of questionnaires were conducted with a strategic sample<sup>(1)</sup> of township residents. This was done only to serve as broad background information in terms of demography, socio-economic environment and, to a lesser extent, urban life-style. Structured but open-ended, and unstructured interviews were furthermore conducted with key informants namely Advisory Board members (which naturally constituted a 100% sample), officials, and other strategically important satellite individuals. Except for the Advisory Board meetings (where permission was refused) information was recorded on tape as well as on the usual note-pad. It was felt

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(1) Every 115th house out of the total of 23,034 residence units was selected. This produced a strategic sample of 200. A later survey, de Jongh, 1978, constituted a sample of 525 workers in secondary industry, i.e. representing 10% of all workers from participating industries.

that the latter still served the useful purpose of reflecting the observer's selective impressions at the time of the interview or event.

Recording boardroom behaviour, while being the most important facet of the research, was also found to be the most difficult. As was mentioned in the introduction, the reason for this was the relative lack of previous work in this field, which might have served as a guideline. In addition the problem was inherent in the very nature of conciliar behaviour. The subtle innuendoes and hubbub of board meetings are frustratingly difficult to follow. A prerequisite was an understanding of the urban cultural system as well as local conditions in general. For this reason, and because such an event appeared to be exceptionally prone to observer-effect, an extended period of time was spent 'acclimatising' in the township environment.

Written records of meetings were found to be incomplete or non-existent. A further potential problem, language, did not arise as meetings were conducted in English. Only on very rare occasions did councillors speak in Xhosa in moments of exasperation. On one occasion only a councillor oscillated from English to Xhosa, to Afrikaans and back to English.

It was found necessary to attend meetings regularly and constantly over

an extended period of time before the patterns of conciliar behaviour became clear and before some of the answers to the problems outlined in Chapter 12 could be pursued.

Theoretical orientation.

My initial exposure to the urban field produced more bewilderment and greater uncertainty than did my first experience of more traditional anthropological research. I became aware of entering a different world. It was a world of strange and extremely complex socio-cultural and ecological systems. These systems, comprising the institutions and patterns of behaviour of Xhosa<sup>(1)</sup>-speaking peoples, many of whom were originally drawn from a rural, traditional background, had to be studied. These Xhosa now find themselves (and many were born into it) in a complicated web of industrial and commercial relations. Certain theoretical models, concepts and strategies had to be adopted to describe and analyse the culture (and more specifically its political facet) of the people involved.

Port Elizabeth, like other cities, is a focus and locus of social, economic, political and governmental activities. It constitutes a particular kind of unit within the wider framework of the region, the

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(1) Xhosa prefixes e.g. isiXhosa (the language) or amaXhosa (the people) or amaMfengu (the people), will not be used. In conformity with common usage Xhosa or Mfengu will simply be used.

province and the country. Part of the importance of the city lies in the fact that it radiates influence, through its people, beyond its borders. Port Elizabeth, because of the history of activities in its Black townships, is seen by some township residents as even more influential than might normally be expected. As one informant put it, "When Port Elizabeth (meaning the Black townships) sneezes the rest of the country catches the cold". The other side of the coin, the importance of which we have already indicated, is the influence of the city, its urban characteristics, but internally, on the behaviour of its residents. This has been characterised as the perspective of urban anthropology and is, according to Gulick (1968 : 16 in Pendleton 1974 : 3), the distinctive feature of urban anthropology.

I felt that to study any part of the lives of the residents, the major characteristics of the city as a whole should be determined. These two major perspectives, that on a part of the lives of the people in a city, and that on the characteristics of the city itself, represent the two basic levels of research which Gutkind (1974) calls the micro and macro levels. Research at the macro level entailed determining, (1) the historical evolution of the city as well as (2) the major economic and political determinants which have shaped

the structure and institutions in the city as a whole, (3) the detailed demographic data, (4) the recent history in relation to government policies and practices, (5) the working of its contemporary economic and political institutions, (6) its resource base, and (7) its place in the nation as a whole.

I am in agreement with Gutkind that these procedures establish the major parameters from which micro studies spring. While I have on another occasion (de Jongh, 1976), applied Gluckman's (1958) micro-type situational or event analysis with some measure of success, this is not attempted in exactly the same way on the present occasion. Here the basic features of the wider, encapsulating structures and society (the macro level) are not exclusively inferred from a study of Black local-level politics (the micro level), but are determined in their own right to serve as a necessary screen upon which to project the more specific study. Similar emphases or micro units of study have been placed by Mitchell (1969) and more recently by Kapferer (1972) and, specifically as regards local-level politics, by Swartz (1968).

The double-ended perspective which I have adopted is emphasised by Mitchell (1966) when he suggests that the focus of interest in

African studies must be on the way in which the behaviour of town-dwellers fits into, and is adjusted to, the social matrix created by the commercial, industrial, and administrative framework of a modern metropolis. Adopting a strategy which not only has as focus the specific unit of study, but also keeps in mind the wider structure, guards against the specific study becoming an end in itself. Should this in fact happen, Gutkind warns,

"..... the complexity of micro unit or macro field, as they influence each other, will not have been adequately represented". (1974 : 147).

The fact remains, however, as Gluckman, Mitchell, Kapferer and others have demonstrated, that through a more limited focus or situational analysis, as in this study, the anthropologist can expose many of the processes and conditions which make up the wider urban socio-cultural system. In so doing the structures and events round which most of the urban behaviour rotates can be identified.

A certain measure of flexibility in approach was sought to enable my perspective to switch from the level of interactional behaviour of the members of the Advisory Board to the level of the wider social and political processes. This was achieved simply by viewing in-

dividuals as inseparable from the actions of other people. The behaviour of each individual is woven into the social web of interaction and reciprocal behaviour which stretches far beyond the confines of the Boardroom to the social and political environment as constituted by Port Elizabeth and South Africa. For this reason no conscious effort is made to compare the Advisory Board and other urban institutions with their rural counterparts. The urban institutions are analysed as part of the socio-cultural system in which they are enmeshed.

According to the situational model, the township dweller finds himself in different social fields at different points in time and space and he reacts differently according to the situation. The reaction of the individual should be viewed in both a positive and a negative sense. A person does not only 'adjust to' certain urban conditions as prescribed by the situation; he may in fact 'use' or 'exploit' urban conditions and situations for his own benefit. Furthermore, a person may not necessarily switch from a rural to an urban social field and vice versa; he may in fact be operating within a single social field which radiates out from the urban to the rural area. In fact, Gutkind (1974) has suggested that far from alternating be-

tween two social fields an urbanite actually uses his rural contacts to strengthen his urban foothold. Gutkind tentatively infers that the least mobile migrant is probably also the least successful urbanite.

As an urban study is almost automatically a study of change, the theoretical perspective which I developed has to be geared to accommodate change as well. The problem was partly that "...of adapting synchronic methods to diachronic problems" (Mayer, 1971 : 11). Again the focus was on two levels. On the one hand I determined the significance of the wider political changes in the city and the country for the members of the Advisory Board as such, and for them vis a vis the officials of the administration. On the other hand I determined the significance of changes within the administrative system itself for interrelations between, and strategies adopted by, members of the Advisory Board in order to achieve various goals like, for example, bringing about changes in the social, political and administrative system of their immediate township environment or on a broader country-wide basis. This would be roughly in line with Mitchell's (1966) distinction between historical or processive change to cover overall changes in the social system, and situational change, which covers changes in behaviour following participation in different social systems.

As far as the situational level of study is concerned, my interest centres on Boardroom (council chamber) interaction and activity. Like other researchers in this field (Richards and Kuper, 1971) I found that meetings of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board acted as mirrors of the socio-cultural system within which they take place. Activities and values, social hierarchies and divisions. differences in status and ideology, all are reflected by Boardroom interaction. In fact, such meetings can be used as indices of the main features of the social structure which houses them. The individual participants in the board meetings were by definition the main actors in the part of the local-level political system which I studied and I viewed them as participants in a dynamic, modern, socio-cultural system.

The variability of the behaviour and actions of these people in different situations soon became evident. It was also equally clear that changes in the behaviour of the actors were related to changes in the wider environment consisting of the city's and country's socio-cultural system. In addition it was evident that many of these changes stemmed directly from the different strategies adopted by the actors in striving for different goals and in their own competition for status and power.

The technique of social networks as applied by Barnes, Mitchell,

Epstein, Mayer and others, was used (though to a limited extent) in combination with transactional theory as conceptualised by Blau and applied and refined by Bailey, Barth, Kapferer and others, in order to study the interaction between the different actors, and between them and their socio-cultural environment. Game theory was also relevant for this purpose. Following Easton's (1965) and Bailey's (1970) guidelines I could not only identify the field of political inter-action but could also more accurately define its environment(s). The other roles (religious, economic, etc.) which a political actor has to play, constitute the immediate environment of the political structure. This socio-cultural environment can act as an inhibiting force on the actions of an actor or, alternatively, as a power source which he can exploit to his advantage.

Another kind of environment, the natural, was also distinguished. Thus, the physical environment and demography, etc., comprising the natural environment are also related to the political structure. The actors within the political structure take their cues for ways of behaving in certain situations from the rules stemming from the institutions of their culture. Like Bailey, I found it useful to distinguish between normative rules (what is the right and proper thing to do) and pragmatic rules (what is the effective thing to do, whether it be right or wrong) but within the context of Goffman's (1959) 'impression management'.

While use of the social network technique allowed for the systematic recording of information about all the actors, and use of transactional theory and communication theory made possible the objective study of the interaction between the actors, as well as theoretical conceptualisation about what was taking place, I still needed a diachronic perspective sensitive to and able to accommodate process. This I have attempted to do by concentrating my study on one type of 'structural pose'<sup>(1)</sup> in the community under consideration. The series of structural poses represented by activities centering in the Boardroom tie in well with the concept of social drama, as used by Turner (1974). The importance of this approach, as in the case of Gearing's (1962) 'structural pose', lies especially in the implication that structural poses constitute a series of interconnected events or what Turner calls 'areas of transparency'. They are markers along the path of normal, 'uneventful' life but are distinct in that they are the parts of the picture which are in sharp focus and thus dynamically reflect the important structural principles and characteristics of the community concerned. Thus, the study over time, of a number of events like the Joint Advisory Board meetings reflects the unfold-

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(1) The term 'structural pose' was used by Gearing (1962) to indicate the way in which a community (or by implication, a part of the community) sees itself to be appropriately organised at a moment. The social structure of such a human group is the rhythmic way each structural pose materialises in its turn, according to the tasks at hand.

ing of relationships between members of the Board, and between them and officials. The changes observed in microcosm are symptomatic of changes at a higher level and analysis of them provides a perspective on process.

The political structure of which the Advisory Board is a part was also found to be worthy of study. It has been mentioned that urban anthropologists have shunned such bodies as objects of study on the premise that they are non-functioning 'dummy' councils. But their very existence and especially their survival over time raises enough questions to warrant serious attention. Richards and Kuper (1971 : 12) have made this very point :

"The survival value of council structures or council procedures under present-day conditions is itself an index of their functional value at the present time".

The existence of the political structure, and participation of different parties in it, imply that at least some of the rules by which the political game should be played are agreed on. Only if participants can actually use and adapt or at least see the potential for using and adapting a political structure to suit their needs, will they retain an interest in it. Unless, by participating in it, the individuals obtain other benefits not intrinsic to the council. The political

structure, then, in the form of the Advisory Board, as part of an administrative structure, is another facet of my study. The emphasis is still on change. With the perspective provided by Bailey's distinction between normative and pragmatic rules, change, often subtle, was observed in the political structure which was studied. The value of viewing the political structure over time can be realised only if the theoretical approach is along the lines suggested by Easton (1965) and Bailey (1970). The latter author (p. 10) suggests that the survival or otherwise of political structures depends upon their remaining compatible with their cultural and natural environment, either by making themselves suitable to it or by modifying it to suit them. The emphasis here again is on an interactional relationship and the Advisory Board will be evaluated within this context.

In presenting this exposition of my method of fieldwork and theoretical orientation, I have attempted to provide the framework within which my work was done and in so doing to provide the necessary common ground for other students in the field to evaluate the material I have collected. The data as such belong to the lowest level of abstraction. To move beyond mere description to analysis it is necessary to move up to the level of abstraction of a theoretical framework and to fit the data into such a framework. The marriage of the two and hence understanding, have been attempted in subsequent sections of this work.

SECTION II

THE URBAN SETTING

CHAPTER 2.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Algoa Bay, on which the city of Port Elizabeth is situated, can claim the oldest established white history of Southern Africa. On the coast of this bay the earliest significant European contact took place. Bartholomew Diaz, the Portuguese navigator who has been called the discoverer of South Africa's Cape of Good Hope, was actually swept past the Cape and eventually into a bay he called Bahia da Lagoa (Bay of the Lagoon) on the 12th March, 1488. Not many kilometres from what is now Port Elizabeth, at a place now called Kwaihoek, he set up a cross to commemorate his visit. For many years before and for some years after this event the area corresponding to the municipal area of present-day Port Elizabeth was the exclusive domain of the seafood-eating Strandlopers and to a lesser extent, their more inland hunting and collecting neighbours, the ancestors of the contemporary Bushmen and the cattle-herding Hottentots. To this day evidence in the form of shells and potsherds at Strandloper middens and rockpaintings and artefacts at 'Bushman' shelters can be found in great abundance.

The early pioneer farmers were the next people to move into this area in significant numbers. Thus in 1772 the first Dutch colonist, Gerrit Scheepers settled in the valley of the Swartkops River. By 1776 many Dutch adventurers crossed the Gamtoos River and started farms in the area. One colonist, Thomas Ignatius Ferreira received a loan permit for Papenkuilsfontein, the farm which initially em-

braced all the land upon which the city of Port Elizabeth now stands. A British garrison soon came to be stationed here to keep an eye on the beginnings of a harbour and other commercial interests. By the beginning of the nineteenth century a prominent Xhosa chief, Ndlambe, was herding his stock as far west as Uitenhage, an inland town 30 kilometers from Port Elizabeth. The seasonal movements of stock enabled white settlers to perceive the land as empty, the Xhosa to perceive it as theirs, and subsequently to claim all the land as far as the Gamtoos River, some 40 km west of Port Elizabeth.

The farmers provided fresh food for the garrison at Fort Frederick, started the wool industry and provided the first evidence of contact between white and black (in the form of various Xhosa-speaking groups) in this area as they, according to reports, worked "under constant threat of attack from the 'Kaffirs'" (Port Elizabeth, 1860-1960:19).

The population steadily increased, especially as a result of the interest of merchants in the area and of course the arrival of 4000 British Settlers in 1820. A more friendly relationship existed between the settlers and the Xhosa-speaking Mfengu<sup>(1)</sup> and also the cattle-herding Hottentots. By the year 1825 tremendous trade in British goods was being carried on with these latter groups and many of them were also now being employed by the residents of the town. Battles were continually being fought between settlers in the rural border areas and

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(1) This was after 1835 when the Mfengu allied themselves with the British against the Xhosa.

the Xhosa. In the town itself there was constant fear that the 'Kaffirs' would reach the town during for example, the 'sixth Kaffir War' in 1836, but action was never seen. This fear, and the various campaigns between 1829 and 1854 did much to increase the population and the importance of the town.

Growth and development continued steadily. Other important milestones along the path of development were; the establishing early in the 19th century by Frederick Korsten of a whaling industry at his estate, Cradock Place; the building of a woolwashery in 1851 by Frames at the mouth of the Shark River (Happy Valley); the establishment of a municipality in 1847. More and more black labour was attracted by such industries and by the growing harbour. The town was prosperous at this time and unemployment non-existent. Evidence of the contact between the cultures of the Whites and Blacks can be found throughout in the records of the period, as for example the instance when the Mfengu were compelled, by threat of fines, to clothe themselves with 'decency'. The Mfengu had erected their own dwellings (Fingo Village) in the area close to that now occupied by the élite White suburb of Mill Park.

"It was an irregular assemblage of hemispherical huts thatched with reeds on a framework of flexible poles, and was guarded by a pack of noisy curs". (Lorimer, 1970 : 63).

In 1860 the Port Elizabeth Incorporation Bill was passed by Parliament and Port Elizabeth rose to the status of a Borough to be governed by a properly constituted body of town councillors elected by the residents. By 1877 the necessity for providing public services, let alone amenities, for the growing Black population had not yet been recognised, although Port Elizabeth was probably no more guilty than other towns in this respect. There were at the time three black 'locations' in what is now almost the city centre. Some 800 Blacks lived on 'The Mill' a property owned by a town councillor, Mr. T.W. Gubb. This location, situated on what is to-day known as Mill Park was known as 'Gubb's Location' or KwaMpundu. An old white shanty indicated the residence of the sole white overseer. It is reported that,

"Here Kaffir doctors practised their witchcraft and were often consulted by the white people, much to the latter's regret on more than one occasion".  
(Redgrave, 1947 : 87).

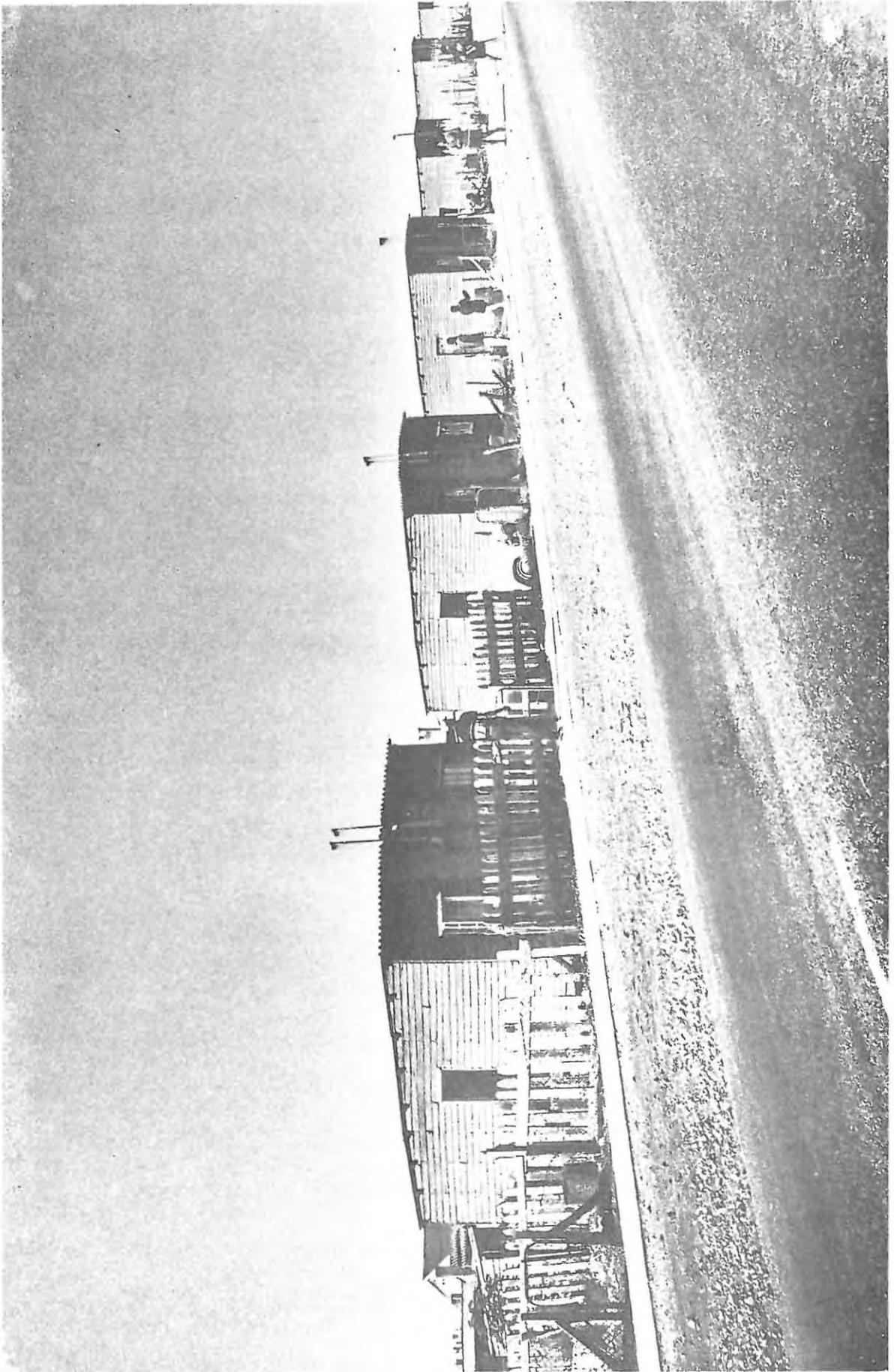
Another location was situated at the top of Russel Road on the site of the present-day suburb of Mount Road or St. Croix. It was variously known as 'Stranger's Location', 'Block A. Location', or KwaNrambomva. The third location was situated on the site of the old hospital on Richmond Hill. This was 'Fingo City' or 'Fingo Location' or Emaxambeni. These locations were unsightly and verminous.

There were no roads, no drains, no lighting and water and sanitary arrangements were primitive. A prospective black resident had to hire a plot in one of the locations and erect his own dwelling. As they earned extremely poor wages it was impossible to build durable houses and any available material was used. Shanty-towns were the result. It was not until 1902 that an outbreak of bubonic plague led to the establishment of the 'New Brighton Reserve Location' by the government of the Cape Colony. Almost one thousand wood and zinc shacks of what came to be known as the 'Red Location' (due to the colour of the coating of paint), still exist to-day.

The Black population of Port Elizabeth continued to grow despite the available housing being inadequate. Slums with a multiracial population, though predominantly Black, mushroomed at Korsten, just outside the municipal limits. Control of the New Brighton Location was handed over to the Port Elizabeth Municipality by the government in 1923. Almost immediately a start was made with the building of 310 brick two- and three-roomed houses. Though occupied in 1926 this, the 'White Location' was not only still inadequate but also constituted a serious financial loss for the local government. Mainly as a result of this, no further building schemes were attempted until 1938. The city of Port Elizabeth was now developing even more rapidly and the

concomitant increase in the Black population made conditions in the Korsten area worse. The rise in fatalities from diseases and the fact that this slum constituted a general health hazard, led to the intervention of the Department of National Health. The result was the incorporation of the Korsten area into the Port Elizabeth municipality and a low-interest loan of two million rand (one million pounds) to remove the slums. Thus in 1938 the City Council embarked upon a scheme to erect a model 'native' village at New Brighton, and McNamee Village came to be. Medical, welfare and educational facilities were improved and after five years 3,506 houses to accommodate 15,680 slum residents were completed. The quality of life in general improved in this new area.

After the second world war came a rapid increase in industrialisation with the resultant increased influx of Black work-seekers. The permanent Black population had by now grown to such an extent that births accounted for a large percentage of the increase in population. To try to improve the ever-deteriorating conditions 312 brick houses (Boastville) and houses built with wood provided by the Ford Motor Company (Kwaford) were built. But these were but drops in an ocean as the Korsten slum area which had been partially cleared during 1938-43 now again housed more than 52,000 Blacks in conditions worse



KWAFORD

than those of 1938. New slum areas like Dassiakraal (sometimes called Dassierville) came into being. During 1952-54 2,502 sub-economic houses were erected in New Brighton in an area called Elundini. Soon after this however the National Housing Commission withdrew its system of loans for sub-economic housing and new solutions had to be found. Hence an area comprising 12,000 building sites, and special areas for sportsfields, churches, businesses and schools was planned. Essential services such as roads, water (one tap per 36 sites), bucket sanitation, street lighting and a bus service were provided. Families from the Korsten slum area were removed with their shack materials to this area called Kwazakhele where they were allocated residential sites and permitted to re-erect their shacks. Thereafter the building unit of the municipality constructed 2-roomed houses on the sites and the tenants broke down their shacks and moved into the houses constructed of cement blocks. The scheme was called Site and Service. The transfer of shack dwellers from Korsten to Kwazakhele began in 1956 and by 1961 the re-housing of 11,500 families totalling approximately 50,000 people, had been completed.

Thus a process started in 1902 with the establishment of the 'New Brighton Reserve Location' had by now almost been taken to its final

objective, i.e. with the exception of the later-day 'Walmer Location', Black people living in the various scattered locations like Fingo Village, Gubb's Location, Stranger's Location and the Korsten slum had been residentially consolidated by relocation (see Figures 1 and 2). From a practical point of view this only became possible with the improved technology of the time. For the first time a distant residential area became feasible through rapid transport systems. The spatial movement of Blacks also reflects the intention of the Government to create separate residential areas which in turn, as far as the Blacks were concerned, was to facilitate the deployment and development of a separate administrative machinery as well as separate amenities and services.

By 1965 all the 12,000 sites in Kwazakhele had been allocated and each had been provided with a two-roomed house. A start was made with adding a further two rooms to the existing houses and the project was to be completed by 1973. The need for proper housing was still not satisfied. New slum areas (Aloes, Veeplaas) kept developing and existing housing areas (Red Location) deteriorated to slum conditions. Additionally, the natural increase in the population and the transfer of the Bethelsdorp area from the Divisional Council to the municipality compounded the problem. The subsequent amalgamation of the municipalities of Port Elizabeth and Walmer placed a further responsibility of

Black housing on the municipality of Port Elizabeth. Housing requirements at the time (1973) was estimated at 8000 houses. Yet another housing area, Zwide III (Zwide I and II, 400 houses, were previously inherited from the Divisional Council), was planned to provide a total of 10,000 housing units. A few years before the start of this project 20 better type houses were erected in Thembaletu to provide for Blacks in the higher income bracket.

By virtue of the Bantu Affairs Administration Act, No. 45 of 1971, all responsibility for urban Blacks passed to the newly created Bantu Affairs Administration Boards. These Boards are directly under the central government via the responsible Minister i.e. the Minister of Co-operation and Development<sup>(1)</sup>. Further implications of legislation and the reactions of people to this, are dealt with in subsequent chapters.

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(1) This Department was previously called the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and latterly the Department of Plural Relations and Development. The contemporary name will be used except where the historical context dictates otherwise.

CHAPTER 3

LEGISLATION AND URBAN ADMINISTRATION

Legislation as it affects the Advisory Board in particular is dealt with in Chapter 5. The present chapter is concerned with legislation as it affects the Black urban resident in general, i.e. directly or through the administration which was created by legislation.

The legislation set out to define more clearly the status, movement and rights of urban Blacks in relation to the White areas.

With South Africa becoming a union in 1910 an immediate Government need was felt for uniform legislation as regards 'Natives' living in urban areas. The problem had its origin in the so-called 'Zuid-Afrika Wet' of 1909 which provided for a Department of Native Affairs which was to take over the functions of the different Departments of Native Affairs of the former colonies. At the same time this act transferred the supervision and control of local urban governments to the various provincial administrations. In effect, as far as Port Elizabeth was concerned, the Black community was under the control of various magistrates from 1902 to 1924 and then the municipality. The question which immediately arose was who should assume responsibility for the administration of the Black population in the urban areas. The standpoint of the central government was that as it was responsible for formulating and executing policy for Blacks nation-wide it also had ipso facto responsibility

for the Black population within the area under the jurisdiction of urban local government. The provincial councils however held the view that as they had responsibility for the control of local government, they also had responsibility for control of all the inhabitants of the area under the jurisdiction of local government - this including the Blacks. The central government's case eventually won the day but not much was done about it until 1920. (Mentz, 1970 : 10). From this time onwards legislation for urban Blacks proliferated, eventually to direct and control almost every aspect of their lives. During the years 1920 and 1921 respectively, two commissions concerned with the affairs of urban Blacks were instituted. Excerpts from the reports of these commissions, the Native Affairs and Stallard, reflect the official and White direction of thinking concerning urban Blacks at the time. The Native Affairs Commission emphasised the need for uniform legislation to replace the disparate controls operative under the different colonial, republican and provincial governments before and after union. To meet this need the commission presented the government with consolidated legislation in a draft act called the Native (Urban Areas) Act. The Stallard Commission concerned itself more specifically with a greater voice for Blacks in their own affairs in urban areas. The commission recommended inter alia, that local urban management should have the power to appoint advisory 'native' committees in their 'locations'.

Between 10 and 12 August 1921 in Johannesburg, both commissions had discussions with representatives of the Department of Native Affairs. They drew up a combined memorandum which stipulated that Native Advisory Boards should be established in every 'native village'. The end result was that provision for 'Advisory Native Committees' was made in the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 (Act No. 21/1923).

A big change in the administrative machinery of Black urban areas came about with the Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1971 (Act 45 of 1971) and much of the present study was undertaken while this system was in operation. These areas were taken from the control of local government or municipalities and placed directly under the central government. According to the Act the Republic was divided into 22 Bantu Affairs Administration Areas. Hence the Black townships of Port Elizabeth became one of a number of townships under the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

Each Administration Board consists of a chairman and other members appointed by the Minister of Co-operation and Development. Sub section 3(1) (b) of the Act (45 of 1971) provides for the appointment of members to these Boards. It is stipulated that the Minister appoint one or more members who are familiar with and knowledgeable

about Bantu labour in agriculture in the area of the Board, the same for commerce and industry, one or more from a list of names submitted by the White local authority, and finally one or more persons in the full-time service of the state. From this list the Minister also appoints the vice-chairman. Each Administration Board thus has a large number of members, in the case of the Cape Midlands Board<sup>(1)</sup> the number is 34 and they are all White. Appointments are hence at the discretion of the Minister and the Black residents are not involved in the process. The Minister can at any time, for a number of reasons like dereliction, dismiss any of these members. The basis of these prescriptions is that members essentially represent the White interest groups but serve the Minister.

The Administration Boards were to have three main functions. The first was to provide the essential services previously provided by municipalities. These included water, electricity, transport, refuse removal, streets, recreational facilities, housing and provision of 'Bantu beer' and other liquor. The Acts concerned in doing this were Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation (25 of 1945), Bantu Services Levy (64 of 1952), Urban Bantu Councils (79 of 1961), Bantu Beer (30 of 1962), article 100 bis of the Liquor Act (30 of 1928), Housing (4 of 1966) and contributions as regards Bantu Labour (29 of 1972). The second main function of the Boards was to control

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(1) Later to be called the Eastern Cape Administration Board.

labour. Municipal labour bureaux and district labour bureaux of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner were to be taken over. Influx control was included under this function as was the training of workers. One Act was involved in this second main function of the Boards, the Bantu Labour Act (67 of 1964). The third and final function was to provide housing in the areas of origin or Homelands for the settlement of Blacks from the White area under the jurisdiction of the Board. In general the functions of the Boards were to be fulfilled in such a way as to contribute to 'Nation building' in the Homelands. An essential element in this approach was that every Black person in the urban areas was to be regarded as an inhabitant of a homeland and hence a temporary resident in the town or city<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Bantu Administration Boards have no legislative functions and are in the first place executive institutions. It was implied (or hoped?) however, that the Ministers concerned would consider representations from the Boards before bringing about changes in regulations or legislation which affect these bodies. By virtue of this, the role played by individual members of these Boards (and especially its chief executive) became so much more important. Ideally it was more or less up to their personal ability and endeavour, and de-

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(1) A demographic analysis of the Port Elizabeth townships is given in the next chapter.

THE POSITION OF THE BANTU ADVISORY BOARDS AND THE BANTU AFFAIRS  
ADMINISTRATION BOARDS IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE, LEGISLATIVE AND  
EXECUTIVE MACHINERY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

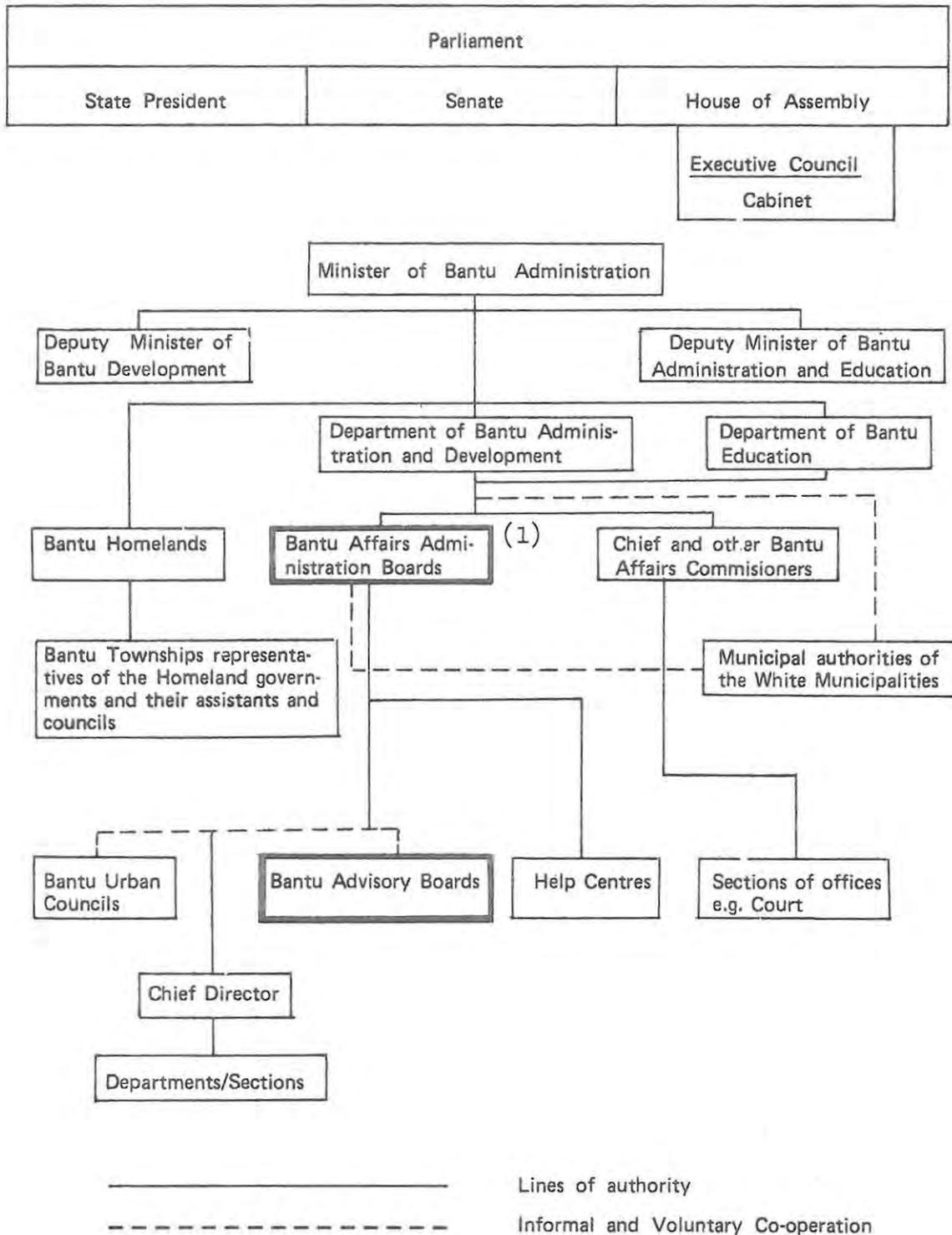


DIAGRAM 1 (After Cloete, 1974 : 9)

(1) Now the Minister Co-operation and Development.

ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY OF THE CAPE MIDLANDS BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARD (Port Elizabeth)

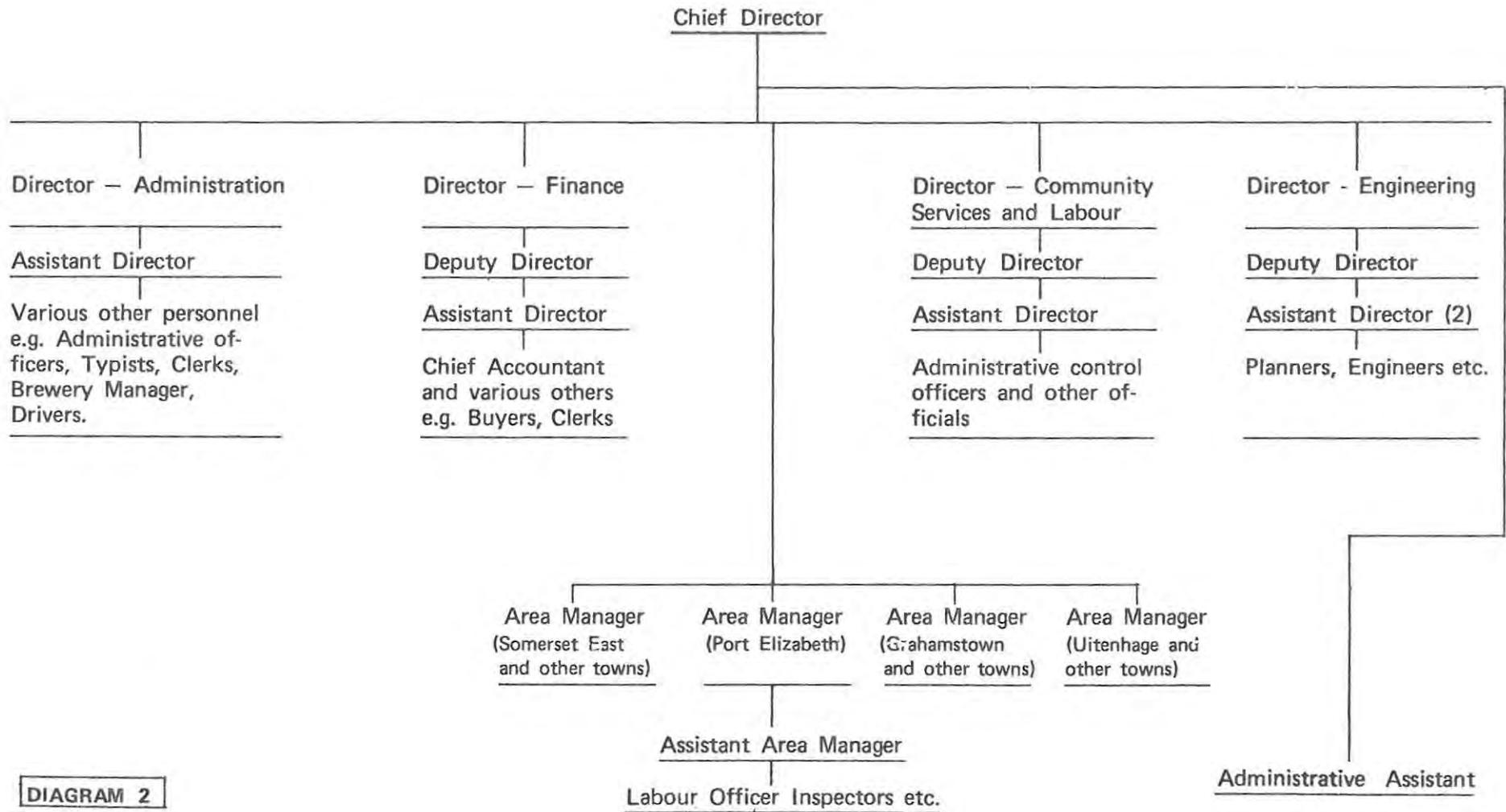


DIAGRAM 2

pendent on their particular perspective, to have an effect in shaping or at least adapting the legislative framework by virtue of their practical experience in a specific Board area.

The Bantu Affairs Administration Boards were to be financially self-supporting, being the heirs of the local governments' 'Bantu Revenue Account',<sup>(1)</sup> and other similar accounts. The theory was thus that no money would have to be obtained from state funds.

Great emphasis is placed on the relations between the Boards and 'the Homelands and their representatives'. It is advised that they are treated with great respect and that 'worthy' homes and offices are provided for them. The area of labour relations between the above parties is singled out for special mention. On the other hand, the Black Urban Councils and Advisory Boards were to continue functioning, as they did under the municipalities, and were to serve as link between the people of the Black townships and the Administration Boards and hence the government (Cloete, 1974).

Further legislation which directly affects the Blacks in urban townships must receive some attention.

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(1) Financed mainly from rents paid by residents and from the profits of Administration Board-run liquor outlets.

An important aspect of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act of 1945 is encompassed in Section 10 (Appendix E, Number 34). There is probably no other single piece of legislation which is as well known and as much criticised by urban Blacks as 'Section 10' (as it is universally known). From the official point of view it was introduced to facilitate influx control (Appendix E, Number 44) which in turn had to solve the socio-economic problem of lack of enough work, housing and other facilities in the towns. Escalating unemployment and the concomitant increase in the crime rate was to be prevented. It was suggested that the urban areas already had a large Black labour pool which should have preference for available jobs. From the point of view of the Black population this section of the act served only to the advantage of the Whites. Section 10 stipulates that a Black who was born in a urban area and lived there since his birth qualified as a so-called permanent resident. This status of permanent resident can be achieved by way of ten years of continuous employment with the same employer in the urban area, or alternatively with different employers but for fifteen years continuously. This achieved status can only be maintained if such a person does not become unemployed for more than six months, does not commit an offence and does not leave the urban area for extended periods of time. The argument of the Blacks is that these stipulations benefit only the White employer who has his Black employees over a barrel, as they

cannot change their jobs if better opportunities present themselves, or if they are dissatisfied with their present employment (unless they are prepared to take 5 years longer to qualify). Furthermore, it is felt that this regulation divides families and discourages periodic visits to rural areas of origin.

Finally, one more act, which also had a number of precursors, should be mentioned here. The Group Areas Amendment Act (No. 36 of 1966 stemming from the original Group Areas Acts No.41 of 1950 and No.77 of 1957) designates certain areas for the sole and exclusive use of a certain population group. Hence Blacks (with the exception of domestics living in the back yards of their employers) are confined in Port Elizabeth to the townships of New Brighton, Kwazakele, Zwide, Veeplaas and Walmer. (Residents of the latter were due to be moved to Zwide however).

CHAPTER 4

THE URBAN MILIEU AND CULTURE

This chapter describes the culture and general urban environment of the Black population of Port Elizabeth. Although it is not intended to be a detailed urban ethnography, the various institutions and problems associated with them are dealt with in order to place the Advisory Board, its members, and their activities in proper context.

The Advisory Board members are themselves from this environment, a part of it and even a product of it. In sketching the urban setting, the categories of people, the composition of the population, the labour situation, township regulations, religion, voluntary associations and social organization, the intention is to present a perspective for evaluating the Advisory Board and its members' activities and the problems with which they are confronted.

Port Elizabeth to-day is a sprawling metropolis. South Africa's fifth largest city and third port has a population of well over half a million people. The city's importance as a seaport situated on Algoa Bay is balanced by its importance as a modern industrial, commercial, holiday and educational centre. The physical lay-out of Port Elizabeth in many ways mirrors the broad framework of its social structure. By tradition and by law the Blacks, Whites, Coloureds, Chinese and Indians live in separate, designated and delineated areas. With the central business district as the hub and the sea to the east of it, the city developed in the other three

main directions. The White areas are mainly to be found to the west and South of the commercial and administrative centre and generally contiguous with the recreational areas like the beaches. The Black areas lie to the North next to the major industrial area and close to the coloured and sub-economic White residential areas (See figures 1 and 2). The location of the Black areas gives them a dormitory character and results in a large volume of commuter traffic to and from the 'White' city.

While this study concentrates on a section of the Black population, they are to a greater or lesser extent a part of the larger social system of Port Elizabeth which includes all the legal groups but especially the Whites. Each individual is also daily affected or influenced by factors beyond his direct control. Some of these external factors i.e. the legislative and administrative, have been discussed in the previous chapter and others will be discussed later. A full list of external determinants in a Black urbanite's environment must include not only legislative and administrative, but political, economic, ecological, demographic and ethnic - cultural factors as well. Events within the Black community are continuously and increasingly influenced by these external forces. Although I am focussing on only a part of the community within these townships, the various developments which are later described can obviously not only be explained in terms of the social structure of the community

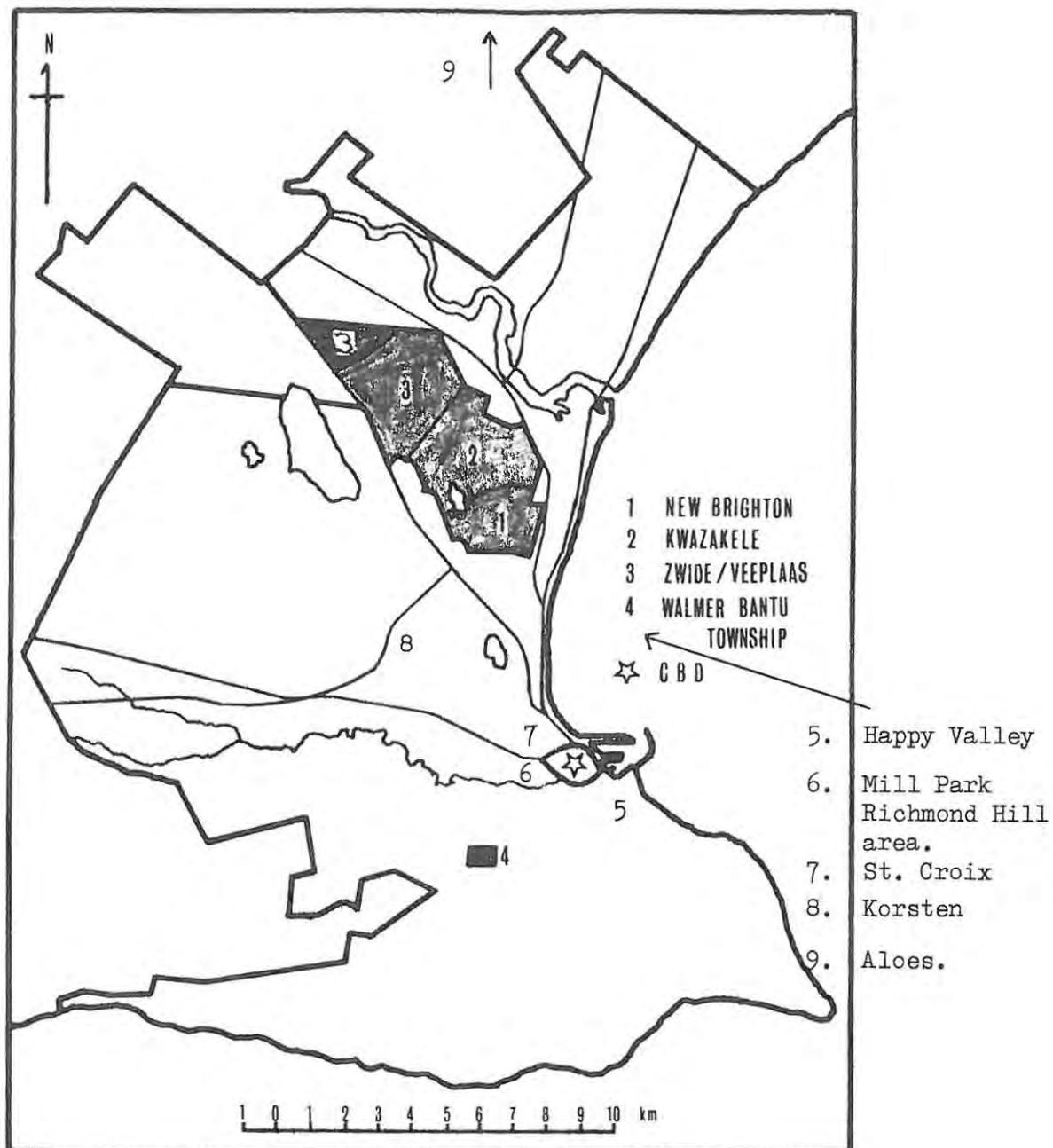
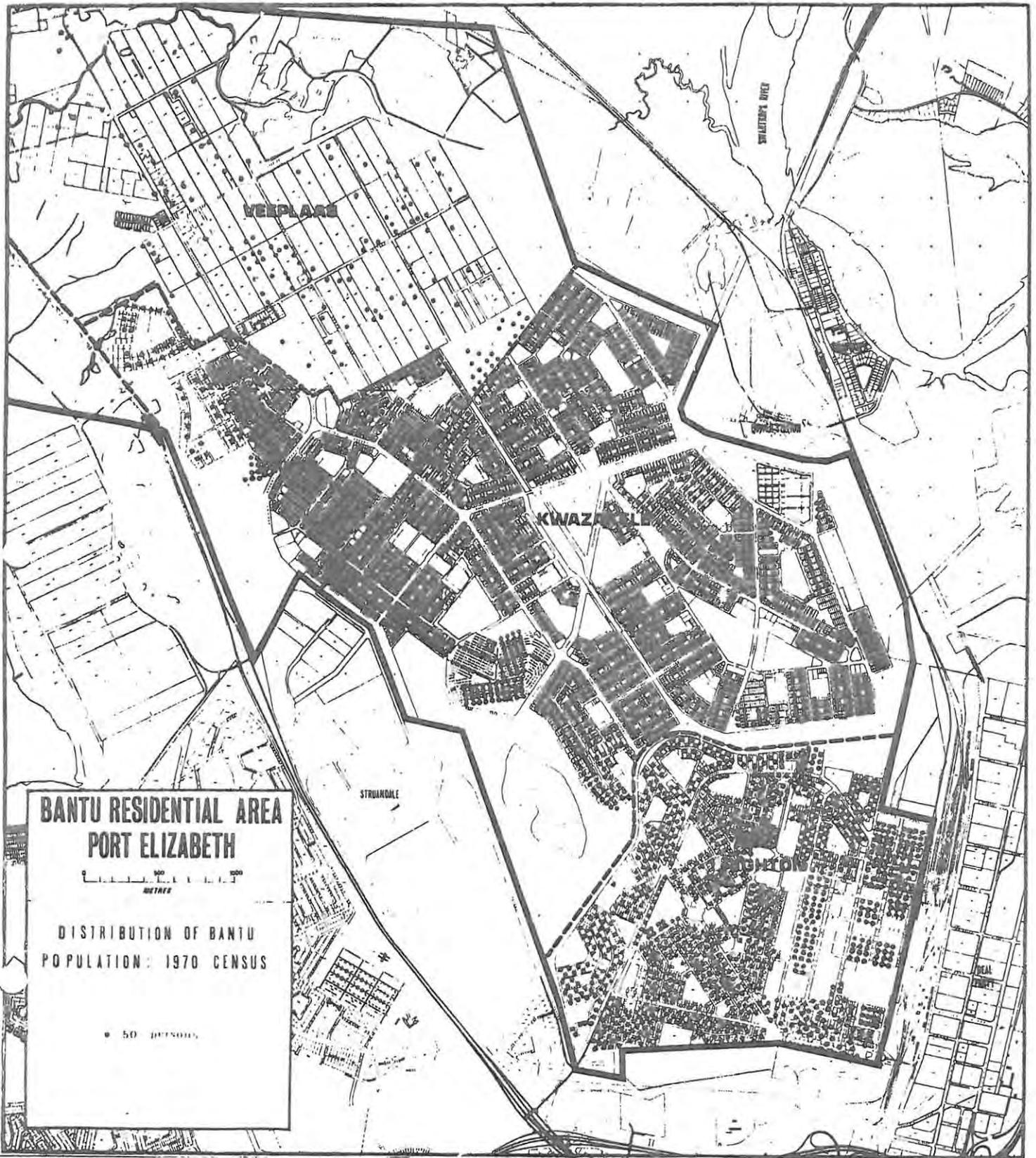


FIGURE 1. LOCATION OF BLACK TOWNSHIP IN PORT ELIZABETH

(Adapted from : Davies, 1972)



**FIGURE 2.** Distribution of population in Port Elizabeth Black townships.

(After: Davies, 1972)

itself. Indeed, satisfactory explanation can only stem from a perspective incorporating the much wider and more embracing socio-cultural system. Collectively these characteristics create a milieu within which people must make choices and interact.

Many of the well over 200,000 predominantly Xhosa-speaking people of the Black townships of eBhayi<sup>(1)</sup> have a rural origin and most have some rural connection. The traditional areas of origin of the Xhosa, the green rolling hills of the Ciskei and Transkei, today present an illusory picture of the life of a subsistence farmer. Slow-paced and peaceful, homogeneous, familial and predictable is the rural life, which many of the urbanites still yearn for. They somewhat idealistically refer to this as their ikhaya (home) as opposed to the urban indlu (house).

Life in Port Elizabeth however is different. The mobility of the Black population is high. This may be ascribed to a number of factors. The first, though not a significant factor, is that some (1,2%) of the population are migrant or contract workers who return to their areas of origin periodically. A more important reason is to be found in the widespread regular pilgrimage to the Ciskei and Transkei and rural White farming areas on holiday, to visit friends

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(1) The Xhosa name for Port Elizabeth derived from the English 'bay' or the Afrikaans 'baai' which refers to the city's situation in Algoa Bay.

and kinsmen, and to see to arable lands or cattle. An overriding factor is, by definition and law, the temporary resident status of all Blacks in the city. Even those residents who qualify under 'Section 10' can for example not own property.

The density of the population and the male/female disproportion are further characteristics of the urban scene. The houses in most of the Black townships are closely spaced and individual rooms occupied by a large number of people (see figure 2). In a few cases 10 to 12 people were recorded as staying in the same room. The official statistics for 1973 were as follows:-

Males	98,076	}	204,971
Females	106,895		
Males over 18	53,469	}	204,971
Males under 18	44,607		
Females over 18	59,026		
Females under 18	47,869		
Adults	112,595	}	204,971
Juveniles	92,376		

Despite the presence of some male contract workers in the population, the males are still outnumbered by the females. This is at variance with the earlier situation in Port Elizabeth and with the contemporary trend in African cities<sup>(1)</sup>. Usually single males are the migrants

(1) Soweto, the Black township outside Johannesburg, also has a majority of females in its population. (P. Mayer, personal communication).

and hence the male population by far outnumbers the females. Furthermore, the Black population is an 'older' one as in both the over and under 18 breakdown, and in the adult/juvenile breakdown the older category outnumbers the younger one. Of this total population, only 19,600 were eligible and registered to vote for the Advisory Board. Eligibility is determined by sex (male), age (18 years), by not being more than two months in arrears with rent and by being a registered occupier. The latter stipulation is in turn determined according to the previously discussed Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act of 1945.

Racial and ethnic stratification is a characteristic of Port Elizabeth. In the essentially white urban environment certain roles are prescribed for Blacks. The role of special significance and importance is that of employee. Unskilled labouring jobs predominate and are mostly to be found in the industrial field. Though there are exceptions, the Blacks are 'out-ranked' in jobs and in the socio-economic hierarchy by Whites, Coloureds and Asians. The position of Whites in the economy is protected by legislation. Coloureds too, in the Port Elizabeth and Eastern Cape area have an advantage by virtue of the region having being declared a Coloured labour preference area. This regulation stipulates that Coloureds must have preference in employment and it even prevents employers from using Black labour under

certain circumstances<sup>(1)</sup>. With the exception of the employees of a number of international companies, Blacks still earn much lower salaries (for equivalent work) than members of other groups and their occupational diversification is small. In the work situation an individual has very little bargaining power. The only official worker/management communication channel is the Liaison/Works-committee system which is not a true collective bargaining vehicle.

"..... the prevailing impression of workers was that this committee had no powers and could not even make any decisions. In addition to this the average worker believes that management does not take the Liaison Committee seriously, does not 'listen' to it".  
(de Jongh, 1978 : 6).

A general distrust and a negative attitude as regards the labour situation is apparent. Apart from the initial strangeness of a time-orientated, competitive, technological environment for many of the workers, other much more specific factors are identified and singled out for criticism. Out of a sample of 525 industrial workers their complaints in order of importance were as follows:

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(1) At the time of writing there were moves afoot for this stipulation to be removed.

Job reservation  
Equal pay/equal work  
Discriminatory treatment by superiors  
Pay  
Blacks in responsible positions still have  
no real authority

(Op. cit. 1978 : 16)

The average worker in this sample is reasonably satisfied with his company's medical and pension schemes, protective clothing, leave, recreational and canteen facilities, though he has some adverse comment to make about all of these. This average worker claims to be happy in his job but, would change it if he could.

He has much criticism of the working conditions in general. One universal criticism centres around 'Section 10' of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. No.125 of 1945. (Appendix E, Numbers 34 and 44). Primarily aimed at influx control it also inhibits the workers' mobility in the job market. (See previous section on legislation).

While the population in Port Elizabeth at large is markedly heterogeneous (White, Black, Coloured, Indian, Chinese, Malay, Japanese, etc.), the Black population is homogeneous in the sense of being 98% Xhosa-

speaking. However various divisions come to the fore depending on the situation and circumstances. One significant division is that between Mfengu and Xhosa. Though now Xhosa-speaking, the Mfengu are not regarded as 'Xhosa-proper' and both cultural and attitudinal differences between these people are apparent.

The effect of the heterogeneous character of the city is reinforced by virtue of each main group (i.e. White, Black, Coloured, Indian and Chinese) having its own schools, churches, sports facilities, businesses and local government systems in separate areas. Access to the different areas is selective. For example, Blacks can move freely in the White areas but non-blacks need permits to enter the Black townships.

The township environment itself is rather drab. While some streets are surfaced, many are not. All are rock-strewn. The houses are rows of grey similarity surrounded by drooping fences. These occasionally boast a little greenery or a garden, but the overall impression of the townships is of an area without vegetation. The houses are interspersed at irregular intervals with larger buildings - churches, shops (Appendix B gives a detailed break-down of retail and service establishments) community halls, bottle stores and admin-

istration blocks. Three main recreation areas, New Brighton Oval, Kwaford Stadium and Isaac Wolfson Stadium, together with other open spaces and a swimming pool, complete the picture.

Many Black women and a few men live in the backyards of their White employers in domestic or 'servants' quarters of varying quality, but mostly in a single room. While the employees live there legally (despite a frequent 'White by night' call for the city), many more men and women co-habit with them surreptitiously. In 1969 it was officially estimated that only 3,200 people lived in domestic quarters (excluding those who sleep in but are registered to reside in the townships) out of a total Black population at the time, of 194,227. The actual number could be several times this figure. The majority of the Blacks live in the townships of New Brighton, Kwazakele, Zwide and Veeplaas. 23,235 houses, 1,550 shacks, single-men's quarters and, sporadically, illegal squatters camps, serve as accommodation for them. In the earlier 'Historical Background' section the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the various housing areas and housing schemes were sketched. To give some idea of the nature of the accommodation, the main housing schemes in the order of their establishment are reviewed in detail in Appendix C. Information as regards type of construction and rent payable is also given. Figures 1 and 2 give an indication of the location of the

main townships and in Appendix D is a summarised break-down of population and housing units per area.

While a generally negative attitude as regards life in the townships prevails among the residents, more specific reactions as regards certain areas of residence can be detected. Although they are critical of all areas the residents rate each area differently. The best are Thembaletu, some parts of Zwide, the White Location and McNamee Village. Average are Boastville, Kwaford, Elundini and Kwazakele. The worst is the Red Location. Thembaletu constitutes only 20 better-type houses constructed for Blacks in the 'higher income bracket'<sup>(1)</sup>. Zwide is one of the most recently developed areas. (One part of it has been nic-named Soweto by the residents). The people in the White Location and in McNamee Village<sup>(2)</sup> have been in better housing for a longer time than most. The people of Boastville and Kwaford were moved to these areas from Korsten before the latter developed into a horrifying slum. Elundini and Kwazakele both house people who were relocated from Korsten at its worst. The Red Location merits its low rating by virtue of its own inherent conditions.

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(1) An official designation. The income bracket is not specified. A garage owner and librarian were amongst the people living in these houses.

(2) Whites gave the names to places in the townships in the early days and many areas still carry the names of White administrators. More recently Blacks were given the privilege of suggesting names for places - this was especially the case with street names.

A number of further factors can be distinguished. The distinctions between ethnic groups are fundamental in the city's social structure and influence every aspect of peoples' lives. While this cleavage is dominant it is not the only division which can be discerned. Colour of skin is not the only determinant of distinction, for within the Black and within the White communities are many divisions based on ethnic, ideological, class and sectional interests. These divisions will be apparent in the membership of the Advisory Board. Some of the forces are divisive, others unifying, so that interdependence is often the key-note. Blacks and Whites in Port Elizabeth, as in South Africa at large, are drawn together into positions of mutual dependence by the economic system. This happens in spite of (or because of) rules or conventions and, in some instances, legislation which prescribe their relative roles and positions within the economy. The interaction of the various groups thus drawn together, make up the social system of Port Elizabeth and hence a single field of social relations. The actions of the people who are the focus of this study can only be understood within this single, wider field of social relations which embraces the Black-White division as well as the social and other divisions within each of these groups. From a different perspective three wider areas of relations of Black urbanites may be differentiated. The

first involves the rural areas, i.e. Ciskei, Transkei and White farming districts. The second involves the matrix of relations with urban Whites. 'Internal' relations in the Black townships constitute the third. These major areas represent strikingly different facets of Black urbanites' daily experience in which they may be involved to a greater or lesser extent. Pendleton (1974 : 83 et sqq.)<sup>(1)</sup> correctly observes that a person living in a large, heterogeneous urban community is continually brought into contact with people he does not know personally. Consciously or subconsciously such a person categorises these strangers and bases his behaviour towards them accordingly. The complexity of these categorisations depends on the situation, and the external determinants of the situation strongly influence the importance of these categories. The categorical relationship is suggested by Pendleton as having three levels of relevance. The first of these levels is found where strangers interact on a broad and indirect front. Social categories are recognised and serve as a technique for dividing a crowd of strangers into familiar categories. This enables a person to create some order in the chaos of situations involving heterogeneous groups of strangers. The second level of interaction with strangers is to be found in public places such as at a bus stop or

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(1) These thoughts were probably originally derived from Mitchell(1966).

in a bus, a shebeen or beer-hall or simply on the street. Membership of a particular category will in these situations determine whether certain people communicate with each other. The third level of categorical relations involve people who are not strangers. They have probably often seen each other at the same shop, bottle store, rugby club or work situation. Although these people to all intents and purpose know each other, they still maintain social distance because of the force of their categorical stereotypes. Only membership of the same category would break these social barriers. Cross-cutting membership of such groupings e.g. church affiliation, which cross-cuts ethnic identity or rugby union support, enables the individual to manipulate categories to gain support and creates both flexibility and interdependence at the level of the wider community.

Various indices are applied to categorise people and for people to associate within the same category. Some of the more obvious ones used in Port Elizabeth include : race, ethnicity, sophistication (associated with status, class and financial position), tribesman or migrant vs. townsman or urbanite, and obviously, sex and age. Much of this categorisation can be seen 'in action' every day. Different categories of people are distinguished by stereotyped attributes of

physical appearance, dress, language usage, role behaviour, gestures and other characteristics. Abelungu (White man), amaBhulu (Boers), Native, African, Bantu or the even more derogatory 'Kaffir', are terms immediately 'placing' both the person referred to and the person using the term. Ways of greeting, either by shaking hands, verbally or not greeting at all, are indicators of the actors' positions or membership of a certain category. Where people eat, drink, work or are served or serve in a shop, likewise define and reflect categories.

Stratification and other distinctions within a certain ethnic or racial group is not readily recognised by members of another such group. While Blacks might distinguish between Afrikaans and English Whites they more generally tend to lump them together and certainly make very few distinctions within these main White language groups. Like the Blacks, the Whites also tend to generalise to the point of 'they are all the same' or even 'they all look alike'. Within the broad ethnic divisions of the Blacks certain distinctions are apparent to the people themselves, more especially in the urban centres like Port Elizabeth.

The relatively homogeneous population of the townships, directly or

indirectly, trace their origin mainly from the districts of Alexandria, Albany, Peddie, Middledrift, King William's Town, Keiskammahoek and other parts of the Ciskei, but also further, from the Transkei. A generally ambivalent feeling predominates amongst the township residents. Even those who are apparently totally committed to urban living have at the very least a dream of 'home' (ikhaya)<sup>(1)</sup>. The townships' population basically comprises those people who were born in Port Elizabeth and know no other home; those from the White rural areas and who have had some exposure to Western culture; those people from the Ciskei and Transkei, but who have been in the city for a long time; those people recently from the Ciskei<sup>(2)</sup> and Transkei and who have had less exposure to Western culture. The Black residents of Port Elizabeth differentiated very clearly between such categories of people. Using criteria like personal perspective (including future projection), vested interests (e.g. property, political status potential), frequency, duration, purpose and regularity of visits to area of origin, location of members of the personal and extended network and involvement in urban institutions, it was possible to objectify categories of people identified by the residents themselves.

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(1) ikhaya means much more than just a place. It also implies kinship bonds, style of life, tradition and a sense of belonging.

(2) People who come from the white farms are often seen as less sophisticated than those born and bred in the Ciskei.

1. amaRhanuga. These are people who have become committed to urban life. They have worked in the City and have no plans to return to their area of origin - even if this area is known or recognised. The term literally means 'those wanderers from afar who came to look for work'.
2. amaGoduka. These are people who came to work in the city but plan to return to their area of origin. They view their stay in the urban area as temporary and the main purpose that of earning money. The term translates as 'those that are going home'.
3. Inzala. Those people born and bred in town. This may of course be largely seen as a sub-division of the amaRhanuga. Inzala means 'the progeny' (1).

The 1974 sample of 200 residents indicated a 54,83% amagoduka orientation in the townships. This percentage is perhaps a little high because the impression was gained that people sometimes were inclined to comment on their activities and intentions within a framework of the

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(1) The amaGoduka is unambiguously defined for the people themselves. However, this category and more so the amaRhanuga and Inzala are difficult to objectify. For the majority of the people the definition tended to be situational. It often depended on the focus of interest or the romantic vision of the moment. Partly because of these reasons Mayer, P. (personal communication) has expressed some doubts as to the validity of these terms. Durand (1970) propagated the first two terms before.

ideal rather than that of the real. However somewhat similar findings are reflected by Durand (1970 : 17-19). He distinguishes three categories of people:

1. Those who unequivocally designate that ikhaya is in their area of origin - the rurally orientated.
2. Those who also view their ikhaya as in the area of origin but the city has become so much a part of their lives that it qualifies as a future possible ikhaya. These people find themselves in an interim phase - the city-rurally orientated.
3. That group for whom the identification of city and ikhaya is complete. The city is their only home - the city orientated.

<u>Place of origin</u>	<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Total</u>
Ciskei/Transkei	54	41	11	60
Rural areas	17	33	62	112
City	-	-	32	32
<u>Total</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>105</u>	<u>250</u>

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(1) In all these groups much would depend on the types of questions that were put to the informants and on how these questions were phrased. Structural and cultural considerations, duration of stay etc., might all have an affect.

The number of home-rural orientated taken with the semi-home-rural orientated and expressed as a percentage of the total produces a figure of 58, not far removed from the above-mentioned 55%. It is ironical to note that the strict regulations for entry and work permits inhibits a tendency to visit ikhaya for any length of time as this may jeopardise chances of coming back to a job. Legislation hence actually indirectly encourages the process of urbanisation. (Appendix E, Numbers 26, 34 and 44).

Stratification, though discernable, is not well marked. An elite group is apparent. It consists mainly of the official representatives of Ciskei and Transkei, Advisory Board members, businessmen, Ministers of religion, teachers, politicians and nurses. Indices for distinguishing these people revolve mainly round material possessions and the life-style associated with these. Though Magubane's (1971) criticism of such indices is noted, cars, style of dress, kinds of houses, types of furniture and preference of certain foods and drink are often referred to as evidence of elite status.

Much of the observations in the fore-going discussion was borne out by tracing the personal networks of the Black Advisory Board

members. The effective network of these members included those people with whom they had multistranded links e.g. they worked together and belonged to the same rugby club and church. With few exceptions these were people who also belonged to the same racial and ethnic group and usually also to the same social category i.e. socio-economically and also in terms of being urban-committed. Only in the extended network are links with people from other such groupings apparent i.e. with the 'boss' at work or with the township superintendent. Again the effect of external determinants mentioned earlier can be seen; in this instance in shaping an individual's social world.

The urban framework is a product of the South African western or white culture. The Black urbanite, and his culture, are exposed to, and influenced by the Whites and their culture on every front. Additionally the very fact of an urban environment with its many universal characteristics has left its mark on a once-rural people and their culture. Rules and regulations, red tape, forms and formalities govern the lives of the township residents. Much of this constitutes a mass of rubber stamp requirements and permits understood by few. One informant suggested that the only event or action that one does not need a permit for, is to be born or to die.

"Permits, permits, permits for everything". A qualified resident is often referred to as a person with a 'stamp' indicating that such an individual has had his book or papers officially sanctioned and that his presence in the urban area is legal. To give some idea of the extent of these trappings of administrative control, a full index of the 103 controls and strategies for control have been included in Appendix E. Also included in the same index, by way of illustration are thirteen specific examples under the following numbers and headings : (Reference to some of these have already been made):-

3. Application for lodgers permit
5. Eviction.
20. Application and issue of trading licence
21. Renewal of trading licence
26. Application for work seekers permit
34. Application for section 10 qualification
40. Counselling
41. Illegal lodgers
44. Influx control
45. Control of idle and undesirable persons
48. Shebeens
70. Superintendent
99. Powers of search.

The Administration Board office (Kwandaba zabantu zolawulo), labour office, the office of the Department of Co-operation and Development, the Police 'charge office', the magistrate's court and the office of the township area superintendent constitute, according to township residents, the power base of the White man. From these places the lives of the Black urbanites are governed and manipulated. In day-to-day matters the office of the superintendent ('Nolali', literally 'head of the village') reigns supreme. For labour (e.g. Appendix E, numbers 26, 34 and 44), for housing (e.g. Appendix E, Numbers 3, 5 and 41), for their very presence in the urban area (e.g. Appendix E, numbers 34, 44, 45 and 99) Blacks are directly and totally dependent on the decisions of the superintendent (Appendix E, number 70). Even the responsibility of official counselling and arbitration rests with the superintendent (Appendix E, number 40). As has been indicated, the residential pattern for Blacks as 'temporary' residents in a 'White' city is set. There is careful regulation of location, type of home (Appendix C) and form of tenure. A comprehensive and complex administrative machinery is designed to control and regulate every aspect of a township resident's life. Political expression is channelled through the Joint Bantu Advisory Board. (Now a Community Council, a more representative body with decision-making powers) or the political systems of the Ciskei and the independent Transkei.

The working life of an urban Black is also rigorously controlled. Influx control regulations, labour contracts and labour bureaux determine conditions of employment. Independent trading too is dependent on the granting of trading licenses and sites by the administration (Appendix E, numbers 20 and 21 and Appendix B). Education bears the stamp of, and is under the control of the White man. The Black urban rioters of 1976 gave as their main motivating reason dissatisfaction with so-called 'Bantu Education'. Whether a real reason or simply an excuse, informants in interviews before and subsequent to the riots expressed their dissatisfaction with the system of education. The Whites had the schools for urban Blacks built and trained the teachers, determined the objectives, curricula and organisation of this system of education. Even membership e.g. by parents, of school committees is controlled by regulations.

Within the field of religion much the same applies. But although the original pattern was laid down by White mission churches, belief in the ancestors in many cases is still strong. The concept of ancestor worship has however changed radically. Sacrifice has been adapted and is on the decline. uThixo, the supreme being or God, is now playing a much more important role. The 'Red' or traditionalist Xhosa (abantu ababomvu - red people) whom Mayer (1971) identified

in East London, while comprising a socio-cultural section of the Black community in Port Elizabeth, constitutes a minority. The size of this minority has been variously gauged, but never at more than 10% of the Black population. As a large percentage of the Port Elizabeth Blacks are either nominally Christian or have been affected by Christianity (often referred to as amagqobhoka i.e. their hearts have been pierced by Christianity) the sharp distinction in relations between Red and School as observed by Mayer in East London is not as apparent in these townships<sup>(1)</sup>.

The ancestral cult, in which services were performed by the head of the kinship group e.g. the lineage, no longer provides the basis for religious organisation in the townships. As much value is attached to being recognised as 'civilised', this may act as an additional deterrent to the performance of certain rituals. The traditional diffusion of religious responsibility at the level of the kin group may have been a factor in the proliferation of the many sects and other split-off religious groups. A sample (not very large nor very representative) taken in Port Elizabeth reflects some statistics on the Red/School division.

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(1) In the newer East London township, Mdantsane, this is no longer the case. Allocation of municipal houses made this kind of grouping impossible. (P. Mayer, personal communication).

<u>Area of origin</u>	<u>Red Xhosa</u>	<u>Christian</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Transkei/Ciskei	27	36	43	106
Rural areas	6	47	59	112
Port Elizabeth	-	22	10	32
TOTALS:	33	105	112	250

(Durand, 1970).

13% of the total of 250 are thus self-proclaimed Red Xhosa. This figure is rather high however as the Port Elizabeth - born category is under-represented. 42% of the sample want to be seen as Christians or belong to a church. The remaining 45% in itself presents a problem as they are purported to be neither Red nor Christian. The author does not identify the 'Other' category.

For members, church affiliation is an important criterion for group formation. The churches and their attendant organisations provide important areas of association for the Black community. Such membership facilitates contact among strangers and often cuts across kinship, tribal and class boundaries. Within each church, subgroups may be formed based on education, kinship, place of origin and place of residence in the city. Women-orientated associations stemming from religious membership are prevalent. Women are the main worshippers and, wearing special costumes, they often find spiritual inspiration, social intercourse, and even mutual aid in such groups.

In spite of all the religious activity and often at the cost of it, belief in magic and sorcery is widespread. abaThakathi, amagwirha and amaxhwele (wizards/witches, sorcerers and herbalists) are said by the practisioners themselves (accurate figures are not available) to be more prevalent than in the traditional, rural areas.

Within the wider field of voluntary associations, but including the already-mentioned religious ones, a number of general characteristics can be identified. While they play a very important part in the lives of the Black community, they often also play a dual role of facilitating the breaking down of barriers based on ethnic and racial categories or they may reaffirm such boundaries. In the former case the categories are replaced with groups based mainly on shared interests. Voluntary associations may be arranged on a spectrum based on a number of criteria or characteristics. The measure of dependence on Whites would arrange associations from paternalistic to independent. Membership i.e. the composition of the associations may be interracial (very much the exception) or by law or by choice, racially exclusive. The goals of associations also place them in different categories. These may vary from community-directed, self-serving or social, through those conservative of White interests and aims, to those geared for change in favour of Blacks or neutral but with implications for change. Obviously, with the exception of associations with overtly political

activities like the Advisory Board, many voluntary associations, as for example a rugby club, cannot immediately be classified into any of the last-named categories.

However, few other fields of activity had such an all-pervading effect on life (especially the political life) in the townships as did rugby. Rugby in the townships was controlled by the government-supporting Eastern Province African Rugby Board (E.P.A.R.B.) and by the anti-government Kwazakele Rugby Union (Kwaru). The E.P.A.R.B. and the members of the clubs affiliated to it were in favour of co-operating with government according to the provisions of its sport policy. Kwaru was in favour of 'going it alone' with an immediate policy of fully-integrated rugby. Opposition between the two camps was intense and was often reflected in the Advisory Board meetings where this cleavage between the 'collaborators' and the 'boycotters' could be seen (A detailed analysis of 'rugby politics' is given in Chapter 11).

Everywhere White influence or even control is apparant. This may be direct through the establishment of a body like the Advisory Board or indirect in the sense of mutualaid societies possibly being products of the White urban and industrial dispensation. While many of the associations fostered by Whites have tended to be paternalistic,

independent more spontaneous Black voluntary associations have arisen in response to needs and functions which are peculiar to the urban setting and which can no longer be satisfied by traditional institutions or groups like the lineage or extended family. Still other associations were created in reaction to crises or in rejection of White control. Perhaps the most prevalent voluntary association found in this area is the burial society. Membership is often determined by common clan membership, common district of origin or even common location within the district of origin. A number of people qualifying by these criteria form a society and elect a chairman and committee. At the time of a death money is collected and members help the bereaved. Buses are hired and a discount is obtained from the particular undertaker to which the society may be affiliated. The Burial Society owns its own dishes which are used to provide food for the people before and after the funeral. Examples of societies are the amaNtakwenda and the amaJola. The biggest of the many undertakers is owned by Mrs. J. Kahla and is called Abangcwabi ('Bury us'). 66% of the sample of 200 residents (see Chapter 1) interviewed belonged to some kind of burial society.

Though much of the social activity too, is channelled through voluntary associations like the rugby clubs, church and teachers' associations,

interest groups and even political parties, even more such activity takes place on an unstructured basis. Social life in the townships is mostly concentrated on weekends, starting on Friday night. Although dances are organised or people entertain in their homes, much of the activity, especially by Saturday night and Sunday, centres on the shebeens - illegal dispensers of high-priced beer and liquor or even other more volatile, home-made drinks. Often people of the same area of origin (amaKhaya) would come together for a drinking-party which would not only be a social occasion but would also serve as an important rite of intensification. It is not unusual for sorghum beer to be available at such occasions. The measure of official awareness or recognition (in a rather negative way!) of the prevalence and importance of these events is reflected by the fact that a formal strategy has been drawn up by the Administration as a guideline for getting rid of them (Appendix E, number 48).

The biggest communal rituals occur regularly every Saturday and Sunday when kin groups and other people are drawn together for funerals. By virtue of the size of the Black population, every week-end sees a number of these events taking place. Large numbers of people participate and apart from being important rites of intensification (Chapple and Coon, 1947) and social occasions for many, they are also big business for the townships' many 'funeral directors'.

Family structure tends to be based on the conjugal union of a man and a woman or simply on a single woman as the head of a household. As far as the former is concerned, the man and the woman may be joined in legal or traditional marriage or may simply be living together. Mainly because of the lack of housing, but also because of regulations like that aimed at influx control, a large number of people may actually be living under the same roof (Appendix E, Numbers 3, 5, 41 and 44). While some of these may be friends or tenants, close kin more often constitute the additional people. The result is various types of extended families. The structure of the nuclear family i.e. father, mother and children, is disrupted by a number of factors. Communication between generations has become problematical as a result of the disparity often found between the educational level of the children and young people vis a vis the older people. Additionally, many of the children are becoming financially independent at any early age. Finally, a working mother and a father with long working hours further compounds the problem. Not only is the nuclear family failing in many of its traditional functions of enculturation, security, assistance, discipline and authority, but the all-important kinship groupings of lineage, clan and often the extended family, are absent and hence unable to fulfill these functions.

Illegitimacy is common but accurate data on this has been difficult to obtain. At least one writer (Durand, 1970 : 36-37) claims a statistic of 45-55% illegitimate children born. A matrifocal extended family is suggested by Durand as consisting of one woman whose husband has left her, her two legitimate children, her sister with two illegitimate<sup>(1)</sup> children, her own two illegitimate children and the illegitimate child of her own eldest child. Although this is somewhat exaggerated, it does reflect some of the reality of the situation.

The practise of lobola is still favoured by the majority of the Black population. Though still in common use, the nature of lobola has changed. The ikhazi cattle have been replaced by other goods, even a pair of shoes, but more often than not by money. As a result it has become more of a buying transaction, with the amount demanded by the father of the prospective bride often being unreasonably high<sup>(2)</sup> as he grasps the opportunity of supplementing his income. Young men have great difficulty in accumulating enough lobola money. The result is that couples now more frequently live together without marrying.

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(1) In the sense of children of an unmarried mother.

(2) As judged by the prospective grooms.

Initiation for males is still almost universally practised. Though much of the form, function, meaning and efficacy of this rite de passage has changed it is still an important passport to the adult male world of the townships and is especially significant in determining seniority. One of the problems the Advisory Board has had to face is that of allocating an appropriate area for the erection of the abakhwetha huts. At present most of the huts are to be found in the bush along the main road connecting Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. This close proximity to the townships together with the license the initiants believe themselves to have in their state of marginality, have led to many complaints from residents e.g. attacks on young girls and other residents are common.

This failure in its traditional disciplining function of the initiation ceremony, points at some of the more general problems which seem to be now almost endemic in the urban milieu. Township dwellers, through the creation of typically urban institutions like voluntary associations, and through the adaptation of more traditional institutions, have attempted to make viable urban adjustments. Conditions prevail in the townships however, which negate much of the adjustment process and create dissatisfaction.

Failure to meet the Black urban dwellers' aspirations to material welfare, education, security and general well-being has produced frustration. According to their view, the city, its technology, the White man, his legislation, his money (and the control of it) with its syndrome of imali ibiza imali (money calls money) has created most of the problems. Lack of security, moral decay (sexual promiscuity, murder, rape, theft, drunkenness), kinship group disruption, discrimination in general, but especially on a person to person basis in the labour situation and in legislation, are distinguished as the realities of life for Port Elizabeth's urban Blacks.

SECTION III

THE ADVISORY BOARD.

"A study of the Advisory Boards offers some insight into the nature of the intercalary position of the Africans who man them. The Boards function within the framework of apartheid, but seem likely to induce an explosive combination of dependence on the White man and racialist rejection of him which is by no means conducive to the maintenance of apartheid" (Kuper, 1965 : xvi).

Before the main import of this and similar statements can be examined and evaluated, the nature and function of the ibhunga le dolophu elicebisayo (Advisory Board) should first be determined. The Board certainly qualifies as a council according to criteria that have been suggested (Richards and Kuper, 1971 : 1-7). It is an institutionalised group 'governed by conventions and persist(s) in time'. Furthermore, the Board does comprise a gathering of people of which the membership is limited to particular categories. Board meetings are held in one place and the Board accepts a series of conventions governing the behaviour of its members. Examples of these 'conventions' include: formal opening of procedures by an authority; religious ritual; fixed seating arrangements; groupings reflecting allegiance; order of speaking; phraseology used. Richards and Kuper suggest that the definition of a council is more by composition and procedure than by types of issue under discussion. It is also noteworthy that apart from the expressed purpose of the meetings of a council there may be a number of by-products which some would call the normal functions.

These include the struggle for power between individuals or groups; assertion of authority by the 'establishment'; issuing of orders to inferior authorities, and the communication of knowledge or the explanation of policy rather than the reaching of decisions.

A study of meetings with the conventions involved can be useful in revealing indices of accepted principles of social structure, of tensions and conflicts, of social hierarchies and the differences of status of the members. A picture of the peoples' activities, interests and values will also be formed by a study of the issues discussed.

The legitimacy of the Advisory Board and other such bodies is derived from their relationship within the context of the wider political system. This legitimacy should not only be gauged by virtue of the formal status conferred upon the Board by a higher authority, but also by virtue of the effective recognition of its authority by the people it is supposed to serve.

It was convenient to view the Advisory Board as a political structure which, together with its environment constitutes a political system. This framework, suggested by Bailey (1970), allows for an understanding

of the system in terms of a continuous process of adaptation and adjustment between the structure and its environment. The relation of a political structure to its environment can be identified if the structure is viewed in terms of roles. Hence the structure in this case, the Advisory Board, is seen as a set of rules about behaviour and these rules given an indication of the rights and duties of specific roles. The rules state what a person in a certain position is expected to do and what behaviour he can expect in return - whether this be a member of the Advisory Board, its chairman, the Chief Director of the Bantu Administration Board, a senior official, a superintendent or a township resident. Obviously each such person may have a number of roles to play. The Board member can also be a family man, businessman, a sports official and a churchman. Naturally these different roles tend to vie for the energy and time of a single individual. They do not function independantly either, as reciprocal influence is the keynote. An Advisory Board member may for example use his position to obtain a trading license or a trading concession. The utilisation of the Board membership role to fulfil obligations in other areas would seem to be crucial. By conferring brokerage, membership gives a man status; if not prestige. Motivation for business may hence influence local-level political behaviour. The Advisory Board member's 'other' roles may thus constitute part of the environment and hence some of his political 'capital'. While providing resources though, this environment also places constraints on an individual's political behaviour.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORY OF LEGISLATION

In 1920 and 1921 two commissions concerned with the affairs of urban Blacks were instituted. They were the Native Affairs and the Stallard Commissions. The latter concerned itself more specifically with a greater voice for Blacks in their own affairs in urban areas.

"While we are of the opinion that the successful administration of these villages (i.e. the 'locations' of the time) will to a very large extent depend upon the superintendent in charge, we consider that there will be much advantage in his having an advisory committee representing all native residents in the area under his jurisdiction. In this way, and as ex officio chairman of this body, he would be able to keep in close touch with the natives under his charge - their needs and aspirations - thus ensuring prudent administration and general contentment" (Report, 1921 : 52).

Thus the commission recommended that local urban management should have the power to appoint advisory 'native' committees in their 'locations'.

Between 10 and 12 August 1921 both commissions had discussions with representatives of the Department of Native Affairs in Johannesburg. The result of the discussions was a combined memorandum which stipulated that,

"Native Advisory Boards (should) be established in every native village, the Boards to be so constituted and with such duties as may be fixed by by-law"

(Report, 1921 : Appendix vii :95).

Provision for 'Advisory Native Committees' was duly made in the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 (Act No. 21/1923). However, before this act was promulgated urban areas were already using such committees. One of these was New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. Originally instituted in accordance with the Native Reserve Locations Act, 1902, they were to assist in the administration of the 'locations'. A report of the Native Affairs Department for the year ended 31st December 1911 notes,

".....although there is no local government in the true sense at these places, Advisory Boards, elected by the residents with two Government nominees, take a keen interest in regard to local matters and serve a most useful purpose as a connecting link between the Government and the residents of these locations" (U.G. 10/13 : 12).

The 1923 Act did not assign specific functions to the 'Native Advisory Committees' except that the local authority could not make or withdraw regulations for the particular 'location' without consultation with the advisory committee (Reyburn, 1960 : 4). The local authorities were left to qualify the details of the regulations according to which advisory committees were instituted. What the Department of Native Affairs did however do in 1924 was to issue a set of 'model' regulations to serve as guide for local authorities. These regulations were adapted from time to time to suit changed circumstances. One such change came in 1944 with the Act for the Amendment of Native Acts (Act. No.36 of

1944). This amendment stipulated that local authorities were compelled to submit their annual expenditure budget to the Native Advisory Committee before despatching it to the Minister for approval. The above-mentioned Act No. 21 of 1923 was eventually consolidated in, and replaced by the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 (Act No. 25/1945) (as amended). As this act allows for 'Native' Advisory Committees some of its stipulations have to be taken note of.

Article 21 of Act Number 25/1945 allows for 'Native Advisory Committees' for each location or native town under the control of a local urban government. Additionally, the Minister can, after consultation with the local urban government, order the creation of a Native Advisory Committee for an urban area or part of such an area.

Regulations issued by the local administration would determine the terms of office of members of the committee, their election and the functions and duties of the committee itself. The Advisory Committee consists of at least three Blacks living within the area under the jurisdiction of the local government. Such a committee furthermore, has a chairman who may be white.

The functions of the committee include the following:

- a. Consider all regulations issued by the local authority.
- b. Consider any matter referred to it by the local authority or the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.
- c. Consider any matter affecting the interests of the inhabitants of the 'location' or 'native town'<sup>(1)</sup>.

After such considerations the advisory committee must submit a report to the Minister or the local authority. If the Advisory Committee is under the jurisdiction of a local authority, the Minister or the Administrator of the province may not approve the issue of a regulation unless it has been submitted to the Advisory Committee. Should the Minister want to amend the regulation he is not required to submit it again to the Advisory Committee. The local authority is furthermore obliged to compile its budget upon consultation with the Native Advisory Committee. When this budget is submitted to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for approval it must be accompanied by the minutes of the meeting of the Advisory Committee where it was discussed (Mentz, 1970 : 11 - 15). Further stipulations of the Act are detailed in Appendix A at the end of this work. The Act has been terminologically updated as was necessitated by the 1971 'Bantu Affairs Administration Boards' Act.

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(1) None of these functions implied the powers to act but only to 'report'.

The establishment of further Advisory Native Committees was stopped by the Urban Bantu Councils Act of 1961 (Act No. 79/1961) which provided for the establishment of Urban Bantu Councils instead. In the case of the Port Elizabeth Black townships, advantage of the provisions of this act was never taken. The status quo was more or less maintained. Each township had its own Advisory Board until 1969. However, upon election of the new boards for the period 1st October 1969 to 30th September 1970, the three boards unanimously accepted a proposal that they function as a Joint Bantu Advisory Board from the commencement of the new term of office.

The next, and most recent, legislation became effective on the 29th July, 1977. Act No. 125 of 1977 came in the wake of general Black discontentment, urban unrest and rioting. The 'Community Councils' Act reflected much of the direction of the discussion and negotiation, inside and outside of government, which had been going on for a long time but from which had previously stemmed no positive action. Section 21 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 and the Urban Bantu Councils Act of 1961, in its entirety, were repealed and the new act encompassed a number of novel features. Apart from the normal administrative functions of a local council, authority with implications for decision-making were also incorporated. The allocation and administration of building sites, the establishment,

control and management of a community guard and the appointment of staff are examples of new areas of authority. The community council is directly under the minister and is theoretically required only to 'co-operate' with the body which controlled the area previously, the Bantu Administration Board<sup>(1)</sup>. In practise however the B.A.A.B. is still the controlling body. The Community Councils' decision-making power is limited by a qualifying section of the Act:

"A community council - shall in respect of its area and subject to the Minister's directions exercise such powers and perform such duties in respect of those ..... matters as may be vested in it and with which it may be charged by the Minister, after consultation with the administration board concerned and such community council" (Government Gazette, 29th July 1977 : 4 - 6).

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(1) This Board recently became the Eastern Cape Administration Board.

CHAPTER 6

HISTORY OF EARLY FUNCTION AND  
DEVELOPMENT (1920 - 1971)

Chapter 8 deals with the function of the Advisory Board. However in this chapter the nature of the development of the Advisory Board in its various guises is examined through the medium of the available documentation and other information of its early meetings. Although the 'New Brighton Location Advisory Board' started functioning earlier, the first record of a meeting is that of 15th July 1920, 8.30 p.m. Longhand-written in black ink on yellowing fullscap pages, these minutes which the chairman of the time kept, reflect something of the nature of the functions of the Board, the issues involved, the strategies adopted by its members and the wider social structure of the time. The available information on some of the early meetings will be given in some detail in order to try to recreate some of the atmosphere, the general environmental conditions prevailing at the time of the Boards' early beginnings. But before doing this, some of the general themes of these early years will be examined.

Although the regulations and legislation governing the Advisory Board and its various activities have hardly changed during the nearly sixty years of its history, the general climate within and without the Advisory Board certainly did. Even the very incomplete meeting records and other sources available on the early years, reflect changes and fluctuations in relations, attitudes, as well as in the strategies adopted by participants.

In general terms the early years are typified by the extremely patronising attitude adopted by officials. The behaviour of the councillors on the other hand was often characterised by servility. Relations between officials and Advisory Board members was also more personal and amicable.

The first decade (1920 - 1929) of the Advisory Board's existence reveals an almost sacred respect for the government on the part of councillors. An air of helplessness in the face of government decisions and decrees seemed to prevail. Members regularly came to the Advisory Board meetings and persistently voiced the problems and complaints of their people. While the style was often one of, ".... in a very humble way I desire to draw your attention to the fact that ....." (As one councillor put it), requests in the form of demands and even gentle threats of "another riot" were also sometimes voiced. Official reaction to such complaints was to become an all too familiar strategy. The superintendent of the time explained that facilities could not be improved as money was not available, and anyway, residents actually had quite a good 'deal' under the circumstances.

Councillors worsened their already weak positions by taking unfair

advantage of their positions for personal gain e.g. for access to extra fire-wood quotas. In so doing they were of course compromised to keep the Advisory Board functioning.

Members raised problems of the ill-treatment of Blacks by Railway personnel, non-consultation of themselves concerning important issues, land-ownership, the difficulty experienced in holding meetings and unfair evictions. They were also dissatisfied that problems raised by them were repeatedly shelved and forgotten. In this connection they requested direct contact with the Member of Parliament concerned. Again official reaction was that such-and-such was not possible or practical, that the problem was being investigated, that it was beyond their jurisdiction. Relations with the Superintendent appeared to be good throughout this period, but he was always careful to impress upon them the great responsibility of their positions and occasionally to thank the members for doing an "unthankful job".

Councillors' frustration and disenchantment with the Advisory Board is reflected however in the number of meetings which could not be held due to an inability to raise a quorum, first in 1921 and again in 1929. The successes that the Board achieved during this period were scored by councillors interceding on behalf of individual resi-

dents. The human relations problem with Railways was also resolved<sup>(1)</sup>.

Attempts were made to get councillors more involved in administration by explaining expenditures to them. They were also 'used' to explain and defend rent increases to the residents.

The views of the public as regards the functioning of the Advisory Board is reflected by the birth of a number of rival structures like the Vigilance Committee. The 1929 problems with quorums for meetings coincided with these events.

Although some 'renegade' councillors were persuaded to come back to the Advisory Board, the years 1930 - 1939 were marked by the increase of rival structures. Vigilante Committees still functioned, but additionally the election of a 'location chairman' by the residents posed a direct threat to the Advisory Board, as did the growth of the African National Congress. Members again raised the issues of non-consultation, the preference given to other population groups etc. Reactions to the problems were becoming familiar - that there was no time, that it had been referred to the minister and that 'it is out of my (the superintendent's) control'.

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(1) This was at a time when a policy was followed to employ more (poor) Whites in the railways and postal service often at a cost of Black workers. The recession of the 1920's exacerbated the problem.

In frustration members of the public sought to go over the heads of the Advisory Board directly to the City Council. This was predictably refused, the chairman stating, "The whole reason for the Advisory Board is for representing the people. If people are allowed to go straight to the council this would make way for agitators". The successes of this period were limited only to Advisory Board members acting individually and serving as brokers.

A number of the meetings during this period were marked by noticeably more heated discussion. During 1935 the Superintendent as chairman was attacked inter alia for giving preference to 'Fingos' as opposed to 'Xhosas' on the Board, for threatening one of the members, for misbehaviour and for misreporting to the press. The strategy adopted by the superintendent was marked by a patronising attitude and he warned members about their attitude and behaviour. He also resorted to the technique for using the rules of meeting procedure to his advantage by ruling speakers 'out of order' and by warning them to stick strictly to procedure. One meeting in 1939 became so heated that it had to be adjourned to a later date.

A proposal that a new hall be named after the Superintendent was rejected outright by the members of the Advisory Board with the result that another name had to be found.

Although the end of the war years tended to produce a united Black/White front, the forties (1940 - 1949) eventually also brought an increased involvement by the Board in political issues. The 'pass' laws came under fire as did problems of human relations, racial discrimination (including use of the term 'Native') and the impotence of the Advisory Board. Public apathy was widespread as was the feeling that the Board was a failure. The Communist Party joined the growing list of politically active extra-Advisory Board structures.

During the fifties and sixties the usual practical issues occupied much of the time of the Advisory Board. Under increased pressure from the public however, members became much more forthright and demanding. Although effective opposition to the Advisory Board like the A.N.C. was eliminated through government bannings, discussions at Board meetings tended more and more to dwell on previously tabu subjects like voting rights. Greater demands were placed on the skill of the chairman to satisfy the requests of councillors and to evade problematic issues.

"The A.N.C. were against things like the pass laws. As a political body they played on the emotions, the sentiments and frustrations of the people. They had demonstrations, defied authority and went to prison. Some of them were ex-Advisory Board members. They said that

the Advisory Board is just a talking shop. It does not represent the interests of the people. It (the Advisory Board) used to have influence. (But) since the upheavals of '62, '63, during the active participation of the A.N.C. and P.A.C. - (this) took away the influence of the Board.

They (these organisations) were banned and then people were apathetic as regards the Board. They (the people) do realise that there must be a body where you can present your personal difficulties and problems to officials. But as a government organisation I don't think it (the Advisory Board) has so much influence. It used to be the most representative (body)". (Township resident).

A more detailed examination of the issues and discussions of the various years from 1920 to 1971 provides the necessary background against which the observations of the 29 meetings in the 1972 - 1976 research period can be evaluated. The 1972 - 1976 meetings are described in Chapter 13 and an analysis of them together with those of 1920 - 1971 (which are described subsequently) is undertaken in Chapter 14.

1920<sup>(1)</sup>.

Chaired by E. Grattan (Superintendent), the Board had four other members,

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(1) Unfortunately very little could be gleaned from the record about the electoral process, the number of times meetings were held (apparently once a month), decision-making powers (apparently none), the report-back process etc. The newspapers of the time did not seem to be particularly interested in the activities of the New Brighton Location Advisory Board.

councillors Dibula, Nguna, Funde and Mayekiso. The Chairman opened the meeting apologising that no meeting had been held for months, but the typhus plague and his trip to Cape Town (to investigate the possibility of the Municipality taking over the 'location') made this impossible. He also apologised for not having read the minutes of the previous meeting as the minute book had then been full and no record could be kept. Two main issues were discussed at this meeting. The first concerned the problem of dogs in the area killing the residents' goats. The solution proposed was for owners to be warned about their dogs and if the warning was not heeded, that the dogs should then be killed. The second issue concerned the schooling of the 'location' children. Councillor<sup>(1)</sup> Dibula suggested that steps should be taken for parents to send their childrer to school and that the problem of facilities should not be an excuse. Chairman Grattan apologised for having been unable to attend the meeting between members of the Board and a Rev. McNewell concerning education, but he did however warn that it might 'embarrass' the Government if a large number of children suddenly went to school.

At a later meeting held on the 14th September, 1920 the chairman announced that 'Mr. Barrett' had been appointed as new secretary of Native Affairs. This was met with positive reaction from the coun-

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(1) The terms 'councillor ' and 'Mr.' are used interchangeably.

cillors. Mr. Mayekiso commented, "This is a good appointment, our deputation saw this man in Cape Town and he had real sympathy with Natives". Another issue concerned the 'filthy state' of the single mens' quarters. A medical officer from Cape Town had seen this and the chairman suggested something should be done about it. If rent were to be increased by one shilling per month the government could hire women cleaners. Councillor Funde suggested that men be warned to clean up first. If not, Government would step in in any case. Mr. Mayekiso supported the chairman and felt that it was a waste of time to leave the job to the single men as "they come from different kraals and don't care about their houses". Mr. Nguna also supported the chairman, but asked that a meeting of single men be called first. The last issue of the meeting concerned the fear of residents for the ambulance. "Some die of fright upon being put in the ambulance". It was suggested that people be treated in the townships. The meeting was concluded with the chairman issuing a warning that councillors should not misuse their positions as councillors to 'corner' all the firewood of the area.

#### 1921.

At the first meeting of 1921 (14th January) the possible future take-over of the township by the city council was again discussed. It was

however suggested that this would not happen before the government built or provided for more houses. Toilets and buckets were also dirty and enough water was not available. Councillor Nguna complained that the Government was 'eating up' the residents and just one problem was too little water. The Chairman's reaction was that this was because there were so many factories and businesses in town and that the Town Engineer was waiting for more pipes. The last point to be discussed at this meeting also came in the form of a complaint. Mr. Dibula said that it was unfair for lodgers also to pay tax (rent) to the Government. The Chairman reacted that the five shillings a month is for many services and that permission to take in friends cannot be refused because of the general lack of housing.

Chairman E. Grattan at the 12th April meeting congratulated the councillors on their re-election. The men present were Messrs. Gqamlana, Stokive, Mayekiso, Funde, Dibula and Nguna. Discussion at the meeting was characterised by a number of demands by the councillors. There were too few collectors of tickets at the station and one of them treated people very badly and even threw stones at them. This situation should improve or 'another riot' would be the result. Tremendous delay in the delivery of post was also experienced. The Chairman explained that postal delivery was done

by the Wardens (constables) and that they were very busy and that a special postman could not be appointed. Only one councillor (Mr. Mayekiso) supported the chairman but added that the Wardens should be 'shaken up'. This councillor had a record of supporting the chairman but unfortunately no background information is available. The vote for a postman was eventually carried four versus two. Discussion for the rest of the meeting centred round issues and principles some of which were to become hardy annuals in the annals of the Board and were to have saliency during the time of the research more than fifty years later. Councillors, -

1. Wanted to know why the Government does not carry out its promises.
2. Said that the people complained that they (the councillors) are 'fools' as nothing they recommended gets to be adopted.
3. Complained that problems discussed at meetings are shelved, not reported back on or not followed up e.g. the request for more housing and the problem of the toilets (discussed at the last meeting).

The Chairman responded to the third point saying that he had no information and knew nothing.

Discussions at Board meetings for the rest of 1921 produced a mixed bag. Three meetings were cancelled through lack of quorum, but issues at the meetings that were held, covered a wide range of topics. The Chairman was accused of not consulting the Board on certain matters.

Councillors adamantly demanded to speak to 'the M.P.' about matters concerning them. A motion was adopted that a request be sent to the Department of Native Affairs that the purchasing of land be permitted. The Chairman's reaction to this point was that no land for buying or building was available as none of the residents had ever expressed such desires. The question of the W.C.'s was again raised and a letter from the Secretary of Native Affairs was read which concerned the getting of a law passed in connection with the recovery of lobola. At the last meeting of the year the Chairman thanked the Councillors stating that he knew what a very unthankful job it was. One Councillor, Mr. Dibula, appealed to the outgoing members to support the Board and public meetings. In the past it was found that outgoing members decried the functions of the Board.

Although the discussions of the ensuing years reflect much of the routine and practical problems of everyday living and administration which have been discussed up to now, some of these and other more significant issues as well, will be reflected on a year-by-year basis on the following pages. This treatment is important not only to reflect the nature of the development of the Board and its business over the years, but also to give an indication of the foundation or background on which much of the latter-day strategies and trans-

actions are based and the evolution that these may have undergone. The following pages will also reveal the many problems, issues, demands and frustrations that withstood the test of time and could still be observed, virtually unchanged, during the period of research.

1922.

Problems discussed included the following: 1. Huts were a disgrace to the location. 2. 'Stokfel'-type parties were a nuisance. 3. Postal delivery. 4. Hospital visiting hours. 5. Thsothsi menace. 6. Rats (here the chairman suggested residents use traps).

More contentious issues included a complaint that the Warden confiscated a resident's house when the person argued with him. A letter of complaint signed by all councillors was handed to the chairman asking for the reinstatement of an old woman's rights to her house. The holding of public meetings presented a problem because of the system of getting permission for such meetings. Councillors also lodged complaints as regards their non-representation at the Native Affairs conference in Bloemfontein and the fact that the Secretary of Native Affairs in his letter of reply to earlier problems raised, ignored the land (ownership) matter<sup>(1)</sup>. At this time it became known

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(1) Records of subsequent meetings hardly ever reveal follow-up actions - if they ever took place.

that the present chairman would retire and that the eventual take-over of the township by the City Council was imminent. A meeting with the Council gave the impression that future relations between it and the Board and the residents would be harmonious. The hope was expressed that all existing facilities would be retained with this transfer.

### 1923.

The year was marked by the arrival of a new chairman and superintendent Mr. W.G. Bellows who was duly welcomed by the councillors. A new structure for township administration was proposed : Headman —————> Wardsmen —————> People. It was also suggested than an official interpreter be present at all meetings. Further discussions centered around toilets, planting of trees, housing, litter carriers, single men in married quarters, roads, water, thsothisis and the celebration of the King's birthday. The minutes of the first meeting of the year were not recorded as the chairman had lost his notes<sup>(1)</sup>.

### 1924.

Combined meetings were held with the Mayor and other city councillors. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales paid an official visit to the area. Problems concerned the hospital, stock impounding, roads, repair of the 'round huts' and 'soirees' which were held at inconvenient times and for which an entrance fee was charged (Stockfel ?).

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(1) At this stage there was no secretary. The Chairman had the additional responsibility of keeping the minutes.

1925.

The population of the 'location' was by now estimated at between 3000 and 8000 souls<sup>(1)</sup>. Abolition of a local court, allocation of church sites, 'Kaffir' beer brewing and fees for grazing (if more than 10 cattle, 6 pence per head extra; if more than 2 horses or donkeys, 2 pence per head extra; if more than 20 sheep or goats, one penny per head extra) were discussed. The new library was inaugurated and the chairman was thanked for his efforts in getting delegates to the Native Affairs conference.

1926.

Housing, beer brewing permits, grazing for stock, rent of new dwellings (22/- per month was too high) and problems with the railways were issues which received high priority during the year. Complaints were also heard that the rent for 'native' traders was too high and would result in a 'non-Native' monopoly. The Chairman explained the situation to the satisfaction of the councillors however. High praise was given for the excellent work of the Chairman/Superintendent throughout the year and much regret was expressed at his departure. The first meeting under the chairmanship of Superintendent J.P. McNamee also took place and for the first time minutes of the meeting were typed.

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(1) The record does not present a more accurate statistic.

1927.

The Board membership by now was as follows: Rev. Gqamlana, Messrs. Dippa, Nikiwe, Mbongwe, Dubula and Mtimka. A combined meeting with the Native Affairs Commissioner of the City Council was held. Demands were made for higher wages for 'natives' and that the Boards' discussions should be kept confidential or that the city council should see complete minutes of the Boards' business. The newspaper reported only some things and hence the people (public) who had certain wishes and requested certain things felt that the Board members failed them and this in turn resulted in loss of confidence in the Board. All wagons outspanning at New Brighton should be charged 2/6 per day<sup>(1)</sup>; anyone should be allowed to slaughter a beast if the purpose is some festivity or ceremonial; 'Tea meetings' at which entrance is charged should be banned. Councillors were requested to explain the increased rentals to the public. At a meeting toward the end of the year it was reported back that the city council would not allow slaughtering. Councillors still felt that it was "Necessary for some ceremonies to kill animals on the spot. Many old native customs require this. Allowance should be made for special permission". Concern was expressed with the 'Vigilance Committee' which was created in the township.

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(1) The Advisory Board did not receive revenue. It did not have any spending or fund raising powers.

Councillors had suggested that although this committee had requested certain things on behalf of the people, it was not representative of the people and was in fact self-appointed. The final meeting of the year was a combined meeting with the Native Affairs Committee of the City Council and councillors of the Advisory Board requested that rents should be reduced and that more trading licenses should be issued as "Natives wanted to do their own trading in their own area". The year-end election saw P.J. Nikiwe, A.F. Pendla, A. Madala and D. Cola elected. Rev. J.W. Gqamlana and Mr. M.J. Dubula were nominated to the Board.

#### 1928.

Housing, pensions, rates, school scholarships, beer permits, allocation of houses, featured prominently through the year. The Superintendent was accused of irregularities as regards the last two points but he seemed to defend his position quite effectively. It was reported that there was some progress in the problems with the railways but that the Board should "push for more". Warden's salaries should be improved to prevent malpractices by them. There was also a request for a new public hall. A move by a section of the public to elect their own headman was opposed by the Board<sup>(1)</sup>. A letter was received from a member of the public requesting the Board to meet the

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(1) The Advisory Board apparently saw this as a potential threat to its position as the 'representative' body of the townships.

public at a meeting in the Public Hall. The Board interceded successfully on behalf of a nurse who was 'sacked' by a Medical Officer. The E.P. Herald was reprimanded by the Board for inaccurate reporting that a thousand people were involved in a faction fight when only a few were in fact involved. The year was concluded with reciprocal good wishes for the new year.

Four councillors were planning to retire and Mr. Madala was leaving. He was the first councillor to act as secretary of the Board when the chairman said that he found it difficult to chair the meetings and still to keep notes of proceedings.

#### 1929.

Business conducted during the year reflect ordinary and exceptional characteristics. On the one hand a familiar list of topics reflects the ordinary. Control of youth, application of 'Native Law' on girls who have been 'spoilt', train service, behaviour of European clerks, toilets, teachers' accommodation, compulsory education for children under 12, sport facilities, donkeys in streets, beer permits, increase of wages, house repairs, and ownership (lack of) of land are but some of the problems pursued by the councillors. On the other hand a persistent tendency amongst residents to find alternative strategies and channels of communication started developing and posed a threat to the very existence of the Board and its functions. A large number

of new bodies (effectively political parties) were created with the prime function of by-passing the Board in an attempt to bargain for better conditions. The Committee of New Township Dwellers demanded that councillors do something about lowering the rent or otherwise leave office. Councillors complained that ex-councillor Dippa, chairman of the Vigilante Committee, posed a threat to them and the Board but he was still given a hearing. It is significant that no quorum was had at the meeting after the one at which most of the above transpired. The year 1929 marks the first time that the records noted an attempt by the chairman to explain the position and functions of the Board to the councillors. The chairman was also instrumental in providing councillors with details of how the townships' rent money was used by the city council. An attempt to appoint a secretary for the year was unsuccessful as all the nominees refused the position. The reason for this was not reported.

#### 1930.

The new year saw Mr. Dippa 'graduating' back to Board membership from his chairmanship of the Vigilante Committee. Councillors again complained that they were slighted and not consulted about important matters. Plans for a new village were announced. A bitter dispute between two church groups, The Church of Christ and the isiGxabhayi, dominated the scene for most of the year. A more prominent and

stronger role was played by the Vigilante Committee. The increasingly disparate roles being played by various committees and interest groups eventually resulted in a combined meeting of "all Native bodies, also the A.N.C." (African National Congress). The Chairman made a point of thanking the councillors of the Board for all that they had done and were doing to "improve conditions for Natives".

### 1931.

Some of the hardships of the depression years were reflected by the deliberations of 1931. Unemployment rates highly as a problem area and councillors indicated appreciation of the sympathetic attitude of the City Council as regards this issue. No action was reported. Housing, water, streets, sports grounds, public halls, location of the new township and the Vigilance Committee again were important subjects for discussion. Duties and responsibilities of councillors were again outlined. One councillor enquired whether it was permissible to receive complaints from individual residents. Chairman, "Yes, but be careful that they don't pester you for preference in home allocation". A joint council of Blacks and Whites was created and the Board nominated its representative. (The purpose of this council was not reported). The A.N.C.'s request to send a deputation to the Board was refused. Special meetings were also held with the Native Affairs committee of the City Council and with the Health Officer. An excerpt from the report by the latter makes sobering reading ;

	<u>Birth rate</u> <u>per 1000</u>	<u>Death rate</u> <u>per 1000</u>	<u>Infant mortality</u> <u>per 1000</u>
1927 - 28	35,45	40,32	351,14
28 - 29	48,13	42,53	319,08
29 - 30	42,30	38,08	332,00
30 - 31	46,92	34,12	230,33

Much frustration was expressed at the strategy adopted by the Department of Native Affairs. Requests by the Board were always met with, "Sorry can't do this, can't do that" or "It is being considered by the Minister of Native Affairs".

### 1932.

Election of the new Board was delayed under the old act in anticipation of the introduction of a new Native (Urban Areas) Act. The Vigilance Committee was highly critical of this delay. Much of the Board's deliberations throughout the year had a political tinge about them. A reduction of rents during the depression was again asked for. Councillors complained that the Government only attended to other sections of the population at the expense of the Blacks. The Board met with a deputation which sought permission to go over the heads of the Board directly to the City Council. This was disallowed. The stated reason for the refusal as voiced by the chairman was that, "The whole reason for the Advisory Board is for representing the people. If people are allowed to go straight to the council this would make way for agitators".

1933.

Available information on the Board's activities for this year reveals nothing much beyond the normal business. Delegates and representatives were sent to the celebrations marking the opening of the new harbour and to an Advisory Board congress. A joint meeting was held with the City Council. A new member by the name of Jabavu joined the Board during the year - a brother of the well-known Prof. Jabavu.

1934.

Township residents elected a 'Location Chairman'. He decided when meetings were to be held and was the chairman of these. The Vigilance Committee adopted this same person as their chairman hence giving it semi-official status. The Board expressed concern at these developments and at their meeting of 19th July 1934 abolished the 'Location Chairman'<sup>(1)</sup>. A royal visit by Prince George was pending.

1935.

A proposal to do away with the Superintendent as chairman of the Advisory Board was rejected (by himself). The same happened to a proposal for the doing away with nominated members to the Board. As discussion became increasingly heated the Chairman was accused inter alia of choosing only 'Fingos' and not 'Xhosas' to the Board; of

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(1) The Board had originally given the election of this Chairman its tacit blessing. Now the Board officially refused permission for the election of a resident to such a position.

'threatening' councillor Jabavu; of misbehaviour and of misreporting to the press. The chairman warned members about their behaviour and said that the procedure of meetings should be strictly adhered to. Members should stand when addressing the chair and no smoking was allowed. They themselves were guilty of misreporting to the press. The chairman ruled as 'out of order' motions regarding his threat to Mr. Jabavu and about the request for more Xhosa members on the Board. At later meetings it was decided that more publicity should be given the Board's business as the public was misinformed. The new hall was named after Mayor T.C. White while a motion to name the hall after Superintendent McNamee was defeated.

1936.

Remuneration or rent-free houses for Board members was the only novel issue of the year.

1937.

The new village was called McNameeville and the Board accepted in principle that in the naming of streets only Xhosa names and words should be adopted.

1938.

The year passed without unusual incident.

1939.

By March there was so much ill feeling amongst members and between some members and the chairman that an adjournment "until another time" was called for so that members could wait for a change of "atmosphere". The rest of the year produced a combined meeting with the District Commandant of Police and differences of opinion as regards the holding of tribal dances in the township.

1940.

Operating once more with a secretary the chairman welcomed the new members to the Board. These included, Messrs. Nikiwe, Pendla, Dubula, Zokufa, Ngunu, Jabavu, Rev. Limba and the Rev. Morija who, more than thirty years later during the present research, was still found to be an active, though nominated member. A prophet, risen from the dead, was preaching in the streets and was swearing at and attacking leading people. The Board discussed possible measures that could be taken against him. The imminent retirement of the superintendent, in office since 1927, was regretted by the councillors who wanted his term of office extended. Shock was expressed at the fact that a Dr. B.J.F. Leubscher had shown abaKhwetha pictures in public, as "these rites were sacred". Daily news about the war (The Second World War) was to be broadcast.

1941.

The war tended to dominate the scene. Support for the National War Fund was asked for.

1942.

Problems were experienced with 'blackout' for the war. Recruitment for the formation of the 9th Battalion, Native Military Corps, Umtata was taking place. The war also presented problems for the holding of public meetings. The visit of Chief Archie Velile Sandile was discussed at length (the grandson of Sandile, the last independent Rharhabe Xhosa chief Archie was by birth a major Ciskei leader).

A change was asked for in the proportion of nominated versus elected members - the latter to comprise 2/3 of the total. The request was refused. The Board opposed the practise of issuing cattle certificates in lieu of lobola-cattle. Members also asked that the law of inheritance should be changed in order that cash-savings, movable and immovable property of a deceased husband could be inherited by the wife.

1943.

The Board now consisted of the following members : Councillors Nikiwe, Pendla, Mati, Kwaza, Ntshinga, Ranuga, Rev. Limba, Rev. Morija and Secretary Tsewu. A proposal was accepted whereby the Board was to be increased in size from 8 to 12 members of whom 6 would be elected. The Board noted with some concern that a meeting of the Communist Party of South Africa had taken place.

1944.

A strongly supported motion called for Blacks to be placed on the municipal voters' role. Strong support was also given the anti-pass campaign. The retirement of Superintendent McNamee was definitely to be the next year and it was proposed that a photograph of the Board should be taken.

1945.

Reciprocal thanks were expressed with the retirement of Mr. McNamee. Acting Superintendent Boast took the chair and appealed for the co-operation of the members and that they endeavour to work hard. Complaints were lodged about the behaviour of European clerks and other officials towards Africans and it was requested that the 'race' qualification should be removed from all employment application forms. The question of the Civic Association (which had replaced the old Vigilance Committee) not having any right or powers was discussed. Members demanded they have a meeting with the Native Affairs Committee of the City Council as such a meeting had previously been refused. The population of the township had by now grown to an estimated 30,000.

1946.

Plans for the Royal visit (Princess Elizabeth) were discussed.

1947.

The Board demanded strongly that the word 'Native' be replaced by 'African'.

1948.

A new member Mr. D. Majola joined the Board - more than twenty years later still to be a familiar face at Board meetings during the period of the present research. Board members noted a quotation from the report of the Fagan commission,

"Advisory Boards are a failure. The Africans should rather get a form of self-government. The establishment of an urban council is recommended".

For the first time a City Councillor acted as the chairman of the Board - a Mr. Parker.

1949.

A new independent body was established in the townships, the Resolutions Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. M. Phambi, another name which would figure prominently in Board and township affairs in later years. Concern was expressed by councillors over the apathy shown by the public in voting for the Board. It was felt that the Board was ineffective in getting things done and this resulted in a loss of confidence on the part of the people. Three of the last meetings of the year were chaired by Rev. Moriija in an acting capacity; the only time that a Black man was to function in this position.

1949 (December)- 1958 (December) and  
1959 (April) - 1969 (April)

Various ascribed to loss by fire, simply missing and the fact of no

or poor records being kept, these periods are not covered in the written record. From the records of the brief link between these two periods it is known however that the Board had moved to the new Boardroom. The occasion was marked by the presence of all the City Councillors. City Councillor Graham Young was the chairman at the time. Also present was superintendent C.T. Boast and Board Councillors Gaika, Gunguluza, Kabane, Kwaza, Madolo, Mathibela, Mathews, Mnyanda, Moss and Nikiwe. As can be seen by this attendance register, some of the living links with these early Boards, like the Rev. Morija, were not always serving at the time. However, using mainly three sources, some impression of the functions and business of the Board over those missing years has been obtained. The sources consist of; the recollections of living members like Morija, Phambi and Majola who did serve during some of these years; reports and transcripts of public and other pronouncements by councillors, now deceased, but prominent during the years in question<sup>(1)</sup>; records of more recent meetings as products of the changes that had gone before.

Bread and butter issues were still the most-discussed topics during the fifties and sixties. Housing, wages, rent, roads, water, lighting, schooling, toilets and the other practical circumstances of living

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(1) The titles of speeches made by one such person, Mr. B.J. M'nyanda, give some idea of the issues involved; "Some of the problems of the African Worker in Industry", "Christianity and African Education", "Problems of Low Wages", "Need for self-help among African people". etc.

still regularly figured on the agenda. Voting rights, land ownership, decision-making powers for the Board and other related issues came more strongly to the fore however. It also became apparent that a not-too-subtle change in style came about during these years. Councillors became more demanding not only in terms of what they were asking for but also in terms of how they were asking for this. Residents were becoming more politicised and councillors became more aware of the demands of the people they were supposed to represent. The growing stature of competing political bodies like the A.N.C. became apparent. The African National Congress was regarded as reactionary by the Board members. This sentiment was largely due to the fact that the A.N.C. did become the mouthpiece of the people and it criticised pass laws, the Advisory Board itself and generally activated the sentiments of the people. In the process the Board and the credibility of its members was weakened. A series of bannings and detention orders followed upheavals in 1962 and again left the Advisory Board as the only officially recognised voice of the people.

During the same years serious differences of opinion arose amongst officials of Black rugby administration. Much of the rugby politics which transpired in the 1950's and 60's was to have great significance in the seventies.

1969, 1970 and 1971

These three years are the last before actual observation during the period of research was started. Though more businesslike in the form and nature of the agendas circulated for meetings, minutes of proceedings were all but absent. A new administrator of Bantu affairs, Mr. B.L. Botha with the new title of 'Director' had come on the scene<sup>(1)</sup>. Early praise for his work and attitude was expressed by councillors. In the words of Mr. M. Phambi, he had -

"... since his appointment done so much for the people.  
Relations between Bantu and Administrator have improved".

Meetings and especially demands by councillors, seemed to be skilfully handled by the Director who responded to the praise from the councillors by thanking them and expressing his confidence in 'the Bantu people'. Some of the business of these years concerned; arbitration by the Director through the Board in a dispute between rugby clubs; the role of urban Africans in the newly established legislative assembly of Ciskei (e.g. Phambi claimed that 50% of the Rharhabe of that area lived in the city); allocation of a special area for abaKhwetha activities to eliminate problems which had been experienced with them; the problem of the disintegration of families in the city; the whole spectrum of more every-day problems.

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(1) This predates the establishment of Bantu Administration Boards.

The main themes which emerge not only from these early meetings but also from those of 1972 - 1974 are examined in Chapter 14. Suffice it to note at this stage : The problem of external opposition to the Advisory Board destroying credibility; the almost total failure to achieve anything or to produce results on the part of the Board; the continual efforts by members in search of information, authority and power; the use by the Administration of the Board, mainly for its own ends.

CHAPTER 7

ELECTION, NOMINATION AND MEMBERSHIP

It is to be expected that the principles by which Board membership is fixed should reflect something of the community and also the society within which it functions. The social differentiation, segmentation, cleavages and other salient characteristics of the socio-cultural environment should, at least in part be revealed by an investigation of Board composition. This, in spite of the fact that the rules are not made by the members.

The Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board (serving the New Brighton, Kwazakhele, Zwide and Walmer Townships) consisted of 24 Black amacebo (members or advisors). Twelve members represented the New Brighton/Kwazakhele area. Of these twelve, eight were normally elected and four were nominated<sup>(1)</sup>. Six members represented Zwide of whom four were normally elected and two were nominated. The six other members represented Walmer (also four nominated and two elected). Both under municipal administration and the later Bantu Affairs Administration Board, the white chairman was a Port Elizabeth city councillor. Additionally a professional secretary for the Advisory Board, a Black, was employed. The White vice-chairman was the Chief Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board. One or more of the Directors or Deputy-Directors would also always attend Board meetings and the most senior of them would act as vice-chairman in the Chief

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(1) The official view was that nominees were chosen for their knowledge and experience. Some of the elected members stated that nominees were chosen because they were 'safe' or because they would not cause trouble.

Director's absence. All white officials are appointees. Either (originally) the municipality or the B.A.A.B. (later) as agent of the Central Government, made these appointments (the detailed regulations are listed in Appendix A).

#### Election and nomination.

Eligibility for appointment or election to the Advisory Board was determined by criteria corresponding to those applied to potential voters, i.e.

1. Male:
2. Registered occupier. Qualifications as a registered occupier are determined by section 10 of Act 25 of 1945. All rent and other charges due by him to the B.A.A.B. up to the end of the month preceding his nomination or appointment, must be paid.
3. At least 18 years of age.
4. Within a period of two years immediately preceding the date of his nomination or appointment a candidate should not have been convicted of any offence in respect of which he has been sentenced to imprisonment, without the option of a fine, for a period of more than seven days, or with the option of a fine for a period of more than one month; or has, within the period mentioned, been convicted of any contravention of the regulations or amendment thereto.
5. By reason of any physical or mental disability a person may be unfit to hold office as a member of the Advisory Board.
6. A prospective member may not hold office in the service of the B.A.A.B. other than as a member of the Advisory Board.

The regulation as regards the qualification of voters states,

"No person other than a male registered occupier who appears to the returning officer to have attained the age of 18 years and who, during the polling hours fixed for any election, produces to the returning officer a receipt showing that he is not more than two months in arrear with his rent and any other charges due by him to the Council in terms of the location regulations, shall be permitted to vote at such an election" (P.N. 468/1954 : 4).

The reference to the 'council' here is a carry-over from the Municipality-control days.

Nominations of candidates for election as members of the Advisory Board were to be submitted in writing to the returning officer, and no nomination would be accepted unless supported by the signatures of at least five registered occupiers of the location (township) qualified to vote, each of whom has paid his rent up to the end of the month preceding that in which the nominations are called for. Such nominations must be handed to the returning officer according to a prescribed schedule and the posting and announcement of such nominations and of the polling day is done accordingly.

The returning officer, after satisfying himself that the person desirous of recording his vote is entitled to do so, asks him for which of the candidates nominated he wishes to vote, and records the votes given any

such candidates, being not more than the number of candidates to be elected, by placing on a list of names of the nominated candidates a mark opposite the name of each candidate named by the elector. The officer then marks the receipt of the voter to show that his vote has been recorded. Votes are finally counted and the results posted and announced. Members of the Advisory Board normally hold office for a period of twelve months, but are eligible for election or appointment for any ensuing twelve months.

A councillor can lose his seat or such a seat can become vacant according to conditions set out by regulation. This would happen if such a member,

- "1. is sentenced in respect of a conviction for any offence, to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period of more than seven days, or with the option of a fine, for a period of more than one month; or
2. is convicted of any contravention of the location regulations; or
3. being a registered occupier in the location, leaves or absents himself from such a location without the concurrence of the Advisory Board, for a continuous period of not less than six weeks, after his election or appointment; or
4. fails, without the leave of the Advisory Board, to attend three consecutive meetings of such Board; or

5. by reason of any physical or mental disability becomes unfit to continue in office as a member of the Advisory Board; or
6. is inadvertently elected or appointed as a member of the Advisory Board, in spite of not being eligible for election or appointment thereto in terms of the provisions of Regulation 7 (Disqualification of candidates); or
7. dies".

Thus the elections for the Advisory Board were held annually. Members were elected or nominated for the period 1st October to 30th September. If enough candidates were not available the balance was simply made up with nominated members.

Only 19,600 (37%) of the 53,469 males over eighteen years of age were eligible and registered to vote in 1973. One reason for this is that none of the over-eighteen sons who still stay with their fathers will have been eligible. The low voters role percentage was perhaps partly due less to ineligibility than to non-registration. As far as many of the residents were concerned this was mainly due to apathy, but also to ignorance. Some of the reactions received included the following comments; "I don't know anything about an Advisory Board". "I don't vote for nothing". "I didn't know about an election". "It is a waste of time". "I am a woman" (with the implication of 'no franchise'). As far as administration officials were concerned ignorance and even apathy may be involved, but the real reasons stem from practical problems.

"Voters who were turned away had themselves to blame because they did not ensure that they were registered on the supplementary role. Initially we had canvassers in the field, but because of intimidation they were withdrawn and the voters role had to be compiled from the housing list".

Although percentage polls for local government the world over are notoriously low, the record of the Advisory Board elections is exceptionally poor. During the 1973 elections 2300 people voted (out of only 19,600 who qualified to vote) representing a percentage poll of 11,73. This can be compared with polls in Advisory Board elections in Katatura, 38% (Pendleton, 1974) and East London 1 - 2% (Mayer, 1971). When at the beginning of 1978, elections were contested on a party-political basis in Port Elizabeth for the first time (for the successor to the Advisory Board, the Community Council), polls achieved in the 12 contested wards (out of a total of 24) were as follows:

Ward 1	9,4	Ward 9	8,1
2	5,8	10	8,2
4	12,0	12	16,0
5	11,25	13	10,5
6	6,5	14	11,8
7	23,2	18	9,0

The apathy reflected in the percentage poll of the 1973 election was also to be seen in the number of candidates who stood for election.

This was especially true of Zwide and Walmer areas where available candidates were elected unopposed but most of the vacancies still had to be filled with nominees. The position in the New Brighton/Kwazakhele areas has traditionally been different. Mainly through the endeavours of prominent township personalities much more interest was shown. The elections were preceded by a campaign and candidates stood together on one 'ticket' or card. They would usually have a common manifesto and their green (for example) card would be opposed by a white card group. Election strategies are analysed in detail in Chapter 10.

#### Membership.

The detailed motivating reasons for men to come forward as candidates in elections for the Advisory Board will be dealt with at a later stage. Suffice it to state at this point that a number of possibilities present themselves, e.g. self-interest: a wish to serve their people: the Board's business corresponds to the field of interest of the elite of the townships. What emerges is that much of the business conducted by the Board and many of the issues raised by each individual icebo (member or advisor) reflect the interests of the members themselves.

Most of them are at least nominally Christian. Their occupations cover a wide range of types but tend to lean toward white-collar,

business and professional jobs. The Board members who were intensively studied during the period of research included the following (See Table 1, Chapter 12): Church ministers (2), Social Worker (1), Attorney's clerk (1), Businessmen (8, including three butchers, two shop owners, one garage owner, one contractor and one property owner), school principals (2 and one of the shop owners was a retired principal as well), Secretary of School Board (1), Salesman (1), Funeral Director (1), Clerk with Municipality (1), Labourers (5, of these one was a chief's representative as well and another was a lay preacher). At the time one of the butchers and the funeral director were serving members of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly as well. There was one vacancy on the Board.

The educational levels achieved by members of the Board was superior to the average of Standard III which our sample of residents revealed (see Table 1, Chapter 12). Calculated on the basis of the number of years of education the Board's average came to Std. 9. Included are a M.A. degree and seven teacher's and other diplomas. Additionally, one member had a honorary degree conferred on him. All the members could communicate in English in addition to Xhosa and the majority were also conversant with Afrikaans.

All the members had a rural origin (by birth) but all of them had spent

most of their adult lives in the city. One councillor was of Sotho origin, two came from the Transkei and the other twenty from the Ciskei or from towns close to what are to-day the boundary lines of that area. The two Transkeians were Mfengu as were 4 of the Ciskeians. The other men who trace their origin from the Ciskei areas were what is commonly called Xhosa-proper, predominantly Rharhabe with the exception of one Sotho. Measured by the same criteria as was used for the sample of residents in the previous chapter, the town-rootedness vs. the rural-rootedness of the councillors was determined. Four of the men were amaGoduka (country) and nineteen were amaRhanuga (city).

Although the ages of councillors ranged from 31 to 75 the average age was between 55 and 60.

The Advisory Board members not only present a wide range of ethnic, educational, occupational and socio-economic background, but cross-cutting affiliations and cleavages are also part and parcel of the Boards' structure and dynamics. These broad categories of socio-cultural resources and the interactional patterns that stem from them will be analysed in a following chapter.

CHAPTER 8

PROCEDURE, FUNCTION AND PERSPECTIVE

Naipaul (Richards and Kuper, 1971 : 149) has suggested that the smaller the unit or the body of men the more difficult it becomes to study and the more complex are the issues. For example, the broad interactional patterns, alignments, antagonisms are easier to observe in a parliament of six hundred than those in a council comprising twenty. This was certainly the case with the Advisory Board in the present study. But before the intricacies of conciliar behaviour can be discussed the framework of the rules and procedures within which members must function should be outlined.

#### The Advisory Board.

Under the provisions of Act No. 25 of 1945, some stipulations of which have been dealt with, special regulations applicable to the Advisory Board have been drawn up. As far as the Board's functions and duties are concerned the following applies,

"The duties and functions of the Advisory Board shall be:-

- a. to act in an advisory capacity on matters concerning the location;
- b. to receive and consider complaints, representations and suggestions from the inhabitants and, if deemed necessary, to make representations thereon to the Council<sup>(1)</sup> or a committee appointed by the council to deal with the affairs of the location;
- c. to receive and consider any report concerning the location by the council or any of its officials and, if necessary, to make representations in regard to such report to the council.

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(1) Reference to the City Council in the days before the advent of the B.A.A.B. These regulations have however been kept intact.

- d. to perform the functions assigned to it by the Act;  
and
- e. to render every assistance to the authorities in  
preserving law and order in the location",

(Regulation P.N. 468/1954 : 7).

From an early history of an active role in the affairs of its community, the role and nature of councils and local government as such, has changed drastically the world over. The erstwhile pivotal position of decision-making and even the keeping of law and order has been largely surrendered to a variety of competing agencies like political parties, commercial and industrial bodies and the various arms and agents of national government. In the official absence of many of these agencies for urban blacks the Advisory Board might have attained much greater significance. Ironically though, by definition and by law, the Advisory Boards were rendered even more sterile than were their counterparts, municipal councils in white South Africa and in Europe.

Advisory Boards were officially never designed to fulfill more active roles. At a meeting of Administrators of Non-white affairs in Pretoria in 1968 the Minister of Bantu Administration reflected the official view very clearly. He said that Advisory Boards and urban Bantu Councils are cogs in the administration by local urban management of municipal affairs. Therefore such councils shall only concern themselves with those municipal affairs which have been assigned to them and which

affect their residential areas. The functions of these councils are municipal-administrative and not generally political. While it may be accepted that official policy has always been quite clear as regards the prescribed apolitical or non-political functions of Advisory Boards, the question does arise whether they fulfilled even the tasks of local government. There is no agreement on what local government is. This is largely due to the widely varying forms and functions of local government the world over. But perhaps the question posed above is answered by measuring the Advisory Board against just one attempt at a definition of what local government is.

"A deconcentrated (Sic), representative institution possessing general and specific powers with locality order and integration as main objective, devolved upon it and delegated to it by the central government, in respect of a limited geographical subdivision of a country, and in the exercise of which it is locally responsible and may to a certain degree act autonomously of the central government to which it remains ultimately responsible" (Mentz, 1970 : 167).

In view of this description it may perhaps be said that the Advisory Board is a local government body of a certain kind albeit a very special kind. This local body of 'a special kind' does not seem to measure up when its functions are examined. It is not effective in achieving 'locality order and integration' as its main objective; whether it has either 'general' or 'specific' powers is questionable; it may not act autonomously (to any degree) of the central government.

One of the main reasons for the lack of effective functioning of the Advisory Board may be found in the fact that the Board itself has throughout its history only been part (perhaps not even a 'cog' with its dynamic connotations) of another existing, parent local authority. At first this was the City Council and later the Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

The Advisory Board system was officially designed to provide a means of channeling the needs and demands of the local Black population to Administration and Government. Much of the criticism which was levelled at the system from the start was aimed at this very issue. It was argued that as an advisory body without any executive powers it was unable to satisfy the needs of its community. A counter argument which was presented suggested that the Blacks as 'temporary' residents in white South Africa could aspire to no form of representation at local authority level.

The Advisory Board was to act entirely in an advisory capacity in the sense of providing the white municipality or Administration Board with the necessary information upon which it may or may not decide to act. The Advisory Board reported, in the case of the Municipality, to the City Council's Bantu Affairs committee consisting of a number of white city councillors. In the case of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board, the Advisory Board reported directly to that body's

governing committee, again consisting exclusively of white members. In both cases hence, the system had a built-in control mechanism acting like a filter. A 'gate-keeping' function was performed by the Bantu Affairs Committee between the Advisory Board and the City Council. Similarly the B.A.A.B. stood between the Advisory Board and the Minister of Bantu Administration. In both instances an official like the Director (or Chief Director) of Bantu Administration assumes, or can assume, an all-important role. He can act as a channel to the higher authority from the Advisory Board. He can also be a filter.

Councillors' reactions reflect something of the general state of affairs. "'Their' attitude is important". "It all depends on the man at the top". "The Chief Director is listening" (....to our problems). "In Korsten (coloured area) it is much better because of their man".

#### The Director.

The Director as 'man-in-the-middle' is in an ambiguous position. In all cases he is answerable to his higher authority. Although an Administration Board employee, he is also supposed to serve the Black community which he has in his charge. By his superiors he is seen as 'their' administrator of the Black community and he is supposed to have

specialist knowledge about the people as well as the ability to ensure that official policy is applied and executed. The Black community sees the Director as the man directly in control of their affairs, though ultimately as an agent of the central government (or previously, of the City Council). The hope of the people tend to rest on the Director to be influential in effecting changes which would be to the betterment of the Black community. "He has contact higher up". A director's relative success in achieving anything is soon reflected in the Xhosa name that he is given by the people. An earlier Director (then called Township Manager) was called Zamuxolo - 'one who is attempting to establish peace'. A later one became known as Dilizintaba - 'going to break down mountains', with the implication that attempts will be made to overcome or to remove those impossible stumbling blocks confronting the Blacks.

Employed and paid by government the Director must of necessity satisfy his 'boss'. If however, he disregards the requirements and demands of the Black community, his already frustrating position may be complicated further. While severe sanctions may be applied from 'above' and he may be dismissed from his job, no sanctions which would normally be regarded as effective can be applied from 'below'. The Director does not owe his position to votes cast for him by the electorate of the Black township community, but his success is often measured by the degree to which he 'controls' the situation and the extent to which

he manages to ameliorate discontent. His success is tested by a lack of violence, no adverse publicity and a balanced budget. The ambivalence of the position and role of the Director will be analysed further in a following chapter.

#### Administration officials.

For white administration officials in general, Blacks in declaring themselves available for the Advisory Board and then serving on it, accept a subordinate role as well as the concomitant limited scope for decision-making and action. All activity and discussion connected with the Board is to have no political<sup>(1)</sup> overtones whatsoever. As far as a number of individual officials are concerned the Board and its members are viewed simply as a necessary evil. The Board is an irritating element in the township's administrative environment. The token consultations with, presentation of budgets to, and hearing of complaints by the Advisory Board are activities inhibiting effective administration that have at best to be tolerated.

The general attitude of white officials toward members of the Advisory Board may be described as paternalistic. Only in a few cases did officials actively endeavour to advise, guide and encourage councillors

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(1) Generally defined in this context as anything to do with policy or legislation, other than the implimentation of these.

in order to promote more effective functioning and leadership. More often than not the role played by officials was a passive one tinged with negative elements. It was even found that certain officials refused, as a matter of course, to accept the Blacks as human beings in their own right. Advisory Board councillors were quickly described as the 'leaders' of their people but this qualification seemed to hinge on the fact of their willingness to serve on the Board and on the fact of trustworthiness and reliability in the eyes of the officials.

This attitude of officials towards councillors prevailed as far as Blacks in the townships at large were concerned as well. While councillors had a certain protective immunity by virtue of their Board membership, ordinary township dwellers hesitated even to voice a complaint directly to an official for fear of losing their right to a house or even a residence permit. The Xhosa name for one such official, while not representative, perhaps illustrates something of the climate of these inter-relations. He was called 'Inkomo-iyahlaba' or 'wild beast'.

#### The Members.

In dealing with 'membership' in the previous chapter the motivation for members to join the Advisory Board as well as their views of the

Board itself was described. While personal benefit certainly figures prominently, the wish to serve their people was also an important facet to councillors' general motivation. Two radically differing views as regards membership of the Advisory Board is certainly current. The one states that whatever platforms or channels are open to Blacks, however insignificant, should be utilised. The other point of view is that such participation implies subordination and the sharing in the 'instruments of apartheid'. The first school views the councillors as 'fighters for the cause of their people' and the second school see them as 'stooges in the hands of the government'. More so than the Board itself, the attitudes of serving members have undergone evolutionary change in the more than fifty years of its existence. Some of the atmosphere and activity of the Board in its early years was revealed in Chapter 6. The pioneering days of the Board was marked by a more intimate contact relationship between members and officials. The position of councillors was undoubtedly a subservient one though. Many of the issues dealt with were still familiar fifty years later but the style of discussion and demand had been transformed. Even the meagre records of the twenties, thirties and forties reveal a strategy of pleading for concessions for Black people by the councillors who were essentially in subordinate positions under white patronage. From the initial complete willingness on the part of Blacks to serve as councillors successive stages of almost total rejection and re-

newed partial acceptance followed. The downward trend in the graph of co-operation more often than not coincided with a challenge from a competing political body or movement - quite often one with a more radical perspective e.g. the Vigilance Committee of the thirties, the A.N.C. of the fifties and the rioting youth of the seventies. Almost always regarded as 'sell-outs' and 'stooges' by a large section of their community, members of the Advisory Board felt themselves in even more acutely compromising positions during such periods of political activity.

As is the case with the Director, the councillors find themselves in an intercallary position. They are members of the Black community but have to operate, for Advisory Board purposes, according to the requirements of the White community. The position of a member of the Advisory Board is a contradiction in affiliation and responsibilities. He has to respond to the needs and demands of his people and he has to produce results in order to maintain credibility with them. At the same time he has to play the Advisory Board game according to the rules set by the Whites or his future functioning within that system could be jeopardised. The ambivalence of his position is accentuated by the fact that these very rules essentially render him ineffective in doing anything about his peoples' problems. Their situation is not unique. As Epstein has written in the context of colonial Zambia:

".....the Council (urban Advisory Council) is seen at times as a body in which the Africans have an interest, at times as a body too closely associated with the European authorities so that its members are regarded as 'stooges' of the Government". (1958 : 196).

The prevailing attitude of even serving members of the Advisory Board is however, one of apathy. Frustration is mainly responsible for this. Active members find that they spend a tremendous amount of time; energy and effort to achieve a miniscule return. "After consistent hammering we have a slight effect". "At least officials hear about the complaints of the people". "It is slow and it is a little, but at least we are not completely wasting our time". Absenteeism gives some indication of the extent of the disinterest. From October 1972 to May 1973 a number of meetings of the Advisory Board could not be held through failure to get a quorum. Only two members attended all the meetings held during that period. The average absentee rate per member was just under three times out of eight meetings. Most of the councillors rationalised about this quoting 'transport problems' and other commitments as the main reasons. The more active members singled out a number of the frequently absent members for being disinterested or as being 'deadwood' "The main problem is that the Advisory Board is a bulldog without teeth".

The negative view that the Black public have of the Advisory Board is accentuated by the relative lack of feed-back to the people. Often even those very few successes that the members do have remain unknown to the township residents. Hence the widely held view that councillors are there only for their own benefit and as 'stooges' of the administration. They are accused by the younger people of being a "bunch of old men too scared to stand up and speak out against the Abelungu" (White men). The councillors themselves know this and for those few individuals who are genuinely striving to improve the welfare of their people their role becomes doubly frustrating.

#### Typology.

Anthropology, at least in terms of its surviving structural/functional and also neo-evolutionary/ecological leanings raises, or should raise, at least by implication, the question of the validity and/or the efficiency of institutions. The Advisory Board and the system of which it is part, has been severely criticised.

"The Boards do nothing whatever to cater to the interests of the African people, but are there merely to justify the White man's contention that South Africa is a democracy" (Kuper, 1965 : 343).

The advisability of investigating such Boards had also been questioned,

"The field of politics in the modern sense, is another which seemed unlikely to repay investigation for our purposes. Local government is a matter in which exceedingly few East London Xhosa now participate or show much interest.....". (Mayer, 1971 : 7)<sup>(1)</sup>.

However, the sheer prominence and important of some of the members of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board within their own community would seem partly to validate that body. This fact alone would potentially make it a viable political vehicle and hence worthy of investigation. The attempts by members of the Advisory Board to attain certain goals, but more importantly the strategies adopted in these attempts, as well as counter-strategies by other actors, will be dealt with in the following chapters. However, before such detailed analysis can be attempted the perspective of the present investigation should be delineated and an attempt should be made to identify the Advisory Board in structural terms.

Anthropologists have been inclined to investigate meetings of boards and councils and other such bodies, simply as a source of information for a study focussed on the political organisation of a people. As was mentioned in the introduction our interests here are more wide-ranging. Neglected areas of investigation have been given special

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(1) Mayer (personal communication) did however point out that he meant this only within the context of his work at the time.

attention. Two of these areas have been emphasised now for some time (Richards and Kuper, 1971). The first such investigation regards the mechanism of committees specifically insofar as it is directed at attaining certain ends. These goals may include; the linking of sections of a segmentary society together; reducing tensions and disturbances; allocating resources; organising activity; legislation and planning for the future. Such results may be achieved in one of two possible ways; by direct command of a superior authority with the order enforced by different agents of the authority like for example the police or administration; or it may be achieved by combined discussion. What is however important is the light such investigation may shed on the question of the extent of participation by members of a community in political decisions at different levels of government. The second important area for investigation concerns conciliar behaviour in itself, with all the cross-cutting alliances and the different strategies that may be revealed. An attempt has been made in this and previous chapters to describe the setting and environment within which much of the activity takes place. A description of environment, procedure, function or of space, time and personnel is not sufficient however. An institution like the Advisory Board which was specifically created to be apolitical has many political processes occurring in it while it is fulfilling many functions that are

non-political. Political behaviour is here intimately bound up with actions that are ostensibly aimed at other ends that are not political. This political behaviour can only be isolated analytically. As Barnes has expressed it,

".....in looking at local politics it is inconvenient to concentrate narrowly on the social processes at work in specialised political institutions, for there may not be any. We have instead to take the view of politics implied in the expression 'academic politics', the politics of sport, church politics, and the like,....." (1968 : 107).

One of the main difficulties lies in identifying the Advisory Board structurally. If it is accepted that the Board is an institution, a council of the local government type, then it must also be noted that it is a local authority with peculiar characteristics. The aims and functions of the Advisory Board are externally defined in terms of the policies of the government elected by the white community. At times when its existence may be threatened, continuity over time tends to be assured by artificial means i.e. by changing its members or by tight control. Members have limited responsibilities and their deliberations would seem to be futile and unrealistic as the real decisions are made by the administration - i.e. from outside the Advisory Board. Membership itself, and hence leadership, is or can be, controlled by the administration and even elected leaders will

only appear to be representative. Nevertheless, Advisory Board leadership may be described as oligarchical. Roughly the same councillors serve on the Advisory Board year after year. This is largely due to the fact that those potential leaders who reject the system automatically disqualify themselves. The pool of potential councillors is further drastically reduced by widespread apathy and lack of education and effective command of the English language amongst the masses. From the perspective of the encapsulating white political structure Bailey's (1970 : 11) comment would seem to fit;

"Furthermore all political structures contain rules, ----, which attempt to shield them from an excess of demands from the environment. Sometimes they rule particular issues out of the political field, especially if these issues are explosive:.....

There are also political structures which protect themselves by disqualifying whole classes of people from competing in politics. Conversely, other structures in the environment may attempt to protect themselves by disqualifying or discouraging politically active persons from taking on roles in that structure".

Thus, in order to structurally categorise the Advisory Board it is not sufficient to look only at all the rather static institutional specifications of what the Board is and what its functions are. While a

definition can be constructed, taking into account the Advisory Boards' internal structure and its various actions, this would not seem to be quite satisfactory. Additionally, as has been done and will again be done in a following chapter, the Board must be viewed by virtue of its position and role in the wider political context. Robertson (1971 : 132) has made some suggestions in this regard. A key to the understanding of the nature of a committee like the Advisory Board is to be found in the interplay between its legitimacy and its competence. A change in the one will have an effect in the other. To gauge the legitimacy of a committee it must be known what authority it has to make decisions and then to also execute the responsibilities that follow. "A decision-making body derives its legitimacy from its formal relationships within a wider political system, ranging from the 'public' which it serves, to the limits of the polity in which it is involved - for example the state". The Advisory Board is an example of a committee which receives very limited authority from the higher political levels. What authority it does receive is not of a decision-making nature. Under these circumstances it is wise to look at the relationship between the Advisory Board and the community which it may not represent in the accepted sense of the word, and to which it is responsible only in a restricted sense. Robertson reminds us that authority is as likely to be conferred 'from below' as from 'above'.

The characteristics of the Advisory Board are such that it can only be described as a council of a peculiar type. It is with some difficulty that the Board can be classified according to Bailey's model.

"Elite councils are those which are, or consider themselves to be (whether they admit it openly or not), a ruling oligarchy. The dominant cleavage in such a group is between the elite council (including, where appropriate, the minority from which it is recruited) and the public: that is to say the dominant cleavage is horizontal. The opposite kind of council is the arena council. These exist in groups in which the dominant cleavages are vertical. The council is not so much a corporate body with interests against its public, but an arena in which the representatives of segments in the public come into conflict with one another"

(1965 : 10).

The dominant cleavages in the group within which the Advisory Board functions may be said to be vertical and/or horizontal depending only on the definition of its 'public' and its own composition. If only the Black members of the Board are considered - and this is done as regards their black public only, then they must be seen as an oligarchical elite group distinct from their public with the dominant cleavage being horizontal. Should the white members and sections of the white public be included however, a situation of 'representatives

of segments in the public come (coming) into conflict with one another' would certainly be true. Whether factionalism within the Black population in itself is marked enough to qualify the Board for an arena council with vertical cleavage is questionable.

The other suggested criteria for distinguishing elite from arena councils hardly makes the task of classifying the Advisory Board any easier e.g. an elite council is typically small; elite council members often have specialised political roles; elite councils may have the authority to promulgate decisions or it may be advisory to another political authority; in arena councils opposing points are given an airing; arena councils develop within themselves decision-making elites etc. The Advisory Board behaves as either or both types of council on a number of counts.

The facts that clearly emerge in an examination of the Advisory Board are:

1. It is a council without powers.
2. Its functions and its position in the wider structure or system are situationally defined by those who stand in varying relationships to it. The official view and definition has been given. The average White resident of Port Elizabeth is almost unaware of the Advisory Board's existence. The members themselves, and the Black township residents again each have their own particular perspective, as do those who reject the Board outright. (Chapter 10).

SECTION IV

INTERACTION AND TRANSACTION

CHAPTER 9

THE INTERACTIONAL ENVIRONMENT

## Perspectives

In previous chapters the environment within which the Advisory Board and its members function was described. However in the analysis thus far many important questions have been left unanswered or were at best only partly answered. Some of these questions that come to mind are : What strategies are adopted by prospective members to become elected? What are their reasons for striving to become members? What resources do they have available? What resources do they employ? How does the Advisory Board, through its members, interact with its environment? What strategies do councillors employ at Board meetings? What strategies do they employ beyond the confines of these meetings? What strategies do administration officials employ in similar situations? What are their resources? What are the goals of the various participants?

These and other pertinent questions will be investigated subsequently. The Advisory Board will be seen as a setting within which participants marshal the resources available to them - internally and externally. Thus for example, outside bodies like rugby or government organisations will also be seen to become involved in issues originating in Advisory Board discussions and vice versa.

The previous chapters also sketched the basic and official objectives and activities of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board. As was seen, these

are essentially non-political. But as is so often the case with any such body, much of the action and activities of its members have political significance or at least some political overtones.

The Advisory Board occupied a lowly position in the hierarchy of statutory bodies in South Africa. As far as authorities in the white establishment are concerned the Blacks who opt to involve themselves with the Board automatically accept a subordinate position and role. This view does not necessarily correspond to that of the Blacks themselves however. The dictum often used by one of the councillors is applicable here,

"We take what we can get, and we use what we can get, in order to get what we want"

Membership on the Advisory Board is thus often seen in much more rational and practical terms. Blacks do not see themselves as operating in totally subordinate positions. They see the Board as a platform, a means to various ends. From this platform may be launched campaigns; to pressure for changes in legislation; for improvement in the living conditions of urban Blacks; for ways in which their people may be organised; and for possible personal benefit in the field of business or politics.

More often than not the perspectives of the participating white

administration officials are diametrically opposed to those of the councillors. The two models for the perception of an unequal distribution of power and rewards as suggested by Lloyd (1974) are perhaps applicable here. Individuals can conceivably make use of both though a specific situation is likely to dictate one or the other.

The first model suggests an open society. The rules by which power and rewards are allocated (in terms of means and ends) in this case are regarded as legitimate and consensus is presumed. A person directs his endeavours to improving his own position by his own achievement or through the patronage of someone in higher rank.

In the closed society model, barriers exist between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. In this case the rules of allocation are not accepted. Individuals in fact strive to change them and there is co-operation in striving for this common goal. This may be described as a conflict model. The inherent differences in points of view of white and black Advisory Board participants are reflected by these opposing perspectives.

'Man, in order to emancipate himself from the constraints of his social, cultural and physical environment, attempts to bring about changes in the balance of power. Other persons, who benefit from the status quo, try to prevent

such changes. Change and resistance to it are thus inherently related"

(Boissevain, 1974 : 232 - 233).

Though the different and constantly changing perceptions of the participants are part and parcel of Advisory Board interchange, some common ground does exist.

Following Bailey (1970) it is convenient to view the political activity of the Advisory Board as a competitive game. While this particular 'game' is orderly it does not conform to Bailey's requirements that the competitors totally agree about how to play and what to play for. But they would certainly not be 'playing' if they did not agree that there are prizes worth having and that they accept some basic (common) rules of conduct (Opinions as regards the nature of the prizes do however vary).

The Advisory Board evidence is quite at variance with a further Bailey requirement that, for a game to be a game, not only should the outcome be in doubt but the players should be more or less evenly matched. As will be seen subsequently, the dice is heavily loaded against the councillors, but still they are prepared to compete. Having nothing to start with they have nothing to lose in this competition against White authority.

A more accurate model-reflection of the interactional situation of uneven competition on the Advisory Board is provided by Barth's (1959(b) : 15) interpretation of Newmann's (1947) 'Theory of Games'. Again the game is subject to certain rules and these rules constitute the factors which have an effect on the participants' choices. More specifically, Newmann's definition of a 'zero-sum majority game' is of interest here;

"In a zero-sum (or constant sum) game, persons are opposed to each other, in time experience a series of victories and/or defeats, and in each case, the victory or gain of the one means a corresponding defeat or loss to his opponents.

Secondly,..... the majority game. In cases of opposition, the stronger party, corresponding to a 'majority' of players, gains the victory,....."  
(Barth, 1959(b) : 15).

While this model rests on the premises of coalitions producing majorities and hence automatically 'victories' which is not the case in the Advisory Board, it does accept a situation of stronger and weaker teams playing the game.

Emphasis is placed on playing the game by the rules. 'Against the rules', is any behaviour which would make the future playing of the game impossible. If competitors seek alternative strategies to the

point where players refuse to play, or competing becomes fighting, the game ceases. The main object in such situations is probably to introduce a new set of rules. In Bailey's terms the 'pragmatic' rules have started dominating the 'normative' rules (1970 : 189).

In viewing the Advisory Board activities as a series of interconnected 'areas of transparency' (Turner, 1957) or 'structural poses' (Gearing, 1962) allowance is made for a processual perspective. Still the pattern which emerges must be seen as the product of the individual decisions and choices of the different participants interacting with each other. In admitting, with Barth, that what is empirically observed is not 'customs', but 'cases' of human behaviour then,

"...we cannot escape the concept of choice in our analysis: our central problem becomes what are the constraints and incentives that canalize choices"

(1966 : 1).

The options available to participants oscillate between Bailey's 'normative' or 'pragmatic' rules. Goffmann (1959) has an even more refined way of identifying these alternatives where participants employ his 'Arts of impression management'. An individual selects one or more of his repertoire of statuses on the basis of which, according to the situation, appropriate interaction will take place. Again the requirement is an underlying basic consensus as to the participants' views of the situation. This consensus did exist to a large extent as far as officials and councillors were concerned.

A group of rational, thinking men have been drawn together by membership of, or involvement with the Advisory Board. Their reasons for participating are various, as are their aims in doing so. They function within an environment which sets certain limits while it also provides the resources which the members may activate. Within this context, which has been called an 'arena', interaction takes place. This interaction is governed by the independent decisions of participants which in turn have the combined effect of producing particular patterns of behaviour.

#### The Arena.

The Advisory Board had a generally low level of effective functioning. Even at its own level it tended to function erratically. From 1920 to the 1970's the Advisory Board displays periods of relative equilibrium interspliced by periods of serious breakdown of activity and interest.

The high points were experienced especially during the early years of Black - White co-operation. The low points were when the efficacy of the Board was questioned not only by township residents but also by the members themselves, and was often totally in doubt. Such was the case in the forties when the Board was challenged by the domestically-

concerned vigilance committee; in the fifties and sixties when the A.N.C. posed a political challenge; and in the seventies when the youth voiced their demands during the urban riots.

Normally political structures would bring redressive devices into play in order to re-establish a measure of equilibrium after such crisis. The Advisory Board however, has been rendered relatively impotent by legislation, and by virtue of its nature vastly different processes are involved.

The interactional patterns of members of the Advisory Board are largely governed by encapsulating political structures of the white South African political system like for example, the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board. The Administration Board however only comprises a part of the environment which shapes the socio-political context within which the Advisory Board and its members function. All the members and officials, all their kin, friends and acquaintances, whether in business, work, religion or just socially, and all their interrelations, interconnections, values and aims, comprise the effective part of this environment.

This effective part of the environment consists of actual or potential resources which participants may or may not decide to activate and has often been called the 'arena' (Swartz, 1968; Bailey, 1970;

Kapferer, 1972). The uniqueness of the position of the Advisory Board ensures that the constraints of its arena are as important, if not more important, than the resources which it provides. Thus more often than not, even redressive action or any other initiating action would be inclined to stem from without and not within the Advisory Board itself.

Part of the answer for the ups and downs in the functioning life of the Advisory Board is thus to be found in its interrelation with its environment. In the form of the public that the Board serves (the Black township residents) or the Bantu Affairs Administration Board, the environment exerts pressures or imposes strains on the Advisory Board. Under such conditions political structures usually counter the threats, adapt and hence survive, or they break down. In fact it has been suggested (Bailey, 1970), that the element of self-destruction is built into any political structure from the moment that prizes are defined which everybody cannot win.

The Advisory Board's dependence upon, and the running but losing battle that it fights with the more powerful administration board characterises it as a kind of para-political structure as identified by Bailey (1968). Hence the Advisory Board is in fact partly regulated by but still partly independent of the larger (encapsulating) political structure. It also 'fights battles' with this structure in a way which seldom ends in victory. Nor does it really end in defeat in the true sense of the word.

A long drawn stalemate or defeat by attrition is a more accurate description. Defeat in this case would simply mean lack of success in achieving change or in attaining the goals that members are striving for - and which some members of the public expect them to reach. Some of the rewards were gained through participation and not through victories.

The concept of an arena is to an extent arbitrary in the sense that it is that environment which comprises the resources potentially at the disposal of the participants or actors within it. It follows that for example, an Advisory Board councillor and the Chief Director of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board will view this 'environmental potential' in different ways. Differences in status, network of relations, values, ethnicity and race will enable an individual to utilise what is available only to a certain degree - which may be more, or less, than the next person.

In marshalling their resources, individuals or a number of participants co-operating, organize the available elements in the arena into a specific relation to each other. This is done for a specific purpose and results in a sub-area of the arena crystallising out. A number of different sub-areas can be activated by the different players

and these are usually called 'fields'<sup>(1)</sup>.

No two Advisory Board councillors can necessarily bring into action the same set of resources nor do they even have the same view as to what resources are available. Kapferer (1972) has made a useful, formal distinction between these two kinds of field. All the resources and the interconnections between them that are activated in the course of social action are called the 'action field'. The particular image an individual or group has of the resources in the arena relevant to the achievement of particular interests is called the 'perceptual field'.

The nature of the present investigation is not all that different from any study of a political structure interacting with its environment. Although part of the environment in this case is in itself a political structure, the same kinds of questions about the encapsulated Advisory Board and its interrelations with its environment can be pursued. What produces rather different answers to the questions however, is the fact that the Advisory Board is a creation of the encap-

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(1) The application of the 'field' concept here is different from that of Bailey who suggested,

"When the same society contains two or more rival political structures, this constitutes a political field" (1970 : 16)

It is however accepted that a rival political structure may be 'lurking' in the environment, ready to take over.

ulating political structure. Instituted to serve as an escape valve for urban Blacks in Port Elizabeth who are disqualified from competing in the White political system it was also equipped with rules which disallowed excessive demands from the environment. 'Excessive' demands would theoretically include any issues of a real political nature. But, as Bailey (1970) has observed, dependency, in spite of its meaning, still entails a two way interaction.

Because of the strictures placed upon it, the characteristic picture of the functioning of the Advisory Board over time is one of maintaining the status quo, rather than of radical change. Transformation has however taken place. Both the Advisory Board and its environment have adapted. The changes have often been so subtle however, that not even the participants became aware of the fact that eventually a slightly different 'game' was being played.

The Bantu Administration Board commands such powerful political resources that the bargaining power of the Advisory Board, or even any kind of meaningful interaction between the two structures, may be seriously in doubt. However, as conditions in the environment changed over time, the councillors soon became aware that the arena within which they were operating increasingly presented resources which could usefully be manipulated. Dissatisfaction of Blacks generally, but more especially those in urban areas, became one such powerful tool. Such resources became political capital to be heeded, if only because of the sheer numbers of people involved.

CHAPTER 10

STRATEGIES I - EXTRA-BOARDROOM ACTIVITIES

## Election

In the chapters thus far an account has been given of the environment within which the residents of the Port Elizabeth Black townships function. Special attention has been given this environment insofar as it has a bearing on people involved, directly or indirectly, with the activities of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board.

By virtue of history and tradition but especially by virtue of legislation, this environment can be seen as a framework within which the behaviour of participants must be seen to take place. This environment may possibly be seen as providing certain resources which individuals may utilise. But it can also be seen, and much more clearly so, to provide very rigorous strictures inhibiting the scope of activity. Boissevain (1974) has noted that an individuals' immediate social environment is partly ascribed and partly achieved,

"That is, by virtue of his position in society - birth, rank, job, race - part of a person's environment is given to him gratis; and part he constructs, sometimes carefully but often haphazardly, to suit his purpose and personality. His interaction with this social environment is neither wholly self-determined, nor wholly pre-determined. He is not only constrained and manipulated by his environment, he also manipulates it to suit his interests" (p. 27).

Strategies for this latter manipulation as well as the success (or lack of) achieved in the process, lie at the core of the field of interest of this present work.

The apparent impotence of the Advisory Board was experienced, or at the very least sensed, by a large percentage of its public from its very beginnings. The disillusionment of the residents with the Advisory Board, or their ignorance of it, as well as the wide-ranging controls and limits imposed on its functioning, are reflected in the low percentage polls achieved in elections (Chapter 7).

Still, enough candidates, many of them well qualified, almost always came forward to necessitate competition for election. In the face of being decried and denounced as 'dummies' and 'stooges' or as agents of the administration and government, candidates not only stand for election, but actively campaign. The limits for the recruitment of possible candidates is set by birth, culture, sex, language proficiency, residence, education (to some extent) and of course by personal choice. Hence generally, only Xhosa-speaking Black adult males who are qualified residents of the Port Elizabeth Black townships and have a few years of education and a reasonable proficiency in the English language, would comfortably fit into the niche which the role of Advisory Board member implies. These requirements are not all dictated by legislation but also by practical considerations which functioning as a councillor in the Advisory Board necessitates.

During the campaign which precedes an election, the candidates adopt different strategies. The voting public at which these strategies may be directed is limited and very narrowly defined by law and regulation (Chapter 7). The nature of the strategies themselves are also, at least in theory, strictly controlled or inhibited by the limits set by the wider, encapsulating political system.

A campaign for an Advisory Board election is characterised mainly by attempts of the candidates to communicate to the residents of the townships the need to cast their votes and to convince them that in so doing certain benefits might be forthcoming.

"They (the candidates) have speeches. At the bus-stops in the morning they tell us what they have already done. They accuse each other of bad things. They tell us to go to Centenary (a hall used as one of the polling booths) to vote for them" (Resident).

Speeches are made, not only at bus-stops but also at meetings in the different halls in the townships. Often 500 - 600 people attend such meetings. Such numbers are attracted not so much by reason of a display of public interest in civic affairs, as by curiosity, by the prominence of the speaker, by the hint of a contentious issue to be discussed, or simply by the lure of a social occasion in the face of nothing better to do.

Public-address systems and loud-hailers were used to reach people wherever they may congregate. Pamphlets and cards with manifestos and names of candidates printed on them were handed around. The press was often utilised but with apparently limited success. Though statements by candidates at meetings were sometimes reported by the Eastern Province Herald, the Evening Post or the Imvo, readership amongst the township voting public was so limited as to have hardly any noticeable effect. Only 38,8% of the sample of residents were regular readers of newspapers, and very few of these people claimed to have heard about affairs concerning the Advisory Board through newspapers. Yet many councillors were adamant that the press was their most effective channel of communication. A more informal, and often apparently more effective, system of communication by word of mouth was also adopted.

"We get our family and our friends to help us and to speak to other people. We also meet influential people."  
(B.P. Maxakana)

Each candidate activates his personal, effective network of relations and through the people in this network the process is carried to the extended part of the network as well. 'Influential people' in the above statement translates as people with resources, political capital, which may be channelled by a series of transactions with people in their own network of relations and directed to the cause of a particu-

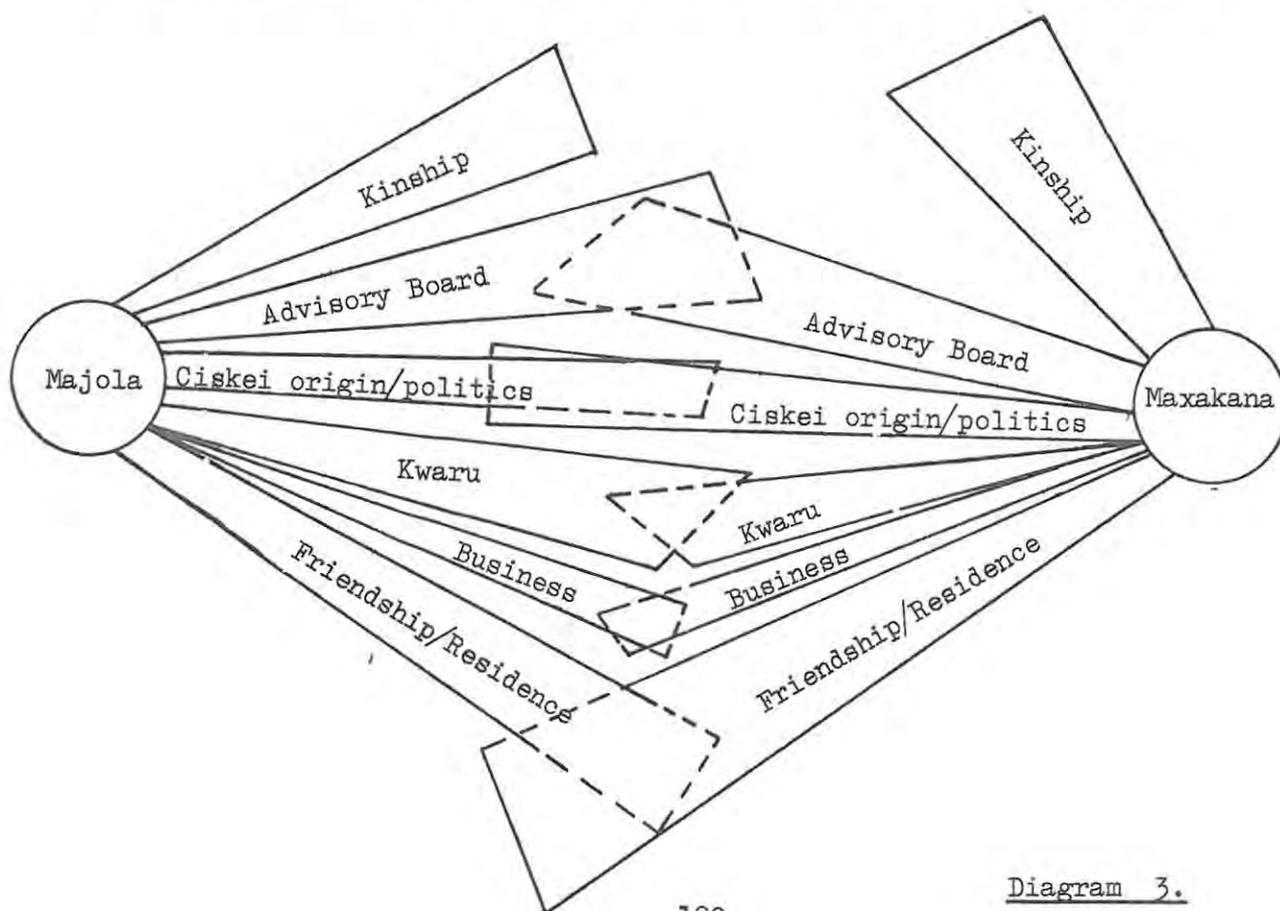
lar candidate. The more consistently successful candidates, in the elections coinciding with the period of research, activated more or less the same repertoire of activity fields in their networks. In order of priority rating these were : Kin, close friends (often with ethnic or area of origin connections), rugby club/organisation members (frequently co-executive members), business or work associates and Ciskei/Transkei political connections. The last category was often difficult to distinguish from the others. Councillors Majola and Maxakana, though not connected by kinship relations, may serve as an example in terms of their other associations.

The two men live in the same area of the townships, they are both enthusiastic members of Kwaru<sup>(1)</sup>, they were born in the Ciskei area, they actively engage in Ciskei politics (Majola as a member of the Legislature), they both serve on the Advisory Board (Maxakana was talked into this by Majola), they are friends on a regular visiting and socialising basis and they have rendered each other assistance in business on various occasions (apart from the fact that Maxakana often buys his meat from Majola, the butcher, and Majola gets his petrol and car service from Maxakana the garage owner).

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(1) Kwaru -Kwazakhele Rugby Union : represents 8 break-away rugby clubs now affiliated with Coloured rugby bodies - in favour of integrated rugby. The break-away was from the Port Elizabeth African Rugby Union which in turn is affiliated to the Eastern Province Rugby Board which is in favour of Government policy for gradual changes in sport and mixed rugby, mainly on the basis of homogeneous ethnic or racial teams competing.

These various activity fields may be best visualised as a Chinese hand fan as suggested by Boissevain (1974). Each blade of this fan represents an activity field and they all converge at one point which is ego and who is at the centre of the network. Because of the multi-stranded nature of the Majola/Maxakana relationship, the same individuals are playing a number of different roles causing many of the institutional or activity fields (Boissevain's blades of the fan) to overlap. For these two egos, Majola and Maxakana, the multi-stranded nature of their relationship is the exception and not the rule. Living in the townships of a large industrial city like Port Elizabeth, more individuals in the partial networks represented by the blades of the fans of the two men are not connected, than are interconnected in the way Majola and Maxakana are to each other. Thus, diagrammatically, most of Maxakana and Majola's activity fields may be shown to overlap:



Viewed from the vantage point of any one of these individuals, the activity fields themselves must be shown to overlap because of the very duplication of personnel which is illustrated, though in the extreme, by diagram 3. For Majola or Maxakana alone, the diagram will be different:

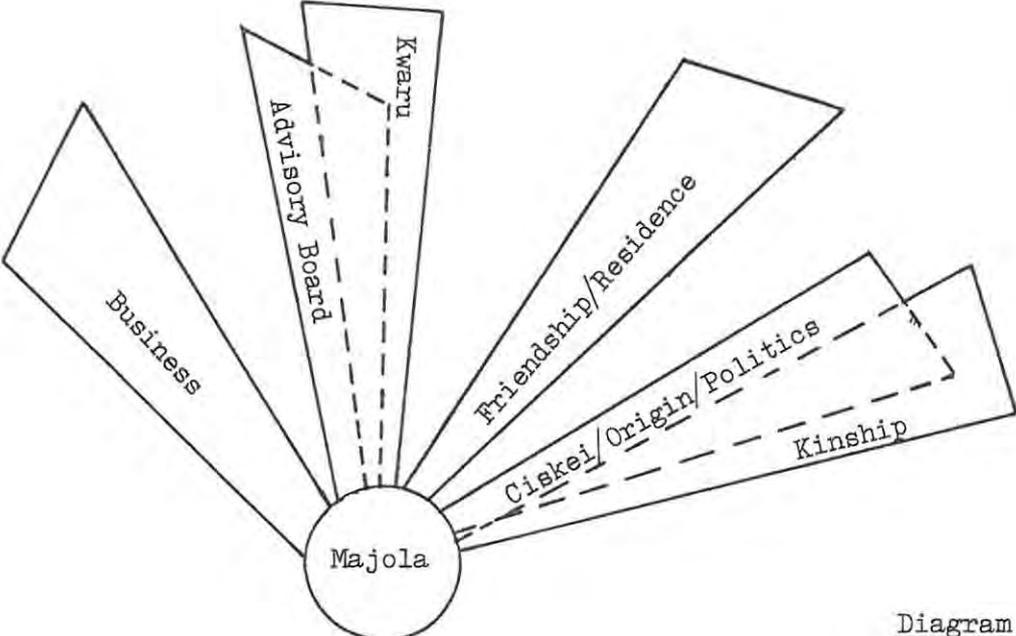


Diagram 4.

Like all township activities, Advisory Board election campaigns could never escape the interactional effects of the environment. Proceedings were constantly and closely monitored by officials of the Administration Board and the police. Just to hold a meeting for example, involves negotiating a whole maze of red tape.

Permission to hold a meeting may (or may not) be granted according to regulation 29 of the Township Training and Reference Manual.

"It is with extreme difficulty that we can have a meeting. You see, the administrators, that is now the managers or directors, are very careful because Port Elizabeth is a very sensitive area politically. You can very easily 'group' people here. I've always said that when Port Elizabeth sneezes in politics or anything, the whole of the country catches the cold. We've had the Kwaru rugby affair.... the political upheavels of 1952 and 1960. During the last ten years many meetings have been banned"  
(Councillor).

The applicant first has to report to a second class sergeant who has to ascertain that the applicant has authority to be in the area. The sergeant then takes the applicant to the Nolali (superintendent) concerned, who in turn has to ascertain:

- "(a) Reason for the meeting.
- (b) Where the meeting is to be held.
- (c) Date and time when the meeting is to be held.
- (d) The anticipated duration of the meeting.
- (e) Who will address the meeting.
- (f) If loudspeakers are to be used.
- (g) Number of persons expected to be present".

The Superintendent informs the applicant that his application will be referred to the Director for consideration, and that the meeting may not be held or advertised pending the Director's decision. The Superintendent submits the application in writing to the Director, but through the Township Manager, setting out the details and his recommendation.

All the above is subject to another regulation which stipulates:

- "(1) Subject to the provisions of any other law any person who intends to convene or address a public meeting or assembly of persons or to use a loudspeaker in the Bantu residential area shall obtain the permission, in writing, of the Superintendent at least 48 Hours before such meeting, assembly or any occasion at which the loudspeaker will be used.
- (2) No public meeting or entertainment shall be continued later than midnight without the approval of the Superintendent nor shall any public meeting or entertainment be continued later than any extended time approved by the Superintendent.
- (3) No person shall, without the prior approval, in writing, of the Superintendent, collect any money for any purpose other than bona fide church purposes from the persons present at any public meeting or assembly.
- (4) If there be reasonable grounds for believing that the holding of any meeting or assembly might provoke or lead to a breach of the peace, such meeting or assembly may be prohibited with the special approval of the magistrate given after reference to the local Police Officer and an office of the Council licenced under section 22(1) of the Act.
- (5) Nothing in this regulation contained shall apply to any meeting or assembly for bona fide church purposes, weddings, funerals, or meetings<sup>(1)</sup> of the Bantu Advisory Board or of the Urban Bantu Council. "

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(1) Not including election meetings.

Should this whole process be completed, the superintendent notifies the applicant of the Director's decision and if the decision is in the affirmative he issues permission in writing to the applicant setting out clearly any conditions or restrictions.

Having obtained such permission, a similar process has to be enacted to make a hall reservation. This time the route passes from the second class sergeant to the welfare officer and then to the superintendent. A further 21 stipulations or requirements govern the use of a hall, e.g.

- "(1) The Manager, Superintendent, authorised officer or authorised employee of the administration or any member of the South African Police may enter the hall at any time.
- (2) No booking shall be accepted less than three days before use of the hall is required.
- (3) The right of cancellation is reserved by the Director".  
etc.

This obstacle course of procedure and regulation and the delay it often implied is often enough to discourage any candidate who had planned to promote his candidacy by holding a public meeting in a hall.

Another common complaint voiced by candidates was that the Administration Officials informed the candidates of the election date at too late a stage for proper canvassing to be done or for a campaign to be planned and run.

## Competition

Candidates often stood together on one 'ticket' and usually had a common manifesto. During the 1974 election the eight incumbents of New Brighton/Kwazakele stood together on a 'white card'. They extolled the virtues of their past performance as far as improving conditions for Blacks in the townships was concerned. They highlighted the nature of the 'battle' they were 'fighting against heavy odds'. They gave examples of improvements that they had effected - in housing, schooling and in facilities for sport. For the future they promised even more concerted action for positive changes on behalf of the residents.

This white card group of established older members of the Advisory Board acted under the leadership of Mr. M. Phambi, one of the most prominent and well-known residents of Port Elizabeth. The white card group was challenged by the green card group under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Maketsana, a businessman and a regional chairman of the Transkei Democratic Party. The green card men were new names to the public eye and most of them were young. The green cards criticised the white cards profusely and emphasised their past inability to bring about significant changes or improvements.

Although the younger, challenging green card group did manage to siphon off a large number of votes, they could not oust the es-

established candidates. The final results in the election were:

WHITE CARD

M. Phambi	644
D. Majola	609
P.A. Mcinga	601
B.P. Maxakana	573
N. Mpunga	450
A. Bukashe	499
A. Soka	466
S. Sizani	465

GREEN CARD

N. Zeze	418
J.K. Maketsana	407
B.V. Ntsini	403
E.F. Ngnonqweni	417
A. Mpakadi	400
R.N. Nsishuta	380
M. Vimbi	376
E.S. Zonke	370

Looking at the 1973 result when the white cards stood against independants, the effect of the green card challenge in 1974 may be judged:

M. Phambi	2042
D. Majola	1724
B.P. Maxakana	1568
P.A. Mcinga	1443
S. Sizani	1248
N. Mpunga	987
A. Bukashe	978
A. Soka	637

Though groups of men often tended to run for election, candidates who campaigned as independants were also a frequent occurrence. The groups of men on the same 'ticket' could hardly be called representatives of a political party. Investigation and observation of their activities never suggested policy differences. Differences that were detected stemmed from affiliations beyond the urban context. Thus the white cards of 1974 stood under M. Phambi and his lieutenant D. Majola, who were both members of the ruling party and the legisla-

tive assembly of Ciskei. J.K. Maketsana of the green cards was well known to be the regional chairman of the Democratic Party (the opposition party in the Transkei). Where area of origin and/or affiliation was heavily relied on as a power resource for support, the green cards were destined to lose from the very start. For one thing, rural - connectedness (whether Ciskei or Transkei) had been transformed into a minority statistic (vide: Chapter 4) and for another, Ciskeians outnumber Transkeians by almost 8 to 1 in the Port Elizabeth townships.

The extra-urban dimension of campaigning and voting in the townships tended to grow over the years. The campaign for the first Community Council (successor to the Advisory Board) in 1978 was run totally on a Ciskei party-political basis. By directive from the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Mr. Sebe, the political machinery of the ruling Asinimali (C.N.I.P.) Party was activated. Accordingly the opposition Imbhumba (C.N.P.) Party also became active.

Many of the earlier candidates now no longer featured. The Transkei faces disappeared completely. A few of the previously victorious White Cards now stood for the opposition Imbhumba and lost or were elected only because they were unopposed. M. Phambi for example, who consistently drew the most votes in previous elections was elected unopposed. He paid the price however, of switching allegiance from Mr. Sebe's ruling party to the opposition. He not only lost his seat

in the Ciskei Legislative assembly, but was completely blocked in his candidacy for the first Black chairman or vice-chairmanship of the Community Council. The Asinimali Party with their majority in the council elected their own men.

Mr. P.A. Mcinga, also previously on the white card, was also elected unopposed. But another of their group, Mr. S. Sizani, was opposed by a Asinimali man and lost:

Ward 13.

Mr. S. Sizani (I.P.)	147
Mr. B.N. Mazonda (Ind.)	13
Mr. S.M. Qogi (A.P.)	320
A.P. Majority	173
Percentage poll	10,5
Spoilt papers	9

The injection of Ciskei/'Homeland' politics into the election produced immediately improved percentage polls which ranged from 5,8 to 23,2 in the twelve contested wards (Vide: Chapter 7). Another feature of this election was the large number of 'new' candidates who came to the fore (including a number of women - made possible by the Community Councils Act), many of whom had previously shunned the Advisory Board.

While 'homeland' politics also featured in the Advisory Board elections

and Mr. Phambi, leader of the white cards, activated much the same network for support as he did in his Ciskei campaign, Ciskei politics was not nearly as prominent or as important as in the later Community Council elections.

The manifestos of the opposing groups in the Advisory Board elections always referred to very general, bread-and-butter matters concerned with everyday township living conditions. In the absence of real policy differences, the basis of rivalry and division was that of opposition between individuals, especially leaders.

The advantages of standing for election as part of a group like the white cards were that the considerable network of relations and support of the more prominent members of the group tended automatically to function on behalf of all the other members as well. This principle is well illustrated by the case of Mr. P.A. Mcinga who traditionally stood with Mr. M. Phambi on the white card in spite of very deeprooted differences between the men. For example, as opposed to Phambi, Mcinga shunned Ciskei politics. He was also in direct opposition to Phambi in rugby and in Advisory Board 'politics'. Though the greatest of friends,

"If I am in dire stress, when I am ill, the first person that gets to me is Phambi. You see the thing is not so personal as much as ideologies"

Mcinga decided one year, because their differences had been aggravated, to run his campaign independently of the Phambi 'card'. With Phambi and others like Majola now no longer activating their networks of support on his behalf - in fact directing such support against him, he lost the election and only retained his seat on the Advisory Board by way of an Administration nomination.

The more prominent and powerful members of the Advisory Board, like Phambi, Majola, Mcinga, Maxakana, Mpunga and Bukashe found the power-base of their support in a core of multi-stranded relations radiating out to the various facets of their every-day lives. Through kinship group, business (or professional), church, sport, social and political relations, they could marshal more human and other resources than most township residents. Individuals within the different activity fields of their networks would not only represent a ready-made source of support, but also a potential force of organisers and canvassers.

The relationships between these men themselves tend to be roughly symmetrical in the sense that their transactional investments over time are more or less equal. In these types of relationships - Kapferer (1972) calls them reciprocal - there is a two-directional flow of transactions and the content is balanced to the point where such a sequence may simply be called an exchange as was originally suggested by Blau (1964). Thus whether the content of such a

symmetrical relation be a greeting, a phone-call or conversation, or whether it be advice, sympathy or recognition, or whether it be gifts, lending, borrowing or other material assistance, the input of the partners in the relationship is usually about the same.

Because input-content can never be identical it is to be expected that a hierarchical order can be discerned within the group of men standing together on the same election ticket. The slight imbalance in the exchange relationships of men in the group produce an internal arrangement of more important and less important men; of leaders and followers.

Seen in contrast to the nature of these mens' relationships with people outside their team, their transactions are more of the reciprocal kind. The Mcinga example mentioned earlier again illustrates the principle. Though Mcinga, as a member of the white cards, had many differences with some of the other members like Phambi and Maxakana - especially as far as rugby and Ciskei politics was concerned - the content of the exchange relationship between him and them was weighted heavily enough on the side of friendship, mutual assistance etc., to make it a reciprocal one and to ensure their help and the support of their supporters in the elections. When Mcinga opted to run as an independent however, he created an imbalance in the relationship but endeavoured still to get the support

of the voters but without the concomitant obligations to the group. Mcinga manouvered himself to the wrong side of an unilateral transaction. Blau calls this a power relation and it is more typically the relation between the Advisory Board councillors and the people who vote for them:

"By supplying services in demand to others, a person establishes power over them. If he regularly renders needed services they cannot readily obtain elsewhere, others become dependent on and obligated to him for these services, and unless they can furnish other benefits to him that produce interdependence by making him equally dependent on them, their unilateral dependence obligates them to comply with his requests lest he cease to continue to meet their needs"

(1964 : 118).

Standing as an individual against (or at least without) the combined transactional resources of the group, Mcinga ended up with the wrong end of the stick.

When incumbent councillor Mzamane in 1973 also mounted a challenge, much the same result ensued. He attempted to introduce Transkei political issues into the election. This strategy was not very successful and in the absence of any real policy differences it again became a contest of individuals, of leaders. The first hint of this was observed at a monthly meeting in the Advisory Boardroom

when Mzamane opted for a different seat at the horseshoe table - now on the opposite side to Phambi. Enquiries soon revealed the reason. "Mzamane is talking at bus-stops and meetings. He is using language to say Phambi<sup>(1)</sup> is exhuming bodies. Mzamane is also saying that Phambi is embezzling rugby funds. Now Phambi is taking Mzamane to court".

Phambi eventually abandoned the court case when his attorney advised him not to pursue the matter any further. His decision was based on the fact that Phambi's record in dealing with money was not unblemished. In 1961, for example, he was suspended as President of the South African Rugby Board for the alleged misuse of money.

Whereas Phambi lost the court case, Mzamane lost the election. Mzamane's strategy was not so much to build and activate a network of relations which he could then convert into resources of assistance and support. Rather he attempted to destroy or at the very least, reduce Phambi's political capital by inflicting substantial damage upon it. Mzamane opted for what Bailey (1970) would call the pragmatic rules of the game. In attacking Phambi, Mzamane tried to destroy his opponent's resources and in so doing he also tried to prevent him from having access to them and from making use of them.

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(1) Phambi was an undertaker.

Such an alignment of individuals vis a vis each other and vis a vis other groups of people, is built up by them through a continual series of individual choices. The success of a leader depends, not only on making decisions in terms of gaining access to resources, but also on his skill in utilising and manipulating such resources. Phambi turned the issue into an advantage for himself and Mzamane was brought into disrepute. Despite the result of the court case, people, after listening to Phambi 'explain' the true state of affairs, spoke of the 'dirty tricks' Mzamane used and the 'lies' that he told. Mzamane still got his seat on the Advisory Board however - as an Administration nominee<sup>(1)</sup>.

#### Brokerage.

"Their (Councillors) homes are always crowded with people with complaints. They (people) stay the whole day. Sometimes they are taken to the nolali<sup>(2)</sup> to take up their case. They win most of their cases. Then people get their house back<sup>(3)</sup>. Or they fix up Section 10<sup>(4)</sup> or their job problems". (Resident)

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(1) Mzamane's long experience in 'civic affairs' was the official reason for nominating a 'loser'. As can be seen in Chapter 13, Mzamane cannot be classified as a government lackey or a moderate within the context of the Advisory Board.

(2) See Appendix E number 70.

(3) See Appendix E number 5.

(4) See Appendix E number 34.

Many days spent interviewing councillors at home or at work confirmed the gist of this statement. A steady stream of visitors seeking some kind of help or advice had become accepted as a matter of course by all the more prominent members of the Advisory Board.

"If I had to keep a register of these people - every month the book would be full" (Qumza).

At considerable personal expense of time and money the councillors help the residents. By interceding on the residents' behalf, by explaining involved regulations, by negotiating the maze of township administration red tape<sup>(1)</sup>, and by using their influence at the right places and with the right people, members of the Advisory Board act as linkmen.

Help is rendered more often than not to the inarticulate, unsophisticated traditionalist with little or no education. From the sample of residents, those who voted for the Advisory Board had the following average characteristics:

Labourers/Manual Workers	66,6%
Born in a rural area	75,0%
Average educational standard	Standard 2
Average age	45,4

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(1) See Appendix E.

As opposed to the multiplex nature of a councillor's relations with members of his effective network (kin, personal friends, other Board members, etc.) as was depicted in Diagram 3, his relation to members of his extended network is of a single stranded kind. Such is the case with a resident who has contact with a member of the Advisory Board only for the single purpose of seeking help.

Whereas a councillor has quite an impressive array of resources (relatively speaking of course) at his disposal, any or all of which he can activate on behalf of someone seeking assistance, an ordinary township resident does not have much to offer in return. Such a person has only his support to give and this he can possibly do by way of a vote. As this is essentially a unilateral relationship an imbalance in obligations is the result, which in turn is a typically one-sided transactional relationship.

The role of a councillor as an urban broker places him in a position where he can give a township resident certain benefits and services which are accepted to have a much greater value than those he receives in return. A member of the Advisory Board involved in such a transaction is potentially in a position where he can dictate the terms of the relationship until or unless the other partner can find alternative sources for the resources involved.

"Unreciprocated exchange leads to the differentiation  
of power" (Blau, 1964 : 7).

As link-man a councillor uses his specialist knowledge, experience and expertise to liaise between township dweller and administration. He also establishes liaison between two life-styles, cultures and different value systems.

The link-man role, variously described by Bailey and Swartz as middleman (1970 : 186 and 1968 : 200 - 202, respectively), by Wolf as the patron in a patron-client relationship (1966 : 16 - 17), and by Gluckman as a man in an interhierarchical role (1968 : 71 - 72), is commonplace in the literature.

The structure of reciprocity associated with this kind of role is particularly interesting in the case of Advisory Board members. With an input of skill, time, access to the Administration and having to bear frequent criticism from opponents of the system, councillors can reasonably expect some returns. In exchange they get respect (with the implication of status), a promised or implied promise of a vote, public prominence and regular opportunities to directly confront the 'powers that be'.

Within the context of this very special position that an Advisory Board member finds himself, and equipped with those resources and support which he may or may not command through his network of relations and transactions with other people, he goes to the chamber of the Advisory Board not so much to do battle with co-members but more especially with representatives of an encapsulating political system.

CHAPTER 11

STRATEGIES II - EXTRA-BOARDROOM ACTIVITIES (Continued)

The decision to deal with some of the extra-boardroom activities in separate chapters to those containing activities taking place mainly within the Boardroom, is more or less an arbitrary one. The election process, councillors' roles as brokers and other extra-Boardroom activities have been dealt with already. All the activities, whether within or outside the confines of the Boardroom, centre on the same individuals, the members of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board. As such all the activities are related.

While the bulk of the observations pertain to the members' roles as councillors, each is involved in many other roles which, as we have seen, enable him to become a councillor in the first place and to sustain his councillor role. This chapter deals with some of these roles insofar as they impinge upon the performance of the member at the Board meetings, as opposed to their contribution to his election/selection.

In as much as a councillor's 'other' roles and activity fields<sup>(1)</sup> form part of the environment of the Advisory Board, they not only serve as constraints to the actions of councillors, but also as potential reservoirs of political capital.

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(1) Barnes (1968 : 107) has called these 'academic politics'.

### Perspective on events.

Through sport, especially rugby bodies, through utilisation of the press and at various meetings and gatherings in the townships, members of the Advisory Board, and in a few cases some of the Administration officials, sought to adopt or pursue various strategies. These strategies were aimed at creating or confirming confidence in them as leaders. They were also aimed at paying back debts incurred in transactions or at building a following through transactions.

Councillors, and officials, essentially worked at establishing some sort of legitimacy for themselves. The success of the strategies were dependent on other forces in the arena, on the strategies adopted by other players and upon the skills, knowledge and abilities of the participants.

The central theme to all the strategies, whether explicitly or implicitly pursued by councillors or officials, concerned two sides of the same coin. The main aim of the councillors was to effect certain changes or innovations which they believed would be to the benefit of the people on whose behalf they were acting. These 'people' may be the select group in a rugby body, the people they represent in the townships, or Blacks in general. The aim of the officials, with all the powerful governmental resources at their disposal, was to success-

fully execute their duties as administrators as determined by their contract with the agency that employed them. More often than not this entailed countering councillors' and other individuals' efforts at bringing about change and resulted in strategies aimed at maintaining the status quo without endangering the continued functioning of the Advisory Board and the administrative machinery of which it was a part.

Although we describe the activities of councillors and officials within the different realms of rugby politics, public functions, committee meetings and the press, we are essentially dealing with a common strategy. Both parties are trying to 'reach' each other directly by transmitting different messages aimed at converting the 'other' to the same point of view. Further attempts at convincing the opposing group of the merits of an issue also entails the sending of messages indirectly i.e. by appealing to the public or by using the press.

Given the many limits that the urban environment imposes on the people, Black leaders were continually striving to find, and to use, whatever resources were available. Essentially their choice was a difficult one when viewed in terms of strategy. If their strategy involved transmitting a message (also by action and behaviour) which may be

termed consistent with the system, then more immediate rewards or immediate return for effort is the result<sup>(1)</sup>.

This is very clearly illustrated by the two different choices and directions as represented by the rugby politics in this chapter. Behaviour and action which is not consistent with the system, as is illustrated by the same example, would result in delaying immediate rewards but the strategy is then aimed at changing the system and the price to be paid is to wait longer, but for greater anticipated rewards.

In most activities councillors and officials are cast in the role of contestants. There is some agreement as to the prize which is being contested. The prize takes the form of values like dignity, responsibility, recognition and power. Bailey (1970) further suggests that in such a situation there is also some agreement as to the legitimate tactics which may be employed in competing for the prize. This agreement would then define the contest as a competition and not a fight. These values are in short supply and are hence only to be had at the expense of other people.

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(1) 'Consistent with the system' is usually judged by officials. The role of the chairman (Chapters 13 and 14) illustrates this clearly.

The transactional relationships that have been identified in chapters thusfar have been mainly those between individuals - whether in conflict or while co-operating. But transactions underlie the relations between groups as well. In each of the extra-Boardroom activities which will be described, it is always an individual acting on behalf of his group vis a vis another individual or his group. The strategy adopted by Advisory Board members must be seen to have two main motives. The one is obviously to have certain changes implemented on behalf of themselves and their people. The other is to establish their own legitimacy. The answers to both requirements they seem to expect to find in the organised support of their people.

When seen in opposition to each other, the strategies of councillors and officials as reflected by the examples in this chapter become more clearly defined.

Rogers and Shoemaker (1971 : 340 - 341) have proposed a paradigm illustrating the adoption or rejection of innovations by the power elite in a system. An adaptation of this paradigm (Diagram 5A) may be used to conceptualise the roles and functions of the councillors, officials, residents and the wider environment during the competition for scarce resources. Unlike Rogers and Shoemaker the initiative for change is seen as not only originating from the environment (Diagram 5B ; 1, 2 and 3), but also from the residents themselves (4, 5, 6),

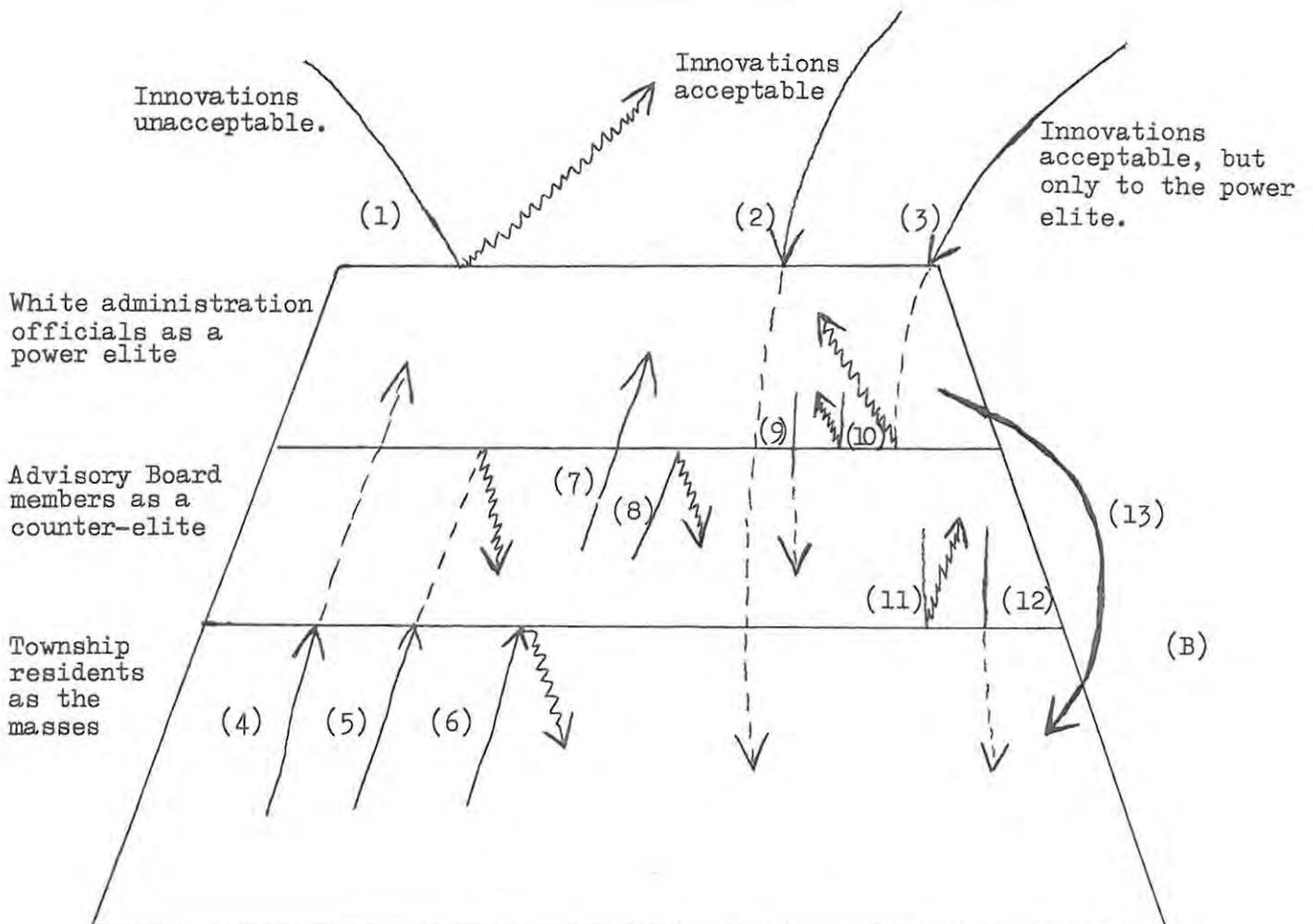
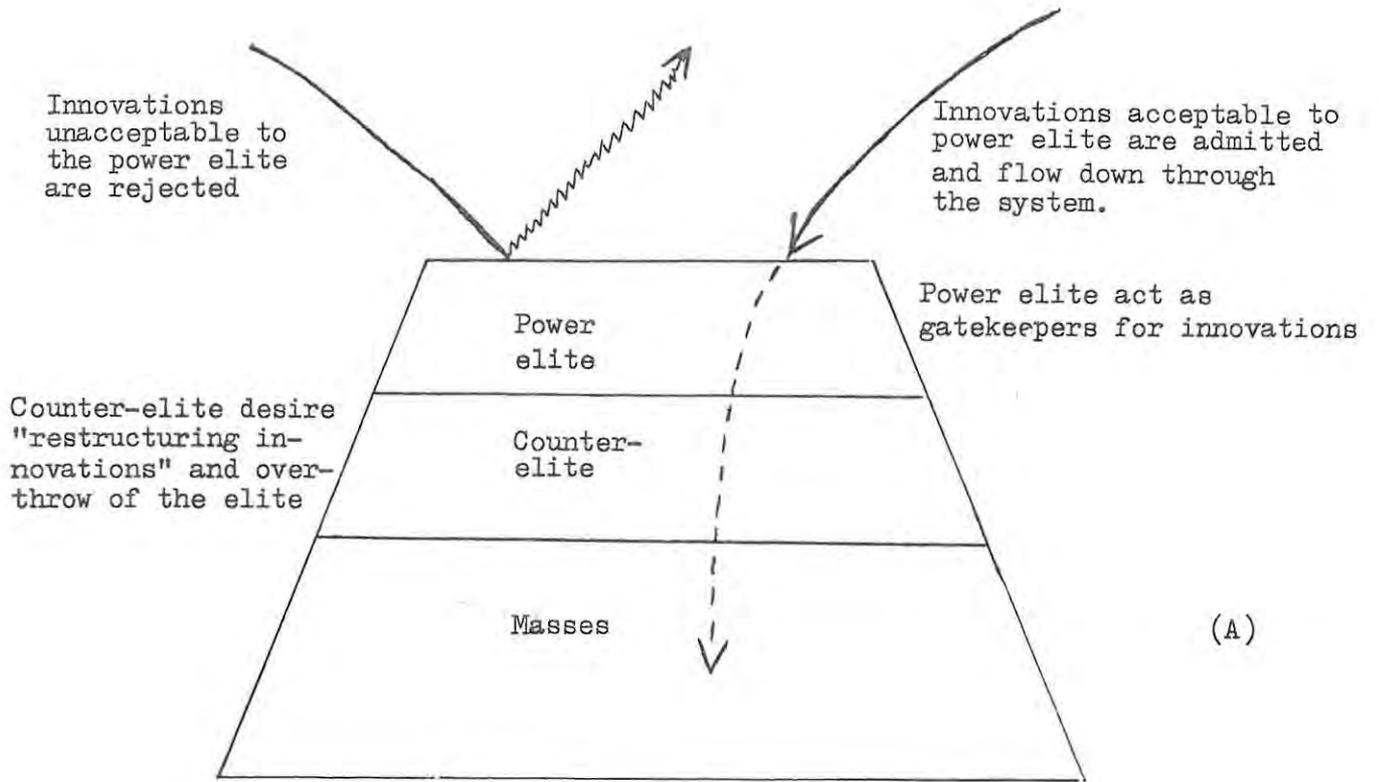


DIAGRAM 5.

from the councillors i.e. directed to the officials (7, 8) or to the residents (11, 12) and from the officials i.e. directed to the councillors and by implication to the residents (9, 10).

Whatever the source, an initiative in the form of a message may be passed on or it may be rejected. The officials at the power elite level are seen to fulfill this latter 'gatekeeper' kind of function more often than do the counter-elite councillors who suffer from a relative lack of power. This interpretive function is well illustrated by the example where a committee meeting is described. Thus the examples that are described subsequently essentially illustrate the strategies adopted by the participants. The strategies can be identified as a series of messages directed at an opposing group. Not only is it important to distinguish the initiator(s) of a message as well as the party at whom it is directed, but the nature and form of the message as well as the channel used to convey it, should be distinguished<sup>(1)</sup>.

The channels of communication will be seen to be direct, person-to-person as was the case during certain stages of the rugby dispute,

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(1) Communication theorists provide a rather over-simplified but nevertheless useful model for this process which they call the S-M-C-R. A source(S) sends a message (M) via certain channels (C) to the receiving individual(s) (R). In their efforts to effect change councillors act as (S), but they may also be (C) or (R). The same applies to officials. The public may be (S) or (R).

committee meeting and public meetings. Intermediaries were also involved e.g. when appeals were directed at officials or the public or the councillors. In such a case the former and the latter were placed in potential positions of interpreters or gatekeepers. A final and very important channel of communication which was frequently used was the newspapers. Newspapers will be seen to have played an important role in rugby politics and in various demands (an inter-urban conference for Blacks; property rights) which members of the Advisory Board initiated.

The nature and form of the messages which were initiated, and conveyed along the channels described, varied greatly. Thus a councillor may confront an official with a statement (which constitutes the message) which indicates his command over resources. He may do this to intimidate the official or to indicate the seriousness of his intent e.g. Mr. Mcinga to an official in a committee meeting:

"People are getting impatient. We feel the temper of the people ..... It's not going to be very long".

An intimidating statement of the resources at the disposal of a participant thus often comes in the form of what communication psychologists Hovland, Javis and Kelley (1964) have called 'fear-arousing appeals'. These statements come in the form of direct or only slightly veiled threats and have the effect of increasing emotional tension:

"The White man must speak to the Black man now while you can still see him" (Advisory Board member Phambi addressing young White people).

Emotional appeals may of course also have a more 'positive' aim in the sense of eliciting sympathy, empathy, affection and co-operation and other 'negative' aims by eliciting shame, guilt and concern in addition to fear, e.g.

".... join me in attempting to find an amicable, peaceful and sporting settlement of the very much regretted state of affairs" (Phambi during the rugby dispute).

Persuasive statements are followed-up by communications which elicit anticipations of escaping from the problem, guilt, threat, etc. These follow-up statements really constitute what the speaker wants to achieve in the long run and usually hold promise of reducing emotional tension.

The message may also come in the form of a statement of highly acceptable generalities which the receiving individuals can interpret in any way they please (see 'Rugby Politics' and 'Speeches and Functions').

A tactic which is also used, especially in committee, is to agree with an opponent's point of view in principle but to suggest that it should be put in a different way, e.g.

"He (Mr. Smith, an official) said he was in complete agreement with Mcinga's (councillor) sentiments but he was sure the recommendation would have much more success if the wording was 'slightly changed'."

Communication strategies are not exclusively verbal. When an individual is communicating directly with other people (all the subsequent examples, except where the press is involved) the impression his audience have of him goes beyond what he says. The listener gets a certain 'feel' for the speaker. Goffman (1959) in his 'impression management' has tried to define this and distinguished between an expression a person gives and the expression he 'gives off'.

The expression that a person gives involves verbal communication in the normal or traditional sense. The expression that a person gives off however, involves a wide range of action that his observers may interpret as symptomatic of him, the expectation being that the action was performed for reasons other than the information conveyed in this way. Obviously kinesics<sup>(1)</sup> is involved here, but the practical difficulties of recording this aspect together with all the other forms of communication resulted in only a little useful information being recorded in this field. Some attention is given this in Chapter 13.

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(1) Kinesics or body language. Vide: Bengé, 1972 : 65.

In initiating communication, especially that directed at the public, councillors and officials alike are aware, if only intuitively, that by communication the masses are helped to recognise their own importance in the power structure and they can be stimulated in political participation. In the large numbers of Black urban residents lie a reservoir of political resources for which the members of the Advisory Board know they must only find an effective way of exploiting.

"Without communication, widespread political participation is a figment of the imagination".

"Public opinion is something to reckon with and communication helps the public recognize its own role in (the) interaction between power and public opinion".  
(Lakshmana rao, 1966 : 107 - 108).

### Rugby Politics

No other field of activity has such an all-pervading effect on political life in the townships and on the Advisory Board itself as that of rugby. Part of the reason for this has been identified by Kuper in Durban.

".....(sport)....offering the relatively secure leadership denied in the largely forbidden field of politics.

..... considerable energy may be expended in the struggles for leadership within the sports associations. The study of the Durban and District African Football Association shows marked oligarchical tendencies and acute tensions over leadership, finally resolved by fission. Paradoxically, sports associations with racially exclusive memberships actively promote non-racialism in sport" (1965 : XVI).

An almost verbatim account stemming from interviews and group discussions, reflects the events which helped to shape the 'rugby politics' of the Port Elizabeth townships:

The rugby dispute started with a match between the clubs St. Cyprians and Springrose in 1970. A Springrose player punched a St. Cyprians player and was ordered off the field by the referee. The Springrose man refused to leave the field however. The incident was reported to a disciplinary committee of the Port Elizabeth African Rugby Board<sup>(1)</sup>. The decision of this committee was that there should be a replay. (This disciplinary committee was presided over by Mr. Qunza, a close friend and Advisory Board supporter of Mr. Mcinga - leader of the 'left flank'). At an executive meeting of the Port Elizabeth African Rugby Board, the

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(1) Which was then affiliated to the Black provincial body, the Eastern Province (African) Rugby Union. Some residents used to call this body the E.P. Rugby Board.

President Mr. Twaku, overruled this decision and decided that the points awarded to Springrose, who had won the match, should be awarded to St. Cyprians instead. The result was a split of rugby clubs into two factions, the one including Springrose and the other St. Cyprians. Officials also started taking sides. Messrs. Qumza and Mcinga supported the official P.E.A.R.B. stand that clubs should abide by its decisions.

In one of the important matches of the year, Springrose was to play Union. All the players had changed and had run onto the field when the Springrose team walked off saying, "where are our points?". The crowd erupted and stampeded for the gates. The takings had to be rescued and by this time Twaku, the President, had disappeared. The Springrose club then wrote to the Port Elizabeth African Rugby Board demanding that all future activities under it should be suspended.

Unfortunately, during the same year, Majola, a star cricket player and Springrose rugby player was killed in a car accident. As he was one of the townships' heroes, a number of clubs requested that fixtures be suspended and especially that no games be played on the first Saturday after his death. Twaku, President of the P.E. Board, responded by saying that although Majola's death was a

tragedy it was not customary to suspend fixtures in such an event. What normally happened was that representatives of the Rugby Board attended the funeral to show their respect. All clubs and members were free to do the same. This was immediately interpreted as a further anti-Springrose stand. A number of clubs led by Springrose then independently decided not to play their fixtures.

"Even St. Cyprians did not go and play their game - the very club that was awarded the points!"

"That was the birth of Kwaru" (26th June 1970).

Eight clubs<sup>(1)</sup> broke away from the Port Elizabeth African Rugby Board and hence from the provincial body, the Eastern Province African Rugby Union. They formed themselves into a union and applied to be recognised as a separate and independent union. The disaffiliated clubs wanted to stand on their own as the Kwazakhele Rugby Union or Kwaru.

An opportunity soon arose for Kwaru and the E.P. Rugby Union to merge. The main reason for the merger was that the Black township community was being divided. Kwaru actually approached officials of the E.P.A.R.U. with the offer. But, "..... it was a technical (probably implying

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(1) Some informants were adamant that eleven clubs in fact broke away.

tactical) blunder on our (E.P.A.R.U.) part when we refused". Kwaru immediately decided to by-pass the E.P.A.R.U. and affiliated with a Coloured rugby body (the 'non-racial' S.A.R.U.). Soon after this, on the eve of a tour by an international rugby team from England, the Rugby Advisory Council consisting of the main Black, White and Coloured rugby bodies, met. The differences between the South African Rugby Board, South African Federation and South African Rugby Union could not be resolved. The Coloured body broke away taking the line of fully integrated rugby or nothing. Kwaru, through S.A.R.U. also took this line and were soon followed by some Black clubs from the Western Province and Grahamstown.

"We are (S.A.R.U. and Kwaru) for merit selection and non-racial" (Maxakana).

"Well gentlemen, we (E.P.A.R.U.) are for merit selection, but let us go slowly until we are ready and are both administratively and socially accepted on our merits" (Mcinga).

Soon the question of the use of rugby grounds in the townships arose. The then Department of Bantu Administration and Development had the whole rugby controversy investigated. The end result was a circular from the Department indicating that all grounds were closed to Kwaru. It was privately stated by supporters that the only difference between the two contesting bodies which the investigation revealed was an ideological one.

The whole Black community was now divided. Kwaru was gaining sensational support from the residents, and above all were winning matches against the Coloured teams whereas before, the combined E.P.A.R.U. used to lose against the same teams.

The Chief Director of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Mr. B.L. Botha, who issued the directive concerning the use of fields soon found himself in the middle of the controversy. The issue became more and more heated and tempers became frayed. Opposing sides considered, and adopted, various strategies - although the E.P.A.R.U. were for the moment content to sit tight having got control of the playing facilities.

There was talk and threats of court action. In an effort to forestall such drastic measures a conciliatory line was adopted by Kwaru. Through Mr. M. Phambi, not only a senior official of Kwaru but also an important Advisory Board member, a plea came for an amicable settlement of what was called "The very much regretted dispute over use of playing facilities by Kwazakhele Rugby Union". Mr. Phambi adopted a strategy with a number of different facets. Using a number of well-prepared statements and speeches, separately or together, inside and outside the Advisory Board, he took an essentially diplomatic stance designed to win the Chief Director to Kwaru's side. The statement contained

not-so-gentle reminders of Kwaru's community-wide support and hence the political capital which it had at its disposal as well as the fact that it was the Chief Director's responsibility to serve not only his government, but also the best interests of all the township residents. Mr. Phambi's appeal to Mr. Botha and to the 'opposition' was also very clearly made with a large Black audience in mind. Whenever possible, the press was used to this end. The intense public interest in the controversy was a potential resource which Mr. Phambi (for his own personal ends as well) and Kwaru sought to exploit.

Mr. Phambi's main line of appeal reflects the essential characteristics of the strategy:

"Mr. Chairman, Sir, Chief Director - Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board, The Honourable Members of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board and the Officials of the Central Government as well as the Department of the Bantu Administration Board, allow me to invite you even at this late stage, to join me in attempting to find an amicable, peaceful and sporting settlement of the very much regretted state of affairs over the availability of playing facilities to Kwazakele Rugby Union.

I am aware, Sir, and the honourable gentlemen of this Board, that this matter, as reported in the Press recently, is likely to be a court dispute. May I comment Mr. Chairman, if I will not be treading on holy ground where angels fear to tread.

It is my humble submission, Sir, and bitter experience during my younger days, both as an active player and administrator of the game of rugby in this township of ours, that the legal actions have never brought about peaceful and sporting settlements over disputed facts. On many occasions we had been told to go back to our townships and try and settle the dispute by means of a dialogue between the opposing factions.

Court actions over the disputed facts in the affairs of the game of rugby, in my experience, are an expensive undertaking resulting in the bringing about of an indelible hatred and bitterness.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, why must we invite the Courts of Law to remind us of our responsibilities as leaders and administrators of our affairs in the African townships?

Sport is public property and its main function is to provide amusement benefitting all sections of the community. It is our main weapon in our hopeless fight against the rise of delinquency. The provision of playing facilities, as a kind of ammunition for those who are engaged in this war-front, is our collective responsibility to our community as a whole.

A wrong impression, by the Press, over the part played by the Chief Director, Mr. B.L. Botha, in the present dispute of denial of playing facilities to Kwaru has been created, and I regret it very much.

I am perfectly certain that those responsible for these press statements were not in possession of the true position and part played by the Chief Director in the whole ugly situation of our sporting activities in this township.

We are all fully aware of the active part taken by the Chief Director in trying to resolve the rugby dispute which ultimately gave rise to the birth of "Kwaru".

He attempted to negotiate peace terms in a mud-slinging meeting of so-called sportsmen in the Great Hall, Centenary Community Centre a few years ago. When he failed to achieve his objective at that meeting he did not wash his hands and shirk his responsibilities to the community in which he came to serve. He took up the fight and we are all aware of the final outcome of his "peace-negotiations" --- The official recognition of the Kwazakhele Rugby Union and the allocation of Zwide Stadium as a home for "Kwaru".

During the past few weeks I have been approached by leading people in our community as well as other Port Elizabeth Communities asking thus:- "What has happened? Why has Mr. Botha denied Kwaru the use of playing facilities".

I attribute all these questions to the misleading press statement about the true position of our rugby situation. Mr. Botha, in his capacity as Chief Director, is the servant of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board and he is under obligation to carry out its resolutions whether he approves of them or otherwise. To the Central Government who have licensed him as Chief Director he is duty bound to carry out the policy of the Government; whether that policy has his blessings or otherwise.

Mr. Botha, is Chief Director of our township and as such the custodian of our rights. He is bound by duty and honour to

safe-guard our interests as a whole community. He is bound to do justice to all and to serve the African community as a whole. Through him and through his office alone can our voice be heard by those in authority over us.

As far as memory carries me, I know of no law prohibiting the mixing on the playing fields of South Africa, of non-European sporting teams; the only possible interference by the Government is to bring about the Group Areas Act.

But even if the position is such, I will curse the day when the African community of Port Elizabeth will go to the highest courts of the land to test the authority of the powers that be. Even if we win the day our victory will be short-lived as the government is empowered to amend the law, as was my case against the Municipal Labour Bureau, when I was forced out of Port Elizabeth by the Municipal Labour Officer.

I believe that round-table discussions and dialogue is our best weapon. The door of the Chief Director is always open for such talks".

Throughout the year 1974 the Chief Director negotiated with the opposing factions separately and together, but with little success. His strategy for both sides was to plead that the decisions required (and the decisions already made) were out of his hands and were made 'higher up'. With the failure to resolve the differences matters soon came to a head. Kwaru took the case to court. The Chief Director, as the government agent, defended the action as well as his stand and won.

While the E.P.A.R.B. obviously saw the court decision as a victory for them as well - they retained the exclusive use of the fields, Kwaru kept trying to exert pressure. Press reports were rife - Kwaru was being forced to play in the 'open veld', the people were being 'deprived of seeing their top teams in action' etc. Whether it was because of the pressure exerted by Kwaru using the various strategies or whether concern for serious unrest was starting to grow in the upper echelons of government is difficult to say, but the Chief Director's decision was suddenly reversed early in 1975.

The immediate reaction of the E.P.A.R.B. and its supporters was that they had been 'dropped' by Mr. Botha, the Chief Director. They maintained that they had warned him not to get involved in rugby politics but,

"The whole thing is out of control now. In fact Mr. Botha has lost a lot of good face through his reversed ruling. In the past he has assisted the E.P.A.R.U. a lot, e.g. as was the case with the matches against the Italians and against the English and then with our tour to Italy. He has even stated in the past that Majola and Phambi (Kwaru) are upholding double standards by fighting for the non-racial Kwaru at the same time as being members of the pro-separate development Ciskei legislative assembly".

(Mcinga).

Kwaru simply acclaimed the fact that the fields had now being "liberated".

It was now the E.P.A.R.B. which frantically campaigned to have Kwaru ousted once more, but to no avail. Even a delegation which flew specially to Cape Town to see the Minister of Sport returned empty handed.

The split which occurred in Black rugby was not new to the Port Elizabeth townships. During the years 1951 to 1955 rugby still functioned under the common banner of South African Rugby Board. For the first three of those years Phambi was in fact chairman of this body. In 1954 he was however 'suspended for maladministration'. In 1956 more or less the same group that later became known as Kwaru broke away mainly as a result of personal rivalry. They then called themselves Port Elizabeth and District. This division lasted from 1956 to 1958 when the recognised leader of the Advisory Board at the time, Mr. Mnyanda, brought the groups together again. Because of the differences still existing within the newly united body a man from 'outside' became the first president - Mr. P.A. Mcinga. He was followed up in 1959 by Mr. Phambi. In 1960 it was once again Mcinga and 1961 Phambi. During this year Phambi was suspended for 'embezzlement of rugby funds'. Once again Mcinga took over and was also president for 1962. For the rest of the decade the Port Elizabeth African Rugby Board functioned more or less peacefully until the most recent division occurred in the middle of 1970.

Although the status quo was maintained as far as the playing grounds issue was concerned this did not signal an end to hostility and rivalry between the two groups. The E.P.A.R.B. was still dissatisfied that Kwaru had been granted permission to use the fields. Kwaru resented (though they could not publicly show this) the special privileges accorded officials and players of the E.P.A.R.B. The top officials, like Mr. Pat Cossie, Chairman of the Port Elizabeth African Rugby Board and Mr. Mcinga, chairman of the parent body, the Eastern Province African Rugby Board, were often invited to functions for visiting overseas teams, they were given complimentary tickets to the 'white' V.I.P. section of the grand stand at the Boet Erasmus Stadium (where all important matches, interprovincials, tests etc., are played by the teams of the White rugby body), and in the case of Mcinga served on a national selection panel to choose mixed teams to oppose visiting sides. Players of the E.P.A.R.B. were given the opportunity to oppose overseas teams as a 'Bantu' side and also as members of mixed sides. Individual players who excelled, as well as officials were often fêted by the controlling (White) South African Rugby Board and, occasionally, by the local Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

Kwaru grew from the original eight clubs that broke away and which comprised eleven senior teams and four junior teams, to a union of clubs consisting of thirty-nine teams (11 first, 15 second and 13

third teams). The following and support that Kwaru got from the residents was phenomenal. Large and enthusiastic crowds turned up for every match. As the teams of the opposing factions never competed against each other, the officials used the size of the crowds at their respective matches as a measure of their success. This 'competition' was especially pertinent when the fixtures of Kwaru and E.P.A.R.B. happened to be played next door to each other, at Zwide Stadium and Wolfson Stadium respectively, on the same afternoon.

Kwaru gained much publicity by the recruitment into its ranks of three White players - two from the Eastern Province provincial team. It also however obtained much negative publicity through internal problems.

The problems centered around dissatisfaction with the executive and its handling of Kwaru affairs. Eventually a meeting of dissatisfied members was held. The complaints voiced at the meeting included; the handling of finance and presentation of financial statements; selection of teams; inadequate facilities for the players; dissatisfaction about advance sales of tickets and the accounting of these etc. Privately members mentioned that when there was a match in Cape Town between Kwaru and Western Province, nine executive members went with

the players by air at great expense. They also complained that selection of teams did not always take place on merit but often on a 'friends of friends' basis. This meeting passed a vote of no confidence in the executive and selected an interim committee.

President of Kwaru, Mr. A. Sele<sup>(1)</sup>, responded by calling a public meeting in the Centenary Hall to answer the criticism. More than 600 people attended the meeting. Sele was the first to address the meeting and told the 'supporters' that his executive was willing to answer criticism of it. A supporter from the floor, Mr. A.W. Mjekula, immediately jumped up saying that they were not interested and not prepared to listen to Sele's explanation - instead he read out a list of grievances. A motion of no confidence in the executive was proposed and carried unanimously. Sele and his executive then walked out. A member of the new committee, elected as treasurer was Mr. B. Maxakana a prominent member of the Advisory Board. His presence is physical proof of the fact that the waves of the Kwaru upheavals did not leave the Advisory Board and the internal interaction of its members unaffected. For once Mr. Phambi, who at this time was a member of neither the old nor the new committees, came through the troubles unscathed.

The E.P.A.R.B. were not without their troubles at this time. Although

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(1) Mr. Sele as a press reporter was in regular attendance at the Advisory Board meetings.

they had to toe the government's sport policy line to do it, they were creating opportunities for their players to compete against, and play in the company of, top-level, even international, players. Rugby stars developed and such players and their teams had a wide following. The more radical and some of the younger people of the townships remained highly critical of the E.P.A.R.B. however and resentment amongst Kwaru followers was still intense. Thus when the Black urban riots which shook South Africa in 1976 swept through the Port Elizabeth townships - officials of the 'government - supporting' E.P.A.R.B. became the target of some of the dissatisfied youth.

Most of the discontent was focussed on the government - instituted 'Bantu Education' and the people involved in the riots were almost exclusively school children. Mr. Pat Cossie, President of the Port Elizabeth African Rugby Board and principal of one of the biggest schools in New Brighton, the Newell High School, found himself to be a natural target. Pupils at his school made up a song which they sang in his presence,

"U-Cossie akasoze angene eAzania kuba uyimpimpi"

(Cossie will never see Azania - the black militant name for South Africa - because he was an informer (police informer) ).

Mr. Cossie's house was stoned a number of times, his car was burned and there were several attempts on his life. He eventually fled Port Eliza-

beth fearing for his life. He said he did not know why he was called a police informer. He was the principal of a high school and a sports administrator and had no time to collect information for the police.

"I served the Port Elizabeth African community for 22 years but I did not know that my services were never required or appreciated".

Mr. P.A. Mcinga in the more senior position as President of the parent body, the E.P.A.R.U. and leader of this faction in the Advisory Board weathered the storm quite well. The reason for this was presumed to be his alleged early history of association with the banned African National Congress<sup>(1)</sup>.

This Kwaru example illustrates a sequence of initiatives. At first the leaders of Kwaru were successful in obtaining playing facilities (Diagram 5B, 7). These were then withdrawn by the officials (8). Kwaru leaders then mobilised public opinion (12) which in turn was directed at officialdom (5) but rejected. The final result was a successful one however (4). The use of the press by councillors and officials is depicted by (7), (8), (11), (12) and (9), (10) and (13) respectively. (13) being an attempt on the part of officials to bypass the Black leaders by communicating directly with the township public.

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(1) The role played in the dispute by Board members as Board members is shown in Chapters 13 and 14.

### Speeches and Functions

Members of the Advisory Board were involved in, or affected by a number of extra-boardroom activities other than rugby politics. One important such activity stemmed from the occasions, formal or social, where members were requested to, or where the occasion arose for them to address a gathering of township residents or visitors to the township or White residents of Port Elizabeth. Service clubs, church organisations, educational institutions and the Bantu Affairs Administration Board itself often presented members with such opportunities.

When an opportunity to make a speech or a statement presents itself, Advisory Board members (and Administration Officials if they are involved) grasp the opportunity to cultivate political resources, to accumulate political capital or to exploit these. At the same time they often endeavour to destroy the capital of an opponent. When the transactional nature of the relations of councillors with officials, with their colleagues and with their supporters is kept in mind, the statements and speeches which they make reveal the strategies they are adopting.

During 1975 for example, a party of students paid a look-listen-learn

visit to the townships. After a bus tour of the townships conducted by Mr. Jones, the Assistant Director, the students were taken to the Advisory Boardroom where they were addressed by 'leaders of the community'. The Administration had requested Messrs. Phambi, Majola, Mcinga and Ntonjeni (substituting for Rev. Morija) to perform this task. Although the bulk of what they had to say was simply informative - and was supposed to be i.e. they were asked to sketch the township structures of local government, education etc. - some of the statements that were made are of interest here.

"As a civic leader and a politician I can tell you that there is no dividing line between civics and politics in these townships. This is because the conditions under which we live - I was born in the worst and oldest part of New Brighton, the Red Location - and where we bring up our children are due to legislation and to do anything about this brings you to politics.

What we want is that 'Section 10' (Urban Areas Act of 1945)<sup>(1)</sup> must be amended. Our right to ownership of land was taken away, even leasehold of land was taken away. Here we have permits, permits, permits<sup>(2)</sup> for everything. The only time you don't need a permit is when you are born and when you die.

The homeland idea is 'O.K.', but it is not useful for the urban areas".

The other speakers followed more or less the same line. They pinpointed

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(1) See Appendix E number 34.

(2) The full import of a township residents' frustration and helplessness in the face of permits and red tape can be partly understood by examining Appendix E in its entirety. The nine pages of Appendix E number 3 for example reflect the numerous stages and people that have to be negotiated in order to obtain a lodger's permit. Examples of the various forms that have to be completed are also included.

the main problems and grievances of urban Blacks. These mostly revolved around; influx control; job reservation and resentment that Coloureds get preference in this area; lack of school and training facilities; equal job/equal pay; treatment of Blacks by officials, especially the superintendents; the Bantu Affairs Administration Board system. The outlining of the various problem-areas was followed up by a series of suggestions phrased in the form of demands and voiced in much stronger terms by the speakers. A cross-section of these statements reflects the strategy adopted and some of the resources utilised.

"You must speak to us while you can. The White man must speak to the Black man now while you can still see him".

"The urban African wants peace, but he also wants to share in the privileges. Détente must start at home and home for us are the urban areas. Here we have no political organ for urban Blacks. There are no political parties - even the Advisory Board can't talk politics. You can't point at the homeland leaders - they lead the minority of the Blacks".

"What we want is FULL CITIZENSHIP. We want home ownership - not a thirty year lease, it must be at least ninety-nine years. Give us a selection where to live - you don't have to worry I won't go and live in Summerstrand<sup>(1)</sup>. We also want proper trading rights - now we are allowed only little 'pondokkie'<sup>(2)</sup> shops".

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(1) Summerstrand is recognised as one of the more select White residential suburbs.

(2) Afrikaans for a small shanty, shack or hovel.

"The Black man feels socially insecure, but as an urban dweller he has come to stay. What is needed is that the White man's attitude must change and I suppose vice versa as well".

"We saw the B.A.A.B.<sup>(1)</sup> as a chance for Black councillors but we are not represented there. I say NO to 'ADVISORY'. All this splendour (points at the Boardroom in which the meeting is taking place) comes from the pocket of the Black man - but yet he has no rights as regards to them".

The three Advisory Board members, though highly critical of the whole Administration system indicated their satisfaction with the 'leadership of Mr. Botha who was present during these proceedings.

During this same year (1975) another event took place in the townships which illustrates the extra-Boardroom strategies adopted by participants in Advisory Board affairs. The occasion was a farewell function arranged for two retiring white officials, Mr. Connor and Mr. Wilfred.

The function was held in the small Centenary Hall at Kwaford. Quite a large number of Blacks attended, mostly employees of the Administration who had been asked to 'say goodbye' to the two officials. Also in

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(1) Abbreviated reference to the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board which administers all the urban Blacks in the area - a task it took over from the various municipalities.

attendance was Mr. Jones, Assistant Director, Mr. Botha, Chief Director, who was to speak on behalf of the Administration Board, Mr. Solombela, secretary of the Advisory Board, Mr. Majola, Advisory Board member, who was to speak on behalf of the township residents, and a few other White officials.

Mr. Jones acting as the master of ceremonies started proceedings with a few opening comments regarding the reason for the occasion and then introduced Mr. Botha. The Chief Director paid tribute to the two officials for their long service to the Black community. He also had a few light-hearted comments about each. In mentioning the 'tough task' that administrators had 'under the difficult conditions', he also pointed a veiled finger at Mr. Wilfred who, during his stint in office, not only generated many complaints from residents but also necessitated the personal intervention of the Chief Director upon occasion. The name which the residents gave him, 'inkomo iyahlaba' or 'Wild Beast' tells the rest of the story. Mr. Connor on the other hand was well liked and widely respected for his 'humanitarian approach'.

Thanking the officials on behalf of the 'African public', Mr. Majola said that he wanted to sound a word of warning,

"We are living in difficult times. We are living in times of change. We don't know what the future may hold. The

role of an administrator is an important one. In these difficult times it is very difficult to be an administrator and it is hard to find good men to do the job. So the Black people are thankful when they have dealings with a good man. For example, I know of nobody who has ever left Mr. Connor's office an unhappy person!" (No reference to Mr. Wilfred).

Gifts were handed to the officials by the Chief Director, again with suitable light-hearted comment linking some idiosyncracies of the two men with the gifts they received. Significantly, Mr. Connor was given an expensive recliner chair and Mr. Wilfred received an electric clock. A touching and beautiful impromptu song of thanks was sung by the Xhosa women present and the two officials then replied and said their thanks in turn.

Mr. Connor said that he wanted to leave a message with the people. Give charity to all. Blend the old traditions and customs with the knowledge and know-how that the White man can give. Blacks should not come to the cities with their qualifications - they should rather help the soon-to-be-independent homelands by going there or staying there and working there.

"Preserve the tranquility that we enjoy in Southern Africa with the charity I spoke about. I have always treated everybody equally. You are all good people - and I mean it".

Mr. Wilfred spoke of his long service. He emphasized the great problem of lack of housing, of the hundreds of people he had had to turn away. This kind of congestion went hand in hand with social problems.

"We are living in times of change. You people (indicating the Blacks) must prepare yourselves, get experience in leadership because soon you may have to fill such important roles".

The proceedings ended with the master of ceremonies initiating a hearty "For they are jolly good fellows" whereupon everybody was invited to tea.

Again the strategies of the councillors can be conceptualised as attempts to convey messages to the officials, but in this case often in the presence of a White and/or Black public (Diagram 5B). Their aim is still to effect certain changes on behalf of their people. Still they are striving for more power and a greater say in the affairs of their people. Channels (7) and (8) in the diagram were most frequently used although the councillors often viewed themselves as transmitters in the process represented by (4) and (5). Councillors' appeals directly to the environment in the form of the Black and White public are not depicted in the diagram.

### Committee Meetings.

Extra-Boardroom activities which took place on a more or less regular basis and had direct bearing on the Advisory Board meetings themselves, were the monthly meetings of the committees of the Board. Each of the committees, each under its chairman<sup>(1)</sup>, were supposed to meet every month well in advance of the Advisory Board meeting in order to prepare a report, usually in the form of various recommendations, which would then comprise the agenda of the monthly Advisory Board meeting. A typical example of such a meeting is given here to give an idea of the interaction which takes place and to show the role of committee meetings in Advisory Board affairs in general.

The Social Welfare and Health Committee meeting was held on the 28th April, 1975 in an office at the Kwaford Administration buildings.

The meeting was attended by the chairman, Mr. P.A. Mcinga, two other members and Mr. S. Smith (Deputising for Mr. Church) as the responsible white official. Mr. Solombela, the secretary, who would also normally attend, was officiating at another function. As Mr. Solombela was missing there was no agenda so Mr. Mcinga suggested they proceed without one. He was asked by Mr. Smith (who was sitting behind the desk in the office) whether he (Mr. Mcinga) would not like to sit there - Mr. Mcinga declined, "Not to worry", and proceeded to put his case verbally. He sketched the situation as far as the housing shortage was concerned.

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(1) The composition of these committees are outlined in the following chapter.

"You take the squatters, for example. People are getting impatient. We feel the temper of the people - on buses, in queues - and they will 'move out' to those who have to squat. It's not going to be very long. This is my fear. We must ask for a special meeting with Mr. Botha. He must speak with the very top. You know people are sleeping in cars, I know of four such families! In one place there are twenty-one people in one house! And the relation between the superintendents<sup>(1)</sup> and the public is bad. People are even prepared to build their own houses. We must allow people to put up shacks".

Smith: "We can't do this, it will create a slum situation. I know the situation is very serious but there is no money available now. Your example of twenty-one people living in the same house is an emergency case anyway".

This conversation carried on in the same vein for a long time, each man continually restating his case. Mr. Smith eventually gave an indication of what the Administration plans for the future.

Mcinga : "B.A.B.<sup>(2)</sup> plans are all theory".

Smith : "No! the B.A.B. is moving"

Mcinga : "Anyway things are so bad we need a temporary measure of some kind"

Smith : "I suggest you draft a resolution or proposal which sets out your case so that it can be discussed by the Advisory Board"

Mcinga : "With that I am one hundred per cent satisfied"

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(1) The superintendents (nolali) are in charge of allocating houses and of evicting people from houses. See Appendix E.

(2) Short for Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

The wording of the recommendation took a long time to finalise. Mcinga phrased it in very militant terms and put it as a demand and ultimatum to the Administration Board that they must either allow the erection of shacks or expect the worst consequences. Also that a home ownership scheme must be established immediately.

Smith cleverly engineered the situation. He said he was in complete agreement with Mcinga's sentiments but he was sure the recommendation would have much more success if the wording was 'slightly changed'. The version which was eventually tabled at the Advisory Board meeting of 12th May 1975 read as follows:

"Overcrowding in townships.

The committee discussed the question of overcrowding which exists in the townships, which is causing serious domestic problems.

Recommended:

That the Bantu Affairs Administration Board in addition to its present housing programme, permit as an emergency measure, the erection of shacks on serviced sites and impress upon the Department the critical need to establish a home ownership scheme".

Encased thus in bland diplomatic language, the original 'sting' was completely removed. The Advisory Board debate on this point developed not only into a confrontation between Mcinga and the senior White

official ("We can't rush things, we must plan first. We are aware of the problem" etc.), but also between him and Mr. Phambi ("this issue does not fall under your portfolio, but mine")<sup>(1)</sup>. The whole issue finally came to a close with a promise from the official "..... that we will make more sites available".

A few further issues were raised and discussed at the committee meeting, only one of which reached the Advisory Board - also in much watered-down form. The further pattern of discussion was as follows:

Mzamane : "There is a big problem with water in some areas of the townships"

Mcinga : "Yes, in the Red Location water is sometimes off for two weeks"

Smith : "These things must go to the right department. They have a lot of work to do and can't do everything at once"

Mzamane : "The bucket-carriers (for the non-waterborn toilets of the White townships of Port Elizabeth) don't have any protective clothing. They should please be given special clothing, and a changeroom and hot water"

Smith : "I am very shocked to hear this but it is not a problem for the Administration, it does not go to the Advisory Board."

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(1) See Chapter 13 for a full treatment of that meeting.

Mzamane : "At the abattoir the eating place has a sign 'Native Eating Room'. In these times we do not like this. It must be removed"

Mcinga : "The facilities there and for people to eat at the labour bureau are also very bad. After all we are past the atomic age!"

The meeting ended with Mr. Mzamane trying to resolve a problem which affected him personally as a businessman, but nothing came of this either.

Councillors attempted to activate channel (7) (Diagram 5B), but usually (8) was the result i.e. rejection or attempts at neutralization by the officials.

## The Press

Although some of the extra-boardroom activities discussed thus far gained press publicity in their own right, members of the Advisory Board also used the press as a channel of communication and as an alternative strategy per se.

Although a sample of residents indicated a not very wide newspaper readership, councillors firmly believed this to be an effective strategy. They may have been correct in that news was passed on by word of mouth to non-newspaper readers. It should perhaps be kept in mind that the readership they were often aiming at was not so much the Black community, but the White, and more especially those Whites in administration and government. Statements made by councillors in the press would evoke statements from officials in administration and government. A process of statements and counter-statements would thus be set in motion. Again participants' strategies would be geared to building, utilising or destroying political capital. Councillors especially, also attempted to establish a legitimacy with their followers by publicising their various endeavours. A few examples will illustrate the nature of this rather specialised extra-boardroom technique:

The Indaba<sup>(1)</sup> of October 22, 1975 carried a very prominent headline,

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(1) A supplement for Black readers of the Eastern Province Herald and Daily Dispatch. Half this supplement is in English and the other half in Xhosa.

"M O R E        M U S C L E"

"Leaders want power to make own decisions."

The gist of the report, written by Zwelakhe Sisulu, was as follows:

"'Black leaders serving as Bantu Advisory Board members want executive powers in the running of their own affairs'.

They were commenting on a statement by the Chief Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Mr. B.L. Botha. He said the Government was considering ways of giving the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board a bigger say in the running of the townships. One way could be for the Board's committee chairman to form an executive committee to hold joint meetings with the B.A.A.B.'s executive committee, Mr. Botha said.

But the Black leaders virtually rejected this, saying they wanted to sit on the decision-making executive committee itself. The right to vote and influence decisions concerning Africans was the only form of representation acceptable to them.

Mr. M. Phambi, chairman of the finance and general purposes committee, said 'We want equal status - we must be able to sit on the executive committee of the B.A.A.B. and nothing short of this would be acceptable'. He proposed that if Board members were allowed to sit on the executive committee all members be elected - not nominated. Mr. Phambi felt that the nomination of members to the Board and consequently to the executive committee would be contrary to the spirit of free choice.

Mr. D. Majola, chairman of the welfare, recreation and health committee, said Board members wanted to be 'part and parcel of decision-making bodies' that control the townships. There would be no point in serving in an advisory capacity. The lack of executive powers for members of the Board had resulted in people losing confidence in it, Mr. Majola said. African youth, who were a force to be reckoned with, did not hold that half a loaf was better than no bread. Their sentiments had to be respected, he said.

The traffic and transport committee chairman, Mr. B.P. Maxakana, said : 'I will not serve as a tool. Nothing but direct representation would be acceptable to me'.

The chairman of the education committee, the Rev. S.R. Morija, was ill.

The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M.C. Botha, has also said there would be a replacement of the present system of advisory councils and should be given increasing opportunities to take care of their own community interests".

As opposed to press reporters coming to them for statements, members of the Advisory Board would upon occasion solicit the support of the press on their own initiative. Thus Mr. M. Phambi for example, would activate a part of his social network in the person of his friend Mr. Sisulu<sup>(1)</sup>, a reporter for the Eastern Province Herald, and ask him to place an announcement of an intended meeting in his paper:

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(1) Who is also a Kwaru man.

"AFRICANS' HOMES MEETING"

"A meeting of the Port Elizabeth townships residents on Thursday will discuss home ownership and property rights for Blacks living in towns.

Mr. M. Phambi a leading Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board member who is convening the meeting, will seek a mandate from the people to press for property rights for Africans living in big cities.

The meeting will be held in the Centenary Great Hall, New Brighton, starting at 2 p.m.

Mr. Phambi will address the meeting on the advantages and disadvantages of the present homeownership scheme being implemented by the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards.

Residents of Zwide, Kwazakhele and New Brighton are requested to attend.

'I want to put forward my plan for the urban Blacks to obtain property rights in the cities', he said".

The reporter himself attended the meeting and on the following day his paper carried a report on the proceedings:

"3 000 TOLD THAT AFRICANS WANT TO OWN LAND"  
by Zwelakhe Sisulu.

"Urban Africans would not rest until they had acquired the right to own land, Mr. M. Phambi told a meeting of more than 3000 people who packed the Great Centenary Hall in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, last night. The meeting which lasted two hours was called to explain the new homeownership scheme to people of Kwazakele.

'We fought for home ownership and we will fight for the ownership of land too. The new ownership scheme merely accords us that status of being property owners but not land owners', Mr. Phambi said to thunderous applause. He said the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board had decided to open an advice office at Kwazakele where people could seek advice on the scheme and their rights.

He told the meeting that his board was willing, on request, to ask employers to try to raise loans for their employees to pay cash for their houses. Mr. Phambi criticised certain clauses in the deed of sale of the houses. One such clause, he said, stipulated that the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board satisfied itself that in the case of the home owner dying or vacating the house, the person who took over must be deemed 'a fit and proper person to take over the property'. He said: 'Only the parent or home owner can decide. The Board has no right to change a person's will'.

He urged people who bought their houses under the 30-year lease to approach the B.A.A.B. and determine the amount they still had to pay on their bonds before buying the houses. 'We are not prepared to pay double the price the houses cost when the 30-year lease first came into effect in 1956. It must be appreciated that we did not come to the urban areas to sell our labour, but to settle', he said.

Mr. D. Majola, another member of the Board, said the exclusion of the site rent in the circulars which were sent out to home owners had been misleading. The R8,60 for site rent and R8.89 for the monthly instalments would be too much, Mr. Majola said. He said: 'How many people can afford to pay R17 a month?''.

Various other campaigns, launched mainly through the help of the press, were eventually successfully concluded. One such effort was aimed at having a personal meeting with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and the other endeavoured to hold a national convention of Black Urban Councils and Advisory Boards in Port Elizabeth in order to discuss common problems. The main instigators of this last exercise, Messrs. Phambi and Majola, engineered regular and wide publicity for their proposal which eventually received country-wide urban Black support:

"URBAN BLACKS TO MEET IN P.E."

Herald Reporter.

"A top level meeting of African urban leaders from all over South Africa is to be held in Port Elizabeth on May 29, to discuss the problems of urban Africans. The meeting, drawing members of Joint Advisory Boards and Urban Bantu Councils from most major centres, has been organised by Mr. M. Phambi and Mr. D. Majola, members of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly for Victoria East - of which Port Elizabeth forms a part.

'In discussions with the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (B.A.A.B.) earlier this week, we realised the matters we were concerned about involved policy changes, which were outside the B.A.A.B.'s control', Mr. Phambi said last night.

'We then decided to take them up at Government level, and called the meeting of the urban leaders'".

This initiative sparked off a spate of press reports, and support, all over the country. Headlines from editions of the Evening Post and the Eastern Province Herald of the time, reflect this.

"BANTU BOARD MOVE BACKED"

"BID BY P.E. AFRICANS GETS WIDE SUPPORT"

"CONVENTION PROPOSAL TO GO BEFORE MINISTER"

The Chief Director of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board found himself in a position where he had to act and take the matter further:

"The Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board's proposal for a national convention of African urban councils and Advisory Boards is to be referred by the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M.C. Botha.

The Chief Director of B.A.A.B., Mr. B.L. Botha, said yesterday that the proposal would be dealt with at the January B.A.A.B. meeting and would be referred to the Minister because it was a policy matter which affected urban Africans nationally.

#### NEW DEAL

The proposal, which has been supported by the urban Bantu councils of Soweto, Durban, Pretoria, Grahamstown and

Uitenhage, representing collectively more than 1½ million Africans, aims at negotiating a new deal for the urban African.

It calls for the abolition of influx control, the migratory labour system, job reservation, and recognition of urban Africans as permanent dwellers in urban areas, fully entitled to South African citizenship, rights and status.

Yesterday Mr. B.L. Botha said the Cape Midlands B.A.A.B. was not in a position to take the decision to help convene a national convention of urban Africans. 'It is a policy decision and must be referred to ministerial level'.

The proposal will be considered by the executive committee of the B.A.A.B. before going before the full B.A.A.B. and then being referred to Mr. Botha (the Minister).

Mr. B.L. Botha said he could not comment on whether the proposal might meet with success".

The proposal was finally successful and the national conference was held:

#### "BLACK URBAN HEADS MEET"

"A national conference of Black urban leaders started in the Centenary Great Hall, New Brighton, today. The conference, which was attended by leaders from all the major cities and towns in South Africa, was officially opened by Mr. B.L. Botha, Chief Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

It is the first such meeting to be held in Port Elizabeth since Joint Bantu Advisory Boards met in Uitenhage some 20 years ago".

Members of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board were similarly successful in arranging for a delegation from their Board to meet with the Minister. After much early publicity members asked the Chief Director of the Administration Board to convey their request to the minister, which he obviously did. He in turn used the press to get mileage out of this particular issue:

"Mr. Botha said he delivered the Board's request to the Secretary of Bantu Administration in Pretoria last week. He said that he, and the B.A.A.B. chairman, Mr. C. Versfeld, would accompany the delegation to meet the Minister or his Deputy, Mr. Cruywagen.

Mr. Botha said he was grateful to the public of Port Elizabeth and leaders of the African community for the responsible manner in which they had handled the issue.

This is the kind of attitude that lays the foundation for successful negotiations in difficulties which may affect us in the future, and which will help us find solutions to our problems, he said".

Viewed in the long term especially, councillors' use of the press as an additional strategic tool seemed to pay off on some occasions. The issue of greater decision-making powers became a reality within a few years and that of property rights even sooner (see Chapter 14 for further elaboration). Channel (7), and by implication (4), in Diagram 5B was

effectively used to reach not only the officials but through them the environment. An important component in the environment was the Government which resulted in (2) and (13).

Both the members of the Advisory Board and the officials of the Administration are faced by a dilemma. The councillors as representatives of their people and the officials as controllers of the lives of these same people and their leaders, face the requirements of leadership. From these requirements stem their dilemma. Their leadership requires that they exercise power over others. But this power must also get the legitimating approval of these same 'others'. We have suggested that the roles played and the strategies adopted by Black leaders and White officials were in the main aimed at bringing about change and maintaining the status quo respectively. But the strategies were also aimed at mobilising power through their supporters while at the same time obtaining their legitimating approval. The events centering around the birth of Kwaru, the interaction during Board committee meetings and the direction of public statements, all reflect the attempted course of action. To mobilise their power the councillors must remain independent of their supporters - as must the officials remain independent of the township residents they administer. In so doing these leaders must 'farm' their resources carefully. To obtain the legitimating approval of the people, councillors and

officials must acknowledge their dependence on these people and they must attempt to use every possible resource at their disposal in order to produce results in the form of rewards which the people expect.

The kind of legitimacy achieved, though in most cases extremely limited, would constitute a combination of two types as identified by Weber (Gerth and Mills, 1958). These main types were individually and non-individually based legitimacy. The first was based on personal qualities and was also called charismatic legitimacy and this was more typical of the Black leaders. The second type consisted of two kinds, traditional and rational legitimacy. Rational legitimacy fits the position of officials in the sense that this kind of legitimacy is achieved within a legal or quasi-legal framework of a bureaucracy or some other explicit structure of administration or government. Both the councillors and the officials however, have a little of the characteristics of the 'other' type as well.

Phambi, Majola, Mcinga, Maxakana and others certainly qualify for legitimacy on the basis of charismatic leadership. They possess the necessary persuasive style, magnetic personality and ideological intensity. The Chief Director and one or two other officials score on this count as well. Both the councillors' and the officials' case for legitimacy

suffers on the basis of representation. The Black community did not elect or place the officials in their position of power. Although the councillors were elected to office, electoral support is limited as is the power that such leaders wield.

CHAPTER 12

STRATEGIES III - BOARDROOM ACTIVITIES

## Introduction

Discussions with most of the leading members of the Advisory Board continually revealed that they were strongly aware of their positions of responsibility as regards their people and the relative amount of power that stemmed from these positions. Gossip about each other quickly indicated some of the more highly valued qualities and abilities that were seen to be part and parcel of the 'job'.

"(He) loves his people"

"(He) has a lot of drive, he is civic conscious and takes an active interest in the welfare of his people. He is also very outspoken".

"(He) is very aware of his academic shortcomings".

"They are cowards, but he has a lot of guts and says just what he wants".

"(He) is clever and witty".

"(He) is steady and brainy".

It is perhaps not all that surprising to find that men came forward to serve on the Advisory Board. There are the personal, more practical reasons:

"We can sometimes help the people and they can then maybe help us".

"We get invited to all the important functions".

"The businessmen among us do benefit because they get contacts".

"Mr. ....'s main complaints are those affecting him personally. All he wants to do is to protect his little shop".

Most of the members offer as a reason for serving on the Board a desire for serving their people and it must certainly be rated an important factor.

"..... then I decided to join the Advisory Board, just to have some status into getting into the most difficult corners of officialdom in the township ..... it is purely that..... and then I'm interested in civic matters. If you are a civic leader you are given the opportunity offered ... that's all, and I became interested in the problems of my people".

"This (Membership of the Advisory Board) gives us some status with the community, but it also gives us status with the officials so that we can see them any time".

In providing some scope for leadership in the urban environment where alternatives are absent, Advisory Board membership also brings a Black man into direct contact with the White man - the wielder of power. In the Boardroom, members are confronted with the White officials who represent the instruments of control over every facet of the lives of the urban Black community. Excitement is provided and some curiosity

satisfied by getting an inside view into the complex and powerful machinery of control. Finally, an opportunity to display courage is provided in standing up and presenting and defending a case or point of view to the face of even a senior government representative.

There are of course also the prizes that are competed for. For both the White administration officials and the Black Advisory Board members this competition may be seen to operate basically on two levels. At stake on the wider society level is access to more resources, to political rights. At the local, township and often more personal level, the prizes present a wide spectrum of possibilities. Ambition, prestige, promotion, profit in business, status and a good name, are but a few of the issues that reveal themselves.

As competitors (except when competing against each other) the Advisory Board members start with a distinct disadvantage. With no decision-making power and otherwise also almost totally inhibited by legislation, the councillors can be described as anything but strong leaders. They do not have ready access to political resources. Their political credit is low. Where a strong leader can command, they have to ask. Where a strong leader has men at his disposal like instruments (Bailey, 1970 : 75) the members of the Advisory Board have at best got allies.

As the little support that they do have is mostly recruited on a personal basis, the size of the support is limited. For more, and more effective support, the very nature of the support would have to change. Whereas councillors now depend on the support of their effective networks of kin and close friends and on the support of their extended networks of transactionally linked followers, this moral and transactional support is not sufficient to build a large following. Only by more formal organisation and bureaucratisation could larger numbers of supporters be mobilised for political activity. A prerequisite would probably also be that a cause should be identified and this could serve to give the support momentum. In the absence of political organisations like political parties, the marshalling of massive support did not transpire until 1978 when Ciskei homeland politics became involved in the elections for the new Community Council.

The limited, visible support which Advisory Board members enjoy, raises the question of the legitimacy of their leadership. The councillors see themselves as representing their people, as do their allies and supporters. Even residents who do not actively support them and who prefer to shun the Advisory Board, grudgingly acknowledge the leadership role that they do play even if only to exploit their broker role.

Furthermore, in the absence of alternative avenues of leadership and because the administration prefers to recognise theirs' as the only voice of the urban Blacks, the disqualifications as to their legitimacy is to an extent neutralised.

Even though they are seemingly representative and some councillors are even elected, it must not be lost sight of that they serve on an advisory body. Decisions are made by Whites outside the context of the Advisory Board and the goals which this body and its members must pursue are set in the same way. The nature and direction of the leadership of the members is thus channeled for them.

The ambiguity of councillors' positions has further adverse effects on their leadership roles. As middlemen with their feet in two different and often contradictory worlds, the members are continually threatened by rejection from one or the other. To be able to play the game at all, they must play according to the rules of the Abelungu (white men). While it would satisfy the administration if they play the game correctly and well, if they play it too well it raises the suspicion of their own people. They are suspected of being the instruments of the administration, of implementing their policies, hence the terms 'stooges' and 'puppets'. An acutely frustrating position arises. While many of the members are aware of the peoples' problems and want to help them,

they are often unable to do anything about it. Paradoxically, it is by proclaiming their impotence that the Advisory Board members can strengthen their position. They get credibility with the people for honesty and perhaps some reaction from the Government (often in the form of concessions) to prove that they are not impotent.

The attempts by members of the Advisory Board to resolve this dilemma are reflected in the following chapters. Their strategy is essentially one of co-operation according to the minimum requirements for continued participation in the activities of the Advisory Board. At the same time varied postures are adopted to display their dissatisfaction, disagreement and hostility. Their attitude as regards the system or various regulations or decisions depends on the context of the situation i.e. depending on who is present, whether it is in an Advisory Board meeting or not, etc. Kuper (1965) describes this strategy as one of oscillation between servile and belligerent states.

Equipped with the meagre resources at their disposal, Advisory Board members go to the Boardroom and beyond and enter into, or at the very least find themselves involved in, a new range of transactional relationships. In the Advisory Board and its associated activities, their middlemen/urban broker roles are thrown into sharp relief. According

to Gearing's (1962) notion of structural pose, the councillors, during an Advisory Board meeting for example, see themselves as appropriately organised at that particular moment, for a particular purpose. In the sense that they are attempting to make, or to influence decisions made concerning the affairs of their people, they are, within this particular structural pose, acting politically. It is convenient to view this structural pose as but one in an interconnected series, each materialising rhythmically according to the task at hand. It may further be suggested that viewing a situation as a structural pose presents a framework for an orderly description of peoples' values within the context of interpersonal relations.

While a shared value system is a general feature of councillors' transactional relations with their own people, the Advisory Board situation presents conditions with disparate value systems as the key-note.

"The study of complex social structures,....., must not be confined to the common values and norms that prevail in them. The power relations between groups, the exchange transactions between organised collectivities, the interdependence between sub-structures in complex structures ..... all these are important problems that must be studied in order to understand complex social structures" (Blau, 1964 : 254)

As was partly shown in the previous chapters, not all the important interactional and transactional activities are exclusive to the Boardroom. Other, less formal situations also have significant relevance as components of the councillors' general strategy. Other meetings, social gatherings, discussions before and after Advisory Board sessions, bus-stop chit-chat, press-statements, all may have their share of important strategic manoeuvring.

It is perhaps convenient to visualise the action arena which was outlined in chapter 9 as consisting of sub-arenas or action fields. The action fields may be further subdivided. The formal action fields would comprise activities of the Advisory Board and committees of the Advisory Board. The informal action fields would include the members' activities outside of the context of the Board, i.e. with friends, other residents, amongst themselves, in other organisations and social intercourse in general. A third action field, the intermediary, would accommodate situations where members may be interacting informally, but in official Advisory Board capacity.

Such information as was available on activities within the informal and intermediary action fields was collected and recorded in more or less the conventional manner and without undue trouble. The formal action field, Advisory Board meetings, was quite a different matter however. Ironically, in the very situation where it was needed most, the use of a tape-recorder was refused.

Proceedings were noted as comprehensively as possible but the task was often a near-impossible one. Although some of the problems confronting an observer have been noted elsewhere (Richards and Kuper, 1971) many more can be added to the list e.g. some of the questions for which an attempt must be made to find answers to, include:

What special linguistic forms are used?

How is hostility expressed?

How is opposition concealed, revealed and/or resolved?

What extra-conciliar activities to prevent disruptive hostility or to find solutions to quarrels are used?

How is the degree of boredom, hostility or camaraderie prevailing in the Boardroom to be recorded?

How are facial expressions, gestures and 'body language' in general to be recorded?

What formal opening procedures, religious rituals and fixed seating arrangements are used?

What is the order of speaking and its significance?

What are the 'by-products' of the meeting? e.g. power-struggles between individuals and groups; the issuing of orders to inferior authorities; the communication of knowledge; the explanation of policy.

And finally, how can all these things be properly interpreted in order to reveal the accepted principles of social structure of the community?

The underlying hostilities, social hierarchies, tensions, alliances,

and the political and moral values must somehow be revealed. And what are the interrelations, the aims, interests and motivating forces of the participants? The picture that has emerged thus far, but in generalized terms, reflects the following:

A candidate seeks office and solicits support. In so doing he incurs a debt. If he wins he becomes a member of the Advisory Board and the debt he owes is to his supporters. If he becomes a member by virtue of Administration nomination, the debt he owes is mainly to the officials. Supporters of a Board member come to him for favours and this constitutes a credit. By virtue of his position on the Board he soon has personal contacts in the Administration and by learning the mechanics of the bureaucratic machinery he finds himself in the position of a broker. As such he can help people by channelling requests correctly and by giving his support. If his client gets what he wants the Board member again gains credit.

From the point of view of the Administration or Government, they want the Board to continue functioning, if only to gain some credibility with the Whites - but also obviously with the Black township residents in mind. With this in mind some pay off is given either by responding positively to demands or by befriending councillors with individual favours e.g. by helping those clients who seek favours (or their rights)

especially when supported by a councillor. Even so, what goes on at Board meetings is not only largely window dressing. Rewards may often be distributed outside the Boardroom through favours, but they are often fought for at the meetings (Chapters 13 and 14). In this way all parties get enough of what they want to make continuation of the game worthwhile - even if what they get is not always clearly visible.

In the rest of this and in the following two chapters the councillors' activities in the Boardroom will be analysed.

#### Boardroom, setting, seating and behaviour.

The aims, functions and procedure at meetings are all prescribed by official regulation. (Appendices A and F). The first meeting of the Board after the election of its members, is decided on, in terms of time and place, by the chairman. Monthly meetings are to be held thereafter on a day and at a time decided on by the Advisory Board. Special meetings may also be held and such meetings are called by the chairman. Members of the public are free to attend meetings.

Six members of the Board constitute a quorum and a quorum should be assembled within 15 minutes of the scheduled starting time or the

meeting may be adjourned by the chairman. Minutes are kept, read and confirmed at each meeting. A copy of the minutes is sent to the Bantu Affairs Administration Board. Previously these were sent to the city council.

Committees of the Advisory Board were also elected. These were elected from the members of the Advisory Board at its first meeting held in October each year. Each committee consisted of five members and they elected their own chairman and vice-chairman. Five committees were elected and their business concerned the following:

1. Education.
2. Parks, recreation and entertainment.
3. Social welfare and health services.
4. Public transport and traffic.
5. General purposes and finance.

Meetings of these committees were to be held as required to transact the business of the committee and in order to be in a position to report to the Advisory Board at its next meeting. Included in this report were to be such recommendations as the committee considers appropriate and desirable in regard to any matter contained in its terms of reference as prescribed by the Advisory Board. Meetings of committees were closed to the press and the public.

It is interesting to note the similarities and differences in the role

of these committees of the Advisory Board when compared to the committees that serve a city council. Spencer (1971 : 173 - 174) has described the role of committees of English councils.

The similarity lies therein that it is at this level that council members as voluntary part-time representatives come into direct contact with the full-time salaried officials in charge of the day-to-day running of the services. This is an important focal-point in the decision-making process. Within the context of an essentially 'master-servant' relationship (with these roles exactly reversed in the case of Advisory Board committees) much will depend on the rapport built up between councillors and officials. The English council members finally decide any issue while depending on technical advice and guidance from the officials.

In contrast, while an Advisory Board member may even be chairman of such a meeting, he is totally dependent not only on the advice of officials but also on their decisions. Though the latter may be very subtly disguised, equally they may not.

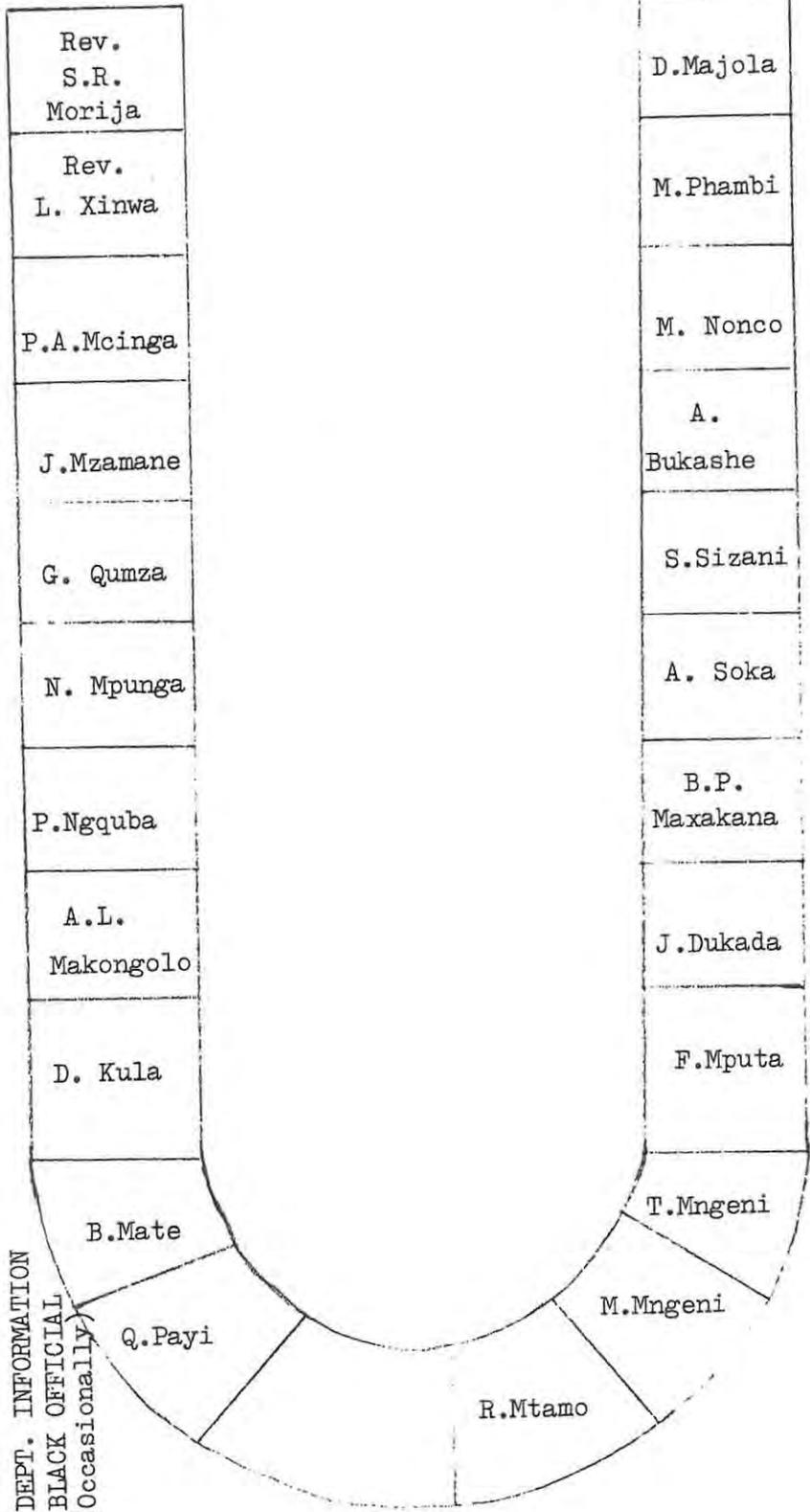
The monthly meeting of the Advisory Board is held in the Board chamber (Boardroom) located on the ground floor of the multi-storied Bantu Affairs Administration Board building at Kwaford. Its location is

next to the main access road to the Black townships and not within the limits of the officially designated 'Bantu Areas'. The Board chamber is served by toilet facilities labelled 'Amadoda' (men) and 'Abafazi' (women) as opposed to the 'Men' and 'Ladies' at the other end of the hall and on the other floors of the building. The Board-room itself is woodpanelled, long-curtained, oblong and large. Seating (Diagram 6) provided consists of a public gallery of three rows of benches at one end of the room, a heavy horse-shoe-shaped wooden table with 24 padded wooden chairs (with armrests) arranged around it and an even more solid judges-bench type table on a raised platform facing the open end of the horseshoe. This main table is served by seven chairs placed behind it, the distinctive chairman's chair being in the middle. Additional seating is provided in three corners of the room; for area superintendents; for the press and the secretary; for the press, department of information official and (during the period of research) the anthropologist. Smiling down (or looking sternly down, as the case may be) from the panelled walls are photographs of persons and people in a variety of combinations. These include the State President of South Africa, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, a group photograph of the Chief Director of the B.A.A.B. and a number of Board members, with that of the State President forming the centre-piece.

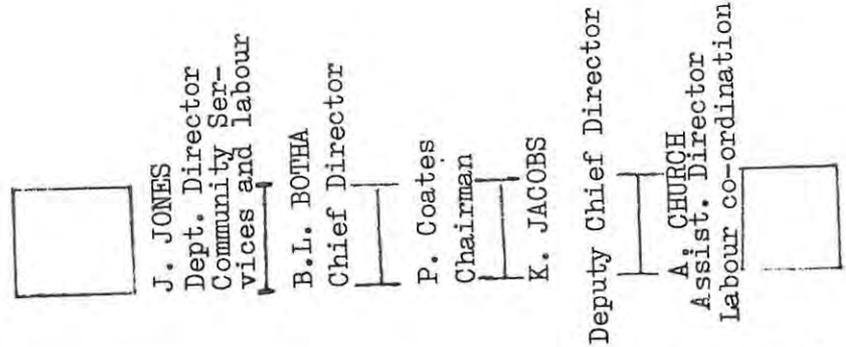
Meetings were usually held on every second Monday of the month at 6.00

S. Smith Area Manager, P.E
Various other officials
P. Bolt
S. Ferreira
B. Sam
K. Charles

AREA SUPERINTENDENTS



OBSERVER	PRESS (Occasionally)	DEPT. INFORMATION BLACK OFFICIAL (Occasionally)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



A. Sele (Press)
W. Makwabe (Press)
Z. Solombela Secretary

DIAGRAM 6.

PUBLIC GALLERY (VIRTUALLY ALWAYS UNOCCUPIED)

p.m. or 6.15 p.m. Members start to arrive singly or in twos and threes at about twenty minutes before the scheduled start. The last of those who arrive at all, is usually quite a few minutes late, this largely being due to transportation problems but also because the generally accepted interpretation of promptness as far as members are concerned is slightly more flexible than, and at variance with, the western ideal.

Until starting time the councillors sit or stand around discussing personal affairs, events of the day, the latest news or items scheduled to be dealt with during the meeting. A few may while away the time by paging through the minutes or the agenda or by reading that day's 'Evening Post'. Most of the lesser officials and the press also start to take their seats during this period.

The chairman accompanied by the Chief Director or Deputy Director (or both) and/or one or more of the next-in-line senior officials usually arrive just on six o'clock. As this party enters the chamber the company present rises and remains standing until the chairman, surrounded by the various white officials, takes his seat. The chairman, vice-chairman (the Chief Director or his substitute) and the Board members wear special black gowns with red trimmings and the secretary wears a plain black gown<sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) These are kept by the councillors for the duration of their term of office.

tie or jacket or tie with the exception of some of the lesser officials who may be attired in safari suits.

Procedure and debate during the meeting itself is conducted strictly according to the Western norm of committee procedures. Matters for discussion at meetings have to be placed on the agenda by the secretary. Any member who also wishes to raise any matter may do so by giving written notice to the secretary at least five days before a meeting is due to be held.

The formal order of business at meetings is as follows:

1. Election of chairman, when necessary. (This was never necessary as a white official was always designated to act as chairman well in advance of the meeting).
2. Signing the minutes.
3. Statements or communications by the chairman.
4. Interviews with deputations or persons summoned to attend the meeting.
5. Matters adjourned from any preceding meeting.
6. Report by the secretary.
7. Notices of matters or questions raised by members in the order in which they were received by the secretary.
8. General business. (If a matter is raised at this point, which the chairman regards as one about which proper prior notice should have been given but was not, he can rule that no further discussion be allowed on it).

It had become customary for the chairman to request one of the ministers present to open the meeting with prayer.

When speaking, a member must address the chair and must stand when doing so. If two or more members speak at the same time, the chairman determines to whom priority shall be given. When the chairman speaks all members have to be silent so that he may be heard without interruption. A member must speak strictly to the motion or matter under discussion. A member may speak to a point of order and be entitled to be heard forthwith. The ruling of the chairman on a point of order, or on the admissibility of a personal explanation is final and not open to discussion.

About half-way through the evening's proceedings tea is served to the assembled company by two Black female assistants. Plates of assorted biscuits are passed around. Except for the clinking of cups and teaspoons, the business of the meeting is not interrupted by this particular ritual.

Contemporary Advisory Board Composition and the Interactional perspectives  
of participants

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Area superintendents and other lesser white officials attend the monthly Advisory Board meetings because they had been instructed to do so ("to show interest") by the Chief Director. The Chief Director, Deputy Chief Director, Deputy Director or Assistant Directors attend because they may have to officiate and because it is part of their job as senior officials of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

These white officials come to the Advisory Board as men who directly control, not only the lives of a quarter of a million Blacks in the Port Elizabeth townships, but the lives of well over a million Black people living throughout the Eastern Cape. As officers of the government they are backed by government and legislation and are answerable directly to 'Pretoria'. Most are career 'Bantu' administrators and the more senior men have the training deemed appropriate by government. Of the more junior officials like the superintendents, the older men often have a long experience of that kind of job but lack formal training for it and may be not very highly educated. The more recently recruited, younger officials have on the average more formal training and more years of schooling than their older counterparts.

The most senior administrative positions are filled by Afrikaans-speaking, government-supporting officials. The high percentage of English-speaking next-in-line officials is a carry-over from the predominantly English-speaking city council administrative days.

Most of these men find themselves in the Boardroom as a result of job requirements. Many of them are ambitious and want to improve their positions in the hierarchy or want to use their present job as a stepping-stone to better things. Some of the officials have a life-long association with Black affairs and have developed a genuine interest in, and concern for, the welfare of the people. For others such association has seemed to have had a contrary effect.

The White officials comprise one side in the Advisory Board. The other side, the Black councillors, come to the Boardroom for reasons of their own. Members serve on the Advisory Board because they genuinely want to help their people. But they also serve for a variety of other reasons like business, prestige, publicity, ambition etc. They are willing to serve on this purely 'advisory' Board as no other formal channel of political expression is available. They generally feel that they are better able to manipulate the situation from within such a body than from without. They see it as a means to an end. They believe that they are serving a purpose, if not as a Board, then as individuals operating through the Board and using it as a vehicle.

The Black members of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board present a wide range of educational background, occupation, cross-cutting affiliations and cleavages. These and other activity fields, often overlapping, represent those areas of their social networks from which councillors may marshal resources to be used in their transactions.

The accompanying list of Advisory Board members shows some of their more important affiliations. This list, viewed together with councillors' seating patterns around the horseshoe table (Diagram 6) reveals some of the characteristics of the interactional setting.

Although they are firm friends and often stand together on the same ticket for Advisory Board elections, councillors Phambi and Mcinga are the recognised leaders of two opposing groups. What separates these two men and most of their supporters is involvement in two opposing rugby bodies, Kwaru and the E.P.R.U. Mcinga himself readily admits, "Life in this area is determined by sports politics". A more detailed treatment of this split was given in the previous chapter. Suffice it to repeat that the quarrel is a deep-rooted one of long standing and the more obvious difference in the two bodies to-day is to be found in Kwaru's pro-fully-integrated-sport stand as opposed to E.P.R.U.'s pro-government-gradual-change-in-sport stand.

TABLE 1  
MEMBERS OF THE JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD

1974 / 75

	EDUCATION	ETHNIC	RUGBY	CISKEI POL.	TOWN ROOT	CIS/TRANS	BOARD POL.
* Morija (Minister of the church)	M.A.	S	E	S	R	O	M
* Kinwa (Minister of the church)	Matric Teachers Diploma	F	F	S	G	T	M
Mcinga (Social Worker)	Diploma Social Work	X	E	S	R	C	M
Bukashe (Attorney's Clerk)	Self-made	X	K	S	R	C	P
* Mzamane (Businessman (shop))	Std. 6	F	E	S	G	T	M
* Qumza (School Principal)	Teacher's Diploma	F	E	M	R	C	M
Ngquba (Businessman) (Butcher)	Std. 7	F	K	S	R	C	M
Mpunga (Labourer)	Std. 6	X	K	S	R	C	P
* Makongolo (Businessman (Contractor))	Std. 6	X	F	S	R	C	P
Kula (Businessman) (Property owner)	Std. 5	X	F	S	R	C	N
* Mate (School Principal)	Teacher's Diploma	X	K	S	R	C	N
Payi (Shop owner) (retired principal)	Teacher's Diploma	S	F	S	R	C	N
* Mtamo (Labourer (part-time sect Minister))	Std. 7	X	F	S	R	C	P
* M. Mngeni (labourer)	Std. 6	X	F	S	R	C	P
Dukada (Secretary of Zwide School Board)	Teacher's Diploma	X	K	S	R	C	P
* T. Mngeni (Labourer)	Std. 5	X	F	S	R	C	P
Soka (labourer)	Std. 5	X	F	S	G	C	P
Mputa (Clerk in Dept. of Municipality)	Matric	X	K	S	R	C	P
Maxakana (Businessman (Garage owner))	Teacher's Diploma	X	K	S	G	C	P
Sizani (Salesman - O.K.Bazaars)	Std. 6	F	K	S	R	C	P
Nonco (Butcher)	J.C.	F	K	S	R	C	P
Phambi (Funeral Director) 'M.P.'	J.C. Diploma Soc. Work	X	K	S	R	C	P
Majola (Butcher) 'M.P.'	Matric	X	K	S	R	C	P
1 vacancy							
Nominees *							

ETHNIC : Mfengu = F, Xhosa = X, Sotho = S.  
RUGBY : Kwaru = K, E.P.R.U. = E, On the fence = F.  
CISKEI POLITICS : Mabandla = M, Sebe = S.

TOWN ROOTEDNESS: Amarhanuqa = R, Amagoduka = G  
CISKEI/TRANSKEI ORIGIN: Ciskei = C,  
Transkei = T, Other = O  
BOARD POLITICS : Phambi = P, Mcinga = M, Neutral = N

The Mcinga men sit along the left-hand arm (from the observer's vantage-point) of the horse-shoe table. The Phambi men, with a few exceptions, sit along the right-hand arm of the table. Seniority in age or status tends to group toward the two ends of the table. The neutral members (some call them 'fence-sitters') and the more junior members are to be found grouping round the bend of the table. Councillors Mpunga and Makongolo should be seated on the Phambi side but space does not allow this as the Phambi men are in the majority. There is some doubt concerning Mr. Mgquba who sits on the Mcinga side. The Phambi men say that he is correctly seated but the Mcinga men suggest that he should be on the 'other side'. "He is a stooge of Phambi". By his own admission and in practise however, Ngquba sides with Mcinga more often than with Phambi.

If a system of seniority by position was strictly adhered to, one would expect Phambi to occupy the 'Number 1' seat on the right flank. Majola, Phambi's right-hand man sits there however, with Phambi in the 'No. 2' position. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that this chair was previously (until his death) occupied by Mr. B.J. Mnyanda. Mnyanda, a long-serving Advisory Board member, was probably the most universally respected urban Black leader in the history of the area. Advisory Board members, past and present and without exception, saw him as the ideal choice as the first Black chairman of the Board - should

this have been possible. Though a 'moderate' Mnyanda was often described as a man who "took a stand on behalf of his people". He was also very articulate, dynamic and in great demand as a speaker. Hence it was suggested that Phambi, "By taking over his seat may be trying to identify with the 'old man' (Mnyanda)".

The rest of the men on the right flank are arranged on a rough seniority basis. Mr. Maxakana should be seated much closer to Phambi but his actual position signifies his independence within the group. He often takes an independent stand and in so doing may even differ with Phambi. "Sometimes we differ. For example, (you will remember) when I opposed increase of rentals I differed from my group".

Maxakana was also widely known for his generosity. A successful businessman, he often gave large sums of money for deserving causes in sport or education.

On the left flank the recognised leader Mr. Mcinga, is seated at 'No. 3' with the group's symbolic leader (and to an extent that of the whole Advisory Board - most members calling him a respectful umfundisi, the term for a minister or a teacher) the Rev. Morija at 'No. 1'. At the age of 76 Morija is the oldest and longest serving councillor and the one with the highest educational qualifications. These include an M.A.

from Columbia University in the U.S.A. and an honorary doctorate of Theology from the Black University of Fort Hare<sup>(1)</sup>. Rev. Xinwa earns his 'No. 2' position by virtue of similar qualifications - though he is not nearly as old or as long-serving as Morija.

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- (1) But for the frailty and ill-health of old age, Rev. Morija would have been much more of a force in the affairs of the Advisory Board - as indeed he was when he was younger and still an elected member. The honorary doctorate was awarded to him by the University of Fort Hare in recognition for his outstanding services to the church and the African community. He graduated from this same University in 1930 and obtained his honours degree in ethics by private study in 1932. In 1937 he won a scholarship to study for his M.A. at Columbia University, U.S.A. On his return from the U.S. he was appointed minister in charge of the Presbyterian Church in New Brighton in 1940 and two years later he founded the first secondary school in Port Elizabeth for black children, and also became its first principal. The school, Newell High School, has produced many of the leading residents of the township - Advisory Board members, doctors, teachers, nurses and businessmen. For many years he was a national executive member of the Municipal Advisory Board Congress. He was the first Black Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the Eastern Cape Province - he was proposed and elected unanimously by the Presbytery which had a large White majority. He has been deputy commissioner of the Cape Midlands African Boy Scout Association. Rev. Morija has visited the U.S., U.K., the Continent and the Far East on moral rearmament missions. In April 1973 the freedom of the Port Elizabeth Black townships was conferred on him for services to the community. In August of the same year he received a silver medal from the University of South Africa for his services to the Black community. The occasion was that University's 100 year celebration.

The 'neutral' members sitting round the bend of the table are councillors Kula, Mate and Payi. Of the three, only old grey-haired Mr. Payi ever took an active part in proceedings, and then often to discuss matters that affected him personally. His record of supporting some of the decisions of the abelungu (the whites), together with his generally subservient attitude and style, has earned him the designation of 'Uncle Tom'.

A few members attained special prominence in the Advisory Board by virtue of their length of service together with their chairmanship of sub-committees of the Board. Mr. M. Phambi (20 years of service) occupied the senior 'portfolio' as chairman of the General Purposes and Finance sub-committee. Although membership in these sub-committees fluctuated widely during the years of research, more or less regular members of this committee included councillors Sizani, Bukashe, Maxakana and Mputa. The White administration official assigned to this committee, and hence responsible for attending its meetings, was Mr. M. Roux. Mr. Z. Solombela, secretary of the Advisory Board, also served as secretary for this committee. In Mr. Phambi's absence, Mr. Maxakana would act as his *secundus*.

Rev. S.R. Morija (38 years membership of the Advisory Board) chaired

the Education sub-committee. Other members who served on this committee at one time or another included Payi (Moriya's secundus), Xinwa , Mcinga, Nonco, Maxakana, Makongolo, Kula and Majola. Mr. J. Jones was the responsible white official and Mr. Solombela the secretary.

Chairman of the Public Transport and Traffic committee was Mr. B. Maxakana who had served on the Advisory Board for 10 years.

Ordinary members were Messrs. Mputa, Sizani and Phambi. Mr. F. Mputa would be acting chairman in Maxakana's absence. Mr. G. Connor was the administration official responsible, and again Mr. Solombela the secretary.

The Parks, Recreation and Entertainment sub-committee was headed by Mr. D. Majola (30 years on the Advisory Board). The other members of the committee were councillors Maxakana, Payi, Kula, Makongolo, Mcinga, Qumza, Nonco and Majola's secundus Mr. J. Mzamane. The responsible official was Mr. M. Roux and the secretary Mr. Solombela.

Finally, Mr. P.A. Mcinga chaired the Social Welfare and Health Services sub-committee. He has served on the Advisory Board for 21 years. The other members of the committee were Messrs. Ngquba, Kula, Maxakana, Makongolo, Qumza and Mzamane. This committee was also the responsibility of Mr. M. Roux and Mr. Solombela was the secretary.

These chairmen of committees, and a few other individuals like Qunza and Mzamane are generally recognised by their fellow councillors as the most important and influential members of the Board. The reason for this is obviously their superior command of resources through their transactional relations, their abilities and, as members put it, because "they are always in the limelight in discussions" and "because of their active interest in the civic welfare of the people .... they are outspoken. Moriija for example, acts as intermediary with the officials". Other suggestions are: "They are tactful. They joined homeland affairs bodies" "They belong to many other organizations. They have a lot of influence 'outside'". "The other members are as good as gone or not there at all". (Vide : Chapter 13).

Mr. P. Coates, a White Port Elizabeth City Councillor, was the chairman at the Advisory Board meetings - a practise carried over from the days when the Black townships were administered by, and the responsibility of, the Port Elizabeth City Council. His status as a non-administration official gave him some measure of neutrality. Although he is responsible for running the meetings Mr. Coates is regarded as a mere figure-head and he is often (especially during heated debate) all but ignored during a meeting. He is very precise about the meeting procedure but he often misinterprets a situation or a statement and generally generates a lot of frustration amongst the members who merely tolerate him. With

the exception of Mr. Phambi who is his close personal friend, he is not regarded with much favour. "Mr. Coates is a weak man". "I don't trust him". "Mr. Kotze (Mr. Coate's predecessor) was better". Members views<sup>(1)</sup> as regards some of the other officials who participate in, or attend the Advisory Board meetings are equally explicit.

Chief Director B.L. Botha :

"Dilizintaba" - he is going to break down mountains, the impossible stumbling blocks of the Blacks."

"He is very ambitious and energetic"

"He is fair, he can talk our language"

"He's got contacts 'higher up!'"

"He is a diplomat. He has a good image in 'Pretoria'. But we Xhosa are shrewd, he must check our feelings"

"He mixes freely with the people, he addresses gatherings and attends social functions and funerals"

"He pulls no punches. No is no and yes is yes. He does not hesitate to rap fingers".

"Since his time he has made the officials aware that these people are making demands and at the same time that every effort should be made - he had tried to force the officials to recognise the people as human beings, not as pieces of material ... I mean if you go to their (the officials) offices now there are chairs for people waiting and in general everybody is more attentive".

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(1) Some of these statements are free translations from the original Xhosa. They represent concensus amongst the councillors. The comments were solicited but were also heard to be made in general conversation.

Deputy Chief Director, K. Jacobs :

"He is a typical official. He is strict to the law"

"He does not bend. He is honest, polite and steady"

Deputy Director, J. Jones :

"He is pleasant and humble but he has no backbone, he is a coward"

"He likes to dismiss people"

"He is popular with the public"

"He is like a lamb, polite"

"Like Botha he is straight and is fair in giving judgement"

Area Manager S. Smith :

"He is slippery, unpredictable, we must get things from him in black and white"

"He is very accessible. He is never angry but he's got his favourites"

"He is popular with the people. McBride does not like him"

"He does not know Xhosa"

Various nolalincinci and nolalinkulu. (literally small and big superintendents i.e. township managers, area superintendents etc.)

Wilfred :

"Inkomo iyahlaba" - wild beast.

"He looks at you with contempt"

"He quarrels with everybody, Maxakana, Majola, everybody"

"I once went to see aKwazakhele official on behalf of a young man who was declared a unqualified resident of the townships. This official 'phoned Wilfred saying, "Hallo, Hitler? Mussolini here! (he styled himself as Mussolini and Wilfred as Hitler) How's that black heart of yours!'"

Connor :

"Connor is very popular"

"He has a good humanitarian approach"

"You always leave Mr. Connor's office a happy man - whether you got what you wanted or not!"

"He is very understanding, he has dignity and he has the welfare of the people at heart".

McBride :

"Zamuxolo" - one who is attempting to establish peace.

Bryant :

"Typically English, you don't know where you stand with him"

Charles :

"He is very accommodating"

"He twists the law to suit the people"

Wolf :

"He is unpredictable and has no tact"

"He speaks Xhosa very well"

Waddington :

"Mr. Waddington is always very polite"

"He is patient and helpful"

Moorcroft :

"He is clumsy"

Holmes :

"He has a poor image with the people"

Ferreira and Malan :

"Those two youngsters are very popular"

Mann :

"He is rude to people. He was once even very rude to umfundisi  
(Rev. Morija).

The White officials' views of the councillors tend to be more stereotypical. Only occasionally are individuals singled out. "He (Phambi) is no fool". "He (Mcinga) knows how to use the language. He has a lot to say but doesn't really say much". More frequently the councillors are grouped together for comment:

"Half of them don't know what is going on"

"Don't let them fool you, they know exactly what the story is and what they want"

"All that they really worry about are their own affairs"

"They will never learn. No matter how hard we try they'll never be able to do anything for themselves"

"A few of them know what responsibility is"

"They're like a bunch of monkeys in those coats (the official councillors' gowns)".

Although some of the Board members have relations with officials based on friendship and mutual respect, the views of Blacks and Whites reflected above, are important ingredients of the Advisory Board setting. The presence or absence of certain individuals, their involvement or otherwise, and the views held about them, good or bad, all help to shape the strategies adopted at particular times and concerning certain issues. (Vide : Chapter 14).

In addition to the major official/councillor opposition and the left/right flank factions<sup>(1)</sup>, a few other less obvious divisions can be identified in the Advisory Board. The first such division is between Mfengu (Fingo) and Xhosa. It would seem to be more than a coincidence that all of the left flank faction are non-Xhosa (mostly Mfengu) with the exception of only Mcinga himself. All of the right flank (in-

(1) 'Faction' used here in the sense of "... a coalition of persons (followers) recruited personally according to structurally diverse principles by or on behalf of a person in conflict with another person or persons, with whom they were formerly united, over honour and/or control over resources" (Boissevain, 1974 : 192).

cluding Bukashe and Makongolo who are sitting on the 'wrong' side) are Xhosa with the exceptions of only Sizani and Nonco out of a total of 14. What used to be antagonism between these groups is dying out but an awareness of an ethnic identity appears to be not too far below the surface. Although both groups are Xhosa-speaking (the Mfengu having adopted this language) some quite distinct traditional cultural differences can still be discerned - the Mfengu are more recent immigrants from Zulu-Natal into the Xhosa areas of Transkei and Ciskei.

"The Mfengu were traitors. They were liked by the Abelungu (whites) and fought with the British in the early days. They were also given more opportunities by the missionaries. The Xhosa rejected religion at that time because it made them cry and only weaklings cry. The present government made everybody feel that they were Xhosa whether they were Mfengu or not. Now the Xhosa are asserting themselves after their history of suppression. They (the Xhosa) are more enlightened than the Mfengu. You can see in the police, schools, doctors, administration and by the members of this Board. The Mfengu resent this. The Ciskei government have put a majority of Xhosa in the cabinet and only one of the Mfengu. People must get used to Xhosa in important places. You can see the Afrikaners had to fight in the same way to get to the top. The Xhosa are by nature friendly, the Mfengu are schemers" (Z. Solombela, a Xhosa).

A further illustration of the importance of ethnic identity may be given by looking at the effective network of relations of a non-Advisory Board member, but a network which includes such a member. Ego is Mr. Mzimemi

a teacher and a Mfengu. He is married to a Mfengu. In addition to his consanguins who are all Mfengu and his affines who are mostly Mfengu, he includes the following people as his closest personal friends:

Bopa (clerk), Xhosa but married to a Mfengu.

Mnapa (Motor Company employee), Mfengu though married to an Xhosa.

Tsengu (Attorney) ditto Mnapa.

Maxakana (garage owner and Advisory Board member), Xhosa married to Mfengu.

Additionally Mnapa and Bopa come from the same area of the Transkei as the respondent and Tsengu comes from an adjacent area.

Amarhanuga (committed to city life) and Amagoduka (homeland orientated) differences have even less significance in Advisory Board activities. The Amagoduka are by far the minority with only four members explicitly claiming and displaying that status. Ciskei and Transkei affairs are however often drawn into Advisory Board business but this is for practical reasons and convenience and not necessarily because of a committedness to one of these areas. Two of the more prominent members for example, Majola and Phambi, were members of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

With only two members originally from the Transkei, Xinwa and Mzamane,

a Ciskei/Transkei division never attained much importance, although councillor Mzamane especially, sometimes tried to draw Transkei affairs into discussions.

With only one exception, councillor Qumza, the members (whether Transkeians by birth or whether they shunned 'homelands' politics) were supporters of Chief Minister Sebe, leader of the ruling Ciskeian political party.

Elected members tended to look down upon the nominees (see Table 1). They suggest that the nominees are men who favour the administration or are harmless and are thus appointed. They are also scared to speak out for fear of losing their positions. It is however, readily admitted that some of the nominees, notably Mr. Qumza, are more active than a few of the elected members.

"With all the nominees - they have to be careful. I think it is only Qumza you hear time and again. Though you notice one thing with Qumza and even his friend Mcinga for that matter - the day Mr. Botha (the Chief Director) is absent, they bite severely. The day he is present they are as humble as..... (laughs!) You find that is the position".

"You see there are those few men who are dedicated to the cause of our people - who are expressing the wish of our people .... but then there's also a lot of dead wood there".

Although by regulation not allowed actively to participate in the affairs of the Advisory Board, the press played an important indirect role. Councillors were well aware of the presence of the local Evening Post and/or Eastern Province Herald black reporters who were always quick to report issues of the Advisory Board. Contentious matters, and councillors' statements concerning these, often figured prominently in the next day's papers. Members believed this to be a valuable channel through which to communicate their efforts, not only or even so much, to their own people, but to the white electorate, including of course officials in administration and government. One reporter felt himself directly involved in the affairs of his people and hence automatically in the activities of the Board. By virtue of this he tried to have an effect on proceedings, to participate indirectly in boardroom interaction by sending notes containing suggestions on statements and strategy to certain members who were a part of his personal network.

Observer-effect was a final factor to keep in mind. As far as councillors were concerned, their awareness of the presence of the observer all but disappeared after the first few meetings. This sensitivity was increased only sporadically afterwards during meetings immediately following an interview during which they became more aware of what I was interested in and the issues involved. Officials, especially the

more senior ones, were continually and overtly conscious of the presence of the observer. Some tried to put on an impressive 'performance' for the benefit of the anthropologist. Occasional reference, by both councillors and officials, would be made at what seemed to them appropriate moments to "The man from the university".

This then is the context of Advisory Board meetings. In a sense it is a meeting place of middlemen, urban brokers and transactional leaders. Whether lowly nominated member or Chief Director, their responsibility or obligation includes paying off political and other debts evoked by their transactional activities. Many of these men also come to the Advisory Board to initiate new interactions aimed at future goals such as access to new resources or a greater share in existing ones. Thus participants could clearly be differentiated on the basis of access to resources and investment in and commitment to Advisory Board and associated activities.

Whereas councillors compete with each other on roughly equal terms, officials come to the Advisory Board with a built-in advantage. As their authority is rooted in the formal powers and sanctions of the administration and government they are provided with the tools which enable even those officials without inherent leadership qualities to increase their scope of authority beyond that initially vested in them by the employment contract.

Councillors would have some authority, but only over their followers, derived from the legitimated power that they have over these followers which was created through transaction. For officials their institutionalised authority is in itself a source of power. The amount of power depends on the status on the individual.

Transactions in, or associated with the Advisory Board, produce further differentiation of power. Obviously an individual who has control over resources that others need, without in turn being dependent on them for resources, has power over such people by relating the satisfaction of their needs to their co-operation. Effective performance also depends on the experience, abilities and skill of the individual. Less articulate councillors were thus further handicapped when faced for example by the chairman's insistence on proper meeting procedure. When the more traditional style of lengthy, colourful and roundabout rhetoric was disallowed, they not only became frustrated but became so entangled in the trappings of meeting procedure as to be rendered largely ineffective (chapter 13).

Although most of the councillors participate in the Advisory Board without supporting or approving of the system of which it is part, they do so in the belief that at this level they have the best opportunity of successful negotiation:

"(It is best) for us to go to the top .... there is that general feeling that on top there, it's not so hot and the attitude is very cool up there. But down the stairs it is very, very hot, the ordinary low official is very officious. He wants to show he is an official and behind him there is policy ... that is where the friction is, the crux of the matter in our living is there with the nolali at the low level".

The Advisory Board system has persisted for more than fifty years but it has mostly operated at a low level of credibility and participation on the part of the Black community has fluctuated widely.

The reason for this is obviously that widespread dissatisfaction with a particular institution or system leads to opposition to it. This opposition may be in the form of ideologies or even alternative movements.

Advisory Board members are thus faced with a basic dilemma. The elected councillors especially, owe something in return for the investment their supporters have made in them. Their's is not a problem of identifying the needs and grievances of their people - of these they are well aware. Their problem and hence their dilemma lies in that they have limited access to the decision-making machinery which would make their endeavours more effective.

Playing in the same game and competing against them are other men, the officials, who in a sense also represent "their" people or their government. These officials are equally sensitive to the needs and requirements of those they represent (only more so since their job and livelihood depends on it). With the backing of government and legislation they have the means at their disposal to achieve their goals more easily and hence satisfy their sponsors. An important component of these goals is to see that Government policy, in the form of Administrative functions, is carried out and that the townships should at the same time remain peaceful.

Blacks do not represent a political force in the electoral sense of the word. Their sheer numbers and discontent amongst them, represents a reservoir of resources and as such one end of the limited spectrum of alternative strategies which councillors can and do adopt. With threats of violence at this end and simply begging or pleading at the other extreme, members attempt to effect the decisions that would bring about the changes they strive for<sup>(1)</sup>. The threats of violence are indicative more of councillors' abilities to 'read' the situation than to influence it.

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(1) The strategies adopted by Advisory Board members are dealt with in greater detail in the next few chapters.

There is a lack of agreement as far as the rules of the game are concerned. Officials, through the chairman, are adamant that the Advisory Board is no place for 'politics'. They see it as a forum for the deliberation of civic affairs. Advisory Board members are seen essentially as advisers to the Chief Director and his officials. They are required to present the problems and needs of their people in order to aid the officials in their task of administering the Black urban community.

While recognising the official role the Advisory Board is supposed to play, members adopt a line of action which Bailey (1970) would call pragmatic. They strive, through the limited scope officially allowed by the Advisory Board, to play a more effective role. Through the subjects they attempt to introduce into discussions, through the statements they make and through the style they sometimes adopt they move in areas officially classified as tabu for Advisory Board purposes (chapter 13).

The Chief Director and his senior officials are cast in the roles of middlemen as well. As such they are faced with a dilemma of their own. The directives of the job require that government policy be applied and the future of an individual is dependent upon doing this 'properly'. Should such an official's credibility suffer too much

by virtue of stringently applying regulations and legislation, he becomes the target of residents' resentment. If the dissatisfaction becomes widespread an official may be handicapped in the carrying out of his duties and his record of efficient administration may be tarnished.

A strategy which is often adopted is to plea that he is aware of the residents' problems and frustrations - that he has in fact an understanding of them and sympathy for them. But he, as an official does not determine policy or make legislation and is thus in a sense also powerless to do anything about it. Although referring to a society that is more homogeneous and generally structured differently to the Advisory Board vis a vis the Administration and Government, Blau's comments have relevance here<sup>(1)</sup>.

"The dilemma of leadership is that it requires both power over others and their legitimating approval of that power, but the process of gaining ascendancy over others and the process of winning their approval are in conflict. An individual who uses his resources to assert his dominance over a group and protects his dominant position by making them dependent on him while refusing to become dependent on them usually creates resentment and fails to earn general social approval"

(Blau, 1954 : 221).

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(1) However, officials in my case are more immune from pressure from councillors. They don't have to use resources to gain dominance but they have to transact to maintain a degree of Board and communal co-operation which is necessary for them to fulfill their job requirements.

The middleman role of a senior official is thus one of a different kind. In the sense that resources are selectively channeled to the Advisory Board and Black urban residents in general, an administration official fulfils the role of 'gatekeeper' as identified by Easton (1965). A gatekeeper controls, directs and regulates the flow of resources within the scope allowed by the regulations and directives of his job. Obviously gatekeepers retain a percentage as the resources pass them and in so doing is placed in an advantageous position to initiate profitable transactions with those to whom the resources are supposed to be allocated.

Perhaps the most important goal and task of the senior official was to keep the Advisory Board running, and to do so at minimum cost to himself. This he attempted to do by satisfying the criteria by which his success was tested (see Chapter 8) i.e. by avoiding adverse publicity, by keeping peace and by keeping a balance between the transactional investment and returns in running his administration. The strategies adopted in doing so are analysed in chapter 14.

CHAPTER 13

STRATEGIES IV

BOARDROOM ACTIVITIES

## The Meetings

The difficulties associated with recording Advisory Board meetings were many. I was never an inconspicuous part of a meeting. It was difficult to observe meeting procedure on a regular and constant basis. Sometimes I found it difficult (especially during the early part of the observation period) to grasp the subtle innuendos of the repartee. It was even more difficult always to pick up, let alone record, the more subtle messages conveyed by the 'body language' of facial expressions, movement of arms and the shrugging of shoulders. Handicapped as I was by not being able to use a tape recorder (permission was refused), my problem was compounded and I had to devote most of my endeavours to recording the verbal communication.

Even just recording the verbal exchanges at meetings proved to be difficult - especially initially. But as I attended more meetings, gained more experience and developed my own kind of primitive system of short-hand, so success in recording improved. Even so the exchanges at times were so rapid and disorganised that all I could do was to paraphrase the essentials of the interaction.

I often found myself seated next to one of the press reporters, an information officer or one of the lesser officials. This occasionally

constituted a further inhibiting factor - whether because of undue interest in what I was writing (the officials) or by virtue of whispered comments or suggestions (by the press men).

The later meetings reflect a much more dynamic pattern of exchanges between participants. This is not only a result of my own increased sensitivity and an improvement in my recording technique, but can also be ascribed to the fact that the meetings themselves had undergone a metamorphosis. As the socio-political climate changed in Port Elizabeth and South Africa at large, so it was reflected in the activities of the Advisory Board. The strategy, the style of the participants, especially the councillors, changed. What they said and how they said it also changed. They became more forthright, more adamant, more challenging. As councillors gained confidence in debate, they spoke more often and also had more to say.

A representative sample of the Advisory Board meetings attended from the end of 1972 to the beginning of 1976 is described subsequently. Only the first meeting is reported in its full, formal terms, i.e. with agenda, correspondence, committee reports and minutes included in detail. This is done to give an idea of the format of all the meetings described subsequently. In describing these other meetings

however more attention is given the dynamics of meeting interaction, and reference is made only to the specifically relevant formal trappings of the meetings.

There was obviously always some activity before, and after the formal duration of the meeting. I sometimes used the time before and after meetings to talk to councillors or officials. At other times I simply observed what happened during such periods. A fuller description of one of the meetings (No. 22) is given to illustrate this.

In this chapter the meetings only are described. Where it was deemed necessary comment was added at the end of some of the meeting descriptions. Analysis proper is undertaken only in the next chapter (Chapter 14 - Strategies IV - Boardroom Activities (continued) ).

Meeting No. 1 : 18th December 1972

The full formal agenda, correspondence, committee reports and official minutes of this the first meeting to be studied are given subsequently. This is followed by a comment on some of the dynamics of the meeting, as observed.

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH  
BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT  
JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD

THE ORDINARY MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BOARD WILL BE HELD IN THE BOARD CHAMBER, BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT, KWAFORD, ON MONDAY, 18TH DECEMBER, 1972, AT 6.15 P.M.

1. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES.
2. MATTERS ARISING FROM MINUTES.
3. REPORT BY SECRETARY.
4. COMMITTEE REPORTS:-
  - (a) Parks Recreation and Entertainment.  
(Mr. D. Majola)
  - (b) Social Welfare and Health Services.  
(Mr. P.A. Mcinga)
  - (c) Education  
(Rev. S.R. Morija)
  - (d) Public Transport and Traffic  
(Mr. B.P. Maxakana)

(e) General Purposes and Finance

(Mr. M. Phambi)

Z. SOLOMBELA  
SECRETARY

36 Ferguson Road,  
New Brighton,  
PORT ELIZABETH.

PHONES : 43390 & 41123

14th December 1972.

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH

REPORT NO. 11/72

BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPT.

REPORT BY SECRETARY

TO

JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD

(MEETING 20/11/72)

1. SCHOLAR PATROLS:

A letter dated 3rd November, 1972 was received from the Director of Bantu Administration. It reads as follows:-

In this connection the Chief Traffic Officer advises that the Traffic Advisory and Works Committees have indicated to the School Board the necessity for scholar patrols in the Bantu Townships. Further conditions at the intersection of 9th Avenue, Walmer and Heugh Road have been investigated and as a result thereof a pointsman was placed on duty from the 16th October, 1972, to assist school children, but only until such time daily as the scholars have all crossed over the road.

(SEE REPORT OF THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC COMMITTEE).

2. MOTION BY MR. D. MAJOLA, CHAIRMAN OF THE PARKS, RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE.

Mr. Majola will move the following motion:-

AN APPRECIATION OF SERVICES OF THE CITY COUNCIL TO THE AFRICAN COMMUNITY.

That in view of the present and past mutual co-operation and understanding existing between the City Council and the Bantu Advisory Board, and further, in view of the impending transition from the Council to the Bantu Administration Board, it is recommended:

That a public function be held in New Brighton on a date to be fixed in December, in order to express the African Community's appreciation for controlling the P.E. Municipality's Bantu townships during the past three quarters of the century, and also to take leave of the Council.

FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

Z. SOLOMBELA  
SECRETARY - JOINT BANTU  
ADVISORY BOARD.

JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD  
PARKS, RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE  
MEETING HELD ON 6TH NOVEMBER, 1972.

PRESENT: Messrs. D. Majola, B.P. Maxakana, N. Mbnjiselo,  
M. Nonco and F. Mputa.

ALSO PRESENT: Messrs. M. Roux (Welfare and Recreation Officer),  
J. Dukada and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

Election of chairman and vice-chairman.

Mr. D. Majola was elected as chairman of this committee and Mr. M. Nonco as vice-chairman.

PROGRESS REPORT ON CRICKET PITCHES:

It was decided to defer this matter until the Welfare and Recreation Officer is ready with his report.

BANTU BEACH AT ST. GEORGE'S STRAND:

The committee recommended that the Director of Parks be requested to give a progress report on this matter. Further, it was recommended that the road leading to the Bantu Beach be levelled with ash and clay.

DONATION OF CRICKET NETS:

It was also reported by the Chairman (Mr. D. Majola) that Mr. Ben Maxakana has donated cricket nets valued R171 for cricket practices at Wolfson Stadium.

The Chairman asked Messrs. Mbnyiselo and Roux to express their thanks to Mr. Maxakana for this fine gesture on behalf of the Bantu Community.

Mr. Mbnyiselo said this wonderful gesture on the part of Mr. Maxakana was highly appreciated and was quite certain that it would enable the African boys to learn cricket the correct way and these cricket nets would also help to raise the standard of cricket in this area. Mr. Roux endorsed the remarks made by Mr. Mbnyiselo and said his department has appreciated this valuable donation from Mr. Maxakana. He had no doubt that boys in the Bantu townships would take advantage of this wonderful opportunity to learn cricket by making full use of these cricket nets donated by Mr. Maxakana.

The Chairman, Mr. Majola also supported these two gentlemen and added that Mr. Maxakana, by donating these cricket nets has proved that he was not only a lover of the game but has also the interest of his people at heart.

The committee recommends that the Board be requested to place on record this fine gesture by Mr. Maxakana, and a letter of appreciation be written to him.

DONATION OF ELECTRIC STOVE:

Mr. Roux reported that the Toc H. club has donated an electric stove to the new Kwazakhele Recreation Hall for the benefit of African mothers who want to learn cooking.

The committee also recommended that a letter of appreciation and thanks be written to this club.

CRICKET COACHING BY BASIL D'OLIVERA:

Mr. Maxakana reported that local schools have co-operated and have sent in a number of boys to attend a cricket clinic in the townships which is being run by famous South African born English cricketer, Basil D'Olivera.

D. MAJOIA  
CHAIRMAN.

JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD  
SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH SERVICES COMMITTEE

Meeting held on 6/11/1972

PRESENT: Messrs. P.A. Mcinga (Chairman), J. Mzamane, G.L. Qumza and D. Kapa.

ALSO PRESENT: Messrs. M. Roux (Welfare and Recreation Officer) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

APOLOGIES: Mr. N. Zeze.

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMAN.

Mr. P.A. Mcinga was elected chairman of the Committee and Mr. N. Zeze was elected vice-chairman (in absentia).

PROBLEM OF AFRICAN WOMEN AT KWAZAKHELE SINGLEMEN'S HOSTEL.

The chairman reported that members of this committee were very much worried that hundreds of young African women including girls were arrested at this hostel.

The committee recommends that something positive should be done to eradicate this social evil in the community.

Mr. Roux reported that it was planned to build houses around this hostel in order to prevent these women and girls from entering illegally into this place.

FAMILY PLANNING POSTERS.

Two posters were forwarded to the committee by the Director of Bantu Administration for its consideration. The Director also commented as follows in connection with these posters:-

"The poster depicting a comparison of families is not considered in keeping with present day standards and I would suggest that the bicycle and the garden crops should be removed and replaced by a motor car or any other object which the Board may consider more suitable to prevailing conditions".

The blue poster depicts the emblem of the organisation and the Board is requested to comment on its suitability and offer any practical suggestions for change if necessary.

The committee recommends as follows:-

- a) That the blue poster be accepted
- b) That the second part of the poster depicting a big family was considered to be a bad picture and did not present a true position of modern African family life. It was an exaggerated and distorted picture which would give bad publicity of the home conditions of African life when distributed overseas.

The committee, therefore recommends that this picture be rejected and further suggests that the National Council for Maternal and Family Welfare be asked to remove the iron shack and replace it with a small brick house with cracks, and also scanty furniture. The committee supports the suggestion made by the Director depicting the home conditions of a small family.

#### BANTU WELFARE COMMITTEE AT LIVINGSTONE HOSPITAL:

The committee again considered this matter and decided to recommend as follows:-

That the chairman (Mr. Mcinga) consult the Director of Bantu Administration before arranging for the meeting of the Social Welfare and Health Services committee and the Superintendent of Livingstone Hospital, to discuss the formation of a Bantu Welfare Committee at this hospital.

Mr. Mcinga will also draw up a Memorandum in connection with the Welfare Services needed at this hospital.

The committee also considered the question of hospital fees and felt that there should be uniform fee for all patients.

A person should not be charged according to his income because the patients enjoy the same facilities at this hospital.

Only in the case of private hospital wards where the charging of higher fees is justified.

The committee recommends that the above matter be included in the Memorandum to be presented by the Board to the Medical Superintendent of Livingstone Hospital.

#### ALTERNATIVE DUMPING SITE FOR DANGEROUS CHEMICALS:

Progress report on this matter was required from the Welfare and Recreation Officer. Matter was deferred until this report is available.

Mr. Mcinga will report verbally about fights between the inmates of the T.B. and destitute people quarters at Block 57 & 58, New Brighton, and what steps should be taken.

Also about the danger and nuisance created by children playing in the streets and road blocks put by tsotsis during the festive season.

P.A. MCINGA  
CHAIRMAN.

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH  
JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD.  
EDUCATION COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON 9/11/1972

PRESENT: Rev. S.R. Morija (Chairman) and Mr. N. Mbnyiselo.

ALSO PRESENT: Messrs. J. Jones (Deputy Director of B.A.D.) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMAN.

Rev. S.R. Morija was elected chairman and Mr. N. Mbnyiselo as vice-chairman.

APPOINTMENT OF NOMINATED MEMBERS OF SCHOOL COMMITTEES.

The committee recommends that the following existing members of the School Committees be reappointed for another term:

(A list of 27 names for seven schools was included).

CHURCH SITES.

It was reported that all applications for church sites will be considered and processed by the Director of Bantu Administration in future.

REV. S.R. MORIJA  
CHAIRMAN.

JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD

PUBLIC TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON  
13TH NOVEMBER, 1972.

PRESENT: Messrs. B.P. Maxakana (Chairman), F. Mputa.

ALSO PRESENT: Messrs. G. Connor (Assistant Director White Areas)  
and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMAN:

Mr. B.P. Maxakana was elected as chairman and Mr. F. Mputa as  
vice-chairman.

SCHOLAR PATROLS:

A letter dated 3rd November, 1972 was received from the Director  
of Bantu Administration (see Report by the Secretary).

The letter was noted and appreciated by the committee.

MORE BUSES AND TRAINS REQUIRED:

The Committee recommends that in view of the approaching festive  
season, the peak period be extended to accommodate hundreds of  
commuters who will be going into town during this season.

More saloon coaches be added to main line trains during the  
festive season.

INADEQUATE ELECTRIC LIGHTING AT MENDI ROAD.

The committee reported that there was no lighting at the corner of  
Mendi and Ferguson Roads opposite the Bantu Administration Offices,  
Mendi Road. There has been a spate of rapes and murders occurring  
at this spot during this year.

The committee recommends that electric lighting be put up on this  
spot as soon as possible.

Electric poles in the lanes were an obstruction to motor cars and  
other vehicles.

The Committee recommends that these poles be removed from these lanes and be placed on a spot away from the paths, leading to the lanes.

The Committee recommends that Mr. J. Dukada be co-opted to this committee.

B.P. MAXAKANA  
CHAIRMAN.

JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD  
GENERAL PURPOSES AND FINANCE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON  
13TH NOVEMBER, 1972

PRESENT: Messrs. M. Phambi (Chairman), D. Majola, A. Bukashe and N. Mpunga.

ALSO PRESENT: Messrs. G. Connor (Assistant Director - White Areas) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN AND VICE-CHAIRMAN.

Mr. M. Phambi was elected chairman and Mr. D. Majola as vice-chairman of the above committee.

LICENSING OF BUSINESS BY COUNCIL.

The chairman, Mr. Phambi reported that now that the Government has handed over the licensing of local business premises to the City Council, the committee would highly appreciate it if the Director of Bantu Administration could consult with the Board in his recommendation to the Council on the allocation of trading licences to Africans.

Mr. Phambi said he believed there were two types of licences, one for revenue was issued by the Government and the other for premises by the Council.

He has been informed that the Government has handed over the control of licences for trading premises and business in the Bantu areas to the City Council.

In reply Mr. Connor explained that the position was the same as before, the only difference was that in the past the money went to the Receiver of Revenue (Government) but now the money comes to the City Council.

Mr. Phambi also wanted to know what the procedure would be with regard to hawkers. Will they be allowed to carry on this type of business in the townships.

He said in the past it had been the procedure to allow people who had little money to make a living by carrying this type of business. He felt the breaking down of market stalls without providing alternative accommodation for these hawkers could cause hardships and this would force them to resort to illegal means of living and become criminals.

He further stated that trading stalls should not be built in one spot, they should be spread up in the whole area. They should be within the reach of all residents.

Mr. Connor said many people misconstrue the meaning of the word hawking. A hawker should move about when selling his goods and not remain in one place for a long time.

The committee recommends:-

That the Director be requested when considering application for issue of trading licences to African residents, to seek co-operation and assistance of the Board in his recommendation to council for allocation of licences to approved premises.

ASSISTANCE TO AFRICAN WIDOWS TO RETAIN COMMON FOLD:

This matter will be dealt with administratively.

#### REGISTRATION OF CISKEIAN VOTERS:

The chairman reported that the Ciskeian citizens thankfully acknowledge the assistance given to African Assistant Registering officers by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and officials of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development as well as the Director of Bantu Administration, in making available accommodation for this purpose in the townships.

It was also reported that unfortunately many people in this area did not register because they were not informed in good time.

The Committee recommends that:-

- (a) The Board, on behalf of the Joint township residents convey to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and his staff, the sincere thanks and gratitude of local Ciskeian citizens for the able manner in which he conducted the registration of voters in the area of Port Elizabeth and the Divisional Council areas.
- (b) Further that the Board extends its appreciation to the Director for the assistance given and the encouragement to urban Ciskeian citizens to register and identify themselves with their Homeland Affairs and active participation in their own Government. That letters be written to the above-mentioned officials.

#### BETTER ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF ZWIDE CEMETERY:

It was reported that the present cemetery at Zwide was badly administered and unsuitable to permit the conducting of organised funeral services. Consultation between the authorities and the Board would assist in better administration of the cemetery to meet the desires of the residents.

The chairman said the position was becoming worse and facilities such as a chapel and water were lacking. The men in charge do not allow family cars to park inside the cemetery.

They compel them to get down and follow the hearse to the grave-yard.

The space inside was reduced by the fact that a number of plates were put up all over the burial ground, and the idea was also to prevent cars from parking inside this area.

The cemetery gates were always locked and only opened where there is a burial service to be conducted.

The committee recommended as follows:-

- (a) That the Director be requested to consult the Board in the proposed lay-out of the extension to Zwide Cemetery to avoid the inconveniences experienced at present.
- (b) That the public be allowed free excess (sic) to the cemetery between the hours of 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. There should be a little pedestrian gate for people to visit the graves of their friends and relatives.
- (c) That the Director explore the possibility of enclosing with a strong wire fence the old cemetery at Elundini to save the graves of former Advisory Board members and civic leaders from further desecration by the public.
- (d) That better administration and better facilities be provided including water supply at the Zwide Cemetery.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 1. That S. Sizani be co-opted as member of this committee.
- 2. That each member of the Board be supplied with a copy of the New Regulations for payment of fees by certain residents of the urban Bantu Residential area.

M. PHAMBI  
CHAIRMAN.

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH  
BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT  
(MINUTES)

JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD.

The ordinary monthly meeting of the Board was held in the Board Chamber, Bantu Administration Department, Kwaford, on Monday, 18th December, 1972 at 6.15 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER (see Table 2, Chapter 14).

1. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES.

The minutes of the ordinary monthly meeting of the 20th November, 1972, were confirmed, subject to the deletion of Mr. J. Jone's name among those who were present at this meeting.

2. REPORT BY SECRETARY.

Civic function in honour of the City Council and Rev. S.R. Morija. A special meeting of the Arrangements Committee of the Board was held on the 4th December, 1972 to consider the date for the granting of the freedom of the African Townships to Rev. S.R. Morija. The Committee recommended that this ceremony should form part of the programme of a farewell function in honour of the City Council of Port Elizabeth to be arranged by the Joint Bantu Advisory Board in March next year.

The Board accepted this recommendation.

AGREED.

3. BANTU BEACH FACILITIES.

Mr. S. Smith reported to the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment committee that his department had decided to tighten up control of the crowds at the Bantu beach in order to prevent incidents occurring during the festive season.

There will also be arrangements to transport the Inkonjane Life Savers Surf Club to be on duty daily at the beach. Municipal

officials under a white Superintendent would also be on duty during this period.

The committee recommended that the kiosk be enlarged and that illegal trading be stopped, also that the road leading to the beach be scraped and levelled.

The Board decided to support the above recommendations of the committee.

- (a) It was also decided that the Chairman of the Board be requested to report on the new tariff of trading licences for general dealers, etc., at the next meeting of the Board.
- (b) That white officials who will be delegated to supervise the municipal Bantu Constables on duty at the Bantu beach remain in the background in a supervisory capacity.
- (c) That Mr. Church, Manager of Bantu Affairs, Uitenhage, be approached with a view to requesting the African people of Uitenhage to exercise utmost restraint at this beach.

AGREED.

#### 4. CHILDREN PLAYING IN THE STREETS.

The Social Welfare and Health Services Committee considered the question of African children who are creating a social problem and a traffic hazard by playing ball games in the streets. The committee recommended that drastic action be taken against children who play in the streets, as this bad practice was not only dangerous to themselves but was also creating hardship to motorists who travel through the crowded streets of the Townships.

The acting Chairman of the Committee (Mr. N. Zeze) felt that playing of ball games in the streets was one of the causes of fatal accidents involving children.

Rev. S.R. Morija wanted to know what alternative playing grounds were available in the Bantu townships, to attract children away from the streets. He said the lanes which were meant for this purpose were now used by residents for keeping their motor cars or lorries because they have no garages.

The Board supported the following recommendations of the above Committee:-

- (a) That notices warning the public against this dangerous practice be placed in the Bantu townships.
- (b) That circular notices also be sent to individual parents warning them of the dangers of permitting their children to play in the streets.
- (c) That lanes be scraped and levelled to provide more playing space for children.
- (d) That 5 or 6 zones in the townships be reserved for parks and playing grounds with swings and see-saws for children.
- (e) That the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee and the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee be requested to draw up a programme of recreational facilities for Kwazakele Hostel inmates, in consultation with Mr. M. Roux (Welfare and Recreation Officer) at a meeting to be held early next year.

AGREED.

#### 5. SCHOOL NURSE AND HEALTH VISITOR.

The Education Committee considered the question of certain infectious diseases which are affecting school children, and decided to recommend that the Medical Officer of Health be asked to come and discuss this matter with the relevant committees.

Further, that the Health Department be also asked to create more posts for Bantu health visitors to work in Bantu schools.

It was also recommended that Bantu nurses who want to take up courses for the School nurse and health visitors certificates be given study leave without losing their permanent posts in the municipal clinics and hospitals. The Chairman, Councillor Coates promised to take up these matters with the officials concerned on behalf of the Board.

AGREED.

6. LOYISO SECONDARY SCHOOL.

The Education Committee recommended that Loyiso Secondary School be extended to a fully fledged secondary school simultaneously with the building of another new secondary school for the Kwazakele and Zwide areas.

The Board members felt that the question of adding more classrooms at Loyiso Secondary School should not be given priority over the building of a new secondary school at this stage.

The Board decided to shelve the question of more classrooms for Loyiso Secondary School pending the erection of a new Secondary school for the Kwazakele area.

AGREED.

7. CONGESTION OF TRAINS AND BUSES DURING THE FESTIVE SEASON.

The Public Transport and Traffic Committee recommended that letters be written to Mr. R.L. Dickson, General Manager of the Bag Passenger Transport Ltd., and to Mr. Hurd of the Railways, asking them to provide more buses and trains (with sleeping saloons) during the festive season.

AGREED.

8. SUBSIDY FOR ZWIDE BUS ROUTE.

The Chairman of the Public Transport and Traffic Committee (Mr. B. Maxakana) reported that Zwide areas 1, 2 and 3 had recently been proclaimed as a Bantu residential area. The Bus Company

under Mr. R.L. Dickson has applied for a subsidy to run buses there.

Mr. Dickson would be leaving for Pretoria to discuss this matter with government officials, and was trying to obtain a blanket permit for coloured drivers and conductors to work temporarily in this area until they are replaced later by Africans.

Mr. Maxakana reported that Mr. Dickson wanted the bus commuters in the area to pay an increased fare, but this was rejected by the Director of Bantu Administration because this route is going to be subsidised by the government.

The committee appreciated this report but recommended that Zwide 4 should also be included in this new subsidised bus route.

NOTED.

#### 9. APPOINTMENT OF VICE-CHAIRMAN OF GENERAL PURPOSES AND FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The committee recommended that Mr. A. Bukashe be nominated as the vice-chairman of this committee instead of Mr. D. Majola as was previously recommended.

The Board accepted Mr. Bukashe as vice-chairman of the General Purposes and Finance Committee.

AGREED.

#### 10. INADEQUATE SPACE AND AMENITIES AT ZWIDE CEMETERY.

The Chairman of the General Purposes and Finance Committee (Mr. M. Phambi) reported that they had inspected the Zwide Cemetery together with officials of the Bantu Administration Department and found that the problem of shortage of space and other amenities needed had not yet been solved. He said it seemed that the placing of steel number pegs on plots which have not been sold was causing hardship to the people who attend funeral

services there. Already certain people have reported that they have stumbled and got hurt as a result of these dangerous pegs.

In reply, Mr. S. Smith reported that the request by the committee had been noted and suitable action was being taken. Mr. Smith reported further that Mondays and Tuesdays would be devoted to cleaning up of the graves. A hearse and two mourners' cars would be allowed for each funeral because of insufficient space.

The committee also recommended that parking facilities be improved on the southern side of the cemetery.

AGREED.

#### 11. SURVEY OF AFRICAN SHOPPING CONDITIONS IN THE CITY.

The General Purposes and Finance Committee also considered the question of a report of a survey prepared by Mr. W.J. Davies of the University of Port Elizabeth which suggests the establishment of shopping centres in the heart of New Brighton, Kwazakale and Zwide with a form of non-African financial backing. It suggests that such centres should have a substantial supermarket, as the main tenant, with a range of other service outlets.

A system of neighbouring shopping centres in Port Elizabeth would be of immediate benefit to African consumers, says this report by Mr. Davies.

After the Chairman (Mr. Phambi) had placed this matter for discussion, Mr. S. Smith pointed out that this was not a matter to be tackled by the Board as it was not submitted through the Bantu Administration Department. This was a report by an independent individual and it would therefore not be wise to consider this matter at this stage.

The Board decided to refer this matter back for comments by the Director of Bantu Administration.

AGREED.

12. CHRISTMAS WISHES.

The Chairman (Councillor Coates) and Mr. J. Jones (Deputy Director of Bantu Administration) conveyed Christmas messages to the Board members on behalf of the City Council and the Bantu Administration and Mr. D. Majola also reciprocated their goodwill messages on behalf of the Board.

The meeting terminated at 8.20 p.m.

\_\_\_\_\_  
CHAIRMAN

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENT:

Much of what has been recorded for this first meeting is nothing more than the framework within which inter-action takes place. The agenda and committee reports frequently serve only as stimuli (or excuses) for the discussions of issues that the participants actually want to get involved in. None of the involvement and participation of individual members is accurately reflected. The emotions, frustration, disagreement and co-operation, which are part and parcel of virtually every meeting are not reflected.

For example, the fact of the absence of the Chief Director, Mr. B.L. Botha from this meeting is shown by the attendance register, but no indication is given of the marked effect this had on the style and reactions of the various members. Messrs. Mcinga especially, and Phambi, Majola and Maxakana were much more aggressive, almost militant because of this. The meeting tended, upon occasion, to get out of control. A number of examples can be given which produce a different picture of the meeting to that reflected by minutes.

Councillors Mcinga and Majola were vociferously opposed to the idea of family planning posters. Neither the issue nor their reaction to it was reported in the minutes.

The issue of the danger of children playing in the streets was raised. Both Phambi and Mcinga reacted strongly to this. Mr. Phambi said that the situation reflects sadly on the government and not on the parents of the children. What is needed is more provision for facilities - recreational and for entertainment - and this applies to the problem of the 6 000 single men as well. All that is provided for them is a beer hall and they just get drunk. Mcinga also held these views but was at loggerheads with Phambi as to the way things

should be done. Phambi, "I am sick and tired of all the paper work and getting no results".

In addition to fairly run-of-the-mill issues like broken water-taps, insufficient street lighting, circulars to residents should be in Xhosa as well as the usual Afrikaans and English etc., two final issues, both hotly debated, made up the rest of the meeting. The first issue concerned facilities at the Livingstone Hospital. Rev. Moriija especially, had much to say. "When is the new hospital coming? The conditions at Livingstone are shocking!". Though strongly supported by a number of councillors, the reaction he received from officials was in terms of "Planning takes a long time". "Without money not much can be done".

The second issue, concerning facilities at the Zwide cemetery, was documented in the minutes but without an indication of the information put forward by some of the members, e.g. Mr. M. Phambi (himself a funeral director) commenting on the lack of parking facilities cited an example of one Saturday when he had to accommodate six funerals at two o'clock, seven at three o'clock and another five at four o'clock. For each of these funerals two to three busloads of people had to be provided for.

Item 11 in the minutes suggests that individuals could not raise issues independently. Points for discussion were always to be channelled through the Board.

The discrepancy between the meeting record and the interactional reality is further reflected by a statistic which was compiled of the actual number of times councillors either initiated discussion or participated in such discussion.

<u>Councillor</u>	<u>Number of reactions</u>
Moriya	3
Xinwa	3
Mcinga	5
Qunza	2
Mpunga	1
Payi	2
Mngeni	1
Maxakana	1
Soka	1
Sizani	1
Mbnyiselo	2
Phambi	7
Majola	8

Members of the Advisory Board seemed to regard it as important that they indicate their appreciation for officials who do their job.

Meeting No. 2 : 22nd January 1973

At this meeting three sub-committee reports were tabled, i.e. Education (Moriya), Public Transport and Traffic (Maxakana) and General Purposes and Finance (Phambi). There was also a report by the Secretary (Solombela) consisting of two communications. The business for the meeting, as it was tabled, thus consisted of the following:

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH  
BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT  
JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD

THE ORDINARY MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BOARD WILL BE HELD IN THE BOARD CHAMBER, BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT, KWAFORD, ON MONDAY, 22ND JANUARY, 1973 AT 6.15 P.M.

1. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES.
2. REPORT BY SECRETARY.
3. SUB-COMMITTEE REPORTS:-
  - a) Education (Chairman Rev. S.R. Morija)
  - b) Public Transport and Traffic (Chairman Mr. B.P. Maxakana)
  - c) General Purposes and Finance (Chairman Mr. M. Phambi)

Z. SOLOMBELA  
SECRETARY

36 Thembaletu,  
New Brighton,  
PORT ELIZABETH.

16th January, 1973.

Attendance register : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

It was interesting to note the order, and grouping, in which participants arrived for the meeting. Scheduled to start at 6.15 p.m., the first to arrive were councillors Makongola, Kula and Dukada whom all came in together almost thirty minutes early. Soon after this Mr. Solombela, the Secretary arrived. Next was Mr. Maxakana, also alone. Councillors Qumza and Ngquba arrived together at just after six o'clock. They were followed by Mr. Mcinga on his own and then Mr. Mzawane, also alone. Most of the participants now began arriving. Mr. Majola first, then Mr. Mtamo, then Rev. Xinwa with Mr. Mbnyiselo, two of the lesser officials and Mr. Soka and Mr. Mngeni. Just on 6.15 the important officials walked in (Messrs. Coates, the chairman, Botha, the director and deputy chairman and Jones and Smith) and everybody already present stood up. Just after the meeting was officially opened with a prayer by the Rev. Xinwa (in the absence of the Rev. Morija who was late) the rest of the members arrived with varying degrees of lateness right until 6.40. These included Messrs. Phambi, Nonco and a lesser official, Mr. Mputa and finally Mr. Makwabe of the press.

After having the minutes of the previous meeting confirmed the chairman requested that the next item on the agenda, report by the secretary, be considered.

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH

REPORT NO. 1/73

BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPT.

JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD  
REPORT BY THE SECRETARY TO  
JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD  
(MEETING 22ND JAN., 1973)

1. APPLICATION FOR A CRECHE.

A letter received by the Secretary of the Bantu Advisory Board from a Bantu Committee of residents of Kwazakele, dated 27/12/72, reads as follows:-

Dear Sir,

This is to remind you of the letter we wrote to you last year in connection with our application for a creche at Kwazakele. The signatories were Mrs. M. Sibidla, Mrs. Pama, and Mrs. S. Pama. In that letter we ask your Board to consider the question of erecting a creche or creches for the following areas, Lower Daku and Basuthwini.

We tried to show the Board the disadvantages and hardships experienced by our working mothers in a township where there are no facilities for the care of children whose mothers are working in town.

If this is not feasible, what about a nursery for pre-school children.

We hope for a favourable reply.

Yours faithfully,

MRS. MARIA SIBIDLA -  
8338 KWAZAKELE.

FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

PROGRAMME OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES FOR KWAZAKELE HOSTEL.

The Chairman of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee, Mr. D. Majola, will give a verbal report on the above matter.

These are some of the points which will be covered in his report:-

- a) Chapel for worship;
- b) Adult education;

- c) Recreation activities;
- d) Organised sport;
- e) Indoor games and film shows;
- f) Inter-tribal dance competitions.

FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

Z. SOLOMBELA  
SECRETARY.

Botha (Chief Director): If I may just say a word to begin. I am sorry I have been away but I have been looking after your (pointing with both hands at the councillors) interests elsewhere - in another field.

Concerning this application for a creche, it is all true. But there is one problem. The government has decided not to subsidise these anymore. Thus there is a money shortage. But I am in favour of it. We must consider it in the estimates for 1974.

Mbnyiselo : Mr. Chairman, a creche for the Zwide area is a matter of urgency. This area is lagging behind all the other areas.

Majola : As far as the facilities for Kwazakele hostel are concerned, Mr. Chairman, I want to emphasize that these singlemen must be kept busy. Especially important is the question of adult dancing. We could have tribal dancing competition. For example, we have here Bhaca, Xhosa from the Transkei and Pondo.

Botha : While on the point of the singlemen's quarters Mr. Chairman, I would like to comment on a report which

appeared in the Herald<sup>(1)</sup>. It suggested that the Administration (in other words me) ignored the Advisory Boards' recommendations. This is not so (looking agitated). This is not the atmosphere which exists in this room. Think back to how we acted as regards women in these men's hostels. I, the administration, had problems to get plans passed by the Department of Community Development. These plans were sent back 20 times for changes. At the time I recommended that a circle of buildings should be built right round all the others to form a natural boundary. These plans were finally O.K.ed. Then the government comes and says it has no money. We had to stop work. We had to dismiss 200 labourers. With the Town Clerk I went personally to Pretoria to negotiate. Eventually we had to reallocate our money. Now the Herald says this department takes no notice of the Advisory Board. The Herald also says there is nobody to organise the activities. But for the last 18 months we have had somebody to do just this. Please get the facts right first. Only one side of the story was printed. In fact a hall is even now being built. This Board supported all the criticism and it was not justified.

I am at a loss for words Mr. Chairman! (Looks taken aback and quizzical)<sup>(2)</sup>.

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- (1) The Eastern Province Herald, the local morning newspaper.
- (2) It was noted at the time of recording this meeting, that participants seemed still to be very aware of the observer and seemed to be 'playing' to this audience.

The churches say that the migrants cause all the problems, but out of a total of 52,000 men who work in the city 2,000 live in the Railways labour compound and 10,000 are migratory labourers which still leaves 40,000 others! It is not the fault of the migrants. The other residents cause all the problems. Hardly 20% of the pregnancies are due to migrants. The other men cause all the rest.

Migratory labour is obviously not the ideal, but you get this all over the world. Port Elizabeth<sup>(1)</sup> is still lucky in having more females than men. This is not so elsewhere in South Africa. But migration is not responsible for all the evils.

Now, you as Board members - don't be scared to talk. I'm not cross anymore (smiles).

Mbnyiselo : I move that Mr. Botha's report be accepted. We are ashamed. (Strikes a pose of helplessness, with outstretched arms and open hands). We jump the gun before finding out the facts. Money is the key to everything. But the money comes from the residents and we should also not overtax the people. We should take it easy.

Thank you, Administration, for what you are doing. We acted in ignorance. Next time we will find out the facts first.

Botha : I accept this. It is just that I have to put out many fires. I don't want to put out unnecessary fires.

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(1) Implying the Black townships of Port Elizabeth.

- Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, it is my contention (very eloquent, strikes the pose of an orator, one hand holding the lapel of his coat) that it is the press who should check their facts - we presented them with other information.
- Botha : Mr. Chairman, thank you for these comments but let's close the matter now.
- Maxakana : I still feel that the whole thing is partly justified. The real problem is that we are not always properly informed of what is going on.
- Botha : Mr. Chairman, this I will take up with my assistants, they must inform you at the sub-committee meetings.
- Phambi : When you (Botha) are away we don't get the information. At these sub-committees we don't get any information.
- Botha : I am now quite happy. It has been a lack of communication. This Advisory Board has again tonight served a purpose.

The Chairman now called for the next report, General Purposes and Finance, to be presented.

#### GENERAL PURPOSES AND FINANCE

15th JANUARY, 1973

PRESENT: Messrs. M. Phambi (Chairman); A. Bukashe, D. Majola, B. Mann (Townships Manager) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

ALSO PRESENT: Messrs. S. Sizani, Rev. S.R. Morija, B.P. Maxakana, J. Dukada and F. Mputa.

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

COMPENSATION OF HOUSE AND PROPERTY OWNERS.

The committee considered this matter when the chairman (Mr. Phambi) raised the question of compensation to people who have built their houses at Fairview and Walmer who are now transferred to Zwide. He also wanted to know whether people who are not property owners but have put up structures will be entitled to any compensation for any material that may be removed from those plots.

Mr. Mann explained that as far as he has been told by the Director the position will be clarified when the new Board takes over the control of this administrative area.

The committee decided to recommend that the Director be asked to meet the four chairmen of the various committees and explain the position in connection with the above-mentioned matters including service conditions of the staff.

FAREWELL FUNCTION FOR THE CITY COUNCIL AND GRANTING OF FREEDOM OF THE CITY AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS TO REV. S.R. MORIJA.

The committee recommends as follows:-

- a) That a small committee of the Board prepares an illuminated address to the City Council in appreciation of its services to the African community over the past seventy years.
- b) That this committee also draw up another illuminated address or certificate to be given to Rev. Morija in appreciation of his services to the City Council and African Community.
- c) That the signatories of the latter certificate be the Mayor, Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Committee and Chairman of the various committees of the Advisory Board except Rev. Morija.

- d) That this function be held on Thursday, 23/3/73 in the Centenary Great Hall at 7 p.m.
- e) That the arrangements committee meet soon to draw up the programme for the above function.
- f) That the question of 70th anniversary celebrations, Creche and the Commemoration service for the past leaders of the Red Location be shelved until the new Administration Board has taken over.

M. PHAMBI  
CHAIRMAN.

Phambi : (A very short and very rotund figure, he perspires easily and especially on a warm evening like the present one, is continually wiping his face with a white handkerchief).

Mr. Chairman, as can be seen in the report, what we request is compensation for the people who are to be moved from Walmer. What we also ask is that they be moved in such a way as to maintain their neighbourliness.

We would also like to give some kind of farewell to the council and as part of the programme, the freedom of the townships to the Rev. Morija. Could you please find some tangible symbol to hand to Rev. Morija and also for the Town Council - signed by the Chairman and the Director.

The date, 23 March, 1973 may not be convenient to you, but this is our date. For example a Sunday is not convenient to you, but we have all our functions on Sundays.

This is the celebration of a seventieth anniversary, we would like to give our best wishes to our council.

Botha : As far as compensation is concerned, yes, homeowners will get it. We will also move the people in a block. May I just say to the secretary at this stage, that the minutes are very badly compiled and that he will have to pull up his socks (referring to Mr. Solombela).

Mbnyiselo : This is the end of a road. We must have a photograph of this - the last Advisory Board under the municipality.

General agreement was reached on all the relevant points and the chairman asked that the Education committee report be proposed. This was tabled as circulated by the acting chairman Mr. Dukada.

#### EDUCATION COMMITTEE MEETING

15th JANUARY, 1973

PRESENT: Rev. S.R. Morija (Chairman), J. Dukada, B. Mann (Township Managers) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

ALSO PRESENT: Messrs. M. Phambi, B.P. Maxakana, D. Majola, F.Mputa and A. Bukashe.

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

NEW SECONDARY SCHOOL AT KWAZAKELE.

The Chairman (Rev. Morija) reported that a new secondary school for Kwazakele area has been approved by the Government and that in the meantime the School Board of this area is going to take over the control of the classes at present accommodated at the Old Police Barracks until a proper school building has been erected.

NOTED AND APPRECIATED.

BOOK GRANT FOR LOCAL PUPILS.

The chairman also reported that a local committee has received hundreds of text books from a donation of R15,000 from the S.A. Breweries Ltd., to be distributed to local schools.

These books will be handed to the principals of local secondary schools to be used by pupils in their various schools until they have passed their examinations, but will remain the property of that particular school.

He also said these books are not going to be given to scholars who will be attending school outside the area of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.

This was noted and appreciated by the Committee.

ADDITIONAL CLASSROOMS AT THE BANTU TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL NEEDED.

The Committee recommends that additional classrooms be built at the above school in order to accommodate Commercial High School classes for girls who passed their J.C. (Commercial subjects) there.

It was reported that at present girls reached a cul-de-sac when they have passed their J.C. Girls were not admitted to the High School (technical which provides subjects for boys only), because there was no accommodation for commercial high school classes for girls.

The committee would like that the general routine of the above school should be explained, particularly the refusal by the principal to admit those pupils who have failed in their J.C. Form 1 and 2 classes.

The committee also recommends that an advisory committee be allowed at this school to give the parents of the African children attending the school some say in the running of the school.

REV. S.R. MORIJA  
CHAIRMAN.

The report was accepted without discussion and the chairman asked that the next report be presented.

JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD  
PUBLIC TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC COMMITTEE MEETING

PRESENT: Messrs. B.P. Maxakana (chairman); F. Mputa, B. Mann (Township Managers) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

ALSO PRESENT: Messrs. D. Majola, S. Sizani, J. Dukada, A. Bukashe and M. Phambi.

REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

BUS STOP AT LIVINGSTONE HOSPITAL.

It was reported by the chairman (Mr. Maxakana) that the bus stop near Livingstone Hospital has been moved to another spot far away from the hospital just opposite the Adcock Playing fields at Lindsay Road.

This was a dangerous area where thugs usually molest and attack innocent people, particularly when it is dark. The nurses and patients were also experiencing hardship by having to walk a long distance to and from this new bus stop to reach the hospital in all kinds of weather.

The committee recommends that an inspection in loco be made by the chairman of the committee together with officials of the Bantu Administration. Secondly, that Mr. Mann should take up this matter with the Director.

PROBLEMS OF PASSENGERS ON RAILWAY BUSES AND TRAINS.

The committee recommends that Mr. Hurd, Railways Official, be invited to discuss with the members of the relevant committee matters affecting Bantu passengers on Railway buses and trains.

These are some of the points to be raised at this meeting:-

- a) Passenger train coaches with no sleeping facilities.
- b) Provision of transport for singlemen who want to visit their families and the question of people who get down at Railway stations, far away from their homes in the early hours of the morning and be victims of thugs.
- c) Provision of adequate lighting around the spot where people board buses to Homelands at the New Brighton Station.
- d) Also to intensify patrolling of this area by police at night during the weekends.

#### BANTU TRAFFIC CONSTABLES AT ST. GEORGE'S STRAND.

The Committee also decided to recommend that Bantu Senior Constable, Sam Sibidla and his traffic constables be thanked for the big role they have played in controlling the traffic at St. George's Strand during the festive season.

The committee also thank the City Council for rejecting the suggestion that all shops in Main Street (Market Square up to Russell Road) be used by Whites only.

#### PAST RECOMMENDATIONS:

The committee also recommended that all its previous decisions and recommendations be reviewed and see if they have been attended to.

B.P. MAXAKANA  
CHAIRMAN.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, I would like to make the following points:

1. The new bus stop at Livingstone Hospital is inconvenient. For sick people it is much too far to walk.
2. Sleeping facilities on trains are a problem for our people.
3. Also the lights at the railways is not good enough. Men departing with money for the homelands are in danger. We need patrols during the departure of trains and buses.
4. We would like to say thank you to the life savers and the 'cops' for the work they did during the festive season.
5. We would also like to thank the City Council for opposing the taking away of the bus stops from Main Street.
6. And then finally, we feel strongly that all our past recommendations must be reviewed to see whether they have been followed up.

Botha :

I will make on-site inspections personally and will speak out if necessary. As far as the trains are concerned, they are a new type of three-class sitting facility for day trips. A new terminus for the busses is being considered at the moment.

And I must just say that the Department did most of the work over Christmas and not the 'cops'. Finally gentlemen, what we need are not promises just decisions. We are a body of men with joint responsibility.

These new Administration Boards that are coming will have 30 towns under them. I have seen towns falling in our area - Peddie, Grahamstown etc., - legislation

is thirty years too late. Only Somerset East is organised. Conditions are atrocious. Bad wages, even R10 per month! Unemployment, everything.

The Chairman closed the meeting.

COMMENT:

The report on this one meeting already reflects something of the change in the general climate that has come about when compared to the reports of the different stages that some of the early meetings went through. Councillors appear to be more aware and sensitive to the nature of the bargaining position in which they find themselves. Councillors are also more demanding and more articulate in the strategies they adopt.

The presence of the Chief Director at the meeting is clearly very strongly felt. The respect which he commands is not totally derived from his powerful position. He has a direct, "I pull no punches", attitude. His apparent honesty, empathy and generally forceful style is clearly impressive to the councillors. In spite of a subtle use of the collective 'we' however, a strongly patronising attitude still characterises his style.

'Observer effect' was still very obvious during this meeting. Both the White administrators and the Black councillors appeared to be playing to an 'audience'. Frequent glances in the direction of the anthropologist seemed to confirm this impression.

Familiar 'hardy annuals' still serve as a basis for discussion.

As was the case in even the earliest meetings, most of the items for discussion centred around facilities (or lack of) in the townships. Two principles, also familiar from the past i.e. 'non-consultation' and 'no follow up', were also hotly debated.

Meeting interaction was mainly between the Chief Director and the committee chairmen plus one or two other councillors, with the Advisory Board chairman obviously often acting as intermediary:

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Number of major contributions</u>
Botha	8
Mbnyiselo	3
Majola	1
Mcinga	1
Maxakana	2
Phambi	2
Dukada	1

Meeting No. 3 : 26th February 1973.

The formal part of the meeting comprised reports by the secretary, the Transport Committee, Education Committee and Special Arrangements Committee. The original notice for the meeting did not reflect this however:

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH  
BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT  
JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD

THE ORDINARY MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BOARD WILL BE HELD IN THE BOARD CHAMBER, BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT, KWAFORD, ON MONDAY, 26TH FEBRUARY, 1973, AT 6 P.M.

1. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES.
2. REPORT BY SECRETARY.
3. COMMITTEE REPORTS:-
  - a) Mr. B.P. Maxakana's report on proposed increase of bus fares.

Z. SOLOMBELA  
SECRETARY.

36 THEMBALETHU,  
NEW BRIGHTON.

20th February, 1973.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER: (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

After the usual opening of the meeting with a prayer by Rev. Morija, the minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

All present observed a one minute pause of silence as a mark of respect for the late Mr. W.M. Yaya who was killed in a car accident the week before the meeting. Mr. Yaya had worked for the Port Elizabeth Municipality for over 33 years. It was decided that a letter of condolence be sent to his wife and family. It was also decided that letters be sent to two of the absent Advisory Board members, Phambi and Majola, to wish them a speedy recovery from injuries sustained in the same accident. For both these decisions, the initiative was taken by the Director, through the chairman.

#### REPORT BY SECRETARY.

Life Saving at St. George's Strand Bantu Beach.

A letter addressed to the Director of Bantu Administration dated 25th January, 1973, from Mr. J. Shelton, Director of Parks and Recreation, was tabled, and reads as follows:-

"Dear Sir,

Life Saving, St. George's Strand, Season 1972/73.

I attach hereto a cheque for R150,00 in the name of Wellington Shawuza as a contribution to the club for the magnificent services rendered during the peak of the holiday season at St. George's Strand.

I feel that you can be justly proud of the Inkonjane Club, who appear to be a dedicated group of young men.

I would be grateful if you would convey the Department's comments and also the cheque to Mr. Wellington Shawuza.

I would also like to pay tribute to your staff who did a magnificent job at the St. George's Strand during the festive season in maintaining such a happy relationship with a contented crowd of many thousands of people.

I am of the opinion that we should have early meeting in an endeavour to improve the prevailing conditions even if of a temporary nature for the Bantu at St. George's Strand".

This was appreciated and simply noted by the members of the Advisory Board.

The Chairman asked that the next report, that of the Education Committee be tabled.

#### EDUCATION COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON 18/2/1973

PRESENT: Messrs. Rev. S.R. Morija (Chairman), Rev. L. Kinwa, F. Mputa and A. Bukashe.

ALSO PRESENT: Messrs. J. Jones (Deputy Director), and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

#### REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

##### RECONSTITUTION OF BANTU SCHOOL BOARD COMMITTEES.

After considering the list of names of the nominated members of the following school committees which came from the Inspector of Bantu Education, the Education Committee of the Board recommended that the following names be accepted as members of the under-mentioned Bantu school committees:-

(The full list of names proposed by Rev. Morija on behalf of his committee, comprises three full pages, i.e. for all the schools in the black townships. The prominence of Advisory Board members' names on these committees was noticeable).

Morija : Mr. Chairman, we had problems in the recommendations of some of the members of the school committees. The main problem is because of the number of school boards that we have.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, it is simply a matter of proper procedure. (Explains this procedure at great length). In the light of this we can accept the recommendations as in order, with the exception of the committee members for Matodlana Higher Primary School, B.J. Mnyanda Lower Primary School and Kaizer Ngxwana Lower Primary School. I suggest that these we refer back to the Education Committee for further discussion and recommendations.

This the meeting agreed to.

The Chairman now called for the next report.

Mr. Maxakana, chairman of the Public Transport and Traffic Committee, reported they were told at a meeting with members of Commerce and Trade held in the City Hall recently, that the Bay Passenger Transport Bus Company had received a request from their staff for the increase of salaries and wages and this would mean an increase in bus fares.

The Company proposes to increase individual fares from 5c to 8c and weekly tickets from 45c to 60c (these weekly tickets would only be valid for the week for which they were issued and would automatically expire at the end of such week). From Daku terminus to Zwide the fare will be 5c.

The Company wants a subsidy of 1c on all fares to Daku Terminus and from Daku Square to Zwide Township. This will mean an increase of 60%. At present the whole area of New Brighton is not

subsidised and only a small portion of Kwazakele is subsidised at 1c on each fare.

The Company has filed its notice of intention to increase bus fares with the Local Road Transportation Board on Friday, 16th February, 1973.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, I object to these increases. They will bring chaos to the townships. They are unfair. Bay Passenger Transport say repairs have increased - and other things. But I say again I am against these increases, 60% is too much. Not only are 5c trips now 8c, but weekly tickets have gone from 45c to 60c and if you don't use them they expire!

Botha : Yes, this (expiration of tickets) is a bad thing. But we must not object to the Company, but to the Road Transportation Board.

Maxakana : What I am doing is acting on behalf of my people.

Botha : I don't think we'll stop the increase - but we must try to reduce the amount. Gentlemen, I want your support for this move.

This compromise suggestion was eventually agreed to.

Moriya : Mr. Chairman, I feel we are really trying to do something. We are not sitting on the sidelines. Our thanks to the Director for what he is doing.

Finally, Mr. M. Nonco gave a brief report about the recommendations of a Special Arrangements Committee which met recently to draw up a programme for the above function.

He reported that the Function will be held in the Centenary Great Hall on Saturday, 24th March, 1973, from 2.15 to 5 p.m.

The Drum Majorettes and School Choir of the Newell High School will be invited to take part in this programme.

A guard of honour will be formed outside the Hall by the members of the Bantu Advisory Board in their office robes.

The Municipal Bantu Constables will also be on parade. Mr. B. Harmans will be the M.C.

The Speakers will be the Mayor, Mr. P.A. Mcinga, Councillor P. Coates and Mr. J.T. Sali.

The Mayor, Councillor L. Rubin will award the Freedom of the City's African Townships to Rev. Morija who will also reply.

After that Mr. B.L. Botha, Director of Bantu Administration will present an illuminated address to the City Council on behalf of the African Community.

The Board accepted this report and also decided to request the City Council to donate part of the money (R1000) which was to be spent on refreshments to a credited poor relief organisation.

Before the meeting was closed at 7.30 p.m., the Director formally introduced the observer (from the University) for the first time and explained the reason for his presence and the nature of the project.

Meeting No. 4 : 19th March 1973

The meeting constituted a full programme of reports from all five committees, as well as a report from the Secretary. As I was unable to attend this meeting the information could only be obtained from indirect sources. By several accounts the interaction was uneventful and 'normal'. Three of the usually important participants, the Director and Messrs. Phambi and Majola were unable to attend.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

The report by the Secretary (Mr. Solombela) included the following main items - mostly for the information of the councillors.

1. PRESENTATION OF GOLD MEDAL TO MR. MAGWACA.

A copy of a letter written by Director of Bantu Administration (Mr. B.L. Botha) to the Administrative Officer, Eastern Province Blood Transfusion Service, P.O. Box 1567, Port Elizabeth, reads as follows:

'Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter dated 22nd January, 1973 and would suggest that the presentation of the gold medal to Mr. Magwaca take place at the next meeting of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board on the 19th March, 1973.

The meeting commences at 6.15 p.m. and the presentation could be made before the Board proceeds its ordinary business.'

2. IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Farewell function in honour of the City Council and Presentation of Freedom of City's African Townships to Rev. S.R. Morija will be held in the Centenary Great Hall on Saturday 31st March, 1973 at 2.30 p.m. All members are requested to wear their ROBES at this function.

3. PROPOSED INCREASE OF BUS FARES.

The following is a copy of a letter dated 26th February, 1973 from the Joint Bantu Advisory Board to the Chairman, Local Road Transportation Board in connection with the proposed increase of bus fares.

'Dear Sir,

OBJECTION TO PROPOSED INCREASE IN BUS FARES IN BANTU TOWNSHIPS;  
BAY PASSENGER TRANSPORT COMPANY.

The notice of intention to increase bus fares, which was filed with your Board by this Company on Friday 16th February, 1973 refers.

We, the undersigned, wish to lodge objection, on behalf of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board, New Brighton, to the proposed increase and verbal evidence in support of our objection will be given at the hearing.

Yours faithfully,

Signed .....

M. Nonco

Vice-chairman, Parks, Recreation & Entertainment Committee.

Signed.....

P.A. Mcinga

Chairman, Social Welfare & Health Services Committee.

Signed .....  
Rev. S.R. Morija  
Chairman, Education Committee.

Signed.....  
B.P. Maxakana  
Chairman, Public Transport & Traffic Committee.

Signed.....  
M. Phambi  
Chairman, General Purposes & Finance Committee.'

4. IMPROVEMENTS TO ST. GEORGES STRAND BANTU BEACH.

A copy of letter addressed to the Director of Parks and Recreation from the Secretary of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board, dated 12th March, 1973 reads as follows:-

'Dear Sir,

IMPROVEMENTS TO THE BANTU BEACH, ST. GEORGES STRAND.

I have been instructed by the Board to invite you to come and meet members of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee to discuss the above issue.

The meeting will be held in the Board Chamber, Bantu Administration Department, Kwaford, New Brighton, on Monday, 26th March, 1973 at 2.30 p.m.

5. SCHOOL COMMITTEE FOR MZONTSUNDU SECONDARY SCHOOL.

A letter from the Inspector of Bantu Education dated 22nd February, 1973 was forwarded by the Director of Bantu Administration for the attention of the Education Committee of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board, and reads as follows:-

'Dear Sir,

ESTABLISHMENT OF MZONTSUNDU JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

A school committee for the new Mzontsundu Junior secondary school is in the process of being established.

Your assistance and also that of the local Bantu Advisory Board is accordingly sought in selecting four suitable nominated members for this School Committee.'

(See report of the Education Committee).

The Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee report was presented by the acting chairman Mr. M. Nonco.

After considering a letter which was written by Mr. J.E. Shelton, Director of Parks and Recreation, the committee decided to have an inspection in loco of the Bantu beach on Monday 12th March at 2 p.m., and see what improvements were necessary in this area, before a meeting can be arranged as requested by Mr. Shelton. The members of the Recreation and Welfare Committee to be accompanied by Mr. M. Roux, Miss M. Poland (Welfare Section of B.A.D.) and members of the Inkonzane Surf Life Saving Club.

It was decided that Mr. P.A. Mcinga, Chairman of the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee and Mr. M. Nonco (Acting chairman, Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee), will draw up the abovementioned programme with Mr. M. Roux (Welfare and Recreation Officer) at a special meeting to be held on Thursday, 8th March 1973 at 2 p.m. Mr. Nonco to give a verbal report at the monthly meeting of the Board on the above matter.

Next the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee report was presented by the chairman, Mr. P.A. Mcinga. The report consisted mainly of a record of an interview which this committee had with Dr. Ware at the Livingstone Hospital on Wednesday, 7th March, 1973 at 10 a.m.

The chairman, Mr. Mcinga introduced this matter to Dr. Ware and emphasised the need for a link between the hospital and African Community, as well as between the patients and their employers.

He said the object of this committee would be to do voluntary service which would help to alleviate the anxiety of the patients and their relatives by creating better communications between the hospital and their families. They would assist the patients in writing letters to their families who live in the homelands and also to contact their employers immediately they were admitted at the hospital. They would also supply them with some light reading material eg. picture comics and magazines.

Mr. Mcinga assured Dr. Ware that members of this committee would not interfere with the administration of the hospital, but would merely visit the patients to assist them in their home problems.

In reply Dr. Ware reported that they have a system of informing people about their relatives who have been admitted at the hospital, and this was done through the front enquiries office and the casualty department. A list of names of patients admitted is put up at the reception desk of the front enquiries office.

Dr. Ware reported that they admit and discharge about 80 patients per ward a day. They treat about 200 patients a day and out of these, about 60 or more cases may want to contact their employers or relatives.

He said in most cases it was found that it was impossible to contact their employers because a big number of patients gave the information that they were unemployed and others failed to give sufficient particulars relating to their families and home addresses.

There was no transport available to trace these cases with insufficient addresses.

He reported also that a large number of people who come for medical attention at the hospital, particularly in the evening, prefer to stay over night for their convenience instead of going home after they have been discharged. Other reasons are that they are afraid to go home at night because of night passes or fear attacks by hooligans. They sleep on benches as there are no beds provided for them. He said these are some of the problems they have to contend with.

Referring to the service which the Bantu Welfare Committee wants to provide at the hospital, Dr. Ware said that it would be difficult for social workers or members of the proposed Bantu Welfare Committee to go round and speak to about 900 adult patients in order to assist in their problems.

He said they have three Social Workers and these do not go out of the hospital for home visiting. They are fully occupied with their duties and they have to attend to patients and out-patients who require orthopaedic appliances, hand out rail warrants to patients who have to travel to their homes outside the area.

They usually see about 800 patients a day at the hospital.

Dr. Ware reported that the main problem at the hospital was lack of communication between the nurse and the patients.

It has been found that patients were sometimes reluctant to tell the nurse about their difficulties.

He said unless the patients ask the nurse to help them, the hospital authorities will not know about their domestic problems.

Dr. Ware reported also that the hospital was providing the following facilities for the benefit of the African Community.

- a) Railway warrants for those who require transport to their homes.
- b) District nursing system.
- c) Ante-natal clinic for Bantu mothers.
- d) Care of children with malnutrition.
- e) Junior school classes for children.

Dr. Ware spoke highly of the treatment the non-white patients were receiving at the hospital. He said the treatment was better than what white people were receiving from their medical practitioners or hospitals.

The patients were given free medicines and a number of investigations were frequently done by their doctors at the hospital.

Referring to people who have to pay more for hospital services, he said the amount charged was not exorbitant when considering the fact that they were given private wards where they can have visitors at any time, special treatment by their own doctors and also provided with better crockery and better individual food.

The fee was based on a sliding scale depending on the income of the patients and their dependents.

After discussing the points raised by the Social Welfare and Health

Services Committee as a plea for the establishment of a link between the hospital and the African Community, Dr. Ware accepted the suggestion that municipal social workers be allowed to visit the casualty department of the hospital for an hour on Mondays and see to whatever problems may arise.

It was decided that Mr. Roux and Dr. Ware should meet again and discuss this matter.

The Education Committee report was presented by the chairman, Rev. S.R. Morija. The report consisted of recommendations for members of four school committees i.e. Matodlana Higher Primary, B.J. Mnyanda Lower Primary, Kayser Ngwana Lower Primary and Mzontsundu Secondary School.

The Acting Chairman, A. Bukashe, reported on behalf of the General Purposes and Finance Committee. He said that the committee felt that the congestion at Africa House (Bantu Affairs Commissioner's Offices) was causing great concern. The offices were always crowded and many people have to wait outside and be exposed to all kinds of weather. The committee thus recommends that something be done to alleviate the situation.

The final report was made by Mr. B.P. Maxakana for the Public Transport and Traffic Committee. His committee simply recommended that all bus termini in the townships be levelled with ash and requested a progress report on street lights at Mendi road near the Bantu Administration offices.

All the reports were endorsed and accepted by the Board and the Administration promised to take the necessary steps on those items that required their attention.

Meeting No. 5 : 16th April 1973.

The ordinary monthly meeting of the Board was held in the Board Chamber, Bantu Administration Department, Kwaford, New Brighton, on Monday, 16th April, 1973 at 6.15 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (see Table 2, Chapter 14).

The Rev. Morija opened the meeting with a prayer and the minutes of the ordinary monthly meeting held on Monday, 19th March, 1973 were confirmed.

The report by the Secretary consisted of a letter (dated 9th April, 1973) received from Mrs. Rosaline Mahlasela, President of the Methodist Church African Women's Manyano (Grahamstown District).

The letter read as follows:

'Dear Sir,

I wish to bring to your notice that the African nursing staff of the Livingstone Hospital are experiencing great difficulty because of shortage of buses when they have to report for duty in the morning and evening. It is very pathetic to see them waiting in long queues in all kinds of weather and yet at the same time they are expected to do their work of looking after sick people efficiently.

It is worse now that the Bus terminus near Livingstone Hospital has been moved far away from the hospital.

One can expect to hear one day that these nurses have been assaulted or robbed by Tsotsis at this isolated spot.

To avoid all these things I have mentioned happening, I am appealing on behalf of these nurses that a direct bus service solely for the nursing staff be introduced by the Bay Passenger Transport Company as soon as possible.

I am quite certain that such a bus service would not be a loss as there are over 400 nurses and other staff who work three shifts every day (7 a.m., 3 p.m. and 7 p.m.).

Hoping that your members will support my proposal for a special bus service for Livingstone Hospital nursing staff."

Maxakana : Special buses for the Livingstone Hospital Bantu Staff was very necessary in view of the shifting of the bus terminus in front of the hospital to Lindsay Road. Mr. Chairman, the position is very serious and should be given urgent attention.

Moriya : Mr. Chairman, I support the previous speaker. I have received several complaints from nurses that this new bus terminus is unsafe when it is dark. There is no protection and no help given to some of the nurses who were nearly raped and assaulted at this isolated spot. We as councillors are deeply concerned with this position and Dr. Ware must be informed of this. It is imperative that there should be special buses which will convey all the Bantu staff of the Livingstone Hospital from the hospital grounds.

At the instigation of Mr. Smith (in the absence of Mr. Botha) the Board decided to invite Mr. Dickson, General Manager of the Bay Passenger Transport Company and Dr. Ware to come and discuss this matter. It was also decided that Messrs. B.P. Maxakana and G. Connor would take up the question of utilising the bus stop opposite the Livingstone Hospital.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, there is also the question of the bus feeder service introduced recently by the Bay Passenger Transport Company to transport people from Zwide to Njoli Road. This service has proved a failure and has caused people to arrive late at their jobs. People from Zwide are off-loaded at Njoli Road terminus and have to join another queue where they have to wait for long periods before they can get a bus to take them to town. I want to propose that this system should be discontinued and the people must get a straight through service to town.

Moriya : This feeder service has already caused more suffering and hardship to the people. The people are angry and did not like this service.

Again it was decided that this matter should be discussed at the proposed meeting with Mr. Dickson.

On behalf of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee, the Acting Chairman, Mr. Nonco, presented the following report:

Mr. Chairman,

At a meeting of this Committee with Mr. J. Shelton, the following points were tabled :-

- a) Access to the Beach through the sand dunes.
- b) The levelling of road to the beach with a mixture of clay and ash.
- c) Club house for the Inkonjane Life Saving Surf Club.
- d) Improvements of dressing rooms and toilets.
- e) Cafeteria complex on the lines of the coloured beach.

Before the above matters were discussed, the Director of Bantu Administration (Mr. B.L. Botha) who presided over the meeting, informed the meeting that the Bantu Beach at Wells Estate should be regarded as a temporary bathing area for the Bantu. This was one of the reasons the City Council was reluctant to spend more money for the development of this area on the same lines as other racial groups.

A permanent beach for the Bantu is at present receiving attention of the Authorities.

The meeting after discussing the temporary improvements needed at the Bantu Beach decided to recommend as follows:-

- a) That Mr. Shelton would look into the possibility of opening an access road over the sand dunes for people to reach the beach.
- b) That ash and clay be used to level the corrugated roads to the Bantu Beach at Wells Estate.
- c) That Mr. Shelton would try and erect a temporary ash brick building as a club house for Inkonjane Club where they would store their equipment, etc.
- d) That toilet facilities be improved and provided with a simple form of waterborne sewerage and a screen be also provided for change rooms to separate men and women bathers.
- e) That two additional kiosks be erected to provide adequate cafeteria facilities for thousands who flock to this area during the festive season.
- f) Another parking area be provided to alleviate congestion in this beach.
- g) That an entertainment platform with a stage and a shelter for a dance band or other form of entertainment be considered.
- h) That electric lighting if possible be also provided for this entertainment area.

Mr. Botha also suggested that special beach festivals be arranged to encourage African people to make frequent use of this beach. He also

appealed to the members of the Parks Committee to use their influence to activate the young and old people to stage their social activities such as picnics, beauty contests and club festivals at the beach. The combined African churches could also hold their mass open air service over the Easter weekend at this beach. Mr. Roux would assist in organising frequent outings at the Bantu Beach during the year.

He said that if there were large crowds of African people who frequently visit this spot throughout the year, there would be justification in spending money for providing more amenities for the Africans in this area.

Smith : Mr. Chairman, as far as these proposed improvements as mentioned by Mr. Nonco in his report are concerned, Mr. Shelton of the Parks department has agreed to attend to all of them.

This was noted with appreciation by the Board.

Mr. M. Phambi (Chairman) briefly reported on behalf of the General Purposes and Finance Committee.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, Mr. Smith has told my committee that his Department was aware of the situation with regard to overcrowding in the townships and he has indicated that the Department was awaiting the proclamation of

Zwide IV and the approval of a scheme to build 5500 houses to relieve the situation. Mr. Smith promised to submit to this Committee a plan of the proposed scheme.

Smith : Mr. Chairman, while this is true I don't think that this is the place for a discussion about this. I suggest that this matter be referred back to the Committee for a full discussion and report.

After a brief further discussion, the Chairman made a ruling and the proposal was agreed to.

Phambi : My committee, Mr. Chairman would also like to recommend that letters of appreciation and thanks be sent to the Electoral Officer at King Williams Town, expressing deep sense of gratitude to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and his staff and the Director of Bantu Administration for the manner in which the local election was carried out.

This recommendation was agreed to without discussion.

The meeting terminated at 7.20 p.m.

COMMENT:

The meeting was very much of a routine type. Agreement was easily reached and all issues were calmly debated although the absence of the

Chief Director was very noticeable, not so much in what was said, but in terms of the general style and attitude of the councillors. An air of directness and greater self confidence seems to prevail when only the lesser officials are present. An unusually warm April evening and a stuffy boardroom may also have had something to do with the tardiness of the participants to enter into the debate. In addition to the Chief Director, a number of the more active participants were also absent, e.g. Messrs. Mcinga, Majola, Mbnyiselo and Mzamane.

Meeting No. 6 : 21st May, 1973

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH  
BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT  
JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD

THE ORDINARY MONTHLY MEETING OF THE BOARD WILL BE HELD IN THE BOARD ROOM OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT, KWAFORD, ON MONDAY, 21ST MAY, 1973 AT 6 P.M.

1. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES.
2. REPORT BY SECRETARY.
3. COMMITTEE REPORTS:-

(a) Parks, Recreation and Entertainment

(Mr. M. Nonco, Acting Chairman)

(b) Public Transport and Traffic

(Mr. B.P. Maxakana)

Z. SOLOMBELA  
SECRETARY  
JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD.

36 Thembaletu,  
New Brighton,  
PORT ELIZABETH.

15th May, 1973.

Phone : 413390 or 411123.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

The Rev. Xinwa was asked to open the meeting with a prayer. After the minutes of the ordinary monthly meeting held on Monday, 16th April, 1973 were confirmed, a one minute silence was observed as a mark of respect to the late Mr. D. Kapa who had died during the previous week. Mr. Kapa had served the Advisory Board for nearly three years and during that time represented the residents of Zwide Township. The Board resolved that a letter of condolence be written to his wife and family expressing heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolence.

For the information of the Board the secretary reported as follows:

A letter dated 10th April, 1973 from Mr. J.E. Shelton was received:-

'IMPROVEMENTS AT BANTU BEACH, ST. GEORGES STRAND.

Your letter DBA/D1/2 W110. dated 5th April, 1973 refers.

In the first instance it would be appreciated if you would give consideration to the following designation for the Bantu beach.

BANTU BEACH - WELLS ESTATE, and not

BANTU BEACH - ST. GEORGE'S STRAND.

You are aware that the Coloured beach area has been changed from St. George's Strand to Joorst Park; the White area is the camping ground, St. George's Strand, and to save confusion the Ratepayers of that area have requested that the Bantu beach be referred to as Bantu Beach, Wells Estate.

I have noted all of the items mentioned in your communication and will consult with your engineers in the near future regarding

possible assistance. As I told you at the meeting I have little finance available for proposed improvements in view of the temporary nature of the facilities at St. George's Strand.

I will do all in my power to meet some of the requirements, if not all.'

This information was formally noted with appreciation by the Board.

The next report was that of Mr. B.P. Maxakana, Chairman of the Public Transport and Traffic Committee.

Mr. Chairman,

The following circular letter was received from Mr. L.R. Dickson, General Manager of Bay Passenger Transport:

"JOINT LOCATIONS ADVISORY BOARD : MEETING - 14TH MAY, 1973  
TRANSPORT SUB-COMMITTEE.

The Committee has informed Bay Passenger Transport Ltd., that problems arise in the conveyance of nurses to and from Livingstone Hospital, and has asked for comment on the re-siting of the Livingstone Hospital bus stop.

A. COMMENTS ON LIVINGSTONE HOSPITAL BUS TERMINUS.

1. Originally, the bus route was along Lindsay Road into Standford Road, with bus stops in Lindsay Road outside the hospital.
2. When construction commenced on the Commercial Road interchange, access from Commercial Road into Lindsay Road was cut. Instead, buses had to use the national road bypass between New Brighton and Standford Road and, during the construction period, the City Council asked Bay Passenger Transport to use the open

ground opposite Livingstone Hospital on the southwestern side of Standford Road for the bus stop.

It was emphasised at that time, and has been made clear again now, that the use of this ground for a bus stop be temporary only, as the ground is required for a second carriageway in Standford Road, shortly to be constructed.

The adjacent ground is earmarked for other purposes. It is not available for use as a bus terminus, and the Council informs us, cannot be used as such.

3. After construction of the link road between New Brighton and Lindsay Road, the bus company was obliged to return to its original route as laid down by the Transportation Board, i.e. along Lindsay Road. Buses reach New Brighton more quickly along Lindsay Road, because they no longer have to queue to get through the severe traffic bottleneck at the Standford Road interchange.
4. In the interim, the number of passengers using the service had grown by several thousand and the old bus stop outside the eastern side of the hospital in Lindsay Road, was not big enough to accommodate all the people and buses which use the stop in the evenings.
5. The only ground available for use as a major bus terminus was that which is presently set aside for this purpose, north-east of the hospital adjoining Lindsay Road.
6. It is understood that the Council has authorised the expenditure of approximately R40 000 on proper surfacing of this terminus, together with the provision of shelters, toilets and lights. It is hoped that work on this will commence shortly.

7. Once these proper facilities have been provided, the likelihood of assaults will be considerably less than on the open ground opposite the hospital in Standford Road, where trouble did occur.
8. The police inform us that there has been no difficulty at the new terminus in Lindsay Road, since it opened.

B. PROVISION OF SPECIAL BUSES.

1. It must be explained that the bus company operates according to clearly defined authorities, laid down by the Local Road Transportation Board, in terms of the Motor Transportation Act; and in the Road Traffic Ordinance:-
  - (a) All buses operated by Bay Passenger Transport along scheduled routes at prescribed fares are obliged by law to pick up and set down any African passengers, regardless of their occupation, if there is space available on the bus.
  - (b) If it is thought by any organisation or group of people that it is desirable or necessary that any particular category or passenger should be carried on a bus, to the exclusion of any other category of passenger, then the bus would have to be specially hired by a party of people, or an organisation, by arrangement with the bus company.
  - (c) Although the company is prepared to arrange buses on a special hire basis, there is some doubt as to whether this is going to solve the present problem:

- i. From experience elsewhere in New Brighton, the provision of special hire buses during peak periods gives rise to considerable unhappiness on the part of other passengers. They do not understand why they should not be able to board the first bus that arrives, especially if they have been waiting several minutes.
- ii. The above fact has, in fact, been pointed out at previous meetings between the Advisory Board and this Company.
- iii. Considerable unhappiness is evident at present, as a result of certain nurses "jumping" the queues. Many passengers indicate that the nurses should take their turn with everybody else.
- iv. No complaints have been received from the hospital to the effect that nurses arrive late for duty because of difficulties with the bus service.
- v. Even if special buses were to be hired, it would be impractical to provide special buses at all the different points in New Brighton and Kwazakele from which nurses require transport.

After a lengthy discussion, the meeting decided as follows:-

- (a) That there be more consultations between the Board and Bay Passenger Transport Company about future planning of new bus terminals for African commuters.
- (b) That there be liaison between the Board, Bus Company and the City Engineer, regarding provision of bus terminals, bus bays, roads, etc.

- (c) That the Board should press for the provision of lights at the proposed bus terminus at Lindsay Road and also at the corner of Standford and Lindsay Roads.
- (d) That the bus company should conduct a survey of Livingstone Hospital staff to determine the number of bus commuters from this hospital.
- (e) That the time table for Livingstone Hospital be adjusted in order to leave, say 15 minutes after the Livingstone Hospital staff cease work, e.g. 7 o'clock bus to leave at 7.15 p.m.
- (f) That the question of the feeder system for Zwide bus commuters be deferred until the whole area has been proclaimed.
- (g) That a progress report on the proposed big bus terminal for Daku/Seyise Roads be requested."

This report by Mr. Maxakana was accepted without much discussion. At the instigation of Mr. Maxakana however, it was further unanimously decided to recommend:

- (a) That the bus company be requested to provide buses at special times to take nurses and other staff from Livingstone Hospital.
- (b) That a letter be written to the Livingstone Hospital Board and Medical Superintendent to support the plea for special buses for African staff at this hospital.
- (c) That nurses be allowed to continue to embark and disembark at the bus stops in front of the Livingstone Hospital at Standford Road.

In the absence of both the Chairman, Mr. Phambi and the Acting Chairman, Mr. Nonco, Mr. Maxakana presented the report of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee.

The committee recommended that the Board be given the opportunity of looking at the plans of the proposed Public Hall for Kwazakele before it was built. It was also proposed that the residents of this area be provided with an up to date Public Hall about  $\frac{5}{4}$  the size of the present Centenary Great Hall, but should be complete and decent.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, this hall should be an attractive building and it must be about the size of the Gelvandale (a Coloured area) Community Centre. It must have wooden floors, a ceiling, sound accoustics, change rooms, toilets and proper stage lights. This hall must be good enough for theatrical performances and music festivals.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, this is a sound recommendation and must receive our total support. The people deserve facilities on a par with any anywhere else and this we must give them.

Mr. Maxakana also reported that the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee had also asked the Department of Bantu Administration to develop playing fields in the Bantu Townships for Soccer.

It was reported that Soccer clubs were experiencing hardships because of the lack of proper playing facilities, and yet interest in this game was growing fast and there were many Soccer Clubs which have been started in the Bantu Townships. The Committee recommended that money be provided next year for the development of more Soccer fields and also to explore the possibility of developing Kwaford Sports Stadium for athletics and soccer. That the New Brighton Oval be also developed for this purpose, and if possible be closed for some time to allow the grass to grow without being tramped by players.

Because there was no money this year to provide playing fields in the Kwazakele Singlemen's Hostel, the Committee recommended that an appeal be made to the Kwazakele Bantu School Board to allow the inmates of the Hostel to use the playing fields at the adjacent school playing grounds at Kwazakele Secondary School and Henry Nginza Primary School.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, what I would like to know is how the profits from the Municipal liquor outlets are used. My committee would like to see these profits ploughed back into recreation and sports facilities for our people.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, my Department actually receives a small amount from liquor profits. 80% is taken by the

Government. What remained was a little more, or sometimes less, than R30,000.

In the past two years the Department had spent more money in the provision of recreation and welfare facilities for the Bantu community. They have spent about R20,000 for sports, welfare and recreation facilities and also assisted indigent families who could not pay their rents. In addition to the abovementioned amenities, the department had to provide playing fields for 51 schools in the area.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman some clubs are even willing to build their own sportsfields if they are just given the ground.

Botha : This I can allow Mr. Chairman, but under certain prescribed conditions.

Maxakana : I would also like to suggest that open grounds in the townships should be levelled to make it possible for the children to play there.

Botha : One way of getting an income for improving sporting facilities could be to charge professional soccer clubs for their use of playing facilities.

Finally, the Board resolved to support the recommendations for the provision of more playing fields for soccer in the townships.

Secondly, that certain rugby and soccer clubs be granted sites to enable them to build their own sportsfields under certain conditions prescribed by the Director of Bantu Administration.

That some of the open grounds in the townships be levelled with graders to provide playing fields for African children.

That professional soccer clubs be charged a certain fee for using playing grounds in the Bantu Townships.

Meeting No. 7 : 18th June 1973

The ordinary meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Administration Department, Kwaford, New Brighton, on Monday, June 18, 1973 at 6.15 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

The Chairman asked Rev. Morija to open the meeting with a prayer. After the minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed, correspondence was dealt with.

A letter was received from the Secretary of the Cape African Teachers Union, Mr. F.M. Tonjeni, dated June 12, 1973, requesting the Joint Bantu Advisory Board to accord the officials of the African Teachers Association of South Africa a civic welcome on Thursday, July 5, 1973, in the Centenary Great Hall.

Morija : Mr. Chairman, as these people are attending the National Eisteddfod - an important cultural event - we should be prepared to do something for them. Such an action will fall in line with the practice at other centres where the Eisteddfod was held.

Jones : (Occupying the 'hot seat' in the absence of the Chief Director). This case has obvious merit, Mr. Chairman. I suggest we accede to this request and ask the Cape Midlands Bantu Administration Board to provide money for the staging of this function.

Phambi : I move we accept this.

The members unanimously agreed to this.

Jones : Mr. Chairman, just before we carry on, I would like to make a statement concerning the new Administration Boards that we are going to have. We have had questions about the future of the Advisory Board. I can say now that the Advisory Board will continue functioning. But this will mean that the committees of the Advisory Board will now have to be much better motivated. The Advisory Board will be more important now. The committees will have to be better run. The half-baked business that we have been getting will not be good enough. You will have to state your case better if you want to get things done.

(An almost simultaneous reaction from councillors Morija, Phambi and Majola results in the Chairman giving the floor to Rev. Morija - his age seniority probably winning the day against the more vociferous and demanding postures of Messrs. Phambi and Majola.)

Morijsa : Mr. Chairman, I don't know if I understand Mr. Jones correctly, but you know, I think we have always in the past tried to work hard and to do things properly.

Phambi : I would like to support my colleague in this. The problem has not been our side, but what has been done about the proposals and suggestions we have put forward over all these years. What I would like is to meet members of this new Administration Board which supposedly promises all these better conditions. We would like to say our piece to them.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, as the Advisory Board stands now, it has no authority, no power. We would like, with these new changes to get an elevation of this Board. What we need is more room to fight for our people.

Coates : You, all 18 of you, are going to be heard. Your wishes are going to be heard. Things are changing now and you are going to be a part of it. We just have to give all these new developments a chance to take their course.

Mbnyiselo : The effect of the Ciskei elections are being felt, Mr. Chairman. Through people like Majola and Phambi<sup>(1)</sup> people are becoming more aware. There are new demands. Black people are speaking with a stronger voice. We are not dummies anymore. The Board must be more effective.

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(1) Messrs. Phambi and Majola had at the time become elected members (on the side of Chief Minister Sebe's ruling party) of the new Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

At this point the chairman called the meeting to order. A number of councillors were warming to the theme and started vying for a turn to speak and the chairman suggested that the meeting should return to its official business. The report of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee was called for first. Mr. M. Nonco reported on behalf of Mr. Majola, who had been unable to attend the June 11th Committee meeting.

Nonco : Mr. Chairman, I have pleasure in reporting on our meeting as follows:

As far as a progress report on soccer playing fields is concerned, Mr. Jones reported a start was to be made to level and cover with grass the soccer playing fields at New Brighton Oval.

My committee also recommended that open spaces be scraped and levelled at the following areas :-

- (a) Mbilini Crescent, Kwazakele
- (b) Basuthwini next to the Zwide Swimming Bath.

At the meeting I also raised the matter of the dilapidated wire fence at the Wolfson Stadium and further stated that people were now using the outside fields at the Wolfson Stadium as a thoroughfare. I suggested that a strong wire fence or brick wall be put up to enclose these fields before they were damaged beyond repair by the public.

Mr. Maxakana suggested that a cheaper way was to erect a vibracrete wall measuring 200 x 400 yards which would be 8 foot high to enclose the four fields. This would cost about R6,300 for the whole job by a local building contractor. Mr. Jones reported that there was not enough money available to cover such building projects. However, he said he was going to take note of the figure quoted by Mr. Maxakana, and refer the matter to Mr. Badnell. My committee then recommended that a strong wall be built to enclose the outside playing fields.

We also discussed the Recreation Hall at Kwazakele. I had received complaints from a Ball-room Dancing Club that the cement floor was not suitable for their dance practices. It was coarse and dusty. These people have asked that a wooden floor be put up or some kind of linoleum material be fixed to cover the cement floor.

Mr. Jones said the small hall was not meant for dances. A proper public hall for this area with all facilities was being planned.

My committee then recommended that this cement floor at the Kwazakele Recreation Hall be provided with covering material. Mr. Chairman, we have accepted Western Civilization and our facilities must be improved. We are now ashamed of our halls. The authorities must do something about it.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, if I can say something about these halls. We must not get inferior halls and floors - if we are to accept 'separate development', it must be on an equal basis!

Maxakana : The maintenance of the fields is one of our greatest problems. I hope the new Board will give money for this because the council neglected this very badly. I say give these grounds to the clubs, they are concerned to maintain them. Let them now stand on their own feet.

Majola : That's not a good plan!

Mcinga : (In his best oratory style). Why? Why are they (the fields) not maintained? What are the facts? This is a public disgrace. What is needed is immediate and concerted action!

Phambi : Maintenance of fields is an expensive business. You need revenue to do this. The fields can be leased to the clubs but the authorities must maintain them.

Jones : It is easy to criticize. The Press also must not publish slighting remarks without giving some chance to the Administration to answer. The Administration has battled to get what is there for hundreds of rands! The whole business is totally unfair! (Appears to be very agitated).

At this point the Chairman ruled that the items (a) Leasing of playing fields to clubs and (b) Improvements to playing fields be "...deferred for further discussion and motivation by their relevant committees".

The report of the Education Committee was then called for.

Moriya : (Chairman, Education Committee) :

Mr. Chairman, we have to report that the old Police Barracks in New Brighton, where classes for the Mzontsundi Junior Secondary School are being held, is an eye-sore and the old buildings there are not conducive to good learning. We would like to know when the construction of the Mzontsundu Junior Secondary School will begin? We would also like to know how much money had been collected from the school levy fund since this fund was introduced and, what was done with the money?

Jones : As regards the first question, Mr. Chairman, an application for loan funds for the erection of this Secondary School has already been sent to the Department of Community Development for approval about three months ago. Up to now, no approval has been received. We (the Department) have to wait until the money is available before we can go ahead with the construction of the new schools.

As regards the school levy fund, this money is used to repay school loans and to maintain schools. I will give the committee a full report on this at its next meeting.

Maxakana : If the government fails to grant a loan for the building of these schools, the Board should try other sources for funds to erect the buildings for the two higher

primary schools at Zwide and the new secondary school at Kwazakele. More classrooms can also be added to the Kwazakele Secondary School and Cowan Secondary School so as to prepare for the elevation of these two schools to high school level.

The Advisory Board adopted a resolution put forward by the Education Committee, through its chairman, that "... education being of primary importance and having regard to the fact that loans funds from the Department of Community Development are slow in forthcoming, other avenues of finance be explored with utmost urgency and vigour for the provision of outstanding schools and for the elevation of existing secondary schools (Cowan and Kwazakele) to high school level".

It was also resolved that this item be referred to the Cape Midlands Bantu Administration Board.

Moriya : Another serious problem which we are faced with Mr. Chairman, is that of school children who are playing truant because they fear being punished by teachers at school. Some were leaving school at an early age and engage themselves in anti-social behaviour. These young people are idle. They play truant, become delinquents, and they rob people. The teachers and parents should find a remedy for this problem.

Nonco : The double session is to blame for this type of anti-social behaviour. All children should go to school

at the same time in the morning, which would reduce the incidence of truancy. I have discovered that children who turn to crime or become delinquents are those who are left alone by parents to wait for the double session at local schools.

Mbnyiselo : Laxity of teachers result in truancy.

Mcinga : Some of these schools, Mr. Chairman, are situated in bad environments, for example close to the jail. If these schools are moved, things will improve already.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, there are simply too few schools for the numbers (of children). It has always been said, 'The Africans are not ready'<sup>(1)</sup> We are! How can we be ready if we don't get facilities for education. Why must we suffer!

Moriya : Mr. Chairman, as can be seen by the report of my committee as tabled, we recommend that teachers be asked to check on school children who absent themselves from school classes. We also recommend that the School Boards be also asked to assist the parents in solving this problem.

Jones : Mr. Chairman, a problem as serious as this, must be handled properly and must be carefully considered. I think this should also be referred back to the relevant committee for further discussion and proper motivation.

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(1) The implication here is that Blacks are not ready to accept political responsibilities and hence the present policy.

The latter suggestion was supported by the Chairman and accepted by the Advisory Board.

Mr. Bukashe, as Acting Chairman, was asked to table the report of the General Purposes and Finance Committee.

Bukashe : Mr. Chairman, I have received complaints from many residents of Kwazakele that the postal service there is bad and irregular. Letters are not delivered in time. One man told me that a letter posted from town took nine days to reach him. My committee would like to recommend that the Post Master of Kwazakele Post Office be asked to investigate this matter.

Moriya : Mr. Chairman, those people there are terribly understaffed. We must get an interview with the Director of Postal Services.

The Board resolved that postal officials be invited to discuss this matter with members of the General Purpose and Finance Committee at its meeting the following month.

Bukashe : Mr. Chairman, my committee also felt that the wooden houses at Kwaford Village are not suitable as permanent dwellings for the African Community. They (the houses) are a danger to health and can also be set alight by thugs. There were families who had lost their valuable goods and some died as a result of

fires that broke out in these wooden houses. These houses should be done away with and replaced by a better type of brick house.

Smith : Mr. Chairman, a lay-out plan for the re-development of Kwaford has been sent to Pretoria for approval. We have also completed a survey of families who live there. This matter is receiving the constant attention of my department.

Maxakana : Yes, Mr. Chairman! But what about the time factor? Things must get done!

With the Chairman interceding it was eventually resolved that this item be also deferred to the Administration Board.

Mr. Maxakana, chairman of the Public Transport and Traffic Committee submitted the final report.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, first there is the question of a school bus. There is an urgent need for a special bus to carry school children from Kwazakele, New Brighton and Zwide who have to attend school in other areas of the Townships. It is pathetic to see school children who have to travel on foot for long distances because of lack of transport. In the morning, buses which are usually full of adults who work in town, do not stop to pick up the school children and they are then compelled to walk long distances in all kinds of weather. Mr.

Chairman, I make a plea on behalf of all the local school children. I have statistics to support my proposal. The Bus Company has already got a bus that goes in a circle to pick up people in the different townships. This is the kind of bus we need. One would be enough for the whole township.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, we must get the bus people to a meeting to discuss problems.

The Board decided that Mr. Maxakana submit his report and his statistics to the next meeting of his committee and that officials of the Bus Company be invited to attend this meeting.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, there are several unfinished and corrugated roads and streets which needed to be scraped and tarred. My committee recommends that Sangotsha, Stokwe, Pendla and Kwazakele roads be scraped and levelled with clay ash.

The recommendation was accepted by the Board, but with the addition of Msimka road.

Maxakana : My committee also felt that there is an urgent need for scholar patrols to help in controlling traffic near township schools. We suggest that Messrs. Sam Sibidla (Senior Bantu Traffic Officer) and T. Daniels (Road Safety Information Officer) are invited to discuss the matter at the next meeting of the Public Transport Traffic Committee next month.

This the Board agreed to.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, a last problem. The bus stop near Themba lethu has been taken away since the new bus bays in Ferguson Road were built. Now residents in Boast Village, White Cottages and Themba lethu are suffering hardships and have to walk long distances to their homes. My committee recommends that the original bus stop - near Themba lethu and opposite Singapi Street - be brought back.

Again, this was agreed to. Mr. Jones further promised to look into the matter.

COMMENT:

Given the fact that Mr. Jones was the most senior administration official present i.e. in the absence of Mr. Botha, a general air of greater militancy prevailed. The Chairman and Mr. Jones tended to counteract this with strategies ranging from emphasising meeting procedure to verbal demonstrations of empathy with the sentiments expressed. A further characteristic of this meeting was the way resolutions were presented. In general they were factual and well motivated. Much more pressure was placed on the officiating administrators and both the Chairman, Mr. Coates and Mr. Jones showed clear signs of agitation<sup>(1)</sup>. It was also notable that contentious issues were either referred back to sub-committees or were passed on to the Administration Board.

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(1) In the case of the former this was displayed by an incessant tugging of a growth at the side of his left cheek and in the case of the former, by a reddening of his face and a nervous fiddling with his cigarettes and matches.

Meeting No. 8 : 23rd July, 1973

The ordinary meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Administration Department, Kwaford, New Brighton on Monday, 23rd July, 1973.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

After Rev. Xinwa, was asked to open the meeting with a prayer, the minutes of the meeting held on June 18th, 1973 were confirmed.

The Secretary's report was next called for and consisted of three items for the consideration of the Advisory Board:

1. A letter dated 15th June, 1973 was received from Dr. G. Ware, Medical Superintendent, Livingstone Hospital, and reads as follows:

'Dear Sir,

re: SPECIAL TRANSPORT FOR STAFF : LIVINGSTONE HOSPITAL.

1. Your letter of 11th June, 1973 refers.
2. I regret that I am not in a position to request special transport for the staff of the Livingstone Hospital on a special hire basis as the Cape Provincial Administration does not provide transport to and from work for any personnel.
3. Should the times of arrival or leaving be inconvenient

for personnel, I will certainly discuss with the General Manager more convenient times should members of the staff make due representation to me.'

FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

2. CIVIC WELCOME FOR THE CHIEF MINISTER OF THE TRANSKEI AND HIS ENTOURAGE.

A local committee of the Transkeian Citizens is requesting the Joint Bantu Advisory Board to accord the Chief Minister of Transkei, Chief K.D. Matanzima and his party, a civic reception at the Centenary Hall, on Friday, 31st August, 1973 at 8 p.m.

FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

3. The following letter dated 11th July, 1973 was received from the Secretary of Kwazakele Rugby Union.

'Dear Sir,

re: ALLOCATION OF THE NEW ZWIDE STADIUM TO THE KWAZAKELE RUGBY UNION.

Acting on behalf of the above-named Union, I have pleasure in communicating with you in respect of the allocation of the New Zwide Stadium to my Union.

The executive of the Union, has felt duty-bound to express its appreciation for what the Management of New Brighton has done for the Union.

The big crowd that turned up, on the day of the official opening of the Zwide Stadium, which still continue to patronise our matches in big numbers, clearly illustrated the enthusiasm and joy, the people of Port Elizabeth got through this amenity.

We were, therefore, left with no doubts that, it has been the main aims of those in authority to see to the betterment, promotion of good spirit and healthy relations of all the residents of the townships of Port Elizabeth.

The Union hereby promises to keep the field as decently and in good trim as was, when we officially opened it.

On behalf of all those who enjoy this privilege, the Kwazakele Rugby Union, hereby extends its sincerest thanks, particularly to all those who are directly or indirectly connected with the allocation of the Zwide Stadium to my Union.

Please allow me to terminate, hoping and looking forward to the best.'

FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

Consensus was reached on all points through proposals from the floor. The Board resolved that Mr. Smith arrange for a deputation from the Board to meet the Medical Superintendent of the Hospital to discuss the matter of special transport for Livingstone Hospital staff.

The Board also accepted the request from the local committee of Transkeian citizens that a welcome reception be accorded to the Chief Minister of the Transkei and his party on Friday, 31st August, 1973 in the Gana Kakaza Methodist Hall at 8 p.m.

It was further resolved to ask the Bantu Affairs Administration Board to consider the following recommendation:

That the principle of leasing playing grounds to various African sports bodies be accepted.

Mr. D. Majola reported on behalf of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, although this Board has already indicated its wishes as regards the leasing of playing grounds, I want to give a little background on the discussions my committee had before making the recommendation.

I introduced this matter at our committee meeting on 16th July. I suggested that we should consider the question of leasing playing grounds to Rugby Clubs as this would give the Department some relief in the maintenance of playing fields in the Bantu townships. I also suggested that the grounds be leased to them for 20 years.

Mr. Roux then wanted to know what would happen if all the Rugby Clubs in the townships wanted to own playing fields. He said there were about 27 clubs (PEARB and KWARU) and only four enclosed grounds.

In reply, I said no particular club would own a playing field. The question of leasing grounds would be vested in Rugby Unions according to the

conditions of leasing of grounds to be drawn up by the Department. Mr. Roux said that this matter was difficult to decide as this was going to affect all Rugby Clubs, and suggested that before any decision could be taken, all clubs should be given the opportunity to vent their views on this matter.

I said that no club would be forced to accept this proposal. Afterwards, my committee recommended that the principle of leasing grounds to various sports bodies be accepted. Then there is the question of the Centenary Hall. Mr. Chairman, this hall has become very popular, but all the entertainment groups have complained about bad accoustics.

Also, whenever there were big functions at the Centenary Great Hall the organisers were always complaining about poor toilet facilities. The stench from toilets which are wrongly situated and facing the kitchen is causing a hardship and an embarrassment to people, especially when the urine overflows and makes the whole foyer of the hall to be messy.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, year after year we have been complaining about this and it is long past time that something is done. We are getting very tired .....

Jones : Mr. Chairman, if I may just interrupt for a minute. The township engineer, accompanied by Mr. Majola and Mr. Maxakana himself, has already inspected these toilets with a view to suggest a plan to improve the facilities.

Coates : Fine, perhaps we should get a resolution from the Board that toilet facilities and accoustics be improved at this hall.

Majola : I move, Mr. Chairman.

In the absence of Mr. P.A. Mcinga, Mr. Zeze presented the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee report.

Zeze : Mr. Chairman, at our committee meeting Mr. Mcinga reported that Livingstone Hospital had no communication with outside Welfare Organisations and the Medical Superintendent, Dr. G. Ware, was not prepared to cooperate with the deputation from the Bantu Advisory Board for the establishment of a Bantu Welfare Committee at this hospital.

He suggested that the only solution would be top-level representation by the Chief Director of Bantu Administration and the Chairman of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board.

Our committee resolved that Mr. Smith should take up this matter with the Chief Director of Bantu Administration.

The committee also recommended that the Department be requested to put up an advertisement for application for the scholarship for a course in dentistry as soon as possible to enable those interested to apply for admission at the University of Witwatersrand before

the closing date, 30th November, 1973. It was reported that last year, the scholarship was advertised too late for African students with B.Sc. degree to apply for admission to this university.

There are several African students who have obtained their B.Sc. degrees last year, and who are keen to take up a course in dentistry.

Coates : Both these problems can be quite easily solved. As far as the first is concerned, I think the Chief Director and myself must have top-level discussions with the Medical Superintendent on this matter<sup>(1)</sup>.

For the dentistry scholarship, an advertisement must be put up as soon as possible to enable those interested to apply for admission at the University of Witwatersrand before the closing date.

These suggestions were agreed to without further debate.

Mr. B.P. Maxakana presented the Transport and Traffic Committee report.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, my committee's report can be taken as read. I just want to emphasize our recommendations. In the first place, scholar patrols should be encouraged at all Bantu Schools near the main roads. Mr. Sam Sibidla, Senior Traffic Constable, supports us in this view. Because of a shortage of staff,

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(1) The Chairman also happens to serve on the Board of the Livingstone Hospital.

his department could not control all the dangerous crossings. Traffic signs should also be put up to warn motorists about children's crossings. Another important point concerns the training of African traffic personnel. They should get exactly the same training as other racial groups because traffic regulations are the same for everybody.

My committee also recommends, Mr. Chairman, that another bus bay be provided for a bus stop in the Tembalethu and Boastville area. There is a great need for this and it must be done as soon as possible.

The final problem, Mr. Chairman, concerns street lights. It is high time that an inspection of street lights again takes place. Young girls are being molested and some raped in the New Brighton Oval because there were no lights. Oval gates are not locked at night. The whole sixth street (in the Oval area) has no lights. There must also be regular patrolling by the municipal police of this area at night. More lights are also needed at the Ferguson Road Bridge and at the Lindsay Road bus stop for Livingstone Hospital staff.

Mputa : Mr. Chairman, some of the problems Mr. Maxakana has mentioned are even worse than he said and something must be done immediately.

Coates : Would the meeting be happy to accept the committee's recommendations as they stand?

Phambi (followed in quick succession by a number of other members):  
Agreed!

The last report and recommendation was tabled by Mr. M. Phambi, Chairman of the General Purposes and Finance Committee.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, the subject of our recommendation is a very, very serious one. The B.A.A.B. must give assistance to the African residents in Port Elizabeth and other areas under its jurisdiction, by reviewing the present system of trading rights within the African Townships. Hawkers licences must also be reviewed so that their area of operation can cover all places where our people are employed within or adjacent to the townships. I know Mr. Smith opposed me in this at our committee meeting - he said this would be against government policy - but I want to say again; African hawkers should be granted an open ticket for trading in the City. (Several of the councillors' heads were now nodding in agreement, with Mr. Maxakana making an inaudible interjection). Africans are not allowed to trade outside their areas. It would not be right to have African hawkers trading all over the town. This is not what I'm asking. No, Mr. Chairman - because I can see Mr. Jones already shaking his head over there - there should be controlled trading and a hawker's licence should have a limit. But now there are more hawkers in the townships than you would find in town. They were hampering the sound trading in the townships.

Jones : Mr. Chairman, could I just explain this to Mr. Phambi...

Phambi : With your permission, Mr. Chairman, Sir, could I please finish my point? (A definite 'feeling' was at this stage noticeable between Jones and Phambi. Jones was quite abrupt and Phambi very insistent - he was not showing the same deference to Jones as was his custom with the Chief Director, Mr. Botha. It should perhaps also be mentioned here that the Chairman, Mr. Coates, and Mr. Phambi were firm personal friends which made the latter's position just that much stronger). Indians and Coloureds are allowed to sell to Africans at Deal Party Estate. Why can't this privilege be extended to Africans? Even those people who had hawkers' licences were not permitted to trade near the Labour Bureau.

Maxakana : White traders are taken out of the townships but our own African traders can only operate in the homelands.

Jones : Mr. Chairman, what is being forgotten in all these accusations levelled at us, is the fact that we are dealing with the policy of the Government and there is not much we can do about it.

Maxakana : We feel insulted. What is the function or usefulness of this Board then?

Majola : Mr. Chairman, one of our biggest problems is that we do not know what is happening. This Board often is

not consulted or even informed of regulations and laws. Even worse, our sub-committees never have a chance to discuss such things before the Advisory Board is just 'told' about them!

Phambi : Why are the Bantu Advisory Board sub-committees by-passed?

Jones : Mr. Chairman, I think we are generalising now. If we look at specific cases, we can do something about it.

Phambi : We are dissatisfied. Although this Board is not a law-making body, we hoped the new B.A.A.B. system will bring relief to the urban Africans. But no!

Coates : I'll convey your feelings to the Administration Board. You will be heard. The Administration Board still has a lot of growing pains. But have you finished with your committee report Mr. Phambi?

Phambi : Just one more recommendation, Mr. Chairman. We feel that with the proposed layout of new townships, provision should be made for trading facilities such as panel beating, upholsteries, bioscope licences, chemist, hotel and restaurant, tobacconists and barber shops.

Coates : This is a good recommendation and we must ask the B.A.A.B. to consider it. As far as the hawkers' licences are concerned, Mr. Jones?, perhaps Mr. Smith

should be asked to give a report on the number of hawkers' licences, as well as the types and areas covered. Could he report to the next meeting of the General Purposes and Finance Committee at the next Board meeting?

COMMENT:

More than ever before, frustration was the key-note of this meeting. Admittedly it was a meeting which was true to type, mainly because of the Chief Director's absence. Nevertheless, the leading councillors were even more insistent than ever before. In general manner, tone of voice and in facial expression this was displayed and accentuated more than even the actual words that were uttered. From this side of the Administration came a number of the familiar strategies, i.e. 'it is policy', 'you will be heard'.

Meeting No. 9 : 13th August, 1973

Although I was unable to attend this particular meeting, some effort was made to determine the nature of the business which was transacted. In order to maintain the continuity of the series of meetings covered, the available information on this meeting is given here.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

The most discussion, and certainly the most heated discussion, took place when Mr. M. Phambi presented the report of the General Purposes and Finance Committee. Mr. Phambi dealt with the problems of the system of contract labour. (He was strongly supported by councillors Maxakana, Majola and others). Mr. Phambi is reported to have said that the basic policy of the Government, in so far as the employment of the Bantu worker in the urban areas is concerned, was appreciated and fully understood. According to this system all non-qualified (Black) men and women and residents outside the area are only permitted to obtain or be employed through the system of contract labour. (However), this system, 'much as it is appreciated', places the Bantu worker at great disadvantages and at times makes him an easy prey to those employers who are ever keen to get cheap labour. A contract

labourer experiences difficulties, the worst of which are; that he cannot negotiate with his employer for higher wages and is hence bound to accept conditions of employment which are often unsatisfactory; that he can never be proficient in his job and that productivity is less because of the twelve-months contract.

There was much heated debate, with the Administration (in the person of Mr. J. Jones, in the absence of the Chief Director) taking the line of 'it is out of our hands', with the implication that it is policy and thus only within the jurisdiction of Government. However, the Board eventually managed to 'resolve to recommend' that:

1. the authorities produce safeguards to protect the contract labourers from these problems;
2. the Board is concerned regarding the problems resulting from the present system of recruiting from the homelands when there are many farm labourers on 'our boundaries who are surplus to farming requirements'.

Mr. Phambi also got a report (which had been asked for at the previous meeting) from Mr. Smith on the number of hawkers and the types and areas covered:

New Brighton	:	28 Market stalls plus 67 hawkers
Kwazakele	:	32 Market stalls plus 9 hawkers
Zwide	:	22 hawkers.

The use of soccer fields and the state of soccer facilities in general was the subject of Mr. D. Majola's main concern when he reported on behalf of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee.

Mr. Majola's committee had received a deputation from the Eastern Province Soccer Union.

Messrs. S. Besman, C.S. Kapi and M. Zamxaka were sent by the Eastern Province Soccer Union to discuss their difficulties with the Committee regarding the need for more Soccer playing fields in the Bantu townships.

Mr. Besman who introduced the points for discussion, said their Board cannot carry on with club fixtures as planned because of the renovations to the main soccer field at the Oval. They asked that they be given another playing field at Kwaford Stadium.

Secondly, the Soccer Board has invited two professional Soccer teams from Johannesburg, Orlando Pirates and Kaiser Chiefs, to play exhibition matches in Port Elizabeth in order to raise the standard of soccer locally. The first of these matches is planned for the 8th and 9th of September 1973, and the Soccer Board is now appealing to the two local Rugby Unions for a special concession to use their grounds for the staging of these important matches on separate weekends.

Mr. Besman also reported that they have difficulty in staging their matches because of the bad state of grounds allocated to the Soccer Board. He asked that all soccer playing fields be scraped and levelled, and new playing grounds be developed for soccer in the townships.

Without undue discussion the meeting resolved to recommend:

- a) That the request from the Soccer Board for a temporary playing field until the renovations are completed at the oval, be referred to Mr. M. Roux (the official in charge).
- b) That the Soccer Board make a final approach to the two Rugby Unions (PEARB and KWARU) before they can appeal to the Joint Bantu Advisory Board for the allocation of Rugby grounds for the proposed professional Soccer matches.
- c) That the matter of development of more Soccer fields be left in abeyance until the completion of renovations at the New Brighton Oval.

Rev. S.R. Morija's Education Committee concerned itself with three matters:

1. Facilities for Secondary School Education for children from outside the urban areas.

2. A proposed additional classroom at the Technical High School.
3. Reconstitution of the School committees for the Kwazakele area.

On the first point Rev. Morija reported that children from outside areas like Addo, Kirkwood and Alexandria where there are no secondary schools, should be allowed to enter the urban areas for the purpose of secondary education.

Although the committee recommended that this be allowed, official reaction was that this could present problems of 'policy' but that the matter could be investigated. It is interesting to note that Mr. Jones, the senior official at the Board meeting was present at the committee meeting when this point was first mooted and the recommendation made.

As regards the second point, the Board supported the committee's original recommendation, that additional classrooms be provided at the Technical High School for continuation classes for girls. But it was further recommended that parents be organised to raise funds for the building of additional classrooms.

The recommendation of the committee for the last point was accepted,

i.e. that the existing nominated members be elected for the School committees of Ben Nyati Lower Primary, Aaron Gqadu Higher Primary and Inkqubela Higher Primary School.

The last report was that of Mr. B.P. Maxakana for his Public Transport and Traffic Committee. A combined meeting had been held with various officials of the local bus company. At this meeting the Company's Assistant General Manager reported that they were considering the introduction of a daily Circle Service along the same routes as the Sunday Circle Service. However, in spite of the recent wage increases granted to drivers, people no longer seem enthusiastic about the difficult and long hours worked by bus drivers and the Company is at present short of 16 drivers. As and when this shortage has been eliminated, careful consideration will be given to the introduction of this service. He promised to investigate this matter and would obtain the views of local Secondary School Principals on the introduction of the daily school service.

The official also reported that the matter of a bus stop for Thembalethu and Boastville was being investigated. He explained that it must be taken into consideration, however, that the erection of the bus bays along Ferguson Road is a matter which is decided upon by the Bantu

Township Administrators and was not in the hands of the Company to decide. He also said his company would be happy if another bus bay is provided for this area.

The delays caused by changing bus drivers at Kwaford bus stop (Kings Road) was also explained.

This stop had been placed under the control of an Inspector, equipped with radio equipment. The delays, if not already completely eliminated, would rapidly be solved. He assured the committee that this will no longer occur.

After discussion the Board accepted the recommendations of the committee:

- 1) That a daily circular service and not a special hired school bus be provided for secondary school children and teachers in the townships.
- 2) That the Board continue to press for the provision of another bus bay at Ferguson Road opposite Singapi Street, as the residents of Thembaletu and Boastville are suffering as a result of the discontinuation of the original bus stop near their area.
- 3) That the committee accepts the explanation and assurance given by the Bus Company on changing of bus drivers at Kwaford.

Meeting No. 10 - 10th September 1973

The ordinary meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Administration Department, Kwaford, New Brighton, on Monday, September 10th, 1973 at 6.15 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

Only eleven councillors attended this meeting. Three of these men were on the 'Phambi' side of the table, seven on the 'Mcinga' side, and one on the neutral bend of the table. Only three of the absentees offered excuses. The large absenteeism and the fact that quite a number of those who attended arrived late resulted in problems to obtain a quorum. It was decided (on the initiative of the Chairman) to carry on with the meeting.

This was to be the last meeting of the present term of the Board as elections for the new Board were to be held on the 13th September, 1973. The meeting also marked the first attendance by Mr. K. Jacobs, the newly appointed Director of Housing and Labour in the Bantu Affairs Administration Board. This appointment, from 'outside', placed him in a more senior position to long-serving Mr. Jones (Deputy Director, Housing and Labour) and Mr. Smith (Assistant Director of Housing and Labour). He would thus deputise in the absence of the Chief Director.

Correspondence to be considered included two letters. The one concerning a Laboratory for the Cowan Secondary School was referred to the Education Committee report for discussion. The other letter was from Mr. Matthews Mokonyane - "An invitation is being extended to all members of the Advisory Board to attend a Farewell function in honour of Mr. N. Mbnyiselo, Secretary of the New Brighton Bantu School Board, on the 18th September, 1973 in the Methodist Hall at 2 p.m. A representative of the Advisory Board is also asked to speak at this function. The function is being arranged by the local Principal Teachers".

It was generally agreed to attend this function. Mr. Mcinga proposed Rev. Morija as the speaker for the occasion. As he was however, not available, Rev. Morija in turn proposed Mr. Mcinga and this was agreed to.

In the absence of the Chairman Mr. Majola and Mr. Maxakana, Mr. Nonco and others, Mr. Mputa was asked to present the Parks, Recreation and Entertain Report.

Mputa : Mr. Chairman, the playing ground at the Oval has now been reduced and cannot cater for the needs of cricket as a result of the recent renovations to the main

ground. Our Committee had asked the renovations to be stopped and that the Engineer and the member of the committee should meet and discuss this issue.

The committee wanted a progress report from Mr. Roux on the renovations of the Oval. Mr. Roux reported that no money was available to clear up the ramps which have been created and also to enlarge the area for cricket. The committee decided to recommend that Mr. Badnall (Engineer) be requested to come and answer questions on the renovations of the Oval at its next meeting.

Mr. Chairman, then there is also the question of Beach facilities. Mr. Smith reported to our committee that he had been told by Mr. J. Shelton that only R100,00 was available for improvements at the Bantu Beach. He also reported fully on what was needed, to the Chief Director. We decided to wait until we heard from Mr. Botha.

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, as regards the renovations at the Oval, we do not have all the facts at our disposal - perhaps it would be better to refer this matter back to the relevant committee for further discussion and report.

This was agreed to.

Jacobs : As far as the Beach facilities are concerned, Mr. Chairman, I have been in contact with the Chief Director. This is an important issue and I would

suggest that the Board recommends that the Director of Parks and Recreation be asked to place this item on next year's estimates in order to provide money for the improvements needed at the Bantu Beach.

Again, this was agreed to.

The Chairman asked Rev. S. Morija to present the Education Committee report.

Morija : Mr. Chairman, my committee has reconstructed the Garrett Higher Primary School Committee. The following four persons have been elected to serve on this committee:

Mr. Ebenezer S.M. Elson, Rev. A.M. Tunyiswa,  
Rev. Jacobs Monqo and Mr. Q. Payi.

This was noted by the Board.

Morija : Mr. Chairman, I would like to refer the Board to the letter from Mr. F.M. Tonjeni, Principal of Cowan Secondary School which has been included under the correspondence for this meeting.

'Dear Sir,

re: LABORATORY : COWAN SECONDARY SCHOOL.

- 1) The classroom for the Laboratory at this school was built and was ready in 1967 on or about September.

- 2) Requisition for furniture and other requisitionable items was made to the Department from 1968 to date. There was no reply from the Department.
- 3) The matter was referred to the School Board and the Inspector and the official reply we received from the Inspector was that the school buildings were now the responsibility of local authority.
- 4) The Director of Bantu Administration was consulted by both the School Board and our School Committee as his department was now in charge of the building programme. His reply was that there were no funds. Officials of the Engineering Division (Bantu Areas) visited our school laboratory to make estimates believed to be about R2,300. The last we heard about this matter was when our school committee was informed by the Director that he had applied to the Department of Bantu Education, Bantu Administration, for the authority to use funds for this purpose. This was about March this year. This authority should have been received by now.

When, as a school, we found that neither the Department nor the local authority would equip our laboratory and the classroom was now a white elephant, we decided to embark on a self-help programme. We used school funds and taxed parents. We:-

- (i) installed electricity in the laboratory.
- (ii) hired a carpenter to provide furniture fittings (cupboards, shelves and tables).

- (iii) dug up trenches (canals) for laying of water supply. Boys had to dig up concrete floors with bare hands.
- (iv) altogether a sum of R500,00 was spent from school funds. This meant that ordinary and routine school accounts had to wait. We then asked and are still asking for help.
- (v) The upgrading of this school depends on the completion of our school laboratory - the building has been ready and an embarrassment to us for almost 7 years. Our application for High School status is being delayed".

Mr. Chairman, as can be seen by this evidence, this is a serious matter.

(A number of members voice their agreement. "An outrage" could be discerned from Mr. Mcinga).

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, these matters are now our responsibility. It will take time to budget for the required money and then finances are a problem anyway.

Mzamane : We are not helpless, Mr. Chairman. We can help our own people if the Government ignores us. I'm willing, and I am sure many parents also, to step forward. Mr. Maxakana has shown us before how it can be done. We must appeal through the press.

Chairman : I think Mr. Mzamane is setting a fine example. We should appoint a committee so that the effort takes place in an organised manner.

It was finally resolved that Mr. B.P. Maxakana (Convener), Rev. S.R. Morija, D. Majola, M. Phambi and J. Jones (Deputy Director of Housing and Labour) would constitute a Special Committee. This fund-raising committee will be empowered to launch an appeal to parents through the press for funds to build additional classrooms for the upgrading of Cowan Secondary School as well as Kwazakele Secondary School to matric level.

Morija : Mr. Chairman, there are two final problems. My committee would like the Board to press strongly for school nurses to visit local schools and check on V.D. as well as the general health of scholars.

(A whispered conversation takes place between Mr. Jacobs and Mr. Smith).

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, Mr. Smith has promised to submit his report on the results of the existing anti-V.D. campaign at the next meeting of the Advisory Board. But he would first release his report to the anti-V.D. committee. Mr. Morija's recommendation is however a good one.

It was resolved to accept this recommendation.

Morija : The last matter, Mr. Chairman, concerns the need to establish a Teachers' Training School to cater for local scholars.

Chairman : There can't be any problem with this. We all know the situation and can only press strongly for this Training School.

Agreed.

In the absence of all the members of the General Purpose and Finance Committee, the report was taken as read. The committee's single recommendation was accepted, i.e. that an electric pole be put up in the centre of the quadrangle to provide adequate lighting for the whole area of the market stalls. The motivation was that because of darkness at the Daku Road stalls, the traders are subject to assault by thugs at night.

Morija : Mr. Chairman, there is another matter with these coming Advisory Board elections. It is time we changed the regulations to come out of the dark ages and allow women to vote. They can vote in the Ciskei, but not here.

Chairman : It is probably high time to make such changes. Do you want to make such a recommendation?

General affirmative reaction. It was resolved to recommend that the Bantu Affairs Administration Board revise existing rules and regulations to allow African women to vote in the Bantu Advisory Board elections, and to make any other amendments which may be required.

Mcinga : Why do we hear about these elections at such a late date? There is not sufficient time to make oneself known to the voters.

A stage-whispered consultation between Messrs. Jacobs and Jones results in an almost simultaneous reaction of, "It is no different from previous years".

Mcinga : I, myself, absolutely refuse to contest these elections under these conditions.

Mzamane : Why can't the people in the single-men's quarters not vote? Are migratory labourers not registered residents?

Jacobs : Males who have paid their rent until July, have identity documents and are registered occupiers of houses, have the vote.

Chairman : I think the regulations are available to anyone who needs clarification on any point.

Moriya : Mr. Chairman, before we go, I think it is only right to express our heartiest welcome to Mr. Jacobs who has been appointed as Director of Housing and Labour in the Administration Board.

A number of 'hear-hears' and handclapping seconded this statement.

Meeting No. 11 : 8th October, 1973

The ordinary monthly meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Administration Department, Kwaford, New Brighton, on Monday, October 8, 1973 at 6.15 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

After the customary opening prayer by Rev. Morija and the confirmation of the minutes of the meeting of September 10, 1973, the secretary was asked to introduce the two new members to the Board, Messrs. A.L. Makongola and A. Soka. These, the only two new faces that resulted from the election, were duly welcomed by the chairman and members of the Board.

Correspondence to be considered by the Board consisted of a letter from the Chief Director. As it concerned an amendment of regulations for the payment of fees, the chairman suggested that it should be discussed with the General Purposes committee report. This was agreed to.

Chairman : Gentlemen, although it is the last item on the agenda, I think we should deal with the election of the various new committees right away. As you know, we elect only the members of committees now and they themselves then elect their chairman and vice-chairman at their first committee meeting.

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, it might be as well to bear in mind the weight of responsibility that will rest on the shoulders of these people. What is called for, is careful consideration in putting forward these names. Very careful consideration!

(The election was obviously just a formality. As subsequent questioning revealed, the established members had, almost by caucus decided beforehand who should serve on which committee. The pattern was basically a preservation of the status quo. There were a few exceptions where a need was felt for 'new blood' or where replacements were necessitated as in the case of Mr. Mbnyiselo who had left town. The various chairmen were careful not to tread on each other's ground. Hence the 'Phambi men' retained Parks, Transport and General Purposes, while the old patriarch, Rev. Morija, was 'given' the Education committee - this in view of tradition, his age, experience and superior educational qualifications, and Mr. Mcinga got Social Welfare - his speciality and also, by implication, in return for his not inconsiderable support).

The new committees were constituted as follows:

PARKS, RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT:

Mr. D. Majola	Mr. M. Nonco
Mr. B.P. Maxakana	Mr. F. Mputa
Mr. S. Sizani	

The only change here was Mr. Sizani for Mr. Mbnyiselo.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH SERVICES:

Mr. P.A. Mcinga

Mr. J. Mzamane

Mr. G. Qumza

Mr. A. Soka

Mr. J. Dukada

The new men here were Mr. Dukada ("a young man") and Mr. Soka ("although his first time on the Board, he is a very energetic man").

EDUCATION:

Rev. S.R. Morija

Rev. L. Xinwa

Mr. G. Qumza

Mr. J. Dukada

Mr. Q. Payi

Mr. Dayi replaces Mr. Mbnyiselo.

PUBLIC TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC:

Mr. B.P. Maxakana

Mr. F. Mputa

Mr. M. Mngeni

Mr. M. Nonco

Mr. R. Mtamo

Mr. Mngeni was the only new member.

GENERAL PURPOSES AND FINANCE:

Mr. M. Phambi

Mr. D. Majola

Mr. S. Sizani

Mr. N. Mpunga

Mr. Sizani was the new member.

It is interesting to note that all the new members were 'Phambi men' with the exception of Mr. Payi who was regarded as 'sitting on the fence'. As a retired school principal though, he qualified for the Education Committee.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, there are often issues of importance which are discussed at the committee meetings but many of our Board are not involved there because they are not members of the committees .....

Botha : I see no reason, Mr. Chairman, why the procedure of committee meetings cannot be amended in order to accommodate members who have not been elected to a committee.

Chairman : Is this acceptable gentlemen?

The Board resolved accordingly.

Chairman : Will the chairman of the General Purposes Committee now please present his report? I think the letter from the Chief Director and the Bantu Affairs Administration Board is relevant here.

"Dear Sir,

AMENDMENTS OF REGULATIONS FOR THE PAYMENT OF FEES BY CERTAIN RESIDENTS OF THE URBAN BANTU RESIDENTIAL AREA OF PORT ELIZABETH HOSTEL FEES : KWAZAKELE.

In terms of section 21(20(a)) of Act No.25 of 1949, as amended (Bantu (Urban Areas) Act) the following resolution dated 11/9/73 of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board for its comments.

RESOLVED TO RECOMMEND:

- 1) That, subject to the approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Board's

Regulations for the payment of Fees by certain residents of the Urban Bantu Residential area, promulgated by Notice P.K. 810/1972 of 20th October, 1972 BE AMENDED to provide for rents for single quarters in Kwazakele to be increased from R2,50 per month to R3,04 per month;

- 2) That the proposed increase in rent be brought to the attention of the residents in a diplomatic way.

Kindly furnish me with signed copies of the Joint Advisory Board's resolution in this connection as soon as possible after its next meeting.

Yours faithfully,"

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, members of this 'house', this issue has already been discussed at some length by my committee. This was, and still is, a very difficult thing to accept. We eventually accepted this. Mr. Jones explained to my committee that they (the Administration) were forced by the Department of Community Development to increase the rentals at the hostel because of the cost of building more bungalows at this hostel had risen and in order to meet this cost all rentals have to be increased from R2,50 per month to R3,04 per month. While we accept the proposal, we also feel that building construction and other firms must be given a site to accommodate their employees as is the case with the railways. This would make it easier for the Administration Board. In other towns this is allowed.

(A pause by Mr. Phambi at this point resulted in reactions from a number of councillors - Mr. Maxakana was heard to mutter something to the effect of "... we are always the last to hear of these things". Mr. Majola, however, was given the chairman's nod by virtue of having raised his hand for a turn to speak).

Majola : Mr. Chairman, we are so often placed in the very difficult position of having to explain and defend such increases to our people who think that we are responsible for them or who think that we okayed them, but half the time, the issues are cut-and-dried by the time we hear of them!

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is a very serious matter. This whole, whole issue of non-consultation. There are many people sitting here (waves his arm expansively) who have seen how many times we have had this same problem.

(A number of comments of agreements from several councillors could be heard).

It is with regret, Sir, that I have noticed the lack of consultation on some important issues between the local authorities and the black community. My committee and I are strongly of the opinion that if consultation was the key word, many of the activities of the authorities that have frustrated the African people would have been avoided.

If I may mention just a few issues where the African people, particularly the Advisory Board, were not consulted when these matters were formulated, for example:

- Increase of rentals;
- Abolition of live stock;
- Reconstruction of playing fields;
- Curtailment of trade and selling opportunities.

We were told about the increase of rentals when the matter was already before the City Council. Then we opposed it, but later accepted it because we were told that the salaries of the African Municipal staff were to be increased. But then we heard that not all African staff had benefited from this move. While I am on this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to state that my committee also recommends very strongly that, in view of the extreme pressure under which the African Bottle Store staff works, they should receive increased salaries.

Chairman : I think Mr. Phambi has put his case very .....

Phambi : With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I have just a few more points to make?

Chairman : Go ahead Mr. Phambi.

Phambi : Thank you Sir! Only recently the Deputy Minister (of Bantu Administration, Mr. Punt Janson at the time)

has stated that "We must remove the frustrations of the Black people". Well the question of non-consultation is an important area where this can be done. When my committee discussed these things, Mr. Jones here, (points) was there. He refuted the question of non-consultation regarding abolition of stock and increased rental. Mr. Jones then said that the minutes should be checked to substantiate the fact that the matter had been discussed by the Board prior to implementation or consultation with the stock owners themselves.

Now Sir! I have not heard anything about the results of this checking of the minutes. (His voice takes on a different inflection and he smiles knowingly). We were also not consulted when cricket and tennis clubs were deprived of their playing ground and tennis courts in the oval. With respect, Mr. Chairman, it seems to us that lately Mr. Botha has been too busy with the new Board (the to-be-instituted Bantu Affairs Administration Board) for consultation with us. This is not how we know him, and the whole issue has made us very, very worried.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Phambi's point is taken. I am guilty to his accusations of 'non-consultation'. I want to apologise to the members for having failed to consult the Board on some of the important issues. This was not done deliberately, however, but it was caused by the fact that I have been kept busy now for several months preparing for the take-over of administration from the City Council. I have been very busy getting the new Board on its legs.

Gentlemen, I want to make a promise here to you to-night: that in future I will consult with the Board on all important issues before they are brought to the African Community.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, could we ask the Chief Director to explore the possibility of representation of the local Black Community at a meeting of top businessmen and Black leaders which is being organised by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. Janson? And I think we should state our appreciation to the Minister for planning to launch a fund aimed at providing sports and recreation facilities for urban Blacks - this is a move in the right direction and this is why we would like to be represented at the meeting the Minister has called to launch the fund. If no invitation has been received, we would be happy to attend these top-level discussions, even as observers.

Chairman : Mr. Phambi, I think you had some further points you wanted raised on behalf of your committee.

Phambi : The one is a motion which Mr. Majola moved, "that the Joint Bantu Advisory Board should raise its strong objection to the proposed introduction of green uniforms for local clinic nurses". My committee supports this motion, Mr. Chairman. We have felt that our clinic nurses have always been wearing white uniforms to the satisfaction of the general public, because they have kept these very clean and tidy. Our clinic nurses are getting an allowance of R3,34 a month, and this is R40,08 a year.

The proposed green uniforms will force them to pay in advance, R65,00 for five uniforms, and yet they have already bought from their allowance white uniforms for this year. We feel this will be hardship on these nurses and on the other hand the green uniforms will bring down the status of these clinic nurses in the eyes of the public, since it is customary that green uniforms are at present worn by domestic servants, maids and cleaners throughout town.

I further wish to draw the attention of the Board to the fact that our clinic nurses are made to feel inferior as a result of the humiliating practice of making them parade before the patients for the purpose of inspecting their uniforms and shoes, which belittles in the eyes of the public.

This kind of treatment is bound to destroy the good relations existing between black and white in hospitals. Then, my last point, Mr. Chairman, concerns a matter raised by Mr. Maxakana at our meeting. It is sad that something like this still needs to be discussed, but I will give you Mr. Maxakana's motion without saying anything else: "That White people in town should be educated to refrain from addressing Africans as 'boys' ".

Chairman : May we have the Education Committee Report now?

Botha : Mr. Chairman, before Rev. Morija gives his report, I would just like to say something. For many years now, we have had a situation where we have had three School Boards to serve the three main townships. We have had

one for Zwide, one for New Brighton and one for Kwazakele. Is it not time, Mr. Chairman, that we work towards the establishment of one Board to serve all the townships? Surely this can only lead to greater efficiency and would be to the benefit of the education of all our Black people. This certainly is the case for White education. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to leave this idea with the Board.

Moriya : Mr. Chairman, I would like to support Mr. Botha's suggestion. The School Board should be like this Advisory Board. It should look at all the needs of all people. When my committee met, this was also the feeling. Mr. Smith then already suggested that the best men should always be selected, irrespective of where they resided in the townships.

Mcinga : Perhaps, it is time Mr. Chairman, that in the name of greater unity, we should start thinking in terms of a new name for the townships. This one name should include all of Kwazakele, New Brighton, Zwide and Veeplaas.

Phambi : We should not have petty differences in these townships. In the past, when Rev. Morija was chairman of our school board, he was feared as too domineering. Now he is no longer chairman, and we have Rev. Xinwa. He is known as "a man with broader views". I propose that one school board be instituted.

Xinwa : We must accept that this is imperative, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman : I think there is concensus on this matter. Perhaps we should request the Chief Director to move towards the establishment of one school board.

Botha : We can move to make this a controlling body for the whole area. In tackling this matter, we can first consult with various local Bantu School Boards.

This was accepted.

(The whole discussion ensued by reason of a letter under 'correspondence' for the Education Committee which was received from Mr. Omond the Inspector of Bantu Education, stating that an objection had been made by two members, Messrs. Mzamane and Mafani, of the Kwazakele School Board against any New Brighton residents being nominated to a Kwazakele school committee or school board, but Mr. Magwaca and one other member now on the Kwazakele School Board are in fact New Brighton residents. The Kwazakele School Board Secretary, however, reports that many children from New Brighton are attending schools in Kwazakele and vice-versa.

Mr. Omond suggested he would like to nominate Rev. Soga of New Brighton as chairman of the Mzontsundu Secondary School Committee under Kwazakele School Board. To him, this would be acceptable. If not, they would select a Kwazakele resident with reluctance.

Further, Mr. Jonas, Box 27, Kwazakele, chairman of Kwazakele Secondary School committee had refused to call a meeting of the committee, until "certain matters have been straightened by the outgoing chairman". He differs apparently with Mr. Kabane, the Kwazakele School Board Secretary. A letter was written to Mr. Jonas, asking him to call a meeting or if he cannot do so, he should resign from the committee as it is imperative that meetings be held regularly.

Mr. Omond hence asked the Board to send its comments to Mr. Vaughan for the attention of the Inspector).

There was some comment on this point specifically:

Mzamane: Mr. Chairman, some of the persons who were nominated by this Board had not been accepted by the Inspector of Bantu Education, instead new names were submitted to their School Board. There was some misunderstanding between the members of the Kwazakele School Board over this matter because they were people from New Brighton who have been nominated to serve in this Board.

Dukada : No! Nominated members were nominated by the Advisory Board and it is the prerogative of the Inspector of Schools in consultation with the Bantu Affairs Commissioner to decide which names were acceptable.

Moriya : Mr. Chairman, my committee has already recommended that the objection be noted and that the recommendation of the Inspector be accepted, but I think that the problems should be investigated.

Botha : The Board has already now rejected the principle of area representation, Mr. Chairman. In other words, we want the best man for the job. So perhaps we should also uphold the nomination of Mr. Soga as Chairman of Kwazakele School Board because he is a suitable man for this position. And then supporting Rev. Moriya, that the Board would like to see that an enquiry be held to find out the root cause of the trouble in the Committee of Kwazakele Secondary School.

This was agreed to and accepted.

Moriya : Mr. Chairman, a further point which my committee would like to recommend, concerns the crash programme for the building of schools in the African townships. The African community should be organized to raise funds and put up their own schools.

Maxakana : A start has already been made by the Evening Post to raise funds for the building of schools in the African townships. Consultation was necessary before these schools could be built. Urgent matters, like building classrooms at Cowan Secondary School and Kwazakele Secondary School should come first because then they can start matric classes there next year. I said this in committee and I still say we should have dialogue with the organisers of the Evening Post School

Fund. In our meeting, Mr. McNamee warned about this. He said that it is a delicate matter and that we should consult the Chief Director before we take further action. Well, we've got the Chief Director right here now.

Morija : Mr. Chairman, many African children who have gone to further their education at outside Colleges are now back because of strikes. I would like to suggest that a special committee under Mr. Maxakana should hurry and collect money from parents for the building of more schools in the area.

Maxakana : I still think we should turn to the Evening Post, Mr. Chairman, and I think the Chief Director must be asked to discuss this point with the relevant committee before the schools are built.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, I totally agree to consult with the Board to see where the first school building should be erected. But as far as the question of building additional classrooms at Cowan and Kwazakele Secondary Schools - I don't think this should be coupled to the Evening Post School Fund. Schools are our responsibility and if outside people want to help, we welcome them. What we should do, is to include this item in the Capital estimates for next year. If the Board would leave these school building matters in my hands, I will consult with Mr. Maxakana's special School Buildings Committee in

due course. And while we are on this topic, I think it is high time that we in these townships, we must start thinking in terms of double storey buildings for our schools. They are cheap and more practical when we think of space etc.<sup>(1)</sup>

Both these suggestions, at the request of the Chairman, were agreed to. The Educational Committee's final recommendation for the 'Reconstruction of the Zwide Bantu School Board' was agreed to without discussion. The committee recommended the following four persons as suitable members for this Board.

1. Mr. Q. Payi
2. Mr. M. Nonco
3. Mr. A.L. Makongolo
4. Mr. G.D. Faku.

Chairman : Could we now have the report of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee, Mr. Majola?

Majola : Mr. Chairman, the first item here concerns the roads and the toilet facilities at the Bantu Beach. We would like to request the Chief Director to discuss the allocation of funds for this purpose with the Municipality<sup>(2)</sup>.

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- (1) All these promises were followed up. However by the end of the research period no double-storey schools had been built.
  - (2) An interesting point here is that Mr. Smith, at this committee's meeting on 1st October, had already 'reported' that attention would be given to the road and toilets and that the Chief Director was to discuss the allocation of funds for this purpose with the City Council.

This was agreed to.

At our committee meeting further Mr. Chairman, Mr. Smith showed us the plans of the proposed Community Hall at Kwazakele. May I just say that we were glad to have had an opportunity to see these plans - unlike the situation in the past.

(General positive comment rippled around the table).

I would like to propose that we accept the plans subject to the re-siting of the toilets and kitchen - as we indicated at the committee meeting.

Agreed.

It has come to my committee's notice, Mr. Chairman, that both cricket and tennis facilities will not be provided at the New Brighton Oval. Apparently the main playground is now being developed for soccer only. Cricket and tennis will now be played in Kwazakele and Zwile stadiums.

With a view to this information, my committee would like to recommend that, seeing nothing is being done for tennis at the Oval, the tennis courts at Kwazakele should receive immediate attention.

Maxakana : It would be a great pity, Mr. Chairman, if cricket is not provided for at the New Brighton Oval. The Oval is ideal for cricket and is also well-situated from the point of view of the spectators.

Botha : Perhaps if the Parks committee meets with me, Mr. Chairman, we can discuss this possibility.

This was again agreed to.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, my committee feels that the toilet facilities at the Centenary Hall are terrible. They are causing hardships to the people and it is an embarrassment to the public of Port Elizabeth. The toilets here are too few and inadequate to serve the thousands of people who usually attend boxing tournaments and dance competitions there. We very strongly recommend that something should be done about this, and about the accoustics as well, because these were very poor.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, my department is already looking into the problem with the accoustics and as regards the toilet facilities, this will also be investigated soon(1).

The Board agreed that both the defects should be improved as soon as possible.

Chairman : The next report please.

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(1) This was done (investigated and later attended to).

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, my committee discussed the urgent need for a Bantu Welfare Committee and we hoped to put our case to the Livingstone Hospital Board which was due to meet on the 4th October. I am happy to say that a delegation of my committee and the Bantu Administration Department did have discussions with the hospital people. Perhaps Mr. Koch would like to say something about this.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, our delegation put its case very forcefully and well. The Hospital Board has accepted the idea of the formation of a Bantu Liaison Committee for the hospital. Our proposal has been forwarded to the Director of Hospital Services in Cape Town for approval. We hope to get a reply toward the end of the year.

All that now remains to be done is the formation and constitution of this Liaison Committee and I propose that I do this in consultation with the Advisory Board.

Chairman : This certainly is a move in the right direction and long overdue and deserves the Board's wholehearted support<sup>(1)</sup>.

(A point of discussion from the committee meeting of 1st October, 'Anti-V.D. Campaign', when Mr. Smith had announced that "I will give my full report on this matter at the meeting of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board on the 8th October" i.e. the present one, was not raised).

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(1) The Chairman, Mr. Coates, at the time served on the Board of the Livingstone Hospital.

Chairman : Mr. Maxakana, can we have your report now please?

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, the first point is a question of roads. We have made an inspection and found that roads in Kwazakele, Zwide and the Red Location are badly in need of general scraping. People who have motor cars or other vehicles are suffering most because of the roads. I can give a list of the streets that need scraping most, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman : I think we can resolve to refer this to the relevant department?

(Nodded and mumbled agreement).

Maxakana : Great hardships are also experienced by our people who want to go to the homelands. My committee would like to make an urgent plea to the Transportation Board to allow Africans who own lorries and vans to take people from the towns to visit their families during week-ends. It was reported that people who want to visit their families in the homelands were experiencing difficulty in reaching their homes as the railway buses cannot take them to their homes. Most of the villages are situated far away from bus stops. They are compelled to hire another transport to take them to their destination. The committee felt that people who own lorries should not be prosecuted when carrying passengers to these places which are situated far away from bus routes.

A temporary licence was granted to lorry owners on special occasions. When we discussed these things in the committee, Mr. Connor said the railways would oppose

this proposal and he suggested that people who own lorries or vans in the homelands could apply to operate a feeder service in the homelands. But this would still mean that passengers would have to pay double, before they get home. We reject the feeder system, Mr. Chairman. Another problem we discussed, was the need for the employment of African drivers and conductors on the Railway buses to the homelands. The white staff now on these buses do not know Xhosa. The assistants now are not patient enough and many passengers lose their luggage on the way. There is a lot of misunderstanding and racial friction on these buses. We feel that each bus must at least have an African assistant - the trains have Bantu Commissioners. Mr. Heard (a Railways official) has already apparently said it would be uneconomical to employ Africans on buses to the homelands as many buses ran on week-ends and few during the week. The Railways could not afford to employ Bantu Drivers for week-end duties only. He said this would also be against government policy.

African drivers are employed on buses in the homelands while white drivers are employed in the white areas. And then, on the question of employing African clerks at the main station, Mr. Heard has promised to go into this matter. But up to now, nothing has happened. We asked the Secretary to write to the Railways in regard to this matter. Perhaps we should ask the Chief Director to arrange a meeting with the Railways to discuss all these things. This is the only way to get things done.

Chairman : Is this acceptable to everybody? Mr. Botha?

(Nods his assent).

Maxakana : We have also not heard from Mr. Coetzer (Deputy Manager, Bay Passenger Company) about the introduction of a school bus service in the townships. Mr. Coetzer had promised to consult the school principals in order to obtain their views on this matter. I think a letter should be written to the Company about this.

My committee is also aware that residents are worried about the danger of pedestrians crossing freeways. We feel there is a serious need for overhead bridges or crossings so that people from the townships can cross with safety.

Chairman : A plea can be made to the Local Authorities to erect such crossings.

Maxakana : It has been reported that there is no shelter for nurses and other workers who have to wait for buses at the Lindsay Road bus terminals. We would like to recommend that a shelter be erected at this spot<sup>(1)</sup>.

Agreed.

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(1) This issue was to be 'carried' for a number of meetings. Eventually a shelter was built.

COMMENT:

Many familiar issues were discussed. The usual problems concerning poor facilities or a lack of facilities were aired. Playing fields, schools, halls and race relations all had their turn. What was especially highlighted, however, was the recurring problem of 'non-consultation'. Councillors Phambi and Maxakana were very forceful in this regard. Mr. Phambi called on words used by the 'Minister' in support of his case and even went as far as accusing the Chief Director directly of 'neglecting' the Board.

The Chief Director struck a placatory note, promising (in the sense of a guarantee) that in the future all shall be well. His presence at this meeting seemed to bring more life into the meeting. Proceedings could have more decisive conclusions in the sense that the Chief Director was there to give an immediate reaction.

The meeting emphasised the frustratingly difficult position of the councillors. As 'men-in-the-middle', they had the people on the one hand and the Administration on the other. Hence, probably, the call for a voice at a higher level, i.e. in Pretoria.

The administration ploy, and dilemma, of 'there is nothing to be done, it is policy, or the law' was again evident. But they had to keep the Advisory Board, as part of the administrative machinery, functioning. By taking a verbal hammering this was done at minimal cost, although some promises were made.

Councillors on the other hand, saw that they could attack officials (vide: Phambi - Botha) and this probably restored some faith in the Board in the sense that there was some hope that it might achieve something one day.

Meeting No. 12 : 12th November, 1973

The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Administration Department, Kwaford, New Brighton on Monday 12th November, 1973 at 6.15 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

After the usual opening of the meeting with a prayer<sup>(1)</sup> by Rev. Morija, the minutes of the ordinary monthly meeting held on Monday, October 8th 1973, were confirmed.

The various committees of the Board all reported on the results of their elections which were held to designate their chairman and vice-chairman as well as co-opted members. The results were:

PARKS, RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT:

Chairman	:	Mr. D. Majola
Vice-Chairman	:	Mr. M. Nonco
Co-opted member	:	Mr. J. Dukada

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH SERVICES:

Chairman	:	Mr. P.A. Mcinga
Vice-Chairman	:	Mr. G. Qumza
Co-opted members:		Mr. B.P. Maxakana Mr. F. Mputa

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(1) The theme tended to be the same i.e. a plea to God to bless the deliberations, to give the participants the wisdom and guidance so that the work of the meeting will be to the benefit of "our people".

EDUCATION COMMITTEE:

Chairman : Rev. S.R. Morija  
Vice-Chairman : Rev. L. Xirwa  
Co-opted members : Mr. B.P. Maxakana  
Mr. P. Mcinga

PUBLIC TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC:

Chairman : Mr. B.P. Maxakana  
Vice-Chairman : Mr. F. Mputa  
Co-opted member : Mr. J. Dukada

GENERAL PURPOSES AND FINANCE:

Chairman : Mr. M. Phambi  
Vice-Chairman : Mr. A. Bukashe  
Co-opted member : Mr. M. Nonco

As neither the Chief Director, Mr. Botha, nor the Director of Housing and Labour, Mr. Jacobs attended this meeting, Mr. Jones (Deputy Director of Housing and Labour) occupied the 'Administration' seat to the Chairman's right.

The first report to be considered was that of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, my committee has received an application for the extension and improvement of the War Memorial Hall. We all have the full report in front of us (this consisted of a detailed motivation and application from the Ivan Peter Youth Club and included a list of all the activities taking place in the hall at the time) but what the application from the club entails is a request that the Administration Board should provide funds for the conversion and development of the present structure of the War Memorial Hall into a recreation centre to enable the operation of cultural and community projects by the club.

Maxakana : There is a need for a decent community centre Mr. Chairman. It is near the Red and White Villages and can help to attract youngsters away from dice and dagga-smoking.

Majola : I think the need is obvious and urgent Mr. Chairman. I propose we resolve to recommend to the B.A.A.B. that this hall is improved to meet the needs of the youth club.

This was agreed to<sup>(1)</sup>.

Majola : The Inkonjane Life-Saving Club has difficulty transporting its members and equipment to the St. Georges Strand Bantu Beach during weekends.

This is a very serious problem Mr. Chairman. It is almost summer holiday time and these people should be available at the beach to save people, especially school children from drowning. I propose we ask the Administration to provide transport for this club.

Agreed.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, we have studied the plans for the new Kwazakhele Public Hall and we are unhappy with the position of the toilets. The residents want a decent hall and that will have all the amenities of a modern and up-to-date community hall on the same lines as the Whites and Coloureds. They do not want to be given a third grade hall but should be

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(1) And was in fact eventually done.

properly done, hence they have rejected the siting of the toilets on the proposed plan of this hall. We would very much like to meet the Director of Engineering to discuss the toilets with him.

Chairman : Can we accept this as a resolution?

Agreed.

Majola : As far as cricket fields are concerned, Mr. Chairman, we have two problems. One problem is upkeep and the other is about the use of the fields.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, I object strongly to the fact that playing grounds were only given attention when there is going to be an international match.

These grounds should be maintained throughout the year in order to keep them in trim for both rugby and cricket.

A serious problem has developed in cricket and there were two opposing groups in the townships.

Eastern Province has remained a neutral body because of certain differences with some officials of the South African Cricket Board.

Some clubs have joined the Coloured body in order to test their strength against strong Coloured teams and also because their junior clubs were being coached by the cricket professional, Basil Doleivera.

I hope very much that clubs who are playing against Coloureds will not be begrudged and denied their rights in the townships. I know Mr. Roux told us at the meeting that there was a circular coming from Pretoria on the question of inter-racial sport and the policy of the Government. He said this circular would be sent to all sporting bodies. What we are interested in is to help our people now!

Nonco : (Who was acting chairman in Mr. Majola's absence at the committee meeting where these matters were originally discussed).

What we want Mr. Chairman is that the clubs who joined the Coloured cricket union should still be able to use the playing fields in the townships. And these fields should be maintained right through the year<sup>(1)</sup>.

It was resolved to recommend accordingly.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, we recently held a very successful reception for visiting Zulu artists and their White teachers. But this function was a success only because of donations we received from Dr. May Magwai, Mr. B. Maxakana, Mr. P. Mcinga, Mr. G.M. Pemba, Mr. Z. Solombela and Mrs. N. Matheza. And also because Mrs. J. Majola, Mrs. A. Madikane, Miss C. Nkonki and Miss M. Dayimani helped us to cater for the party. We would like to thank all these people very much. I think letters of thanks can be written to them? - especially those who helped to finance it. And this is a problem we have Mr. Chairman.

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(1) This was eventually allowed although cricket was spared the turbulent passage experienced by rugby (Chapters 12 and 14).

We (implying the Advisory Board) get R100 a year to entertain V.I.P.'s and this is not enough. Board members often have to ask around to get money for these functions. My committee would like to recommend that the Administration should increase the amount for entertainment to R500 per year<sup>(1)</sup>.

Mcinga : We would like to support this move very strongly Mr. Chairman because the present state of affairs reflects badly on Port Elizabeth.

(Several more councillors voiced their agreement and the resolution was adopted. It is interesting to note that the whole issue and discussion was subsequently reflected in the minutes as follows:

"APPRECIATION:

That letters of appreciation and thanks be sent to Dr. May Magwai, Mr. B. Maxakana and Mrs. Nonceba Matheza for their donations towards a welcome party for the Zulu artists and their White teachers recently".)

Mr. Mcinga presented the report of the Social Welfare and Health Services committee.

Mcinga : (Eloquent as usual, but exceptionally animated in his presentation).

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen!

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(1) This was eventually done.

We are back at the old problem of overcrowding and housing shortage. We have had over 4,000 applications - and this represents more than 10,000 people! - by people who qualify under section 10(1)(a and b). But there are no houses available for them. We have overcrowding in many family homes and this causes friction and quarrels among members of these families. This is a serious problem and it must be solved. Not to-morrow! Immediately! If necessary Mr. Chairman we must take a deputation straight to Pretoria.

At this point very strong support for Mr. Mcinga's argument came from a number of councillors, notably Messrs. Maxakana, Phambi and Majola. The cross-fire of repartee became disorganised and so fast-moving that it became difficult to record accurately the details of the discussion. What became very clear however was how very strongly councillors felt about the problem of housing. Points which emerged included : the need for direct discussions with the Administration Board (Phambi); the need for allowing people to build their own houses (Mcinga, Maxakana); the need for the Administration Board to treat the matter as of the utmost urgency and importance (Maxakana). The role of Mr. Jones during all of this interaction was a very defensive one - "we must be careful not to make the situation sound worse than it is. There is a need for housing but ....". The Board eventually resolved as follows:

- (a) That the attention of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board be drawn to the urgent need of more houses in the urban African areas of Port Elizabeth, and also the paucity of houses being so serious, it recommends to the Bantu Affairs Administration Board to make direct representations to the Bantu Affairs Department in Pretoria to ease the position by granting authority and funds to the local authority to build houses for local African families.

The Board further requests the Bantu Affairs Administration Board to treat this matter as of extreme urgency and of public importance.

- (b) That the Bantu Affairs Administration Board consider the question of permitting people to build their own houses on a site and service scheme to meet the urgent need for more houses in the African townships.
- (c) That the Bantu Affairs Administration Board Executive be requested to have a round table talk with the members of the Advisory Board on this matter.

Mr. Mcinga concluded the discussion on the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee report by appealing that all welfare cases should be referred to the Welfare Officer before they are brought to the attention of the Superintendents<sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) The Superintendents or Nolali are viewed very negatively by the average township resident.

Rev. Morija was called upon to report on behalf of the Education Committee.

Morija : Mr. Chairman, I would first just like to announce my committees' nomination of four persons as suitable members of the School Board:

Myself

Rev. L. Kinwa

Mr. B.P. Maxakana

Mr. B.G. Harmans.

(This seemed to be acceptable to all concerned. However, by the time the nominations reached the minutes of the meeting Mr. B.G. Harman's name had been replaced by that of D. Majola. Enquiry revealed only that the change had been done 'administratively' because Mr. Majola was said to be 'more suitable').

Morija : The meeting of parents, school principals and businessmen which we discussed before, has been convened by Mr. Maxakana. At this meeting it was decided to launch a fund for the building of additional classrooms at Cowan Secondary School and Kwazakele Secondary School so that they can be upgraded next year. It gives me great pleasure Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, to announce that Mr. Maxakana has promised to donate R1000 for each of these schools if the parents can give the other R1000 that is needed.

(Approval for this gesture was voiced by almost all present).

Mr. Morija went on to explain that many parents had promised to donate towards this fund and Mr. Omond, Inspector of Bantu Education, had also been approached and had supported this move. Mr. Omond advised the special committee under Mr. Maxakana to write to the local Bantu School Boards to push the matter through. The Chief Director had also promised to assist the Special Committee in its move, and advised the committee to collect the money from their people first, and also to obtain a letter of approval for the building of additional classrooms from the Inspector of Education. Early approval for the necessary teaching staff was also advocated and the committee recommended that a deputation be sent to interview the Minister if necessary, to obtain such approval, as soon as the money is assured, so that classes could commence in temporary accommodation at the beginning of the year pending completion of the classrooms.

Rev. Morija also reported that the Bantu Administration Board was going to convert the classroom at Bantu Technical High School which was used for mechanic courses into a science laboratory. The course for mechanics has been discontinued at this school this year. Additional classrooms were needed for girls at this school who want to do matric. The committee felt that this course should not have been cancelled at this school at a time when there was a great need for motor mechanics in the

urban areas of Port Elizabeth. Rev. Morija recommended that the Advisory Board's appreciation and thanks for the personal donation by Mr. B. Maxakana toward the school buildings fund and also a commendation for his enthusiasm and drive in getting this project going be placed on record and that the special committee be given the green light to go ahead with its plans to collect this money from the local businessmen and parents and also to consult with the Chief Director of Bantu Administration and Inspector of Schools on this matter.

A vote of thanks for Mr. Maxakana's contribution and a recommendation that his committee be given the green light to go ahead was accepted unanimously.

Although several councillors stated their opposition to the closing of the mechanics course a suggestion by Mr. Jones was eventually accepted i.e. that the education committee of the Board invite the Inspector of Bantu Schools, in his capacity as chairman of the Bantu Technical High School Committee, to the next meeting of the above committee to discuss the closing of mechanics at this school.

Mr. Maxakana presented the report of the Public Transport and Traffic Committee.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, I will just briefly mention all the points that my committee wishes to point out.

Firstly, our thanks for the new lights that are being put up in Mendi Road. I am sure this will reduce the number of accidents by motorists and it will also curb assaults by thugs on innocent people in this area. We also appreciate that the streets near the Zwide Stadium have been scraped and levelled but Sandla and Nqadini Roads in Zwide and Kwazakele also badly need to be cleared up and scraped.

Then there is the bus bay opposite Rula Street, This has remained unfinished for months and is causing hardship for motorists and pedestrians.

Jones : I would just like to know if this is the one in Mendi Road, Mr. Chairman?

Maxakana : That is the one. We also need a temporary bus shelter opposite the Livingstone Hospital to protect commuters from all kinds of weather.

The last thing is very serious Mr. Chairman. We have had a lot of reports that irresponsible youngsters are creating a public nuisance by putting up road blocks on all main roads in the townships. This has resulted in many motorcars being damaged by big stones and fires from burning tyres.

We would like to see all municipal constables on duty on these nights to stop the youths who block the roads.

Jones : Mr. Chairman, all the points Mr. Maxakana mentioned will be seen to - in fact some, like the roads, are already being attended to.

(Mr. Maxakana, as an aside "We want more results").

The recommendations were unanimously accepted by the Board.

The last report was that of the General Purposes and Finance Committee meeting.

Phambi : (Chairman).

Mr. Chairman, it has come to my notice that the Superintendents have ordered that all fowl runs in the townships must be demolished and that no resident must keep fowls here. As far as I know, residents have always been allowed to keep fowls. The ban we had was lifted when the Newcastle disease, which affected the fowls, was over.

Maxakana : Residents have always been allowed to keep fowls if they built fowl runs according to the regulations.

Phambi : What we want to know Mr. Chairman, is whether there has been a general instruction for all fowl runs to be destroyed or are these Superintendents acting on their own?

We would like to recommend that a plea is made on behalf of the residents, to the Chief Director, so

that he instructs these Superintendents (points at the only two Superintendents present; Sam and Wolf) must accept applications to keep fowls if a proper fowl run is made. Each case must be treated on merit!

Jones : I don't think there will be any problem with this Mr. Chairman. We can accept it as a recommendation<sup>(1)</sup>.

Phambi : A great number of traders have been arrested in the townships recently, Mr. Chairman. They were arrested for trading at Njoli Square and most of them have been granted licences as hawkers and have been trading in this area for many years.

I know they are supposed to trade at Daku Road now but this is off the beaten track and they have been forced back to Njoli Road because this is where many people get down from buses and go through to Zwide.

The stalls at Daku are not suitable for the kind of business.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, why can't the market stalls be rebuilt in Njoli Road according to health regulations? The other stalls can be converted into a supermarket or even butcher shops for the selling of offal<sup>(2)</sup>.

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(1) The problem was eventually resolved.

(2) Mr. Majola is himself a butcher by trade.

Jones : Mr. Chairman, before we get too far into this discussion, we must realize all the matters involved here. Regulations, finance, construction ..... many things.

Maxakana : What we want is a better deal for the hawkers.....

Jones : Mr. Chairman, much more will be achieved, and the hawkers better served if we come with a properly motivated case. Perhaps the committee should investigate and plan all of this better. Mr. Phambi should also discuss the matter with the relevant officials. (Probably the Director of Community Services and Labour and the Director of Engineering).

With the Chairman taking the initiative it was resolved to refer the matter back to the committee and to recommend that Mr. Phambi have discussions with the officials.

At the end of the meeting Mr. Maxakana raised the matter of Superintendents who supposedly have a tendency of forcing people to change from a selling scheme to a letting scheme. He wanted to have the matter investigated and said that the rights of the residents in the selling schemes should be protected - also when the parties are affected by divorce.

The Chairman, however ruled Mr. Maxakana's discussion out of order (as not being on the Agenda) and his statement eventually was not reflected in the minutes either<sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) This point was never raised again - at least not during the period of research.

Meeting No. 13 : 10th December, 1973

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

As was often the case for a pre-Christmas meeting, the attendance was poor. Only three committee reports were presented. In the absence of Mr. Botha, Mr. Jacobs, the Deputy Chief Director officiated.

After the opening of the meeting by a prayer by Rev. Morija the correspondence was considered. Two letters had been received. The first was from the Assistant General Manager of the Bus Company informing the members of the Advisory Board that the school bus service which the Board had requested had been started. This was noted with appreciation.

The second letter was a request from the Blood Transfusion Service for a meeting with the Board to discuss the promotion of Blood Transfusion amongst the Black population who was "lagging behind other groups". This request was acceded to.

The first report to be called for was that of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee.

Mr. Majola reported on behalf of his committee that at several big functions and boxing tournaments held in the Centenary Great Hall recently, several cars which were parked outside were badly damaged by thugs. He warned that if no steps were taken immediately to protect cars belonging to people who attend such functions this hall would become unpopular.

He also reported that violence and drunkenness was on the increase at the St. Georges Strand Bantu Beach and the culprits were people from Uitenhage. As a result many innocent people were attacked and stabbed last weekend.

His committee hence recommended as follows:-

- a) That floodlights be erected around the Centenary Community Centre.
- b) That promoters of functions and boxing tournaments in the Centenary Great Hall should take the responsibility for the protection of cars of people who attend these functions.
- c) That it be made one of the conditions of hiring the Centenary Great Hall, that police be on duty at this hall.
- d) That the Director of Labour and Housing meet Mr. Church (Assistant Director) of Uitenhage to warn the people from this area to stop their bad practice of assaulting people at the Bantu beach.

- e) That the introduction of liquor be prohibited at this beach.

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, as far as most of these points are concerned, I think we must look at realities. As far as the other communities in this City is concerned they take the initiative and do something themselves to solve their own problems. I think it is time that the Black people also start doing something like this and don't wait always that something is done for them.

(The somewhat less than diplomatic terms and tone of this statement caused a stir around the horse-shoe table, but Mr. Majola himself rose to reply).

Majola : The real picture is not quite like Mr. Jacobs describes it Mr. Chairman. We are capable of doing things for ourselves although many Whites may be surprised to hear this! But we can't organize ourselves to prevent hooliganism! It is against the law to have things such as vigilance committees.

(Although many councillors were more than keen to join in the discussion at this point, the Chairman at this point stopped further discussion and struck a conciliatory note:

"Mr. Jacobs did not quite imply what you are ascribing to his statement").

Mr. Majola further reported that his committee had discussed the holding of a tree planting ceremony at Zwide Stadium on Thursday, December 6th at 10 a.m.

Mr. Roux had reported at the committee meeting that General Motors Company had donated 150 trees with the aim of beautifying the Zwide Sports Stadium. School children had been asked to assist in planting these trees on that day. Members of the Board had been invited to attend the ceremony.

Majola : Here is another case of a decision that was made without consultation with the Advisory Board. We deplore this question of non-consultation! The stadium is in any case not a suitable place for planting trees. These trees should have been distributed to the various schools in the townships.

(Again the Chairman intervened because several councillors now became quite agitated).

Mr. Majola was eventually able to make his last point calling for the immediate improvement of the toilet facilities at the Centenary Community Centre and the Kwazakele Recreation Hall.

The recommendation was unanimously accepted.

The next report was presented by Rev. Morija on behalf of the Education Committee.

Rev. Morija reported that the special committee under Mr. Maxakana had enlisted the help of the Chairman of the New Brighton Bantu School Board, Rev. F.D. Xinwa, to assist them in the additional classrooms building fund. He also reported that the fund had been launched some weeks ago and the response was good.

Local doctors and lawyers have promised to donate R250 each. But they have not yet visited the businessmen due to restrictions on petrol. Letters have also been written to the Director of Education in Cape Town about this matter.

Rev. Morija's committee recommended that the members of the special committee be authorised to seek an interview with the Chief Director of Bantu Administration so as to speed up the building of the classrooms before the school terms begin next year.

Rev. Morija also voiced the disappointment of his committee in finding that the new building of the Mzontsundu Secondary School now under construction will only have ten classrooms and that no provision had been made for a principal's office, a science room and a homecraft room.

He said no Secondary School can succeed without providing these specialist courses.

Smith : Mr. Chairman, a letter we received from the Department of Community Development has stated that the loan authority precludes the building of specialist classrooms at this school. However, Mr. Omond, the Bantu School Inspector is taking up the matter with the Education Department.

Moriya : While we thank Mr. Smith for this information Mr. Chairman, my committee would still like the Board to express its dissatisfaction on three points:-

1. That in the building of the Mzontsunu Secondary School there will be no specialist classrooms.
2. That, in spite of a previous resolution of the Board that no cement floors be put in new school buildings, this school will not have wooden flooring.
3. That, the school building is situated at a spot which was never recommended by the Board.

Maxakana : (Very adamant).

Schools with cement floors are not fit for dogs. Cement floors are out! I have children of my own. This Board has already previously resolved NO cement floors! Now these are cement! We don't like to be bluffed!

Phambi : We had a definite resolution! Who ever is responsible must answer!!

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, the Department of Community Development does not give us enough money per classroom for wooden floors to be built. Mr. Phambi you are being unfair!

Phambi : We took a resolution Mr. Chairman, with the knowledge of the lack of funds! We reject that school! We won't sit in this Board if it comes to that. We'll go back to our own people!

(Several councillors now are on their feet or trying to speak. Tempers are frayed to the point of causing a breakdown in communication).

Payi : Mr. Chairman, if we have the school we have a lot to be thankful for. We can always put in wooden floors ourselves.

(Vociferous interjections, rejections and cries of derision greet this contribution of the recognised 'Uncle Tom' of the Advisory Board).

Chairman : Order, order! Gentlemen, I don't think anything will be reached by this kind of an approach. I think all relevant issues must be carefully considered. Don't you think the word 'rejection' is too strong?

Moriya : For so long now we have struggled. We are all paying 20c per month for better schooling. Surely we are entitled to better facilities now?

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, I think we must give the members credit for voicing their feelings so honestly. The Advisory Board must be consulted on issues like this. And I am going to see to it!<sup>(1)</sup>

The last committee report, that of General Purposes and Finance, by Mr. Phambi concerned only one point : The shortage of trading premises for panel beaters and dent removers in the townships. It was decided, without further discussion, to accept the recommendation of the committee that in view of the demand for panel beating in the area and since the existing panel beaters cannot cope, the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board takes this factor into consideration in the future planning and setting aside of trading sites in the Townships.

The meeting ended with a Christmas collection of contributions for the 'Tea Girls'.

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(1) See 'comment' at the end of Meeting 11.

The Meetings January 1974 to June 1974.

Due to absence on an extended visit overseas I could not attend any of the meetings held during this period. Formal records and second-hand accounts of the meetings were however obtained.

The meetings reflected the familiar pre-occupation with the equally familiar issues and problems of the preceding meetings. The Chief Director was present more frequently and hence immediate feed-back on recommendations were often obtained. Even in the absence of the Chief Director, this period is marked by the fact that some results, or at least response, was achieved. For example, several issues from a previous meeting were replied to by the Chief Director by means of a letter to the Board:

8th February, 1974

The Secretary,  
Port Elizabeth Bantu Advisory Board,  
36 Themba lethu Road,  
New Brighton,  
PORT ELIZABETH.

Dear Sir,

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE PORT ELIZABETH ADVISORY BOARD MEETING,  
HELD ON 10TH DECEMBER, 1973.

The Bantu Affairs Administration Board discussed the above-

mentioned matters at its meeting held on 28th January, 1974. It was resolved that your Board be advised as follows:-

- (1) That in order to safeguard the vehicles of the public attending functions and other entertainments at the Centenary Hall, New Brighton, provision be made on the estimates for 1974/75 for the cost of providing flood lights or such other improved lighting, provided it is economical to do so.
- (2) That in view of the inconvenience to the public occasioned by the present layout of the toilets at the Centenary Hall, provision be made on the estimates for 1974/75 for the improvement of the existing toilets by providing outside access thereto and for the provision of additional facilities as the existing facilities are inadequate for well attended functions.
- (3) That the Port Elizabeth Advisory Board be advised that the Board takes cognisance of their objection to concrete floors in schools and that representations will be made to the Department of Community Development for an increased allocation to enable wooden floors to be provided in Bantu Schools.
- (4) That the views of the Port Elizabeth Bantu Advisory Board in connection with concrete floors in Schools be brought to the attention of the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development and of Community Development with a view to obtaining additional funds for school buildings so as to provide wooden floors.

- (5) That application be made to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to increase the school levy from 20 cents per month to 40 cents per month in order to meet increasing commitments in connection with the provision of school facilities, which will exceed the present income for this purpose derived from the school levy.
- (6) That the Port Elizabeth Bantu Advisory Board be advised that consideration will be given to the provision of suitable premises for the purpose of panel beating when further trading facilities are considered.

Yours faithfully,

B.L. BOTHA  
CHIEF DIRECTOR.

The discussion at the meetings centered around the following issues:

1. Overcrowding at the 'Bantu Beach', (to the tune of 60,000 people on New Years' Day!) and the facilities there.
2. Permission for children from outside areas to attend schools in Port Elizabeth.
3. An appeal for more Black blood donors.
4. Permission for Black taximen to use Kombis in view of petrol shortage.

5. Crowding at the Railway Station. Because of this people were missing their trains and pick-pockets were exploiting the situation.
6. Adequate provision for funds to purchase trading premises from people who had decided to move to the homelands.
7. An approach to the Minister to relax the policy which prohibits the sale of privately owned trading premises to approved Blacks. This issue provoked heated debate with the Chairman admonishing the councillors for bringing 'politics' into the discussions.
8. Appointment of two Board members (Phambi and Maxakana) to a Trade and Business Committee headed by Mr. Ivan Krige, Director of the Midlands Chamber of Industries.
9. Problems concerning the Aid Centre. Confusion as to the function of this Centre was dispelled (according to Mr. Phambi) by an explanation by the Chief Director that the Centre was intended to serve those in need but not deliberate law-breakers. Large numbers of people are discharged from this place and only a few are retained.
10. Police roadblocks during the festive season which caused hardship to many people. Much discussion, with Mr. Maxakana at the centre, ensued and ended with a resolution calling for discussions about this matter with the police.

11. The erection of additional classrooms. The cement-floor issue was temporarily resolved by deciding to insert wooden floors as far as possible and then further as money becomes available. Board members regarded this as a small victory for them. Self-help and initiative on the part of the residents came strongly to the fore.
  
12. Problems concerning playing fields. Their upkeep and their use by various sporting bodies evoked the most discussion.
  
13. Restaurant facilities for Blacks in the City; the building of an additional creche; the position of Black widows and problems experienced by Blacks on railway buses and trains completed the topics discussed during this period.

Meeting No. 14 : 8th July, 1974.

The ordinary monthly meeting of the Advisory Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Kwaford, New Brighton, on Monday, 8th July, 1974 at 6.00 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

Two reports by the Secretary were first dealt with.

The first concerned an invitation to members of the Board to attend a series of 'Know your Car' lectures presented by the Road Safety Association. This was noted and appreciated by the members.

The second communication from the secretary concerned the 'Closing of Zwide Sports Stadium'. This came in the form of a statement by Mr. B.L. Botha, the Chief Director that "In future, the Zwide Sports Stadium would be closed for use by Kwaru".

The discussion around this issue became heated and the interchange was rapid. The observer was hard-put to obtaining a verbatim account of the exchanges in addition to attempting to keep up with the other forms of communication and the asides. The problem was

compounded by the fact of being seated on this night next to the two press reporters, Messrs. Makwabe and Sele, both supporters of Kwaru. Mr. Sele especially, rather ostentatiously wearing a Kwaru blazer, made the observer's task more difficult with his unofficial and stage-whispered (into the observer's right ear) participation in the exchanges.

By directive from the Chief Director a large number of Managers and Superintendents were also present for the first time. This did not necessarily relate to the contentious issue on the agenda however. He had apparently simply felt that senior administrators should show their interest in this way and thereby become sensitive to the problems of the people.

Possibly in anticipation of the reaction, the Chief Director himself was present. The powerful Kwaru-supporting Phambi group was there almost to a man. Mr. Mcinga, the recognised leader of the E.P.A.R.U. men was conspicuous by his absence. The background and part of the substance of the playing fields controversy has been comprehensively covered in Chapter 11, Strategies II, Extra-Boardroom activities (continued) (see especially pp 211 - 222). The important point of the matter was that the Chief Director had issued a instruction refusing Kwaru

the use of playing facilities while Mr. Mcinga's E.P.R.U. were allowed to continue using these facilities. The generally accepted reason for this was thought to be the pro-integrated sport stance of Kwaru vs E.P.R.U.'s strategy of co-operation with the Government.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, if I may just be allowed to say something about this whole sad affair. We are all reasonable people and we are all sportsmen. But we are not acting in a very sportsmanlike way. All that Kwaru is asking is for the right to play rugby on the fields in this area - like the Zwide Sports Stadium. In doing this we are depriving our people of the right to see their favourite teams play.

Mzamane : Mr. Chairman, with the E.P. teams (The Eastern Province African Rugby Board) playing the people are still seeing the rugby they want to see. Those rebels (pointing to the other side of the horse-shoe table) don't make much difference to our rugby. In any case they can join our official rugby board if they want to play.

(Most of this statement was interspersed with not-so-soft comments from Mr. Makwabe in my ear. These comments were something to the tune of "Now he is talking a lot of nonsense", "Kwaru is the most powerful around here" etc. This continued for most of the rest of the discussion).

- Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, my people pay for these facilities. They have a right to use them. Nobody can stop us using our own fields!
- Qumza : You joined the Coloureds, you can go and play on their fields.
- Botha : Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, we are talking about an issue which we here in Port Elizabeth did not bring about. My statement is the result of instructions I received from Pretoria. We are dealing here with something that is policy and it is difficult to do something about this. But we are not helping the problem if we can't discuss all the issues in a reasonable manner.
- Phambi : Mr. Chairman, I appreciate Mr. Botha's problems but the Cape Midlands Administration Board is the legal custodian of all playing fields within the area of its jurisdiction. So I feel, and I want to move, that it is stated that this Board (Advisory Board) views with great concern and regret the disagreement over the use of the Zwide Sports Stadium and other playing fields between Kwaru and the Administration Board. Mr. Chairman, Kwaru has fantastic support in these townships. All those people are very very unhappy now about all this.
- Maxakana : Kwaru has the people on its side and we will fight this issue in every possible way.

Phambi : (while sitting)  
We might take legal action too, Mr. Chairman.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, I still believe we can reach an amicable settlement for this whole dispute. I want to suggest that all the committee chairman meet with me so that we can discuss this and try to find a solution.

Although there was further discussion, the Chairman eventually intervened and councillors were persuaded that a conciliation committee comprising of the five committee chairmen be formed to enter into a dialogue with the Chief Director with a view to finding an acceptable settlement. With this move, the dispute moved outside of the Advisory Board context eventually to be resolved elsewhere. This did not happen however before events also took a turn in court where the Chief Director defended and won a court action by Kwaru against his administration.

The Education Committee report was the first to be presented.

Moriya : Mr. Chairman, our Technical High School is badly in need of extra classrooms. The school has become overcrowded with the great increase in numbers. Now, I hear that Ford has given a lot of money for this school but we can't use this for classrooms. Perhaps, Mr. Botha can explain the position for us?

Botha : Mr. Chairman, the Ford Motor Company has donated R10,000 for the building of a Science Laboratory for this Technical High School and not for the building of additional classrooms. Further, we must remember that this school is controlled by the Bantu Education Department - and they pay a rental for it. So the provision of additional classrooms is subject to the approval of that Department and to its willingness to pay the additional rental.

I suggest that the Education Committee request Mr. Omond (Circuit Inspector of Bantu Schools) to attend their next meeting and that the provision of additional classrooms is then discussed.

This suggestion was accepted as a recommendation. The need for a Teacher Training College was also discussed. Rev. Morija and Mr. Majola motivated this need in terms of the overcrowding of such institutions in the Homelands and the fact that urban candidates are in any case unwelcome there - often being branded as 'troublemakers'. It was again resolved to recommend that this matter be discussed with the Circuit Inspector.

The next report to be presented was that of the General Purposes and Finance Committee.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, the overcrowding of families has been a problem that has worried us for a long time, but now this thing is getting out of bounds. And this is not caused by influx! No, the natural increase of families is now responsible! It is a pity my friend (said in slightly jocular terms in oblique reference to the rugby issue) Mr. Mcinga is not with us to-day because as a social worker he knows about the conditions I am talking about. In nearly all houses every space available is used for sleeping.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I want to ask that we alleviate the situation by allowing people to build their own homes on a site and service scheme.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, we are extremely perturbed by the acute shortage of family housing in these areas. There are many families who have been on the waiting list since 1970, and only 18 families have been housed during the last four months.

Maxakana : The people are dissatisfied, Mr. Chairman. If they don't get a place to stay there is going to be trouble in these townships. Big trouble.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, we are only too aware of the situation. The Administration Board knows all about the problem of housing in its area. However, in order to make an assessment of the situation, we have deferred all pending schemes and this has resulted in a delay. But the building of more two-roomed houses would start soon at KwaNobuhle Township in Uitenhage and 87 houses would be built opposite the Wolfson Stadium this year.

Approval for the building of more houses at Zwide 4 and a loan for the redevelopment of Kwaford Township have also already been received.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, with due respect to the information Mr. Botha has given us, I still feel that a site and service scheme would be the most effective solution to our problem. These houses that we hear about won't even nearly come close to solving the problem.

This theme was pursued further by Mr. Phambi and a number of other councillors. The culmination of the discussion was the acceptance of a resolution to recommend that the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board be asked to make an attempt to alleviate the position in the following manner:-

- (a) To build more houses for letting.
- (b) To revive the site and service scheme and erect houses for sale to tenants.
- (c) To lease sites to enable the African people to build their own approved accommodation.

Phambi . : Another matter, Mr. Chairman, that has been a problem for us for a long time is the question of the representation of urban Africans on Government-recognised bodies. There is a serious lack of contact between

Homeland leaders and urban dwellers. Because of this the Homeland leaders are not in a position to make meaningful representation on behalf of these urban Africans. I believe that about 50% of the citizens of the Ciskei are in fact living in the urban areas. The Ciskei cannot accommodate all these people and they are in any case not acceptable there. These people need some form of representation where they could air their difficulties.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, before this discussion goes too far, I want to propose that the five committee chairmen meet with me to discuss this matter. In this way we will reach a solution much more quickly<sup>(1)</sup>.

Although there were some murmurs of dissent this suggestion was officially accepted.

The last report to be tabled was that of the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee by the acting chairman, Mr. G. Qumza.

Qumza : Mr. Chairman, the Abakhwetha initiation schools are causing a lot of trouble. This is mainly because of the bad behaviour of the Abakhwetha. Some women and girls have complained that they have been chased by them. We feel that the Abakhwetha huts should not be situated too close to the residential areas.

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- (1) This device was used more and more frequently. It was soon resented by other Board members and even by some of the committee chairmen. All the chairmen did not always attend these meetings and some of its 'decisions' were questioned by other councillors. Officially these meetings were seen to be more effective.
- (i) Meetings could be held at short notice and on an ad hoc basis.
  - (ii) Business was concluded much more quickly.

- Payi : Mr. Chairman, parents should be made responsible for keeping discipline at these initiation schools, and they should train their youngsters to remain within the initiation school camp and not roam about in the public roads and frighten women.
- Phambi : These initiation schools serve a useful purpose and should be encouraged. But I deplore the bad behaviour of some of the Abakhwethas. Elderly men should be placed in charge of inmates of these initiation schools so as to exercise discipline during the initiation period.
- Mputa : Mr. Chairman, these schools must stick to the rules and should be organized as they always were in the past, then there will be no problem with discipline.
- Botha : If I may make a suggestion, Mr. Chairman, gentlemen. Would it not be a good idea if a post could be created in the Welfare and Recreation section of this Department for the employment of a suitable and acceptable man to promote the running of Abakhwetha initiation schools in our urban areas? But in any case I think the committee should investigate this matter further and report back to the Advisory Board.

This last suggestion was accepted.

Botha : Just before we close, Mr. Chairman.  
I would like to get the members' views on the terms  
'Africans' and 'Blacks'. Which is now acceptable?  
It is important to know in order to address people  
in a proper manner that would be acceptable to all.

The concensus of the opinions expressed was that 'African' was generally  
acceptable but that 'Black' was becoming more widely acceptable espec-  
ially among younger people and was gaining ground.

Meeting No. 15 : 12th August, 1974

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

After the minutes of the previous meeting had been confirmed, correspondence was dealt with. The correspondence consisted of two letters from the Chief Director and a letter from the local bus company.

The first of the Chief Director's letters informed the Board that the Municipality would build a pedestrian crossing for use by people of the townships, across the busy Uitenhage Road. The second announced the approval by the Administration Board of a pension fund for its 'Bantu employees'. Both these communications were noted with appreciation by the members of the Advisory Board.

The letter from the Bus Company came in reply to a letter from the Bantu Advisory Board requesting the Bay Passenger Transport Company to provide a direct bus service for African School Children from Walmer. The Company advised that it would be impracticable to accede to this request because special direct buses between Walmer Township and New Brighton would cost R14,00 per single trip. This would work out at considerably more than the fares presently applicable to scholars on ordinary service buses.

It was emphasised that these fares are already below economic rates, being concession tariffs specially allowed to high school children who nevertheless occupy adult space in the buses.

The Board resolved to refer this matter back to the relevant committee for further investigation and report.

Also tabled at the meeting was a report of a special meeting of the chairmen of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board Committees. Of the five chairmen only Majola and Maxakana attended the meeting with Jones and Church of the Administration. The Board however confirmed their recommendations by agreeing with the resolutions on the three issues discussed:

1. PROPOSED "MAY HOLLAND" CRECHE : RE-LOCATION OF PROPOSED SITE.

The Chairmen of Committees were asked to consider an alternative site for the proposed creche which was to have been located on site in New Brighton to commemorate the 70th Anniversary of the establishment of the Red Location, which was the first properly planned Bantu residential area established in Port Elizabeth.

However, in view of the fact that the New Brighton area is relatively well served by six creches whereas the Zwide Bantu Township and a large portion of the Kwaza-

kele Township adjoining Zwide have no facilities it is considered that the need in the Zwide/Kwazakele North area is greater.

The meeting of Chairmen accordingly RESOLVED TO RECOMMEND that in view of the absolute lack of creche facilities in the Zwide/Kwazakele North area the proposed "May Holland" Creche be erected in the Zwide Bantu Township provided that the Zizamele Creche Committee which is temporarily accommodated in the T.C. White Hall and who had been promised the occupation of the proposed new Creche, be advised of the position and that provision be made to provide this creche with alternative accommodation.

2. TAMPERING WITH ELECTRICITY METERS BY TENANTS IN ORDER TO STEAL CURRENT.

The Committee Chairmen were advised that the above illegal practice was becoming rife in housing schemes which enjoyed electricity and that it is proposed to take drastic steps against tenants who are guilty of this offence.

The Committee agreed that such action is necessary but requested that all householders in the schemes concerned be given a warning notice setting out the action which is to be taken against such offenders.

3. HIGH DENSITY HOUSING SCHEMES.

The Chairmen were asked to state their views on the desirability or otherwise of providing high density housing schemes by building upwards instead of continuing to spread further and further from the City centre as will be necessary if single-storey accommodation is provided. In view of the

steeply rising cost of land and services which will result in prohibitive rentals, the need to consider building upwards in order to keep costs as low as possible has become of primary importance.

The Chairmen RESOLVED TO RECOMMEND -

- (1) that in view of the high cost of land and the steadily increasing cost of materials and labour for the provision of services, consideration be given to providing higher density housing schemes by building upwards;
- (2) that the principle of providing double or multi-storey buildings be also applied to the provision of schools, shopping facilities, etc.

The first report to be presented was that of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, we are glad to hear from Mr. Roux that the toilets at the Centenary Great Hall are at last receiving the attention of the Administration Board's Welfare Department.

As far as playing fields are concerned, I have personally gone on a tour of inspection. At Wolfson Stadium I found that most of the outside playing fields are in a bad condition. It is impossible to maintain these grounds while they are still used as thoroughfares by the public. I think the only solution to this problem would be to build a wall around the outside of the stadium area<sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) This was done, eventually.

At New Brighton Oval the ramp that has been built there has reduced the size of the playing field and this is now only suitable for soccer because cricket could not be accommodated in such a small playing area.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, my committee accepts the present arrangement whereby the Welfare and Recreation Officer allocates tennis courts to clubs since there is no tennis board to control the clubs.

Chairman : Mr. Majola you have also listed 'Improvements at Bantu Beach' in your report?

Majola : O, yes! Mr. Chairman, we have heard that R10,000 has been put on the estimates for improving this beach. But at Mr. Botha's suggestion my committee would like to discuss this matter more fully so that we can come up with suggestions for the improvements to be made.

Rev. Xinwa (Acting Chairman) presented the report of the Education Committee.

Xinwa : Mr. Chairman, the Education Committee has had an interview with Mr. Omond, the Circuit Inspector of Bantu Education about the following matters:

1. The upgrading of commercial classes for girls at the Bantu Technical High School.

2. The reintroduction of a motor mechanics course at this High School.
3. The establishment of a parents advisory committee for this school.
4. The need for providing accommodation for single teachers.

As far as the first point is concerned we want to recommend that the commercial classes for girls be upgraded to matric level.

On Mr. Omond's advice we want to submit a memorandum to the combined meeting of local Bantu School Boards for the re-introduction of a motor mechanics course.

We also recommend that a parents advisory committee will be established.

The accommodation of single teachers is also a big problem. Mr. Chairman, we have great difficulty in finding accommodation for teachers, particularly single female teachers. They are suffering because they have to share rooms with some families who made their lives unhappy and miserable. We have about 200 teachers who need accommodation. Mr. Omond has suggested, and we want to recommend this, that the Administration Board should investigate ways of accommodating single teachers.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, I think we should congratulate Rev. Xinwa and his committee for an excellent report. All the points are well set out and with the consent of the Advisory Board these recommendations can be referred directly to the Administration Board for consideration?

General agreement with this procedure was expressed.

For the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee, Mr. Mcinga reported that his committee had invited Dr. J.N. Sher, Medical Officer of Health to canvas his assistance for the training of African nurses who work in local municipal clinics by according them the same training facilities as nurses at the Livingstone Hospital.

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, although Dr. Sher pointed out that he discussed this matter with us a few years ago and although he explained some of the practical problems like lack of qualified lecturers, finance and possible lack of support, we would still like to recommend - and my committee discussed this matter at length Mr. Chairman! - that the Bantu Liaison Committee approach the Livingstone Hospital Board with a view to requesting that the hospital be the teaching venue for the public health nurse and school nurse courses.

That the M.O.H. and Welfare and Recreation Officer together with the Chairman of the relevant Committee meet and draw up a memorandum on this matter for submission to the Livingstone Hospital Board and the Bantu Education Department<sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) This was done.

Two further points raised by Mr. Mcinga concerned the curtailment of medical services at the New Brighton clinic and the filthy condition of the roads in the township. In both cases he required reasons.

Mr. Botha was very quick in his reaction.

Botha : I am in full agreement with Mr. Mcinga, Mr. Chairman. My views are well known. The Advisory Board is entitled to know. I will personally undertake to see that all these points are investigated and reported on!<sup>(1)</sup>

Phambi : We appreciate this stance of the Chief Director, Mr. Chairman, because too often we are left in the dark.

The last report to be tabled was that of the General Purposes and Finance.

Phambi : It is with regret that I have to raise the old question of non-consultation again, Mr. Chairman. I know Mr. Botha has at a previous meeting and just now again promised to do something about it but as far as the new prestige housing scheme at Kwaford goes - we were totally left out of it! We were not consulted about the proposed layout.

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(1) Progress reports did become a more regular item on the agenda of meetings.

At this late stage we want to very strongly recommend that the new houses be built as single units instead of semi-detached plans.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, I can only confirm my undertaking.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, we live in modern times. Women the world over have long been emancipated and it is time we recognised it here (points in front of him). The Advisory Board regulations are outdated. They must be amended to permit African women to exercise the right to vote at the elections. We recommend then that the Bantu Advisory Board Regulations as contained in PN. 468/1954 be amended to allow African women registered occupiers to exercise the right to vote in Advisory Board Regulations.

Chairman : I, we will all agree with Mr. Phambi that this is long overdue and that it is only right that we move with the times and give women the vote.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, we have also been looking at some other regulations. We have had a lot of complaints from traders. Our investigation brought to light problems especially with Section 4 sub-section (1) a, d, e of the Bantu Township Trading Regulations (Government Notice No. R1036 dated 14 June 1968). Here we find that no one is allowed to have a second trading licence. No partnerships. No Companies. They are also restricted to selling 'basic goods'. We are terribly concerned about all these things Mr. Chairman and have drawn up the following recommendation:

1. That the Chief Director be requested to draw the attention of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board to the crippling effect on the orderly advancement of the urban African community by the rigid application of the above sections of regulations.
2. That the continued exercise and application of these sections of the regulations is a sore point and a source of grievance that is undermining all efforts calculated to bring about racial harmony in the urban areas; retarding the economic progress and rendering the urban African community an easy target and prey to other influences offering salvation.

And I don't have to say Sir, what these influences are. The Government warns about them everyday. If our people are frustrated they will look for other ways of getting what they want.

3. That the Chief Director be further asked to urge the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board to arrange for consultation and dialogue between the delegation from the Joint Bantu Advisory Board and the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to clear the misty air of dissatisfaction now prevailing in the urban areas.

Majola : This is just another example of the kinds of problems our people are experiencing, Mr. Chairman. If something is not done about them I don't know what is going to happen here.

Botha : I am glad Mr. Chairman, that the Advisory Board is fulfilling its function. These are examples of the kind of information we need for proper planning. The Bantu Affairs Administration Board has already appointed a Special Committee to investigate trading facilities for Bantu. I suggest we refer these recommendations to this committee for inclusion in its report to the B.A.A.B.

Although faces round the table mirrored something less than total satisfaction this suggestion was accepted as a recommendation.

Phambi : Before we finish off, Mr. Chairman - and I know this point is not on the Agenda - I want to raise the point of the closure of the Zwide Sports Stadium again. Although the outcome of the case between Kwaru and the Bantu Affairs Administration Board is not yet known I want to ask that the Chairmen of committees meet with the Chief Director to discuss the whole issue of the future use of playing fields in our townships. We are used to solving our own problems in a friendly way and Mr. Botha has always encouraged dialogue.

Chairman : Mr. Botha? Gentlemen?  
If this is acceptable a time and a date just have to be arranged.

COMMENT:

Some of the strategies adopted by participants come clearly to the fore in this meeting, e.g.

1. Congratulating the Advisory Board for work well done and for serving a purpose - this coming from administration.
2. Referring potentially problematic issues to committees and hence taking the sting out of discussions - from the administration.
3. Siding with members of the Advisory Board in the name of their 'rights' - from the administration.
4. Threatening of problems which may arise if certain requests are not acceded to - Advisory Board members using their resource 'the people'.
5. Using conciliation as an approach to win support - Phambi.

Meeting No. 16 : 9th September, 1974

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

A feature of this September meeting was the execution of the Chief Director's stated policy of providing feed-back on resolutions passed by the Advisory Board and of consultation with the Board. Two letters from his office were thus directed to the Secretary of the Advisory Board for the attention of its members:

Sir,

PORT ELIZABETH JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD : MINUTES OF MEETING HELD ON 8 JULY 1974.

In consequence of the minutes of the meeting of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board held on 8 July 1974, I have to advise that my Board at its meeting held on 5 August 1974, resolved as follows thereanent:

"(2) Acute shortage of accommodation

That the following recommendations by the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board regarding the acute shortage of accommodation in Bantu Townships be noted:-

- (a) more houses should be built for letting purposes;
- (b) the site and service scheme should be reinstated;
- (c) sites should be leased to African people to enable them to build their own approved accommodation.

(3) That the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board be advised -

- (a) that the Board takes cognisance of its recommendations regarding the suggested methods of alleviating the housing shortage in the Bantu Townships, and;
- (b) that the Board will embody these recommendations in a report concerning various matters affecting Bantu in White areas, which is to be submitted by the Board to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development".

It would be appreciated if you would convey my Board's resolutions to the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board.

Yours faithfully,

B.L. BOTHA.  
CHIEF DIRECTOR.

"Sir,

BURSARY FUND, TO BE NAMED AFTER REVS. S.R. MORIJA AND L. XINWA.

Mr. L. Mti, Principal of the Philip Nikiwe Higher Primary School, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, has requested the Board to establish and administer two bursary funds for the education of Matric and Junior Certificate Bantu scholars respectively, and that these bursaries be named after Revs. S.R. Morija and L. Xinwa.

The opinion is held that the proposal by Mr. Mti be submitted to the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board for its recommendation and comment, regarding possible names to be given to such bursaries, should the Board approve thereof.

It would be appreciated if this matter could be put on the agenda of the next meeting of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board for discussion.

Yours faithfully,"

(Letters are reproduced here in abbreviated form).

The first letter was noted with appreciation and the second referred to the Education Committee.

Mr. Phambi presented the report of the General Purposes and Finance Committee.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, we are all aware of the planned re-settlement of the people from Walmer. They are going to be moved to Zwide and they are very worried that they are going to lose the facilities they enjoyed for all the time they have lived there. But what they are really scared of is that they will be scattered all over the new township away from their friends and relatives. Walmer is a small township and the families there have developed good neighbourliness. We want to help them Mr. Chairman and we have asked them what their problems are. They say they fear losing the following things most of all:

The two schools.

The church buildings.

The trading stores.

The street-names that had been named after old Walmer residents.

The Nursery School and Creche, and

The Community Hall for social gatherings and other public entertainments.

It is because of this Mr. Chairman, that we very humbly want to ask the Chief Director to approach the Administration Board to take into consideration the following points which we have listed:

- (1) That the removal and re-settlement of the Walmer residents be carried out in the nature of a Township Unit in order to retain that spirit of neighbourliness and to remain as an entity and exclusive Walmer residents.
- (2) That the Chief Director Bantu Affairs Administration Board take into consideration traders who enjoy trading facilities in Walmer when they are moved. If trading facilities are not available, provision be made for temporary accommodation of same in houses.
- (3) That schools, be made available to accommodate the present pupils attending schools in Walmer.
- (4) That church sites be made available to the respective church authorities where they could build, on a temporary basis shacks for worshipping until funds are available to build proper church buildings.

- (5) That consideration be given to transferring the street names of the Walmer Bantu Township to the new area where Walmer residents are settled.

Jones : (Acting on behalf of the Chief Director).  
The considerations which Mr. Phambi has listed are obviously part and parcel of the planning that we have to do before undertaking a project such as this. We cannot guarantee anything but we do have the interests of the people themselves at heart. Our main problem is the limited amount of money we have at our disposal.

Maxakana : These problems can all be prevented by just leaving the people alone and let them live the way they want to and have been doing all the years. Why must all these people have to suffer so much?

Jones : These are not our decisions, Mr. Chairman. This is policy and we have to see that it is carried out. Our job, and this includes Mr. Maxakana, is to see that we do the best we can for the people.

The committee's recommendations were accepted in the sense that they would be passed on to the Administration Board.

The Public Transport and Traffic Committee report was presented next.

Maxakana : We just have two points this evening, Mr. Chairman.

More facilities are needed at St. George's Strand. Things are really bad there. The roads to the beach must be tarred. Another exit road is needed from the beach because congestion at Christmas and New Year is really very bad. What is also needed there is electricity and four extra showers for Males and Females.

Jones : This we can refer to the proper department, Mr. Chairman and depending on the cost for them to see what they can do.

Maxakana : So many times before we have made recommendations. But we never hear about them again. This is my second point. My committee would like a progress report on everything. For example, what has happened about the bad roads and poor street lights in the townships? Special buses to the homelands? The attitude of drivers and conductors on these buses? We want to see results!

Jones : The letters we saw here tonight are examples of the results that are achieved Mr. Chairman. As things are done reports will be given to the Advisory Board. For example, the roads and lights problems are now being properly investigated so that something can be done.

Rev. Morija presented the Education Committee report. He emphasised the urgent need for properly controlled pre-school classes in the town-

ships. He also explained that his committee had already had an opportunity to consider Mr. Mti's request for a bursary fund to be named after himself and Rev. Xinwa. His committee decided to recommend:

That the principle of establishing a bursary fund be accepted.

That such bursaries be not named after living persons.

That such bursaries be provided for poor and needy students and be tenable at any local Bantu Secondary or High School in the area.

That a list of local pupils who have been awarded scholarships annually by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board be submitted to the Bantu Advisory Board for its information.

These suggestions were generally acceptable to the members.

Mr. Majola's Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee report consisted only of a recommendation that the plans for the proposed new toilets at the Centenary Hall be accepted and that the future toilets appearing on the plans be also completed.

Meeting No. 17 : 21st October 1974.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

This was a special meeting held to elect the new committees for the coming year. As before, the composition of these were predetermined and proceedings at this meeting were merely a formality.

PARKS, RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT:

Messrs. D. Majola, M. Nonco, B.P. Maxakana,  
F. Mputa and S. Sizani.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH SERVICES:

Messrs. P.A. Mcinga, G. Qumza, J. Mzamane,  
A. Soka, P. Ngquba and D. Kula.

PUBLIC TRANSPORT AND TRAFFIC:

Messrs. B.P. Maxakana, M. Nonco, F. Mputa,  
B. Mate, M. Mngeni and T. Mngeni.

GENERAL PURPOSES AND FINANCE:

Messrs. M. Phambi, A. Bukashe, D. Majola,  
S. Sizani, N. Mpunga, A. Soka and R. Mtamo.

The only point to be discussed was a request from the Walmer and Zwide members that transport be provided for them to the monthly meetings. This request was directed at the Administration Board and the motiva-

tion was the difficulties they had attending the meetings because of the long distances involved and their own personal lack of a means of transportation.

The Chairman promised to forward their request to the Chief Director.

Meeting No. 18 : 11th November 1974.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

The meeting was opened with a prayer by Rev. S.R. Morija. The chairman was in the process of calling for a discussion for the communications from the secretary when the Chief Director spoke.

Botha : With your permission Mr. Chairman, just before we start with the proceedings I would just like to take this opportunity to congratulate the various committees. The preparation of their reports is really very good. In this way we can achieve a lot. Remember we are a team and we need each other. We have a common purpose - to uplift the people in our area. What I detest is a paternalistic attitude. What we must do is to help people help themselves.

As a continuation of the policy of producing reports on what was being done about the Advisory Boards' recommendations, the documentation for this meeting included 14 pages of 'feed-back'.

The first report stemmed from a resolution passed by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board at its meeting of 7 October 1974, i.e.

"(3) That the contents of the monthly report for August 1974, submitted by the Director of Engineering Services to the Executive Committee, be brought to the attention of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board".

The monthly report on the Engineering Department's Activities was a very detailed, and in parts a technical, report. It included reports on the following:

Capital Works (Buildings).

Maintenance (Drainage, Sewerage, Roads, Sports facilities, etc.)

Cleansing (e.g. "Number of nightsoil pails emptied and washed : 115380").

Traffic (Summonses, road signs)

Mechanical Workshop (services etc.)

General Projects (Kwaford Stadium cementing, Tennis Courts, the first 60% completed, the second "completed and in use").

The report was accepted with appreciation by the Board.

A letter from the Chief Director was also received advising that the Administration Board took cognisance of the minutes of the Advisory Board meetings and as regards some of the matters in these minutes "resolved, inter alia as follows:-

(2) ERECTION OF ADDITIONAL CLASSROOMS.

That the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board be advised that African builders have in fact tendered in the past for schools but the tender prices submitted were far too high compared to those of other tenders received; Mr. Willie George, one of the largest African contractors was requested to quote a price for the Evening Post School, but did not avail himself of the opportunity.

(3) RENOVATIONS TO CENTENARY COMMUNITY CENTRE.

That the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board be advised that additional toilet facilities at the Centenary Hall are being planned at present and work will commence as soon as the labour position allows.

(4) STREET LIGHTS AND ROADS.

(a) That the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board be advised that prevention of flooding in low areas is being done within the limits of the Board's approved Estimates. Some areas cannot be repaired cheaply and require demolition and rebuilding of houses at a higher cost, or construction of works of a capital nature to develop the underground stormwater system;

(b) the matter regarding street lights is being investigated but the Board is experiencing extreme difficulties with vandalism and theft of overhead electrical wires in the Bantu residential areas.

Please convey the above resolutions of my Board to the Joint Bantu Advisory Board.

Yours faithfully,"

Although this report was also eventually accepted by the Board, this did not happen before a lively exchange between a few councillors and the Chief Director had taken place. It was impossible to get a verbatim account of the discussion - it was too quick and disorganised for that - but Councillors Phambi, Majola and Maxakana were involved and it concerned point 2 of this letter. It centered round an issue which had worried councillors for a long time i.e. that Black contractors had never been used on building projects. The argument revealed sharp disagreement. My notes of the meeting observed, "General climate is one of more biting criticism and a greater sensitivity on the part of members to the rights of Blacks".

Phambi, Majola and Maxakana followed the line of argument that in the past Black contractors were not even given the opportunity to quote. The Administration's argument was that Black contractors' tenders had always been too high in the past and in this particular case the Black contractor had not even tendered a quotation. This point of view was countered by accusations that enough Black contractors were not given the opportunity to tender and that not enough effort was made to make Blacks aware of such opportunities. The warning was given that this kind of thing placed members' future

participation in the Advisory Board system in the balance. The Administration came back with the argument that it always attempted to do what is best for the people e.g. use money as effectively as possible by accepting the lowest tenders.

Yet another letter from the Chief Director's office to the Joint Bantu Advisory Board was tabled listing positive reactions to eight of the Advisory Board's recommendations which stemmed from the meeting of 12 August 1974, i.e. the Administration Board resolved:

- "(1) That the minutes of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board meeting, held on 12 August 1974, be received and that the contents thereof be noted and be dealt with seriatim as set out further hereunder.
  
- (2) HIGH DENSITY HOUSING SCHEMES.  
That, in accordance with Board's Resolution 112 of 5 August 1974, the Director of Community Services and Labour is compiling a report on the housing requirements and priorities for the Board's area of jurisdiction and that the question of high density housing schemes will be embodied in the said report.
  
- (3) PROPOSED PRESTIGE HOUSING SCHEME : KWAFORD.  
That the proposed prestige housing scheme at Kwaford be redesigned to provide for single dwelling units instead of semi-detached dwellings.

(4) PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF ADVISORY BOARD REGULATIONS.

- (i) That the Board takes cognisance of its recommendation that the Bantu Advisory Board Regulations published by P.N. No. 468 of 4 June 1954 be amended to provide therefor that African Women, who are registered occupiers of dwellings, be allowed the right to vote.
- (ii) That the matter regarding the proposed amendment of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board Regulations as mentioned in (1) above be referred back for further investigation by the Director of Community Services and Labour, in collaboration with the Director of Administration and report to the Executive Committee thereanent.

(5) INSPECTION OF PLAYING FIELDS.

That, in order to improve conditions on the outside playing fields at the Wolfson Stadium the Director of Engineering Services, in collaboration with the Director of Finance, be requested to investigate the financial implications of erecting a suitable wall around the open fields at the said stadium and the restoration of the grass surfaces on the fields, and to submit a report to the Executive Committee for consideration as soon as possible.

(6) NEED FOR RE-INTRODUCTION OF MOTOR MECHANICS COURSE AND UP GRADING OF COMMERCIAL COURSES AT BANTU TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL.

That provision will be made in the 5 year programme of the Board for the provision of accommodation for single African teachers in Port Elizabeth<sup>(1)</sup>.

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(1) The relation between the title and content of this point was not questioned.

(7) CONDITIONS OF ALLOTMENT OF TRADING SITES.

That the Board's Ad Hoc-Committee, for the investigation of the retail shopping habits of Bantu in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, is at present compiling a report wherein the conditions pertaining to the allotment of trading sites will be embodied.

(8) TAMPERING WITH ELECTRICITY METERS.

- (i) That it be noted that the practice of tampering with electricity meters and the illegal wiring of houses is becoming rife in the Bantu Townships of Port Elizabeth.
- (ii) That the matter regarding proposed steps to combat malpractices with electricity in the Bantu Townships, be further investigated and that a report thereanent be submitted to the Executive Committee as soon as possible".

Kindly convey my Board's resolutions to the Bantu Advisory Board.

Yours faithfully,"

Botha : Mr. Chairman, I would just like to point out that this is the first time that we have had a proper progress report. I made a promise to the Advisory Board and now we can all see what can be achieved if we all work together.

Payi : (Slightly out of key with the proceedings and the general feeling in the Boardroom). Mr. Chairman,

gentlemen, we as members of the Board should go out to the people and educate them not to interfere with the electricity meters. This kind of practice can do harm to all the good work that is being done for us here in the townships.

At the Chairman's initiative the progress report was noted with appreciation.

The last communication from the Secretary was a report on a special meeting of the Chairmen of Committees held with officials of the Bay Passenger Transport Company.

PRESENT WERE, Mr. B.L. Botha, Chief Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board, who took the chair, Mr. W. Dreyer (Bus Company's P.R.O.), Mr. C. Versfeld, Chairman of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Mr. L. Dickson, General Manager of the Bay Passenger Transport Ltd., Mr. M. Phambi, Mr. D. Majola, Rev. S.R. Morija, Mr. P.A. Mcinga and Mr. S. Sizani.

ALSO PRESENT : Messrs. K. Jacobs, Director of Community Services and Labour, J. Jones, Deputy Director of Community Services and Labour and Z. Solombela, Secretary, Joint Bantu Advisory Board.

Of the Chairmen of committees thus only Mr. Maxakana did not attend this meeting.

The gist of the meeting is reflected by the following excerpt from the report:

"In introducing the subject for discussion, Mr. Dreyer told the meeting that they had done everything they could to avoid increasing bus fares as long as possible. But, because of tremendous rises in costs, they had been forced to apply to the local Road Transportation Board for increases in bus fares. This would enable them to meet fuel prices which have doubled in one year. The price of spare parts and all other costs which have gone up. Above all, they have had to increase the wages of their employees.

He said for the past 20 months the bus fares of their Company have remained the same whilst other bus companies have already asked for an increase in bus fares".

and

"After discussing this matter at length the meeting agreed to support the application of the bus company as it was felt that the proposed increase was reasonable".

The meeting also decided,

"That the bus company should approach industry and commerce with a view to persuading the employers to increase wages so that their employees should not feel the impact of this proposed increase in bus fares.

It was also agreed that members of the Advisory Board should draw up a list of suggestions for the improvement

of the bus service in the African towns with a view to discussing these points with the management of the Bay Passenger Transport Company at a later date".

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, I must say I very strongly oppose this rise in bus fare. My people are suffering enough already. And here (points at report) it says that the meeting 'agreed to support' the application of the bus company. What we must do - and this is what our people want us to do is to oppose Mr. Dickson (General Manager of the Bus Company)! We must stop saying "Ja Baas" all the time! This is unfair.

Botha : No! You are wrong! Mr. Chairman, I don't think the report is accurate in suggesting that we agreed to support the application of the Bus Company. What we were saying was that alternative possibilities should be investigated so that hardship to our people will not be caused!

Phambi : The point is still, Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, that this Board is not approached first about these matters. The Bus Company simply confronts the Board with the facts. We won't accept this!

Chairman : Gentlemen, I think this matter has been taken care of, can we have the first committee report now please?

The first report to be presented was that of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee.

The Chairman, Mr. Majola announced that he had been re-elected as chairman and Mr. M. Nonco as vice-chairman of this committee. His report was quite brief. His committee wanted; a progress report on the beach facilities; cricket pitches to be prepared for the season; the acoustics of the Centenary Great Hall to be improved; the hooliganism by youngsters near the Centenary Community Centre to be controlled. As far as the last point is concerned the committee recommends that provision be made in the estimates of the BAAB for the employment of a recreation assistant at the Centenary Community Centre.

That the BAAB be asked to tighten up control of this area by the patrol units after 5 p.m.

That parents be canvassed to exercise discipline on their children, particularly young girls who roam about in the evenings.

Mr. Botha responded through the Chairman on behalf of the Administration Board. As far as the progress report is concerned, he said that this would be done in the same efficient manner as was witnessed at this particular meeting.

The improvement of facilities would be referred to the proper departments and the recommendations as regards the Community Centre would be considered by the Administration Board. This seemed to satisfy the meeting and there was no further discussion.

Mr. Mcinga (also re-elected as chairman, with Mr. G. Qumza as vice-chairman) reported on behalf of the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee.

The Social Welfare and Health Services Committee had had a meeting with the committee of the Zizamele Creche to ascertain their views on a suitable site for a proposed creche building. They had been refused permission to operate further (by the Health Inspectors) in the T.C. White Hall and suggested that the new building be placed adjacent to the Red Location. In the meanwhile they suggest they operate in the Old Police Barracks. Mr. Mcinga's committee supports the Zizamele people's case in view of the fact that they do this work without subsidy and on a voluntary basis and deal mostly with destitute children from the Red Location.

Mr. Botha's reaction was a sympathetic one. However, the problem was that finance only allows for the erection of one building. While the

New Brighton area (which includes the Red Location) is served by a number of creches, the Zwide area has none at all. He would like to suggest that alternative accommodation be investigated for Zizamele but that, in view of the situation, Zwide should get the new building. Mr. Botha was very careful to phrase his case in very diplomatic terms, stating, "You don't have to accept my suggestion if you don't want to, but we must always remember that we have to serve all our people in the whole of our area and we want the best possible for our children".

It was decided that the committee would investigate and discuss the whole matter once again.

Mr. Mcinga also reported that his committee had decided to recommend that a meeting of five chairmen of committees be held early the following year to draw up terms of reference for the Bantu Liaison Committee for Livingstone Hospital.

It was felt this was a major issue which required proper motivation.

This recommendation was agreed to.

The Education Committee report was presented by Rev. Morija (The re-elected chairman. Rev. Xinwa had been re-elected vice-chairman).

Rev. Morija stressed the need for accommodation for Kleinskool schools. The Higher and Lower Primary Schools were at present housed in an old church building and that this was causing hardship to the school children in the area.

Morija : We would like to request the B.A.A.B. Mr. Chairman to inform us on the steps which have been taken to provide school accommodation for these children.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, I can see the 'old man'<sup>(1)</sup> is not so young any more. He does not put his case strongly as he used to. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, the situation at Kleinskool is actually terrible! Something must be done about this without delay!

Botha : Mr. Chairman, we are aware of the situation. We have problems over a very wide area to deal with. As you gentlemen can see, included with Rev. Morija's report is 'Annexure B'<sup>(2)</sup> and in this list our priorities are clearly set out. We can only do so much and only within our area of jurisdiction. The Board must determine its

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(1) This is said in a jocular way. Mr. Phambi, and other members, often joke about Rev. Morija's advancing age. The joking relationship has strong undertones of respect for the older man however.

(2) 'Annexure B' is a two-page priority list for the erection of new schools and additional classrooms within the area under the jurisdiction of the Administration Board. Over 35 schools are listed for additional classrooms and three new schools are envisaged.

priorities. Not only for schools but in a much wider sense. Our priorities are housing, first and then education. I suggest the committee (Education) study the situation and then discuss the Kleinskool problem again.

This suggestion was accepted as a recommendation.

Mr. Phambi presented the General Purposes and Finance Committee Report. (He and Mr. A. Bukashe had been re-elected Chairman and Vice-chairman respectively at their committee meeting).

Mr. Phambi's report consisted of a number of resolutions.

The first was that the Bantu Advisory Board express its appreciation to Mr. Stewart and his department for their great efforts in trying to solve the problem of water-logged areas in the townships.

Mr. Stewart was a recent appointee to the Engineering Department. He attended the General Purposes and Finance Committee meeting and explained in detail what his Department was doing about the problem and how they were setting about it.

The second resolution concerned a recommendation that the Chief Director be requested to represent the African Community of Port

Elizabeth at a public function when the African Community will take leave of Chief Maqoma; the first Port Elizabeth-born African teacher to be raised to the status of chieftainship and ruler of the Amajinqi tribe, near Fort Beaufort. The farewell function would take place in the Centenary Hall on Sunday, December 1, 1974 at 2.30 p.m.<sup>(1)</sup>.

Mr. Botha accepted stating that it would be a great honour to officiate at a function for such a prominent citizen of 'our area'.

The third resolution concerned the problem of poor street lighting. The B.A.A.B. was requested to check on lights at all streets before the start of the festive season.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, we are dealing here with rather a strange problem. Copper wire is so expensive and our people are stealing the copper wires from electric poles in the townships! This is a serious problem gentlemen! It should be a communal responsibility to curb this practice. The department is spending a lot of money to replace the wire. I think you should use your influence to stop this.

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(1) Chief Maqoma's father the previous chief had died. By the law of patrilineal succession Chief Maqoma was the next in line. He relinquished his position as School Principal and his life-long association with the Port Elizabeth townships to take up the traditional position of Chief of his tribe, the Amajinqi. It has also been claimed that the proper heir was an older classificatory brother but that Maqoma was 'chosen' for political reasons and because he was better educated.

There was general agreement on this issue.

The last two resolutions which Mr. Phambi tabled were:

That the Chief Director, BAAB, be requested to nominate two 'European' officials to meet five committee chairmen, on Tuesday, 26th November, 1974 at 3.00 p.m. to consider amendments to the Port Elizabeth Bantu Advisory Board Election Regulations,

and

that the policy in regard to a homeownership housing scheme be explained.

As far as the first was concerned there was general concensus that the regulations were out-dated and that there was a need for them to be reviewed.

The second issue, Mr. Botha explained was already receiving the earnest attention of the Administration Board. When the issue is cleared up a full report will be given to the Advisory Board.

This explanation was accepted without further explanation.

Meeting No. 19 : 9th December 1974

Minutes of the Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Kwaford, New Brighton on Monday, 9th December 1974 at 6.00 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER:(See Table 2, Chapter 14).

Chairman : Rev. Morija will you please open the meeting with a prayer.

Rev. Morija performed his usual duty, but prayed for a slightly longer time than was his custom. His message was basically the same however - to give the participants the knowledge and wisdom so that the deliberations would be to the benefit of 'our people'.

Chairman : We would like to extend a special welcome to our visitors, Mr. Neethling who is the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner and Mr. Grové the Urban Areas Commissioner.

Gentlemen, we have the minutes of the previous meeting in front of us. Everything in order?

Phambi : I am not satisfied Mr. Chairman. Mr. Botha himself supported us at the last meeting when we pointed out - I think it was Mr. Maxakana?

Maxakana : Yes!

Phambi : - that we never 'agreed' to raising of the bus fares. We simply 'noted' the Bus peoples' decision. So I have a complaint about these minutes. He (points at Mr. Solombela, the secretary, who looks very uncomfortable) must do his work properly or we'll fire him!

We are tired of this one-sided way of forcing things on us. The Black people are not taking this lying down!

Maxakana : We are not going to put up with this kind of .....

Chairman : Mr. Maxakana, sorry, but we are dealing with the minutes.

Phambi : We can't accept them as they stand, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman : Do you propose an amendment?

Phambi : Most definitely!

After a slight delay in order to get the proper wording, the minutes of the meeting of 11th November, 1974 were confirmed subject to the amendment:

"That the Joint Bantu Advisory Board decided unanimously not to agree to the increase of bus fares by the Bay Passenger Transport Company".

Chairman : Can we have the first report now please - Mr. Majola?

Majola : Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Although I was not actually present at our last committee meeting - Mr. Maxakana was acting on my behalf - I will give the report.

We have had a request from the Inkonzane Surf Club for transport to the Bantu Beach during the coming festive season. They do such good work for us there that we have felt we should help them. At our meeting Mr. Roux suggested that they could travel with the same transport that takes the Township Inspectors there every week-end. We would like this to be a recommendation. We also heard that this club has already been provided with a store-room for keeping their equipment at the beach and for this we would like to express our appreciation.

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, I see no problems with the transport and this can be arranged.

The recommendation was supported unanimously.

Majola : The covering for the cement floor in the Centenary Great Hall has been damaged Mr. Chairman, and this is causing hindrance to the dancers. My committee would like to recommend that this flooring material be repaired.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, there is still also the question of the toilets. Still nothing has been done about them.

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, Mr. Phambi should go to the committee with this. This point is not being discussed.

Phambi : But we can't always keep going back to committee, going back to committee .....

Chairman : Mr. Phambi, Mr. Jacobs is right here .....

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, I did not say Mr. Jacobs is wrong, I was questioning him on procedure!

Chairman : Mr. Phambi!

Phambi : Are we to be gagged! (sits down).

Neethling : (Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner)<sup>(1)</sup>  
May I just say a few words Mr. Chairman?

Chairman : (Nods).

Neethling : I just have a few suggestions to make. I think you must keep in mind that an Advisory Board such as you, is here to advise and not just to be critical. You should be positive. Co-operate with those people you are supposed to advise!

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(1) He and Mr. Grové (Urban Areas Commissioner) had been given the seats on the Chairman's left on the raised platform of the 'main' bench - these are usually reserved for senior B.A.A.B. officials.

(It would not be unfair to describe the councillors' reaction as 'stunned' at this statement. Obviously coming from an 'alien' to Advisory Board activities it was not acceptable in principle. Furthermore the tenor was contrary to the climate which even the Chief Director himself had always tried to create). The first reaction after this statement came from the Chairman who called for the next report to be presented.

Mcinga : (Social Welfare and Health Services).  
Mr. Chairman, we have a tremendous (draws out the word for effect) problem with the disposal of refuse. There are heaps and heaps of refuse which have not been removed for several weeks in nearly all the townships. The position is getting worse and the residents are very much concerned with this problem.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, the main problem is that there are not enough bins in the township and this makes it difficult for the people to keep the township clean. Perhaps if bins are provided this would alleviate the situation.

Neethling : May I just say something Mr. Chairman? This place (townships?) is dirty! You must face the facts! Why don't you talk to your people to stop this?

Maxakana : (Clearly quite agitated)  
Why is it always us (waves his arms around)? The

Municipality is always dumping its rubbish here right next to the townships!

Chairman : Mr. Maxakana this concerns something that is not on the agenda.

Maxakana : (Having refused to sit down)  
As soon as we .....

Chairman : (Red in the face and raising his voice, speaks in very terse and measured terms).  
I rule you out of order!!

(The tension in the Boardroom is now almost tangible and the most unlikely person breaks the silence).

Payi : Mr. Chairman, 90% of our people are ignorant, that's why they don't pick up the papers.

(Press reporter Sele, sitting next to me comments, "He's a 'goody' to the Whites").

Chairman : Gentlemen, we have to operate according to procedure otherwise we will achieve nothing.

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, I want to assure the councillors that the whole position will improve in the future. The B.A.A.B.'s cleansing section has made provision in the estimates for the purchase of about 5,000 bins.

But we must keep in mind, as Mr. Roux explained to this committee - we are short of manpower and vehicles to meet the situation. I want to suggest that this whole matter be referred back to the relevant committee with a view to obtaining a full report from the cleansing department.

At the initiative of the Chairman this was accepted as a recommendation.

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, we have again gone into the Zizamele Creche issue. My committee has discussed further the question of alternative accommodation for the Zizamele Creche committee. The Zizamele Creche caters for children 60% of whom were illegitimate, 20% whose fathers were dead and whose mothers were receiving invalidity grants, and 20% who did not know their fathers but their mothers live in the indigent area. This Society is doing a humanitarian service for the people of the Red Location. We must think very carefully about this thing Mr. Chairman, gentlemen. If we discourage these people we will be discouraging the very thing that we are trying to encourage - self-help and initiative!

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mcinga has outlined the merits of the case very well. I want to suggest that he and I meet at a set date to discuss the question of providing a proper creche building for the Zizamele people. We must then try to find a site next door to the Red Location - which is where most of their children come from.

Chairman : Is this acceptable gentlemen? Mr. Mcinga?

General agreement was indicated.

Chairman : Mr. Phambi, your report please.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, gentlemen. I am reporting on behalf of the General Purposes and Finance Committee and I have been thinking about the name of this committee. The 'Finance' part is really an empty name because we don't have any say about the financial affairs of this township ever! But I will leave that point for the moment.

I have another very serious problem to discuss. My committee considered and discussed the question of African women married to Coloured men and their plight which occurred on the death of their husbands. This whole thing, Mr. Chairman just shows the cruelty of the application of some of this country's laws! When the woman's Coloured husband dies she loses her temporary Coloured status and must forego the following (he reads from a list in his hand) -

1. Her eligibility for Social Pensions applicable to a Coloured woman.
2. The financial benefits accruing from the place of employment of her late husband.
3. Old age and disability grants as applicable to Coloureds.
4. Freedom of movement.

5. The right to bring up her Coloured children in a Coloured area.

Neethling : Mr. Chairman, Mr. Phambi must remember that he is referring here to exceptions, a few isolated cases. We must have some way of classifying people and to keep order. Such a woman could now still get a house for herself and her children in a Bantu area.

(Once again the atmosphere became totally electrified).

Maxakana : Such a woman would not get a house in the Black area. We have housing problems here! There is now a waiting list of 5001!

At this point the discussion became an almost total free-for-all with the chairman almost completely losing control over the proceedings. The main focus of the attack was Mr. Neethling, the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner who stuck to his theme that one would always get exceptions. The interchange became so quick and haphazard that it was impossible to hand-record the details of what was being said. Opposing Mr. Neethling were Councillors Phambi, Maxakana, Mcinga, Xinwa, Bukashe and even the usually sedate Rev. Morija. Their main concern was the status of the children from such a marriage and the fact that upon the death of a Coloured husband his Black wife then officially becomes Black again, and is expected to move from her home to a Black area. Mr. Neethling explained

that her 'Coloured status' was only temporary in the first place. He said he wanted to emphasize that his department was dealing very sympathetically with such cases.

The Chairman eventually regained control of the meeting and in reprimanding participants for the undisciplined exchange of views suggested that much more could be achieved if the relevant committee would meet with Mr. Neethling in order to get the information they need and for further discussions with him. Mr. Neethling indicated his willingness to do this. Proposed as a recommendation this suggestion was not opposed from the floor.

Chairman : Would you please proceed with your report, Mr. Phambi?

Phambi : The last point is about the amendments to the Advisory Board regulations. We have met, this is the special committee of chairmen of committees, with two officials of the B.A.A.B. to review the Advisory Board Elections Regulations. All we have to do now is to draft the new regulations but we need the help of somebody who can give legal advice on this. It would seem that the best thing to do, and we want to recommend this, is for the B.A.A.B. to make available the services of the Administrative Assistant of the Chief Director to give us legal advice in the drafting of the amendments to the regulations.

Chairman : I would imagine that this should not present any problems? Mr. Jacobs? In order? Is this acceptable to everyone? (Nods of heads or 'yes Mr. Chairman' all round).

The next report now please, Mr. Majola? I see your name down as acting chairman, or Mr. Maxakana?

Maxakana : I'll do it Mr. Chairman. The first thing, I would just like to tell my colleagues that suggestions for a list of names for the streets in the New Zwibe extension is required.

Then there is still an urgent need for a bus stop opposite Singapi Street and Thembaletu. People of the area are complaining that on rainy days they have to walk a long distance, at night are easy victims of Thsothisis who molest them and take away their pay packets.

Mr. Chairman, this motion was passed by the Advisory Board about a year ago. But still no action has been taken to erect this bus stop. So, my committee's recommendation is again, that the B.A.A.B. must erect a bus stop at this place.

There was general agreement on this point.

Maxakana : There is also the bus shelter opposite the War Memorial which must be repaired. This shelter has fallen on the tarred road. Now cars travelling East are affected trying to avoid hitting against this thing. This is a hazard in Avenue A, Mr. Chairman.

We have also already asked that street lights should be checked before the festive season. This is December, Mr. Chairman and we are still getting complaints! The street lights opposite the Oval and the War Memorial needs repairs - this area is a Thsothsi area. Church people attending Edwards Memorial, Order of Ethiopia and Assemblies of God are scared and their attendance is greatly affected. Our Oval is notorious for being a rape venue. We want a progress report on the fitting of these lights.

We want the resolutions that we pass to be followed up. Many resolutions that we passed years ago nothing has been done about. Like the roads that hav'nt been fixed up or completed - there's Lower Stokwe, Jolobe, Upper Msimka, Ntshekisa, Sangotsha, Tshangana, Pendla and Avenue A.

Chairman : Do you want to phrase these properly as resolutions?

Maxakana : Resolutions, resolutions! There is still the increase of bus fares! I led the delegation to the Local Transportation Board and we were very badly received by those people. They didn't want to listen to us. They have made their decision already. We want to appeal against this decision! Our people can't afford any increase in bus fares. And we have never agreed to these increases. We must write a letter to them to refute that statement!

Chairman : Can we formulate that as a recommendation? That a letter be written to the local Road Transportation Board

refuting the statement that the Bantu Advisory Board had agreed to the increase of fares, and that the Bantu Advisory Board appeals against the decision of the Local Transportation Board approving the application of the Bus Company to increase its fares.

I want to also suggest that you (Mr. Maxakana) go into this matter in consultation with Mr. Jacobs (the Acting Chief Director).

Maxakana : Why is this kind of dialogue useless? These increases came without our knowledge. There is no consideration for our recommendations. We are labeled as trouble makers in the Advisory Board. If our advice is not taken - why are we here?

Chairman : Mr. Maxakana, I think you are getting off the point.

Maxakana : The constitution should change. Stop this advisory status - we must become representative. It is sad that Verwoerd was killed! (Probably implying that under the administration of the previous Prime Minister they would have had greater decision-making powers).

Jacobs : Your committee or this Board can only resolve to recommend, it does not resolve!

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, I question this thing that we cannot 'resolve'. Why do we exist then?

Maxakana : I am proud! (almost shouting now) I represent the people! I express their views!

(An almost militant atmosphere now pervades the Boardroom. The Chairman has difficulty keeping control).

Chairman : If you don't come to order now, Mr. Maxakana, I'll have to discipline you.

Mr. Maxakana at this point has jumped up and left his chair. The Chairman also now gets up and with pointing finger orders Mr. Maxakana back to his chair. Mr. Maxakana is quite pale now and terribly upset. The Chairman instructs the secretary to formulate the suggestions and recommendations properly. Apart from the recommendations already listed, the whole discussion was later listed in the minutes as follows:

As a result of further complaints regarding missing bulbs in streets the Board resolved to recommend as follows:-

That street lights opposite the oval and the War Memorial Hall be repaired.

That new electric bulbs be fitted at all streets in the townships before the festive season starts.

The Board discussed the condition of roads and recommended that the following roads be completed:

Lower Stokwe and Jolobe  
Upper Msimka and Ntshékisa  
Sangotsha and Tshangana  
Pendla and Avenue A.

The Advisory Board discussed the question of appealing against the decision of the local Road Transportation Board approving an increase in bus fares in Port Elizabeth.

Mr. B.P. Maxakana (chairman of the Public Transport and Traffic Committee) who led the Advisory Board delegation to the local Transportation Board, said they were badly received by the local Transportation Board. They felt they must appeal against the decision as the African people cannot afford any increase in bus fares.

Chairman : Does that conclude our official business?

Well, its almost Christmas and it's a time of goodwill. Let us forget the wrongs of the past. It is better to 'forgive than to forget'. Best wishes and a merry Christmas to you all.

I want to congratulate Mr. Maxakana. I am not trying to stifle you. Keep up this nagging. Eventually success will come.

Neethling : On behalf of my Department too, I want to wish the members everything of the best.

Jacobs : On behalf of the Chief Director and on behalf of the B.A.A.B. our good wishes to you (Advisory Board) for the festive season.

Phambi : Our very best wishes to you as well Mr. Chairman, but I want to ask Rev. Xinwa to thank everybody officially.

Xinwa : Mr. Chairman, to you our thanks for all your patience with us and a merry Christmas.

Please express our best wishes to the Chief Director as well. He is a straight forward man and we love him.

Mr. Bantu Affairs Commissioner - you are a clumsy man but we love you too. But we must warn you not to make comparisons in this day and age of winds of change!

We thank the press for always reporting so accurately and for being the voice of the people.

Also to Mr. Smith for always organising everything for us.

Our thanks also to all other officials although they sometimes have a deaf ear.

To my colleagues in the Advisory Board, thank you for all the hard work - O! I nearly forgot!

Mr. Jones - he is so much one of us I forgot to mention him. Merry Christmas and a happy New Year!

The meeting closed with a collection for the 'tea girls'.

COMMENT:

The Chief Director was absent. Councillors were unusually vociferous and the Chairman had to call them to order on a number of occasions. There were a number of promises from officials and almost as many demands from the members.

The visiting official added a new dimension to the discussions. He seemed to have a penchant for striking a false note in the proceedings.

Both officials and members appeared to get some mileage from the exchanges and the meeting ended on a Christmas - conciliatory note.

Meeting No. 20 : 13th January 1975

The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Kwaford, New Brighton on Monday, 13th January, 1975 at 6.00 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

In the absence of Rev. Morija, Rev. Xinwa and Mr. Mtamo (a part-time sect Minister) the Chairman asked Mr. Payi to open the meeting with a prayer. Thereafter the minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

Botha : Before we start Mr. Chairman, there are just a few things I would like to say<sup>(1)</sup>. Just a few general comments. The first thing is the work done at committee levels. Look at tonight! Only two committees have produced reports. I believe attendance at the committee meetings is very poor. Every member must attend and do his part. And then these monthly meetings as well. Every month a lot of people are absent - some hardly ever attend! And also punctuality! People always get here late! This is not good enough! I feel tempted to have the attendance figures published. Remember to be

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(1) Enquiry revealed that the Chief Director had been briefed about the rather undisciplined 'sparks-flying' meeting of the previous month.

members here is not only status symbols it is also working symbols! Procedure at meetings. We have a certain way in which a meeting is held. We have rules. There must be discipline! The press can note this as well. The role of the press is very important but they must be responsible or they will lose their privileges and my understanding with the press has always been good? (Looks quizzically at Messrs. Sele, Matyn and Makwabe - press reporters). We must preserve our dignity in here! (Waves arms around the Board Room). Otherwise we will lose our authority and status. Do we understand each other? You know I never pull punches!

Under 'correspondence' was a 'feed-back' report from the office of the Acting Chief Director, Mr. Jacobs.

"The Secretary,  
P.E. Joint Bantu Advisory Board,  
Library, Centenary Hall,  
New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. 6001.

Sir,

PORT ELIZABETH JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD : MINUTES OF A MEETING  
HELD ON 9 SEPTEMBER 1974.

With reference to the above matter I have to inform you that my Board at its meeting held on 2 December 1974, resolved inter alia as follows thereanent:-

- (1) That the Minutes of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board meeting held on 9 September 1974, be received and that the contents thereof be noted and dealt with seriatim as set out hereunder:-

(2) Provision of additional toilet facilities: Centenary Hall, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

- (a) That it be noted that provision has been made in the 1974/75 Estimates for the erection of certain toilet facilities at the Centenary Hall and that the work on the said facilities will commence in due course.
- (b) That the Director of Engineering Services be requested to make provision in the 1975/76 Estimates for the erection of additional toilet facilities.

(3) Cricket Pitches : Maintenance of:-

- (a) That in view of the high cost of Umgeni soil and which will have to be transported at an additional cost from Paterson to Port Elizabeth, the Umgeni soil not be used for restoring cricket pitches.
- (b) That the Director of Engineering Services be requested to submit a report on all cricket pitches throughout the Board's area, with recommendations regarding the maintenance of pitches and to make the necessary provision in the 1975/76 Estimates for the said maintenance.

(4) Beach Facilities : Improvements to and maintenance of: St. Georges Beach.

That it be noted:-

- (a) that the Director of Engineering Services is preparing plans with details for improvements in an amount of approximately R10,000 for additional beach facilities at the St. Georges Beach;

(b) that, on receipt of approval, from the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, for the proposed improvements mentioned in (1) above, the Director of Engineering Services, will execute the work departmentally.

(5) Accommodation on a single basis : Female teachers etc.:  
Bantu Townships Port Elizabeth.

That the Director of Engineering Services, in collaboration with the Director of Community Services and Labour, and the Area Manager, Port Elizabeth, be requested to make provision in the 1975/76 Estimates for the erection of a Hostel in the Bantu Townships of Port Elizabeth, to accommodate especially unmarried female teachers, social workers and nurses.

(6) Resettlement of Bantu Residents from Walmer Bantu Township.

(a) That the recommendations by the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board, regarding the resettlement of Bantu residents from Walmer Bantu Township, with consideration of providing trading facilities to businessmen from Walmer, be noted.

(b) That the previous assurance given by the Board to the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board, in respect of the resettlement of Bantu residents from Walmer, be confirmed.

(7) Emergency Area, Gampu Zwide IV : Bantu residing at:-

That the Bantu families residing at the Gampu emergency area, Zwide IV, Port Elizabeth, be given preference when accommodation becomes available when houses are built at Zwide Bantu Township, Port Elizabeth.

- (8) Railway Bus Service to Homelands : Problems experienced by commuters.

That it be noted that the meeting referred to in the Minutes of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board, has already taken place and that a report thereanent will be submitted to the Executive Committee for consideration at a later stage.

Yours faithfully,"

Phambi : We are thankful that we now hear something about our recommendations, Mr. Chairman. Just a question about point four in this letter. My question is, is this beach now permanent? What is the future of it?

Botha : Mr. Chairman, as can be seen we are awaiting approval from the Minister. If we get this approval we can be sure that this will mean permanent zoning as a Bantu beach.

Maxakana : I have a question about point five. Will this have an improved design? We hope that the standard is better than the hostels for single men that we have now. We also hope that these new hostels will have two-roomed structures.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, it is the policy of the Government to erect hostels for women of an improved standard to those for men. Mr. Maxakana can go and look at the ones we built before. The erection of one-roomed structures for this scheme has already been accepted.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, there is the problem of accommodation for domestic workers. Many of these women cannot find accommodation at their place of employment or with relatives in the townships.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, my Board is already investigating the possibility of converting the Elundini Singlemen's Hostel into single rooms to help provide accommodation for single women.

Phambi : Perhaps Elundini can be reserved for domestic workers.

Chairman : Anything else on this report? Gentlemen, we have had reaction from the M.C.I. (Midland Chamber of Industries) in connection with our plea that employers should try to help lessen the burden of employees which has worsened with the increase of bus fares - you have the letter from the Director in front of you.

TO : ALL MEMBERS OF THE MIDLAND CHAMBER OF INDUSTRIES AND OF THE PORT ELIZABETH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Dear Sirs,

INCREASED BUS FARES.

Attached for your information are copies of two circulars issued by the local Passenger Transport Company, giving details of the new bus fares to be implemented on the Non-European routes in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage as from Sunday, 24th November, 1974.

While neither the Chamber of Industries nor the Chamber of Commerce would presume to attempt to influence the level of wages paid by

their members, it is suggested, in order to assist employees in times in which they possibly in any event find it difficult to make ends meet, that members give sympathetic consideration to affording their workers a measure of relief from this new financial burden with which they will be faced.

Yours faithfully,

I.L. KRIGE  
DIRECTOR.

Both the report from the B.A.A.B. and the action taken by the Director of the M.C.I. were noted with appreciation by members of the Board.

Chairman : We also have here a letter concerning hire purchase sales from the acting Chief Director requesting our comments and proposals.

"The Secretary,  
P.E. Joint Bantu Advisory Board,  
Library, Centenary Hall,  
New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, 6001.

Sir,

HIRE PURCHASE SALES TO BANTU RESIDENTS : FURNITURE, RADIOS, HI-FI EQUIPMENT AND MOTORCARS : METHODS OF REPOSSESSION.

With reference to the above matter it has been resolved at a recent Middle Management Meeting that you are to be requested to place the above item on your Board's Agenda for discussion regarding the methods of repossession practised by various companies.

Any comments, proposals or resolutions your Board may have to make in this regard, will be welcome.

Yours faithfully,"

Botha : I instigated this matter Mr. Chairman. I am very worried about the repossession by various companies of expensive items such as furniture, radios, hi-fi equipment and motor cars bought on hire purchase by our people. I believe these things are repossessed when the buyers are behind in their instalments and the companies do this without a court order. This kind of thing not only causes financial hardship for our people but can also lead to racial friction.

I feel that our people who buy expensive items on hire purchase should be protected and the companies must be stopped from repossessing if they can't produce a court order.

Majola : I have heard about these things Mr. Chairman and it must be stopped! Our people sometimes lose a lot of money in this way.

(A number of speakers, Messrs. Mzamane, Qumza, Maxakana and Sizani followed this same line, each giving examples of cases of illegal repossession).

Botha : Mr. Chairman, I think we can deal with this problem properly if the relevant committee discusses it and makes some recommendations.

Chairman : Can we adopt a recommendation that this item be referred to the relevant committee?

Agreed.

Mzamane : Here we have an example of a good suggestion Mr. Chairman, but we can't tell our people about it because its difficult to call meetings. Can we call meetings for this, report-back meetings?

Botha : Mr. Chairman, we have a set procedure whereby meetings can be held but I think the committee and the Board must first get some concrete decisions before we go to the people.

The first report to be presented was that of the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee by Mr. D. Majola.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, I would first like to express my appreciation and thanks to the B.A.A.B. for supplying Inspectors to control the crowds at the Wells Estate Bantu Beach during New Year's day, and also the Inkonjane Surf Club for saving lives, and the Traffic Constables for controlling traffic in this area. Mr. Kiggan of the Engineering section must also be thanked for cutting the bush and levelling the roads. The second outlet which was opened has been a great help to our motorists and this has reduced congestion of traffic in the area.

There are still a few things needed at this beach Mr. Chairman. My committee would like to recommend that shelters should be built around the showers - they are very open now, and lights are also needed there.

We think that the traffic control can also be improved further. Perhaps in future the Traffic

constables should have a meeting with my committee just before the season so that we can discuss the system of controlling traffic in the area.

This is a popular spot for Africans Mr. Chairman, we would like to see that it is made a permanent beach for us and that more money is spent there to improve the facilities.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, my Board has already provided R30,000 for improvements at the Bantu beach in the 1975/76 estimates. It is our aim to make this area a permanent beach for Africans, but, Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, it would help our case if this beach is used frequently by groups from the townships for their cultural activities. If the beach is used a lot it would justify the spending of a lot of money on facilities there.

Maxakana : Something else I noticed there Mr. Chairman, was that often when people needed help or information they had great difficulty finding the Inspectors who were walking around the whole area. A little office for them would help this problem and people would know where to find them.

Chairman : Would you like to accept this as a recommendation? That a temporary information office for B.A.A.B. inspectors be put up at the beach during the festive season. Also, that letters of thanks be written to all those people Mr. Majola mentioned?

Agreed.

The only other report to be delivered was by Mr. M. Phambi for the General Purposes and Finance Committee.

Phambi : I would firstly just like to mention, Mr. Chairman, that we have had a letter of thanks from the organisers of the installation ceremony for Chief L.W. Maqoma, Chief of the Amajingqi tribe, which was held at Gqugesi, Ford Beaufort. They say they are greatly indebted to the B.A.A.B. for the services rendered by the Traffic Inspectors and the opening address of welcome delivered by Prof. Eksteen (Member of the executive committee of the B.A.A.B.).

My committee has also discussed at great length Mr. Chairman, the question of restrictions of urban Africans. After discussing this we decided to recommend - the recommendation is in front of you.

"That in view of the many restrictions suffered by the urban Africans, that a conference of representatives of all Bantu Advisory Boards in the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board's Area, be arranged within the near future, with a view to considering and making recommendations to ease the position".

But I don't want you to take it just as it stands, I want to motivate it first.

This whole question is a point of discussion at all levels at present. The Minister himself, e.g. Deputy Minister Koornhof and now Janson and even the Prime Minister is meeting with leaders concerning

the urban African. But I say our voice should be heard directly. Except for Phatudi and Buthelezi homeland leaders are not experienced in urban affairs - all the other homeland leaders are wanting. We need the changes. The regulations we have here were framed by our Government at an abnormal time - at the time of the uprising, that was a time of emergency. Now we have normal times and we need a change. I am talking about the political desires of urban man.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, Mr. Phambi is raising a big subject here with wide-ranging implications. If we discuss it here we will not achieve much. What we need first is proper consideration of all the aspects and then a detailed motivation and a recommendation which can form the basis for discussion. This kind of thing will have to go to the Minister as well. I want to ask Mr. Phambi that this matter be referred back to his committee first and then we can deal with it?

Phambi : I accept that Mr. Chairman but we are not going to let this thing just be forgotten again<sup>(1)</sup>.

This discussion was later reflected in the minutes as follows:

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(1) This issue was eventually pursued beyond the confines of the Boardroom. Using the press as their main strategic tool, Messrs. Phambi and Majola were eventually able to arrange a meeting of urban leaders. This has been dealt with in Chapter 11, Strategies II, Extra-Boardroom Activities (continued), pp. 244 - 248.

"It was reported that the General Purposes and Finance Committee under the chairman, Mr. M. Phambi, has discussed at length the question of restrictions of urban Africans, and had recommended that a conference of Representatives of all Bantu Advisory Boards in the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board's Area be arranged within the near future, with a view to considering and making recommendations to ease the position."

RECOMMENDATION:

"That this matter be referred back for further motivation by the relevant committee".

Phambi : My last point about the sale and delivery of paraffin in the townships. My committee considered this question and it was felt that the decision of the B.A.A.B. to disallow the sale and delivery of paraffin to certain traders in the area for redistribution to other traders could have a repressive effect on trading in the area. The oil companies may be prepared to deal with certain traders but not with the smaller traders who would not be in a position to pay cash for bulk paraffin received.

For example, Mr. Mzamane there has always dealt directly with Caltex and Mr. Maxakana here, with Mobil direct. Now the right has been given to bypass these people. My committee would like to recommend that this Board asks the B.A.A.B. to reconsider its decision not to allow the oil companies to sell and deliver paraffin to certain traders for redistribution.

Botha : Just before I answer to this question Mr. Chairman, I just want to warn that we have to be careful as to how we get involved in this issue because some of our councillors are directly involved. Some people may question the right of a member to discuss a matter which may have financial benefit to the member himself<sup>(1)</sup>.

We have been forced to take stricter measures on the distribution of paraffin in the townships as a result of the fire departments' regulations on such sales. We are not trying to stop traders who are complying with these regulations from carrying on with their business of selling and redistributing paraffin in the townships. All that we are objecting to is that oil companies are not complying with regulations in that they fail to see that shops where paraffin is sold is provided with underground tanks - which is a necessary precaution against fire. I think the best thing to do is that I discuss the whole matter with the oil companies and that the African traders are involved in this discussion.

This was acceptable to all and was taken as a recommendation of the Advisory Board.

COMMENT:

A meeting which had the Chief Director exerting his authority strongly.

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(1) Both Mr. Mzamane and Mr. Maxakana's hands had been raised to enter the discussion.

The new policy by the Administration of reporting on progress and reaction on Advisory Board recommendations was carried on. An interesting Administration strategy was frequently adopted in this meeting, i.e. of reacting to criticism by first emphasising things that had already been done. The technique of referring issues to committees or back to committees was also often used. The aggressive style of the councillors, so much in evidence during the previous meeting, was still pursued. The need for direct consultation with people in government was strongly emphasised.

Meeting No. 21 : 10th February 1975

The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Kwaford, New Brighton on Monday, 10th February, 1975 at 6.00 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

After the Rev. Morija opened the meeting with a prayer, the minutes of the previous meeting were accepted.

Chairman : Can we have the first report, Rev. Morija?

Morija : Unfortunately, I could not attend this committee meeting so Mr. Payi will report.

Payi : (Acting chairman).  
Thank you sir. At the meeting my committee wanted to know what arrangements had been made to cope with the Standard V and VI classes in the new twelve year structure - there are about 637 pupils who cannot be accommodated at the local secondary schools. At our meeting Mr. Church (Administration Official) told us that application has been made by the Circuit Inspector for more accommodation and that approval is being awaited. Meanwhile the status quo is being maintained.

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, I still think something must be done about accommodation as a matter of urgency! We can't keep on waiting. We are told these children must go to the Homelands but the Homelands are refusing the urban children - one person 'phoned me about this just the other day!

Mzamane<sup>(1)</sup>: This is not so Mr. Chairman, we must watch such statements! If we want to prevent suspicion and friction .....

(At this point the Chief Director intervenes. The established antagonism between the 'Phambi-men' and the 'Mcinga-men' was rearing its head. In this case it ostensibly concerned the Ciskei/Transkei issue but other differences like the Kwaru/E.P.R.B. and Mfengu/Xhosa were root-causes also involved).

Botha : Gentlemen! Don't let us let this develop into a political discussion. As far as the Homelands is concerned, we must remember that they are also just having accommodation problems.

To get extra school accommodation in our own area we have to go through all the right steps and channels otherwise we will get nothing done. What is especially important here is to remember that our problem is not only accommodation. To start a new school we need teachers and already there are not enough to go round. We must do one thing at a time.

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(1) Mr. Mzamane has strong rural, specifically Transkei, ties. His own, older, children attend school in this Homeland.

Mcinga : While thanking the Chief Director for clarifying the situation I feel it my duty to emphasize the dire nature of our situation. In these townships we are experiencing an explosion of school children and if we do not plan to accommodate them our problem will get worse by the day.

Phambi : I am sorry the Director has intervened here! We were planning to throw the ball back! But we won't do that now. But I want to know why the status quo is being maintained!? What should be happening is that we should be doing something about it. We must act immediately. If necessary we can find the teachers in the meanwhile. But these children must get to school. And we have been asking for a training college to train more teachers.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, I would just like to say what my Board is doing. We are with you! (points). We will help. If what we need are emergency measures then these will be applied. I have just come back from Pretoria and I want to tell you gentlemen your recommendations are being accepted - we will report to you on the results all the time. So you mustn't always think that your recommendations just fall flat.

What we can do in this case perhaps is to use the Police barracks as a temporary school. But I must emphasize that the Department of Bantu Education must still first give its approval to the establishment of another secondary school in this area.

Rev. Morija's committee must get together with the local School Boards so that they can properly motivate their reasons for the establishment of a training college for teachers.

Perhaps Rev. Morija, with the help of Mr. Maxakana? can investigate the possibility of organising teaching staff for this temporary school at the Police barracks.

These three last suggestions of the Chief Director's were accepted as recommendations by the meeting.

Chairman : Mr. Payi?

Payi : Yes, Sir. On behalf of the committee I would also like to express our thanks and appreciation to the B.A.A.B. for allowing Black contractors to tender for the building of our local schools. We are very glad that this has now happened.

We also discussed the problem of vandalism Mr. Chairman. Windows of the Mzontsundu and Masibambane Junior Secondary Schools have been broken by vandals. We think the only thing that will help is a fence around the schools.

Messrs. Phambi, Maxakana and Majola also spoke on this point emphasising the gravity of the problem and also suggesting the possible erection of caretakers' cottages at schools.

At the instigation of the Chairman, the Board resolved to recommend that fences and caretakers' cottages be put up with new schools to be built in the future.

Mr. P.A. Mcinga presented the report of the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee.

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, the first point concerns the establishment of a Training Centre for Public Health Nurses. Mr. Roux has reported on the meeting he had with Dr. Sher to discuss this request of ours. Both these gentlemen make the very important point that unless the possibility of a hostel for nurses is also considered nothing much will come of our request. So our motivation and request are for both a training centre and for accommodation.

There is a big demand locally for such training Mr. Chairman. Our people have long been going to places far away for their training - like Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg, and these places have smaller (Black) populations than our own area. We would ask the Health Department that Empilweni (Hospital) be used as a training centre and perhaps U.P.E. (University of Port Elizabeth) and Tech (College for Advanced Technical Training) can assist in providing teaching staff for the course.

Chairman : I think Mr. Mcinga has set out the whole problem rather nicely. Gentlemen? (Looks at Mr. Botha).

Can we accept as a recommendation the establishment of such a training school? We can include the requests to the hospital and the educational institutions in the recommendation.

Agreed.

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, we have received a letter from Mrs. Maria Sibidla of Kwazakele again requesting the Board to consider the need for creches at Daku, Basuthwini and Zwide. She says that working mothers in these areas are suffering because of lack of creches there. Now, we have discussed the creche problem before Mr. Chairman, when we were dealing with the Zizamele request. We have already established that Zwide is the area that now needs creches most. My committee would like to recommend that with the exception of Zizamele, all future considerations for creches should be for the Zwide area.

We all know how serious the problem is - we just ask that serious consideration should be given to it.

This recommendation was agreed to without further discussion.

Mcinga : Just a last point Mr. Chairman. We are just waiting for a copy of the Constitution of the Coloured Advisory Committee of the Hospital (Livingstone) to establish our own Advisory Committee.

This was noted and the chairman called for the next report.

Mr. Phambi presented the General Purposes and Finance Committee report.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, members of this Board, my committee<sup>(1)</sup> has again had very serious discussions about the question of providing playing facilities for Kwaru here in the townships. We ask that the B.A.A.B. should reconsider and review its decision to refuse permission to use playing fields by Kwaru. The Easter week-end is not too far away Mr. Chairman, and some of the Kwaru clubs have committed themselves for this week-end. They have made advanced plans to play against visiting clubs from as far away as Cape Town.

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman .....

Botha : I'm sorry Mr. Chairman, but perhaps I can save us a lot of discussion if I explain the situation as it now stands.

As you all know, my door is always open for all those people who want to make applications to use the playing fields. All such applications will always be treated on merit. I have made a thorough investigation of the whole situation. We have made definite recommendations to the Department (Department of Co-operation and Development) on this matter. As soon as I hear from them I will give a report. Until this happens I want to suggest that we defer our discussion on this issue.

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(1) Mr. S. Sizani, a Kwaru-man was the only other Advisory Board member at this meeting.

This was accepted as a recommendation.

Phambi : One last matter Mr. Chairman, concerns the hire purchase sales to our people which we discussed before. My committee feels that this is such an important matter, and we also need more information and particulars before we can make a reasonable decision and recommendation that we would like to defer it to our next meeting.

The Advisory Board supported Mr. Phambi's committee in this suggestion as well as Mr. Botha's recommendation that the committee be provided with the 'fullest legal information' on the subject of hire purchase.

COMMENT:

For the first time since the Kwaru incident divisions within the Black membership of the Advisory Board again became (though briefly) noticeable.

Meeting No. 22 : 10th March 1975

The monthly meeting of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Head Office, Kwaford, on Monday, 10th March, 1975 at 6.00 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

Rev. Morija opened the meeting with a prayer and the minutes of the previous meeting were confirmed.

The Chairman was about to call for a discussion of the correspondence when Mr. Mcinga asked permission 'just to make a comment'.

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the Board, we have often complained that this Board is a dead duck and that nothing is done about the hardships of our people. However, I want to suggest that we look at ourselves for a change. There is a serious degree of inactivity at the committee level of this Board. Members simply do not attend the committee meetings. At my meeting (the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee) for example only Mzamane and Qumza were there! Some committees don't even hand in reports for our monthly meetings!<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Mr. Maxakana (a member of the 'opposition') had failed to present his committee's report at this particular meeting. Mr. Mcinga himself, in addition to his own committee, had attended two other committee meetings for the month.

Chairman : This is something Mr. Botha has spoken about before and I think Mr. Mcinga's point is taken.

We have a letter from Mr. Smith's office (Area Manager) with a long list of B.A.A.B. resolutions concerning recommendations that this Board made at meetings in October, November and December last year. Gentlemen, we have it in front of us, is there any comment?

"The Secretary,  
P.E. Joint Bantu Advisory Board,  
Centenary Hall, New Brighton,  
Port Elizabeth.

Sir,

PORT ELIZABETH JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD : MINUTES OF MEETINGS HELD ON 21 OCTOBER, 11 NOVEMBER AND 12 DECEMBER, 1974.

With reference to the above matter I have to inform you that my Board, at its meeting held on 27 January, 1975 resolved inter alia as follows thereanent:

1. That the minutes of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board meetings held on 21 October, 11 November and 12 December, 1974 be received and that the contents thereof be noted and dealt with seriatum as set out hereunder:
2. TRANSPORT FOR COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

That it be noted that administrative arrangements have been made to convey members of the P.E. Joint Bantu Advisory Board in outlying areas such as Walmer and Zwide Bantu Townships, to and from Board and Committee meetings, with official transport.

3. PROPOSED INCREASE OF BUS FARES : PORT ELIZABETH AREA.

That it BE NOTED that the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board resolved to address a request to the Chief Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board to make an urgent appeal to employers of the black people to the Commerce, Industry and of domestic servants, to offset the proposed increase in bus fares by the Bay Passenger and Transport Company, by increasing the wages of their employees.

4. CLEARING OF OVERGROWN CRICKET PITCHES.

(a) That it BE NOTED that all cricket pitches, in the Port Elizabeth Bantu Townships, except those situated at the Ernest Skosana Higher Primary School, New Brighton, and the Woolfson and Zwide Stadiums are badly eroded and overgrown.

(b) That a meeting BE ARRANGED with the Chairmen of Bantu Sports Unions and Clubs in the Bantu Townships of Port Elizabeth, to whom sport facilities are made available by the Board, with a view to obtaining their assistance and co-operation in maintaining the various sports fields.

5. ACOUSTICS AT CENTENARY GREAT HALL.

That the Director of Engineering Services BE REQUESTED to investigate the possibility of further improving the acoustics at the Centenary Great Hall, New Brighton.

6. HOOLIGANISM NEAR CENTENARY COMMUNITY CENTRE.

That the Area Manager, Port Elizabeth BE REQUESTED to investigate the alleged hooliganism and to take the necessary

steps to assist in combatting the hooliganism at the Centenary Community Centre.

7. NEED FOR AN ADDITIONAL CRECHE AT NEW BRIGHTON.

- (a) That it BE NOTED that the existing Zizamele Creche in the "Red Location", New Brighton Bantu Residential area, Port Elizabeth, has been condemned by the Medical Officer of Health as being unsuitable for a creche.
- (b) That, subject to the approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and in view of the urgent need of an additional creche in the said "Red Location", the amount of R15,000 provided for in the 1974/75 estimates for the Zwide area, BE UTILIZED to erect a creche on site 7715/714 in the Elundini area adjacent to the "Red Location" to accommodate and replace the existing Zizamele Creche.

8. BANTU LIAISON COMMITTEE FOR LIVINGSTONE HOSPITAL.

That it BE NOTED that the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board resolved that the Liaison Committee of the Livingstone Hospital will comprise of the 5 committee chairmen of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board.

9. PUBLIC FAREWELL FUNCTION FOR CHIEF L. MAQOMA.

- (a) That it be noted that the Chief Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board has been requested to speak on behalf of the African Community during the farewell function for Chief L. Maqoma on Sunday, 1 December, 1974.

(b) That the expenditure of R50 for the provision of entertainment of the said function, BE AND IS HEREBY AUTHORISED.

10. REQUEST FOR ATTENTION TO STREET LIGHTS.

That the Director of Engineering Services BE REQUESTED to attend to all street lights in need of repair, in the Bantu residential areas of Port Elizabeth before the festive season.

11. PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO BANTU ADVISORY BOARD REGULATIONS.

That it be noted that the matter regarding the proposed amendments to the Port Elizabeth Joint Advisory Board Regulations, is already receiving attention.

12. IMPROVEMENTS TO WATER-LOGGED AREAS.

That the appreciation of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board for the efforts made by the Board to solve the problem of the water-logged areas in the Bantu Townships of Port Elizabeth, BE NOTED.

13. PRIORITY LIST FOR NEW SCHOOLS AND ADDITIONAL CLASSROOMS.

(a) That the request of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board that the Special Committee of the Bantu Advisory Board be allowed to erect the proposed special classrooms at the Cowan and Kwazakele High Schools, Port Elizabeth, with their own labourers, BE APPROVED.

(b) That it BE NOTED that the Board has already approved the applications of the School Boards of the Kwazakele and New Brighton High Schools for the erection of special classrooms.

14. ELECTION OF COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN.

That the result of the election of Committee Chairmen, BE NOTED.

15. CONVEYANCE OF MEMBERS OF THE INKONJANA LIFE SAVERS SURF CLUB WITH OFFICIAL TRANSPORT.

- (a) That the action of the Acting Chief Director to authorise the Area Manager, Port Elizabeth to transport the members of the Inkonjana Life Savers Surf Club between Port Elizabeth and Wells Estate Bantu Beach, with the vehicle of the Board used by the Board's Inspectors on duty BE AND IS HEREBY APPROVED AND CONFIRMED.
- (b) That the Inkonjana Life Savers Surf Club BE CONGRATULATED AND THANKED for the excellent services rendered by its members to the public".

Although many of these issues had become quite dated, and some of the events that they are concerned with had long passed it was still to serve as part of a concerted effort by the Administration to produce proof of results achieved by the Advisory Board.

Maxakana : This is all alright, Mr. Chairman but look at those cricket pitches! We have talked and talked about them, but like with most of these other issues, there is always too much delay! Now here we see a case where too much money has been wasted by using the wrong soils or by trying to do things in a cheap way.

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, I want to agree with Mr. Maxakana. We have made mistakes in the past but now the first step

is being taken in rectifying it and we must co-operate that things can improve even more in the future!

Chairman : I must support Mr. Jacobs there. Things are being done - sometimes perhaps not as quickly as we would like, but we have some results here in front of us.

I think we can take the committee reports now,  
Mr. Majola.

Mr. Majola presented the Parks, Recreation and Entertainment Committee report.

Majola : I have quite a short report to-night Mr. Chairman.

It has been reported to us that the New Brighton Oval is being renovated and that an African contractor is doing this work. It is hoped that the Oval will be ready next year and that it will cater for soccer and cricket matches. My committee notes this with appreciation.

We still have a problem with the floor-covering material at the Centenary Great Hall. This has been damaged and is causing hardship to the ballroom dancers. We would like to recommend that the B.A.A.B. investigate the possibility of putting proper tiles on the cement floor of the hall.

We have also had a report that Mrs. J. Majola's youth club is doing tremendous work amongst the youth of the

townships. However, she is handicapped by shortage of accommodation and at the moment, especially by lack of a fence around the War Memorial Hall where they meet. We recommend that something is done about this fence.

Jacobs : I don't see any problems with these recommendations Mr. Chairman - as far as the fencing around the Memorial Hall is concerned, we have already provided for this in this year's estimates.

Chairman : Is that in order?  
Next report please.

Mcinga : (Chairman, Social Welfare and Health Services)  
Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, my report is also of a fairly routine nature.

We have been informed by the Hospital Medical Superintendent that the previous information which we had been given, i.e. that no merit awards are made to African students, is incorrect. In fact apparently since 1965 the P.E. Municipality has awarded merit medals to both Coloured and African students who had obtained highest marks in the examinations of the Livingstone Hospital.

In view of this we have recommended Misses N.R. Dlanga and N. Qinga to the P.E. Municipality to receive the municipal medals at a ceremony to be held in the Livingstone Hospital early this year.

My committee has also discussed the problem of a site for Abakhwetha huts. We regard this initiation school as important and want to recommend strongly that the B.A.A.B. be asked to set aside a temporary area near the townships where these boys would be secluded from the public and, if possible, to have water and sanitation services.

And finally Mr. Chairman, we asked for, and got, a progress report on the supply of rubbish bins to all the houses in the African townships - something which we discussed here some time ago. Mr. Roux (Welfare and Recreation Officer) reported that the need for the supply of new bins to the residents was receiving the attention of the B.A.A.B. The B.A.A.B. was going to purchase hundreds of proper refuse bins with lids and these would be supplied to the residents in future. We accept this report with appreciation. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, we still have to think about a site for the Abakhwethas (Sic)- perhaps somewhere along the Uitenhage road.

Chairman : Next report please, Rev. Morija?

Morija : There are 400 children who will be given accommodation at the old Police Barracks. We have interviewed the Inspector of Bantu Education, Mr. S.J. Buys and he has agreed to the establishment of temporary secondary classes at this barracks. This school will be under

the Zwide Bantu School Board. We will just have to be careful that the children coming to this school have in fact passed Std. 6.

Then we have heard from some of our school Principals that they have received a directive that Afrikaans and English languages would be used on a 50% to 50% basis as mediums of instruction at local primary and post primary schools. Any school which wants to use English as medium of instruction should apply to the Department of Education.

The local school principals have apparently already submitted their application to the Secretary of Bantu Education in Pretoria, requesting that they be allowed to use English as medium of instruction in their schools.

My committee discussed this whole issue and felt that no other racial group was taking English and Afrikaans in an equal capacity as teaching languages, why us?

It was also felt that there was a shortage of Afrikaans teachers among the African Community and that Port Elizabeth was predominantly an English speaking language area.

In view of all this Mr. Chairman, we want to recommend that all Bantu School Boards should be urged to make representations to the Bantu Education Department for English to be the medium of instruction at our schools.

Maxakana : We are the leaders of our people, why don't they let us decide for our own people! We now have teachers who can't themselves speak Afrikaans who teach it. Our

children are also failing those subjects that they are forced to do in Afrikaans.

Chairman : Let's give Mr. Payi a chance - he has had his hand up.

Payi : Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Maxakana is putting the case much worse than it is. I was teaching for many years and I know what is going on.

(Maxakana - as an interjection, "You're out of it now, this is 1975!")

Chairman : Mr. Maxakana, Mr. Payi has a right to put his point of view.

Maxakana : You're protecting the old man (Payi). He whips me but you won't let me get back at him!

Chairman : You're speaking out of turn, Mr. Maxakana!

(At this point a number of councillors interject and try to enter the discussion - the Chairman eventually gives Mr. Qumza a chance. Several councillors show clear signs of agitation by now).

Qumza<sup>(1)</sup> : This thing is being rammed down our throats! Just like a lot of other things. And we are now choking!  
(Grabs himself around the throat).

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(1) Mr. Qumza is a school principal.  
Mr. Payi is a retired school principal.

Why must it always be the poor Africans that have to suffer? We have to take three languages! Yes!

Mcinga : (Interjects) :  
We, the amaXhosa<sup>(1)</sup> are watching you, abeLungu<sup>(2)</sup>!

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, I must just point out that this whole thing is a policy matter! It does not come from the Board (B.A.A.B.). We have your interests at heart.

Mcinga : I have said this very often before Mr. Chairman, but I want to just sound this warning. This P.E. (Port Elizabeth) area is a very, very important area. 'When Port Elizabeth sneezes the whole country gets the cold!' (This last statement the speaker made in slow measured terms)<sup>(3)</sup>.

Further across-the-floor and disorganized discussions and interjections were halted by Mr. Jacobs, who, speaking through the chairman and doing so in a very stern manner, warned that discussions would have to be conducted in a much more 'dignified and disciplined manner'.

The final item to be dealt with in Rev. Morija's report concerned a bursary which was available for a dentistry course at Witwatersrand.

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(1) The Xhosa people.

(2) The White people.

(3) A little more than a year after this discussion took place many South African cities erupted with the Black urban riots of 1976. Often quoted as the central issue was the compulsory use of Afrikaans in Black schools.

At the suggestion of the chairman, it was recommended that the B.A.A.B. be requested to advertise for applications for this bursary to enable a local student to qualify and thus eventually be enabled to serve the African Community.

The last report to be presented was that of the General Purposes and Finance Committee.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of this Board. The first item in my report is the Adcock Homes female accommodation. My committee discussed the question of married females who stay at the Adcock Homes because they cannot find alternative accommodation and join their husbands locally. It is well understood that this hostel is meant to accommodate "single" African women, who at the time of registration, were unmarried, or living apart from their husbands. A change of status during their stay in the hostel, Mr. Chairman, disqualifies them from continued occupation of their rooms. My committee is of the opinion that the term "African single women" as understood by the members of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board refers to and should be defined by the Superintendents to mean : "African women who are unmarried or living apart from their husbands".

The official and the accepted interpretation of the word "single" in so far as accommodation is concerned in the urban areas, carries this meaning.

Jacobs : (After a whispered conversation with Mr. Smith at his side):  
Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Smith has already explained the problem to this committee, i.e. that it would be wrong to allow married women to stay at the Adcock Homes as the Superintendents would not be able to stop their husbands from staying there, if they choose to do so. This hostel was meant to accommodate single women and could not be changed into family accommodation.

Phambi : All that we are asking is that when one of the single woman in Adcock gets married she should be allowed to stay there until her husband finds accommodation for them - if he hasn't got accommodation already.

Chairman : Would you like this to be a recommendation? Mr. Phambi you can just work out the proper wording with the Secretary after the meeting.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, the issue of playing fields for Kwaru is still on our Agenda because we are still waiting for Mr. Botha's report. Although we have waited a long time we will leave it there (the item on the agenda) until we get results.

Another matter which we have discussed before - and I think we made a recommendation, concerns the free movement of Africans within the B.A.A.B. area. We want to recommend again that single lodger accommodation should be re-introduced until singlemen's hostel accommodation is available.

Chairman : I think we can refer this to the B.A.A.B. for consideration? Mr. Botha is the best man to give you the answers here.

Agreed.

Phambi : Then we have a request for the allocation of sites for so-called 'Home Ownership'.

In terms of 1968 Regulations governing and controlling Bantu residential areas, provision has been made for the allocation of sites for the building of home ownership schemes.

Mr. Chairman, the regulations also provide for such a "Home" to be regarded as an investment and therefore can form part of an estate and can be added into the will of the deceased registered occupier.

The operation of these regulations was set-aside by "OFFICIAL POLICY" instructions. But now we look at the prevailing conditions and in terms of high level talks between the homeland leaders and the Prime Minister of this country it gives one the impression that these regulations are likely to come into operation again.

My committee therefore wants to recommend that (he reads):

"The Bantu Administration Board, Cape Midlands, be requested to make provision for the allocation of sites for home ownership schemes of about 100 sites in each of the townships, KWAFORD, NEW BRIGHTON, KWAZAKELE AND ZWIDE.

Such sites be fully serviced and the prospective site-holder be required to pay only site rental and services supplied by the Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

The houses built on such sites accrue to the estate of the registered site holder".

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, this is unfortunately only speculation at this stage. I want to suggest that we investigate the matter first and in the meanwhile refer it back to the committee who can then make a recommendation in the light of the information we get.

Phambi : I accept that Mr. Chairman, but we want the answers!

The last point I want to report on is the question of the hire-purchase problems that our people have had. My committee has investigated the whole matter thoroughly. I won't go into all the technical details but we have come to the conclusion after taking legal advice that legal proceedings, leading to court orders and what they call "warrants for attachments and execution of attached goods and ultimately repossession by the Messenger of the Court" are too costly and will aggravate the position of the African financially.

So my committee would like this Board to recommend that negotiations with the Seller, even if it should mean voluntary surrender of the goods on hire purchase would be preferred to court action.

Agreed.

Maxakana : We have heard a lot about rent increases that are coming for the townships. The reasons for this rise has been explained to us but the people know nothing about this yet. Give us a meeting so that we can explain the increases to the people.

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, a letter explaining everything in detail - including the amounts, will be sent to each and every resident. Once these have gone out, then you can have a meeting to explain things further.

Agreed.

COMMENT:

The fact of the Chief Director's absence became quickly apparent at this meeting and meeting and procedural discipline suffered rather badly. Messrs. Qumza and Mcinga especially were noticeably more vociferous than usual.

Something else became apparent to me at this stage. Those councillors with whom I had had indepth interviews seemed to put up a different 'performance' now during meetings. Whether this was by virtue of being aware of the kind of things I was looking at or was interested in or whether perhaps this was simply a question of the observer seeing them in a new light by virtue of knowing the participants better, was difficult to judge.

Meeting No. 23 : 7th April 1975

The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Kwaford, New Brighton, on Monday, 7 April 1975 at 6.00 p.m.

The Agenda which had been delivered or posted to all participants was as follows:

1. APOLOGIES.
2. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES.
3. COMMITTEE REPORTS.
  - (a) Education Committee (Acting Chairman, Mr. Q. Payi)
  - (b) Parks, Recreation and Entertainment (Chairman, Mr. D. Majola)
  - (c) Social Welfare and Health Services (Acting Chairman, Mr. J. Mzamane)
  - (d) Public Transport and Traffic (Chairman, Mr. B.P. Maxakana)
  - (e) General Purposes and Finance (Chairman, Mr. M. Phambi).
4. SPECIAL REPORTS BY THE CHIEF DIRECTOR ON -
  - (a) Zwide Cemetary
  - (b) Playing facilities for KWARU and
  - (c) Free Movement of African Workers within the Board's area.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

Although the Chief Director's name appears on the attendance list he only arrived at the meeting toward the end of proceedings.

For this particular meeting, on a sweltering hot day for April, I arrived about twenty minutes early and took my customary place at the table in the left-hand back corner of the Board Room. Mr. Solombela, the Secretary, was already there handing out the minutes of the previous meeting. Mr. Bukashe (on crutches) was the next to arrive and after placing his documents at his seat, came over to chat to me about the University at which I am employed and particularly about this University principal's views as regards Blacks and their opportunities for study.

The other members now started arriving singly or in twos or threes. Last of the councillors to arrive were Messrs. Majola and Phambi, who came in together. Most of the lesser administration officials had also by now taken their seats, as did Mr. Sele from the press.

Finally, the Chairman, Mr. Coates, accompanied by the vice-chairman and Deputy Chief Director, Mr. Jacobs entered the room. The present company all rose.

Chairman : Good evening.

(Good evenings' from around the horse-shoe table).

Mr. Qumza, would you open for us?

('Open' with a prayer - in the absence of Rev. Morija who normally performs this ritual, and also Rev. Xinwa, who usually deputises for Rev. Morija).

Mr. Qumza's closing 'Amen' is echoed around the room.

The Board stood as a mark of respect to Mr. Dukada's recently deceased mother and agreed to send a get well card to Rev. Morija.

Chairman : Gentlemen, are the minutes in order? Fine.  
(signs the minutes in a bulky book kept for this purpose).

Qumza : Mr. Chairman, just a question arising from the minutes. When are the raised rentals notifications<sup>(1)</sup> going out? Why have they not been circulated yet?

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, we have had a slight delay in the printing of them but they will be going out.

Qumza : Could they please be inserted in the last meeting's minutes?

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(1) These notifications were eventually circulated. The circular (included in full in Appendix ~~7~~G) was printed on a single sheet of paper in the form of a "circular letter to all residents". The letter is phrased in very diplomatic terms saying that the Administration Board is aware that its performance is being closely watched and that its ability to improve the administration and well-being of the Urban African is being questioned. However the letter sets out (with the aid of facts and figures) "the magnitude of the task" and ends off by "expressing its (the Boards) appreciation to the residents for their co-operation in the past and to appeal for the whole hearted co-operation of the residents in this (rent increases) regard".

Chairman : Mr. Solombela will you do that? (Solombela nods).  
Can we now take the committee reports? First Mr.  
Payi, Education Committee.

Payi : Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the Board, I present the  
report as it stands there on page two of our papers:

PRESENT: Messrs. Q. Payi, B.P. Maxakana, A.C. Makongolo,  
D. Kula, D. Majola, J. Mzamane, A. Church  
(Assistant Director) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

APOLOGIES : Rev. S.R. Morija, Rev. L. Xinwa and Mr. G. Qumza.

APPLICATION BY MZONTSUNDU SECONDARY SCHOOL FOR EXTENSION OF ITS  
SCHOOL GROUNDS.

The Principal of the Mzontsundu Secondary School has appealed to  
the Education Committee to request the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs  
Administration Board to extend the boundaries of the school for  
the development of playing ground to cater for rugby, cricket,  
soccer, netball and softball.

It was reported that the school cannot participate fully in sport  
because the present size of its school ground is too small and  
cannot accommodate the above outdoor games and yet there is a big  
vacant ground adjacent to the school.

RECOMMENDATION:

- (a) That the application of Mzontsundu Secondary School be  
supported, subject to the vacant ground nearby, not being  
ear-marked for other development.
- (b) That in the future planning of post primary schools in the  
area, provision be made for adequate playing grounds.

(c) That schools already provided with playing fields should be made to share their facilities with nearby schools, particularly the primary schools.

#### POSITIONING OF ADDITIONAL CLASSROOMS AT MASIBAMBANE SECONDARY SCHOOL.

It was reported that additional classrooms at the above school have been wrongly sited and as a result, the playing ground has been curtailed.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That in future any additions to existing schools be done in consultation with the School Board concerned, the Bantu Advisory Board and the School Committee.

#### FLOORING OF SCHOOLS.

It was reported that the School Committee of the Mzontsundu Secondary School which was built on concrete floors had made a commendable attempt in providing flooring for two classrooms with wooden tiles at this school.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That Mzontsundu Secondary School receive priority when flooring is provided at local schools by the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board in view of the fact they have already of their own accord provided flooring for two classrooms at the above school".

Payi : (Continues. He has a peculiarly subservient manner and way of speaking).

I went personally to inspect at these two schools Mr. Chairman and the situation is just like we say in this

report. Both schools need space for playing fields. For Mzontsundu there is an area just next door which can be used. At Masibambane the existing field is now too small because of the position of the new classrooms.

Majola : Mr. Chairman, Mr. Payi is out of order to discuss this report. He must simply formally move his report. The discussion is afterwards<sup>(1)</sup>.

Chairman : (With a sympathetic smile in Mr. Payi's direction): Yes, you are right Mr. Majola, but I let him go. Is there any discussion on this report?

Majola : Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, it is always a case of non-consultation. This Board or the School Board should first have been consulted. Here we have a case where new rooms have been badly placed at the cost of the playing fields.

Maxakana : I am in support of the previous speakers. There is another case of one of the schools where I am on the School Committee. Here the officials nearly placed the laboratory and library near the toilets for the sake of the cost and not for the sake of the convenience of the children. But the main point here is the question of non-consultation - it would appear that consultation is something of the past.

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(1) Councillors had recently been briefed on proper meeting procedure.

Phambi : (Dramatically):  
I want to move an extraordinary resolution: 'That no brick shall be placed in the future without consulting the relevant committee chairman'.

Chairman : We can place this as an extra point (d) to the report, or rather the agenda.

(The Secretary fusses to get the wording of the resolution recorded).

Phambi : (Smiling slightly):  
'.....and to take effect on 8th April' (which was the following day and this addition to the resolution produced smiles all round).

Jacobs : It can't be tomorrow - this is only a recommendation (some laughter). I agree it was bad planning. But forget about this 'tomorrow' business. We must keep in mind that ground is expensive. What we need is proper planning - long term planning. Perhaps we should think of multi-storey buildings in the future. It has been shown that this type of building can be built more cheaply for the amount of space it provides when compared to what we have been building here.  
(The Deputy Chief Director continued talking in this vein for quite some time dealing in technicalities and specifics - probably in an effort to take the heat off the issue by gradually changing the subject).

Moinga : (Not to be taken off the subject and at his oratorical best).

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Phambi has hit the nail on its head! We have to be consulted without fail! And we are not going to leave this matter! Inja ixhapha amanzi ngolwini!<sup>(1)</sup>

(Calls of "order!", "order!" followed this exhortation in Xhosa).

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, the members of this 'house' will bear me out that this 'double storey' is an old resolution of this Board. But apparently as these are Black schools, they can't go up!

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, as far as the flooring problem at Mzontsundu is concerned. We have already bought blocks. Let us use them for this school.

Chairman : Can we go on to the next report now? Chairman of Parks?

Majola : I move the report formally, Mr. Chairman.

Mcinga : (Much more pugnacious than usual, now also sarcastic): I want to speak on that first point which we had and which was just glossed over. When we are talking about playing fields for children .....

Chairman : I am sorry Mr. Mcinga but I rule you out of order. Your discussion is a 'late tackle'.

We have Mr. Majola's report in front of us:

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(1) Literally meaning, 'A dog laps up water with his tongue' but implying that persistence brings success.

"PRESENT : Messrs. D. Majola, (Chairman), B.P. Maxakana, Q. Payi, D. Kula, J. Mzamane, A.L. Makongolo, A. Church (Assistant Director) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

#### PREPARATION OF RUGBY FIELDS.

The Committee discussed the question of preparation of rugby fields in readiness for the coming rugby season.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That the Engineers Department be asked to clear up with a bush cutter the weeds at Woolfson Stadium, at Oval No.2 and other open playing fields which are used for rugby and soccer matches and which are situated at Woolfson Stadium, Kwazakele, New Brighton and Zwide.

#### KWAFORD SPORTS STADIUM.

The Committee wanted a progress report on the development of Kwaford Stadium for athletics and soccer.

Mr. Church reported that the work on this Stadium has been delayed by the difficulty caused by the present contractor who has gone bankrupt, and the problems being experienced in providing flood-lights.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That the explanation of Mr. Church on this matter be accepted.

#### PROPOSED KWAZAKELE COMMUNITY HALL.

Mr. Church reported that provision has been made in the estimates for the building of a big public hall at Kwazakele. They were now awaiting approval by the Exco of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board and also waiting for an architect to re-draw plans as was requested by the Bantu Advisory Board.

RECOMMENDED:

That the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board be requested to expedite the erection of the Public Hall at Kwazakele as soon as the plans have been revised and approved".

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, I can only again point at the delay we have had in this Kwazakele Community Hall. It could have been speeded up a lot if we had been consulted in the first place. Again it is this question of non-consultation!

Chairman : Is the report as such in order gentlemen? Mr. Majola anything else?

Majola : I don't think I have to sum up Mr. Chairman, its all there (points at the report). Except that I think we must ask the B.A.A.B. to find another contractor to complete the work at the Kwaford Sports Stadium.

Chairman : Can we take this as a recommendation? Are you happy with the other recommendations?

Agreed.

Chairman : Can we have the next report please? Traffic.

Maxakana : I move my report Mr. Chairman.

"PRESENT : Messrs. B.P. Maxakana (Chairman), F. Mputa, S. Sizani, M. Phambi, G. Connor (Area Manager, Labour, P.E.) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

#### PAVEMENTS REQUIRED ON ALL MAIN ROADS.

The Chairman reported that pavements or cycle tracks which have been built on main roads have helped to reduce fatal accidents involving pedestrians and motorists on the roads.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That provision of cycle tracks or pavements on all main roads in the townships be continued.

#### EXTENSION OF BUS ROUTE.

The Committee discussed the plight of people who have to travel long distances from the Daku bus terminus and on their way home are attacked and robbed by thsothisis at night especially on Fridays.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That the Bay Passenger Transport be requested to extend its bus route to Ebasutwini area.

#### INADEQUATE STREET LIGHTING.

The Committee reported that most areas in New Brighton townships were without electricity supply since last December. Areas mostly affected were the Red Location, White Location, Elundini, Matitiba Street, Zwide and Njoli Road opposite Yeko's Store.

Mr. Connor reported that the Engineers Department had started fixing lights in the effected areas. He appealed to the members to try and stop their people from stealing copper wires from electric poles as this was not only causing hardship to the residents who have to stay for several weeks without electricity supply, but this also meant that the local authorities have to spend a lot of money in replacing copper wires for the supply of electricity to the effected areas.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the members of the Bantu Advisory Board be empowered to convene public meetings in order to bring to the notice of the residents the problem of electric copper wire theft.

SCHOOL BUS FOR WALMER CHILDREN.

The Committee again discussed the question of African school children from Walmer who were terribly inconvenienced by the buses which were always full and could not take them to reach their post primary school in New Brighton, Zwide and Kwazakele on time during the mornings and afternoons.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this matter be deferred for further investigation and that a survey of the total number of children from Walmer who would require such a bus service be conducted at local schools".

Maxakana : I just want to know where is the Engineering official?  
He should be here now to give us some answers.

Jacobs : Our problem is that we get the agendas (reports)  
from the committees too late to invite the officials  
in time to answer relevant questions.

Majola : This thing that our people are robbed by thugs is  
because the bus service is inadequate Mr. Chairman.  
If they didn't have to walk so far to their homes  
we won't have this problem.

Mcinga : This lack of lights is very serious, Mr. Chairman.  
Why must it always be our people that must suffer.

If this had to happen in another part of town there would really be trouble. This is just another example of how our people get the short end .....

Chairman : Mr. Mcinga, you must stay on the point or I will have to rule you out of order again!

Mcinga : (sits down). I am discussing the point!

Payi : Mr. Chairman, people have come to me and complained about the lights. They are scared to go out at night. They can't go to their meetings and even church!

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, what we must understand here very clearly! This stealing of copper wire is not the fault of the Board (B.A.A.B.). You must educate your own people not to do this.

As far as the bus service from Walmer is concerned, the only real solution is to move those people to Zwide 4 (1).

Qumza : Yes, Mr. Chairman, but our people are suffering now!

Maxakana : To sum up on my report Mr. Chairman. The main thing that we have to remember here is that our children and our people are suffering and they are looking to us to help them. Our recommendations are there. We want to have meetings to tell our people about the copper wire stealing. We want the bus company to

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(1) The resettlement of the Walmer people had been on the cards for a long time but the move, at the time, seemed unlikely in the foreseeable future.

extend its route. For the Walmer school children we want to first get our facts and figures right and then we'll act.

Jacobs : We can put it as a recommendation to ask the bus people to attend the next meeting of the Public Transport and Traffic Committee and the Walmer School bus problem we recommend that it is referred back to the committee first?

(The Chairman asked for, and got agreement on these points and then called for the next report - Social Welfare and Health. Nothing more was said about the request to hold meetings in connection with the copper wire stealing. This item also did not later appear in the minutes of the meeting. This fact was not noticed, nor did anyone query it, when these minutes were confirmed at the May monthly meeting).

Mzamane : (Acting Chairman as Mr. Mcinga was unable to attend the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee meeting):

I move my report, Mr. Chairman.

"PRESENT : Messrs. J. Mzamane, A.L. Makongolo, D. Kula, B.P. Maxakana, Q. Payi, D. Majola, A. Church (Assistant Director) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

#### PROBLEM OF INSUFFICIENT WATER POINTS.

It was reported that residents at Kwazakele were suffering because they have to walk long distances to fetch water.

The Acting Chairman, Mr. Mzamane, raised the question of insufficient water points at Kwazakele and reported that an amount of 50 cents was levied in order that householders should have water taps next to their homes. Those water taps were never completed.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this item be deferred for further investigation and report.

INADEQUATE TOILET FACILITIES.

It was reported that there were no toilet facilities for the public at the New Brighton and Kwazakele Post Offices.

The Committee was very much concerned that there were no public toilet facilities at the above Post Offices or nearby, as this was causing inconvenience and sometimes embarrassment to the people concerned.

RECOMMENDATION:

- (a) That at least two male and two female toilets be provided at New Brighton and Kwazakele Post Offices.
- (b) Further, that the keys of the toilets be kept by the Post Master concerned to avoid misuse of these facilities when the Post Office is closed.

TOILETS AT KWAZAKELE AND ZWIDE.

The Committee also discussed the question of toilets which were sited very far from the dwelling houses at Kwazakele and Zwide townships.

The distance of the existing toilets from the houses may be acceptable when the bucket system is in operation for health reasons. This positioning, however, often leads to hazards having been taken by elderly or married people, especially females, when they go out to these toilets at night.

It is therefore recommended that when waterborne sewerage is installed, serious consideration be given to the placing of toilets as near as possible to the dwelling houses in order to eliminate the abovementioned hazards.

#### NON-WHITE MALE TOILET FACILITIES AT NEW LAW COURTS.

It is reported that due to the absence of a door which has either been removed purposely or broken down, people using this toilet are exposed to the public.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That this matter be referred to the Authorities concerned for attention.

#### BATHROOMS OR TOOL SHEDS NEEDED.

It was reported that residents at Kwazakele would like to have bathrooms and sheds for keeping gardening tools, etc., attached to their houses.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That those who have the necessary means, be allowed to build bathrooms or sheds according to specifications and plans approved by the Engineering Department".

Chairman : There doesn't seem to be any problems with this report

or recommendations? I might just mention a point here. What we (implying the White community) do when we have any problems is simply to get together and do something about it. It sometimes doesn't help to sit and wait for someone else to do it for you.

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, don't! Don't! make comparisons - this is something that gets us very, very, excited!

Jacobs : Just some information about the water point problem, Mr. Chairman. With the installation of water borne sewerage, the problem of insufficient water taps will fall away. As far as the building of bathrooms and tool sheds goes I am not sure what the regulations allow. I recommend that this be referred to the B.A.A.B. for a policy directive.

This last suggestion was accepted as a recommendation, as were the other recommendations as suggested by the committee in its report.

Chairman : The last report now please - Mr. Phambi?

Phambi : I move Mr. Chairman.

"PRESENT : Messrs. B. Phambi (Chairman), S. Sizani, A. Bukashe, B.P. Maxakana, F. Mputa, S. Smith (Area Manager, P.E.) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

#### EXTENSION OF ZWIDE CEMETERY.

The Committee considered the question of ground allotted for burials

at Zwide Cemetery and expressed anxiety over the fact that it became waterlogged after rains, and also over the restricted amount of land available for future burials.

RECOMMENDATION:

- (a) That the Engineering Department be asked to investigate further the problem of unsuitability of waterlogged areas at the Zwide Cemetery with a view to remedying the situation.
- (b) That additional suitable land be provided for future burials.

MARRIED FEMALES AT ADCOCK HOMES.

The Committee had reconsidered the above matter and decided not to change its previous recommendation which read as follows:

That if an inmate of Adcock Homes gets married to a man who has accommodation, she must leave immediately and join her husband, but when she marries a man with no accommodation she must be allowed to stay there until alternative accommodation becomes available".

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, I am completely and totally opposed to the idea of allowing men to stay in Adcock Homes for single women - because this is what is going to happen. I must differ very strongly with Mr. Phambi. We will have terrible social problems if we allow this thing to go through.

Jacobs : I must support Mr. Mcinga here Mr. Chairman. For a long time now the Board has been asking for this kind of accommodation for single women. Now that we've got it you want something else. You are not being consistent! I can't agree. I plead with this Board, we must be consistent!

Phambi : In summing up Mr. Chairman, I must insist that my committee's recommendations must stand. I am very sorry Mr. Botha did not attend this meeting so that we can get some answers. He was going to give us reports - its here on the agenda! - on certain matters but now nothing!

(As if by ordainment, the Chief Director at this moment puts his head into the room, makes a hand-signal, and was about to depart again when Mr. Jacobs stops him and a whispered conversation takes place between them. After this conversation Mr. Botha takes a seat at the main table and furiously begins to jot down notes on a piece of paper in front of him).

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, Mr. Botha has agreed to make a statement on some of the points we have on the agenda.

Botha : Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, I am sorry I have to rush so much but I have just come back from addressing a meeting in Uitenhage and now I have limited time because I have to be off to another commitment.

The Adcock Homes issue goes back a long, long way. I personally intervened and became involved to get this idea of a place for single women accepted. I had to go to the highest levels gentlemen! If we had to now change our minds it would create a very bad impression and we would probably lose a lot of credibility.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, I am willing to bend in favour of the feeling of the house and in view of the information which the Chief Director has given us.

(Officially this item was later listed as '....The Board had decided not to pursue this item any further in the light of .....').

Botha : The item on the Zwide Cemetery which you have listed is a serious problem. We are faced with the fact that we just do not have enough land available. Land is also expensive. The best land that we have, we have to use for housing and this is why the cemeteries are not always situated in ideal places. I want to suggest that the relevant committee gets together with the Director of Engineering to discuss these problems - the present waterlogged areas of Zwide cemetery as well as the problem of future needs. You know, I think we should start to think very seriously about a crematorium.

The Administration Board has discussed the whole matter of playing facilities in the townships and we have decided that all facilities should be available to all sporting bodies on a non-discriminatory basis (smiles from Kwaru supporters all round). We believe facilities are there to be used by everybody in the African community and we will treat Kwaru and P.E.A.R.B. alike.

There will be certain conditions of letting out these enclosed playing grounds. The sporting bodies will be expected to pay a relative fee for the use of the grounds and also apply and submit a fixture list before they can be allowed to play on these grounds.

I also want to appeal to the sporting bodies not to overplay and damage the surface of the grounds. The sporting bodies will also be expected to do something in the way of maintaining these grounds in good condition.

As far as the last item - the free movement of Africans - is concerned, I don't have enough information yet but I will speak on this later.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Botha goes, I want to thank him for the fine decision taken by the Cape Midlands Administration Board in solving the problem of playing facilities for the residents of our township. The Chief Director performs like a diplomat!

(At this point the Chief Director leaves the room smiling and in a great hurry).

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, I know it is quite late already (the meeting had been in progress for three hours already) but there was talk about trying to get some relief for our people from the effects of the increased rentals. Could the chairmen of committees perhaps have a meeting with the Chief Director about this?

Chairman : You are right Mr. Phambi, it is late and this point is not on the agenda - can you introduce it for proper discussion next time?

Meeting No. 24 : 12th May 1975

The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Kwaford, New Brighton on Monday, 12 May 1975 at 6.00 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

A G E N D A

1. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES.
2. CORRESPONDENCE.
3. COMMITTEE REPORTS.
  - (a) Parks, Recreation and Entertainment  
(Chairman Mr. D. Majola).
  - (b) Social Welfare and Health Services  
(Chairman Mr. P.A. Mcinga).
  - (c) Public Transport and Traffic  
(Chairman Mr. B.P. Maxakana).
  - (d) General Purposes and Finance  
(Chairman Mr. M. Phambi).

After Mr. Qumza opened the meeting with a prayer, the Chairman asked that the minutes be confirmed.

Chairman : Everything in order?

Phambi : I object very strongly Mr. Chairman, these minutes are not a true reflection of the last meeting. In the first place, point (d) of item number 17.

"17. EXTENSION OF ZWIDE CEMETARY.

The General Purposes and Finance Committee considered the question of ground allotted for burials at Zwide cemetery, and expressed anxiety over the fact that this ground became waterlogged after rains, and also over the restricted amount of land available for future burials.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- (a) That the Engineering Department be asked to investigate further the problem of unsuitability of waterlogged areas at the Zwide cemetery with a view to remedying the situation.
- (b) That additional suitable land be provided for future burials.
- (c) That the Director of Community Services and Labour arrange a meeting of the African Undertakers concerned with the Director of Engineering services to discuss this issue.
- (d) That the feasibility of establishing a crematorium be discussed at the next meeting of the General Purposes and Finance Committee and that they make suggestions thereanent to the next meeting of the Joint Advisory Board".

This was something which the Chief Director just mentioned at our last meeting when he was giving his report.

Jacobs : I think Mr. Phambi is right there Mr. Chairman. But I wonder if they won't consider discussing it at their next meeting?

Phambi : We can do that. Then there is also point 19.

"19. MOTION BY MR. M. PHAMBI.

Mr. Phambi had moved as follows:-

That the Chief Director be requested to arrange a meeting with the Chairmen of Committees to discuss the proposed relief on the impact of the new increased rentals with regard to the low- and non-income groups in the African townships.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Mr. Phambi and the Chairmen of Committees meet and discuss this motion with the Director of Community Services and Labour and the Chief Director".

I never made such a motion Mr. Chairman. I did raise the point at the end of our last meeting.

Mcinga : What ever the position is, Mr. Chairman, I want to know what the next stop on the horizon is. This is an extremely important matter and it must be carried on.

Maxakana : Five Chairmen is not enough to represent 205,000 people. This meeting 'in secret' won't work and the people won't accept it.

Mzamane : I agree with Mr. Maxakana, we are still going to have a lot of trouble on this issue. Certain chairmen are having meetings and this is causing trouble in the Board. This is discrimination against us the other members!

Qumza : Mr. Chairman, I am also not happy about this procedure .....

Chairman : I am sorry gentlemen, I have to call you to order there. You are off the point. We are not discussing the issue, only an item in the minutes. Are the minutes otherwise in order?

Agreed.

Chairman : Can we take the correspondence now? We have three letters. One from the Area Manager, one from the Chief Director's office and one from the Systems Manager of the railways.

"Dear Sir,

re: SUPPLY AND DELIVERY OF PARAFFIN IN P.E. BANTU TOWNSHIPS.

With reference to Item 5 of the Advisory Board's Minutes dated 13 January, 1975 the Board at its meeting of 24 March, 1975 resolved as follows:

- (a) That the P.E. Joint Bantu Advisory Board BE ADVISED that the matter regarding the sale and delivery of illuminating paraffin to traders in P.E. Bantu Townships by Oil Companies, is receiving attention and that the Board's resolution will be conveyed to them.

Yours faithfully,

S. SMITH  
AREA MANAGER".

This letter was noted but Mr. Maxakana also suggested, and this was accepted, that the matter be referred back to the relevant committee for discussion.

"Sir,

GRASSING OF NEW BRIGHTON OVAL.

With reference to your request regarding the repair of the breaches in the wall enclosing the New Brighton Oval, in order to allow the grass now being planted or to be planted, to become properly established, I have to advise that the matter was referred to the Department of Engineering Services who advised on 24 April 1975 that the matter has been attended to.

Yours faithfully,

B.L. BOTHA  
CHIEF DIRECTOR".

NOTED.

"Sir,

PROPOSED REPLACEMENT OF WHITE ASSISTANTS BY BANTU CONDUCTORS ON VEHICLES OPERATING TO AND FROM THE HOMELANDS.

With reference to the sub-committee meeting of the Bantu Advisory Council on 9 October 1974 which was attended by the Road Transport Officer the matter was referred to Management but it is unfortunately not practicable to accede to your request for the employment of Bantu conductors on the passenger vehicles operating to and from the Homelands.

The question of appointing Ciskeians as drivers is still engaging attention.

Yours faithfully,

for SYSTEM MANAGER".

Mcinga : This issue, Mr. Chairman, does not concern me personally, but let it be recorded that this letter is an example of very, very bad writing. I can't make head or tail of what it says and it is riddled with mistakes.

Mzamane : What is this Ciskeians (in the last line) business? Does this mean only Ciskeians?<sup>(1)</sup>

Phambi : (Laughs loudly and derisively. His whole rotund body shakes)<sup>(2)</sup>.

Mzamane : There is nothing to laugh at Mr. Phambi.

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(1) Mr. Mzamane is a Transkeian by origin.

(2) Mr. Phambi is a Ciskeian by origin and a serving member of the Ciskeian assembly.

Qumza : (Very excited). Are they talking about Ciskei or Transkei? I am in the Transkei, they must clarify this!(1)

Phambi : (Wiping tears from his eyes). I am a Ciskeian, so I am not involved Mr. Chairman, but I think we must refer this back to the Transport Committee.

Qumza : This is no joke Mr. Chairman. What we want is fairness. If the Transvaal got this we want it too.

Chairman : I think Mr. Phambi's suggestion is a good one, we must refer this back to the relevant committee and they must take it up again with the Railways Officials.

Agreed.

Chairman : Before we take the committee reports we have the minutes of a special meeting to consider. This meeting was convened by the Chief Director to consult leaders of the African community on the programme for the cutting of the sod for the erection of the new "Dora Nginza" Provincial Hospital at Zwide.

Gentlemen you have the minutes in front of you:

"CAPE MIDLANDS BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARD.

Special meeting convened by the Chief Director to consult with the leaders of the African community on the programme for the cutting of the sod for the erection of the new "DORA NGINZA" Provincial Hospital at Zwide.

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(1) Another Transkeian.

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD ON THURSDAY, 1ST MAY, 1975 AT 9.30 A.M.

PRESENT : Mr. B.L. Botha, Chief Director, Mr. M. Roux, Welfare and Recreation Officer, Messrs. P.A. Mcinga, D. Vinqi, M. Nonco, B.P. Maxakana, Q. Payi, J. Dukada, G. Qumza, P. Ngquba, M.V. Matrose and Z. Solombela.

PROGRAMME FOR THE CUTTING OF THE SOD CEREMONY FOR THE DORA NGINZA HOSPITAL ON MAY 29TH, 1975 AT ZWIDE, 11 A.M.

The Chief Director told the few selected leaders present that the purpose of the meeting was to find out their views about the ceremony which will signify the first development of the new Provincial Hospital for blacks in this area. He said he advised the local Provincial Hospital authorities that it would be fitting to consult with the Black leaders of the community about the programme for this ceremony. He said they have agreed and have asked for a programme to be drawn up and a list of Black important personalities to be invited to this ceremony to be submitted as soon as possible.

After discussing this matter at length the meeting decided to recommend as follows:-

- (a) That Mr. M. Nonco be the Master of Ceremonies.
- (b) Mr. Mr. P.A. Mcinga, Chairman of the Social Welfare and Health Services Committee, speaks on behalf of the Advisory Board and the African Community.
- (c) That Chief K. Ntsele, a relative of late Sister Dora Nginza, also speaks.
- (d) That Matron Florence Peter of the Livingstone Hospital, speak on behalf of the African nurses.
- (e) That Loyiso Secondary School and Sithembile Higher Primary School Choirs render musical items at this ceremony.

- (f) That Kwazakele High School, Veeplaats Higher Primary School and Garret Higher Primary School be invited to send their senior pupils to this ceremony.
- (g) That a nurse's choir also perform at this ceremony.
- (h) That a banner bearing the name of Sister Dora Nginza be hoisted on a machine to mark the occasion.
- (i) That tea and cakes and cool drinks be served to the dignitaries present in a beer garden style enclosure.
- (j) That about 50 Black dignitaries including Advisory Board members and school principals be invited.
- (k) That Bantu constables of the B.A.A.B. be on duty to usher dignitaries to their seats and also control people at this ceremony.
- (l) That all school children be supplied with cool drinks and cakes.
- (m) That school principals concerned supply the number of pupils and teachers who will require refreshments at this ceremony".

Mzamane : Why don't we know anything about this meeting? Or were only special people invited? Should this thing not first have gone to the Social Welfare and Health Committee? This creates a very bad impression! Something is going on behind our backs. I was asked in the market about this but I did not know anything to tell the person. We are just rubber stamps! But we are supposed to represent the people!

Nonco : I think I can explain to Mr. Mzamane Mr. Chairman. It was a question of the time factor. We heard about

this from the Provincial authorities at a very late date. Mr. Botha then invited all those people that were available or who they could get hold of.

Mzamane : Thanks for the explanation, Mr. Nonco. I accept.

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, I would like to appeal to the members of the Board for ideas - because at this function I will be representing the whole community.

Solombela : Mr. Chairman, I have to just point out that in point  
(Secretary) (d) of these minutes Matron Florence Peter was going to speak on behalf of the nurses but the hospital (Livingstone) has notified us that she won't be able to do it anymore.

Qumza : If (d) falls out are we now 'privileged' to replace this speaker.

Phambi : Point of order!

Qumza : We don't want things done for us, but with us! This is our hospital! We must decide! I am sick and tired of this!

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, this attack is not called for. This lady (Matron Peter) has simply already been earmarked for a bigger occasion elsewhere.

Qumza : I want to know where the secretary got this information. We won't be bluffed!

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, let me try to put this matter straight. In the first place, the arrangements are being made by the Province not the Board.

In the second place, they control their own staff.

This Board has been invited to take part in the proceedings. The point is not whether the Board is going to play a major or a minor part!

You can have your reservations about the arrangements, but be objective!

Mcinga : Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of this Board. I think the issue is still clear - we don't want things done for us! What we .....

Chairman : I have to stop you! Don't raise political issues all the time! I rule you out of order! The Provincial Administration is building this hospital. It will be run by Africans. You should be thankful and feel privileged. Don't upset people. Matron Peter for example is a brilliant woman - don't upset her chances.

Now if there are no real problems with the arrangements for this ceremony, we must get on with the other business of this meeting.

Parks?

Majola : I move my report Mr. Chairman.

"PRESENT : Messrs. D. Majola (Chairman), M. Nonco, B.P.  
Maxakana, P. Ngquba, M. Roux and Z. Solombela  
(Secretary).

#### FLOODLIGHTS FOR CENTENARY HALL.

The Committee discussed the question of floodlights for the Centenary Great Hall.

It was reported that innocent people were being attacked by thsothisisnear this hall due to the fact that the area is very dark at night.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That provision be made in next year's estimates for the erection of floodlights around the Centenary Great Hall.

#### HOOLIGANISM AT BOXING TOURNAMENTS.

It was reported that hooliganism was on the increase at the Centenary Great Hall in the evenings, particularly during boxing Tournaments.

Many people have complained that windows of their cars have been smashed and tape recorders and radios stolen from their cars outside the hall during the boxing Tournaments.

They felt some positive steps should be taken to remedy this problem.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That promoters be responsible for the protection of cars outside and also should tighten up security at this hall during boxing tournaments and big functions.

That the Cape Boxing Board be asked to consider the question of allowing boxing Tournaments to be held only in the afternoons next year in order to safeguard the lives of innocent people who attend such tournaments, particularly the White officials and school children.

WALL AT ZWIDE STADIUM.

The Committee also discussed the question of the wall around the Zwide Sports Stadium which is low and as a result many people are able to watch matches from outside.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this matter be deferred pending a report from the Chairman of the Committee and the Welfare and Recreation Officer".

Mcinga :       The danger lurking in the darkness caused by a lack of lights at the Centenary Hall can't be emphasized too much Mr. Chairman. The Centenary Hall is the hubbub of Port Elizabeth and this is the very place where the safety of our people should be ensured.

As far as this hooliganism is concerned - is this atomic age I ask for an investigation. Why are the mores, the folk-lore of our people being broken down? We must look for the source, the reason.

Chairman :     This kind of thing happens in all races. We find it amongst my people too.

Payi :         I agree with the Chairman. This happens in all races, but the situation here is shocking, shocking! This is giving Port Elizabeth a bad name.

Phambi :       I take issue with the recommendation that the promoters should be held responsible for the protection of cars outside the hall. They are only responsible for the boxing and what goes on inside.

Chairman : It will be wise to refer this matter back to the committee. I think they can also take it up with the promoters to see if a solution can be found.

Jacobs : It is O.K. to refer the lighting problem to the Engineering Department Mr. Chairman. They can see to it.

Maxakana : Just lighting won't solve all the problems. And in any case the Engineering Department is very scarce. It's a very difficult department that!

Qunza : We must have access to the departments if we want to get things done Mr. Chairman, they should be here.

Chairman : I'll tell you a little of my experience. We<sup>(1)</sup> went out and got floodlights for the Westbourne Oval. We simply went around and begged for donations, you know.

Jacobs : There is no need to have all the departments here. You can always reach them through me. They all get all the agendas. But I do agree that all the heads should attend these meetings.

Chairman : Are we all agreed? Do you accept the other recommendations of this committee?

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(1) The Chairman is on the executive of the White athletics provincial body.

Can we have the next report please. Social Welfare.

Moinga : I formally move my report Mr. Chairman.

"PRESENT: Messrs. P.A. Moinga (Chairman), J. Mzamane,  
S. Smith (Area Manager, P.E.).

#### OVERCROWDING IN TOWNSHIPS.

The Committee discussed the question of overcrowding which exists in the townships, which is causing serious domestic problems.

#### RECOMMENDED:

That the Bantu Affairs Administration Board in addition to its present housing programme, permit as an emergency measure, the erection of shacks on serviced sites and to impress upon the Department the critical need to establish a home ownership scheme<sup>(1)</sup>.

#### FACILITIES AT THE MUNICIPAL ABATTOIR.

The Committee expressed concern at the bad state of the Restaurant set aside for use by the Africans who attended the Municipal abattoirs and objected to the sign "Native Eating Room".

#### RECOMMENDED:

That the Bantu Affairs Administration Board use its influence to persuade the City Council to improve conditions at the above-mentioned Restaurant set aside for use by Africans<sup>(1)</sup>.

P.A. MCINGA  
CHAIRMAN."

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(1) These recommendations go through a very important 'filtering' stage before they appear in this form on the agenda of the monthly meeting. The meeting that led to this report was dealt with in detail in Chapter 11 - Strategies II, Extra-Boardroom Activities (continued). (pp. 234 - 237).

Phambi : This is a good recommendation Mr. Chairman, but does it fall under Social Welfare. We are discussing the question of shacks and I think this issue does not fall under your (looking at Mcinga) portfolio, but mine.

The B.A.A.B. has made some sites available, but they don't encourage the building of shacks.

Mcinga : I am inclined to concede Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of this Board, that I may be touching here on the affairs of the General Purposes Committee or for that matter, on a number of others as well. (Warming to his theme Mr. Mcinga set about presenting a great oration, well articulated, with all the listeners quiet).

But! Is he (points at Phambi) aware of the dire situation that confronts us? Is the B.A.A.B. aware? We have a situation where:

Number one - (counts on his fingers) people are sleeping in derelict cars!

Number two - there are up to twenty-one people living in the same house!

Number three - we are faced with a waiting list of 6000!, 6000!!

We need, gentlemen, immediate measures! Human behaviour is on the march! If we don't allow people to build shacks we are going to be confronted with a situation too terrible to contemplate!

(He sits down with a flourish).

Phambi : Mr. Mcinga misunderstood me - I am not quarreling with the issue, I am simply concerned with dealing with this matter in its proper place. And I still want to know, are there not already such sites available?

(Mr. Mcinga immediately jumped back into the fray. An extended, but disorganised exchange took place between himself and Mr. Phambi. The Chairman eventually intervened and the two councillors decided to agree that the issue was the important thing and that the wording of the recommendation would have to change and must stress the urgency of the position).

Jacobs : Mr. Chairman, we are aware of the problem. I can assure the members that we are very worried! But we can't rush things. We must plan first. We can't rush things. Services must be provided first. On the 1st of January 1976, 1400 houses will be started in Zwide. The problem is we also have to contend with red-tape and funding.

Phambi : The Deputy Director has not touched on the emergency resolution - the urgency of the matter.

Jacobs : I promise we will make more sites - in addition to what we already have - available.

Mzamane : There is still also the problem at the abattoir, Mr.

Chairman. At the cafe there we can't go inside, we have to point through the window for what we want. Then there is also the sign 'Native Eating Room'.

Bukashe : We as Africans hate to be treated as sub-humans. We don't always want to delve in the realms of politics, we are not a political body. But we can express ourselves. Place that on record!

Phambi : It is not so much a question of the tags, as doing away with petty apartheid in general, Mr. Chairman. Take the O.K. Bazaars. Mostly Blacks buy there - but we can't have a cup of tea there!

Mcinga : May I sum up Mr. Chairman? What we want is that we do something immediately. We must put our heads together. We must show people we are not just puppets. Accept the Africans as human beings!

These discussions were eventually reflected in the minutes of this meeting. The 'Abattoir' discussion was reflected in the original form of Mr. Mcinga's report, whereas the 'overcrowding' discussion was reported on as follows:

"The Board discussed the question of overcrowding in the townships, which has resulted in serious domestic problems.

RECOMMENDED:

- (1) That the existing shack site be extended to relieve the deteriorating situation.
- (2) That a number of sites be set aside for home ownership".

Chairman : Public Transport and Traffic?

Maxakana : I move Mr. Chairman.

"PRESENT: Messrs. B.P. Maxakana (Chairman), D. Majola, M. Nonco,  
P. Ngquba, M. Roux and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

#### CONDITION OF RAILWAY BUSES.

The Chairman reported that he had received complaints from the passengers that conditions in these buses were disappointing and needed investigation. The seats were hard and not suitable for long journeys.

There were no rest rooms along the route and there were no toilet facilities provided for the commuters.

It was also reported that some buses did not stop at stations and there was no proper control of luggage.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That a meeting be arranged with the Railway bus officials to discuss the above complaints.

#### LIST OF STREET NAMES FOR ZWIDE 4.

The Committee considered the above item and decided to recommend as follows:

That first preference be given to all present and past members of the Bantu Advisory Board and other prominent people in recognition of their services to the African Community.

That the Secretary of the Board be delegated to furnish a list of names suitable for this purpose at the next meeting of the committee for approval.

SCHOOL BUS FOR WALMER.

That this matter be deferred for a thorough investigation into the legality of a private bus service for school children from Walmer.

B.P. Maxakana,  
CHAIRMAN."

The only item in this report to evoke any discussion was the one concerning street names. Mr. Phambi objected to the suggestion that first preference should be given to all present and past Advisory Board members, saying that the public should be considered. He also took issue with the recommendation that the secretary should be delegated to furnish a list of names for possible use. The Board supported him on both counts and the Chairman instructed the secretary to change the recommendation accordingly. (For some reason this item was omitted altogether in the typed minutes of this meeting).

Chairman : The last report please.

Phambi : I move Mr. Chairman.

"PRESENT: Messrs. M. Phambi (Chairman), S. Sizani, B.P. Maxakana, J. Mzamane, S. Smith (Area Manager, P.E.) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

PLEA FOR REPAIRS TO RED LOCATION.

The committee discussed the question of dilapidated conditions of houses in the Red Location.

RECOMMENDED:

That the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board give special attention to the repair of doorsteps, doors, window frames and roofs in the Red Location.

REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION OF FREE MOVEMENT OF LABOUR WITHIN BOARD'S AREA.

The Committee discussed the question of free movement of African labour within the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board's Area.

It was reported that the position of unemployment among Africans within the Board's Area was serious, and many able bodied young men were forced to leave their small towns and villages and come to look for employment in the bigger towns.

The Advisory Board members were given to understand that with the establishment of Bantu Administration Boards, free movement of workers from within the Board's area would take place. However, due to lack of accommodation in the Singlemen's Quarters and the fact that policy does not permit lodging accommodation such free movement does not exist.

RECOMMENDED:

That the Bantu Affairs Administration Board permit single lodging accommodation where available to be re-introduced until such time as Singlemen's Hostel accommodation becomes available.

M. PHAMBI.  
CHAIRMAN".

But in moving this report Mr. Chairman, I want to recommend right away that we post-pone the discussion until Mr. Botha is here, otherwise we are wasting our time and won't get the answers we want.

Chairman : Mr. Botha is away working on affairs of the B.A.A.B. He is a very busy man these days. He is now working for your benefit somewhere else.

Jacobs : (A bit agitated). In any case why can't I answer to this. I know all the answers!

Phambi : I am not belittling you, Sir. The case was just that Mr. Botha asked to be present at these discussions.

Chairman : So would you prefer to defer the discussion on these points?

There was general agreement to this - a contributing factor possibly being that the meeting had been in progress for much longer than usual.

COMMENT:

The familiar 'while the cats away .....

' syndrome was again very apparent in this meeting.

Members took very strong stand-point on human rights issues.

There were indications that, occasionally at least, councillors were turning an old bogy, meeting procedure, to their benefit e.g. Mr. Phambi was very sure to point at discrepancies in the minutes. They also managed to put the bite back into recommendations which had tended to get watered down at the committee stage.

Internal divisions again briefly became apparent. Once it was Phambi/Mcinga on a petty issue and at another time, and more seriously, the Transkei/Ciskei affiliation reared its head.

Meeting No. 25 : 9th June 1975

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14)

An unusually short meeting, because the official business consisted only of one letter in 'correspondence' and two brief committee reports.

Rev. Xinwa was asked to open the meeting with a prayer.

Chairman : Are the minutes in order?  
Are there any other apologies for absence? (The attendance at that stage was very poor, only 11 councillors were present).

Rev. Morija and Mr. Mcinga are 'next door' they will be here just now.

Phambi : What is this thing that they are late for the meeting?

Chairman : They are attending a party for the two players who played for 'South Africa'<sup>(1)</sup>.

Phambi : (Very sarcastic): Thank you very much for this information, Mr. Chairman.

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(1) The chairman was referring here to the two E.P.A.R.B. players who had been selected to play in an invitation South African rugby team against a visiting team. Kwaru players, through this body's non-affiliation to the S.A. Rugby Board did not qualify.

Chairman : Gentlemen can we consider the correspondence now?  
We have a letter here from Mr. Botha's office:

"The Secretary,  
Joint Bantu Advisory Board,  
c/o New Brighton Library,  
Centenary Hall, New Brighton.

Dear Sir,

re: FEASIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING A CREMATORIUM IN THE BANTU TOWNSHIPS.

Arising out of the discussions in regard to the provision of additional suitable land for burials it would be appreciated if the appropriate committee of the Board would, at its next meeting, consider the feasibility of introducing cremation as a means of overcoming the problem of finding more and more land at exorbitant cost to the community, for burial purposes.

It should be borne in mind that if cremation as an alternative to burial is not acceptable the Board will have to consider levying an economic burial fee to meet the cost of acquiring additional land for cemeteries.

Yours faithfully,

B.L. BOTHA.  
CHIEF DIRECTOR".

Maxakana : Mr. Chairman, what is the use if we make any suggestions here? We make resolutions and we make resolutions, but nothing is ever done about the resolutions!

Chairman : Now, I don't think that is quite accurate Mr. Maxakana, if we look back over the last few months you can see that quite a lot of results have been achieved.

Jones : Mr. Chairman, there are too many examples to go into them all now, but improvements at the Bantu Beach, roads in the townships, playing fields, involvement of the Advisory Board in township planning in general, these are some of the examples.

(At this point Mr. Mcinga and Rev. Morija joined the meeting and take their seats to icy stares from Messrs. Phambi, Maxakana and other Kwaru councillors).

Maxakana : A few things were put right after we complained month after month but it is never quick enough!

If officials can attend rugby and rugby parties<sup>(1)</sup> they can do something about our problems as well.

Chairman : Even at the City Council we have to be patient for things to be done. If problems are attended to on an ad hoc basis it leads to a haphazard business and proper planning can't be done.

Jones : Mr. Chairman, here we have to contend with a lot of red tape as well. We have to plan beforehand, get the finance and we have to go through a lot of red tape before actually going ahead with something. We often have to take your recommendations all the way to Pretoria and there Mr. Botha has done a lot for you.

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(1) It was presumed that senior officials Botha and Jacobs were 'next door' and hence not at the meeting.

Phambi : Mr. Chairman, we are not talking here about the influence that 'some' people have with the Government. What we are talking about is the lack of action being taken all the time.

Chairman : Can we get back to the business gentlemen? Can we refer the matter of the crematorium to the relevant committee to discuss?

Agreed.

Chairman : The Education report please.

Moriya : We just ask for a meeting of the School Boards Mr. Chairman, so that we can motivate our reasons for wanting a Teacher Training College here.

Chairman : I think this is straight-forward - Mr. Smith can arrange such a meeting.

Agreed.

Chairman : The last report, Social Welfare?

Mcinga : I move my report Mr. Chairman.

"PRESENT : Messrs. P.A. Mcinga (Chairman), G. Qumza, J. Mzamane, Q. Payi, F. Mputa, D. Kula, P. Ngquba, M. Roux (Welfare and Recreation Officer) and Z. Solombela (Secretary).

POOR CONDITION OF DWELLING HOUSES AT AREA 8 KWAZAKELE.

The committee discussed the complaint that residents have been removed without sufficient notice from Kwaford to newly built houses at Area 8 where it was reported that rooms were very small and have no floors and ceiling. The position has since been rectified and residents have been given a four-roomed dwelling.

RECOMMENDATION:

- (a) That no residents be moved from Kwaford until the houses at Area 8 have been provided with the necessary services and have been declared suitable for human habitation.
- (b) That residents be given two weeks notice before they are removed to the new area in order to prepare themselves.
- (c) That there be a clarification of the scheme under which the area 8 falls - is it a selling or letting scheme?
- (d) That the Bantu Affairs Administration Board should state whether families moved from Kwaford will remain temporary or permanently in Area 8, Kwazakele.

What provision is being made for indigent families?

- (e) That the Bantu Affairs Administration Board should work hand in hand with the Social Welfare and Health Services Departments to avoid any social and health hazards in future.
- (f) That all lodgers at Kwaford be given sites at Gampu Village and also be given 14 days notice before they are transferred to this area.

P.A. MCINGA.  
CHAIRMAN".

Phambi : Here we have it again Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mcinga is infringing on the territory of my committee. When it comes to housing we are dealing with a General Purposes matter and I won't accept this.

Mcinga : When there is a problem and people are suffering then something must be done about it. Here we are dealing with Welfare of the people and my committee is actively trying to help them.

(Probably fanned by the earlier rugby incident, the tempers of the two speakers had quickly risen to a level far above normal. The across-the-floor interchange between the two men became rapid, disorganised and consisted mostly of accusations and subjective comment. It was quite impossible to take down a verbatim record. Both the Chairman and Mr. Jones tried at different times to intervene and settle the dispute).

Jones : Mr. Chairman, if we look at the points on Mr. Mcinga's report we can see that the first few points concern mostly General Purposes, and the last few points, Social Welfare, so both committees have actually an interest here.

Chairman : Seeing that we have the interests of the people at heart and seeing that we have these points in front of us, we might as well deal with them and make a recommendation. Do you want to recommend that the B.A.A.B. react to the points that you have raised?

- Phambi : (Gathering the papers in front of him and getting to his feet):  
With due respect to you Mr. Chairman, I am now leaving this meeting (walks out).
- Mcinga : I don't really care who deals with these problems as long as they are dealt with.
- Maxakana : (As an aside): About just like the question of rugby grounds!
- Mcinga : We have never had a dispute about the rugby grounds,....
- Chairman : I must call you to order, this is not the point being discussed!
- Payi : (In switching the conversation back to mundane matters he manages to break the tension). Mr. Chairman when we look at these houses that the people are being moved to. They are houses without floors, these people have to live under the worst possible conditions<sup>(1)</sup>.
- Jones : (Also by now, red-faced and worked up by the discussion) When we gave people cement floors they didn't want them, they said they would rather put their own floors in. You mustn't dramatise things!
- Mzamane : I must support Mr. Payi there Mr. Chairman. This policy of houses without floors is driving us back to the bush.

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(1) For Mr. Payi this constitutes a very powerful statement.

Chairman : I think we must refer this back to the committee. Get Mr. Phambi's committee into this as well and discuss the matter with the B.A.A.B. so that we can find a solution to these problems.

Agreed.

COMMENT:

With the rugby dispute as background, the intra-Board dispute between Mr. Phambi and Mr. Mcinga came strongly to the fore in this meeting. A contributing factor was the fact that the two most senior administrative officials, Mr. Botha and Mr. Jacobs were absent.

---oOo---

With the 9th June, 1975 meeting, I had achieved my full planned complement of meetings for this study, i.e. 25 meetings representing more than two calendar years of meetings. However, although I had now completed the field stage of my research I attended a few more meetings at the end of 1975 and the beginning of 1976. Although problems were experienced with attendance at some of these meetings and they were not always particularly exciting, their proceedings are recorded in the following pages. This is done because these meetings together represent yet a further step in the changing style and strategy adopted by the Advisory Board members.

Meeting No. 26 : 8th December 1975

The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Kwaford, New Brighton on Monday, 8 December 1975 at 6.00 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

After the usual formalities were completed the chairman explained that the attendance did not constitute a quorum and the minutes of the previous meeting (10th November, 1975) could hence not be confirmed. The meeting could however discuss the business at hand, should they so wish. This suggestion was agreed to.

The first item to be discussed was the problem of traffic congestion at the 'Bantu Beach'.

It was reported that Mr. Smith, Traffic Superintendent of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board was trying to solve the problem and his department was planning to make a one way road which would start, immediately adjoining the western boundary of the camping area at Wells Estate and would continue to the inter-section of the interchange at Bluewater Bay Drive.

To prevent vehicles from entering the incorrect side of the dual carriage roadway a facial barrier would be erected and a curve in the roadway immediately prior to entering the inter-section would be provided to slow down traffic.

All vehicles travelling towards Grahamstown area together with the normal bus flow would be permitted to leave on the existing road at St. George's Strand interchange.

The Board accepted the committee's recommendations that:

the introduction of a one-way street to ease traffic congestion at the Bantu Beach be accepted;

the bus company be requested to see that buses are filled from the nearest point of departure, and the first bus which is full to leave immediately;

the old parking area be widened.

The Education Committee tabled a programme for the building of schools with which they had been supplied by the B.A.A.B. The Board considered the long list of schools that were earmarked for additional classrooms as well as the plans for two new schools due to be built. Provision had been made on the capital programme for a further four new schools

during 1976/77.

This sign of progress was appreciated by the members present and the report was officially accepted. The Board recommended that the B.A.A.B. be 'highly commended for its progressive school building programme'.

Mr. Phambi's General Purposes and Finance Committee Report contained two items. The first was a request that the Joint Bantu Advisory Board should be supplied with all information regarding the allocation of church sites as well as the number of sites available. This was necessary as members received enquiries in this connection which they could not answer.

The second point and also the last of this rather brief meeting, was a request for the clarification on conditions of home ownership in urban areas. As Mr. Botha was not present and hence could not provide the information required it was recommended that the Chief Director should be asked to give guidance on this matter.

The Chairman conveyed his Christmas wishes to the members and Mr. Majola replied on behalf of the Board.

Meeting No. 27 : 19th January 1976

The Ordinary Meeting of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Kwaford, New Brighton on Monday, 19 January, 1976 at 6.00 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

Due to problems encountered with attaining quorums for meetings at the end of 1975, the business for this meeting was listed as the confirmation of the minutes of the meetings of 10th November and 8th December 1975 as well as matters arising from these minutes. Mr. Smith was also scheduled to report on two matters.

Having confirmed the minutes in principle the chairman asked Mr. Smith to present his reports before the Board would deal with 'matters arising'<sup>(1)</sup>.

Smith : Mr. Chairman, in the first place, I can report that Mr. Botha met with the five committee chairmen to discuss a plea for the reduction of rentals for former Kwaford residents at the new houses built at Kwazakele and Zwide. It was resolved at this meeting that the Chief Director would provide all members of the Board with a report on the new rentals.

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(1) Only those items from the minutes which evoked discussion will be listed in this record of the meeting for this comprised the meeting.

I also have to report, Mr. Chairman that vandals have damaged pegs which are used for surveying the new Golf Course for Africans at Kwazakele. As a result of this the development of the Golf Course has been seriously hampered.

The Abakhwethas (Sic) who had erected their huts in the area have been ordered to move elsewhere, but Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, this is a communal responsibility and I would very much like to address a public meeting of parents to explain the situation.

Maxakana : We need a public meeting Mr. Chairman. We must in any case get a chance to report back to the people.

Chairman : Would you like to accept a recommendation that positive steps be taken to curb vandalism at the new Golf Course? The details can be decided upon when you discuss the matter with Mr. Smith.

Agreed.

Maxakana : Just something about that other report Mr. Smith gave us Mr. Chairman. More and more now we are getting this thing of private meetings of the Chief Director with some of the committee chairmen. Mr. Botha is getting the views of these few men on matters affecting the lives of all the residents of the townships - this is unfair. This is why we have this Board - to discuss matters fully in front of all the members. I think in future all matters affecting the residents in this township must be discussed here, at a full meeting of the Advisory Board.

Ngquba : I want to support Mr. Maxakana there Mr. Chairman.  
We are all members of this Board but now we are  
left out of it. We don't know what is going on.

Chairman : Gentlemen, we have to discuss matters arising from  
the minutes, can we get to that now please? First  
the minutes of 10th November 1975. Are there any  
matters you wanted to discuss there?

Maxakana : Point 5 on page 3<sup>(1)</sup> Mr. Chairman:

"5. REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION ON CONDITIONS OF HOME  
OWNERSHIP IN URBAN AREAS.

The General Purposes and Finance Committee discussed  
this item and felt that the urban Africans were not  
happy with the new conditions of home-ownership to be  
introduced in the urban areas.

Particularly, the statement made by Mr. van Onselen  
of the Department of Bantu Administration, that it  
will be an additional condition that every Bantu who  
wishes to take part in the houseownership scheme, will  
have to identify himself with his appropriate homeland,  
and will have to provide a certificate of citizenship  
of his homeland.

RECOMMENDED:

That the Chief Director be asked to give guidance on  
this matter".

This is a cruel regulation. How can people be forced  
to take up citizenship of a homeland?

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(1) Mr. Maxakana was in fact referring to an item from the minutes of  
the meeting of 7th December 1975, but the chairman let him go.

Many of our people here don't have another home. They live here! And they want a house here!

Chairman : Mr. Maxakana, we can't discuss this here. We have to get the information from Mr. Botha first. Incidentally I read a nice article about this in Drum<sup>(1)</sup> - you might want to look at it.

Smith : Mr. Maxakana, you'll get your answer at the next committee meeting.

Phambi : Item 12 on page 5, Mr. Chairman<sup>(2)</sup>.

"12. PROPOSED REVISION OF SYSTEM OF ADVISORY BOARDS/  
URBAN COUNCILS:

The General Purposes and Finance Committee discussed this matter and felt that when the system of urban representation is revised consideration should be given to the question of granting Africans direct representation to the decision-making body of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

RECOMMENDED:

That the principle of direct representation on the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board by elected African representatives be considered and approved".

Here we have a definite recommendation from a meeting almost three months ago and we are still waiting for an answer! We never hear anything further about our recommendations!

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(1) An English language magazine for Blacks.

(2) Mr. Phambi switched to the minutes of the 10th of November 1975 meeting.

Chairman : You must remember Mr. Phambi, that Christmas has intervened. Officials can't make decisions at that time and keep in mind that there is a lot of red tape and all the red tape is slow.

Maxakana : If it isn't Christmas it's something else, there is always an excuse.

Chairman : Gentlemen, we can't decide on this matter of direct representation here in any case because it is a semi-political matter. This is something that should be directed to the B.A.A.B.

Maxakana : Look at points 11 and 13<sup>(1)</sup> as well:

"11. PLEAS FOR REDUCTION OF RENTALS FOR FORMER KWA-FORD RESIDENTS AT THE NEW HOUSES BUILT AT KWA-ZAKELE AND ZWIDE.

The General Purposes and Finance Committee discussed the new rentals for new houses at Kwazakele and Zwide which have been taken over by former residents of Kwaford.

It was reported that rentals at the 87 new houses at Kwazakele were R11,60 per month and at the new houses at Zwide were about R15.

RECOMMENDED:

That this item be referred to a meeting of the four Committee Chairmen with the Chief Director on Tuesday, 11 November 1975".

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(1) Also from the November meeting.

"13. SPECIAL LEVY ON LOCAL SHOWS PROMOTED BY WHITES:

The Welfare, Recreation and Health Committee discussed the question of the 10% levy on shows promoted by whites in the Centenary Great Hall.

RECOMMENDED:

That this item be referred to the meeting of the Chief Director with the four Committee chairmen on Tuesday, 11 November 1975".

All the time now we get this - "referred to Chief Director".

I propose that we deal with the agenda here!

Chairman : Nothing can be done by officials here in any case. Only the main Board (B.A.A.B.) can do something.

Smith : We can't discuss this referral to Mr. Botha here Mr. Chairman. We must get it as an item on the agenda first and this can only be done through one of the committee meetings.

Maxakana : With due respect to the Director, I am totally opposed to always referring things to the Director. There are 24 of us elected here to discuss things. The Director is heavily laden with work. Some matters we deal with are urgent; we can't wait for them to be 'referred' all the time. I want an open meeting. These things must be known to the public. We need to report back to the people!

Chairman : That's enough Mr. Maxakana! This is completely off the point!

(Maxakana sits down but mutters something inaudible in Xhosa).

Chairman : Don't be rude to the chair!

Majola : Mr. Chairman, we need a change of heart amongst the policy-makers. This is the time of détente. It is not just a question of the changing of constitutions, the people have to change. But the way things are now we are useless!

Chairman : You are not useless! Your representations are heard. These things that you are dissatisfied with are part of the democratic process. It is the only way to do things in an orderly way. For example, if you keep on nagging like a wife to her husband you will eventually get what you want. Believe me!

(Councillors had apparently now lost interest in pursuing the issue further for the discussion, and the meeting, ended at this point).

COMMENT:

More so than ever before, members of the Board were inclined to tackle issues at a much higher level than the day-to-day civic or administrative affairs. In doing so they tended to move into a field which by official definition could be termed 'political' and councillors were hence ruled out of order.

Part of their frustration possibly also stemmed from the fact that the senior official delegated to these Advisory Board meetings was of a much lower rank than was previously the case. The Chief Director himself used to attend the meetings quite regularly. Then the Deputy Chief Director was seen more often. However, of late Mr. Jones, Assistant Director and even more recently (and more regularly) Mr. Smith an Area Manager was the most senior official at the meetings. Meeting discipline was at its worst when the latter official was officiating.

One possible reason for this 'demoting' of the Advisory Board was that a new 'decision-making' Community Council was already being mooted and that for the time being the Administration was allowing the Advisory Board to die a natural death. As far as members were concerned, the two-year honeymoon with the 'new' B.A.A.B. was over.

Meeting No. 28 : 16th February 1976

The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board was held in the Board Room, Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Kwaford, New Brighton on Monday, 16 February 1976 at 6.00 p.m.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14)<sup>(1)</sup>

Chairman : Rev. Morija, will you open for us?  
(Mr. Smith):

(Rev. Morija said his usual prayer with the theme of 'Give us the necessary guidance and wisdom when we deliberating the affairs of our people').

Chairman : Are the minutes of the previous meeting in order?  
I think we should look at point 4. That was never on the agenda, nor was it ever a formal recommendation.

"4. MEETINGS OF COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN WITH CHIEF DIRECTOR.

Mr. B. Maxakana said he was opposed to the private meetings arranged by the Joint Bantu Advisory Board with the Chief Director in order to obtain the views of the committee chairmen on matters affecting the lives of the residents of the townships.

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(1) Once again Mr. Smith at Area Manager level, was the most senior administrator present. For the first time ever, Coates was absent and hence the position of meeting Chairman also rested on Mr. Smith's shoulders.

He proposed that in future all such matters be discussed fully in a meeting of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board. He was seconded by Mr. P. Ngquba.

RECOMMENDED:

That in future all matters affecting the residents be discussed in a full meeting of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board".

Maxakana : I'm glad you mentioned this point Mr. Chairman because we hav'nt heard anything about it again. I am totally opposed to this system.

Chairman : These meetings (The Chief Director and the Committee Chairmen) serve a purpose Mr. Maxakana. At the last one Mr. Botha explained the rental discrepancies for example - and the committee chairmen who were present accepted this.

Maxakana : I question this very much! We are supposed to represent the people. I will never be a 'yes-man'!

Phambi : I don't think it is wrong to have these meetings but they mustn't be misused and we must get results from them.

Maxakana : If this procedure is changed then we will get feedback!

Phambi : We must all attend these meetings and we don't have to accept anything that we don't want to.

Maxakana : This procedure may be O.K. for some of the 'older people'<sup>(1)</sup> but this won't work for us anymore to-day.

Moriya : Maxakana, 'my son'<sup>(2)</sup>, sometimes if we are in too much of a hurry we don't get the results either. Through the years we have learnt that there are certain ways of getting things done and other ways that don't work.

(At this point the Chairman tried to intervene but without success. Messrs. Phambi and Maxakana entered the fray again and were at cross-purposes as to the procedure which should be adopted. The Chairman totally lost control of the meeting, which eventually led to chaos. Under these circumstances it was quite impossible to record verbatim. The debate, if it can be called that, lasted a total of 24 minutes and eventually ended in a deadlock. The Chairman finally coaxed the participants into proceeding with the business of the meeting. The activities up to this point were later recorded in the minutes as follows:

"1. CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES:

Minutes of the monthly meeting held on Monday, 19 January were confirmed, subject to the deletion of the item dealing with meetings of Chief Director and Committee Chairmen".)

- 
- (1) An oblique reference to Rev. Moriya who very regularly attended these chairmen's meetings.  
(2) Comment on Maxakana's use of the term 'older people'.

The first item on the agenda was an official motion tabled by Mr. M. Phambi.

"NOTICE OF MOTION.

DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED AT BANTU AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE:

That, at the ordinary monthly meeting of the Joint Advisory Board, I will move and submit for discussion the daily difficulties, insults and assaults suffered by the African residents at Port Elizabeth Bantu Affairs Commissioner's Office.

MOTION:

That the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board, after full discussion on daily difficulties, indignities, insults and assaults suffered, daily, by African people; makes an urgent request to the Chief Director, Mr. B.L. Botha to approach the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and present our complaints and seek an immediate relief

SIGNED : M. PHAMBI, MOVER".

Phambi : I'm glad to see Mr. Grové<sup>(1)</sup> here, Mr. Chairman so that he can help us with this problem. The conditions at the Commission's office are just too terrible for words! The officials there treat our people like animals and something must be done - urgently - about this state of affairs.

Grové : I am the representative of the Bantu Commissioner and it is my responsibility as representative and as the liaison officer for our department to rectify

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(1) Bantu Urban Areas Commissioner.

such matters. If you can just come to me, we can investigate the situation and discuss and try to solve your problem.

Chairman : I think this would be the correct procedure - first go to this department (Bantu Commissioner's Department) and try to resolve your differences and then you can bring it to the Board. Just arrange a time with Mr. Grové and then you can discuss the whole matter. O.K.?

Phambi : I accept.

(This point of discussion was not reflected in the eventual minutes of this meeting).

The next item on the agenda was a letter, under 'correspondence', from the acting Chairman, Mr. Smith's office:

Sir,

re: GENERAL REBATE FOR PENSIONERS.

I refer to item 10 of the minutes of the meeting of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board held on 7 July 1975.

The Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board discussed the above matter at its meeting held on 26 January 1976 and resolved:

- (1) That representations BE MADE to the Department of Community Development to increase the sub-economic limit regarding

monthly income from R30 to R50, as this limit has not been altered since the early 1950's and bears no relation to reality.

- (2) That the matter regarding a general rent relief for old age pensioners who earn very little and have no working children or paying lodgers BE REFERRED to the Ad Hoc Committee of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards.
- (3) That all applications for rent relief BE CONSIDERED strictly on merit with due consideration of the total family income.
- (4) That only pensioners or other unemployable people with no dependants who earn less than R30 per month BE REQUIRED to move to the residential areas set aside for indigent people.
- (5) That pensioners or other unemployable tenants becoming so while occupying a Board house and having minor children or other non-working dependants, earning less than R30 per month BE PERMITTED to remain in such house and that the rental in respect thereof BE REMITTED by the Board, provided, however, that if there are working children living in the same house, the incomes of such children be taken into account in determining the ability or otherwise of such family to pay the rent.
- (6) That a survey BE CONDUCTED as soon as possible in respect of -
  - (a) the number of old age pensioners and indigent cases in the Bantu Townships within the Board's area of administration;
  - (b) the accommodation at present provided and to be provided in future to the persons concerned and that the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in

the interim be requested to advise the Board of its policy regarding old age homes whereafter the matter be referred to the Executive Committee for further consideration.

Yours faithfully,

S. SMITH  
AREA MANAGER".

Phambi : This is not an accurate account of the meeting we had with Mr. Botha.

(At this point Mr. Smith is busy paging through his papers, probably in an attempt to find the original documentation to which Mr. Phambi is referring).

Can I please have your attention, Mr. Chairman!  
This is an important matter! Point 4 there in the letter. We were in fact dead against this removal and .....

Chairman : These are matters that must be taken up with the Administration Board. If you like we can call a meeting with the Executive Committee of the B.A.A.B.

Phambi : An urgent meeting.

Chairman : All right, an urgent meeting and what points do you want to raise?

- Phambi :
1. General rebate for pensioners.
  2. Acute shortage of houses.
  3. And also something which I have in my committee report but we can put it in here. This new condition that people must produce homeland citizenship certificates before they can obtain home ownership in urban areas.

Agreed.

At this stage much of the interest in the meeting was on the wane and the various committee reports were dealt with in a routine manner. Without exception the various recommendations of the committees were accepted by the Advisory Board.

The topics covered were the following:

Rev. Morija's Education Committee:

Inspection of school premises with the purpose of repairing school toilets and levelling of school grounds.

Rev. Majola's Welfare, Recreation and Health Committee.

1. Training facilities for Black public health nurses.
2. Bantu Beach facilities - improvements.
3. Renovations at New Brighton Oval.
4. A new site for abaKwethas (sic).
5. Public toilets at local Post Offices.
6. The building of a higher concrete wall at Wolfson Stadium.

Mr. Maxakana's Public Transport and Traffic Committee.

1. Increase of fares for railway buses.
2. The problem of playing in the streets.
3. Road repairs and dangerous intersections in the townships.

Mr. Phambi's General Purposes and Finance Committee.

1. Improvements of sewerage system.
2. Conditions of home-ownership in the urban areas.

Mr. Phambi had already raised this point earlier in the meeting. He also reported that attempts were being made to petition the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, to receive a deputation to present its case against homeland citizenship as a condition for obtaining home ownership in the urban areas.

Also the attention of the Prime Minister would be drawn to the physical impossibility of urban Africans financing housing projects in the Bantu Affairs Administration Board's areas.

Mr. Phambi also reported that a Cape Conference of all homeland political bodies would take place during May 1976 and would collect data on important matters affecting the lives of the urban Africans.

Mr. Phambi suggested that the Board should recommend that a goodwill message be sent to the Cape Conference during its session.

This was accepted.

Meeting No. 29 : 2nd March 1976

This the last meeting to be attended for purposes of this study, was a special meeting called for the purpose of explaining the capital and revenue estimates for 1976/77 to the members of the Board.

ATTENDANCE REGISTER : (See Table 2, Chapter 14).

Each of the councillors had been issued with a bulky (34 pages) document containing the estimates for 1976/77. This document is not reproduced here as it would probably serve no purpose but also because it has stamped on each page, in bold black letters, PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION. The document comprised highly technical details of the Bantu Administration Fund Revenue Account, General Account, Expenditures and Estimates.

Mr. Botha explained the main points of the estimates, emphasising the provision that was being made for "adequate housing and school accommodation for the future". Members were continually invited to comment and to ask questions concerning the estimates. But except for inconsequential queries by Mr. Mcinga and Rev. Morija most of the councillors present did not seem to grasp enough of the technicalities to ask penetrating questions.

Rev. Morija eventually expressed the Board's appreciation for the manner in which the Chief Director explained the Revenue and Capital Estimates, for 1976/77, and particularly the fact that priority would be given to the provision of adequate housing and school accommodation in future.

Mr. Botha further mentioned that all the schemes listed in the Capital estimates had already been approved by the Department of Community Development before they were tabled at the meeting.

At the instigation of the chairman the Advisory Board then resolved:

"That the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board's Revenue Estimates as well as the Capital Programme for the 1976/77 Financial Year, as tabled at meeting, BE APPROVED".

CHAPTER 14

STRATEGIES V

Boardroom Activities  
(continued)

Analysis

Theoretical Perspective (see also Chapter 1)

The structure of urban life in general is influenced by the various decisions that individuals make and by the strategies that they adopt. But urban life is also a product of socio-historical factors (Section II) and so the extent of the influence that individuals can have varies greatly.

My accounts of the various meetings are not merely an examination of an interesting but hopeless charade of exchanges between men. The people are concerned (or at the very least, involved) with real problems in an ever changing socio-political environment.

The situation was one of conflict in the sense that hostility was often expressed between or among individuals or groups. (In this case expressed in words). There were also abundant attempts at pacification, conciliation and co-operation, especially from the side of the officials.

The interaction in the Advisory Board cannot strictly be characterised as exchange as most of the transactions between participants were not reciprocal. Perhaps these interactions can more accurately be termed power relations (Blau, 1964) in the sense that the transactions were largely one-sided. They display a pattern which essentially constitutes the structure of the relationships between the participants.

Some of the questions raised by critics of African urban anthropology to date, have had to be kept in mind, e.g.

"Does the African accept his humiliation"? If not, what attempts is he making to change the humiliating conditions?" (Magubane, 1973 : 1706).

If nothing else, I have attempted to answer these questions as far as at least one sphere of Black township activity is concerned. In so doing I also tried to be sensitive to a further Magubane criticism of not avoiding the study of socio-historical determinants of behaviour (see Section II, and Section III - Chapters 5 and 6).

A related, but somewhat more general, criticism is that of Thoden van Velzen (1973) of what he calls the Big Man paradigm. The more active Advisory Board members measure up to Big Man requirements, especially in the sense of Barth's entrepreneurs and Bailey's leaders. The Advisory Board members have access to certain resources and they function as hingenen or brokers (Section IV, Chapter 10).

Unlike Bailey's leaders they try to be the instruments of change. However, this study does not fall wholly within the Big Man paradigm. I have tried not to neglect "The whole subject of resource allocation and drainage by superior political fields ...". (Thoden van Velzen, 1973 :

598). Further, I have not regarded differential access to resources as a starting point for my analysis and hence a 'given'.

I am in agreement with Thoden van Velzen when he suggests that we could start looking at man from the assumption that the pattern of resource distribution in a social community essentially determines the choices and restraints which confront the individual (1973 : 610). If my study can be labelled Big Man anthropology then I may be guilty of 'elite anthropology', but only if the leaders that were the focus of my attention can really be called powerful. Thoden van Velzen is concerned about the exclusive concentration on a few powerful individuals. He would rather that we pose some new questions. As for example, what chances do the 'weak' have to restructure the distribution of resources (1973 : 609). I have in fact addressed myself to this very question.

For the purposes of developing an explanatory perspective and at the risk of being accused of methodological eclecticism, I have opted for analytical tools ranging from systems analysis, through transactionalism as a game of strategy, to communication theory.

I have used a simple framework of systems analysis, as this model (Bailey, 1973) requires a system made up of parts linked to each other in a specific pattern. Importantly, this system is related

to an environment in such a way that if changes occur in the environment, the participants in the system must either change the environment to maintain the status quo or modify the system to suit the new environment. The part of the system which I observed, like other systems, has sets of rules for regulating the interactions of the participants. These rules also prescribe the way in which the people may use the resources in the environment. When participants feel that they are not getting a satisfactory share out of the environment they will be inclined to adopt strategies aimed at rectifying the situation (chapters 11 and 13). These strategies may include attempts to change the rules which govern the participants' interaction as well as their access to resources.

One cannot have a game (in Bailey's or Barth's terms) without goals, winners and losers. But it is important to keep in mind that the definition of each may be by the individual participant, by the role set e.g. the Advisory Board, or by the 'community at large' (this may imply the Black or the White community). The goals of the two main 'teams', the officials and the members, are clearly articulated (see the last section of this chapter - 'Qualitative Perspective'). Objectively the officials must rate as winners. Certainly a large percentage of their own community saw the members as losers. However the members saw themselves as winners. Perhaps not very dramatic winners and perhaps winners only in the 'personal satisfaction' sense, but winners nevertheless.

In this contest we are not dealing with a simple zero sum game but one in which participation alone yields a 'profit' (e.g. contacts gained) even if the 'result' of any match (i.e. meeting or issue) involves no obvious gain for the server (a councillor) and no obvious loss (e.g. a cost or concession) for the receiver (an official). And herein lies a major reason for their continued willingness to play.

Each member's participation in the Advisory Board system is a matter of choice. Without ignoring the effects of the environment (chapter 9) within which these choices are made, it can be said that they are made freely. Once a member has opted for the Advisory Board system he is faced with the rules governing the Board's functions (chapter 8). Again a participant has a choice. He can either participate according to the rules or follow a strategy which to a greater or lesser extent ignores the rules.

Even in following the rules the participant has some degree of choice in the sense that rules can be both constraints and at the same time resources, depending on the use to which they are put. In partly following Bailey's (1973) conceptual framework the focus is on the individual. The individual functions in an environment which he uses and which he may attempt to exploit. The strategy for exploitation depends on the aims of the individual and upon his continual decisions

within the context of his environment. Barth has accepted the concept of choice in analysis and also emphasised the contextual implications.

"..... our central problem becomes what are the constraints and incentives that canalize choices" (1966 : 1)

and

"(the) ..... game is subject to certain rules, which embody the factors affecting the choices made by participants ...."  
(1959 (b) : 15)

The approach which takes the individual as a point of departure ('Methodological individualism', Popper, 1957) has been accused of presenting a picture of man as too "rational and rosy" (Thoden van Velzen, 1973) and of only having an appearance of freedom of choice. However, if we want to understand change (or the lack of it), the perspective of the individual attempting to shape his own life must be adopted. To revert to a study of forms and systems only, be they the products of ideology, history, power-play or economic control, is to lose sight of man, and will once more result in something akin to depersonalised structural-functionalism.

I found it useful to introduce communication theory into the systems model. This was in fact necessary because it was often difficult to visualise Boardroom interaction in terms of a competition as is practi-

cable in game theory. The reason for this was that the two main 'teams' (Members and Officials) in the Advisory Board were not really in the same league. The great difference in status and power put them so far apart that they were sometimes out of reach, even for competition, but they were interacting in the same arena and ensuring that each side lived to fight another day. They did attempt to use each other and their environment in trying to reach certain goals, and this is where communication theory provided an additional tool.

The important role that communication can potentially play in the socio-cultural sphere has been shown by, amongst others, Lakshmana Rao (1966). He has suggested that communication can make change a self-perpetuating process; it can make people at large recognise their own importance in the power structure; it can act as a stimulus to political participation; it can make a government aware of the needs of the public; it can make people aware of what a government is doing (or not doing) etc. Communication also of course, importantly serves to transmit information between individuals and groups.

The channels of communication which members, officials, government and the public used or attempted to use, are illustrated in diagram 7. As was seen in the meetings (Chapter 13 - Strategies IV, Boardroom Activities), as well as in activities outside the council chamber (Chapter 10 and 11 - Strategies I and II, Extra-Boardroom Activities),

a number of strategies were adopted by the different parties in order to employ certain channels of communication. Diagram 7 depicts the actual alternative channels used<sup>(1)</sup>.

Channel (1) comes into operation when members are the source (S) of a message and the public are the direct receivers (R). The channel would be created through interpersonal communication on a person to person basis or through a public meeting<sup>(2)</sup>.

As the press were in attendance at 86% of the meetings observed<sup>(3)</sup> they had a potentially important role to play as channel of communication.

Channel (2) comprised the members acting as the source (S) and the press being, initially at least, the receiver, but intended to be, as far as the councillors were concerned, the channel (C). Channel (2) would run its full course if the issue was contentious enough or if the press reporter gauged it to be worthwhile reporting on. In such a case the channel would run from councillor(S) by way of 2(a) to press (C) and 2(b) to the public who were in this case (R). The implication of course was

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(1) The meeting strategies used to activate these channels are analysed in detail in the last section of this chapter - 'Qualitative Perspective'.

(2) These did not take place all too often for reasons already discussed e.g. Chapters 10 and 11.

(3) See Table 2 in next section - 'Quantitative Perspective'.

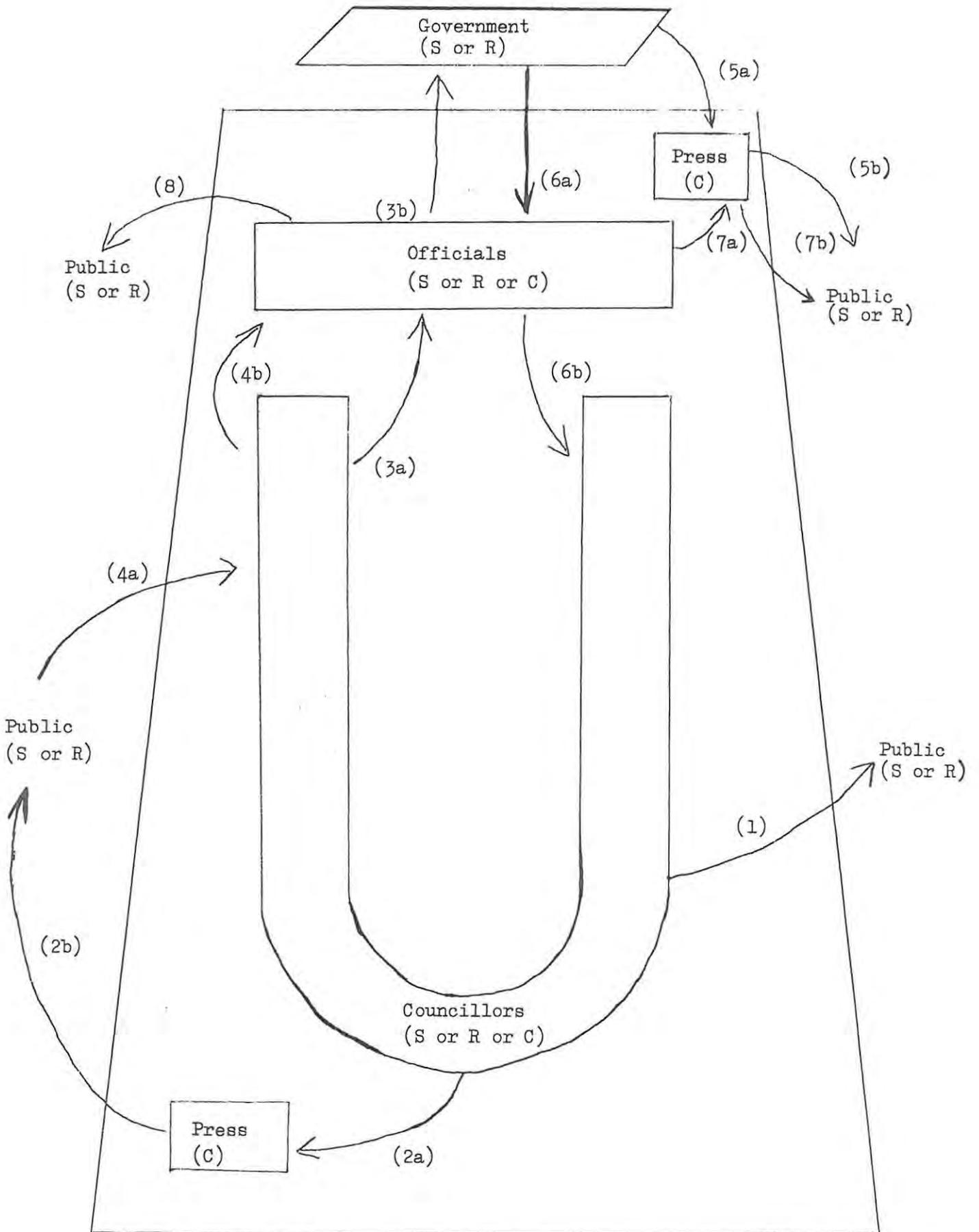


DIAGRAM 7 - Boardroom Communications Model

(S = Source, C = Channel and R = Destination or receiver). In designating the the Press as (C) a passive role is not implied. The press can act as filter or transformer of information.

that the newspaper public categorised under (R) would not only include township residents but also probably and importantly, the officials and eventually the Government. The press itself can of course, and did, play a role of selective communication channel.

Channel (3a), and if possible (3b), would be instituted by the councillors (S) in order to use the officials as not only (R) but as (C) leading to the Government (R). The Advisory Board format was supposed to serve this specific purpose. Whether (3b) was activated or not of course depended on the official concerned and the kind of gate-keeper/controller role he was playing. Their strategic position<sup>(1)</sup> enabled them to act as very selective communication channels and this implied access to particular resources.

Channels (4a) placed the public in the role of source (S) in the sense that they would direct their appeals, demands or complaints to members of the Advisory Board for whom they may or may not have voted, but who were supposed to be their representatives. They expected the members to make possible (4b) to the officials in the role of receivers (R) or, even better, as (C) to the government as (R).

On the initiative of the Government, (5a) or (6a) may have come into play. The press may have been used as (C) to announce changes like

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(1) A position the councillors also occupy as regards their public.

new legislation to the public through (5b). The sequence government (S) ———→ (6a) ———→ officials (C) ———→ (6b) ———→ Councillors (R) may have been employed similarly although in practice this occurred infrequently, if ever. The (6b) communication by itself was normal meeting procedure.

The potential political capital of members was often undercut by the (7a) ———→ (7b) sequence when officials announced a positive change or a 'new deal' for the Black townships - for which councillors may have been at least partly responsible.

The administration also occasionally reached the public, (8), through person-to-person communication or at meetings. The intent was usually to explain or to announce something.

### Quantitative Perspective

#### Attendance.

Meeting attendance tended to fluctuate. At times meetings were well attended and at other times the Advisory Board had difficulty getting a quorum. Contentious issues and meetings held just after Board elections tended to attract a large number of councillors. Apathy, frustration, Christmas and negative environmental conditions (e.g. the

rise of rival township organisations) tended to have a bad effect on meeting attendance. A maximum of 24 councillors, the total Board membership, could attend meetings. Officials ranging from the Chief Director, Director, Deputy Directors and Assistant Directors, to lesser officials like superintendents (as observers) were also in attendance. The White chairman and Black secretary made up the rest of the Advisory Board proper. One or more members of the press and Bantu Commissioners, Bus Company officials, Information Department officers made up the rest of the varying pattern of attendance. The presence of the observer is taken for granted.

The attendance record of all these people as well as the response and reaction rate per meeting is reflected in Table 2. Many more than the maximum of 24 councillors are listed of course, as the observation period stretched over nearly three years during which members gained and lost membership by election, appointment or through leaving town. The secretary, Mr. Solombela attended all 29 meetings and the Chairman, Mr. Coates 27. The Chief Director attended 12 meetings, but he became involved with organising and planning the transition from municipal to B.A.A.B. administration. As the new Chief Director of the whole Cape Midlands area his attendance at meetings of the Port Elizabeth Advisory Board tended to be sporadic. Mr. Jacobs, Director, as a recent appointment to the Port Elizabeth administration only came into the picture as of Meeting No. 10, eventually to attend a total of 11.

Participants	Meetings Attended	TOTAL	Total number of major responses or number of times participated in debate.	Average number of responses per meeting.
Chief Director <sup>(1)</sup>	2,3,6,11,14,15,17,18,20,21,23,29	12	49 <sup>(9)</sup>	4,1 <sup>(10)</sup>
Director <sup>(2)</sup>	10,11,13,15,18,19,20,22,23,24,29	11	32	2,9
Deputy Director	1,2,3,4,7,8,9,10,11,12,14,15,16,17,18,19,21,22,24,25,29	21	24	1,1
Coates	1,2,3,4,5,7,8,9,10,11,13,15,16,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29	25	20	0,8
Assistant Director	1,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,29	27	59	2,2
Phambi <sup>(3)</sup>	1,2,5,7,8,9,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,23,24,25,26,28	21	92	4,4
Mcinga	1,2,3,4,7,9,10,11,12,15,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,28,29	20	48	2,4
Majola <sup>(3)</sup>	1,2,7,8,9,12,13,14,15,16,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29	22	48	2,2
Maxakana	1,2,4,5,6,7,8,9,11,12,13,14,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,28	23	83	3,6
Moriya	1,3,4,5,7,9,10,11,12,13,14,16,17,18,19,21,22,25,27,28,29	21	34	1,6
Sizani	1,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28	26	1	0,04
Payi	1,3,4,6,7,8,9,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25	22	12	0,5
Noudwana <sup>(4)</sup>	1	1	0	0,0
Mputa	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,16,17,18,23,24,25,26,28,29	23	3	0,1
Qumza	1,2,3,4,10,11,12,14,15,17,20,22,23,24,25,28,29	17	12	0,7
Xinwa	1,2,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,15,16,19,25,27	16	7	0,4
Mate	1,3,5,6,7,8,11,12,14,15,16,17,20,21,22,24,27,28,29	19	0	0,0
Zeze	1,3,6,7,8,9	6	1	0,2
Mngeni	1,2,5,6,7,8,11,15,17,18,21,22	12	1	0,1
Dukada	1,2,6,7,9,10,11,12,13,20,21	11	2	0,2
MbnyiseLo <sup>(5)</sup>	1,2,7	3	7	2,3
Nqakuia	1,2,6,7,8,9,10,11,13,14,15,16,18,20,21,22,23,24,25	19	13	0,8
Mpunga	1,7,10,11,12,14,16,19,21,23,27,28	12	1	0,1
Duma	5,8,10	3	0	0,0
Bukashe	3,4,7,10,11,17,18,19,21,23,24,25	12	5	0,4
Mtamo	2,7,8,14,15,19,21,24,26	9	0	0,0
Nonoo	2,3,4,5,7,8,9,14,17,19,20,21,23,24,25,27,28	17	7	0,4
Makongolo	2,11,12,14,15,17,18,19,20,23,27,28,29	13	0	0,0
Kula	2,17,20,21,24,27,28,29	8	0	0,0
Ngquba	17,18,20,21,23,27	6	1	0,2
Soka	11,12,15,16,17,19,21	7	0	0,0
Mngeni (M)	11,12,14,15,17,21,26,29	8	0	0,0
Mazwi	26,27	2	0	0,0
Citashe	26,27	2	0	0,0
Dikimolo	27,28,29	3	0	0,0
Milli	27	1	0	0,0
Gogotya	12	1	0	0,0
Vuna	12,14,15	3	0	0,0
Solombela (Secretary)	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29	29	1	0,03
Press (collectively) <sup>(6)</sup>	2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14(x2),15(x3),16,18,19(x2),20(x3),21,22,23,25,26(x2),27,28	25	4 <sup>(8)</sup>	0,02
'Others' (e.g. Bantu Commissioners, Bus Company Representatives)	1,3,4,6,8(x2),9,10,11(x2),12(x2),13,14(x2),16,18(x2),19(x2),20(x2),24,27,28(x3)	18	4	0,2
Lesser Officials (e.g. Area Managers, and Area Superintendents)	6(x7), 7(x5), 8(x6), 9(x4), 10(x4), 11, 12(x2), 13(x3), 14(x7), 15(x6), 16(x4), 18(x5), 19(x6), 20(x7), 21(x3), 22(x6), 23(x4), 24(x8), 25(x5), 26(x6), 27(x4), 28(x4), 29.	23	0	0,0

TABLE 2 - ADVISORY BOARD ATTENDANCE AND PARTICIPATION (DEC. '72 - MARCH '76)

- (1) Often away on 'official' business.  
(2) Took up his appointment towards the last 2/3 of the research period.  
(3) Both were involved, and injured, in a car accident during the early part of the research period.  
(4) Mr. Noudwana, and others like Messrs. Mazwi, Citashe, Duma et al only held positions as councillors for limited periods during the research.  
(5) Left town after meeting 7.  
(6) Where more than one person within these categories attended, the number is indicated by (x).  
(7) The chairman's routine responses like calling for a report, or asking for discussion etc., were not computed in this figure.  
(8) These responses were unofficial and not part of the formal discussion. They were more in the line of asides.  
(9) Only the major, or important reactions were computed.  
(10) These figures are rounded to the nearest decimal.

Very often the brunt of meeting responsibility fell on the shoulders of the Deputy or Assistant Directors. Whether acting as senior official or not however, they were expected to attend. Hence the high attendance figures of 21 and 25.

As far as the councillors are concerned, the five committee chairmen have the high attendance figures of 21 (Phambi), 20 (Moinga), 22 (Majola), 23 (Maxakana), 21 Moriija. Phambi and Majola's figures would probably have been higher were they not injured in a car accident. Moriija also, was often suffering from poor health. Councillors Sizani (26), Payi (22) and Mputa (23), had the highest attendance figures for ordinary members. Other good attendances were recorded by councillors Mate (19), Nqakuia (19), Qumza (17), Nonco (17) and Xinwa (16). Attendance by other councillors generally was poor and this can only partly be explained through their limited period of membership. Messrs. Mbnyiselo (3), who left town, Ncudwana, Duma, Mazwi, Citashe, Dikimolo, Mili et al, who served on the Board only briefly during the observation period, are such examples.

At least one member of the press usually attended the ordinary meetings of the Board (25). At 18 of the meetings a person from the 'others' category (Commissioners, etc.) was present. After a decree issued by the Chief Director lesser officials (Area Managers, Superintendents) also attended meetings starting with meeting No. 6 when 7 were in attendance. The highest number to attend was 8 at meeting No. 24.

## Responses

In recording the number of responses of participants (Table 2) and by correlating these with the number of meetings attended some idea has been given of how active different individuals were during meetings. Reflected in these statistics are only those reactions (speeches/statements) that were actually recorded as important responses. The routine of directing a meeting by the Chairman, for example, in calling on speakers, was not included as participation in debate.

The active role played by the Chief Director in meetings is immediately apparent. In only 12 meetings his important responses amount to 49 giving a high average of 4,1<sup>(1)</sup>. The highest average was recorded by Mr. Phambi at 4,4 giving some idea of the role he played in the Board. The other Chairmen of committees when compared to other councillors had a high performance rate; Maxakana (3,6), Mcinga (2,4), Majola (2,2), Moriija (1,6). Of the 'ordinary' councillors Mr. Mbnyiselo had the highest average of 2,3 recorded during the three meetings before he left town. Messrs. Ngakuia (0,8), Qumza (0,7), and Payi (0,5) were also quite active. A total of 14 (42%) never uttered an important word during meetings. Of the councillors who did participate, 7 had three or less responses during all the meetings they attended.

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(1) These averages would be much higher were it not for the fact that at and during some meetings responses were for practical reasons not recorded.

By virtue of the nature of their officiating positions at meetings the Director (2,9), Deputy Directors (1,1), Assistant Directors (0,8) and the Chairman (2,2) also had relatively high averages. The press had an interesting 4 responses, but these were unofficial and not really part of the main meeting interaction (see meetings 14 and 19). Representatives from a Bus Company, Bantu Commissioners and others also occasionally attended meetings and became part of the interaction (meetings 19 and 28). The secretary was once (meeting 24) called upon to give information during a meeting. Also in the category with the average (0,0) were the lesser officials who attended meetings only as observers. Actual participation was greater than these averages suggest, as some meetings provided little or no opportunity for people to speak. Occasionally several people spoke at once which meant that no 'significant response' could be recorded, asides, notes, grunts of approval or disapproval, gestures, etc., were not recorded as formal contributions.

### Issues.

It was difficult to categorise the different issues discussed and a compromise had to be found between listing every individual item and grouping them all together. Using mainly the participants identification and labelling as guideline, 24 separate discussion subjects were eventually analysed.

Table 3 lists the main categories of issues and shows the number of times they were raised and in which meeting(s). The discussion subjects for the meetings observed between December 1972 and March 1976 were compared with the available record of meetings held from 1920 to 1971 (see Table 4). Although the latter record is rather superficial because of reasons already discussed (see Chapter 6) and although the issues computed relate to calendar years and not to separate meetings, the comparison with the information of the observed meetings is still useful and interesting.

Five of the 'Bread and butter' issues top the lists with Recreational Facilities constituting 13,8% of all topics discussed, Transport, traffic and roads, 13,5% and Housing, rent, etc., 13,3%, Education and Schooling, 12,5%; Health, Medical, Welfare, 6,6%. Together they constitute 59,7% of all issues discussed during the meetings observed (see Table 3). Comparable figures for 1920-1971<sup>(1)</sup> are Housing (25,0%), Health (8,1%), Transport (4,4%), Education (3,8%) and Recreation (1,3%), for a total of 42,6% (Table 4).

The single category, other than those mentioned, that was most discussed concerned issues revolving around discrimination, race relations, facilities for Blacks (especially in 'White' areas) and re-location. At 7,2% it is only slightly higher than the 6,9% of 1920 - 1971.

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(1) These figures are derived from minutes of meetings not from meetings themselves.

Discussion subjects and issues.	Meetings / Number of Times Topics Raised.																													Total number	Percentage of grand total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29			
Recreational Facilities	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	3	4	1	3	1	0	3	2	1	1	5	4	4	1	0	1	3	0	52	13,8	
Health,Medical,Welfare	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	0	3	0	0	2	2	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	25	6,6	
Education, Schooling	1	3	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	4	3	3	2	2	4	3	0	4	0	0	2	3	3	0	1	2	0	1	0	47	12,5	
Transport,Traffic,Roads	2	2	1	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	4	3	1	1	2	0	0	3	4	1	0	0	4	3	0	3	0	3	0	50	13,3	
Housing,Rent,Halls,Water, Toilets	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	2	0	0	3	5	1	1	4	3	0	3	1	1	0	4	7	2	1	2	2	3	0	50	13,3	
Post,Labour,Trading,Business	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	12	3,2		
Ceremonial functions and receptions	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	2,9		
Elections:Advisory Board and Committees	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1,1		
Funerals, Cemeteries	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0,8		
Press	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0,5		
Non-consultation	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	2,7		
Follow-up on recommendations: Positive/Negative	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	16	4,3		
Discrimination,race relations, facilities,equality, relocation.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	4	1	0	2	2	1	0	1	1	2	0	3	1	3	0	0	0	2	0	27	7,2	
Change:System,regulations, decision-making power	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	15	4,0	
Abakhwetha	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	4	1,1	
Rugby	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	7	1,9	
'Politics'(General)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	1	0	14	3,7	
Public Meetings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	5	1,3		
Meetings Attendance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0,5		
Meetings Procedure	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0,5		
Finance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,3	
Inter-urban conference	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,3	
Referral: To committees, to Chief Director, Chairmen committee.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	1	0	10	2,7
Direct representation, meetings with Minister	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	1,3
	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>																													376	100%	

TABLE 3 - SUBJECTS DISCUSSED DURING MEETINGS  
(Dec. 1972 - March 1976).

Discussion subjects and issues.	Meetings / Number of times topics raised.																	Total number	Percentage of grand total.															
	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936			1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1949-1958 and	1959-1969
Recreational Facilities									1		1																						2	1,3
Health, Medical Welfare	1	3	2	1				1	2		1									1												13	8,1	
Education, Schooling	1							1	2																					1	1	6	3,8	
Transport, traffic, roads		1		1	1							1																			2	1	7	4,4
Housing, rent, halls, water, toilets	2	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	4	3	1	4	1			1	1													6	1	40	25,0	
Trading, business, Post, Labour		1	1		1	1	2	2																						1	1	10	6,3	
Ceremonial functions and receptions				1	1			1						1	1						1												7	4,4
Elections-Advisory Board and committees.																																	0	0,0
Funerals, Cemeteries																															1	1	0,6	
Press								1	1																								2	1,3
Non-consultation	1										1																						2	1,3
Follow-up on recommendations Positive/negative		3	1																														4	2,5
Discrimination, race relations, decision making power	1					2	1	1	2				1													2	1						11	6,9
Change: systems, regulations, decision making						1									2						1	1									1	2	8	5,0
Abakhwetha																					1											1	2	1,3
Rugby																															1	1	2	1,3
'Politics' (General)												1													2						1	4	2,5	
Public meetings		1						1													1												3	1,9
Meetings attendance																																	0	0,0
Meeting procedure															1																		1	0,6
Finance																																	0	0,0
Inter-urban conference	1					1																											2	1,3
Referral: To committees to (Chief) Director etc. Direct representation, meetings with minister.		1	1									1																					3	1,9
(A disparate collection of topics not encountered during later research e.g. live-stock, stokfel, 2nd world war, wagons).	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	1		1						1	1	1	2							1	27	16,9		

TABLE 4 - SUBJECTS DISCUSSED DURING MEETINGS (1920-1971)

GRAND TOTAL 160 100%

Follow-up (or lack of follow-up) on Advisory Board recommendations (compare Table 6) was also often discussed (4,5% of the total). Change of the 'system', of regulations, and the question of decision-making power rated 4,0%. Next highest, at 3,7% were 'political' issues<sup>(1)</sup> even though they were officially forbidden in Advisory Board discussions (1920 - 1971, 2,5%). Trading, business and labour constituted 3,2%. Ceremonial functions like receptions and entertaining of visitors came up on 2,9% of the occasions. Non-consultation (2,7%) and the technique of referral to committees as used by officials (2,7%) were also important topics. In 1920 - 1971 non-consultation stood at 1,3% while committee referral was not an issue at all. Rugby (Kwaru vs E.P.A.R.B.) by itself comprised 1,9% of all topics discussed (1,3% during the early years).

In looking at the meetings in Tables 3 and 4 a cyclical variation in discussion topics can be discerned. For example, rugby became an issue, but sporadically, from 1959-69 onwards. Categories like Education, Transport and Housing displayed a consistently high incidence. Politics tended to increase as did the frequency of issues concerning race relations and discrimination (see graphs (a) - (d) in diagram 8).

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(1) Political issues were officially defined as discussions relating to government policy and legislation i.e. non-'civic' matters.

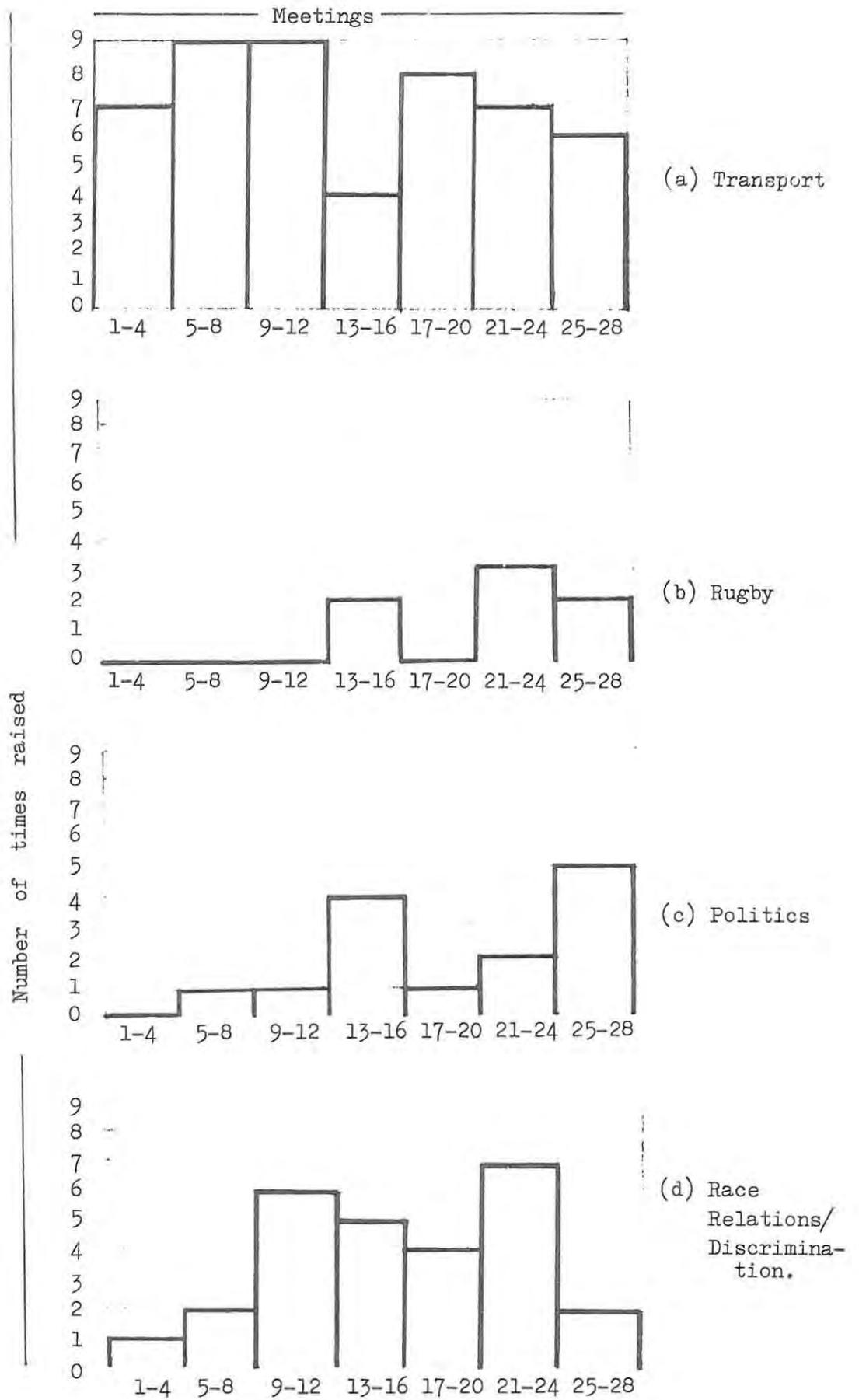


DIAGRAM 8 - GRAPHS SHOWING INCIDENCE OF ISSUES DISCUSSED

(Meeting 29 was not included in order to get groupings of four. No discussion took place at this meeting).

### Strategies.

Finally, and the most difficult of all, the debating strategies used by the various participants at the different meetings were computed. To classify verbal strategies accurately according to type is almost impossible. A very harmless looking statement made in a certain way or with a particular facial expression or gesture may in fact be quite emotional or aggressive. Hence, as far as was possible a speaker's manner<sup>(1)</sup> at the time of speaking was kept in mind and considered together with what had actually been said. Again the statistics suffer a little for those meetings where by reason of the pace of the exchanges or for other reasons, individual responses could not be recorded.

Eventually 26 different categories of strategy were distinguished. Sharp distinctions could not always be drawn between them. Thus 'Aggression' and 'Emotion' tend to overlap, as did 'Compromise' and 'Conciliation', 'Insistence' and 'Urgency', and 'Complimentary' and 'Apologetic'.

In looking at Table 5 definite patterns in the use of strategy by various participants become immediately apparent. In what may be called the 'positive' categories (including aggression, emotion, insistence, urgency and questioning) the councillors, led by Messrs.

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(1) Along the lines of Goffman's (1959) 'impression management'.

Phambi, Maxakana and Mcinga, dominate the field. Of all the responses in these five categories the councillors were responsible for 88,8%.

On the other hand the 'negative' or defensive categories (compromise, conciliation, diplomacy, complimentary and apologetic) are dominated by the officials to the tune of 56,2% of all these responses. The fact that Mr. Phambi also often adopted these strategies prevents the percentage from being much higher.

A number of strategies may be grouped together under what may be called meeting or procedural tactics. These included the use of excuses to side-step issues. It would be said that the responsibility lies elsewhere, 'it is up to the Government' or 'it is policy' or 'there is a lot of red-tape involved' or 'it takes planning'. Promises of 'action soon' or 'that something will be done' were also used (compare Table 6), as was the strategy of pointing to past achievements and countering a request or demand for something by stating that something had already been done about it. Insistence on adherence to meeting procedure and the technique of referring issues back to committee or to a body other than the Advisory Board, also fall within this general category. Hence the five types of strategy listed in Table 5 under Excuse, Promise, Referral, 'Past Performance' and Procedure are considered together as comprising 'Meeting or Procedural Tactics'. Out of a total of 134 times that these strategies were used officials were responsible for 131 or 97,8% of the total (compare Table 6).

Debating Strategies Adopted during Meetings

Number of Times used/Participants

	Chief Director	Director	Deputy Director	Assistant Director	Coates	Phambi	Mcinga	Majola	Maxakara	Moriya	Sizani	Payi	Mputa	Qumza	Xinwa	Zeze	Mbuyiselc	Ngakula	Bukashe	Nonco	Ngquba	Commissioners, etc.	All other members	Total	Percentage of Grand Total
Aggression (Including use of: Threat, Challenge, Warning, Accusation)	5	2	0	0	1	19	9	1	17	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	62	11,6
Emotion (also agitation and indignation)	1	1	3	0	5	11	6	1	18	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	57	10,7
Insistence (which includes being obstructive, adamant and emphatic)	0	1	0	0	0	11	4	3	11	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	33	6,2
Urgency (focussing on poor conditions and suffering of people)	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	2	7	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	3,7
Questioning (enquiring and demanding answers and facts)	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	8	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	24	4,5
Compromise (also suggestions of co-operation and of working together)	7	2	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	16	3,0
Conciliation (including attempts at accommodation and of placating)	7	5	4	2	8	4	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	6,5
Representation (Speaking on behalf of the people)	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1,5
Pleading (e.g. 'people are suffering')	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0,6
Diplomacy	5	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	2,2
Empathy (especially on part of officials: 'our people')	10	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0,7
Sarcasm	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0,9
Complimentary (thanking, 'soft-soaping')	5	2	1	0	2	4	1	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	23	4,3
Apologetic (Pardoning, 'sorry')	3	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1,5
Subservient	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0,9
Excuse ('side-stepping', 'its policy', red-tape, 'Department', 'takes planning', 'have to wait', rationalisation, etc.)	13	7	7	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	26	4,9
Promise (will do something, promise of action)	9	5	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	3,9
Referral (refer issues back to committees or to Chief Director)	14	8	3	3	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37	6,9
'Past performance' (referring to things already accomplished, 'have been done')	14	2	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	4,3
Procedure (insist on meeting procedure being followed)	0	1	0	1	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	3,4
Factual (often objective stating of case or long technical explanations)	8	5	1	1	1	11	8	9	10	7	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	69	12,9
'Politics' (ruling 'political' discussion out of bounds)	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0,4
Patronising (also paternalistic)	4	3	3	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	18	3,4
Environment (reference to 'out-side' climate, political desires of urban man)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0,4
Subjective (strategy for personal benefit)	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,4
Lack of decision-making power (used as argument)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,4

GRAND TOTAL 535 100%

TABLE 5 - DEBATING STRATEGIES AT MEETINGS

The single strategy most often used was that of the factual argument. This strategy entailed "objective" stating of a case, sometimes with much technical detail and often well-motivated. 12,9% of all strategies used were of this kind - thus the most popular one with Councillors, responsible for 76,8% of them, and Officials for 23,2%. The second and third most used single strategies were aggression (11,6%) and emotion (10,7%). Referral (6,9%) and excuse (6,4%) were next.

By far the most aggressive councillors were Phambi (30,6% of all participants' aggressive strategies) and Maxakana (27,4%)<sup>(1)</sup>. If the whole 'positive'<sup>(2)</sup> category is taken then Maxakana leads the field (31%) with Phambi second at 25%. Maxakana had however attended two more meetings. The most aggressive official was the Chief Director (8,1%). He had attended 9 less meetings than Phambi and 11 less than Maxakana. On an 'aggressive strategy per meeting' basis Phambi scores 90,5%, Maxakana 74,0% and the Chief Director 41,7%. Mr. Mcinga was another high-scorer on both the 'aggression' category and the general 'positive' category. However, Mr. Mcinga's adoption of an aggressive strategy showed a very close negative correlation with the Chief Director's meeting attendance<sup>(3)</sup>, e.g.

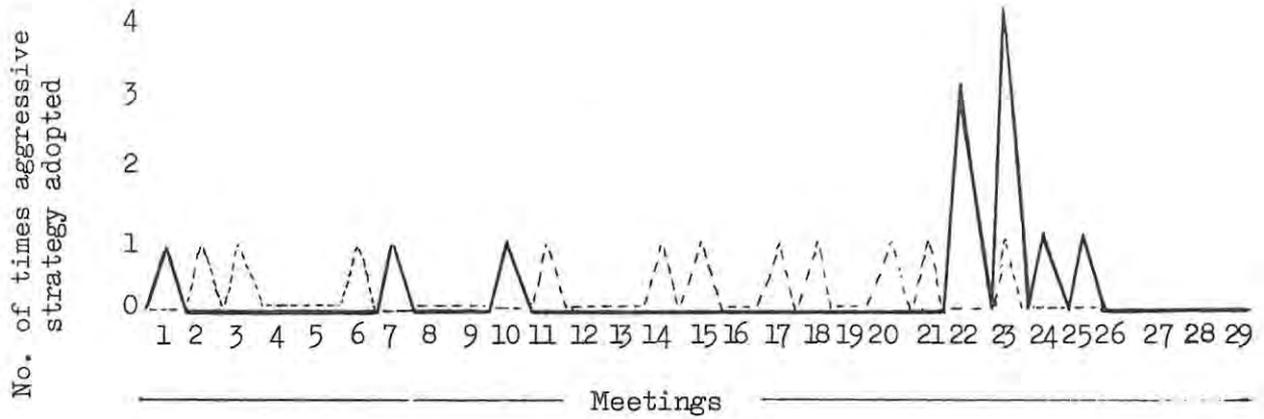
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(1) N.B. This is borne out when expressed as a percentage of each councillors own total number of responses.

(2) Including aggression, emotion, insistence etc.

(3) The reasons for this will be analysed in detail in the next section 'Qualitative Perspective'.

DIAGRAM 9 - Graph showing attendance/strategy correlation



Chief Director's meeting attendance -----

Mr. Mcinga's number of aggressive strategies \_\_\_\_\_

(The official's presence coincided with the member's aggressive strategy only once - during one of the later meetings (23) - when emotions generally ran high).

Standing almost alone in adopting a subservient style and strategy was Mr. Payi. This category comprises only 0,9% of all strategies adopted and Mr. Payi, the 'Uncle Tom' of the Board was responsible for 80% of them. On the other side of the coin a patronising strategy (or at best a paternalistic one) was adopted 3,4% of the time with officials and a visiting commissioner (Meeting 19) being responsible for 100% of them.

When the performance of the two most aggressive councillors, Messrs. Phumbi and Maxakana, are taken together it can be seen that their use of the strategy of aggression became more frequent and intensive when viewed as a progression of the meetings studied, from meeting No. 1 to No. 29, e.g.

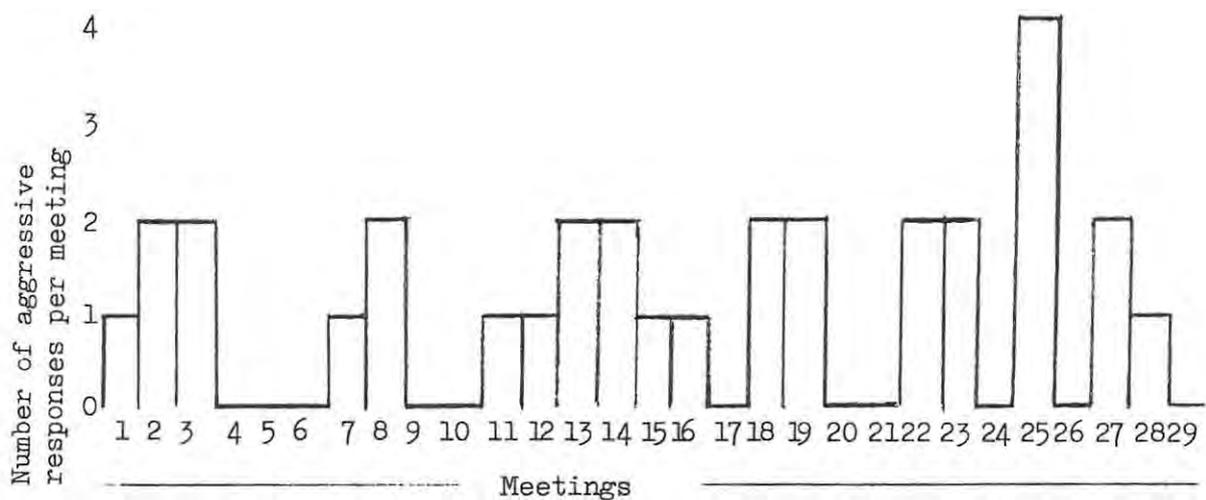


Diagram 10 - Graph showing use of aggressive strategy by councillors Phumbi and Maxakana.

A graph depicting the use of the aggressive strategy by all the councillors of the Advisory Board presents the following picture:

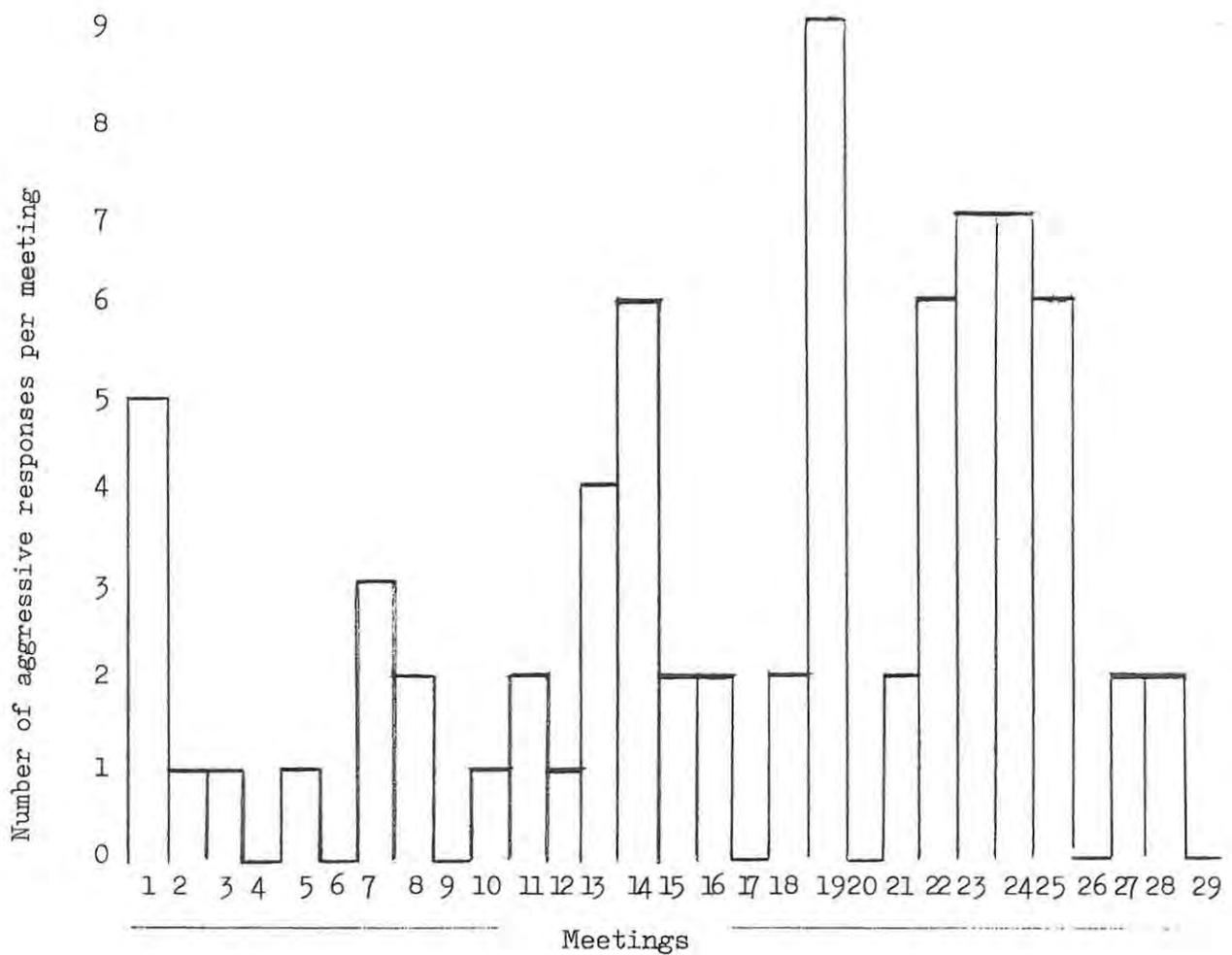


Diagram 11 - Graph showing use of aggressive responses by all councillors

On the side of the officials the use of the technique of referring issues back to committee or to a select committee consisting of the Chief Director and the five committee chairmen also increased from about half-way through the series of 29 meetings. Taking the performance of the four main exponents of this technique, the Chief Director, Deputy Director and Assistant Director together, the following graph shows the trend (compare Table 6).

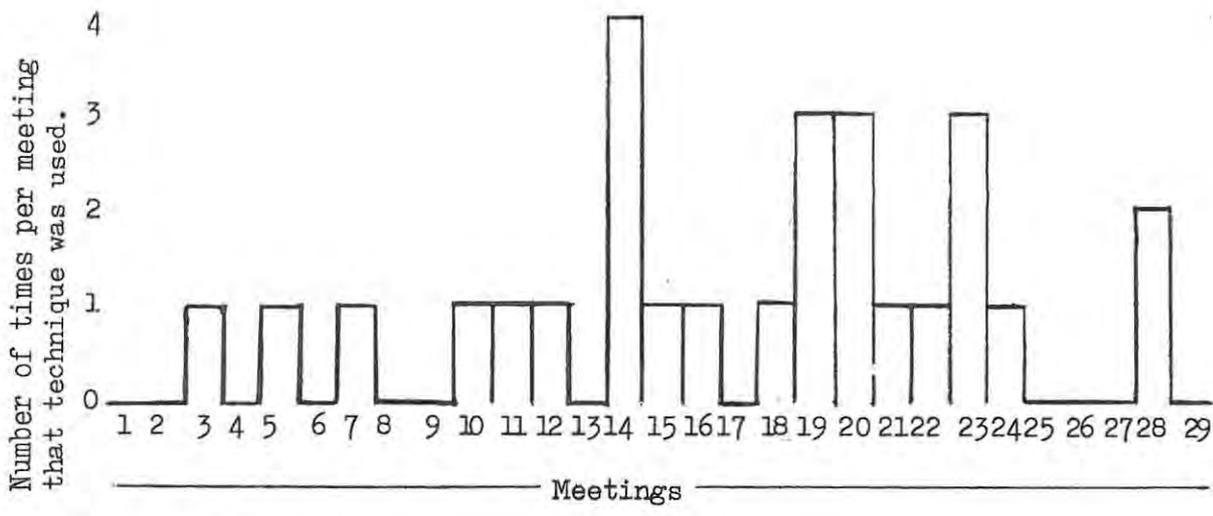


DIAGRAM 12 - Graph showing use of referral strategy by officials

Results obtained.

Some idea of the results (or lack of) obtained by the councillors as regards certain issues is given by Table 6. Meetings 5 to 15 were taken as a sample. The more important issues (60 in all) raised during these meetings were listed. The reactions to these issues and their eventual outcome were noted throughout the sample of meetings and also in the subsequent meetings of the research period (i.e. up to and including Meeting 29). There were a total of 160 reactions (divided into 9 types) to the 60 listed issues. The number of reactions of each type was expressed as a percentage of the total number of reactions (a) as well as to the total number of issues (b).

The more important issues in order raised during Meetings 5 - 15

The number of the Meeting where issues were raised initially and subsequently

Reaction and number of meeting during which it was recorded.

		Reaction and number of meeting during which it was recorded.									
		Positive reaction by authorities - results	Negative reaction e.g. 'Policy', 'no money', 'Pretoria'	Referral back to committee.	Referral to another department, B.A.A.B. Chief Director	Advise to discuss with 'outside' authority	Reported to B.A.A.B.	Promise of action	Promise to investigate	Inconclusive outcome	No further information
1. Special buses (Livingstone)	5		8								
2. Bus feeder system	5										
3. 'Bantu beach' facilities	5,11,X <sup>(2)</sup> ,15,16,20,28	5,20		15	16						
4. Housing	5,10,12,14,24		24	5	12		16	10	14		
5. Letter of thanks to electoral officer	5	5						14,24			
6. Bus stop (Livingstone)	5										(✓)
7. Consultations on plans for wall (Kwazakhele)	6,11,12,23	11,23			12				6		(✓)
8. Soccer fields development	6,9	7			9				6		
9. Playing fields (general) upkeep and leasing	6,8,X			7					6		(✓)
10. African Teachers Assoc.reception	7								7		(✓)
11. Advisory Board-improved status	7								7		(✓)
12. Wall around playing fields	7,15,18		7		7					18	(✓)
13. Building of new school	7,11				7				11		(✓)
14. Truancy	7			7							(✓)
15. Postal Services	7										(✓)
16. New housing (Kwaford)	7,14	14,18	7		7				7		(✓)
17. School bus	7,9,11,13,15,18	13		15	7					9,15	
18. Levelling streets	7,11,12,19	12			11				7		
19. Scholar patrols	7,8				7						(✓)
20. Bus stops (Thembaletu)	7,8,9									7,9	(✓)
21. Chief Minister,Transkei,Reception	8			8							(✓)
22. Accoustics (Centenary Hall)	8,22									8,22	(✓)
23. Toilets (Centenary Hall)	8,11,13,X,15,18,20	X,15,20							18	8,11	(✓)
24. Liaison Committee (Livingstone)	8,11,22	11			8						
25. Street lights	8,12,16,18,19,22,23	12							22	16,18	
26. Trading licenses	8										
27. 'Non-consultation'	8,11,13,15,23		8						8,11		(✓)
28. Trading premises	8							13,15			(✓)
29. Contract Labour System	9										
30. Education for 'outside'children	9,X										
31. Nomination/school committee	9	9									
32. Renovations (Oval)	9,10,11,22,28	22									
33. Laboratory Fund raising-Cowan High	10,12,13	12									
34. V.D. Checks	10										
35. Teacher's Training School	10,14,25										
36. Votes/Women	10,15,18										
37. Committee membership increase	11										
38. Rentals increase	11										
39. Nurses uniforms	11										
40. Schoolboard problems	11										
41. Homelands transport	11,X,20,24										
42. Bus shelter (nurses/Lindsay Rd)	11										
43. War Memorial Hall	12										
44. Surf Club Transport	12,22	22									
45. Cricket fields	12,20,22										
46. Entertainment allowance	12	12									
47. Bus stop (Mendi Rd)	12										
48. Fowl runs	12										
49. Trading sites	12,18		12								
50. Centenary (lights)	13,X,24	X									
51. Schools, wooden floors	13,X		13								
52. Sites, panel beaters	13										
53. Fields (Kwaru)	14,15,21,22		14								
54. Technical School (classrooms)	14										
55. Representation/Higher bodies	14										
56. Abakhwetha/site	14,22,27,28										
57. Electricity tampering	15,18										
58. Single teachers (accommodation)	15,20	20									
59. Minister/talks	15,20			20							
60. Trading licenses	15										
Total Reactions		22	10	12	24	8	2	29	19	34	160
(a) As % of total number of reactions		13,8	6,3	7,5	15,0	5,0	1,3	18,1	11,9	21,2	
(b) As % of total number of issues raised		36,7	16,7	20,0	40,0	13,3	3,3	48,3	31,7	56,7 <sup>(3)</sup>	

TABLE 6 - REACTIONS TO ADVISORY BOARD ISSUES.

P.T.O. for foot notes.

- (1) Issues marked ✓ had, according to available information, inconclusive outcomes. Issues marked (✓) were apparently eventually followed up, though not at subsequent meetings and not during the observation period. Nevertheless, these were all computed as 'reactions' for the purpose of obtaining percentages.
- (2) 'X' indicates information from meetings between January 1974 and June 1974 that were not attended.
- (3) These percentages do not add up to 100 as more than one type of reaction was often obtained for the same issue.

For both (a) - 21,2% and (b) -56,7%, the 'Inconclusive' category was the highest. Positive reaction or results were obtained for 36,7% of the issues raised<sup>(1)</sup>, but only 13,8% of the total of meeting reactions was in this category. The other categories comprised the following percentages:

	(a)	(b)
Negative reaction (i.e. no money, 'policy', 'Pretoria')	6,3	16,7
Referral back to committee	7,5	20,0 <sup>(2)</sup>
Referral to another Dept., B.A.A.B. or Chief Director	15,0	40,0 <sup>(2)</sup>
Advise to discuss with 'outside' authority	5,0	13,3
Reported to B.A.A.B.	1,3	3,3
Promise of Action	18,1	48,3
Promise to investigate	11,9	31,7

Use of the referral strategy and promises of action or to investigate were also reactions that constituted large percentages. As can be seen by issue No. 23 (Toilets) some issues were carried over a number of meetings.

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(1) i.e. were reported at meetings during the period of observation.

(2) compare Diagram 12.

Internal disagreement

Disagreement amongst the Black councillors occurred in 34,5% of the meetings<sup>(1)</sup>. The differences that arose between councillors have been classified as technical, (e.g. encroaching on each other's committee domains), homeland (Transkei vs Ciskei), rugby (Kwaru vs E.P.A.R.B.), generational (younger vs older members), and the Phambi vs Mcinga division. Obviously many of these issues were often related e.g. a Kwaru/E.P.A.R.B. split would also basically constitute a Phambi/Mcinga split and would further have an effect on the technical field.

Of the total number of divisions each of the separate categories constituted the following percentages:

Category	Percentage of total number of divisions	Examples of meetings where this occurred
Technical	27,7 <sup>(1)</sup>	23,24,25
Homeland	11,1	21,24
Rugby	22,2	14,21,25
Generational	22,2	16,22,23,28
Phambi/Mcinga	22,2 <sup>(2)</sup>	21,22,24,25

(1) This figure included a combined rugby component.

(2) This figure included a combined rugby and homeland component.

TABLE 7 - Internal (Black) divisions on the Advisory Board

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(1) Although in some of these meetings the divisions occurred a number of times.

The Black/White division in coinciding with the member/official cleavage was part and parcel of every Advisory Board meeting. At times the Black/White opposition would rise above even the meeting format in terms of open animosity and antagonism. This happened in 38% of the meetings. The graph in Diagram 13 not only shows the incidence of these divisions but also their progression for the series of meetings studied.

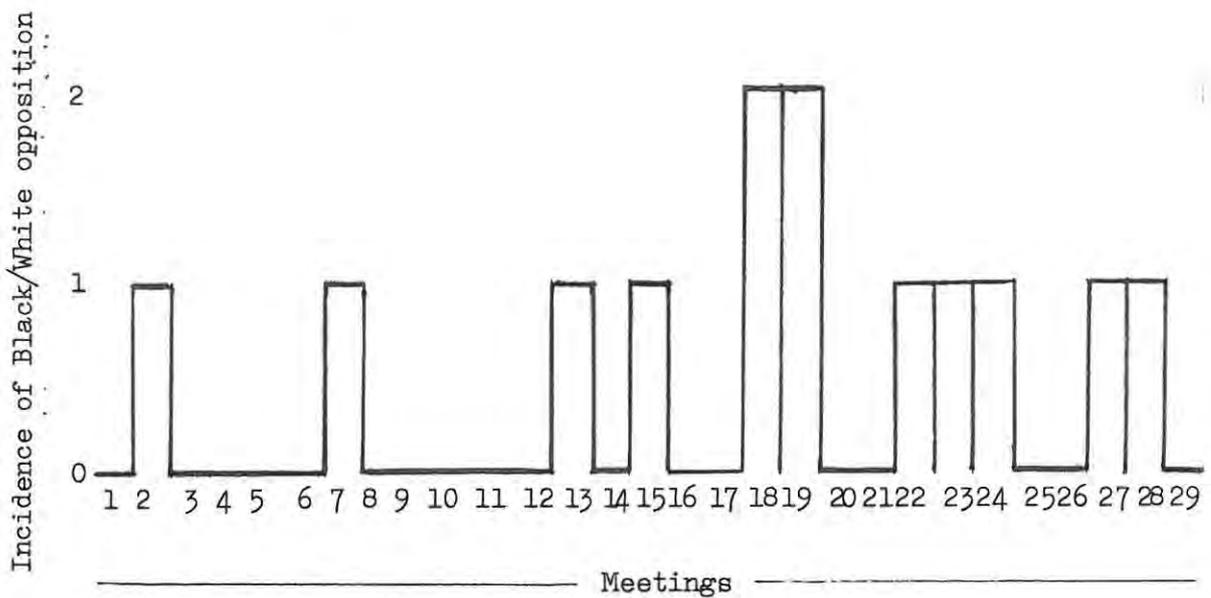


DIAGRAM 13 - Graph showing incidence and progression of Black/White opposition.

### Qualitative Perspective.

The strategies adopted by the various participants in the Advisory Board will be analysed subsequently. The relative success that they attained will be evaluated. The roles they played, the channels of communication they attempted to use and the resources they tried to activate will likewise be placed in perspective. In doing so reference will be made to the quantitative data of the previous section. Constant reference will also be made to the material contained in the accounts of the twenty-nine meetings in the previous chapter. Finally, the theoretical and analytical perspective as set out in Chapter 1 and in the introductory sections of this, and other chapters will be employed.

### Costs and benefits.

For 56 years men from the Black townships of Port Elizabeth came forward to serve on the Joint Bantu Advisory Board. This they would seem to have done at tremendous cost to themselves. In interviews they have admitted to the frustration involved in fighting a 'losing battle'. They were acutely aware of the criticism their membership evoked from many of their own people - especially the younger generation. They were well aware that they were often accused of 'selling out' to the system. In discussion members of the Advisory Board often expressed doubts as to the usefulness of their continued involvement in this body.

"There is big room for improvement to satisfy the people because it (Advisory Board) is not functioning - the people are not satisfied, that is the majority of the people. One person who is helped by one of us - when perhaps he finds sympathy or mercy - meets an official and he says, 'No, No, this thing (Advisory Board) is functioning' -- but the rank and file...!!!" (Mbnyiselo)

"This Board does not command respect any more. Perhaps it is still a civic mouthpiece but the people don't see material benefits" (Mcinga).

Not only residents echoed these doubts, officials themselves occasionally and privately admitted to being mildly surprised that members should willingly continue to participate in the affairs of the Board 'under these conditions'.

But continue they did. In fact some of the more active members had been doing so for 10, 20 or 30 and more years! The obvious answer to this intriguing question must be that certain benefits accrued from the exercise.

Some of these 'benefits' have been listed. A full list would constitute the reasons (whether alleged, admitted, observed or only possible) for members' participation in the Advisory Board. Such a list would naturally include two types i.e. those constituting 'moral grounds' and those constituting 'practical advantages' or otherwise, 'idealism' and 'pragmatism'.

e.g. Material (personal) benefit<sup>(1)</sup>.

Satisfaction of serving their people (including service to the community, fighting for the rights of the people).

Opportunities to advance their own status.

Opportunities to gain prestige.

Satisfaction to display courage in confronting the wielders of power on a face-to-face basis.

Opportunity for leadership.

Opportunities to get first-hand insights into the machinations of the administrative bureaucracy.

Satisfaction (and possible benefit) derived from the fact that activities of the Board may correspond to the field of interest of a member.

In general terms most of these may be said to have implications of personal or material benefit and hence constituting pragmatism. But, 'service to the community' and 'fighting for the rights of the people' certainly fall in the idealism category and may in fact constitute moral cloaks with which these men hide their truer selves. However these 'moral cloak' sentiments, like all the other reasons for membership were not only derived from observing councillors' Boardroom and other public displays. They were in fact voiced by the men themselves, directly in interview and also implied in informal discussion.

---

(1) Especially in business where 25% of the councillors were directly or indirectly dependent on the allocation of business premises and the annual renewal of permits and licences.

"I joined (the Advisory Board) to be a mouthpiece of the people. I hoped with the B.A.A.B. advent we would be able to serve African interests - to be involved in decision-making"

(Maxakana)

"We get some status here (townships). We don't get money but we can see the officials anytime. I suppose the businessmen like Phambi benefit"

(Xinwa)

"... then I decided to join the Advisory Board, just to have some status into getting into the most difficult corners of officialdom in the townships ... it is purely that ..... and then I am interested in civic matters .... if you are a civic leader you are given the opportunities offered. I became interested in the problems of my people"

(Mcinga)

"Some of them (councillors) serve for public interest. Others serve for personal reasons - they can obtain trading sites"

(Resident)

"They see to the complaints of our people. Sometimes they protect us from abuse from local authorities. They help us with houses"

(Resident)

If the stated benefits or reasons were in fact only moral cloaks and if we were to rip these cloaks away, the question as to why men have willingly served on the Advisory Board for a period of so many years becomes even more difficult to answer. Should we accept this viewpoint we may have to move closer to finding councillors' 'hidden' motivations in their experiencing of the real benefits (and hence in this instance representing the official reason but devoid of a moral

cloak) of a government leading them to political responsibility through the steady expansion of administrative experience. The ensuing analysis of the meetings described in Chapter 13 would certainly tend to bear this out.

Members did achieve successes (see Table 6), even though the smaller successes (on the more mundane level for example of township facilities) far outnumbered the bigger ones (on the level of property rights and by implication a resident's status in the urban area).

"People (come to us) about housing, labour, difficulties, 'Section 10', migratory labour, influx control. We go to the departments, to the officials and we make them explain. We act as mediators and sometimes we have success. But other things! We bump our heads against 'policy'. They (officials) can do nothing about it" (Sizani)

The argument that can immediately be raised of course is that major changes (the bigger successes) only came about after heavy pressure from 'outside' i.e. from urban Blacks at large. In some cases this may have been true, but even then only partly so. Members of the Advisory Board were continually acting as a channel of information to the administration. They were continually interpreting and projecting the symptoms of these pressures as they experienced them. They also served to give momentum to existing outside pressure especially

in their effective use of the press. More visible 'outside' pressure often only confirmed to officials what councillors had for long been sounding warnings about.

If again we take all this to constitute the moral cloak which hides officials' real reasons then the difficulty of explanation is further compounded. We would have to accept that officials are exclusively using the Advisory Board as a cosmetic device designed to give urban Blacks no decision-making or other powers or rights while cleverly manoeuvring them into a position where they have to accept responsibility for administrative and government decisions. The difficulty in accepting this analysis again lies in explaining the continued participation of the Black Advisory Board members in the system, while having to bear the costs of being targets of criticism, especially during times of urban unrest and of being the objects of criticism from officials with the added humiliation of often not being consulted and being ignored.

Which brings us back to the idealism and the pragmatism of the members. This includes the 'silent majority' - those councillors who hardly ever or never have anything to say in the Boardroom, but by statement in interview and by tacit consent are in support of the strategies adopted by the more active members. Advisory Board members do get prestige

and status from their positions of prominence and from having their activities reported in the press. They do get satisfaction out of arguing with authority and making demands (even unsuccessful demands). Although all this may be interpreted as personal satisfaction it has a lot to do with "helping our people". It all constitutes an important component in the balance of costs and benefits for the participants.

The activities in the Boardroom are not just a public face or a charade hiding the real business which goes on behind - in sub-committee meetings, in personal transactions and press negotiations. The evidence in the pages of the preceding chapter and the analysis in subsequent pages gives the lie to this suggestion. The time, energy and resources that members invest are seen to produce some pay-offs (e.g. Chapter 11; Chapter 13 - Meetings 15, 16, 18, 20, 22 and 24; the latter part of 'Qualitative Perspective' in this chapter, but especially Table 6). The fact remains that members of the Black public do use the councillors to help them deal with administrative and other problems. Payment for such services comes in the form of voter support, respect, status and access to information which can be used as ammunition in further attacks on the administration. The attacks and other strategies are often initiated and launched in the Boardroom and it is in the Boardroom that we often see their culmination

(Table 6). What the evidence may suggest is the Advisory Board as a myth and a dysfunctional body. But what the evidence also shows is that the members of the Advisory Board are very real and functional, although 'functional' here may not conform to the stated requirements of the administration or even the publicly stated goals of the councillors.

Even a very cynical, 'outside' appraisal of the Administration's intentions i.e. that all that they want was peace in the townships; no serious threats or reactions from the townships; no negative publicity, and a balanced budget, provides the very reason why evidence of councillors' benefits and successes should be available. It was in the interest of the administration that the Advisory Board should continue functioning. This was so for the stated reasons. The Advisory Board may also be seen as a kind of shield or first line of defence for the administration. But, importantly, it was also to serve as a sounding board and as a type of social barometer to help officials identify and interpret potential problem areas.

"At least the officials hear about the complaints. And after a lot of hammering something is done" (Bukashe)

So some measure of credibility for the Board was to be created and maintained. This was done simply by acceding to certain requests and demands by the members (Table 6).

It would however be inaccurate to define the motivation and goals of the administration in these terms only. Certainly a wish to improve conditions for the Black community was also an important factor in its own right - especially as far as the Chief Director was concerned. The name, Dilizintaba - 'going to break down mountains' which he was given was seriously intended and underwritten by many members of the Black community. Even the aggressive and critical Maxakana once admitted,

"I think he (Chief Director) is trying his best. For him it is also quite difficult".

Another important reason for administration compliance was of course to be found in the fact that the requests and demands of councillors were often simply interpretations of frustration and dissatisfaction amongst the Black community and as such constituting 'outside pressures'.

Although in our analysis we phrase the issue in terms of 'change' and 'status quo', the situation must be seen as a number of people, officials and councillors, linked through various institutions, but especially through the Advisory Board, engaged in maximising and goal orientated behaviour. The goals of the members are to advance their status in their community (with the implication that they must deliver some goods but without being disqualified from playing the game); to advance the

interests of their particular group e.g. rugby union or that of their people at large; to advance their personal interests. The goals of the officials have been listed. Obviously the pursuit of the goals of these two main groups is complicated by the fact that they are not always consistent with each other. All the goals are general and require trade-offs and compromises by personal transaction, between sub-groups and between the councillors and officials. The dynamics of this process is illustrated by a closer examination of the record of Advisory Board meetings.

#### Strategies, resources and transactions.

In observing the activities of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board, I was at first inclined to characterise these in very general terms. Although comprising a majority of Black members, the Board is essentially run by White officials and would seem to be ostensibly paternalistic and also inherently conservative in the sense that it tends to resist change. It would further appear that change is channeled through the Advisory Board only at the discretion of the officials, who are in any case acting on behalf of the Government.

As was seen in the meetings observed, the picture is not quite as simple and straight-forward as that. It is true that efforts at

maintaining the status quo were frequently demonstrated on the part of the administration. This they see to be their responsibility and they can certainly benefit by such strategies. However, it is equally true that the Black members displayed concerted efforts at bringing about changes in order to relieve themselves and their people of the constraints that they identified. A common motive can be detected. Although the perspectives may be vastly different both parties are striving for a better life for their own people and as such attempts at change and resistance to it are intrinsically related.

Although it has been maintained that relationships which are one-sided tend to be more stable and durable (Kapferer, 1972 : 203), it is also true that individuals 'on the wrong side' will consider entering into new transactions under certain conditions. For example, if the investment of a member of the Advisory Board grows totally out of proportion with his returns or if he feels he has nothing to lose by seeking to initiate alternative sets of transactions, this is exactly what he might do. In the meetings recorded the councillors threatened to do this and the officials in turn tried to counter such possibilities.

Though threatening to leave, e.g.

"We won't sit in this Board if it comes to that. We'll go back to our own people!" (Phambi, Meeting 13).

councillors, especially the more prominent and active ones, hardly ever did (see Table 2 in previous section). Having opted for membership by free choice<sup>(1)</sup>, members are also free to reject the Advisory Board system. Advisory Board councillors' stated and presumed reasons for opting for membership was dealt with in Chapters 7, 10 and in the introductory part of this chapter, but in more general terms the strategies adopted by them in meetings have shown the main motivating reason to be to effect change. Virtually all the categories of issues discussed in the meetings and included in Tables 3 and 6 were concerned with change in one way or another - in addition to the category designated 'change' per se. With officials in the Advisory Board mainly supporting the status quo (see Table 5 and the discussion of it, especially 'meeting and procedural tactics') the stage was set for a situation of conflict. This in spite of the official argument that the strategy was for controlled evolution at a reasonable pace.

Nye (1973) has shown that, not surprisingly, situations which may involve competition, domination or provocation are much more likely to lead to conflict. The perceptions of the participants are important.

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(1) In the sense that joining is a free choice.

Do they see themselves as being involved in competition, domination, etc.? If they do then the likelihood of conflict is enhanced. If, further, as we have suggested, the aspirations of the Advisory Board members exceed their achievements they feel deprived and hence dissatisfied and frustrated. The social-psychological concept of relative deprivation is relevant here in the sense that the feeling of deprivation is related to the councillors' perception of their condition - the condition of their people relative to other persons or groups e.g.

"Why must it always be the poor Africans that have to suffer? We have to take three languages! Yes!" (Qumza, Meeting 22).

"Across the way here (Korsten the Coloured township) much more is done for the Coloureds - but what about us?" (Maxakana, in interview).

Examples of the resultant dissatisfaction and frustration can be found reflected in virtually all the twenty-nine meetings studied.

"This thing is being rammed down our throats! Just like a lot of other things. And we are now choking! (Grabs himself around the throat)" (Qumza, Meeting 22).

Further examples : Meeting 19, page 517 ; Meeting 22, page 567 and Meeting 23, page 589.

The Advisory Board's conflict, and its progression, is shown in Diagram 13 of the previous section.

Differences amongst the councillors themselves surfaced sporadically (see Table 7), e.g.

'Technical differences:

Phambi : "... this issue does not fall under your portfolio, but mine"

Mcinga : "I am inclined to concede ..... But! Is he (points at Phambi) aware of the dire situation that confronts us?" (Meeting 24).

Further example : Meeting 7, page 377.

'Homeland' differences:

Mzamane : "What is this Ciskeians (in the last line) business? Does this mean only Ciskeians?"

Phambi : (Laughs loudly and derisively. His whole rotund body shakes).

Mzamane: "This is nothing to laugh at Mr. Phambi!"

Qunza: (very excited "Are they talking about Ciskei or Transkei? I am in Transkei, they must clarify this!" (Meeting 24)

Further example : Meeting 21, page 549.

'Rugby' differences:

Phambi: "... . All that Kwaru is asking is for the right to play rugby on the fields in this area - like the Zwide Sports Stadium. In doing this we are depriving our people of the right to see their favourite teams play".

Mzamane: "Mr. Chairman, with the E.P. teams ..... playing the people are still seeing the rugby they want to see. Those rebels (pointing to the other side of the horse-shoe table) don't make much difference to our rugby. In any case they can join our official rugby board if they want to play".

Maxakana : "Mr. Chairman, my people pay for these facilities. They have a right to use them. Nobody can stop us using our own fields!"

Qumza: "You joined the Coloureds, you can go and play on their fields". (Meeting 14).

Further example : Meeting 25, page 623.

'Generational, personal' differences:

Payi: "Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Maxakana is putting the case much worse than it is. I was teaching for many years and I know what is going on".

(Maxakana - as an interjection, "You're out of it now, this is 1975!").

Chairman: "Mr. Maxakana, Mr. Payi has a right to put his point of view."

Maxakana: "You're protecting the old man (Payi). He whips me but you won't let me get back at him!"

(Meeting 22).

In spite of these 'internal' differences, the essential theme still tended to be 'We' vs 'They'. The rule would more often than not be a closing of the ranks for members in the face of what they saw as the administration adversary.

The 'dummy' or 'stooge' label sometimes attached to councillors is unfair if it implies that they do not take up the grievances of their people in the Boardroom. The record of twenty-nine meetings testifies to their concern. In looking at an analysis of the subjects discussed by the Advisory Board (Table 3), this can be seen to be the case, at least as far as the more active members are concerned. They may have been selective in the points raised, and when issues like home-ownership, trading rights, receptions for visiting dignitaries, business sites, etc., (see Table 3) were discussed, they were hardly dealing with matters that concerned the ordinary, poor township resident. However, in discussing discrimination (meetings 3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 28 : see also diagram 8, graph (d)), transport (virtually all meetings), labour (more than half of the meetings), education (nearly all), health (more than half),

welfare (more than half) and change in general (virtually all meetings), they were certainly acting on behalf of most of the township residents. The 24 major categories of issues listed in Table 3 are in fact a list of grievances.

Members of the Advisory Board were thus mostly concerned with the general interests of the township people (as is statistically supported by Table 3). The councillors themselves of course were residents in the area. They were socio-economically perhaps better equipped to withstand the more negative effects of the innumerable regulations and policies that applied to all residents - but they could not escape them totally and as such were sensitive to the problems of the people.

The Advisory Board has been seen to lack decision-making power. Richards and Kuper (1971 : 21-23) distinguish categories of what they call 'unauthoritative decisions'. The processes observed in the Advisory Board meetings conform to at least two of these categories. One type is called the ceremonial decision in that it is not a decision in the full sense. A decision was in fact made before the meeting was held. The formal debate is hence only a ceremonial affair with functions other than decision-making. This, in the Advisory Board, repeatedly led to councillors' complaints and accusations of 'non-consultation' (see Table 3).

Majola : "..... . This Board often is not consulted or even informed of regulations and laws. Even worse, our sub-committees never have a chance to discuss such things before the Advisory Board is just 'told' about them!"

(Meeting 8).

In practise the Advisory Board was only told of decisions as a matter of 'courtesy' and report. Further examples : Meeting 13, page 457 and Meeting 19, page 528.

The other type of 'decision' can also be illustrated from the record of meetings. This is the ambiguous decision which is open to more than one interpretation. Although the interpretations may all be reasonable they can conflict with each other.

Jacobs : "It is O.K. to refer the lighting problem to the Engineering Department, Mr. Chairman. They can see to it"

(Meeting 24).

Chairman : "Seeing that we have the interests of the people at heart and seeing that we have these points in front of us, we might as well deal with them and make a recommendation. Do you want to recommend that the B.A.A.B. react to the points that you have raised?"

(Meeting 25).

Both the ambiguous (a type of 'non-decision' or at least a decision which dictates that the decision must be made elsewhere) and the

ceremonial decisions pre-suppose the existence of an effective decision-making body beyond the confines of the Advisory Boardroom, i.e. the Municipality in the earlier days and the B.A.A.B. later. The administration (Government) decides on the issues and, if anything, the Advisory Board is left only to resolve about the way in which decisions are to be implemented.

The record of meetings has shown that councillors were not happy with the situation, that they did not accept it. What they wanted was change. As change results from contest, the relative success (or lack of success) that members have had in the Advisory Board contest should be indicative of the changes that they have been instrumental in effecting. As the councillors and officials as contestants, squared up to each other from 1920 to 1976, so potential resources became less or more easily available as changes in the environment took place and as different strategies were adopted by the participants.

The Advisory Board structure seemed to continue to exist almost unchanged over the period in question. This may have been because officials, with the power of government behind them, were successful in implementing strategies which maintained the status quo. These strategies were often aimed at neutralising the strategies of the councillors. The reason for the continued existence of the Advisory Board must also be sought in the continued compliance of men in being

a part of it. It is strange that men would willingly continue to smash their political heads against a wall if it remained totally unyielding. A closer examination of the strategies, communication channels and resources that participants brought (or attempted to bring) into play provides the answer that we are seeking.

Both the councillors and the officials find themselves in the position of middlemen or gatekeepers. Seen within the model for Boardroom communication suggested in Diagram 7, both officials and members may act as channels (C) of communication. They could however be very selective channels of communication in the sense of acting as controllers. In being placed in these very strategic positions officials and councillors are faced with a dilemma - the officials more so because of their greater power-base they are in a better position to take initiative. The dilemma is that the controller role can be played as a broker and as patron.

Township residents (As (S) and using channel 4a in Diagram 7) require the members (R) to act as patrons, i.e. as dispensers (S) of resources as in channel (1). The councillors themselves expect more or less the same of the officials with (6b) being a direct reaction of their (3a) initiative. More often than not, however, both parties are cast in the roles of brokers in the sense that they deal in promises to consult

those who actually control the resources, i.e. the members on behalf of residents and the officials on behalf of members.

In these roles the officials especially present a facade of respectability as can be seen by the statements they make. Usually general and perhaps even vague, the statements carry a promise of that which they are doing or planning to do for the good of everybody concerned.

Botha : "..... . Remember we are a team and we need each other. We have a common purpose - to uplift the people in our area. What I detest is a paternalistic attitude. What we must do is to help people help themselves".

(Meeting 18).

Further examples: Meeting 6, page 368; Meeting 16, page 494; Meeting 23, page 592.

The end result of such a stance of course was very often that they exposed themselves to be questioned as hypocritical - by people from both sides.

Strictly speaking the Chairman should not have been identified with either the officials or the members. He was not in the employ of the B.A.A.B. nor was he an ordinary (Black) elected or nominated member. In so far as the rules for meeting procedure were very clearly spelled out, the Chairman's role should never have been in

doubt (Appendix F). His task was simply to preserve the format or framework within which meaningful interaction could take place between participants. As a referee he was not a competitor and should not have been identified with either side. As was seen in the meeting reports the chairman was not always neutral nor always in control of the meetings.

Chairman : "I must support Mr. Jacobs there. Things are being done - sometimes perhaps not as quickly as we would like, but we have some results in front of us"

(Meeting 22).

Further examples : Meeting 19, page 519; Meeting 24, pages 604 and 615.

Although the chairman, in often invoking the rules of meeting procedure, was generally correct in his application of the rules by demanding order and in defining the borders of relevance, members did regard it as a deterrent in the sense that they felt it frustrated their attempts to put their case.

Jacobs : "Mr. Chairman, Mr. Phambi should go to committee with this. This point is not being discussed".

Phambi : "But we can't always keep going back to committee, going back to committee ....".

Chairman : "Mr. Phambi, Mr. Jacobs is right here ....."

Phambi : "Mr. Chairman, I did not say Mr. Jacobs is wrong, I was questioning him on procedure!"

Chairman : "Mr. Phambi!

Phambi : "Are we to be gagged! (sits down)  
(Meeting 19).

Chairman : "I am sorry gentlemen, I have to call you to order there. You are off the point. We are not discussing the issue, only an item in the minutes".

(Meeting 24).

Further examples : Meetings 19, 23 and 27 pages 517 , 580 and 634.

In feeling hamstrung by having to play to the rules of meeting procedure, some councillors would sometimes opt for what Bailey (1970) has called the pragmatic rules. They would adopt strategies in their verbal and other forms of communication which they thought would be more effective in producing results. Thus councillors Maxakana, Phambi, Mcinga et al adopted styles that were characterised by threat, emotion and aggression (Table 5 and Diagrams 10 and 11), but still within the Chairman's rules.

Phambi : "We are tired of this one-sided way of forcing things on us. The Black people are not taking this lying down!"  
(Meeting 19)

Maxakana : "I am proud! (almost shouting now) I represent the people! I express their views!" (Meeting 19).

Mcinga (interjects) : "We, the amaXhosa are watching you, abeLungu!"  
(meeting 22).

Further examples : Meetings 13 and 18, pages 459 and 508.

In adopting this kind of strategy the councillors are activating the person-to-person communication channel (3a) as shown in Diagram 7.

In doing so they (As S) are trying to evoke decisions or a change of decisions from the officials (As R), or if policy issues are involved to use the officials as (C) to government by way of (3b).

Possible use of the press (see later) as (C) to both the public by way of (2a)/(2b) and the government would also be part of the strategy.

Much more subtle verbal strategies were also used - especially by Phambi. For example, he would often toss back a phrase favoured by one of the officials - a neat satirical move. He would thus use his opponents arguments and phrasing against them. (e.g. Meetings 11 and 22, pages 414 and 556 ).

As middlemen the councillors are suspended between the world of the Black township dwellers and that of the Whites. As was shown in Chapters 10 and 11 the members of the Advisory Board are responsible to their own people but for continued functioning within the system they have to 'play along with the Whites' which immediately renders their position suspect<sup>(1)</sup>. A councillor is thus obliged to attempt to manipulate both systems.

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(1) The point of the councillors' credibility and legitimacy is pursued further a little later in this section.

The strategy is further to attempt to walk along the almost non-existent dividing line of acceptance and rejection by both sides. They attempt to find a solution to their ambivalent position by adopting the threatening, emotional and aggressive styles which we have described. They also usually try to keep these postures within more or less acceptable limits (for the Whites). Kuper (1965 : 318) has described this situation as "a source of oscillation between the servile and belligerent states". In fact Bailey would suggest that such roles (as middlemen) are "..... consciously created by the larger structure to meet its own deficiencies" (1970 : 167). Of course with the pace of change in the socio-political environment (particularly in the Black townships) increasing, the role of a middleman would tend to become more incongruous and more threatened with rejection.

Although men like Messrs. Phambi, Majola and Maxakana would adopt an aggressive posture during any meeting (Diagrams 10 and 11), a man like Mr. Payi would opt for a consistently subservient style (see Table 5 and specifically meetings 13, 18, 19 and 24). In contrast Mr. Mcinga's strategy would be greatly affected by the people attending a particular meeting - especially Mr. Botha (Diagram 9). Mr. Payi was a product of the enculturative process of an earlier generation. He was fairly confident that the administration was

doing the best for the Black people. His strategy in meetings was further probably determined by his status as a nominated member, his long association (also as a headmaster) with the original 'Bantu Education Department' and his age which placed him in an earlier socio-political generation. Although Rev. Morija belonged to the same generation, his long history as an elected member, his superior educational qualifications and background and his status as the doyen of the Board gave him a platform for independent action. Mr. Payi regarded it an honour to be nominated to the Board and a privilege to be accorded the opportunity of speaking on equal terms to White administrators - even though he never availed himself of the 'privilege' of speaking in this manner.

The public support they enjoy as elected members (Chapter 10) provides Messrs. Phambi, Majola and Maxakana with a power base for independent thinking and action - Mr. Maxakana especially has no other parties to whom he owes responsibility, that is, other than to his public.

Additionally as far as Phambi and Majola are concerned:

"Phambi and Majola are free (to talk) because they are representatives (of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly). The rest are cowards, fence-sitters. Qumza has to be careful too because he is a teacher" (Resident).

"Phambi has guts, he is bold and progressive. He takes a stand. He goes to the nolali and he is not polite, he differs with them and takes the 'phone and 'phones the authorities. He is concerned for his people"

(Resident).

The case of Mcinga (and Mzamane has been linked with him in this) is different.

"They tell me Mcinga and Mzamane don't talk so hard when Botha is there. When he is away they are much more poisonous"

(Resident).

Mr. Mcinga had his own views on the situation:

"The officials, I think, want us to speak freely. They want to hear our true feelings. I speak candidly because I'm not politically inclined. Though I have my political views I keep them to myself. I'm not a saboteur. Though I don't believe in separate development I believe peoples' identities should be maintained - with equal rights. I'm also a traditionalist. My son must go to initiation school".

In directing the conversation back to strategies adopted in the Boardroom I asked Mr. Mcinga more directly why it is said that he is 'careful' in what he says.

"We are very careful. We are very honest but we have to exercise some care. I tell you Port Elizabeth ....., I must be very honest with you ....., at one time I was very ....., I found myself arrested and I was taken to jail for instigation - next time you come I'll show you my jail cards which I'm keeping as mementos. Five boys testified that I used to take them to the sea and train them to kill Europeans, and all that! Fortunately on the date stated by the state witnesses I was elsewhere and could prove it otherwise I would have been in trouble and 'inside' for at least three years. Thus I had to be very careful for ten years - because I was watched!"

The use of aggressive strategies in Advisory Board meetings was not exclusive to councillors. Occasionally officials too would take recourse in this style (see Table 5).

Further examples, Meetings 20 and 23, pages 533 and 585.

Often officials would take recourse in calling upon the normative rules which in Advisory Board language would mean adherence to meeting procedure and not being allowed to discuss 'politics'. In calling upon councillors to conform to these requirements officials are implying that they (the members) are adopting unfair or unjust strategies. In dealing with the role of the chairman a number of examples were given of councillors being called upon to adhere to meeting procedure. Although not used as often, the technique of ruling a statement or discussion out of bounds for being 'politics', was used in the same way.

Botha: "Gentlemen! Don't let this develop into a political discussion". (Meeting 21)

Chairman: "I have to stop you! Don't raise political issues all the time! I rule you out of order!" (Meeting 24)

Botha: "This is not so (looking agitated). This is not the atmosphere which exists in this room".

"I am at a loss for words Mr. Chairman! (Looks taken aback and quizzical)". (Extract from a long statement which ended, "Now, you are Board members - don't be scared to talk. I'm not cross anymore (smiles)" (Meeting 2).

Further example : Meeting 27, page 632.

Officials themselves of course also initiated strategies which within the Advisory Board context may fall in the pragmatic category. They would in other words, attempt to 'play the game' to win without, as Bailey would have it, actually cheating. The strategies adopted included, 'committee referral'; the showing of empathy or agreement and promising to do something about the problem; sketching the situation as if all participants were on the same side; stating that something had already been done about the problem raised or pointing to a past record of accomplishments; using the argument, 'you have a good case or argument but let's rather .....'. (For the number of times that these arguments were used see Table 5). A few examples:

Jacobs: "I agree it was bad planning. But forget about this 'tomorrow' business. We must keep in mind that ground is expensive. What we need is proper planning - long term planning"

(Meeting 23).

Botha: "This I can allow Mr. Chairman, but under certain prescribed conditions"

(Meeting 6).

Further specific examples : Meetings 2, 11 and 18, pages 336, 431 and 499.

Other good examples are to be found in Meetings 2, 3, 14, 15, 18, 20, 23, etc. Most of the strategies adopted may carry the implication that the people who initiate them are bankrupt of good arguments.

No single other strategy upset the councillors more than that of 'committee referral' - but especially referral to a committee consisting of the Chief Director and the five committee chairmen. While Diagram 12 shows the use of all kinds of referral strategies, referral to this select committee only came into operation with meeting 14, but more and more frequently thereafter. The official view was that this was a quicker and more effective way of getting things done - and this seemed to be at least partly true. Although it was never possible to observe these meetings, some of the chairman reported that things were done more quickly than at the full Advisory Board meetings. The system had the

added advantage that meetings could be called at short notice and at unscheduled times. Although it was difficult to judge on a second-hand basis, it did seem that agreement (especially with the Chief Director's standpoints) was reached more quickly and easily on this person-to-person basis. Councillors were more inclined to put up stronger resistance in the open forum of the Advisory Board. The more personal atmosphere of the chairmen's meetings would seem to have had something to do with this. However, there seemed to be no question of 'deals' being made by the Chief Director and the chairmen at the cost of the other councillors and the Black public. When the chairmen agreed to something at these meetings they did so within the context of the situation and not as a conscious prey of the Chief Director's persuasive tactics. What the other councillors (and some of the chairmen themselves, especially Maxakana) resented was that the function of the Advisory Board and their role as members was being watered down even more.

Another strategy used falls in the category of 'excuse'. Often officials said that red-tape, the requirement of planning or the fact that it is 'policy' and hence out of their hands, were the reasons for the problems councillors raised (see Table 5).

Jones: "Mr. Chairman, what is being forgotten in all these accusations levelled at us, is the fact that we are dealing with the policy of the Government and there is not much we can do about it" (Meeting 8).

Yet a further strategy employed entailed lengthy and technical explanations which were not followed or understood by most of the members (e.g. Meetings, 20, Botha, 23, Jacobs, 29, Botha).

All of these strategies were aimed at, or at least had the effect of, a blocking mechanism, i.e. in the model in Diagram 7 the (3a) initiated by the councillors would not lead to (3b) or to (8). In the same way the (4a) of the public might lead to (4b) but to nothing beyond that.

With the backing of government and legislation the officials were in a powerful position, but for this very reason their responsibility lay, to a very large extent, with these very sources of their power. Thus they had to see to the continued functioning of the system which they administered and this naturally included the Advisory Board. Ironically though they needed at least the token co-operation of the members of the Board. To achieve this they were obliged to walk a tight-rope between getting the compliance of the councillors and the knowledge that an over-demand for compliance could lead to members seeking alternative channels for pursuing their goals. The possibility that alternative channels could be sought or alternative bodies created might not have

been seen as too much of a threat by the officials but it was real enough and their task was to discourage even such a possibility. Although this point is pursued further in the concluding chapter, it is interesting to note here that the Port Elizabeth townships have a history of 'outside' threatening organisations. Thus the year 1928 had the Vigilance Committee; 1929 also had an 'alternative body'; 1930 the A.N.C.; 1931 Vigilantes; 1934 the Location Chairman; 1940's the Regulations Committee; 1949 to 1969 had various such bodies including the A.N.C., especially in 1962.

The officials are part of a bureaucratic system and they are expected to treat the councillors who constitute their 'clients', in an impersonal way. In fact they are responsible for doing so according to the rules of the bureaucracy. Officially hence they are not expected to enter into transactional relationships with members of the Advisory Board. Although not thought of in these terms by officialdom, such transactional relationships would make them partly responsible to and hence dependant for rewards upon the councillors, their clients. In actual fact of course, they do enter into transactional relationships<sup>(1)</sup>. Although extracts from some of the meetings where this was seen to occur serve as examples, the meetings should be viewed in their entirety to get an idea of the complete series of exchanges.

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(1) Consideration here is given only to those relationships that develop at the meetings themselves. Outside of the context of the Board this naturally also occurs as in the number of cases where officials have personally encouraged some of the more prominent members to again make themselves available for Board membership.

Jacobs: "Mr. Chairman, I think we must give the members credit for voicing their feelings so honestly. The Advisory Board must be consulted on issues like this. And I am going to see to it!"

(Meeting 13).

Botha: "Mr. Chairman, I would just like to say what my Board is doing. We are with you! (points). We will help. If what we need are emergency measures then these will be applied. I have just come back from Pretoria and I want to tell you gentlemen your recommendations are being accepted - we will report to you on the results all the time. So you mustn't always think that your recommendations just fall flat".

(Meeting 21).

Further examples: Meetings 2, 7, 8, 14, 15 and 18, pages 323, 372, 385, 467, 478 and 499.

Decisions on issues raised by councillors are almost without exception decided upon somewhere and sometime other than at the Board meetings themselves. The referral (or deferral) strategy which was illustrated earlier is largely instrumental in this process. In fact the end result of the process may be that no decision is made at all (see Table 6). Given the strategic positions occupied by the senior officials the councillors expect them to act as channels of communication to higher authority (3a and 3b in Diagram 7). Should the officials act as barriers or even filters however they can become the targets of resentment. The excerpts of statements above constitute promises that are components of transactions set in motion, and the councillors want to see them fulfilled.

Phambi: "The problem has not been our side, but what has been done about the proposals and suggestions we have put forward over all these years. (Meeting 7)

Maxakana: "Mr. Chairman, what is the use if we make any suggestions here? We make resolutions and we make resolutions, but nothing is ever done about the resolutions!" (Meeting 25).

Further example: Meeting 19 and 27, pages 528 and 632.

Broached further on this subject after a meeting, Mr. Maxakana felt that much depended on the attitude of a specific official and that in spite of policy or legislation much can be achieved with the co-operation of such a man:

"When perhaps you have the co-operation of that particular head, that head - when it was municipalities - it entirely rested with the chairman. We had from the municipality such co-operation.

Perhaps you'll find some variety. Those areas where the heads co-operate with the advices and suggestions of members you find quite a lot is being fulfilled .... things like requests for sporting stadiums, schools, improvements of housing shortage and so on .... extensions of areas for businesses. Depends on flexibility of a particular head. We know it is policy .... you can't have this or that in town ... so that man is important. Often used as an excuse. A number of

things .... in spite of it being policy the way can still be paved. If the attitude of officials is that of sympathy then quite often you find there is a green light. With us the defence of the officials is that it is policy".

Councillors like Phambi, Maxakana, Mcinga and Majola who have the greatest public support are essentially transactional leaders. As such, their continued support and effective functioning (relatively speaking) depends to a large extent on their public credibility, their legitimacy. It was shown in Chapter 10 that many of these men function as urban brokers. They are known to have access to officials (may even be believed to be in a position to manipulate them) and an ability to negotiate the jungle of regulations and legislation.

It is thus essential that these councillors should regularly be able to demonstrate that they can and will do what they often promise to do. Apart from acting as broker for individual township people however, councillors also need to demonstrate their successful (or at the worst, dedicated and persistent) functioning in the Advisory Board.

In gauging the success achieved by the councillors it is immediately apparent that major government legislation and policy were the hard-

est nuts to crack. The more mundane, practical and day-to-day problems were tackled with much more success - though often only after a long and persistent battle (see Table 6).

The record of meetings shows that some items came up for discussion repeatedly from month to month and even from year to year (see Table 4 for the years 1920 - 1971 and Table 5 and 6 for December 1972 to March 1976). Perhaps the classic example is the request for improved toilet facilities first made by Mr. Majola during Meeting 8, July 1973. The issue was again raised at Meetings 11, 13, X, 15, 18 and 20 (January 1975) some reported success came during Meetings X, 15 and 20.

Some requests just 'disappeared' (see Table 6). The request for a revival of the site and service housing scheme came up at meetings 12 and 14 but never again during the research period.

As councillors became more persistent (and insistent) so their successes increased (compare with the graph in Diagram 10 showing the increase in the use of aggressive strategies by the councillors).

Maxakana: "Mr. Chairman, year after year we have been complaining about this and it is long past time that something is done. We are getting very tired ....."

(Meeting 8).

Mcinga: "This (housing) is a serious problem and it must be solved. Not to-morrow! Immediately! If necessary Mr. Chairman we must take a deputation straight to Pretoria" (the tail-end of a long well-motivated statement)

(Meeting 12)

Maxakana: "This Board has already previously resolved NO cement floors! Now these are cement! We don't like to be bluffed!" (Meeting 13)

Further examples: Meetings 1, 13, 17, 20, 21 and 23, pages 300, 454, 497, 533, 548 and 573.

These strategies did not exclude the use of what we have called the 'factual-objective' strategy - Table 5. As members gained confidence and experience their requests became better motivated. Their demands were increasingly supported by factual information. 70% of all such arguments used by councillors were used from meeting 12 onwards.

Positive follow-up and feed-back in writing, on recommendations made by councillors only became directly and regularly available as of meeting 15, i.e. from half-way through the observation period, e.g. in a communication to the Advisory Board at Meeting 16 the B.A.A.B. reported on its actions as regards housing, promising amongst other things, to report to the Department of Bantu Administration. In

other words the sequence Councillors (S) —————→ (3a) —————→  
 Officials (C) —————→ (3b) —————→ Government (R) as depicted  
 in Diagram 7 had successfully been completed. Meeting 18 saw 14  
 pages of B.A.A.B. reaction to Advisory Board recommendations being  
 tabled (compare also meetings 20, 22, 24). The report included  
 items under engineering, additional classrooms, community centre,  
 street lights and roads, housing, amendment to regulations, playing  
 fields, trading sites etc. The Chief Director made a special state-  
 ment about the report:

Botha: "Mr. Chairman, I would just like to point out that  
 this is the first time that we have had a proper progress  
 report. I made a promise to the Advisory Board and now we  
 can all see what can be achieved if we all work together".

The required full cycle of communication was hence achieved. From  
 complaints by the public (S) —————→ (4a) through the Advisory  
 Board (C) —————→ (4b) to the officials (acting on behalf of the  
 B.A.A.B., first as (R) then as (C) ) —————→ (8) back to the  
 public now as (R) (Diagram 7). Occasionally an official like the  
 Chief Director would undercut the possible political capital that  
 councillors might have gained by press coverage for their success.  
 He, (S), did this by not using (8) but (7a) —————→ Press (C) —————→  
 (7b) —————→ Public (R). In so doing he was probably boosting  
 his own credibility but at the cost of the Advisory Board.

Advisory Board members resented this. They felt that the improved facilities, new housing or whatever other changes in the townships were only achieved through their own persistent and continuous endeavours. Had they been able to make such announcements themselves, either to the press or at public meetings, it would have constituted a boost for their credibility. A major part of the reason why a large section of the Black public continued to reject the Advisory Board and its members was to be found in this fact. For years they, as idealistic and public spirited men argue and petition but when they achieve some results the public are not aware of this or the credit goes to the administration.

Councillors were fully aware of the possible value that public meetings could have for helping to establish their legitimacy and as an exploitable resource (although obviously not in these terms). However, the 'stalling' strategy of officials and the regulations governing the holding of meetings (see Chapter 10) made it difficult if not impossible to do so.

Mzamane: "Here we have an example of a good suggestion, Mr. Chairman, but we can't tell our people about it because its difficult to call meetings. Can we call meetings for this - report-back meetings?".

Botha: "Mr. Chairman, we have a set procedure whereby meetings can be held but I think the committee and the Board must first get some concrete decisions before we go to the people"

(Meeting 20).

Maxakana: "We need a public meeting Mr. Chairman. We must in any case get a chance to report back to the people"

and

"I want an open meeting. These things must be known to the public. We need to report back to the people!"

(Meeting 27)

Further example: Meeting 22, page 572.

In after-meeting discussions councillors expressed very definite views about this matter:

"If you hold a meeting a nolali must be present. Then that sort of discouraged people in holding meetings. You must get a permit, then you must tell nolali to be present. If the nolali is not going to be present you cannot hold that meeting. Wanting all this discourages people. We are Advisory Board people, we are supposed to report back. We owe those people reports. Hence that day, you will recall, when I said we must, there must be a meeting when the people are going to be told what is happening - why this rental is being increased. Even now that meeting has not been held!"

(Maxakana).

"Our problem is we cannot be effective! We can't be effective because we don't report back! We don't report back because it is ever so difficult to hold a meeting. Red-tape!" (Mcinga).

Except on a person-to-person basis, members of the Advisory Board thus found it very difficult to reach their public via communication channel (1) in Diagram 7. What they wanted was, councillors (S) :  
 —————→ (1) —————→ Public (R), but failing this they took recourse in the press in activating the sequence, Councillors (S)  
 —————→ (2a) —————→ Press (C) —————→ (2b) —————→  
 Public (R).

The role of the press.<sup>(1)</sup>

Representatives of the English-language press were in regular attendance at Advisory Board meetings (see Table 2 - the press were in attendance, sometimes with more than one representative, at 86,2% of the meetings studied). The role of the press reporters was essentially a 'normal' one i.e. to report the proceedings of the Advisory Board meetings. However, the two reporters, Messrs. Makwabe and Bukashe, who were more regularly in attendance, had very strong Phambi/Kwaru connections and affiliations (see Meeting 14). In fact, during the latter part of the observation period Mr. Bukashe became the president of Kwaru.

(1) The use of the press by Advisory Board members was also extensively covered in Chapter 11.

Mr. Makwabe for example, always felt himself very involved with the affairs of his people. A good reporter by reputation, he felt himself concerned with the affairs of his people and he was also somewhat of a activist in the view of the Administration. He privately professed acute frustration at the small returns and slow pace of change achieved in the Advisory Board. Upon occasion he tried to have a direct effect on proceedings by passing little notes of advice to councillors.

For the duration of the research period, the press reporters kept up a steady vigilance, and comprehensively reported on activities in the Advisory Board.

A number of examples were given in Chapter 11 of issues and discussions which had their origin in the Boardroom, and through the press became part of members' 'extra-Boardroom' activities. In the examples given the councillors were not only successful in the model (Diagram 7)

sequence of councillors (S) —————> (2a) —————> Press (C) —————> Public (R), but also in so doing activated the sequence, Councillors (S) —————> (3a) —————> Officials (C) —————> (3b) —————> government (R) and Government (S) —————> (6a) —————> officials (C) —————> (7a) —————> Press (C) —————> (7b) —————> Public (R).

An issue first mooted by a councillor during a meeting and which was picked up and carried on by the press serves as a further illustration:

Phambi: "This is not an accurate account of the meeting we had with Mr. Botha! (at this point Mr. Smith is busy paging through his papers, probably in an attempt to find the original documentation to which Mr. Phambi is referring).

Can I please have your attention, Mr. Chairman! This is an important matter! Point 4 there in the letter. We were in fact dead against this removal and .....

Chairman: "These are matters that must be taken up with the Administration Board. If you like we can call a meeting with the Executive Committee of the B.A.A.B."

Phambi: "An urgent meeting".

Chairman: "All right, an urgent meeting and what points do you want to raise?"

Amongst the points Mr. Phambi listed was what he called "This new condition that people must produce homeland citizenship certificates before they can obtain home ownership in urban areas". Later in the meeting (Number 28), during his committee report, he stated further that attempts were being made to petition the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, to receive a deputation to present its case against homeland citizenship as a condition for obtaining home ownership in the urban areas.

"GOVERNMENT TOLD OF P.E. BLACKS' TALKS REQUEST.

The request for an urgent meeting with the Government about Homeland citizenship for urban Africans, made by the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board on Monday night, has been conveyed to the Government.

The Chief Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Mr. B.L. Botha, flew to Pretoria yesterday to convey the message personally to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr. Cruywagen.

The Advisory Board had asked Mr. Botha to arrange a meeting with the Minister to discuss the question of homeland citizenship, etc."

(Eastern Province Herald, Thursday,  
July 22, 1976).

"AFRICANS PLAN TO SEE BOTHA.

Herald Reporter.

The date for the proposed meeting between the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. Botha, and a delegation of the Port Elizabeth Joint Bantu Advisory Board, is expected to be known today or tomorrow.

This was said yesterday by the Chief Director of the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Mr. B.L. Botha, who was asked by the Board to arrange a meeting with the Minister to discuss the question of homeland citizenship.

Mr. Botha said he delivered the Board's request to the Secretary of Bantu Administration in Pretoria last week".

(Eastern Province Herald,  
Tuesday, July 27, 1976).

Another issue which was touched on in Chapter 11 also had its origin in the Advisory Board, eventually to gain momentum through the press and which in turn led to success. Mr. Phambi initiated the motion (see full discussion in meeting 20) which stated that in view of the many restrictions suffered by urban Blacks, a conference of representatives of all Bantu Advisory Boards in the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board's area should be arranged in the near future.

As was seen in Chapter 11 (pp. 244 - 248 ) the issue was carried by the press and was eventually successfully concluded:

"Urban Blacks to meet in P.E."

"Bantu Board move backed"

"Bid by P.E. Africans gets wide support"

"Convention Proposal to go before Minister"

"New Deal"

"Black Urban Heads Meet"

The meeting discussed various restrictions on urban Blacks e.g. influx control, home ownership and homeland citizenship. It was unanimously decided to appeal to the government to alleviate these strictures on township residents. A more specific example of the kind of message that was being communicated will illustrate the role that the press was playing:

"NO TO SEBE

REJECTED AS HEAD OF CITIZEN TALKS

PORT ELIZABETH - Urban leaders here gave a major no to the leadership of Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe.

They decided not to ask him to convene a national convention of urban leaders to discuss the question of full South African citizenship for urban Blacks.

But they will press ahead with plans for the conference, without Mr. Sebe or other homeland leaders.

The decision was taken at a Joint Bantu Advisory Board meeting.

The Board rejected a recommendation by the general purposes committee that Mr. Sebe, in consultation with other homeland leaders, be asked to convene the convention to discuss full South African citizenship for urban Africans.

Mr. B.P. Maxakana said he approved of the convention but saw no need why it should be convened by homeland leaders.

The old order had to change and urban Africans must make their own decisions.

Mr. M. Phambi, chairman of the general purposes committee, said the recommendation had been made because political channels were closed to the urban Africans.

The attitude of the Government was that they would speak to the urban dweller only 'through so-and-so'.

But if it could be convened without the aid of homeland leaders they would be prepared to support it.

'I doubt if urban leaders would be granted such an opportunity - that is why we wanted to use channels acceptable to the Government', Mr. Phambi said.

Mr. Maxakana said Advisory Boards had successfully fought the homeland citizenship issue. The old order had to change in a conference room, or in a confrontation, and they had to try the conference room first, Mr. Maxakana said.

Mr. Maxakana's counter proposal was carried and it was resolved that all urban leaders be called together for such a convention"

(Indaba, Supplement to the Eastern Province Herald, October 29, 1976) (1)

Officials were equally aware of the potential value of the press.

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(1) The meeting reported on here took place after the research/observation period of this project had ended.

Botha: "We have rules. There must be discipline! The press can note this as well. The role of the press is very important but they must be responsible or they will lose their privileges and my understanding with the press has always been good?" (Meeting 20).

The credit gained by members of the Advisory Board through reports in the press were sometimes counter-balanced by press releases by the Administration. These often had a directly negative effect in the sense that the credibility of the councillors was actually undermined. One such issue concerned rent increases. This was discussed during meetings at the very time that matters were continually being referred for discussion from the Advisory Board to a committee consisting of the Chief Director and the five committee chairmen (see meetings 24, 27, 28). Councillors wanted discussion to take place at a full Board meeting and wanted the opportunity to go to the public:

Maxakana: "We have heard a lot about rent increases that are coming to the townships. The reasons for this rise has been explained to us but the people know nothing about this yet. Give us a meeting so that we can explain the increases to the people" (Meeting 22).

Qumza: "When are the raised rentals notifications<sup>(1)</sup> going out? Why have they not been circulated yet?" (Meeting 23).

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(1) Actually 'explanations', see meeting 23.

However, before anything could happen the Eastern Province Herald of April 2, 1975 had carried the bold headline, INCREASE IN RENT OF BLACKS APPROVED. The article explained that:

"MINISTERIAL approval had been obtained for rent increases that would boost the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board's revenue from 44 000 houses in its area by a third from this month, the Chief Director of the Board, Mr. B.L. Botha, said yesterday.

Mr. Botha said the increases were expected to be gazetted this month and they would be retrospective to April 1".

An explanation was also given:

"The increase is the first in a plan by the B.A.A.B. to raise R45 million for better services and amenities for the 500 000 Africans in its area"

and,

"He (Mr. Botha) said circulars explaining the increases had been sent yesterday<sup>(1)</sup> to all affected house occupiers. Tenants had been advised to show the circulars to their employers, Mr. Botha said".

and,

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(1) It is interesting to note the date of this report, April 2, and to compare it to the date of Meeting 23, April 7, when Mr. Qumza made his enquiry.

"In a recent interview Mr. Botha said some employers with whom the plan had been discussed had said they would meet the increased rents through higher salaries and wages".

The crunch as far as Advisory Board members were concerned came in the last paragraph:

"Before the plan was announced, officials of the B.A.A.B., its chairman, Mr. C. Versfeld and Mr. Botha held a series of talks with African leaders and commercial and industrial representatives to outline the scheme to them"

(My underlining).

This was widely interpreted as suggesting that members of the Advisory Board had rubber-stamped the increases.

The reaction of Mr. H.J. Siwisa (a New Brighton resident who served on the old Port Elizabeth Native Advisory Board from 1935 to 1949) was typical,

"The Advisory Board has lost touch with the feelings of the people. We need vigilance committees like in the old days so that we can air our grievances. We have no new facilities so why have the rents gone up? Nobody has explained this to us! I think a lot of people even think we are still under the municipality".

Mr. Maxakana's reaction to this was,

"I would welcome such vigilance committees. We don't get the chance to have enough contact with the people we are supposed to represent".

Whenever success was achieved, whether directly or indirectly as a result of the efforts of the Advisory Board, the Administration or Government's decision would often be announced in the press as 'Concessions to Urban Blacks'. At such times the press would approach members of the Advisory Board for comment. On one such occasion the issues of home ownership and trading rights had been raised at Advisory Board level (e.g. Meetings 15, 17, 22, 26) and been taken to ministerial level<sup>(1)</sup>. When it was eventually announced that urban Blacks would in future receive home ownership on a 30-year lease basis and that certain restrictions on trading rights would be removed, the press approached 'Prominent members of the African community' for comment.

All the councillors interviewed grasped the opportunity to gain extra mileage by stating that the concessions were improvements but that they fell short of what they were really striving for. The report, in the Evening Post (10th December 1975) was headed 'FULL RIGHTS WANTED - P.E. AFRICANS REACT TO URBAN CONCESSIONS' and reported that prominent members of the African community welcomed the announcement of concessions but that they would continue pressing for full rights.

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(1) See also Chapter 11.

Mr. Maxakana, "a prominent business man and member of the New Brighton Advisory Board" was quoted as saying,

"The announcement of home rights for Urban Africans has been welcomed as a temporary relief (but) the concessions are not the answers to the many problems besetting the Africans in urban areas. I feel Black people should be allowed to own both land and buildings and be allowed to raise loans on them. Giving the African a 30 year lease does not remove the life-long anxiety that Africans are nothing but sojourners in the land of the White man".

Mr. J. Mzamane ("a member of the Advisory Board") said:

"I do not appreciate this move - because it falls short of proper land ownership. It means we must develop land belonging to the Bantu Affairs Administration Board. A 30-year leasehold is too short for a businessman to build a proper shop. Businessmen will only be happy with a 100-year leasehold".

The Reverend, S.R. Morija, of New Brighton, said that the Government's decision was "definitely a step in the right direction". "But there is a snag in it - 30 years is a very short time". "We are a nation which is always on the move and we would like to know what will happen to all the money we have sunk in our homes in 30 years time", Mr. Morija said.

Mr. M. Phambi, chairman of the Finance and General Purposes committee of the Joint Bantu Advisory Board and a prominent business man said:

"Concessions are welcomed and I regard them as a progressive step towards building healthy and harmonious race relations in our country. The right of home ownership is highly appreciated but I believe and trust that it will be a stepping stone to property rights eventually for urban Africans.

I am a strong believer in the philosophy that we take what we get, use what we get in order to get what we want".

"My strong belief and desire is that the urban African should be more involved in the administrative machinery, running and conducting his affairs and be an active participant in the decision-making local authority".

#### Resources and credibility

Essentially, part of the strategies adopted by the participants in the meetings observed, consisted of confronting each other with statements (mostly verbal, but occasionally aided by actions) indicating the extent of their resources. This was done to coerce an opponent into either accepting a point of view or to intimidate an opponent into executing certain wishes. In doing so a participant hoped to activate, successfully, the channel of communication which he thought would produce the desired results. In simpler terms participants would employ obstruction, threat, pleading or whatever strategy they thought to be appropriate for activating available resources (Table 5).

Officials had their resources in legislation, government backing, the technicalities of meeting format and in conciliation. Councillors perceived their resources in their people (by implication their mood and numbers), in their future compliance with the Advisory Board system and in obstruction.

Maxakana: "The people are dissatisfied, Mr. Chairman. If they don't get a place to stay there is going to be trouble in these townships. Big trouble".

(Meeting 14).

Phambi: "We won't sit in this Board if it comes to that. We'll go back to our own people! (Meeting 13)

Phambi: ". . . . rendering the urban African community an easy target and prey to other influences offering salvation". (Meeting 15).

As different issues came under discussion in the Boardroom we had the clashing of what Kapferer (1972) would call different 'perceptual fields'. From the process of discussion, interaction, decision-making, negotiation and compromise, and within the context of the socio-political climate of the time, an end-product in the form of the relevant action field was produced. The nature of this action field in the final analysis determined whether the status quo was to be maintained or whether change was to occur.

In a sense the Advisory Board was constantly fighting for survival. Subjected to ridicule ever since it came into being, its members were faced with the problem of maintaining some semblance of relevancy for the Board. Their attempts were mainly directed at adjusting the structure and the system of which it was part. By doing this they hoped to make the Board functional within the environment to which they believed themselves to be sensitive. This hope was constantly kept alive by those successes that they did achieve.

Although not intent upon encouraging change, the officials too had a vested interest in the continued functioning of the Advisory Board. As was shown earlier, the Board was under constant threat from rival organisations only too keen to take its place or usurp its functions as the supposed mouth-piece and representative organ of the township residents. The strategy adopted was to eliminate the rival structures in the environment or to attempt to demonstrate the Advisory Board's effectiveness (or at least to convince the members that this was the case).

Botha: "I am quite happy. It has been a lack of communication. This Advisory Board has again served a purpose".

(Meeting 2).

Botha: "I am glad Mr. Chairman that the Advisory Board is fulfilling its function. These are examples of the kind of information we need for proper planning"

(Meeting 15).

Chairman: "You are not useless! Your representations are heard. These things that you are dissatisfied with are part of the democratic process"

(Meeting 27).

Further examples: Meetings 8, 13 and 18, pages 385, 454 and 499.

In the introduction to this work it was noted that the study of statutory bodies like the Advisory Board have been all but ignored by urban anthropologists. The reasons given were that 'normal or natural' political activity in the Black urban areas is not possible because legislation does not permit it and that Government-instituted bodies like the Advisory Boards play no role at all in the 'real' political life of the people. The problem which immediately arises of course lies in the interpretation of the terms 'normal', 'natural' and 'real'. Although the Advisory Board was by definition not designed to be a political body in the sense of having executive and decision-making functions, it was used for real political purposes by the members. If what transpired does not qualify as normal or natural political activity, the question should be asked whether only normal or natural political

activity warrants study in the first place. It has been demonstrated that some of the men who came forward (and keep coming forward) were recognised leaders in their community and were men with a wide following. The final part of the answer to the objections can be found in the fact that these men did achieve results, though often very modest, from within the context of the local-level political arena.

The question which was investigated in the introduction to this chapter, 'Why did men continue to serve on the Advisory Board' is further brought into perspective by the evidence of the meetings that we have examined. The active more vociferous members, but with the tacit consent of the silent majority, were prepared to sacrifice frequent and immediate returns on their attempts at achieving their major goals while accepting results in minor goals. While operating in a way more or less consistent with the system they believed that they were building a launching platform for strategies aimed at changing the system itself. The occasional, though sporadic, 'concessions' announced by the government kept this belief alive.

Possibly, other motivations like ambition, prestige, status or even profit also played a role. But more probably, though more indirectly, the driving force was a wish for greater access to more resources - not only for them personally but also for their people in general.

When changes or concessions or improvements did occur they firmly believed these to be as a result of their persistent efforts. Whether they were always in fact directly or even indirectly responsible for such occurrences is of course debatable. However, if the changes were brought about by government as a response to pressures other than from the Advisory Board, the members were often responsible for articulating and channeling information about such pressures to the administration.

After the Advisory Board had been in existence for more than fifty years, official strategy underwent a major change for the first time. Perhaps in recognition of changes that had been taking place in the environment and by implication responding to the messages that Advisory Board members had been conveying for many years, a new structure was created. In the same year that the period of research was concluded Community Councils took the place of the Advisory Boards. Given a Black chairman, decision-making power and greater autonomy, these bodies were intended to have greater relevancy. Members of the Advisory Board were not slow in reacting or in taking some of the credit:

"Our efforts over all these years have not been in vain. These are some of the things we have been fighting for. But I hope we go all the way to the B.A.A.B." (Phambi).

"How long now have we been demanding changes. But now they are late and too little. We will carry on." (Maxakana).

SECTION V.

EPILOGUE

CHAPTER 15

Evaluation of the present and a  
perspective for the future.

"Older people are interested and not all of them. With the youngsters, no, the attitude of the youngsters is that of ..  
... they are in despair.

Whether it is the Ciskei Government or the Advisory Board, with them it is meaningless. The little influence that it (Board) can bring is a waste of time. Quite a number of them (young people) have written letters, though in the *nom de plume* style and they suggest the best is to be directly involved. High schools, Fort Hare<sup>(1)</sup> students, they tear us to pieces. They say it is a waste of time"

(B.P. Maxakana).

"I think there are people who have got strong political views, and I don't blame them .... and why the most able and highly academic persons rarely go to the Board. They have strong views, strong feelings ....."

(P.A. Mcinga)

"Those with strong political views will have nothing to do with the Board".

(G. Qumza)

Less than four months after the last Advisory Board meeting was attended for the purposes of this research project the Port Elizabeth Black townships erupted with rioting. Houses and Administration buildings were stoned and burnt, as were cars and buses. Within the first 24 hours of rioting it was reported that 33 people died, 33 were wounded and 64

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(1) A university for Blacks serving mainly the Eastern Cape area.

arrested. A few days later an Advisory Board member, Mr. B.P. Maxakana was detained by security police while attending a court hearing in which several of the arrested pupils (including his son and nephew) were appearing. Following closely on disturbances in Soweto (Johannesburg) and elsewhere, the main reason given by the rioters was the obligatory incorporation of Afrikaans as a school subject<sup>(1)</sup>.

The reason could not have been as simple as that. What has been seen elsewhere in the world is that violent action often has its foundation in the collective experiences of relative deprivation - whether real or imaginary. Although violence may in general be culturally taboed, as certainly was the case for most of the Port Elizabeth township residents, it may crystallise as a viable alternative in the apparent absence of other channels of redress. Under such conditions even very negative practices may be viewed as noble ideals for which an individual might be prepared to sacrifice his own material well-being for the sake of his people.

If viable vehicles of political expression exist and are at the disposal of the people, such vehicles may act, at the very least, as lightning conductors. However, if the residents of the townships

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(1) See Meeting 22.

of Port Elizabeth see neither Homelands politics nor the Advisory Board as effective options, then they find themselves in a political vacuum.

The members of the Advisory Board were at this time in an exceptionally unenviable position. The Black urban upheavals saw an acceleration in the demand for political change and an increase in the questioning of the bases of political authority. More than at any other time, the legitimacy of the councillors as middlemen came sharply into focus.

At the Advisory Board elections held toward the end of the same year as the riots, not one member came forward for re-election. The Administration hence appointed 23 members to serve for the new year. Attendance at Board meetings was an immediate problem. The meetings due to be held early in the year (1977) after the riots failed to muster a quorum. Three attempts to hold a meeting in May failed. At the last attempt (May 30) four members turned up.

Bailey (1970) has identified the reason for the breaking down of structures as to be found in the strains the environment imposes upon it. A political structure interacts with its environment. Easton (1965) has shown that the arrows of causation point in both

directions. A political structure can remain compatible with its socio-cultural environment by adapting to it or by adapting the environment itself. On both counts, in spite of the councillors' many small victories, the Advisory Board failed. However change did take place, but then the seeds of change can be found in almost any situation of conflict. And it does not mean that the change comes directly from those who are pressing for it. Government itself, through the Administration, eventually effected the changes.

The newspapers of the day hailed the event as:

"New decision-making era for urban Africans"

and

"New powers lead Africans into field of decision-making"

Many of the changes that Advisory Board members had been fighting for for decades, now became reality:

"What we want is more power. We want our own Black chairman" (P.A. Mcinga, interview).

"We must stop this 'advisory' business. The legislation must be changed. Everybody must be elected and we want power. We want our own man in the chair" (J. Mzamane, interview).

"The constitution should change. Stop this advisory status - we must become representative" (B.P. Maxakana, Meeting 19).

"Mr. Chairman, I question this thing that we cannot 'resolve'. Why do we exist then?" (M. Phambi, Meeting 19).

The new Act (125 of 1977, Community Councils) did in fact allow for changes. A Black chairman, certain decision-making powers, in fact a status on a par or even higher than existing White municipalities was envisaged. The Chief Minister of Ciskei himself and homeland politics in general, became involved in the Community Council elections. The result was more public interest and a higher poll (see Chapter 10). The Ciskei Asinamali Party won the election ousting a number of ex-Advisory Board members in the process<sup>(1)</sup>. Two of the old Advisory Board members who had gained seats on the Community Council were themselves initially beguiled by the prospect. Interviewed after the first meeting, they had much praise:

"What a strange but wonderful experience. This has been a big day in our history. I hope this is a stepping stone toward eventual full membership of the B.A.A.B.

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(1) Mr. Phambi gained his seat as a member of the opposition. Though widely backed as the probable first chairman of the Community Council, a Ciskei block vote saw Mr. J. Twaku win. Rivalry between the two men was a feature of the Community Council meetings until Mr. Phambi was ejected from the body on a technicality. Mr. Twaku applied a ruling that no member is allowed to leave a meeting without the permission of the chairman - which Mr. Phambi had done. He never went back.

It was such an experience to meet in these circumstances, with proper agendas, the right to discuss important issues man to man with officials and get the answers to vital questions"

(M. Phambi)

"This is something I have looked forward to for a long time. When we were first told we were getting greater powers and would be more closely involved in decision-making I never dreamt it would be like this. Looking back on my 40 years on the Advisory Board I see a history of operating on a very hit and miss footing. Oh, its going to change now"

(S. Morija)

However, "..... lurking in the environment of some political structures are rival political structures, waiting to take the job over and show that they can do it better and more than willing to go in for sabotage" (Bailey 1970 : 11). Township residents in general were still wary of this 'new deal'.

Members of the Community Council itself had anticipated getting greater powers than did in fact materialise. They also questioned the continued presence of the Administration Board as a kind of 'big brother'. There was also another problem:

"According to my view it was rather unfortunate that the Community Councils came into being about the same time as the unrest in the Republic. As they were a novelty during

those troubled times, they were viewed with scepticism. Many regarded them as institutions that differed from Advisory Boards and Urban Bantu Councils in name only, whilst in essence they remained the same"

(Xulu, 1978 : 111).

Little more than a year after the Community Councils had properly started functioning, history was to repeat itself. In 1922 and 1924 even the 'stokfel' and 'soirees' were seen as a threat to the Advisory Board. In 1928 it was the Vigilance Committee, 1930 the A.N.C., 1931 the Vigilantes, 1934 the 'Location Chairman' and from 1949 various other such bodies with the A.N.C. especially prominent from 1962 onwards.

Soon after leaving the Community Council Mr. Phambi formed the 'Committee of 21'. This committee questioned the efficacy of the Community Council and claimed to be the 'real representatives' of the people. Almost as quickly however, this body too was eclipsed by a rival calling itself the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation. Again familiar Advisory Board names were to be seen on the executive e.g. J. Mzamane (vice-chairman), B.P. Maxakana and J. Dukada. Two thousand people joined the organisation on its first day of a membership drive and meetings in the New Brighton Centenary Hall were drawing up to eight thousand township residents<sup>(1)</sup>. The Chairman of the new organisation claimed that it arose out of a need for leadership which could not be given by the State-linked Community Council.

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(1) Permission to hold public meetings was by now being given more easily and more frequently.

The Chairman of the Community Council not only claimed that his council does represent the people, but also that the system must be seen as a step in the right direction and that it hence constituted an opportunity to be grasped. A number of the members however expressed their concern over the continued presence of the B.A.A.B. with its continued wide-ranging control over the affairs of them and their people. What they wished to see was that the Community Council should get complete control over the lives of the urban Black, no matter the consequences. They wanted to be equipped to demonstrate to the people their ability to 'deliver the goods'.

Officially the permanency of the Blacks in the urban areas has now been recognised. The expressed intent with the Community Council system would seem to be serious. The message of the wish and the need for urban Blacks themselves to control the circumstances that affect their lives has been persistently transmitted over many years and has now clearly been received. A reaction in the form of swift and concerted action to make this possible will be the only acceptable answer.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ADVISORY BOARD REGULATIONS

Definitions

1. In these regulations, unless inconsistent with the context -  
"Act" means the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act No. 25 of 1945), as amended: "Advisory Board" in relation to any Urban Bantu Residential Area means the Bantu Advisory Board constituted for such area in terms of these regulations: "Board" means the Cape Midlands B.A.A.B:  
"Bantu Residential Area" means any area defined and set apart as Bantu township or Bantu Village or as an extension of a Bantu Residential Area or Bantu Village by the Board with the approval of the Minister in terms of paragraph (a) or (b) of sub-Section (1) of Section two of the Act; "Bantu township regulations" mean the regulations published under Govt. Notice 1036 dated June 1968, as amended; "Bantu Affairs Commissioner" means the Bantu Affairs Commissioner having jurisdiction; "registered occupier" means any person to whom a certificate of occupation or site, residential or lodger's permit has been issued in accordance with the regulations Governing the control and supervision of an Urban Bantu residential area relevant matters;  
  
"Returning Officer" means the person appointed by the Board to exercise the powers and perform the duties assigned to returning officers by these regulations;

"Superintendent" means the officer appointed and licensed under the provisions of sub-section (1) of Section twenty-two of the Act for the management of the location;

"urban area" means any urban area within the Board's area of jurisdiction.

#### Application

2. Except where otherwise indicated, these regulations shall apply to a Bantu residential area only.

#### Number of Members

3. There shall be established for a Bantu residential Area an Advisory Board, which shall consist of the number of elected and appointed members as indicated in the schedule hereto, provided that, should the registered occupiers fail duly to nominate and elect the required number of members in respect of any election held in terms of these regulations, the Board may appoint as members of the Advisory Board the required number of persons, and such persons shall then be deemed to have been elected, provided, further, that any Advisory Board established under the regulations repealed by Regulation 35 in existence at the date of promulgation of these regulations, shall be deemed to have been established under these regulations.

#### Chairman

4. The Board shall appoint one of its members or some other

European conversant with Bantu Affairs as Chairman of the Advisory Board. The Chairman shall preside at meetings of the Advisory Board and generally act in an advisory capacity in regard to it, and shall have a casting vote only. In the absence of the Chairman from any meeting, an official designated by the Board shall preside thereat and perform all the functions and duties of the Chairman in connection with such meeting.

#### Notice of Nomination

5. The Superintendent shall annually, not later than the third day of September, convene a meeting of the registered occupiers in the Bantu residential area for the purpose of explaining to them regulations and of calling for the nomination of candidates for the election of members of the Advisory Board for the ensuing twelve months from the 1st October to 30th September, of which meeting public notice shall be given by posting a notice thereof during August on the notice board at the office of the Board and in some conspicuous place in the Bantu residential area for a period of not less than fourteen days.

#### Procedure where No Advisory Board Exists

6. (Not relevant here).

#### Disqualification of Candidates

7. No person shall be eligible for election or appointment to the Advisory Board who:-

- (i) being a registered occupier in the Bantu residential area has not, by return date paid all rent and other charges due by him to the Board up to the end of the month preceding his nomination or appointment; or
- (ii) has, within the period of two years immediately preceding the date of his nomination or appointment, been convicted of any offence in respect of which he has been sentenced to imprisonment, without the option of a fine, for a period of more than one month; or
- (iii) has, within the period mentioned in paragraph (ii), been convicted of any contravention of the regulations or amendment thereto; or
- (iv) by reason of any physical or mental disability is unfit to hold office as a member of the Advisory Board, or
- (v) holds an office in the service of the Board other than as a member of the Advisory Board.

#### Nominations to be in Writing

8. Nominations of candidates for election as members of the Advisory Board shall be submitted in writing to the Returning Officer, and no nomination shall be accepted unless supported by the signatures of at least five registered occupiers of the location qualified to vote, each of whom has paid his rent up to the end of the month preceding that in which the nominations are called for.

#### Handing in of Nominations

9. The nominations referred to in Regulation 8 shall be lodged

with the Returning Officer not later than the seventh day after the date of the nomination meeting referred to in Regulation 5 or 6, as the case may be. The Returning Officer shall, as soon as practicable after the period for lodging such nominations has expired, post on the notice board at the office of the Council and in some conspicuous place in the location a list of the candidates nominated and a notice convening a further meeting of the registered occupiers of the location, which meeting shall be held not less than seven nor more than ten days after the period for lodging such nominations has expired.

#### Announcement of Nominations

10. At the meeting mentioned in Regulation 9 the Returning Officer shall announce the names of the nominees, and if not more than eight qualified candidates have been nominated, he shall declare such candidates to be elected as members of the Advisory Board. In the event of more than eight qualified candidates having been nominated, the Returning Officer shall appoint a day on which a poll shall be held, being not more than ten days after the holding of the said meeting, and shall announce for what period, being not less than two hours, between the hours of 8 a.m. and 10 p.m., the poll shall be open on such day and the place at which the poll shall be held. The Returning Officer shall fix the hours during which the poll shall be open with due regard to the convenience of the majority of the registered occupiers of the location.

#### Polling Day

11. The Returning Officer shall cause to be posted on the notice board at the office of the Council and in some conspicuous place in the location, not less than seven days before the polling day, a notice intimating the date upon which, the place at which and the hours during which the poll will be held.

#### Recording of Votes

12. The Returning Officer shall attend during the hours and at the place fixed for the poll and shall record the votes given for each candidate.

#### Polling Station

13. No person other than the Returning Officer, his assistants and the person at the time recording his vote shall be admitted to the polling station.

#### Qualification of Voters

14. No person other than a male registered occupier of the location who appears to the Returning Officer to have attained the age of 18 years and who, during the polling hours fixed for any election, produces to the Returning Officer a receipt showing that he is not more than two months in arrear with his rent and any other charges due by him to the Council in terms of the location regulations, shall be permitted to vote at such election.

#### Manner of Voting

15. The Returning Officer, after satisfying himself that the person desirous of recording his vote is entitled to do so, shall ask him for which of the candidates nominated he wishes to vote, and shall record the votes given any such candidates, being not more than the number of candidates to be elected, by placing on a list of names of the nominated candidates a mark opposite the name of each candidate named by the elector. The Returning Officer shall thereupon mark such person's receipt referred to in Regulation 14 so as to show that he has recorded his vote.

#### Result of Election

16. As soon after the closing of the poll as practicable, the Returning Officer shall count the votes given for each candidate for election and shall declare the eight candidates who have received the greatest number of votes to be duly elected as member of the Advisory Board.

#### Determination in Event of Equal Number of Votes

17. If two or more candidates for election receive an equal number of votes, the successful candidate shall be determined by the casting of lots in the presence of the Returning Officer and in the manner prescribed by him.

#### Notification of Members Appointed by Council

18. The names of the members of the Advisory Board appointed by

the Council shall be notified by posting a notice on the notice board at the office of the Council and in some conspicuous place in the location as soon as practicable after the announcement of the names of the elected members in terms of Regulation 10 or 16.

#### Duration of Office of Members

19. Subject to the provisions of Regulations 6 and 20, the members of the Advisory Board shall hold office for a period of twelve months, but shall be eligible for election or appointment for any ensuing twelve months.

#### Vacancies

20. (1) Any member of the Advisory Board may by giving notice in writing under his hand delivered to the Chairman, resign his seat, which shall thereupon become vacant.
- (2) The seat of any member shall, ipso facto, become vacant if such member -
- (i) in sentences in respect of a conviction for any offence, to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period of more than seven days, or with the option of a fine, for a period of more than one month; or
  - (ii) is convicted of any contravention of the location regulations; or

- (iii) being a registered occupier in the location, leaves or absents himself from such location without the concurrence of the Advisory Board, for a continuous period of not less than six weeks, after his election or appointment; or
  - (iv) fails, without the leave of the Advisory Board, to attend three consecutive meetings of such Board; or
  - (v) by reason of any physical or mental disability becomes unfit to continue in office as a member of the Advisory Board; or
  - (vi) is inadvertently elected or appointed as a member of the Advisory Board, in spite of not being eligible for election or appointment thereto in terms of the provisions of Regulation 7; or
  - (vii) dies.
- (3) Etc. (Not relevant here).

#### Ordinary Meetings

21. (1) The Advisory Board shall hold its first meeting after its constitution in terms of these regulations, at such time and place as the Chairman may direct, provided that such first meeting shall be held within a period of one month after the constitution of the Advisory Board.
- (2) The ordinary meeting of the Advisory Board shall be held once a month on a day and at a time to be decided by the

Advisory Board, provided that, if for any reason such meeting cannot be held on the prescribed day, the Chairman may fix another day therefor, and in such event he shall at least three days before such a meeting post a notice in a conspicuous place in the location and inform each member thereof in writing.

#### Special Meetings

22. The Chairman may at any time, upon being satisfied of the necessity of so doing, call a special meeting of the Advisory Board, but no business shall be transacted at any such meeting except such as the meeting may have been specially convened to consider.

#### Attendance of Public at Meetings

23. Members of the public shall be entitled to attend any meeting of the Advisory Board in terms of Regulations 21 and 22, provided that if the Chairman deems it necessary that the proceedings of any meeting be conducted in camera, he may debar members of the public from attending such meeting or require them to withdraw from the meeting, as the case may be.

#### Time of Meetings

24. The chair shall be taken at the appointed hour, but if at the expiration of a quarter of an hour after the appointed time there shall not be a sufficient number of members present to

form a quorum, the Chairman shall declare the meeting adjourned until the date of the following meeting or such earlier date as may appear desirable, and notice of such adjourned meeting shall, at least three days before the date thereof, be posted in some conspicuous place in the location and each member shall be informed thereof in writing.

#### Quorum

25. Six members shall form a quorum.

#### Minute Book

26. The names of members present and a record of the proceedings of the meeting shall be noted in a minute book to be kept by such person, who need not be a member of the Advisory Board, as the Advisory Board shall appoint a Secretary, and the business of the meeting or adjourned meeting shall be commenced by the reading and confirmation of the minutes of the previous meeting or day's proceedings. Minutes, when so read and confirmed, shall be attested by the Chairman's signature in the presence of the members. A copy of the minutes shall, after each meeting, be sent by the Chairman to the Council.

#### Business of Meeting

27. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to bring to the notice of the Chairman all matters which may have been reserved for

consideration from a previous meeting and all notices of motion received by him, and the Chairman shall place such matters before the Advisory Board for discussion, but the order of business subsequent to the confirmation of the minutes shall be in his discretion.

#### Addressing Meeting

28. In discussing any question before the Advisory Board the speaker shall address the chair standing.

#### Precedence of Speakers

29. If two members address the chair at the same time and neither shall give way, the Chairman shall call upon the one who is, in his opinion, entitled to precedence.

#### Motions to be Seconded

30. When a motion or amendment is made by a member, it must be seconded by another member, otherwise it shall be dropped, and all further debate on the subject shall be discontinued, and an entry shall be made in the minutes that such was not seconded.

#### Motions to be Read

31. A motion or amendment, prior to its being put to the vote, shall be read aloud by the Chairman or Secretary.

#### Withdrawal of Motions

32. A motion of amendment made and seconded shall not be withdrawn unless by leave of the Advisory Board.

#### Compulsory Voting

33. Every member present who is entitled to vote shall give his vote on a division, unless he shall assign a reason judged by the Chairman to be sufficient for declining the vote.

#### Duties and Functions of Advisory Board

34. The duties and functions of the Advisory Board shall be :-
- (a) to act in an advisory capacity on matters concerning the location;
  - (b) to receive and consider complaints, representations and suggestions from the inhabitants and, if deemed necessary, to make representations thereon to the Council or a Committee appointed by the Council to deal with the affairs of the location;
  - (c) to receive and consider any report concerning the location by the Council or any of its officials and, if necessary, to make representations in regard to such report to the Council.
  - (d) to perform the functions assigned to it by the Act; and
  - (e) to render every assistance to the authorities in preserving law and order in the location.

#### Repeal of Regulations

35. (Not relevant here).

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF RETAIL AND SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS  
IN THE BLACK TOWNSHIPS, BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY

Type of Activity	No	%
1. General Dealer/Grocer <sup>(1)</sup>	98	26,2
2. Grocer/Greengrocer <sup>(2)</sup>	58	15,5
3. Butcher	14	3,7
4. Milk Depot <sup>(3)</sup>	11	2,9
5. Hawker : Fruit and Vegetables <sup>(4)</sup>	50	13,4
6. Hawker : Abbatoir Offal <sup>(5)</sup>	17	4,5
7. Municipal Bottle Store	5	1,3
8. Municipal Beer Hall	6	1,6
9. Dry Cleaner <sup>(6)</sup>	2	0,5
10. Undertaker	3	0,8
11. Garage/Service Station <sup>(7)</sup>	3	0,8
12. Hawker : Clothing <sup>(8)</sup>	7	1,9
13. Woodseller <sup>(9)</sup>	14	3,7
14. Newsagent <sup>(10)</sup>	1	0,2
15. Herbalist	6	1,6
16. Photographer	2	0,5
17. Dressmaker/Tailor	12	3,2
18. Cartage Contractor	14	3,7
19. Painting and Building Contractor	11	2,9
20. Carpenter	15	4,0
21. Boot and Shoe Repairer	11	2,9
22. Panel Beater	1	0,2
23. Artist	1	0,2
24. Tinker/Plumber	5	1,3
25. Show Promotor	1	0,2
26. Second Hand Furniture Dealer	2	0,5
27. Milliner	1	0,2
28. Taxi Service	2	0,5
29. Watchmaker	1	0,2
TOTAL	374	100,0

- (1) Stockists of Foodstuffs, Clothing, Hardware etc. Gross Floor Space greater than 150 sq. feet.
- (2) Stockists of Fresh Produce and Foodstuffs only. Gross Floor Space less than 200 sq. feet. Usually operate from Municipal stalls.
- (3) Stockists of Milk and Milk Products, but also includes a varying range of Foodstuffs, Beverages and Cigarettes/Tobacco. Usually operate from Municipal Stalls.
- (4) Itinerant traders who operated from Wagons, handcarts, vans, cars etc. Legally restricted to Fresh Produce, but in fact carry a varying range of other Grocery items.
- (5) Previously itinerant, now obliged to operate from fixed stalls for health reasons.
- (6) Only two Dry Cleaners are listed. Several agencies exist, however, and these usually operate from General Dealer's Stores.
- (7) Each of the three listed Garage/Service Stations operate under a General Dealer's licence and hence are permitted to carry Grocery items as well. The extent to which this is done varies, but in no case is it substantial. It was not possible to separate the Grocery function from the Garage/Service Station function in terms of Floorspace, Turnover, Employment etc.
- (8) All itinerant traders.
- (9) All itinerant traders. Includes firewood and scrap timber for building.
- (10) Sells daily newspapers only.

(Adapted from Davies, 1972:5-6)

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

BLACK TOWNSHIP HOUSING AND MAIN DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

A. NEW BRIGHTON

- (a) Red Location. Established - 1902. Number of houses - 1034. Rentals<sup>(1)</sup> applicable - R3.43, R3.47 and R3.51 per month. (All rentals have been increased but the latest figures are not available at the time of writing). Type of construction - wood and iron. As has been mentioned, this the original 'location' was the beginning of the present complex of townships. This scheme still exists virtually unaltered by its 76 years. Much of the original construction material, mostly wood and iron, has been replaced in order to maintain the buildings in a habitable state. Mainly old people and their families live there, a few of them since the establishment of the scheme, mainly because their meagre earnings cannot provide for the rentals of housing of a higher standard.
- (b) White Location. Established 1926. Number of houses - 310. Rentals applicable - R3.73 per month. Type of construction - Brick under iron. These 310 two-roomed and three-roomed brick under iron dwellings are still barely habitable today. This scheme was originally established when the Red Location became inadequate.

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(1) Including service charges. These figures have undergone a number of radical changes subsequent to this report.

- (c) McNamee Village. Established - 1938-1943. Number of houses, 2-roomed - 784, 3-roomed - 2698, 4-roomed - 24 (Total 3506). Monthly rentals, 2-roomed, R4.77 (Sub-economic), R5.42 (Economic), 3-roomed R5.07 (Sub-economic), R5.94 (Economic), 4-roomed, R5.55 (Sub-economic), R6.81 (Economic). Type of construction - Brick under iron or asbestos. This scheme has good roads, mostly surfaced and the houses are of a much higher standard than those subsequently permitted to be constructed. Construction was made possible in the first place because of very low interest money made available by the government in the 1930's. The municipality of the time grasped the opportunity to arrange a loan of more than R2,000,000 with the prime object of clearing the Korsten slum area which had come under its care.
- (d) Kwaford. Established - 1948-1951. Number of houses, 2-roomed - 946, 3-roomed - 28. Monthly rental, 2-roomed R2.17, 3-roomed R2.73. Type of construction - timber under asbestos. Kwaford came as a response to urgent low-cost housing in the post-war years. Built out of case planks made available by the Ford Motor Company it came to be known as Kwaford. This scheme was regarded as temporary, but it still provides accommodation today.
- (e) Boastville. Established - 1948-1949. Number of houses - 312. Monthly rental - 2-roomed R4.99 and R4.90 (Sub-economic), R6.34 and R6.25 (Economic), 3-roomed R5.42 (Sub-economic). Type of construction - brick under iron. For the first time skilled Black

labour was used for construction and labour hence cost much less than was charged for White labour.

- (f) Elundini. Established - 1951-1954. Number of houses - 2-roomed, 222; 3-roomed, 2240; 5-roomed, 40. (Total 2502). Monthly rentals, 2-roomed R5.20 (Sub-economic), R5.68 (Economic), 3-roomed R5.55 (Sub-economic), R6.59 (Economic), 5-roomed R6.33 (Sub-economic), R7.42 (economic). Type of construction - Brick under asbestos. This scheme eliminated the Dassiekraal slum area and was the last to be financed with a sub-economic loan. In conjunction with the housing scheme was erected a small hostel which provided 540 singlemen's quarters. The rental applicable was R1.90 per month.

B. KWAZAKELE

Established - 1953-1961. Number of houses - 2-roomed, 4419, 4-roomed, 1123, 4-roomed (converted from 2-rooms), 5982 (Total - 11524). Monthly rentals, 2-roomed R4.43 (Selling), R4.72 (Letting), 4-roomed R5.37 (Selling), R5.89 (Letting), 4-roomed (Converted), R5.73 (Selling), R6.20 (Letting). Type of construction - Cement blocks, corrugated asbestos roof. This scheme was devised as an answer to the continuing slum problem as well as the lack of inexpensive housing loans. The site and service scheme which was described previously was hence launched. In conjunction with this housing project a hostel providing 8000 single men's quarters was also built. Migrant or contract labourers were specifically provided for. Rents payable were R2.50 per month.

C. ZWIDE

Established - 1967-1970. Number of houses - 2337 semi-detached 4-roomed (comprising the first stage of Zwide III). Monthly rental - R6.93. Type of construction - cement blocks with corrugated asbestos roof. Zwide I and II, housing schemes of 200 houses each had been taken over from the Divisional Council in 1965. These dwellings have four rooms and are built of brick under iron.

D. OTHER LESSER HOUSING SCHEMES

- (a) Walmer. 142 semi-detached 3-roomed houses in High Savage Village. 76 one and two-roomed houses in "B" area. Monthly rentals, 3-roomed R4.99 (sub-economic), R6.20 (economic), 2-roomed R3.30 (economic), 1-roomed R2.29, 1-roomed with lean-to kitchen R2.64. These houses were 'inherited' by the Port Elizabeth Municipality from that of Walmer when the two amalgamated.
- (b) Thembalethu. 20 better type houses were erected in 1962/63 in order to provide for Blacks in the higher income bracket. These compared well with sub-economic White housing projects and the original occupiers, some of whom are still in occupation, purchased the right of occupation to these dwellings and paid the purchase price in monthly installments of R23,40 over a period of 30 years.
- (c) Kwasastreet. 66 three-roomed austerity houses were built to house sub-economic families. Monthly rentals payable were R5.68 and R6.94. (Appendix D gives a summarised break-down of population and housing units per area). (Port Elizabeth Report, 1969).

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

POPULATION AND HOUSING STATISTICS : BLACK TOWNSHIPS, PORT ELIZABETH

<u>NEW BRIGHTON</u> :	Population :	<u>69,433</u>
	Housing Units :	
	Red & White Location	1,348
	Kwaford	983
	Thembaletu	20
	McNamee Village	3,680
	Elundini	2,406
	Boastville	<u>304</u>
		<u>8,741</u>
<u>KWAZAKHELE</u> :	Population :	<u>83,673</u>
	Housing Units :	<u>11,543</u>
<u>ZWIDE</u> :	Population :	<u>27,486</u>
	Housing Units :	
	Zwide I and II	402
	Zwide III	<u>2,337</u>
		<u>2,739</u>
	Shacks :	
	Emergency Housing Area	35
	Freehold Area	975
	Missionvale, Bethelsdorp & Kleinskool	151

<u>WALMER</u> :	Population :	<u>3,523</u>
	Housing Units :	
	Hugh Savage Village	142
	"B" Area	76
		<u>218</u>
	Shacks :	
	Walmer Location	550
	Salisbury Park	27
	Fairview	113
		<u>6,912</u>
<u>HOSTELS</u> :	Population :	<u>6,912</u>

Black employees residing on Employers' premises in the City (excluding those who sleep-in but are registered to reside in the location).

3,200

TOTAL POPULATION :	194,227 <sup>(1)</sup>
TOTAL HOUSING UNITS:	23,141
TOTAL SHACKS :	1,851

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(1) Official estimates tended to be conservative. Some unofficial estimates put this figure at 220,000.

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

INDEX TO TOWNSHIP TRAINING AND REFERENCE MANUAL

The detail of all the stages that have to be negotiated are given for the 'Application for Lodgers Permit' only. For the rest, only the number of stages are noted.

1. APPLICATION FOR MARRIED ACCOMMODATION
2. ALLOCATION OF MARRIED ACCOMMODATION
3. APPLICATION FOR LODGERS PERMIT
4. CANCELLATION OF MARRIED ACCOMMODATION
5. EVICTIONS
6. TRANSFERS - LETTING SCHEME ONLY
7. CONVERSION FROM SELLING TO LETTING SCHEME
8. SURRENDER OF PREMISES
9. DEATH OF REGISTERED TENANT
10. SUBSTITUTE DURING THE ABSENCE OF THE REGISTERED TENANT
11. ABSCONDED HOUSES
12. RESIDENTIAL ENDORSEMENT IN REFERENCE BOOK
13. CHURCH SITES
14. RENT ARREARS - PROCEDURE UNDER HOUSING ACT
15. RENT ARREARS - PROCEDURE UNDER SECTION 18
16. RENT ACCRUALS

17. RENT RELIEF
18. OUTSTANDING CHARGES - ELECTRICITY, SANITATION AND WATER
19. CONTROL AND COLLECTION OF DOG TAX
20. APPLICATION AND ISSUE OF TRADING LICENCE
21. RENEWAL OF TRADING LICENCE
22. APPLICATION AND ISSUE OF INDEPENDENT CONTRACTOR'S PERMIT
23. APPLICATION FOR PERMIT FOR EXTENTION OF PREMISES (SELLING SCHEME ONLY)
24. APPLICATION FOR ENTRY PERMIT
25. APPLICATION FOR VISITOR'S PERMIT
26. APPLICATION FOR WORK SEEKERS PERMIT
27. BANTU REFUSED PERMIT
28. PERMIT TO RETAIN OR INTRODUCE LIVESTOCK INTO THE TOWNSHIP
29. PERMISSION TO HOLD A MEETING
30. APPLICATION FOR DUPLICATE DOCUMENT
31. APPLICATION FOR IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENT
32. REGISTRATION OF RESIDENTS
33. DELETION OF PERSON FROM REGISTER
34. APPLICATION FOR SECTION 10 QUALIFICATION
35. SCHOOL REGISTRATIONS
36. REGISTRATION OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS
37. CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION FOR CLINICS

38. APPLICATION FOR PAUPER BURIAL
39. APPLICATION FOR PAUPER RATIONS
40. COUNSELLING
41. ILLEGAL LODGERS
42. ILLEGAL TRADING
43. ILLEGAL STRUCTURES AND DERILICTS
44. INFLUX CONTROL
45. CONTROL OF IDLE AND UNDESIRABLE PERSONS
46. UNAUTHORISED LIVESTOCK
47. ILLEGAL SLAUGHTERING
48. SHEBEENS
49. DAGGA
50. CONDUCT OF A RAID
51. APPEALS
52. AREA INSPECTIONS
53. SUPERINTENDENTS "STAND-BY" DUTIES
54. N.C.O.'s "STAND-BY" DUTIES
55. MAINTENANCE REPORTS
56. REPORTS OF DAMAGE TO MUNICIPAL PROPERTY
57. MONTHLY REPORTS BY SUPERINTENDENTS
58. HALL RESERVATIONS
59. POLICY CHANGES

60. CORRESPONDENCE
61. DESK DIARIES
62. STATIONERY REQUISITIONS
63. CONTROL OF DEPARTMENTAL VEHICLES
64. MISCONDUCT OR NEGLIGENCE OF DUTY
65. QUARTERLY CONFIDENTIAL REPORTS
66. LEAVE
67. INJURY ON DUTY
68. DAILY INSPECTIONS OF PERSONNEL
69. EMERGENCY PROCEDURES
70. SUPERINTENDENT
71. SENIOR SERGEANT
72. 1st CLASS SERGEANT
73. 2nd CLASS SERGEANT
74. CLERK
75. WARD CONSTABLE
76. DRIVERS
77. WATCHMEN
78. CLEANERS
79. COURT CLERK
80. CEMETERY CARETAKER
81. TYPIST/CLERK

82. REGISTRY CLERK
83. STAND BY BANTU CONSTABLES' DUTIES
84. STAND BY NIGHT DRIVERS/TELEPHONE OPERATORS
85. REVENUE SUB-OFFICES
86. REGISTERS
87. HOSTEL - GENERAL
88. APPLICATION FOR HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION - LOCAL BANTU RESIDENTS
89. APPLICATION FOR HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION - CONTRACT LABOUR
90. ALLOCATION OF HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION
91. CANCELLATION OF HOSTEL ACCOMMODATION
92. EVICTION FROM HOSTEL
93. DEATH OF REGISTERED HOSTEL OCCUPIER
94. ABSENCE OF REGISTERED HOSTEL OCCUPIER
95. RESIDENTIAL ENDORSEMENT IN REFERENCE BOOK - HOSTEL
96. RENT ARREARS - HOSTEL
97. HOSTEL - STAFF
98. ARRESTS
99. POWERS OF SEARCH
100. GUARDIANSHIP
101. PROBLEMS REGARDING ACCOMMODATION
102. APPEARANCE IN COURT
103. B.A.D. FORMS

Only the relevant items from this list are referred to subsequently.

Number 3.

APPLICATION FOR LODGERS PERMIT

(The applicant brings the registered tenant with him where possible).

CLERK.

3-1 Ascertain from the applicant's reference book:-

- a. That the applicant is over 18 years of age.
- b. That the applicant is lawfully employed or carrying on some lawful occupation.
- c. That he has a registered tenant who is prepared to accept him as a lodger.
- d. That he is not suffering from any infectious diseases.
- e. That he has not refused to accept accommodation in the hostel if he is a single man (only if he is not a local man).
- f. That he has since birth continuously resided in the area (10.1.A).
- g. Or that he has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years (10.1.B).
- h. Or that he has lived or resided continuously in the area for a period of not less than fifteen years (10.1.B).
- i. That during such period he had not been employed outside such area other than with prior approval of M.L.O.

Section 10  
(1)(a), 10  
(1)(b), 10  
(1)(d), and  
10(2) of  
Act 25 of  
1945 refers.

- j. Or that he has been granted permission by an officer appointed to manage a Labour Bureau to be in such area (10.1.D) (10.2).
- 3-2 Completes the Application for Lodger's Permit form (B.A.D. 144).
- 3-3 Collects two copies of the Conditions of Issue : Lodger's Permit (B.A.D. 145).
- 3-4 The applicant (and if married his family) registered tenant, the B.A.D. 144 and both copies of the B.A.D. 145 are taken to the 2nd Class Sergeant.

2ND CLASS SERGEANT

- 3-5 Draws the house file of the registered tenant where the applicant wants to live, and where the applicant was previously registered.
- 3-6 Takes the applicant (and if married, his family) registered tenant, house files, reference book (and if married his wife's and children's reference books) with certificates or other supporting documents and B.A.D. 144 to the Superintendent.

SUPERINTENDENT

- 3-7 Verifies the information on the B.A.D. 144.
- 3-8 Ascertains that the registered tenant agrees to accept the applicant and that he has sufficient accommodation.
- 3-9 Obtains the signatures of the registered tenant and the applicant on the B.A.D. 144.

- 3-10 Obtains the signature of the registered tenant and the applicant on the B.A.D. 145.
- 3-11 Signs both copies of the B.A.D. 145.
- 3-12 Instructs the Clerk to make out the Lodger's permit.

CLERK

- 3-13 Enters details in the Lodger's Register, and if necessary in the Deletions and Additions Register.
- 3-14 Makes out the lodger's permit writing the lodger number on the front and the inside and the amount of lodgers fees.
- 3-15 Obtains the Superintendent's signature against the month of first payment on the lodger's permit.
- 3-16 The applicant takes the lodger's permit to the Revenue Office and pays fees.
- 3-17 Takes the applicant to the Lodger Clerk who enters him on the Lodgers fees register.
- 3-18 Takes the applicant and the Lodger's permit to the Superintendent.

SUPERINTENDENT

- 3-19 Enters the lodger's permit number on the B.A.D. 144.
- 3-20 Deletes the names of lodger (and family) from the previous house file.
- 3-21 Files the B.A.D. 144 and 1 copy of the B.A.D. 145 on house file of registered tenant.

- 3-22 Cancels the previous residential stamp in the applicant's and family's reference books.
- 3-23 Stamps the reference book of the lodger and family, writes on the site number, date and signs it.
- 3-24 Hands the lodger's permit and one copy of the B.A.D.145 to the lodger, who goes.
- 3-25 Hands the house files to 2nd Class Sergeant.

2ND CLASS SERGEANT

- 3-26 Returns the house files to registry.
- THE REGISTERED TENANT IS UNABLE TO APPEAR IN PERSON  
Section 3-8 to 3-10 will not apply, and the following procedure will be adopted.

SUPERINTENDENT

- 3-27 Dismisses the applicant and instructs him to return the following day, or at the first opportunity thereafter.
- 3-28 Hands the B.A.D. 144 and both copies of the B.A.D. 145 to the 1st Class Sergeant.

1ST CLASS SERGEANT

- 3-29 Hands the B.A.D. 144 and both copies of the B.A.D. 145 to the Ward Constable and instructs him to obtain the signature of the tenant on all documents at the tenant's residence that evening; or at such time that the applicant has stated that the tenant will normally be at his home.

CONSTABLE

3-30 Obtains the signature of the registered tenant on all three documents.

3-31 Returns the signed documents to the 1st Class Sergeant.

1ST CLASS SERGEANT

3-32 Hands the signed documents to the Superintendent.

THE APPLICANT REPORTS TO THE SUPERINTENDENT.

SUPERINTENDENT

3-33 Obtains the signature of the applicant on the B.A.D.144.

3-34 Obtains the signature of the applicant on both copies of the B.A.D. 145.

The procedure follows from 3-11.

G.N. R1036 OF 14.6.1968 (LOCATION REGULATIONS).

CHAPTER 2.

REGULATION 20.

- (2) The Superintendent on being satisfied that the applicant:-
- a. Is a fit and proper person to reside in the Bantu Area;
  - b. Is Bona Fide employed or is carrying on some lawful trade within the prescribed area;
  - c. Has not refused to accept accommodation in a dwelling or hostel or other accommodation provided by the Council and offered to him;

- d. Has obtained approved accommodation;
- e. If liable therefore, has paid in advance such fees as may be prescribed by the council;
- f. Is free from any infectious disease.

may issue to such applicant a lodgers permit. Provided that in any special case where the applicant, by reason of old age, infirmity or similar disability, is unable to comply with the requirements of paragraph (b) or (e), the Superintendent may, in his discretion, authorise the issue or renewal of a lodger's permit as if the requirements of the said paragraphs had been complied with.

ACT 25 OF 1945

SECTION 10.

- (1) No Bantu shall remain for more than seventy-two hours in a prescribed area unless he produces proof in the manner prescribed that:-
- a. He has since birth, resided continuously in such area;  
or
  - b. He has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years, and has thereafter continued to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding one hundred rand or to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months; or

- c. In the case of any other Bantu, permission so to remain has been granted by an officer appointed to manage a labour bureau in terms of the provisions of paragraph (a) of sub-section (6) of section twenty-one ten of the Bantu Labour Regulation Act, 1911 (Act 15 of 1911) due regard being had to the availability of accommodation in a Bantu residential area.
- (2) Any Bantu who has in terms of paragraph (d) of sub-section (1) been permitted to remain in a prescribed area, shall be given a permit which may be by means of an endorsement in a reference book or a document of identification referred to in the Bantu Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act, 1952 (Act No.67 of 1952), indicating the purpose for which and the period during which such Bantu may remain in that area, the person by whom, and the class of work, if any, in which such Bantu may be employed and any other conditions which may have been imposed in granting such permission.

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH BAD 145  
BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT  
CONDITIONS OF ISSUE : LODGER'S PERMIT

- (1) No person other than a residential occupier or the family of such residential occupier shall reside in a location, unless he shall first have obtained a lodger's permit.
- (2) The Superintendent, on being satisfied that:-
- (a) the applicant is a fit and proper person to reside in the location;

- (b) the applicant is employed or is carrying on some lawful occupation within the urban area;
- (c) the applicant is lawfully permitted to remain within the urban area in terms of sub-section (1) of section 10 of the Act.
- (d) the applicant has obtained accommodation approved by the Superintendent in the Location, in an area set aside for the Ethnic group to which such applicant belongs; and
- (e) the applicant, if liable therefore, has paid in advance the fees prescribed;
- (f) the applicant has been unable to obtain or has not refused accommodation for himself, and/or his family, as the case may be, in any dwelling, Bantu hostel or other quarters erected or acquired by the Council for the accommodation of Bantu, and
- (g) the residential occupier on whose premises the lodger is to reside, has consented to the issue of a lodger's permit;

shall issue to such applicant a lodger's permit; provided that:-

- (i) no unmarried child under 21 years of age of a lodger, residing with it's parent or parents shall be required to hold a lodger's permit;
- (ii) in any special case where the applicant, by reason of old age, infirmity or similar incapacity is unable to satisfy the requirements of paragraph (b) or (e) the Superintendent may in his discretion deal with the applicant for the issue or renewal of a lodger's permit, as if the requirements of the said paragraph had been satisfied;

- (3) Every lodger's permit issued in accordance with the provisions of sub-regulations (2) shall expire on the last day of the month in which it was issued.
- (4) Every lodger's permit may within seven days of the date of expiry be renewed on application to the Superintendent who, if he is satisfied that the conditions set out in paragraphs (a) to and including (g) of sub-regulations (2) are fulfilled, shall renew such lodger's permit. Any permit so renewed shall expire on the last day of the month in which it is renewed.
- (5) A holder of a lodger's permit shall reside at any site or dwelling other than that shown in his lodger's permit.
- (6) A lodger's permit shall not be transferrable, and shall lapse and be ipso/facto cancelled upon the holder thereof changing his residence as specified in such permit, or on the cancellation, lapse or termination of the respective site permit or certificate.
- (7) The holder of a site permit or grantee in respect of whose premises a lodger's permit has been issued, shall forthwith report to the Superintendent the fact of the lodger ceasing to reside in his dwelling or on his site.
- (8) No person shall harbour in the location, or permit to allow to reside on any site or in a dwelling or place under his control any person not in possession of a current lodger's permit, issued in respect of his site or premises, except when such person is otherwise authorised in terms of these regulations to reside thereon or therein.
- (9) In respect of every lodger's permit issued in terms of this regulation, a fee of 15c per week being for communal water

App. 3-2-1

CITY OF PORT ELIZABETH  
BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

BAD 144

APPLICATION FOR LODGER'S PERMIT.

DATE: 1-4-71

1. DETAILS OF APPLICANT:

(a) NAME: MORRIS MATYA  
(b) N.I.NO. 2316222 (c) AGE: 22 (d) MARITAL STATUS: SINGLE  
(e) HOW MARRIED: /

2. (a) OCCUPATION: LABOURER (b) RATE OF PAY: R40 P.M.  
(c) NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER: GENERAL MOTORS  
P.O. Box 1137 P.E.  
(d) PERIOD IN PRESENT EMPLOYMENT: 2 YEARS

3. (a) HOME DISTRICT ALEXANDRIA  
(b) PERIOD OF RESIDENCE IN PORT ELIZABETH 20 YEARS (1951)  
(c) AUTHORITY FOR RESIDENCE 10 (1) (b)

4. DETAILS OF DEPENDENTS:

NAME	RELATIONSHIP	SEX	AGE	WHERE EMPLOYED.
/	/	/	/	/

5. (a) NUMBER OF HOUSE FOR WHICH APPLICATION FOR PERMIT IS MADE 4180  
STREET KWAZAKELE TOWNSHIP  
(b) RESIDENTIAL PERMIT HOLDER OF HOUSE MANASE TITO  
(c) HAS THE PERMISSION OF THE REGISTERED OCCUPIER BEEN OBTAINED? YES

6. SIGNATURE OF RESIDENTIAL PERMIT HOLDER A Tito

7. SIGNATURE OF PROSPECTIVE LODGER Morris Matya

APPLICATION FOR A LODGER'S PERMIT TO RESIDE IN HOUSE NO 4180  
STREET KWAZAKEL TOWNSHIP, IS

GRANTED/REFUSED, SUBJECT TO COMPLIANCE WITH THE REGULATIONS.

REASONS FOR REFUSAL NIL

NO. OF LODGER'S PERMIT ISSUED 10607

DATE OF ISSUE 1-4-71

J.F. Jones.  
AREA SUPERINTENDENT

and other services, shall be paid in advance to the Council by the lodger on whose site, or in whose dwelling such lodger resides.

The above conditions are hereby accepted.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Registered Occupier

\_\_\_\_\_  
Lodger

\_\_\_\_\_  
Superintendent.

Number 5

EVICTIONS.

While more or less following the pattern for 'Application for Lodgers Permit' (3), Evictions involve the Superintendent, a Clerk and a Second Class Sergeant.

A number of township regulations as well as Act No.4 of 1966 (Housing Act) are applicable. 25 stages and 8 forms are involved and are to be negotiated.

Number 20

APPLICATION AND ISSUE OF TRADING LICENCE

People involved : Superintendent, Clerk, 2nd Class Sergeant and applicant.

Stages : 39

Forms : 3

Regulations : 1

Number 21

RENEWAL OF TRADING LICENCE

Trading licences have to be renewed annually.

People Involved : Superintendent, Clerk, 2nd Class Sergeant,  
Constable, Applicant.

Stages : 39

Forms : 4

Number 26

APPLICATION FOR WORK-SEEKERS PERMIT

Applicant may apply to the Labour Bureau or to the Superintendent.

People involved : Superintendent, 2nd Class Sergeant.

Stages : 17

Forms : 1

Number 34

APPLICATION FOR SECTION 10 QUALIFICATION

The applicant may either report to the Labour Bureau  
or to the Superintendent.

The Applicant reports to the 2nd Class Sergeant.

Section 10  
(1)(a), (b),  
(c), (d),  
Section 10  
(2) of Act  
25 of 1945  
refers.

2ND CLASS SERGEANT

34-1 Draws the relevant house file from the registry.

34-2 Ascertains whether the applicant is registered,

THE APPLICANT IS REGISTERED.

34-3 Ascertains that the applicant has:-

a. Reference Book.

b. Residential Permit, Certificate of Occupation or  
Lodger's Permit.

THE APPLICANT IS NOT REGISTERED.

34-4 Ascertains that the applicant has:-

a. Reference Book.

b. Evidence of birth, i.e. Birth Certificate, Baptismal  
Certificate or Certificate from hospital.

N.B. If the applicant does not have the necessary  
documents he is requested to return with them.

34-5 Takes the applicant, house file and documents to the Superintendent.

SUPERINTENDENT

THE APPLICANT IS REGISTERED

34-6 Ascertains that the N.I. or V.F. number is recorded in the house file.

34-7 Ascertains, where applicable, that both English and Xhosa names of the applicant are recorded in the house file.

- 34-8 Inserts residential stamp in the applicant's Reference Book.  
Signs and dates the entry.
- 34-9 Completes the Application for Residential Qualification form  
(B.A.D. 173) in triplicate, giving the name of parent or  
guardian if applicant is a juvenile.
- 34-10 Signs and dates all copies of the B.A.D. 173.
- 34-11 Files the triplicate B.A.D. 173 in the house file.
- 34-12 Hands two copies of the B.A.D. 173 to the applicant.
- 34-13 Instructs the applicant to report to the Labour Bureau.

THE APPLICANT IS NOT REGISTERED.

- 34-14 Ascertains from available documents whether the applicant is  
entitled to be in the area.

N.B. (a) If the applicant does not have documentary proof  
the Superintendent may accept an affidavit made  
before the Bantu Affairs Commissioner by the  
parent or guardian.

(b) The Superintendent will endeavour to ascertain by  
questioning the applicant, or if necessary, call-  
ing witnesses the truth of the applicant's claim.

- 34-15 If satisfied that the applicant is entitled to be in the area,  
continues as from 6 to 13 and then proceeds to register the  
applicant.

ACT 25 OF 1945

SECTION 10.

- (1) No Bantu shall remain for more than seventy-two hours in a pre-  
scribed area unless he produces proof in the manner prescribed  
that:-

- a. He has since birth, resided continuously in such area;  
or
  - b. He has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years, and has thereafter continued to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding one hundred rand or to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months; or
  - c. Such Bantu is the wife, unmarried daughter or son under the age at which he would become liable for payment of general tax under the Bantu Taxation and Development Act 1925 (Act 41 of 1925), of any Bantu mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of this sub-section and after lawful entry into such area; or
  - d. In the case of any other Bantu, permission so to remain has been granted by an Officer appointed to manage a Labour Bureau in terms of the provisions of paragraph (a) of sub-section (6) of section twenty-one of the Bantu Labour regulations Act 1911 (Act No. 15 of 1911), due regard being had to the availability of accommodation in a Bantu Residential Area.
- (2) Any Bantu who has in terms of paragraph (d) of sub-section (1) been permitted to remain in a prescribed area, shall be given a permit which may be by means of an endorsement in a Reference Book or a Document of Identification referred to in the Bantu (abolition of passes and co-ordination of documents Act 1952 No.67 of 1952), indicating the purpose for which

and the period during which such Bantu may remain in that area, the person by whom, and the class of work, if any, in which such Bantu may be employed and any other conditions which may have been imposed in granting such permission.

Number 40

COUNSELLING

The matter may be brought to the attention of the Superintendent by:-

- a. One of the parties concerned.
- b. The Ward Constable.
- c. A member of the Advisory Board.

People involved : Superintendent, 2nd Class Sergeant, disputing parties and a Clerk.

Stages : 14.

Number 41

ILLEGAL LODGERS

Information is received from:

- a. Ward Constable.
- b. 1st Class Sergeant on checking the Ward Constable's area.
- c. As a result of a raid.
- d. Report from a member of the public.

People involved : Superintendent, 1st and 2nd Class Sergeant, Constable, Clerk, tenant and lodger.

Stages : 45

Regulations : 3

Forms : 4.

Number 44

INFLUX CONTROL

Persons concerned might be found by the Ward Constable on his daily duties or in the course of raids on specific areas.

People involved : Superintendent, 1st Class Sergeant, Constable,  
Clerk and the accused.

Stages : 20

Forms : 3

Act 25 of 1945 (Section 10) applies.

Number 45

CONTROL OF IDLE AND UNDESIRABLE PERSONS

Information is received from:

- a. The Ward Constable on his daily duties.
- b. As a result of an area raid.
- c. A complaint from a parent or guardian.
- d. A complaint from a member of the public.

People involved : Superintendent, 2nd Class Sergeant, Constable  
and the suspect.

Stages : 18

Act 25 of 1945 (Section 29) applies.

Number 48

SHEEBEENS.

Information is received from:

- a. A member of the public.
- b. Ward Constable on his Daily Ward Duties Report Form (B.A.D. 149).

SUPERINTENDENT

- 48-1 Instructs the 1st Class Sergeant to have the premises kept under observation to determine:
- a. The times and frequency of use of the premises.
  - b. The number of where possible the names of people frequenting the premises.
  - c. Evidence in the form of empty bottles.
  - d. If possible, when and by whom supplies are delivered.
- 48-2 Enters in his desk diary to check the position two weeks ahead.

1ST CLASS SERGEANT

- 48-3 Instructs the Ward Constable to carry out instructions as above.

CONSTABLE

- 48-4 Notes the details in his pocket book.
- 48-5 Keeps the premises under close and frequent observation, noting all details of observations and reports.
- 48-6 Reports in full to the 1st Class Sergeant.

1ST CLASS SERGEANT

48-7 Reports the findings to the Superintendent.

SUPERINTENDENT

48-8 Instructs the 2nd Class Sergeant to draw the house file.

2ND CLASS SERGEANT

48-9 Draws the house file from the registry.

48-10 Hands the house file to the Superintendent.

SUPERINTENDENT

48-11 Checks the house file for previous reports of a similar nature.

48-12 Enters the details of investigations in the investigation diary in the house file.

48-13 Proceeds together with the 1st Class Sergeant, the Ward Constable and one or two other constables, to the house concerned.

48-14 Searches the premises for liquor, recording the types of liquor and number of bottles found on the premises, and the number of empty bottles.

48-15 Records the names and addresses of any person found drinking on the premises.

48-16 Requests the registered tenant to explain any large quantities of liquor found on the premises.

48-17 Warns the registered tenant that action will be taken should the operation of a shebeen on the premises not cease immediately.

N.B. Should the Superintendent decide that the explanation of the tenant is unsatisfactory and that the quantities of liquor are excessive he should take any liquor seized without delay to the S.A.P. The Superintendent should, if he seizes liquor, inform the registered tenant that the liquor will be handed to the police and that he may make application through the police for its return.

ON RETURN TO THE OFFICE.

48-18 Enters the full details of the raid in the investigation diary in the house file.

48-19 Submits a full report to the Township Manager.

48-20 Notes in his desk diary for a follow up on the premises after two weeks.

48-21 Instructs the 1st Class Sergeant to detail the Ward Constable to keep the premises under observation.

48-22 Retains the house file in a locked cabinet.

1ST CLASS SERGEANT

48-23 Instructs the Ward Constable to keep the premises under observation and to report back in two weeks time.

CONSTABLE

48-24 Notes the details in his pocket book and keeps the premises under observation.

THE SHEBEEN CONTINUES TO FUNCTION.

SUPERINTENDENT

48-25 Submits a full report, together with statements of witnesses, to the S.A.P. and requests that they investigate the activities of the shebeen and prosecute.

N.B. Superintendents will only concern themselves with those shebeens which are a cause of public complaint or violence.

Number 70

SUPERINTENDENT

- 70-1 Responsible for the efficient control of his area and the implementation of Municipal and departmental policies. Will be at all times correct in behaviour and dress so as to set a good example to his subordinates.
- 70-2 Maintains good relations with the public.
- 70-3 His duties will include those set out in the manual and he will be responsible for ensuring that the duties laid down for his subordinates are efficiently carried out.
- 70-4 He will obey any lawful orders given or conveyed to him by his superior officers.
- 70-5 Ensures that 1st Class Sergeants instruct their men weekly in their duties as laid down in the manual. He will himself regularly instruct all men under his control.
- 70-6 Ensures that personnel are not lightly exempted from attending lectures by the Senior Sergeant or from drill parades.
- 70-7 Arranges for regular cleaning of the firearm held by the Revenue Clerk as directed by the Township Manager and will report any defects to the Township Manager immediately.

POWERS OF SEARCH

99-1 Who may Search

- a. In terms of Section 43 of Chapter 2 of Government Notice No. R1036 of 1968, "An Officer appointed in terms of Section 22(1) or (3) of the Act, his assistant or any other authorised officer may at any reasonable time enter a dwelling in the Bantu residential area for the purpose of inspection."
- b. In terms of Government Notice No. 270 of 1966, an authorised officer may enter into and search without warrant, any premises in a prescribed area and on which it is accommodated in contravention of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, provided that if the premises are under White Control, such premises may only be entered and searched on the authority and under the supervision of a White authorised officer.

99-2 At what times may a search be made.

- a. In terms of section 43(2) of the Criminal Procedure Act (No.56 of 1955), a search shall, as far as possible, be made in the daytime and in the presence of two or more respectable inhabitants of the locality in which the search is made.
- b. From the words "at any reasonable time" in Section 22(1) of the Regulations and the words "as far as possible be made in the daytime" in Section 43 of the Criminal Procedure Act, it is clear that the law does not permit the disturbing of residents and the searching of their premises in the middle of the night unless there are very

good grounds to justify this action. There would be no justification for searching premises for evidence of illegal trading at midnight, but if a Section 10 offender were known to reside on certain premises and to leave them daily at 4 a.m., then there would be justification for searching the premises at 3 a.m.

99-3 How to conduct a search.

- a. Ensure that there are sufficient persons present to keep all exits under observation.
- b. Do not walk round the outside of the premises peering in and shining torches through the windows unless entry has been requested and refused.
- c. State who you are and make audible request to be permitted to enter, giving the reasons why entry is required. Breaking to enter to effect a search may be done only after an audible request has been ignored or refused.
- d. If the search is being made at night sufficient time (at least 10 minutes) must be given to the residents to clothe themselves. It is not reasonable to knock and demand entry and expect the door to be opened immediately.
- e. The search must be made with consideration to the tenants. Their property must be handled carefully and not thrown around. If anything is moved, it should, be replaced as nearly as possible where found.
- f. Should it be necessary to search the person of a suspect, this should be done with decency and a woman must only be searched by another woman.

- g. The names of all persons present (on the premises) should be recorded and the names of the authorised officers making the search and any independent witness present.
- h. Any items seized and removed and the place where they were found should be recorded and if necessary an identifying mark should be placed on them, but care should be taken that the mark does not damage the article in question.

99-4 Registers.

Immediately on return to the office, the items should be entered in the Exhibits Register and the Superintendent, or, if he is not present, the senior N.C.O. informed. The items seized should be kept under lock and key in a safe place pending their handing over to the South African Police.

Act 25 of 1945 (Section 22(1) and (1) Ter) and Act 56 of 1955 (Section 43) apply.

APPENDIX F

APPENDIX F

BANTU ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENT

JOINT BANTU ADVISORY BOARD : NEW BRIGHTON

RULES OF PROCEDURE

A. COMMITTEES

1. Committees of the Advisory Board shall be elected from the members of the Advisory Board at a meeting of the Board to be held each year in the month of October. Such election shall be by ballot where more persons are nominated than are required on a Committee.
2. Each Committee shall consist of five members or such other number as the Board may in any specific case resolve and such members shall remain in office until their successors are appointed. A quorum shall be one third of the total number of members.
3. Each Committee shall at its first meeting elect a chairman and vice-chairman and at any meeting where neither of these persons are present shall elect an acting chairman for the meeting, provided that no member shall hold the office of Chairman or more than one Committee.
4. Meetings of a Committee shall be held as required to transact the business of the Committee, and may be adjourned from time to time, and shall not be open to the public or the press.

5. All questions before a Committee shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present, indicated by a show of hands, and in the case of an equality of votes the chairman shall have a casting vote as well as a deliberative vote.
6. The designation and terms of reference of each committee shall be determined by the Advisory Board when the Committee is elected in terms of Rule 1.
7. Each Committee shall report to the Advisory Board at its next ensuing meeting and make such recommendations as it considers appropriate and desirable in regard to any matter contained in its terms of reference. The report shall contain a brief statement of the matter and the reasons for the recommendation.
8. A member of a Committee who without leave of absence granted by the Board fails to attend two consecutive ordinary meetings of the Committee shall cease to be a member thereof, but this shall not prevent his re-election to the Committee.
9. A member of a Committee may resign from such Committee by notice in writing to the Secretary of the Board.
10. Any vacancy on a Committee shall be notified by the Secretary to the Board which may fill the vacancy.
11. Members of a Committee shall be notified of the date, time and place of a meeting of the Committee by the Secretary or

the Chairman and, except in an emergency, at least forty-eight hours before the meeting is due to be held. Want of service of notice of a Committee meeting shall not affect the validity of such meeting.

B. PROCEDURE AND DEBATE

Speaking

1. A member who speaks shall address the chair and if two or more members speak at the same time the chairman shall determine to whom priority shall be given. When the chairman speaks all members shall be silent so that the chairman may be heard without interruption.
2. A member who speaks shall direct his speech strictly to the motion or matter under discussion or to an explanation or a question of order.
3. (a) A member, whether he has spoken on the matter under discussion or not, may speak to a point of order or in explanation and shall be entitled to be heard forthwith.  
(b) The ruling of the chairman on a point of order, or on the admissibility of a personal explanation shall be final and not open to discussion.

Matters for Discussion

4. Matters for discussion at meetings shall be placed on the

agenda by the Secretary. Any member who also wishes to raise any matter may do so by giving written notice to the Secretary at least 5 days before the meeting is due to be held.

5. (a) The order of business at meetings shall be as follows:-

- (i) Election of chairman, when necessary.
- (ii) Signing of minutes.
- (iii) Statements or communications by the chairman.
- (iv) Interviews with deputations or persons summoned to attend the meeting.
- (v) Matters adjourned from any preceeding meeting.
- (vi) Report by the Secretary.
- (vii) Notices of matters or questions raised by members in the order in which they were received by the Secretary.
- (viii) General business.

Provided that a member may at any time during the meeting move as a motion of course that precedence be given to any matter appearing on the agenda.

(b) Where the Chairman is of opinion that any matter raised under "general business" is one concerning which notice should have been given in order to permit proper consideration, he shall not permit further discussion but shall rule that the provisions of Rule B.4. be complied with.

6. The following shall be regarded as motions of course:

- (i) That precedence be given to the consideration of any particular item appearing upon the agenda.
  - (ii) To amend the motion.
  - (iii) That consideration of the question be postponed.
  - (iv) That the meeting be now adjourned.
  - (v) That the debate be adjourned.
  - (vi) That the question be now put.
  - (vii) That the meeting now proceed to the next business.
7. (a) Every amendment shall be relevant to the motion on which it is moved, and an amendment shall not be discussed until it has been seconded.
- (b) If there be more than one amendment to a motion, the amendment last proposed shall be put to the vote first and if carried the motion as amended shall become the motion under discussion. If the amendment last proposed be not accepted, the amendment proposed immediately prior to the last amendment shall be put to the vote.
8. (a) Where a motion in the form indicated in Rule 6 (iii) is adopted, the meeting shall proceed to the next business and the question so postponed shall be considered at a time to be fixed or shall be placed on the agenda for the next ordinary meeting.
- (b) Where a motion is adopted to adjourn the meeting, the Chairman shall either at that time, or later, fix a date within three weeks for the adjourned meeting.

- (c) Where a motion is adopted to adjourn the debate, the meeting shall proceed to the next business and discussion of the adjourned debate, unless otherwise resolved, shall be resumed at the next ordinary meeting.
  - (d) When a motion is adopted to put the question, the motion or amendment under debate shall be put forthwith to the vote and without further discussion.
  - (e) Where a motion is carried that the meeting proceed to the next business, the question under discussion shall be considered as dropped.
9. After any motion or amendment has been moved, and seconded or at the conclusion of any speech thereon a member may ask any question relevant to such motion or amendment. The Chairman may disallow any question.
10. A member who is in the minority on a question which has been decided may forthwith request that his dissent or protest be entered in the minutes of the meeting.
11. A motion or amendment may without debate and with the permission of the seconder be withdrawn by the mover.

APPENDIX G

# CAPE MIDLANDS BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARD

## CIRCULAR LETTER TO ALL RESIDENTS UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE BOARD

Dear Resident,

Since the establishment of the Board on 1 July, 1973, its activities have been closely watched and rightly so, by various people and organisations. Some questioned the Board's ability to succeed in its mandate namely in short, to improve the administration and well-being of the Urban African.

In order to understand the magnitude of the task that faced us, it was necessary for the Board to obtain first hand information of what had to be done, (whilst still maintaining the day to day administration) in order to decide its priorities.

A survey of the African population in the Board's area revealed that there were 547 609 persons of whom 207 450 were present in the Rural areas of the Board. Having established the population figures the Board could for the first time start its planning and deciding its priorities.

After consultation with the African Statutory Boards, Employer Organisations and Local Authorities, the Board embarked upon drawing up a five year capital programme in order to make a meaningful start in improving the services to the African community.

The total extent of the capital programme is as follows:

	Five Year Programme	1975/76 Programme
1. Housing	R21 741 225	R2 487 000
2. Schools	R 3 093 700	R 929 600
3. Buildings (General)	R 5 323 150	R1 592 150
4. Recreation Grounds	R 750 000	R 171 000
5. Roads Construction	R 3 059 800	R 625 200
6. Storm Water Drainage	R 2 021 200	R 230 900
7. Sewage	R 4 836 270	R 446 000
8. Water Reticulation	R 2 813 800	R 661 800
9. Electricity	R 1 149 720	R 43 160
10. Transport, Equipment and Other	R 819 992	R 574 040
	R45 608 857	R7 760 850

Approval and fund allocations have already been received for the following schemes planned for the financial year 1975/76 and if not completed, will be carried forward into the following financial year.

### PORT ELIZABETH

<b>Housing:</b>		
Zwide IV - 1 400 Houses	R1 224 457	
Services for above scheme	R 428 700	
Kwaford - 600 High Class Houses - Ford Motor Co. Scheme	R 780 000	
Zwide IV - 500 High Class Houses - General Motors Scheme	R1 060 000	
Kwazakele - 87 Houses	R 66 045	
Kwazakele - Extensions to 2-roomed Houses	R 100 000	
<b>Schools:</b>		
3 Schools	R 90 250	R3 749 452

### UITENHAGE:

Kwa Nobuhle - 2 000 Houses	R2 112 090	
Services for above scheme	R 610 000	
Sewage works and water reservoir	R 817 800	R3 539 890

### COOKHOUSE:

72 Houses	R 51 000	R 51 000
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### SOMERSET EAST:

3 Schools	R 40 500	R 40 500
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**TOTAL** R7 380 842

In addition to the above, the Board is also busy erecting two Industrial Training Schools at the cost of R368 000 on behalf of the Department of Bantu Education.

The Bantu Affairs Administration Board, as in the case of Local Authorities, also experienced problems in balancing its budget due to the tremendous increases in cost of materials, services, etc. Municipalities who used to subsidise Bantu Revenue Accounts heavily, are now selling the required services to the Board at cost and in some cases these have escalated by 400% over the previous year. It must be remembered that except for health services the Board receives no subsidy whatsoever from the Government or any other body.

The substantial increase of costs for essential services resulted in service charges paid by African residents being completely out of touch with the actual expenditure in this regard. The consequence was that the Board found itself facing a deficit of R1 212 280 in its budget for 1975/76 after all contributions by employers and trading profits were taken into account. It then became a choice of reverting to primitive conditions or pushing on in its endeavour to improve the living conditions of the African people in the urban areas served by the Board.

The following factors, are taken into consideration when service charges are determined:

- (i) Construction of new streets.
- (ii) Maintenance of existing streets.
- (iii) Electricity: Street lighting and maintenance of streetlighting and the internal electricity network.
- (iv) Sanitation: Removal and discharging of nightsoil, cleansing and replacement of pails.
- (v) Refuse: Collection and emptying of refuse bins, clearing of sidewalks and open spaces.
- (vi) Water: Consumption cost in respect of water and maintenance of internal water reticulation.
- (vii) Sewerage: Maintenance of the sewerage reticulation.
- (viii) Health Services: Part of the cost of equipment and salaries for staff at Health Clinics.
- (ix) Recreation and Welfare: The provision and maintenance of halls and sportsfields.

The calculated increases were, however, too severe and the Board decided to spread the impact over a period of three years until parity was reached. To lessen the impact of the rent increases, a further relief in the form of a subsidy from the liquor profits, was introduced.

These proposals have been discussed and approved by the African Advisory Boards and Urban Bantu Councils at meetings held throughout the Board's area. The Board appeals to every resident not to summarily criticise the action of the Advisory Boards and Urban Bantu Councils and depends on the sense of responsibility of the residents to realise the necessity for the rendering of better services, just as the Advisory Boards and Urban Bantu Councils have done. The rendering of better services can only be brought about if the Board has the means at its disposal to do so and this can only be made possible by increased service charges.

Representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, the Chamber of Industry, Municipalities and the Afrikaanse Sakekamer were present during the discussions on this matter in order that employers could take cognisance of the increased site rental and the resultant additional financial burden which is being placed on the shoulders of their employees. These representatives have, in point of fact, undertaken to take positive action in respect of the matter in question.

The aged and such other persons who cannot afford to pay their rental may still, as in the past, apply to the Township Superintendent for the partial or full remission of their rental.

As a result of the inevitable increase in service charges your rental will be increased from R \_\_\_\_\_ per month to R \_\_\_\_\_ per month with effect from 1 April, 1975, for a period of 3 years until parity is reached.

The Board wishes to take this opportunity of expressing its appreciation to the residents for their co-operation in the past and to appeal for the wholehearted co-operation of the residents in this regard. The Board, for its part, undertakes to do its utmost to render a satisfactory service to the residents.

You are cordially requested to bring the contents of this circular letter to the notice of your employer.

A plea is therefore made to employer organisations who were present at these discussions voluntarily to reassess the worth, and hence the earnings, of their African employees who will now have to apportion more of their wages to rent than before.

Yours faithfully,

**B. L. BOTHA**  
CHIEF DIRECTOR.

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Act 30/1962	Bantu Beer.
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## APPENDIX H

Since the completion of the research in 1976, a number of the Acts cited in the text have been revised. Only the most recent of these changes are listed subsequently. The provisions of the Community Councils Act (Act No. 125, 1977) are given in summary form as these councils eventually replaced the Advisory Boards.

### CHANGES IN LEGISLATION

Native (Urban Areas) Act 21/1923 : Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment Act 97/1978.  
Liquor Act 30/1928 : Liquor Amendment Act 55/1979.  
Group Areas Act 41/1950 : Group Areas Amendment Act 113/1979.  
Amendment of Native Acts 36/1944 : Laws on Plural Relations and Development Second Amendment Act 98/1979.  
Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 25/1945 : Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment Act 97/1978.  
Group Areas Act 77/1957 : Group Areas Amendment Act 113/1979.  
Urban Bantu Councils Act 79/1961 : Community Councils Amendment Act 28/1978.  
Bantu Beer Act 30/1962 : Liquor Act 87/1977.  
Bantu Labour Act 67/1964 : Laws on Plural Relations and Development Second Amendment Act 98/1979.  
Housing Act 4/1966 : Housing Amendment Act 21/1978.  
Group Areas Amendment Act 36/1966 : Group Areas Amendment Act 113/1979.  
Bantu Affairs Administration Act 45/1971 : Laws on Plural Relations and Development Second Amendment Act 98/1979.  
Contributions as regards Bantu Labour Act 29/1972 : Laws on Plural Relations and Development Amendment Act 16/1979.  
Community Councils Act 125/1977 : Community Councils Amendment Act 28/1978.

### PROVISIONS OF THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS ACT

Within the area of its jurisdiction and subject to the directions of the Minister (in consultation with the administration board and the community council) a community council has certain powers and duties as regards: the allocation and administration of the letting of accommodation to single persons; the allocation and administration of the letting of dwellings, buildings and other structures; the prevention and combating of the unlawful occupation of land and buildings; the allocation and administration of sites for church, school or trading purposes; the approval of building plans of private dwellings and the removal or destruction of unauthorised or abandoned buildings or structures; the prohibition, regulation or restriction of the keeping of animals, except dogs; the control over the keeping of dogs and the imposition of a levy on the keeping thereof; the promotion of the moral and social welfare of persons

living in its area; the promotion of sound community development in its area; the beautifying of and the neatness of the area; the administration of sport and recreational facilities; the administration of library services; the award of bursaries; the maintenance of services determined by the Minister.

Further, the community council may control and manage a community guard; shall report to the Minister, the administration board concerned or any other person acting under the authority of the Minister on any matter referred to it by the Minister; may make recommendations to the Minister or the administration board concerned regarding the making or application of regulations which it deems necessary or desirable in the interests of the persons in its area, the lay-out and renovation of such area and other matters which it considers to be in the interests of such persons;

may make recommendations to the authorities concerned in connection with transport services; may make recommendations to the bodies concerned in respect of educational matters; may develop, on the conditions determined by the Minister and with the concurrence of school boards concerned, sport facilities at schools; shall assist and advise any representative recognized in respect of any national unit; may, with the concurrence of the administration board concerned and subject to any conditions the Minister may determine, appoint such staff as it may deem necessary for the exercise of its powers and the performance of its duties;

may, with the approval of the Minister and after consultation with the administration board concerned, impose levies for specific services or purposes on the persons residing in its area; may appoint from among its members one or more committees and may assign to a committee so appointed any of its powers and duties;

shall, at the request of the Secretary for Education or any person acting on his behalf, designate one of its members to serve as a member of a specific school board; shall have, with regard to any power or duty which, immediately before the date on which such power was vested in it or it was charged with such duty was exercised or performed by an administration board, all the rights, powers, functions, duties and obligations of an urban local authority in terms of the relevant laws;

shall, subject to the conditions determined by the Minister, exercise in its area the other powers and perform the other duties in connection with any matter, determined by the Minister after consultation with the administration board and other authorities concerned;

may, subject to the conditions determined by the Minister and with due regard to the provisions of any applicable law, provide for any matter relating to the exercise of its powers or the performance of its duties.

Rights, powers, functions, duties and obligations vested in a community council or with which it may be charged by virtue of the provisions of this Act, devolve upon such council to the exclusion

of the administration board or any other urban local authority.

For the purposes of the exercise of its powers and the performance of its duties, a community council shall in respect of its area be deemed to be such a body or authority as that whose powers and duties it is empowered to exercise or perform, and its area shall be deemed to be the area of jurisdiction of such body or authority.

The Minister may, after consultation with the administration board and community council concerned, withdraw any power or duty vested in a community council or with which it is charged, and may confer or impose any power or duty so withdrawn upon the administration board concerned.

The Minister or any body or person authorized by him may take such steps as he may deem necessary to ensure the continuation of the functions of a community council.

(Government Gazette Vol. 145 No. 5677 pp.4-8)

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