

4
010

This is to certify that the
dissertation entitled

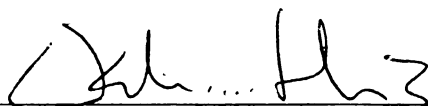
RESTORING HUMAN DIGNITY AND BUILDING SELF-
RELIANCE: YOUTH, WOMEN, AND CHURCHES AND
BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT,
SOUTH AFRICA, 1969-1977

presented by

LESLIE ANNE HADFIELD

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Doctoral degree in History



Major Professor's Signature

5-14-10

Date

MSU is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employer

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.
MAY BE RECALLED with earlier due date if requested.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
JUL 08 2012		

**RESTORING HUMAN DIGNITY AND BUILDING SELF-RELIANCE: YOUTH,
WOMEN, AND CHURCHES AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT, SOUTH AFRICA, 1969-1977**

By

Leslie Anne Hadfield

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

History

2010

ABSTRACT

RESTORING HUMAN DIGNITY AND BUILDING SELF-RELIANCE: YOUTH, WOMEN, AND CHURCHES AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, SOUTH AFRICA, 1969-1977

By

Leslie Anne Hadfield

This dissertation explores the community development ideas and practices of South Africa's Black Consciousness movement, a leading anti-apartheid force in the late 1960s and 1970s. It focuses on the Black Community Programs (BCP) organization and three of its most important projects: the Zanempilo Community Health Center and the Njwaxa leather-work factory (both in the rural Eastern Cape), and the BCP's annual publication, *Black Review*. Based on South African archival sources and over seventy oral history interviews, it evaluates the BCP's social and economic impact and the key role of youth, women and churches in supporting and carrying out these projects. It argues that Black Consciousness activists took an innovative, participatory approach to development that combined their philosophy of black psychological liberation and self-reliance with the transnational ideas and methodology of Brazil's Paulo Freire. When putting their philosophy and methods into practice, activists faced state repression, tensions within local black communities, and contradictions emerged between their avowed self-reliance and their use of so-called white liberal resources. The study further concludes that although short-lived, Black Consciousness community work succeeded in improving the material conditions of individuals and communities and strengthening their sense of self-worth and self-reliance.

This study speaks to the historiography on Black Consciousness and South African liberation movements. Previous scholarly literature has failed to address Black Consciousness community development adequately. Yet, it was an integral part of the movement from its beginning to 1977 (when all Black Consciousness organizations were shut down by the government). This study helps us understand more about the activists and their relationships with each other and the broader black community. It also adds to the history of rural South Africa while demonstrating the importance of oral history and grassroots activities and actors in the history of political and social movements.

The first two chapters lay the background of community work and the Black Consciousness philosophy. Chapter 1 examines the place of community work in the philosophy and South African Student's Organization. Chapter 2 documents and analyzes the founding of the BCP as part of the Black Consciousness movement and the ecumenical, Christian organizations that sponsored it. The next three chapters are case studies. The Zanempilo clinic represents the health initiatives of the BCP and serves as an illustration of the Black Consciousness holistic approach to development. Chapter 4 analyzes how the BCP intended for their publications and resource centers to serve as development tools by publishing from a black perspective and contributing to an informal program of education. Chapter 5 compares the BCP effort to establish a home-industry in Njwaxa to other government and white business development efforts in the Ciskei. Through the case studies, the dissertation analyzes how the BCP dealt with its challenges, repositions youth and women in rural Eastern Cape history, and assesses the BCP's social and economic impact.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the many people who have helped me or contributed to this project in various ways. My brevity (or accidental omission) should not be taken as a reflection of the depth of my gratitude, but my own inadequacies in expressing it. First, I would like to thank my African Studies and African history family at Michigan State University. I am greatly indebted to my advisor, Peter Alegi, for his time, careful attention, and guidance that pushed me to improve my research, writing, and thinking. He has been a continuous example of a thorough, creative, energetic, and engaged scholar. Walter Hawthorne taught me what the field of African history and history as a discipline is about at Ohio University. He continued to be a trusted advisor and friend at Michigan State. Peter Limb graciously gave me of his time and imparted his knowledge of South African history during our instructive meetings. He also directed me to valuable sources.

I must also thank my other committee members, Peter Beattie and Gordon Stewart, and African Studies Center staff, John Metzler and David Wiley, and Chris Root. My classmates across campus and in the history department supported me, kept me sane, and expanded my knowledge of Africa. I am particularly grateful for my initial cohort: Assan Sarr, Harry Odamtten, Bala Saho, Lumumba Shabaka, and Jill Kelly. Assan, my twin brother in the program, supported me in many ways, from typing up interview questions on the road to Athens, Ohio, to offering intellectual and moral advice.

A Fulbright IIE grant along with MSU International Studies Pre-dissertation and department of History travel awards allowed me to go to South Africa where many people guided and supported me in my research. I would like to thank all those who

graciously agreed to be interviewed (some multiple times) and helped me contact others. I am particularly grateful for Dr. Bennie Khoapa, who spent many hours answering my questions, residents of Zinyoka, Njwaxa, and former activists, Nontobeko Moletsane, Malusi and Thoko Mpumlwana. Peter Jones has encouraged me and provided valuable information since our first meeting regarding this study in 2006. Many people in academic and archival institutions facilitated my research and gave me a home in South Africa: Dr. Cornelius Thomas, director of the National Heritage and Cultural Studies Center at the University of Fort Hare; Qondi Malotana and Nokwezi Ganya and staff at the Eastern Cape Archives and Records Service in King William's Town. Stephanie Victor, Lungisile Ntsebeza, Luvuyo Wotshela, and Sifiso Ndlovu imparted knowledge and wisdom on Eastern Cape history and Black Consciousness. I am indebted to Dan Magaziner for graciously sharing valuable contact information, ideas, and research tips.

The Steve Biko Foundation and its employees in the King William's Town office supported my research with contacts and introductions, office space, intellectual engagement, and an opportunity to video-record many interviews. I also found a family there. Enkosi kakhulu Mama Ntsiki Biko, Nkosinathi Biko, Andile Jack, Obenewa Amponsah, Jongi Hoza, Noshumi Kekana, Lucia Baepile, Lungi Malgas, and many others. It was a privilege to work with Lindani Ntente my teammate, colleague, and friend who spent many hours traveling, interviewing, and in discussions with me. Mandisi Aplom made much of this research and my experiences in King William's Town possible from our first meeting in 2002. He facilitated various research visits and meetings and remained a loyal friend and counselor after he left the Foundation.

I have many mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, and extended family members in South Africa. They all have enriched my life and had significant roles in my research and understanding of South Africa. These people include my Xhosa tutors and friends: Lindile Magewu and Siybonga “Togie” Thetho; Nomalanga Grootboom; Lindile Ndlebe. Hlumela Sondlo, my wonderful first formal Xhosa teacher, and her family in Pretoria and Johannesburg, have provided me with a home base in Gauteng and valuable language training and assistance – Palesa Mothlabane transcribed most of my interviews in Xhosa. Numerous members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in East London and King William’s Town acted as my family, including Linda Smith and Fundiswa Mnyaiza who were always willing hosts. The Xhasumzi and Nosidima Mrwashu family in Zwelitsha allowed me to join their family in 2008. They welcomed me into a warm home, helped me speak Xhosa, fix my car, maintain my health, and introduced me to people and their rural villages. The Sihlalo and Pumla Booi family in Beacon Bay has been an anchor and blessing since I first stayed with them in 2000. Pum Pum first introduced me to Ntsiki Biko and their home has remained a haven and a strength to me.

Finally, I would like to thank my biological family and my parents, Randy and Kathryn Hadfield, for all their support and help in my research, writing, schooling, and as steady examples and counselors, and the God whom I know who has guided me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	viii
List of Maps	ix
Note on Terminology	x
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: SASO and “Black Consciousness at Work” in Black Communities	47
Chapter 2: The Black Community Programs (BCP) Organization	83
Chapter 3: Zanempilo Community Health Center: Bringing Health to Zinyoka	132
Chapter 4: A Black Perspective and Relevant Information for Development: <i>Black Review</i> and BCP Publishing and Research	186
Chapter 5: The Njwaxa Leather-work Factory: Black Consciousness vs. Separate Development in the Rural Ciskei	226
Conclusion	269
Epilogue	283
Appendix	290
Bibliography	292

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Political Cartoon that appeared in the <i>Daily Dispatch</i> on the day before Zanempilo's official opening.....	151
Figure 2: Canon James Gawe addressing the crowd.....	157
Figure 3: Women's Group at Zanempilo.....	166
Figure 4: "Sister Moletsane examining a labour patient in the labour ward.".....	170
Figure 5: Dr. Ramphele examining Thenjiwe Nondalana's child while his grandmother looks on.....	176
Figure 6: The interior of the King William's Town Resource Center.....	222
Figure 7: "The humble beginnings of Njwaxa Leather Home Industry," with Sarha Papu to the left of Vuyo Mpumlwana, standing fifth from the left.....	245
Figure 8: Mrs. Esther Mpupa with Mrs. N. Mamase (on the right) putting glue in the purses.....	246
Figure 9: Mr. Socisha and Mncedisi Xhape (in wheel chair) drawing patterns and making marks for sewing.....	248
Figure 10: The factory foundation in the church yard as it appeared in 2008.....	265

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: The Consolidated Ciskei in the Eastern Cape	32
Map 2: Black Community Programs Regional Offices	119
Map 3: Clinics and Hospitals in the Ciskei by 1980	145
Map 4: Zinyoka	152
Map 5: Njwaxa	230

All maps were graciously designed by Christopher Greenmun.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Appropriate South African racial terminology and place names have changed over time and some terms are still up for debate. In this dissertation I use “Coloured” spelled with the South African spelling and capitalized to show that I refer to a mixed race group of people historically and socially defined by this term. “African” refers largely to Nguni and Sotho-Tswana speaking people, though the term also includes the people known as the Khoe-khoe and the San. “Black” refers to all people of color in South Africa as Black Consciousness activists used it, as explained in the text.

When referring to places, I have used the modern spelling of Xhosa place names, but have referred to places as they were known in the time period of this study. I have spelled the names of individuals as they were written by the individuals themselves, although some of the spellings may not be correct according to modern Xhosa orthography. Unless quoting directly from an original source, I have used the American spelling of organizations.

Introduction

On June 18, 2008, a cloudy and wet winter day in the Eastern Cape, I drove with Lindani Ntenti, Mark Mandita and Mark's aunt, Nokwindla Papu into the village of Njwaxa. I had driven past the road leading to the village, thirty miles from King William's Town, many times on my way to the University of Fort Hare in Alice. This was my first time entering the village. After picking up Mark's aunt at the school near the main road, we took a right at the fork and drove down the hill. Once in the village, we stopped at different houses where Mark's aunt informed elderly members of the community that we had arrived.

This was an exciting day for all of us who eventually gathered in the back yard flat at Mr. and Mrs. Nakase's place. Over thirty years ago, this small village had hosted a leather-work factory, managed by the Black Community Programs, a community development organization run by Black Consciousness activists. I had been searching for a way into the village since moving to King William's Town in February to conduct research on the health and economic projects of the BCP in the Eastern Cape. Mark Mandita, an employee at the Amathole Museum in King William's Town, provided the needed connection. His grandmother, Sarha Papu, had worked at the factory in Njwaxa from its beginning in 1974 until it was shut down by the South African police in October, 1977. Sarha Papu and the five other Njwaxa residents who met with us that day seemed eager to share their memories of the factory. They excitedly told us about the work they did, the accomplishments of the factory, and the intrigues of a police informer, sometimes speaking all at once. To my knowledge, this was the first time anyone had interviewed

them about the factory, an overlooked, but significant and telling part of the Black Consciousness movement.

Our trip to Njwaxa on June 18, 2008, was part of my larger doctoral study on the history of the development work of the Black Community Programs (BCP) organization. Drawing upon archival and oral history sources, this dissertation documents and analyzes the community development ideas and practices within the Black Consciousness movement from 1969-1977. It reconstructs the history of the BCP, primarily through a detailed analysis of three of its projects: the Zanempilo Community Health Center, the Njwaxa leather-work factory, and the BCP's annual publication, *Black Review*. The main research questions this study explores are: How and why did community development fit into the ideology of Black Consciousness? How did these activists assess the social and economic problems in urban townships and Eastern Cape rural settlements? What was the nature of the health, economic, and educational programs they implemented? How did they carry out these projects, who did they involve, and what challenges did they face? Finally, it seeks to explore the effects of the projects on communities and how the projects changed the lives of individuals like those in Njwaxa.

Community development was an integral part of the Black Consciousness movement from its beginning with the South African Student's Organization (SASO) up to 1977, when the government declared all Black Consciousness-aligned organizations illegal. Exploring the movement's projects geared towards improving a community's health, education, economic conditions, and self-reliance, changes the way we understand the movement, the activists, their relationships with each other, and their relationships with communities. It demonstrates that the movement was not restricted to an urban

intelligentsia who “spoke to people very like themselves, most of the time,”¹ but one that employed its philosophy and contemporary transnational ideas to address the socio-economic conditions of poor black South Africans. When put into practice, Black Consciousness thought was tested. To refine their work, activists combined their philosophy of a total liberation from psychological and physical oppression with new methodologies from Paulo Freire, a radical educator from Brazil. In doing so, they cultivated an innovative, participatory approach to development in apartheid South Africa. Activists faced vicious state repression and encountered tensions within black communities that the basic Black Consciousness philosophy did not recognize. The BCP also struggled with contradictions between their avowed black self-reliance and use of white or outside resources. The way activists attempted to respond to the needs of poor black communities while dealing with these challenges and contradictions shaped the nature of their work and its wider impact. Analysis of the key role played by youth, women, and churches in supporting and carrying out their projects reveals how the BCP empowered youths and women and altered perceptions of their respective roles in society. This study further argues that although short-lived, Black Consciousness community work succeeded in improving the material conditions of black individuals and communities and strengthening their sense of self-worth and self-reliance. In essence, this was Black Consciousness in action.

This dissertation contributes a new perspective to the history of rural South Africa while also demonstrating the importance of oral history and grassroots activities and actors in the history of South African liberation movements. Examining the context,

¹ Sam Nolutshungu, *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), p. 161.

nature, and consequences of the BCP's projects in Eastern Cape villages adds a rural perspective to South African historiography that generally has an urban bias.² My case studies of the health center and the leather-work factory, situated in their respective rural villages – Zinyoka and Njwaxa – bring into sharp relief the contours of Ciskei homeland politics and economics in the mid-1970s. Oral history was crucial in reconstructing this history; not only did oral sources compensate for missing or destroyed BCP written records, but they provided insights into how villagers – particularly women – experienced and remembered apartheid “separate development” and the Black Consciousness movement.³ These rural women, for example, glowingly remembered how the BCP brought social services and relief from poverty to their villages. By relying on the voices of previously unheard activists and Zinyoka and Njwaxa residents, this dissertation gives a fuller picture of the movement and its impact in the 1970s.

² See William Beinart and Colin Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape 1890-1930* (London: James Currey, 1987); Helen Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom: the ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Peter Delius, *A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996); Recent works with chapters on rural perspectives on liberation movements include the South African Democracy and Education Trust's *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2 [1970-1980]* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006) and the University of Cape Town's Historical Studies Department, *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Historical Studies Department, 2007).

³ For more on political movements in Eastern Cape homelands, see Les Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993); Lungisile Ntsebeza, *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of the Land in South Africa* (Boston: Brill, 2005); Bernard Magubane, et al, “Resistance and Repression in the Bantustans,” in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006), pp. 749-802; For more on political movements in Eastern Cape homelands, see Les Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993); Lungisile Ntsebeza, *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of the Land in South Africa* (Boston: Brill, 2005); Bernard Magubane, et al, “Resistance and Repression in the Bantustans,” in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006), pp. 749-802; and Bavusile Maaba, “An Eastern Cape Village in Transition: The Politics of Msobomvu,” in Historical Studies Department, *From Apartheid to Democracy*, 12-48.

The Black Consciousness Movement: A Brief Overview

What became known as the Black Consciousness movement, emerged in the late 1960s with the formation of the South African Student's Organization (SASO). In the early 1960s, the white racist apartheid government banned the major liberation movement organizations, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), and imprisoned or forced their leaders into exile. The police and other state security forces adopted more ruthless and extra-legal tactics to suppress opposition. This created a climate of fear and a vacuum in above-ground anti-apartheid black leadership (though the underground persisted). At the same time, however, developments on university campuses led to the formation of SASO and the emergence of Black Consciousness, which energized black youth and helped revive liberation movements in the 1970s. In 1968, black students became increasingly frustrated with the white leadership of the leading multi-racial student organizations, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the University Christian Movement (UCM). Led foremost by Steve Biko and Barney Pitso, these students broke away to create SASO, an exclusively black student organization officially founded in July 1969.

Out of SASO came what was soon termed Black Consciousness. At its basis, Black Consciousness was a philosophy that sought to refashion black people by awakening them to their inherent worth and potential. Adherents believed that this psychological liberation, coupled with building up black self-reliance, would enable the black oppressed to interact with white people on fully equal terms and bring about meaningful change in their society. Black Consciousness rejected the involvement and leadership of white liberals and hoped to build black unity. It stressed the value of

African and black culture, redefining black to include Indian and Coloured South Africans – all those “politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations.”⁴ This redefinition of black South Africans was one of Black Consciousness’s most original contributions to South African liberation movements.

In the early 1970s, SASO’s strength grew across African, Coloured, and Indian university campuses throughout South Africa, and evolved into a social, cultural and political movement. Artists and cultural groups (particularly in poetry and theater) embraced the Black Consciousness philosophy. At the end of 1971 and beginning of 1972, activists formed two “adult” – or non-student – organizations.⁵ The Black People’s Convention (BPC) acted as a political wing. The BCP, initially part of the South African Council of Churches and Christian Institute’s Special Project on Christian Action in Society (Spro-cas 2), became the community development arm of the movement. SASO students also nurtured youth groups and attempted to foster black worker organization.

Black Consciousness activists increasingly clashed with university officials, the state, and the police in the early-to-mid 1970s. Onkgopotse Abraham (OR) Tiro’s speech, critical of the University of the North’s administration, led to his expulsion and numerous student strikes in mid-1972. In 1973, the South African government banned many Black Consciousness leaders to their home magisterial districts. In 1974, SASO and the BPC staged rallies supporting the national liberation movement of Mozambique,

⁴ Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996), p. 48.

⁵ Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California, 1978), p. 289.

FRELIMO. This resulted in the arrest, trial, and imprisonment of SASO and BPC leaders. Police repression increased in 1976, in the wake of the student uprisings begun in Soweto. Shortly after the uprisings, Mapetla Mohapi, SASO leader based in the Eastern Cape, died in police detention on August 5, 1976. He joined other martyrs of the movement, including Mthuli ka Shezi (pushed onto a train track in December 1972), Tiro (letter-bombed in Botswana in 1974), and Steve Biko who would die in police custody on September 12, 1977. One month following Biko's death, the government banned all Black Consciousness-related organizations and shut down the BCP. This marked the end of an era for Black Consciousness and an appropriate stopping point for this study. Formed in 1978, the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) took up the mantle of Black Consciousness within the country, though it went in a new direction by, among other things, emphasizing a Marxist class analysis.

Historiography of Black Consciousness in South Africa

By taking a social history approach to looking at Black Consciousness action, this study adds a new perspective on the movement and by extension, South African liberation movements. Since the end of apartheid, research on South African liberation has generally focused on political ideologies, events, and organizations associated with the ANC and its allies. Coupled with that has been a proliferation of memoirs and biographies of "struggle heroes,"⁶ and a growing interest in public history as South

⁶ The long list includes over a dozen biographies of Nelson Mandela, Ronnie Kasrils' *Armed and Dangerous* (Johannesburg; Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2004); Ray Simons, *All My Life and All My Strength* (Johannesburg: STE Publishers, 2004); Ahmed Kathrada, *Memoirs* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004); Janet Smith, *Hani: A Life Too Short* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2009); Luli Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo: His Life and Legacy* (Johannesburg: STE, 2006); Mark Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream*

Africa changes the face of its memorial landscape. The South African Democracy Education Trust, commissioned by former President Thabo Mbeki, made strides in its attempt to provide a framework for this history, bringing together a number of topics based upon oral history and documents available since 1994. A few since then have recently looked into more social history topics and regional aspects.⁷ Yet, scholars have much work to do on the history of the various South African liberation movements at different levels and regions, including the Black Consciousness movement. While scholars writing general histories have not ignored Black Consciousness, most have treated it as a mere stage in a larger ANC-driven trajectory, while others have criticized it for lacking organization and action to match its rhetoric.

Scholarly works focused on Black Consciousness have proved that the movement helped transform South Africa's political landscape in the 1970s and pushed forward the broader struggle for liberation. The bulk of this scholarship has focused largely on the movement's political ideology and intellectual development. While these works have made valuable contributions to our understanding of the movement, few have examined the less overtly-political health, educational, and economic programs. There is a striking absence of an investigation into the movement's impact on the tangible aspects of

Deferred (Jeppestown [Johannesburg]: Jonathan Ball, 2007); Pippa Green, *Choice, Not Fate: The Life and Times of Trevor Manuel* (Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 2008), among many others.

⁷ For example, the recent work on the ANC by Raymond Suttner, *The ANC Underground in South Africa, 1950-1976: A Social and Historical Study* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2008) and "Women in the ANC-led Underground," in *Women in South African History* (Cape Town: Human Science Research Council Press, 2007), 233-255; Diana Wylie, *Art + Revolution: The Life and Death of Thami Mnyele, South African Artist* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008); some contributions to Christopher Saunders, ed., *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation* (Cape Town: Department of Historical Studies, UCT, 2007). The Center for African Studies at the University of Cape Town held a workshop in September, 2008, entitled, "Liberation in Southern Africa: New Perspectives." Of the papers moving in different directions were Janet Cherry's essay on the intersection of violent and non-violent strategies, Anja Schade on the experience of exiles in Germany, Arianna Lissoni's focus on the PAC in Basutoland and Chitja Twala's essay on activists in the Free State. See the forthcoming issue of the *South African Historical Journal* that features papers from the workshop.

everyday life and how non-activist black South Africans (particularly those in the rural Ciskei) encountered Black Consciousness.⁸ Furthermore, the figure of Steve Biko, portrayed as the intellectual and political father of the movement, has generally become the center of Black Consciousness history. While this focus is understandable, it often eclipses his community work and obscures the role of the many other people involved in the movement.

Political scientists sympathetic to Black Consciousness wrote the first scholarly works on the movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s. They analyzed the origins and evolution of Black Consciousness, its political ideology, thought on race, and concepts of citizenship. In *Black Power in South Africa*, Gail Gerhart charted the development of orthodox African nationalism and its main proponents, situating Black Consciousness as following in that tradition.⁹ Community work appeared in Gerhart's book, but did not receive much attention as her focus was on the thought, speeches, and writings of influential individuals. (It was not until 1997 that Gerhart gave a fuller description of the movement when she and Thomas Karis wrote about 1960s and 1970s

⁸ This could include the cultural movement that developed among theater groups, poets, and artists; this dissertation does not, but focuses on programs defined by the movement as economic, education, or health projects. See Mbulelo V. Mzamane, "The Impact of Black Consciousness on Culture," in *Bounds of Possibility* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991), pp. 179-193; Bhekizizwe Peterson, "Culture, Resistance and Representation," in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Volume 2* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006), pp. 161-185; Andile Mngxitama, Amanda Alexander, and Nigel Gibson, eds., *Biko Lives!: Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Pumla Gqola, "Black Woman, You are on Your Own: Images of Black Women in Staffrider Short Stories, 1978-1982" (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1999).

⁹ She defines orthodox African nationalism as the belief that South Africa as a country belonged to Africans. *Black Power*, p. 13.

student politics in *From Protest to Challenge*.¹⁰) In 1986, Robert Fatton Jr. analyzed the movement as a radical ideology and form of resistance in *Black Consciousness in South Africa: The Dialectics of Ideological Resistance to White Supremacy*. He emphasized its expressions of a class analysis and focused on the movement's political organization, almost dismissing entirely BCP community work as peripheral and bordering on reformism.¹¹ In *Black Political Thought in the Making of South African Democracy*, C.R.D. Halisi explored the history of the debate over "rival concepts of citizenship" between what he termed multi-racial unionism and black republicanism to explain the relationship of Black Consciousness to other African intellectual movements.¹² Because his primary concern was black thought about citizenship as it appeared at the theoretical and rhetorical level, like Gerhart and Fatton, Halisi did not consider the role and impact of community work. Sam Nolutshungu's *Changing South Africa*, focused on the relationship between politics, economics, and the "politics of change," also falls in this category, as well as Craig Charney's dissertation that analyzed the role of social movements bred in a new public sphere in the late 1960s, in bringing about political change.¹³

¹⁰ They provided valuable information on funding, programs and initiatives, organizations, government repression, and political action. Thomas Karis and Gail M. Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge, Volume 5, Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

¹¹ Though he acknowledged the BCP's potential at conscientizing, he did not recognize that efforts at economic upliftment may have had any impact on the way activists viewed the economic structures in South Africa. Robert Fatton Jr., *Black Consciousness in South Africa: The Dialectics of Ideological Resistance to White Supremacy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), particularly Chapter IV.

¹² C.R.D. Halisi, *Black Political Thought in the Making of South African Democracy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999). Halisi aligned Black Consciousness with the black republican tradition, though he viewed it as occupying a middle ground by including Indian and Colored people in its definition of black.

¹³ Nolutshungu, *Changing South Africa*. Craig Charney, "Civil Society vs. the State: Identity, Institutions, and the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2000). Charney

Aside from studies by political scientists, others have evaluated the legacy of Black Consciousness and the history of SASO, and yet, only one chapter was written about community work. A 1990 symposium in Harare, Zimbabwe assessing Steve Biko's legacy and the influence of Black Consciousness on contemporary South Africa led to the publication of *Bounds of Possibility*.¹⁴ Most of the contributions to the book considered the political, social, and cultural impact of Biko and his ideology, with essays ranging from the "psychology of liberation," to Black Theology. As an edited collection of papers, *Bounds of Possibility* provided a sampling of the different issues connected to the history of Biko and the Black Consciousness movement.

Mamphela Ramphele, one of SASO's early and prominent female members, evaluated the successes and limitations of Black Consciousness development projects in *Bounds of Possibility*.¹⁵ Ramphele briefly analyzed the programs SASO students carried out, the challenges they faced, and discussed BCP projects, with a focus on the Eastern Cape initiatives. She concluded that recognizing the complexities of communities and empowering people to take control over their lives are important to development work. Ramphele made further contribution by publishing her memoirs, *Across Boundaries*, where she described her experiences as part of a "community of activists" that developed

argued that a new collective identity and action "emerged from institutional change and the self-fashioning of a new urban black society in South Africa" in the late 1960s and early 1970s (p. 229). This led to a new youth culture, social networks, identities and values that led to youth radicalism in the late 1970s.

¹⁴ Barney Pityana et al, *Bounds of Possibility*.

¹⁵ See Ramphele, "Empowerment and Symbols of Hope: Black Consciousness and Community Development," in *Bounds of Possibility*, pp 154-178.

in King William's Town and the professional and personal challenges of her work and relationships there.¹⁶

Few scholars have expanded on Ramphela's evaluation of Black Consciousness development work. Saleem Badat included some descriptions of SASO community projects when he wrote about the nature and impact of SASO; yet, his concern with the student movement in comparison with the South African National Students' Congress, meant that he essentially focused on university campuses.¹⁷ He did not address the broader impact of the community projects. Similarly, Vanessa Noble discussed the student culture and SASO health projects at the University of Natal medical school in her doctoral dissertation but, with the school as the site of her study, the community reactions to SASO work were beyond the scope of her study.¹⁸ Mbulelo Mzamane, Bavusile Maaba, and Nkosingithi Biko's essay in the second volume of SADET's *The Road to Democracy in South Africa* provided a more complete description of the different aspects of the Black Consciousness movement by giving space to its community projects and naming many of those involved in them.¹⁹ They emphasized the organizational legacy of the movement and Black Consciousness action. Yet, Mzamane, Maaba, and Biko wrote of the BCP in the context of the Black People's Convention, not on its own terms. And,

¹⁶ Mamphela Ramphela, *Across Boundaries: The Journey of a South African Woman Leader* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1996), also published as *Mamphela Ramphela: A Life* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1995). In her book, Ramphela discusses her intimate relationship with Steve Biko who was the father of two of her children (one of which died as an infant).

¹⁷ Saleem Badat, *Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid: from SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990* (Pretoria: Human Science Research Council, 1999).

¹⁸ Vanessa Noble, "Doctors Divided: Gender, Race and Class Anomalies in the Production of Black Medical Doctors in Apartheid South Africa, 1948-1994" (PhD diss, University of Michigan, 2005).

¹⁹ Mbulelo V. Mzamane, Bavusile Maaba, and Nkosingithi Biko, "The Black Consciousness Movement," in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006), pp. 99-159.

as a chapter of a larger volume, they did not delve into much detail beyond the Black Consciousness rejection of white liberals. Apart from Ramphela's brief assessment of *Black Review*, few studies on the rise of a new alternative black press in the late 1970s have made more than a mention of this important publication.²⁰ No one has followed up Mbulelo Mzamane and David Howarth's analysis of the *SASO Newsletter* with a study of *Black Review*.²¹

Two recent works have important implications for situating the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa's history and providing a deeper analysis of its intellectual history and philosophy. Andile Mngxitama, Amanda Alexander, and Nigel Gibson's *Biko Lives!: Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko* brought together a number of essays analyzing Black Consciousness's philosophical contours.²² Some of the essays also addressed dominant narratives that downplay the significance of the movement, such as Neville Alexander's chapter on the Manifesto of the Azanian People adopted at the National Forum in 1983. The interviews and chapter by Oshadi Mangena add the most valuable insight, addressing the role of women in the movement (an issue discussed further below). Daniel Magaziner's forthcoming book, *The Law and the Prophets: Politics, Faith and Hope in South Africa, 1968–1977*, provides a much needed historical account of the ways in which Black Consciousness contributed to the broader intellectual

²⁰ Les Switzer and Mohamed Adhikari, eds., *South Africa's Resistance Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation Under Apartheid* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 2000); Keyan Tomaselli and P. Eric Louw, eds., *The Alternative Press in South Africa* (Bellville, South Africa; London: Anthropos and James Currey, 1991); Nicholas Evans and Monica Seeber, eds., *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa* (London; Scottsville: Holger Ehling Publishing and University of Natal Press, 2000).

²¹ Mbulelo V. Mzamane and David Howarth, "Representing Blackness: Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement," in *South Africa's Alternative Press*, 176–211.

²² Mngxitama, Alexander, and Gibson, *Biko Lives!*

history of the 1970s.²³ Magaziner dissected the readings and writings of the Black Consciousness “philosophers” from 1969-1972, Black Consciousness’s formative years. He demonstrated that these young university students were “autonomous shoppers in the marketplace of ideas,”²⁴ as they adapted theories and formulated their own philosophy in their particular context. He then analyzed how elements of this thought, such as the image of a black Messiah, changed over time and demonstrated how clashes with the state transformed the movement in the mid-1970s. He concluded that the 1970s bequeathed to the 1980s a sense of duty and courage to sacrifice for “the struggle” that developed among South African youth.

In the majority of these works, Steve Biko received the most attention. This focus on Biko is not surprising given his role as one of the drivers and foremost writers of the Black Consciousness movement. His charismatic personality drew people to him socially and politically. Since he is considered the father of the movement, many narratives focus on Biko’s life and death to explain its history, a pattern reinforced by its popular appeal and the work of the Steve Biko Foundation.²⁵ The figure of Steve Biko assumed a mythological status after his death in detention which was followed by the banning of all Black Consciousness organizations. His martyr status has helped to elevate him as one of

²³ Daniel Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Politics, Faith and Hope in South Africa, 1968 – 1977* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010). Thanks to Dan Magaziner for allowing me to read his manuscript before publication.

²⁴ Ibid, Chapter 3.

²⁵ For example, Millard Arnold, *The Testimony of Steve Biko* (London: M. Temple Smith, 1979); Hilda Bernstein, No. 46 – *Steve Biko* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1978); Chris van Wyk ed., *We Write What We Like: Celebrating Steve Biko* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007); Mngxitama, Alexander, and Gibson, *Biko Lives!*

the first black liberation heroes to be memorialized in post-1994 South Africa.²⁶ The focus on Biko tends to overshadow the influence and actions of many others who contributed in important ways, including women, churches and ecumenical organizations, as well as young rank-and-file activists at the grassroots level.

While this dissertation is not centrally about Steve Biko, it does contribute to our understanding of Biko by looking at what consumed much of his time in the last four years of his life. In December 1973, Biko wrote to Anglican Priest and friend, Father Aelred Stubbs, of his intention of “finding expression for my skills” in the context of his BCP work. He continued, “Over the years I have developed a strong liking for the kind of work done by the Black Community Programs.”²⁷ Biko’s BCP work and how he interacted with fellow activists, employees, and rural community members in the King William’s Town area provide fresh glimpses into his life. Luyanda ka Msumza, a next door neighbor to the Biko family in Ginsberg in his youth, argued that scholars have not yet captured who Biko really was. He told me in an interview, “This you’ll not find in any academic journal. You will not find it in any library,” but “etched in the hearts of ordinary people” who were influenced by Biko “in quiet little corners where Steve came alive.”²⁸ A focus on the BCP in the Eastern Cape, enriches our understanding of Biko’s life, though this dissertation does not claim to write his biography.²⁹

²⁶ September 12, 1997 marked the twentieth anniversary of his death. In that year, Mandela dedicated the Biko statue in East London, the Biko home, and the Steve Biko Garden of Remembrance as heritage sites. The John Vorster Bridge crossing the Buffalo River on East London’s west side was renamed Biko Bridge on the same day. See also L. Hadfield, “We Salute a Hero of the Nation: Steve Biko’s Place in South Africa’s History,” (MA thesis, Ohio University, 2005).

²⁷ As quoted in Aelred Stubbs, C.R., “Martyr of Hope,” in Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like*, p. 166. See also “Interview with Deborah Matshoba,” in *Biko Lives!*, p. 283.

²⁸ Luyanda ka Msumza, interview by the author, December 2, 2008, Mdantsane, South Africa.

²⁹ See also discussion of oral history below.

My study goes beyond Biko and his writings to show what he and others did. It takes a social history approach by bringing in the personalities and actions of other activists and local community members. Similar to Ineke van Kessel's "*Beyond Our Wildest Dreams*" on the United Democratic Front of the 1980s, this dissertation demonstrates that the perspective of those involved at local or grassroots levels can provide valuable insights into the broader impact of South African liberation movements.³⁰ Extending the analysis to those not involved at the formal political or theoretical level demonstrates how political ideologies are understood on the ground, what motivates people to get involved, the impact and legacy of movements, and the relationship between leadership and governments to their people.³¹ In the Eastern Cape villages of Zinyoka and Njwaxa, the Black Consciousness movement meant a commitment to serving people, the restoration of human dignity, and building self-reliance.³² Social histories like Elizabeth Schmidt's on decolonization in Guinea, John Aerni-Fleshner's research of youth at the time of independence in Lesotho, or a deeper historical analysis of the women involved in Wangari Maathai's tree planting campaign

³⁰ Ineke van Kessel, "*Beyond Our Wildest Dreams*": *The United Democratic Front and the Transformation of South Africa* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Beinart and Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa*; Bradford, *A Taste of Freedom: the ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930*; Delius, *A Lion Amongst the Cattle*.

³¹ Belinda Bozzoli, "Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society," in *Class, Community, and Conflict: South African Perspectives* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), 1-43..

³² This is not to say that black South Africans had not before initiated projects to build black self-reliance or engaged in community work as part of liberation movements. For example, Pixely ka Seme promoted establishing cooperatives through the ANC in the 1930s, as Peter Limb describes in *The ANC's Early Years: Nation, Class and Place in South Africa Before 1940*, Hidden Histories Series (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2010). The ICU also tried establishing at least one factory. See also Govan Mbeki's *Let's Do it Together: What Cooperative Societies are and Do* (Cape Town: African Bookman, 1944) and Paul La Hausse's book on Petros Lamula and Lymon Maling who experimented in cooperatives in KwaZulu-Natal, *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c.1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-c.1936)* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000).

as part of the Green Belt movement in Kenya are some examples of how these studies can reveal underlying currents and the impact of grassroots actions and actors.³³

Social history also has relevance in exploring contemporary social and material challenges in South Africa and Africa more broadly.³⁴ In the late 1970s and 1980s, many historians of South Africa wrote histories “from below,” analyzing the experience of the “oppressed” with the goal of bringing about change through an increased understanding of the nature and impact of oppression in South Africa.³⁵ These social historians opened up new fields of research in health, gender, the environment, and culture and identity. Today, continued social history research can continue to provide insights into related contemporary challenges, such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the politics of health care provision, or the construction and political deployment of cultural identities. In contrast to histories focused on macro economic development in Africa, this dissertation’s focus on community development tells us that participatory development was practiced in South Africa before the international community began discussing it. The conclusion includes some comments on lessons development practitioners and theorists can learn

³³ Elizabeth Schmidt, *Cold War and Decolonization in Guinea, 1946-1958* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007); John Aerni-Flessner, “Quietly Radical: Basotho Youth in the 1960s,” paper presented at the Michigan State University’s 3rd Annual Africanist Graduate Research Conference (East Lansing, MI, October 2009); Wangari Maathai, *Unbowed* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006) and *The Green Belt Movement: Sharing the Approach and the Experience* (Nairobi: Environment Liaison Centre International, 1998).

³⁴ Alan Cobley, “Does Social History Have a Future? The Ending of Apartheid and Recent Trends in South African Historiography,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Special Issue for Shula Marks (Sept. 2001), pp. 619-20.

³⁵ Charles van Onselen, *Studies in the Social and Economic History of Witwatersrand, 1886-1914* (New York: Longman, 1982); Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone eds., *Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness 1870-1930* (New York: Longman, 1982); Philip Bonner, *Holding Their Ground: Class, Locality and Culture in 19th and 20th Century South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1989); Philip Bonner, “New Nation, New History: The History Workshop in South Africa, 1977-1994,” *Journal of American History* 81, no. 3 (December 1994): 977-985.

about participatory development, the production and sharing of local knowledge, the role of aid, and the provision of healthcare.

Youth, Women, and Churches

In considering the actors involved in running BCP programs, youths, women, and churches were vitally important. Here, I lay down some underlying issues. Each of these categories of historical actors will be explored together throughout the chapters, to show how in each case study their position and role was influenced by other factors. For example, multiple influences determined how villagers in Njwaxa and Zinyoka received and viewed young activists and BCP employees, many of whom were women.

Student movements and the 1976 uprisings reinvigorated black resistance to apartheid and proved that youth were “thinkers, conscious actors, and historical agents.”³⁶ Historians of South Africa who have subsequently considered youths – those of an age and position in society between childhood and adulthood – examined the role of youths in political resistance and how assertions of adulthood and generational tensions shaped historical events and social change.³⁷ Scholars have explored similar issues

³⁶ Badat, *Black Student Politics*, Preface; See also Sifiso Ndlovu, *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-Memories of June 1976* (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1998) where Ndlovu argued that, contrary to what many historians and political parties had written, political or student organizations did not start the uprisings. Student protests began long before student organizations stepped in to direct other students. See also Sifiso Ndlovu, “The Soweto Uprising,” in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2 [1970-1980]* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006), where he modifies this slightly and recognizes the impact of Black Consciousness on the attitude and thinking of Soweto youth.

³⁷ For example (aside from that on the Soweto uprisings and student movements of the 1970s): Kumi Naidoo, “The Politics of Youth Resistance in the 1980s: The Dilemmas of a Differentiated Durban,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, no. 1, Special Issue: Social History of Resistance in South Africa (March 1992): 143-165; Colin Bundy, “Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of Youth and Student Resistance in Cape Town, 1985,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13, no. 3 (April 1987): 303-330; van Kessel, *Beyond Our Wildest Dreams*; Benedict Carton, *Blood From Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Zulu Generational Conflict* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000); Anne Mager, *Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan: A Social History of the Ciskei, 1945-1959*

within the Black Consciousness movement. Magaziner and Noble recently analyzed how these young black activists claimed adulthood in a society that infantilized the black man.³⁸ This dissertation is concerned with the importance of Black Consciousness activists' position as youths – particularly university students – in shaping their community work, the BCP's projects, and their interactions with local communities. It also demonstrates how the BCP empowered youth who became involved in the organization's work.

Daring, rebelliousness, and questioning authority, often characteristics of youth, propelled the Black Consciousness movement and contributed to the success of BCP programs. These youth did not carry responsibility, caution, or the memory of state repression against anti-apartheid movements like older generations, thus were available and willing to get involved. Black Consciousness adherents demonstrated their rejection of the status quo of white supremacy with defiant attitudes and bold styles.³⁹ These brash youth were similarly uninhibited in embarking on community work. Although they learned the need to refine and improve their efforts, their energy and enthusiasm helped them carry out their work in politically hostile environments. In the Eastern Cape, BCP employees often risked arrest and refused to be cowed by police. In the midst of their serious and dangerous work, young activists were known to rejuvenate their energy with

(Portsmouth, NH; Oxford; Cape Town: Heinemann, James Currey, David Philip, 1999); Clive Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000). See also Edward Feit, "Generational Conflict and African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress, 1949-1959," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 5, no. 2 (1972): 181-202.

³⁸ Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 2, and Noble, "Doctors Divided," Chapter 5.

³⁹ See descriptions of the outward style and behavior of activists on the street in Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 2, and "Interview with Deborah Matshoba," in *Biko Lives!*, pp 275-6.

parties (or “gumbas”).⁴⁰ Novayi Jekwa, former student at the University of Natal-Black Section (or UNB – as it was known during apartheid), explained that even though in many ways her student days could be called “the dark days,” when they “had to celebrate and be happy, we did that – big time.”⁴¹ This temporary respite from the struggle helped sustain them.

Not all youths have the same characteristics, opportunities, experiences, or goals. The position of Black Consciousness youths as university students was a key factor in the development of their philosophy and community engagement. As university students in the late 1960s and 1970s, activists had access and exposure to different ideas and viewpoints of their time that influenced how they formed their own philosophy and methods. Their links to national, international, and Christian student networks that were part of a larger contemporary global student movement helped them obtain the writings of Paulo Freire and needed funds.⁴² The medical school at the University of Natal played a particularly important role. As Noble argued, the more permissive and racially diverse UNB provided space for the best African, Coloured, and Indian students to engage in student politics, critical discussions, and to interact intimately with black students from other racial categories. Thus, the emergence of SASO (with its new inclusive definition

⁴⁰ Part of the “social habits” of SASO leaders that Robert Sobukwe disliked as reported by Aelred Stubbs in “Martyr of Hope,” p. 172. See Bokwe Mafuna’s comments on this in “The Impact of Steve Biko on My Life,” in *We Write What We Like*, p. 82, and Noble, “Doctors Divided,” 246, 283-284. It should be noted that the parties activists held when they were slightly older and working for the BCP in communities, such as those at Zanempilo, were not as rambunctious as those at the universities as described by Noble’s informants.

⁴¹ Novayi Vitta Jekwa, interview by the author, March 27, 2008, East London, South Africa.

⁴² See Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 3; Noble, “Doctors Divided,” pp. 122-125; and Dr. Mncedisi Winston Jekwa, interview by the author, May 11, 2008, Beacon Bay, East London, South Africa.

of “black”) was centrally connected to UNB students.⁴³ The medical school also produced young black health care professionals, positioned to provide a much needed service to poor black communities, particularly in the rural homelands.

While Black Consciousness activists challenged one status quo, they were also driven by a philosophy that stressed human dignity and the value of the ethics, customs, and beliefs of black or African cultures. Many members had connections to rural areas and viewed themselves as part of the larger black community, despite their membership in an urban intelligentsia. When working in communities, activists and BCP employees recognized the importance of working with local leaders or “key elders”⁴⁴ and adhered to cultural rules regarding age and respect – especially in the rural Ciskei where these rules (also referred to as *ukuhlonipha*) had more influence on social relationships.⁴⁵ The way they interacted with people and their status as students lessened generational tensions that may have arisen as young activists and BCP employees (most in their mid-to-late twenties or early thirties) moved in to local communities to run projects. At the time, gaining a university education was not common and earned much respect and prestige. Instead of becoming an aloof elite, these educated young activists committed themselves to “plow back” their skills to build poor black communities.⁴⁶ Mutual respect built a feeling of solidarity between activists and most villagers in the Eastern Cape. Activists

⁴³ Noble, “Doctors Divided,” pp. 122, 125-129.

⁴⁴ Malusi Mpumlwana, phone interview by the author, December 20, 2008, South Africa.

⁴⁵ For example, Ray Magida, a field worker for the Border Council of Churches, said the BCP stressed the importance of treating people with respect, such as using clan names to address them. Ray Magida, interview by the author, February 26, 2008, King William’s Town.

⁴⁶ This was also in contrast to the trend of young men and increasing numbers of young women migrating to urban centers or mines on the Rand for work and youths in the 1950s who Anne Mager describes as becoming less beholden to adults and rules of appropriate behavior. See Mager, *Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan*, Chapter 5.

also claimed they worked well with older community members and activists who shared their beliefs: two interviewees outrightly dismissed my question about generational tensions, saying they were irrelevant.⁴⁷ The support of “key elders” was crucial when the BCP clashed with those who did not share their views and felt threatened by the BCP, such as the Ciskei homeland authorities.

The BCP also empowered youths involved in its projects, accelerating their transition into adulthood and professionalism. This study highlights how BCP employees – young professionals and their neighbors, friends, and student activists – found themselves thrust in positions that, under different circumstances, individuals with greater experience and training would have filled. The nature of their work and subsequent state repression dictated that they quickly learn and carry out these duties, from Mamphela Ramphele taking the position of head medical officer just one year after she qualified as a doctor, to a young university student assuming the role of editor of *Black Review*. Many of these youths gained skills they would use the rest of their lives. And, many of these youths were educated young women, a category of youths that has received less attention in historiography than young men.

The Black Consciousness movement has an ambiguous history in regards to women’s participation and gender politics. Ramphele and other scholars have written about the movement’s male-dominated and even sexist nature, as well as its lack of a political focus on gender. Writing from personal experience, Ramphele described how she and other women in SASO learned to be “assertive,” “tough, insistent, persistent and to hold our own in public” in order to earn honorary male status and enter “the world of

⁴⁷ Peter Jones, interview by the author, May 14, 2008, Somerset West; Bokwe Mafuna, interview by the author, November 6, 2008, Roodepoort.

political discourse which had been until then inaccessible to us.”⁴⁸ They adopted bold styles, such as wearing revealing clothing and smoking cigarettes because, “As a woman, an African woman at that, one had to be outrageous to be heard, let alone be taken seriously.”⁴⁹ Pumla Gqola and Magaziner have taken this analysis further by examining the masculine discourse and imagery employed by the movement that did not allow a place for women, or did so in a conservative way when it emphasized motherhood and a woman’s domestic support.⁵⁰

These views reflect in many ways broader trends in the history of women in South African resistance organizations. Aside from acknowledging the leadership and accomplishments of women in the mid-1950s with the Federation of South African Women, scholars such as Denise Walsh and Pamela Scully have concluded that participation by women in liberation movements was too often directed by men and “rarely mobilized to express” the needs and interests of women in a feminist way.⁵¹ This historiography overemphasizes women in formal political organizations and feminist agendas and begs the question: do women have to organize around gender directly to have a legitimate political consciousness, a wider gender consciousness, or be radical? Ramphele, Magaziner, Gqola, Walsh and Scully are right to point out the contradictions

⁴⁸ “The Dynamics of Gender,” pp. 214-227. See also Badat, *Black Student Politics*, pp. 112-3, 156-7.

⁴⁹ Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p. 71.

⁵⁰ Pumla Gqola, “Contradictory Locations: Blackwomen and the Discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement,” *Meridians* 2, no. 1 (2001): 130-152, and Magaziner *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 2. See also Noble’s discussion of “Black Masculine Femininities,” in “Doctors Divided,” Chapter 6.

⁵¹ Pamela Scully and Denise Walsh, “Altering Politics, Contesting Gender,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32, no. 1 (2006): p. 2; Cherryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1991); Shireen Hassim, *Women’s Organizations and Democracy in South Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006); Cherryl Walker, ed., *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (Cape Town; London: David Philip and James Currey, 1990); Belinda Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1991).

in liberation movements that did not take women's liberation seriously despite a philosophy of total liberation or women's contributions.⁵² Yet, there is something to Oshadi Mangena's argument that the Black Consciousness movement "inadvertently and tacitly endorsed" gender as an issue and that women within the movement "could be leaders in their own right."⁵³

My dissertation looks at what happened when women (in some cases the same women) got their hands dirty while working at the grassroots. Looking at the role of women in the BCP in the Eastern Cape complicates the history of Black Consciousness gender relations and demonstrates how women's actions and social networks can inadvertently contribute to improving gender equality, even if women themselves (and their movements or organizations) do not have a feminist cause.⁵⁴ While women found it difficult to earn an equal voice in SASO, their role in the BCP is evidence of the confidence BCP men had in women.⁵⁵ In the Eastern Cape, women were central to Black Consciousness praxis. This empowered individual women and changed the way people involved in the projects viewed women. Furthermore, although the Black Consciousness movement did not have a political agenda regarding women, the BCP ended up focusing

⁵² See also Mamphela Ramphele interview with Mary Marshall Clark, 2 Aug. 1999, Cape Town, South Africa, Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project (http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/oral_hist/carnegie/video-interviews/).

⁵³ Oshadi Mangena, "The Black Consciousness Philosophy and the Women's Question," pp. 253-255, 265.

⁵⁴ Noble uses a similar phrase in the title of her Chapter 6, in "Doctors Divided" – "Ours was not a feminist cause at that time." Nomboniso Gasa argues for a non-linear history of women's movements and greater acknowledgment of women's various positions and goals in Nomboniso Gasa, *Women in South African History* (Cape Town: Human Science Research Council Press, 2007), pp. xvi-xvii, and 214-215, 224-225; In the same volume, Raymond Suttner examines the different feminisms and patriarchies in the ANC in exile in "Women in the ANC-led Underground" and Janet Cherry writes how involvement in organizations and politics during the 1980s township uprisings in the Eastern Cape empowered women in "We were not afraid: The Role of Women in the 1980s' Township Uprising in the Eastern Cape," pp. 281-314.

⁵⁵ For a list of women involved in the movement generally, see Mzamane, Maaba, and Biko, "The Black Consciousness Movement," *Road to Democracy*, p. 135.

on and empowering women in the Eastern Cape because of the demographics and circumstances of local women.

Women assumed leadership positions in the Eastern Cape Branch of the BCP. In addition to Ramphele, who served as the head medical officer at Zanempilo and for some time, the BCP Eastern Cape Branch executive, Vuyo Mpumlwana was the first project manager at Njwaxa, Thoko (née Mbanjwa) Mpumlwana served as editor of *Black Review*, and Pumla Sangotsha managed the finances at Zanempilo. Some may question the extent of their influence, but BCP women in the Eastern Cape said they did not feel inhibited because they were women.⁵⁶ Many BCP employees claimed involving people was not about gender, but the worth of a person and what they could contribute to the cause.⁵⁷ Others who described BCP meetings said that everyone's contribution was valued and that Black Consciousness activists worked with all people, old and young, male and female.⁵⁸

In response to criticism that the Black Consciousness movement did not address women's issues, Nohle Mohapi (widow of activist Mapetla Mohapi and Eastern Cape BCP Branch administrator) asserted that the BCP recognized women and helped them gain independence. She pointed out that not only did the BCP employ women in managerial positions, but catered mostly to women who bore the brunt of rural homeland poverty. She said, "women were mobilized as women to be able to come together and do

⁵⁶ Vuyo Mpumlwana, interview by the author, October 3, 2008, Mthatha; Thoko Mpumlwana, interview by the author, July 24, 2008, Pretoria; see also Ramphele, "The Dynamics of Gender," p. 222, and Charles Nqakula, "1(b): 15 Leopold Street," in *Umdlaba Wethu: A Historical Indictment*, ed. Mothobi Mutloatse (Braamfontein: Skotaville Publishers, 1987).

⁵⁷ Bennie Khoapa interview, 4 June 2008, Malusi Mpumlwana, phone interview by the author, 20 December 2008; and Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, 24 July 2008.

⁵⁸ Luyanda ka Msumza, interview, December 2, 2008.

something for themselves, instead of depending on their men.”⁵⁹ In responding to the needs of the people in the area, the BCP could not help but work with women who constituted the majority of the population in rural areas while their young and middle-aged male relatives worked most of the year in mines on the Rand or in other major urban areas. In Njwaxa, the leather-work project began with an Anglican priest who worked with poor women. If not for one male doctor and two male ambulance drivers, Zanempilo would have been staffed completely by women. The majority of Zanempilo’s patients were women due to the demographics of the area and the community’s health needs. Having female staff members in professional and leadership positions helped the BCP work with village women and changed the way men and women in the communities and the movement viewed women’s abilities and the respect they deserved.⁶⁰ My study will also show how the position of activists as youths more open to social change, as well as police repression, forced the BCP to rely on willing and able young women and fostered congenial working environments, which helped to change prevailing views on women.

The history of the BCP also gives us a different view of the role of Christian churches and radical priests in liberation movements during the 1970s. In Barney Pityana’s view, Black Consciousness “was hugely and enthusiastically received among the black churches and the clergy.”⁶¹ Some scholars have examined Black Theology as it

⁵⁹ Nohle Mohapi, interview by the author, 30 October, 2008, Port Elizabeth.

⁶⁰ Although it seems that only activists directly challenged cultural practices, such as women taking part in eating sheep heads, a privilege traditionally reserved for males. See Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p, 105, and Deborah Matshoba, “Interview with Deborah Matshoba,” p. 280. See also Chapter 3 of this dissertation and Mziwoxolo Ndzengu, interview by the author, August 15, 2008, Zwelitsha.

⁶¹ Barney Pityana, interview by the author, March 20, 2008, East London.

developed in conjunction with the Black Consciousness movement.⁶² This study highlights a neglected aspect of the relationship of the movement with churches: the material support ecumenical organizations, local parishes, and international churches gave to Black Consciousness organizations. Funding was perhaps the most important form of Christian religious organizations' support for the formation and continued work of the BCP, though contradictory to the aims of the Black Consciousness movement as it came from so-called white liberal or outside sources.

Christianity and its churches have generally been viewed as conservative forces in South African history.⁶³ The Dutch Reformed Church provided a theological justification for apartheid.⁶⁴ It took English-speaking churches some time before they spoke out against apartheid and addressed discriminatory practices regarding their leadership. Even then, one could characterize churches as more talk than action until the 1980s, as they passed resolutions and published studies, but did not put "bodies on the line."⁶⁵ Yet, the 1970s was an important time when organizations and people like the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, founded by Beyers Naudé, and the South African

⁶² For example, see contributions to *Bounds of Possibility*, and Martin Prozesky, ed., *Christianity Amidst Apartheid* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); Dwight Hopkins, *Black Theology USA and South Africa* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989); Peter Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995); Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*; Daniel Magaziner, "Christ in Context: Developing a Political Faith in Apartheid South Africa," *Radical History Review*, no. 99 (2007): 80-106..

⁶³ See van Kessel, *Beyond Our Wildest Dreams*, where she argues that scholars should consider religious elements of liberation movements more.

⁶⁴ Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Leonard Thompson, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Rodney Davenport and Richard Elphick, eds., *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

⁶⁵ David Russell, interview by the author, 15 May, 2008, Cape Town, South Africa. Christian resistance to apartheid generally moved from acting as a witness against the effects of racial discrimination, identification with the oppressed, to active protest.

Council of Churches provided much needed support to activists.⁶⁶ Like many other places where clergy championed social justice at the time, such as in Latin America, religious institutions occupied a space that allowed them to support opposition movements and criticize governments when this option was closed to others. Indeed, the organizational impetus for the BCP came from the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute's Special Project on Christian Action in Society (Spro-cas 2). The BCP became independent from Spro-cas in 1973, in line with Black Consciousness principles; however, it could not survive independently financially. Continued funding from South African white-English speaking churches and ecumenical organizations, in addition to aid from European and American churches, ensured the BCP's survival until the state shut it down.

Churches, priests, and theological students proved important allies on a local and personal level. Whether it was the Anglican Church in the Eastern Cape, the Methodist Church or Regina Mundi in Soweto, the Congregationalist Church in Durban, or students and faculty at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice, churches provided space, entry points into communities, contacts, and human resources. Giving space ranged from housing runaway activists to providing office space, land, and buildings for projects. This allowed the BCP to establish itself in communities where otherwise a lack of resources or opposition from local authorities would have acted as barriers. In the Eastern Cape, the BCP also worked with the Border Council of Churches, sharing offices,

⁶⁶ There is a growing literature on Christian resistance to apartheid, the role of radical priests and progressive ecumenical organizations (including student movements). For example: John de Gruchy and Steve de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005); L.D. Hansen, *The Legacy of Beyers Naude* (Stellenbosch: SUN Press, 2005); Bob Clarke, *Anglicans Against Apartheid, 1936-1996* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008); Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa*.

ideas, and human resources. Without these forms of Christian resistance the BCP would have ceased operations long before the government shut it down in 1977.⁶⁷

Race, Community, and Place, and the Rural Ciskei Context

The construction and elaboration of the idea of a “black community” and the geographic contexts of the BCP’s history – that is, who the BCP targeted and worked with and where – helped to determine the nature of its projects. The way Black Consciousness defined “black,” led the BCP to involve people of color in South Africa from different classes, in both rural and urban settings. Black Consciousness defined “black” and “the black community” in both geographical and ideological or political ways. “Black community” at once referred to bounded settlements of black people as well as a broad grouping of those discriminated against by the apartheid government on the basis of the color of their skin who shared similar cultural characteristics and historical political and socio-economic experiences.⁶⁸ This definition included the different groups divided into three major categories under apartheid – Africans, Coloureds, and Indians. Young Black Consciousness activists in some ways imagined and created this black community, which they believed to have a natural unity.⁶⁹ They learned, however, in both their efforts to spread their philosophy and work in black communities, that reality was different. Those who did not share their political beliefs were deemed “non-white,” a term they argued

⁶⁷ See James Cochrane’s definition of Christian resistance in “Christian Resistance to Apartheid,” in Prozesky ed, *Christianity Amidst Apartheid*, p. 83.

⁶⁸ Bozzoli, “Class, Community, and Conflict,” pp. 4-8.

⁶⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. (London; New York: Verso, 1991).

South African society used to negatively define black people as non-beings.⁷⁰ When assessing Black Consciousness development work, Ramphele wrote that “a serious and costly error” of the movement was that it failed to recognize the “differentials of power along lines of class, gender, age and geographic location that need to be taken seriously in development strategies.”⁷¹ While they may not have fully recognized this, activists indeed learned how these tensions within communities could hinder their work and the importance of the dynamics of the local context.

The BCP’s work in the “black community” was both local and broad. This dissertation moves between specific contexts and the broader black community or national context as it focuses first on SASO, then the BCP as a national organization and its Zanempilo clinic, *Black Review*, and Njwaxa leather-work factory. Activists in SASO ran up against tensions within local geographic settlements of people where they initiated projects. On the other hand, as Chapter 2 demonstrates, the BCP initially saw itself as a facilitator working on a national level. *Black Review* continued as a program for the broader black community, directed towards all people of color in South Africa. In chronicling black activity and thought, it recognized the diversity of black opinions while at the same time promoting the particular Black Consciousness perspective as the authentic black view. The local nature of the BCP after the banning of its African employees to African townships and rural homelands in 1973 meant that while black SASO students had worked in Coloured and Indian communities, the BCP operated mostly in African settlements, such as Soweto outside Johannesburg, Umlazi township in

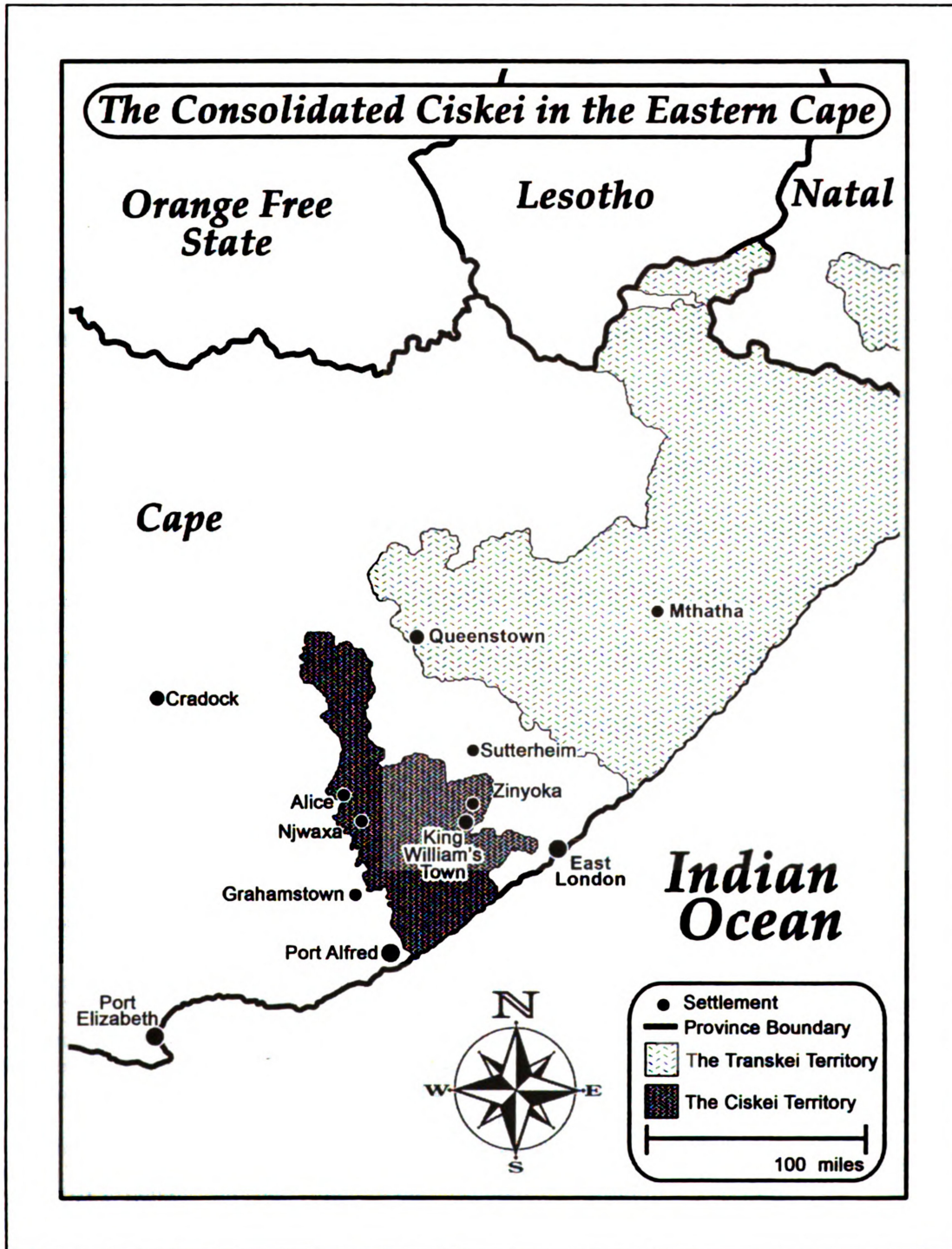
⁷⁰ See Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 8.

⁷¹ Mamphela Ramphele, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope: Black Consciousness and Community Development,” in *Bounds of Possibility*, ed. Pityana et al (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991), p. 178.

Durban, and rural villages in the Eastern Cape. Still, as African, Coloured, and Indian SASO students had crossed racial barriers, the BCP employed some activists classified as Indian and Coloured by apartheid legislation. These activists, such as Peter Jones, for instance, was a Coloured activist from the Western Cape who served as the branch executive of the BCP office in the Eastern Cape beginning in 1976. Jones exemplified the validity of Black Consciousness' new "black" racial identity.

The rural Ciskei homeland context helps us understand the needs of the people the BCP sought to address, the possibilities and limitations of its projects, and its potential impact. The Ciskei is a historic region in the Eastern Cape that borders the Indian Ocean, between the Kei and Fish Rivers. Together with the Transkei, a region across the Kei River to the East, the Ciskei acted as a colonial "Native Reserve" then apartheid African homeland or "Bantustan" for Xhosa-speaking people. After nearly one hundred years of wars between the British and the Xhosa, the British incorporated the Ciskei region into its Cape Colony in 1881. With the creation of the Union of South Africa thirty years later, it became an official "Native Reserve" where African land ownership was restricted by the Natives' Lands Act of 1913 to thirteen percent of the whole of South Africa. The white government maintained a layer of economic and political control while creating a semblance of African autonomy by appointing local Xhosa authorities to serve under white officials. With the rise in the diamond and gold mining industries in Kimberly and on the Rand, these regions served as labor reserves and suffered from the negative effects of migrant labor and underdevelopment. Young and middle-aged men (anywhere from the ages of sixteen to forty-five) left to earn wages in the mines or other white areas for

nine to twelve months out of the year, leaving women, children, and the elderly to suffer in poverty. With only a fraction of arable land, few survived solely on agriculture.



Map 1: The Consolidated Ciskei in the Eastern Cape

After the rise of apartheid in 1948, the National Party government started converting the “tribal reserves” into so-called “homelands” to deny or strip Africans of South African citizenship and to curb black urbanization while still maintaining a cheap black labor pool for white businesses and industries. The ethnically defined homelands (or Bantustans) were eventually to be given independence as part of “grand apartheid”; but, in order to make the homelands viable, the state began to politically and economically restructure them.⁷² The state reconfigured homeland authority, appointing new chiefs and headmen (often seen as puppets of the state) as tribal authorities in preparation for the establishment of territorial governments.⁷³ The Department of Bantu Affairs reinvigorated its top-down agricultural program termed “betterment” that changed African settlement and agricultural practices. The South African government promoted business and industrial development in regions bordering the homelands. Between 1960 and 1985, the apartheid government forcibly removed 3.5 million people from white urban areas and white farms and dumped them in the homelands.⁷⁴

This was the grim context in which the BCP launched its programs. The histories of the Zanempilo clinic and the Njwaxa leather-work factory in the Ciskei homeland (now part of the Eastern Cape Province) and their impact reveal the consequences of

⁷² Some of the general works that deal with the politics and economic and agricultural development of the Ciskei in this time period, though do not focus primarily on the 1970s, include Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*; Magubane, et al, “Resistance and Repression in the Bantustans”; Simon Bekker, P.A. Black, and A.D. Roux, *Development Issues in Ciskei* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1982); Mager, *Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan*; Ntsebeza, *Democracy Compromised*; Nancy Charton, ed., *Ciskei: Economics and Politics of Dependence in a South African Homeland* (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

⁷³ Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*, p. 330; Jeff Peires, “Ethnicity and Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Ciskei,” in *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa*, ed. William Beinart and Saul Dubow (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 256-284.

⁷⁴ See Laurine Platzky and Cherryl Walker, *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985).

“separate development” for Zinyoka and Njwaxa villagers and the dynamics of local authority and leadership. Black-led, people-centered BCP initiatives contrasted with top-down state development plans and initiatives in the Ciskei in the mid-1970s, and threatened the basis of apartheid ideology. The way some local leaders and the Ciskei and South African governments opposed BCP projects revealed the insecurity and illegitimacy of Ciskei leader L.L. Sebe and his loyal headmen. The BCP gained entry into villages through the Anglican Church and community elders – and sometimes via the black educated elite who also influenced the socio-political dynamics of Ciskei villages.⁷⁵ Community members welcomed BCP projects because they offered relief from poverty and brought social services to their villages. Most of those who benefited were rural women. These women’s voices offer glimpses into their lives – how they survived and supported their families, what options were open to them and what was important to them – and constitute an important source for this study.

Sources and Methodology

Oral history is a critical source for reconstructing the history of the Black Community Programs organization and evaluating the impact of its projects for two main reasons. First, the written record offers little evidence. Many records confiscated by the apartheid government in 1977, when all Black Consciousness organizations were declared illegal, are seemingly missing. Second, the impact of the programs on the health, economic situation, and views of individuals does not appear in the available documentation. Listening to the voices of Zinyoka and Njwaxa residents and former BCP employees tells

⁷⁵ Ntsebeza, *Democracy Compromised*, pp. 5-6.

us how rural black South Africans in these Ciskei villages – particularly women – experienced apartheid and encountered the Black Consciousness movement. How these people remembered BCP programs is also revealing.⁷⁶

The existing documentation on the BCP is sparse because of apartheid police confiscations in the 1970s and the mismanagement or destruction of records in the early 1990s. On October 17, 1977, the Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, signed papers making all Black Consciousness organizations illegal. Two days later, across the country, police launched a coordinated assault on the BCP and its regional branches. They confiscated records and equipment and sent employees home. Personal files and other organizational documents met the same fate in previous raids. Seemingly, government departments did not keep BCP records and assets. Aside from BCP pamphlets and reports intended for a broad audience and a few random papers in archival collections, held at the Historical Papers in the William Cullen Library at the University of the Witwatersrand and the African Studies Documentation Centre at the University of South Africa (UNISA), none of the BCP records confiscated by state security forces can be found in government archives.⁷⁷ Many believe the police did not keep them or destroyed them before the transition to the ANC led government in 1994. Stephanie Victor, historian at the Amathole Museum in King William's Town, commented that

⁷⁶ When assessing the interviews, the present context and interview dynamics were also taken into account. For discussions on oral history, memory, and liberation movements see, SADET, *Road to Democracy*, particularly *Volume 2*, pp. xvii-xix, Helena Pohlandt-McCormick, *I Saw a Nightmare: Doing Violence to Memory: the Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee eds., *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998)..

⁷⁷ Piers Pigou, director of the South African History Archive (SAHA), believes this means the records do not exist, the government does not want to release them, or the government does not know what it really has (Personal email correspondence, August 2008). The National Intelligence Agency produced some papers after I submitted a request for the information; but, this did not include anything not already found in other archives.

BCP records are scarce, not because it was not important enough to survive in the historical record, but rather, like other anti-apartheid organizations, precisely because of its significance.⁷⁸

Only two official archives index records on the BCP – the UNISA Library archives and the Karis Gerhart Collection at the University of the Witwatersrand (which includes a few published BCP documents). This could be a reflection of the way the BCP was viewed by those building the archives and the interest of scholars collecting the material in the first place; it is also a result of the lack of BCP documentation. Because the BCP was part of Spro-cas 2 until 1973, the archives of the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches yield important financial information and correspondence regarding the launching of the BCP and its initial projects.⁷⁹ Yet, the BCP became independent in 1973, the same year that Biko was banned and set up the Eastern Cape branch office. Thus, the Spro-cas records end when the story of the BCP in the Eastern Cape begins.

Other archival and written records provided helpful information on the projects and the history of the King William's Town area. A few newspaper articles on the BCP were useful, especially those published in East London's *Daily Dispatch*. The Records and Archives services of the Eastern Cape Provincial Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts, and Culture based in King William's Town proved a valuable resource. Although only a few records dated from the 1970s, the Ciskei files on healthcare, headmen and chiefs, and development and welfare projects in the 1960s enriched my understanding of

⁷⁸ Personal conversation at museum, February 21, 2008.

⁷⁹ Peter Randall sent all of his documents to the Wits library. See Letter from Peter Randall to Hester Fortune, 10 January 1974, A835 SRPO-CAS 1969-1973, C9, Historical Papers, Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand.

the region. I also searched for church records and visited government offices in Bhisho for more information on Njwaxa and Zinyoka. Unfortunately, church records regarding parishes and church buildings connected to the BCP do not exist in archives of the Anglican Church,⁸⁰ but I found two informative reports from the 1960s for Njwaxa in the Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture and Rural Development Land Use Management office.

Oral history interviews provided me with data on the BCP and crucial insights into the impact of BCP projects on individuals and communities. Over the course of one year living in South Africa (based in King William's Town), I conducted over seventy interviews in English and Xhosa with former Black Consciousness activists, former BCP employees, and residents of Zinyoka and Njwaxa. Employees of the BCP gave me information on the founding and the running of the organization and its projects. I interviewed a diverse group of people ranging from Bennie Khoapa, the director of the BCP, to the managers of the factory and the clinic's nurses and ambulance drivers. I generally met people in their homes or work places. In Njwaxa and Zinyoka, I interviewed village residents who participated as employees of the factory and clinic or in the clinic's extra programs. In each interview I asked about the interviewee's life history and the BCP's projects. When the interview formally began, I typically asked interviewees to explain their personal background, then how and why they became involved in the Black Consciousness movement and/or the BCP. I would also ask about the impact their involvement had on their life. If the role of youth, women, and churches

⁸⁰ I was told the records in Alice had been destroyed by fire and that the Anglican Church offices in Zwelitsha did not have what I was looking for. This was after I searched the Church of the Province South Africa (CPSA) collections at both the Historical Papers at the University of the Witwatersrand and Rhodes University.

did not come out naturally during the course of the interview, I asked interviewees to comment on those themes and my observations of them.

I also interviewed various activists and community members not directly involved with the BCP, but who could help me understand the context within which the BCP worked.⁸¹ This included two nurses who had worked in the King William's Town area, Anglican priest David Russell (based in the King William's Town area 1966-1973), and some who worked with the Border Council of Churches. In Njwaxa and Zinyoka, I interviewed family members of the famous composer, Benjamin Tyamzashe, the relatives of former headmen, and elderly men and women who had lived in the villages all of their lives.

I came into contact with interviewees through former activists, personal contacts, and with the help of the Steve Biko Foundation. In some cases, I searched for people whose names appeared in BCP documents. Many former BCP employees and Black Consciousness activists have continued to work in their communities and on development projects, and had busy schedules. It was easier to set up appointments with the elderly people in Zinyoka and Njwaxa. There, I relied on residents to tell me who had worked at the clinic and factory or who had particularly benefited. I also asked to speak to a few women who had given birth at Zanempilo and held a group discussion with Njwaxa residents. The impact of the *Black Review* – who read it, how many people read it and how it changed their thoughts and actions – was more difficult to ascertain. Perhaps an in-depth study of the *Black Review* in Ginsberg, for instance, would yield more results. I

⁸¹ I also utilized the interviews conducted previously by other scholars found in the archival collections or made available to me by the scholars themselves.

relied on activists who had worked on the publication and others I interviewed for thoughts about its significance.

While conducting interviews, I had to be mindful of my own position as a researcher and mitigate issues of language, recording technology, and the effects of previous interviews conducted with some of the interviewees. Partly rising out of these issues, a professional relationship between myself and the Steve Biko Foundation developed. My personal contacts at the Foundation had offered me access to their archival collections and work space in their King William's Town office. In order to capture interviews on film, I formally teamed up with Lindani Ntenti, the Social History and Leadership Development Officer. This added a different element to the interview process and provided me with opportunities to return to interviewees and receive feedback from village residents. While I have studied the Xhosa language to an advanced level, my language skills were not advanced enough for me to conduct interviews in Xhosa alone without misunderstandings.⁸² I turned to Lindani for help. After conducting a small number of interviews where he translated as needed, we decided to video-record the majority of the twenty-two interviews conducted in Xhosa for a future audio-video archive at the Foundation (see video interview agreement in the Appendix). My questions and project were still the focus of the interviews. Aside from a few interviews with former BCP employees, I conducted all other interviews in English by myself.⁸³

⁸² Either due to a lack of vocabulary or lack of understanding of figurative speech and idioms.

⁸³ I recorded all interviews on my digital voice recorder. Palesa Mothlabane graciously transcribed and translated most of the interviews in Xhosa. Buyiswa Mini and Thokozani Langeni also helped. With help from Denise Hartman, I transcribed the interviews in English. I will keep the audio and written transcripts

Video-recording the interviews had benefits and drawbacks. Some people became stiff and reserved – more conscious of the way they looked and talked. In some cases, Lindani and I decided against using the video equipment for this very reason. Yet, video-recording offered us the opportunity to return to those I had only audio recorded. This allowed us to probe issues we previously had not and hear stories told a second time. The greatest benefit however, was giving back to those we interviewed and obtaining their feedback.⁸⁴ Near the end of the year, the Steve Biko Foundation and I organized functions where we showed roughly edited videos. I worked with a local film maker to compile interview clips into one video for each village. The Foundation and I presented these videos and my brief summary of research results in Zinyoka and Njwaxa and invited the feedback of the audience. This gave the people an opportunity to see the end product, listen to and respond to others. These gatherings reinforced some things people had said, for example regarding the Zinyoka headman's opposition to Zanempilo, and allowed people to add more examples or information. In Njwaxa, some re-emphasized the heightened tension and fear of the 1970s.

Lindani and I made an interesting pair in the villages. I was a white American female and Lindani was a black, Xhosa-speaking South African male, affiliated with the Steve Biko Foundation. Many of our interviewees were older women. Perhaps my gender, efforts to speak Xhosa, and Lindani's local background made people feel comfortable talking to us. My race and nationality and Lindani's affiliation could have also influenced the interviews. On some occasions, as we approached people for the first

of the interviews and deposit the transcripts with the University of Fort Hare and the Steve Biko Foundation. The Foundation, who provided the video equipment, holds the video tapes of the interviews.

⁸⁴ My desire to present my findings to those I interviewed was in part inspired by Nwando Achebe in her introduction, Nwando Achebe, *Farmers, Traders, Warriors, and Kings: Female Power and Authority in Northern Igboland, 1900-1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2005).

time, they acted reticent and nervous about receiving strange visitors. Once, I returned to Zinyoka alone and with the help of a young woman from Zinyoka, Viwe Seyisi, to talk to the wife of a former headman who had opposed Biko. Without a recorder and an employee of the Steve Biko Foundation, I suspected she might feel free to answer a potentially sensitive question. On the other hand, many people hoped that our work would result in the revival of the factory, improvement to the clinic or some other material benefit. During most of the interviews, however, it seemed our relative youth worked to our advantage. People in the villages seemed to view the interview as an opportunity to teach the younger generation and preserve their history.⁸⁵ This seemed to also be the case with activists and BCP employees I interviewed in English.

In assessing these interviews, I considered the present context and the influence of nostalgia. The context of 2008 influenced the questions I asked and how people responded. Questions I asked about youth and gender arose from my research but also from the recent scholarly work. Many spoke of the factory and the clinic in reference to the poor economic conditions of the villages and the decline of the clinic. Generally, former BCP staff and villagers praised the camaraderie that existed between staff and the benefits of the factory and clinic. In 2008, interviewees could freely talk negatively about the security police, the apartheid government, and the tension between the headman and the clinic. Some interviewees laughingly remembered encounters with security police. After watching a clip of these interviewees, one man in Njwaxa stressed the importance of remembering the restrictive and dangerous political climate of the 1960s and 1970s. Thoko Mpumlwana also commented on the paradox of remembering such

⁸⁵ Many addressed us *abantwana* – children.

difficult times fondly. She said, “the danger of that too, you may end up saying, ‘*Hayi*, times were better then,’ and meanwhile, no, you are just romanticizing the past.”⁸⁶

Incidents of police harassment repeatedly came up in interviews and were generally narrated with ease, animation, and detail, evidence of the intensity and frequency of police harassment. The difference within the political atmosphere between the 1970s and 2008 was clearly manifested to me when by chance, I met both Chapman Palweni, a doctor who had worked at Zanempilo, and an employee of South Africa’s National Intelligence Agency working with me on my request for classified documents at a Pretoria mall. Two people who would have been enemies in the 1970s joked and debated congenially as our meetings overlapped.

Biko loomed large in people’s memories. Getting beyond praise of Biko or the benefits of the clinic and factory was sometimes a challenge. People praised Biko because of his personal influence, role in the BCP in the Eastern Cape, and martyr status. Yet, the general atmosphere of celebrating Biko and the interest of previous tourists or other visitors to Zanempilo may also have led some interviewees to think a Steve Biko Foundation employee and I wanted to hear only about him. The Zanempilo clinic has received more attention in the history of the Black Consciousness movement than the Njwaxa factory due to its geographical proximity to King William’s Town, its central position for Black Consciousness activists, and the innovative nature of the project. Thenjiwe Nondalana, the domestic worker at the clinic from its opening in 1975 to her retirement in 2007, has been interviewed by countless tourists and visitors. She readily praised Biko and talked about his work. She seemed to put her heart into each interview,

⁸⁶ Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, July 24, 2008.

but after we had met with her more than once, she expressed to me that she was tired of being interviewed.⁸⁷

Taking into account the limitations of oral history, the method still proves invaluable for this study. It compensates for lost written sources, gives insights into gender relations among these young activists and their relationship with villagers, and brings in the voice of rural women. Testimonies revealed that although short lived, Black Consciousness activists succeeded in temporarily improving the health and economic conditions of Zinyoka and Njwaxa and instilling a sense of human dignity in those who lived there.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 lay the background of community work and the Black Consciousness philosophy within SASO and the founding of the BCP. The first chapter examines the place of community work in the Black Consciousness philosophy, which was present from the beginning of the formulation of this philosophy of total liberation that stressed self-reliance and human dignity. It demonstrates that community work for the SASO organization also had the practical purposes of alleviating poverty and bridging the gap between students and communities. It introduces the influence of Paulo Freire along with some of the white resources young SASO students accessed as part of the trans-national and student-Christian network they were linked to. It also shows how

⁸⁷ When she told me this, she had been interviewed and video-recorded earlier that week by a group of American university students and their Ginsberg counterparts as part of a study abroad program. We had interviewed her twice already that year and I had met with her in 2006 when she mentioned that no one who comes to the clinic leaves anything for her, her village, or the clinic.

Black Consciousness activists encountered “differentials” within local black communities and notes the tensions between young SASO men and women.

Chapter 2 documents and analyzes the founding of the BCP under Spro-cas 2. It highlights the relationship between Black Consciousness and the ecumenical Christian movement to do more to address the effects of apartheid on society that both shaped this organization. It also looks at how the BCP became an autonomous black organization (though still dependent on foreign church and white funds) and how the BCP changed its focus from a national to a local one because of state action against its employees. The theme of state repression picks up strongly in this chapter as it shows how the BCP reacted and relied on available and skilled, young, male and female activists and local church contacts to continue with its work. In discussing the organization’s strategies and approaches it introduces the regional branches of the BCP.

The next three chapters are case studies of the Zanempilo clinic, the *Black Review*, and the Njwaxa leather-work factory. These programs were representative of the BCP’s agenda as outlined in BCP documents and confirmed by former activists and BCP employees. All of these projects lend to discussions of the BCP’s strategies and resources and the different actors involved in running or benefiting from its health, economic, and social projects. These three projects were also clearly defined and organized and the BCP’s most important initiatives.⁸⁸

The Zanempilo clinic is often hailed as the embodiment of Black Consciousness and the flagship program of the BCP. It represents the health initiatives of the BCP and gives an illustration of the Black Consciousness holistic approach to development.

⁸⁸ I had hoped to compare smaller, more informal projects Biko and others initiated in Ginsberg, but these were not part of the formal BCP structure, making it difficult to compare them to others and find records.

Chapter 3 tells how the clinic staff first sought to address the lack of health care in the rural Ciskei, conditions indicative of broader trends of poverty and neglect in African homelands. In doing so, the staff employed methods of researching the needs of the community members and decided to implement a number of extra programs that economically and socially uplifted poor women in the village. This chapter thus also discusses the role of BCP women and activist-community relations. As the programs and the clinic grew, bringing more than health care to the people of Zinyoka, the BCP threatened the power of homeland leaders and clashed with both the village headman and the security police in Zinyoka.

Black Review, the most successful BCP publication, is the subject of Chapter 4. The BCP saw this annual yearbook of black activity as part of its strategy to facilitate the work of other black organizations and change the black mind-set. It also arguably helped spur on the growth in the alternative black press in the late 1970s and 1980s. Chapter 4 analyzes how the BCP hoped their publications and resource centers would serve as development tools by publishing from a black perspective and contributing to an informal program of education needed for successful development. The chapter looks at what a black perspective meant to the BCP and how *Black Review* challenged the long tradition of white 'experts' producing knowledge about black people. Like the other chapters, it highlights the role of youth, the contributions of women, and the personal empowerment and commitment that came as byproducts of producing *Black Review*. The difficulties the BCP faced in distributing the publication to black individual community members (tied to their lack of purchasing power) meant that this project also relied on outside funding and makes its wider impact difficult to assess.

Chapter 5 focuses on the Njwaxa leather-work factory, part of BCP economic initiatives. It compares the BCP effort to establish a home-industry in a place marginal to other government and white business development efforts. This chapter argues that the emphasis on people-centered black management and building black skills was key to the growth of the small factory that brought jobs to Njwaxa residents (many of them women) and those of neighboring villages. Yet, like other BCP projects, the factory had not reached financial sustainability and the chapter discusses the capitalistic-communal nature of the BCP. It also highlights the ability of the BCP to creatively use their connections to recruit people and obtain resources, the role of young female activists, and the connections the BCP had with the Federal Theological Seminary and the Border Council of Churches in the region.

The Conclusion revisits the major themes of the dissertation and ties the three case studies together. It also points to some lessons to be learned from the BCP and the case studies for development theory and practice, including the importance of an overarching philosophy, the role of monetary aid and churches, empowering rural health clinics, and communicating across development projects.

Chapter 1

SASO and “Black Consciousness at Work” in Black Communities

These community development projects should be not seen only as another opportunity ‘to do a good turn’ in the charitable idiom of the Boy Scouts but an involvement with the people in self-reliance and facing the challenging issues that even the humblest of black people has to contend with in his daily life. The operation has to promote the awareness by black people of the forces that bog them down and also to give students an opportunity to relate intimately with the community and locate mass solidarity. This is black consciousness at work.

~“From the President’s Desk,” [Barney Pityana]
SASO Newsletter, June 1971¹

This chapter presents a genealogy of the theory and practice of community development in Black Consciousness philosophy through the outreach work of the South African Student’s Organization (SASO). It argues that community development was integral to SASO’s guiding philosophy that by 1971 would become known as Black Consciousness. For SASO, community health, education, and “physical” projects (building schools and houses) would prepare the way for black liberation by both restoring human dignity and cultivating black self-reliance. SASO community work also served practical purposes of alleviating the effects of poverty and building unity between the students and the broader black community. This chapter also highlights the young black activists’ engagement with and training in a transnational and radical theory and methodology of development that profoundly influenced SASO and the later work of the Black Community Programs (BCP).

When putting their ideas into practice, SASO students faced the reality of conditions on the ground and what was required to carry out such work. Motivated by a youthful overconfidence and their sense of responsibility to initiate a transformation in

¹ “From the President’s Desk,” [Barney Pityana] *SASO Newsletter*, 1:2 (June 1971), p. 9, accessed from Digital Innovation South Africa, www.disa.nu.ac.za, August, 2006 (hereafter DISA). All issues of *SASO Newsletter* were accessed from DISA.

society and serve their communities, students often jumped into projects ill-prepared. They quickly learned lessons about SASO's need for better planning and training and the tensions within black communities that their new inclusive definition of "black" failed to recognize. In adding training to their youthful energy and gaining resources to implement their ambitious plans, SASO benefited from their links to student-Christian activist networks. In order to increase their effectiveness, they drew upon a Latin American philosophy of liberation and development practice they had been exposed to through the University Christian Movement (UCM). For training in Paulo Freire's methods of developing a critical consciousness while teaching literacy, SASO relied on Ann Hope, a liberal white South African, and accepted money from white or foreign sources. This was ironic because Black Consciousness activists generally refused to work with white liberals. In addition to this contradiction, an analysis of SASO's training methods touches upon gender tensions within the student organization.

The chapter draws largely upon SASO documents, Freire's writings, and interviews with former activists to demonstrate how SASO combined Freire's methods with their own philosophy and approach to community work. While "to be conscientized" took on different meanings in South Africa in the 1970s, it was the one related to Freire's *conscientização* – developing a critical consciousness and self-reliance – that resonated with activists who later worked for the BCP.

Black Consciousness and Community Development

The Black Consciousness philosophy and movement were not born clearly defined and fully formed in July 1969, when SASO was officially organized. Scholars have explored

the origins and elements of the Black Consciousness philosophy and how it evolved.²

This chapter focuses on the place of community development work in SASO and Black Consciousness as it formed in its early years, roughly through 1973, when the apartheid state began to take major action against SASO and the BCP was fully established.

Projects for uplifting black communities fit within a philosophy of a total transformation of society and gave students a way to address some of the material problems faced by their people while bridging a gap between students and the broader black community.

SASO leaders also felt a particular responsibility to use their education to, in their words, “plow-back” their skills to their people.

At the heart of Black Consciousness was the idea that black people in South Africa needed a positive identity and self-affirmation to enable them to end apartheid and bring about a total transformation of society. Proponents of Black Consciousness pointed to white racism with its psychological, structural, and material impact as the core problem in South Africa. Black South Africans perpetuated their own subjugation by believing in their own inferiority. The “most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor [was] the mind of the oppressed,” argued Steve Biko, because if the oppressed believed they were meant for a subservient position and that their culture was inherently inferior, they would not challenge white supremacy but acquiesce to it.³ SASO viewed all black South Africans as the oppressed. Its redefinition of blackness was one of Black

² Gail M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California, 1978); Daniel Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Politics, Faith and Hope in South Africa, 1968 – 1977* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010); Barney Pityana, et al., eds., *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991); Andile Mngxitama et al., eds., *Biko Lives!: Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Saleem Badat, *Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid: from SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990* (Pretoria: Human Science Research Council, 1999).

³ Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996), p. 68.

Consciousness's most original contributions to the South African liberation struggle. In contrast to the apartheid government that enforced a rigid racial hierarchy between Indians, Coloreds, and Africans, SASO sought to unify and uplift black people of all groups discriminated against by the government with a new positive definition of black. In practical political terms, this meant that these young activists promoted cooperation between the major opposition organizations, the ANC, its rival the PAC, and the Non-European Unity Movement.

The first step for SASO students was to change the thinking of black people. In a 1970 SASO newsletter, Steve Biko wrote that the black man had become a "shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity." This was the "first truth" they had to acknowledge before embarking on "any program designed to change the status quo." The initial task for SASO was to "make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity."⁴ Unlike the ANC, PAC, and other liberation organizations that had turned to armed resistance after mass political campaigns failed to change government policy, this was a call to live in a particular way in preparation for future political action.⁵ Once black people were brought to a consciousness of their value as human beings, and their "complicity in the crime of allowing [themselves] to be misused," they would be able to assert themselves on an

⁴ Frank Talk (Steve Biko), 'I Write What I Like: We Blacks,' *SASO Newsletter*, September 1970, p. 16. See also "SASO Student Manifesto," point b.ii, *SASO Newsletter*, 1:3 (August 1971). For a discussion on the gendered language of SASO, see Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 2.

⁵ Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, introduction; Thomas Karis and Gail M. Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge, Volume 5, Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

equal basis with white people and bring about change as a united group.⁶ SASO students envisioned a complete transformation of society⁷ – they wanted to make the country reflect the majority of the people, culturally, politically, and economically and allow black people the freedom to “attain the envisioned self.”⁸

Black leadership in bringing about this transformation was essential. SASO’s rejection of white liberals was a defining aspect of the organization and its philosophy. Black Consciousness activists lumped all white people politically or ideologically against apartheid as “white liberals” (although many could be classified as radical or a combination of both.) The beginning of the Black Consciousness movement was marked by the break from the multi-racial but white-led National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the University Christian Movement (UCM). Black Consciousness adherents believed that not only did black people have the ability to throw-off their oppression, but because black people truly understood the nature of their oppression, only they knew how and what needed to change. There was no room for white liberal leadership who “[did] all the talking,” claimed a “monopoly on intelligence and moral judgment,”⁹ and “[made] all decisions.”¹⁰ SASO students taught that Black Consciousness was determined to build “a new culture and value orientation” that would

⁶ Frank Talk (Steve Biko), ‘I Write What I Like: We Blacks,’ *SASO Newsletter*, September 1970, p. 16.

⁷ For a discussion on the Black Consciousness vision of creating a new world, see Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 3.

⁸ Steve Biko, *I Write*, p. 49. See also Harry Nengwekhulu, interview with Gail Gerhart, October 17, 1972, Johannesburg, Karis-Gerhart Collection: From Protest to Challenge, 1964-1990 (hereafter KG), Reel 2, folder 28.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁰ Interview with SASO leaders by Gail Gerhart, October 23, 1972, Durban, from Gerhart Interviews, in Aluka digital library, Struggles for Freedom in Southern Africa Collection (www.aluka.org – hereafter Aluka).

“articulate the priorities and needs of the black people and act in terms of those needs.”¹¹

According to this ideological perspective, white liberals, however well meaning, did not have the knowledge or commitment to articulate black grievance or act in support of black people’s needs.

Community work in SASO stemmed from these beliefs. It was a way to infuse black people with pride and dignity and build black self-reliance. In their quest to refashion black South Africans into confident agents of change, SASO students recognized the relation between a sense of human dignity and one’s material circumstances. Biko wrote, “Material want is bad enough, but coupled with spiritual poverty it kills.”¹² Students thus sought to address both. Ramphela explained that SASO students,

became quite convinced that the only way we were going to have freedom in this country [was] to engage in restoring the dignity of people and encouraging people to be their own masters and mistresses, to be agents of history rather than its victims. And so during the vacations we used to have what we called creative development work camps...¹³

They believed that community work would build people’s sense that “they possess the power (although limited) to effect certain changes.”¹⁴ Being lifted out of abject poverty and becoming self-reliant would help black people gain a sense of worth and dignity,

¹¹ Barney Pityana, “Power and Social Change,” in *Student Perspectives on South Africa*, ed. David Welsh and Hendrik W. van der Merwe (Cape Town: David Philip, 1972), p. 181. Pityana also wrote that black people must set the agenda (pp. 179-180) and that it was dehumanizing for black people to expect whites to do things for them writing, “No amount of intervention [would] give them salvation,” (p. 184-5). The first phrase is also quoted in Donald Woods, *Biko*, 3rd ed. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1991), p. 39.

¹² Steve Biko, *I Write*, p. 28.

¹³ Mamphela Ramphela, interview with Mary Marshall Clark, 2 August 1999, Cape Town, South Africa, Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/oral_hist/carnegie/video-interviews/, (last accessed 16 January 2009).

¹⁴ SASO, “Report of Leadership Training Seminar at Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center, Pietermaritzburg, 5-8 Dec, 1971,” in “The Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa – Material from the collection of Gail Gerhart,” filmed for CAMP 1979 (hereafter GG), Reel 1.

cultivate their economic independence, and change their life circumstances.¹⁵ In this way, self-reliance was a “prerequisite for emancipation and liberation.”¹⁶

Black autonomy and independence was key to SASO’s community development definition and practice.¹⁷ SASO defined community development as “making a community conscious of their need to undertake a venture jointly,” resulting in people “undertaking [their] own schemes geared at corporate action, self-reliance and self-help.”¹⁸ Activists viewed projects both as a means and an end in building a community’s ability to work together to solve their problems on their own. At times, it did not matter so much what the project was, but whether or not it instilled the principle of self-reliance in those it involved. For example, SASO students at the University of Natal-Black Section (UNB) ran a project in New Farm, a squatter camp near the Phoenix settlement outside of Durban (an Indian area dating back to Gandhi’s period in South Africa and falling under SASO’s new definition of “black”), where they planned, among other things, to install a water pump. Students had organized the community to contribute R2 per household to finance the new pump. Ramphele wrote that matters “went awry” when a group of white university students from the University of Natal, led by so-called

¹⁵ See Barney Pityana, “Priorities in Community Development – An Appeal to the Blackman’s Compassion,” *SASO Newsletter*, 1:4 (September 1971), p. 13. Pityana also wrote, “The basic method for enabling community concern is by being able on the one hand to change the situation in order to help a person become aware of the inadequacy of his present responses, alternatively to enable him to act or respond differently so as to become aware of the possibility for change.”

¹⁶ SASO, “Minutes of the Proceedings of the 3rd General Student’s Council,” held at St. Peter’s Seminary, Hammanskraal, July 2-9, 1972, Resolution 41, p. 29, GG, Reel 2.

¹⁷ Though a lack of financial resources led them to accept funds from white liberal organizations, which will be discussed below.

¹⁸ SASO “Report of Leadership Training Seminar Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center,” December 1971. Students were also taught in a leadership training program that an “aura of dependency kills the initiative, originality and the will to be of a people.” See SASO “Leadership Training Program,” December 1971, p. 1, from Karis-Gerhart Collection in Struggles for Freedom in Southern Africa, Aluka digital library (hereafter KG in Aluka).

“liberal” political scientist and lecturer Richard Turner, entered New Farm and offered to provide all the money for the new pump. According to Ramphela, this “[sapped] the community’s motivation for self-help which [Black Consciousness] activists had been at pains to nurture.”¹⁹ For SASO, the tragedy of this incident was not that a water pump could not be installed, but that the involvement of the white students threatened the cultivation of a sense of black self-reliance.

SASO community projects targeted poverty and inequality. Tied to this objective was the goal of instilling a sense of social responsibility among students to “plow-back” their skills into underprivileged black communities. Moreover, the SASO leadership hoped to decrease the social gap between the students and the broader black community through these projects. In other words, it intended to prepare students to act in terms of the priorities and needs of their people.²⁰ Politically, community work was also a useful way to spread the ideas of Black Consciousness and build support for the students outside of the university.

Alleviating the effects of poverty was the first stated purpose of SASO community work. At their first training meeting in December 1969, Biko suggested that “work among the people” should be one of SASO’s “primary occupations... designed to

¹⁹ Mamphela Ramphela, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope: Black Consciousness and Community Development,” in *Bounds of Possibility*, ed. Pityana et al (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991), p. 158.

²⁰ See SASO “Report on Seminar on Community Development involvement, including: V. Mafungo, ‘Some Aspects of Community Development,’” 10 July 1971, DISA; “Community Development Project Proposals (Prepared in September, 1971), fundraising proposals for community development, literacy, student benefits, publications” DISA; and “Report on the Commission on Community Development,” 1971/1972, SASO Accession A2176, Historical Papers, Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand (hereafter Cullen). See also H. Nengwekhulu “Community Action and Development,” 1972, A2176, Cullen; and “Conference News,” *SASO Newsletter*, August 1970, p. 3; Harry Nengwekhulu, interview by the author, 31 July, 2008, Pretoria.

help alleviate the suffering so apparent amongst mainly the nonwhite people.”²¹ He termed this “field work.” The rest of the students seemed to agree. At the 1970 General Student’s Council, SASO established a central committee on community development. Students at various campuses ran programs that addressed a range of pressing educational, economic and health needs in poor neighboring settlements. The first were “physical projects” where students repaired schools or built houses during school holidays (what Ramphela referred to as “work camps”). Other projects included securing a clean-water supply in squatter camps like New Farm. Medical students volunteered at local clinics. Students also proposed to teach home finance management and agricultural techniques to improve self-reliance in peri-urban settlements.²² Plans for a national literacy campaign constituted the bulk of 1971 community development proposals. SASO students also discussed ways to improve the content of and access to education and held leadership development seminars.

This focus on community development mirrored the culture of student activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. NUSAS and the UCM ran service projects and literacy campaigns.²³ Members of SASO may have been exposed to these projects and ideas through their involvement with NUSAS and the UCM prior to SASO’s formation in 1969 (and Biko at first proposed to collaborate with the other groups to run projects²⁴). Yet,

²¹ SASO, “Report on the 1st National Formation School, held at the University of Natal Black Section, 1-4 Dec, 1969,” DISA.

²² For example, “Report on the 1st National Formation School,” and “Commissions presented at 5th GSC,” 1974 DISA.

²³ Badat, *Black Student Politics*; Karis and Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge*, pp. 62-75.

²⁴ See for example, Letter from Steve Biko, SASO President, to Justice Moloto, President of University Christian Movement, April 2, 1970, DISA. SASO even took over the UCM’s literacy project when the UCM disbanded in 1973. See SASO, “Minutes of the Proceedings of the 3rd General Student’s Council,” p. 23.

service to one's community was not new among black people, and certainly, many of the students had experienced poverty first-hand, either within their own families or neighborhoods in the townships or rural areas where they came from. SASO students were both privileged and well-acquainted with the plight of the majority of poor South Africans. While many had parents who had some status through education or skilled jobs and professions, in South Africa, a black family's relatively high socio-economic status did not mean they enjoyed great wealth and privilege. Most were smart and successful first-generation university students part of rising enrollments at South African universities in the late 1960s and early 1970s.²⁵ For example, two fellow medical students of Biko's (whose Ginsberg community raised money for him to go to medical school), Dr. Siyolo Solombela and Dr. Mncedisi Jekwa, both grew up in the East London area and won coveted placement at UNB's medical school because of their outstanding grades.²⁶ State scholarships in the form of loans, guaranteed to black students if they promised to work in their particular province and repay the loan, allowed many to attend university.²⁷

SASO students' motivation to engage in community work came from their philosophy of a psychological and material liberation and from their desire to improve the lives of ordinary people. Peter Jones, a former student from the University of the

²⁵ Badat wrote, "Enrolment at black universities rose by almost 400% between 1960 and 1965, doubled over the next five years and increased more than 100% between 1970 and 1976." Badat, *Black Student Politics*, p. 62.

²⁶ Dr. Siyolo Solombela, interview with the author, May 25, 2008, Bonnie Doon, East London, and Dr. Mncedisi W. Jekwa, interview with the author, May 11, 2008, Beacon Bay, East London.

²⁷ Dr. Mncedisi Jekwa, interview, May 11, 2008. See also Vanessa Noble, "Doctors Divided: Gender, Race and Class Anomalies in the Production of Black Medical Doctors in Apartheid South Africa, 1948-1994" (PhD diss, University of Michigan, 2005), p. 72. Early SASO students would have accepted these scholarships from the state before becoming part of SASO.

Western Cape stated that as the students met in study groups to discuss social and economic theories and methodologies, “it was almost a logical thing that when we [looked] at the world and when we [looked] at the people, that we would see people that we recognized, we knew and understood, and we knew we had to work with people.”²⁸ Pityana explained that at Fort Hare, student political activity was revived in 1968 partly over the issue of the treatment of ordinary black workers at the university who the students could identify with.²⁹ The 1971 May issue of the SASO newsletter reported the failed attempt of Student Representative Council members from the University of the Witwatersrand and Stellenbosch to meet with Student Representative Council members at the University of Zululand. The Zululand member stated: “I asked one if he knew the surname of their servant at his home and he didn’t; if they were really sincere about contact that’s where they should start. Moreover that servant could be my mother, you know.”³⁰

A belief in their responsibility to bring about change characterized SASO students. Malusi Mpumlwana, a former UNB student and BCP employee, said that “a fundamental commitment to plow back what you have” into one’s community shaped Black Consciousness community development from early on. Mpumlwana’s father was a priest in the Ethiopian movement of the Anglican Church. His parents had always worked for their communities in the Eastern Cape, often housing poor black students³¹;

²⁸ Peter Jones, interview with the author, 22 April, 2006, Athens, Ohio.

²⁹ Barney Pityana, interview with the author, March 20, 2008, East London.

³⁰ “Campus News,” *SASO Newsletter* 1:1 (May 1971). See Magaziner’s discussion of the political influences of SASO students in *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 1. The example of parents also influenced some students to volunteer in communities.

³¹ Dr. Vuyo Mpumlwana, interview with the author, October 3, 2008, Mthatha.

yet, he remembered one of the significant moments in his own “conscientization” as when Pityana, Lindelwe Mabandla, and other students expelled after a strike at Fort Hare in 1968, came to Mthatha where he was studying at St. Johns High School. The Fort Hare students went around, “almost like evangelists,” asking people in the streets, “Have you ever stopped to consider how much you owe to your people – how you owe your language, your [socialization], everything you have and you are – and what that means for your responsibility to society?”³² For Pityana, SASO’s success in their “action program” served as a “barometer” of their “relevance” to their people.³³ Their goal was a complete transformation of society, not just an improvement of campus life.³⁴ Thus, students were encouraged to look for ways they could use their skills to improve the material conditions of local communities. Because of this, volunteering at clinics and teaching literacy were almost always part of SASO community projects. Students at UNB also distributed health educational material, and hoped to provide mobile clinics in some areas.³⁵

The SASO leadership tried to instill this commitment to serve in other students and saw community work as a way to “give students an opportunity to relate intimately

³² Malusi Mpumlwana, phone interview with the author, December 20, 2008. See also Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 3 (pp. 84-85). Biko wrote that it was an “absolute duty” for black people to fulfil the economic needs of their people in *I Write*, p. 97.

³³ Barney Pityana, “The 2nd General Students Council: An Assessment,” *SASO Newsletter* 1:3 (August 1971), p. 3.

³⁴ Barney Pityana, interview, March 20, 2008 and “News in Brief: SASO Concerned,” *SASO Newsletter* 2:1, p. 4.

³⁵ See, for example, “Report of Leadership Training Seminar Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center,” p. 9, and SASO General Student Council meeting reports on projects in New Farm, Pheonix, Dududu, and Winterveld projects in DISA, Cullen A2176, and KG. See also Noble’s discussion of UNB community work in “Doctors Divided,” pp. 135-142.

with the community and locate mass solidarity.”³⁶ Work camps and volunteering at clinics would help students stay in touch with their people. In response to my question about the role of community work in the Black Consciousness movement, Pityana explained that, “community development initiatives were an inherent part in our view of the ideology and thinking of Black Consciousness, in that, the essence of Black Consciousness was to connect students with their roots and their communities and with the struggles – daily struggles – of their people.” Blackness was “that inner sense of identification with black life, with black communities, black aspirations and struggles of the oppressed.”³⁷ Thus, by encouraging students to help build public facilities and repair houses or work on literacy projects, they not only filled a need, but hoped to “address the problem that students become an elite that is disconnected from their communities.”³⁸ Community work would also train future leaders to “relate very intimately with the black community” which would make them more capable of effective leadership.³⁹

As explained earlier, when Pityana and other SASO leaders referred to the “black community,” they meant Indian, Coloured, as well as African people. Students in SASO branches at all black universities – including the SASO Western Cape (Coloured) and Durban-West (Indian) branches – worked in neighboring poor communities or planned development projects among these various black communities.⁴⁰ As Noble argues, UNB played a particularly important role in the evolution of Black Consciousness with its

³⁶ “From the President’s Desk,” p. 9

³⁷ Barney Pityana, interview, March 20, 2008.

³⁸ Barney Pityana, interview, March 20, 2008. See also “Report on the 1st National Formation School.”

³⁹ SASO “Leadership Training Program,” December 1971, p. 1. The training program also stated that education had made “students become ‘*wit boeties*’ and were not directed properly at social action and community development,” (p. 3).

⁴⁰ Durban-West did more with theater than so-called physical projects.

multi-racial student body of Indian, Coloured, and African students. Volunteering on the weekends at the Happy Valley clinic in Wentworth, the nearby Coloured community, became a part of student culture at UNB. Medical students also volunteered at a clinic in Inanda, an African township, and New Farm, near the Indian settlement of Phoenix.⁴¹ Perhaps this volunteer work in these different black communities contributed to SASO's adoption of a new definition of black. In any case, not all people had an "inner sense of identification with black life, with black communities" as Black Consciousness defined it. For example, the Natal Indian Congress had a rocky relationship with SASO and the BPC. SASO students learned about the complexities of their imagined black communities not only in politics, but through their community work.

Lessons Learned

Motivated by their burgeoning Black Consciousness philosophy, a commitment to serve, and youthful enthusiasm, SASO students went out into communities near their campuses to build schools, volunteer at clinics, and teach people to read. They were soon challenged by the fact that black communities were not intrinsically united. They also learned the importance of planning projects well and thus modified their strategies accordingly. In this, they were aided (contrary to their strong rhetoric rejecting white liberals) by Ann Hope, a white South African woman working with the Christian Institute, who conducted training sessions on Paulo Freire's methodology. Freire's writings, which SASO leaders obtained through the UCM, fit with their own philosophy and helped them improve their work. Although Hope was a white liberal, she could

⁴¹ See Noble, "Doctors Divided." pp. 135-142.

provide them with important resources they needed to further their own agenda. In some of the training sessions, female students raised questions about their role in SASO, further evidence of tensions that existed within communities, the tensions between men and women being one that SASO did not adequately address.

Saleem Badat assessed SASO community projects as too ambitious, writing that the students failed to prioritize the projects and lacked a practical understanding of what the projects entailed.⁴² As brash youth, SASO students believed they could succeed and were uninhibited in embarking on these projects. Ramphele remembered that the older Bennie Khoapa, the director of the BCP who began to share office space with SASO at Beatrice Street in Durban in 1972, “remained a restraining yet supportive influence on youthful over-enthusiasm.”⁴³ In the first few years, students jumped into projects such as repairing schools and building houses during school holidays. In 1970 and 1971, they embarked on more complex initiatives involving a number of projects in specific locations. In a way, this was a reality check. They often met frustrating results which they later acknowledged could have been prevented if they had planned better, were better organized, and involved community members in the process.

In the Eastern Cape in 1971, students at the University of Fort Hare attempted to run a physical project in nearby Fort Beaufort. Nearly fifty students from the university worked for five days in July to make mud bricks and build a classroom. The students succeeded in laying the foundation and the walls, yet heavy rains subsequently destroyed their work. Rain and a shortage of funds for a corrugated iron roof delayed the project

⁴² Badat, *Black Student Politics*, p. 150.

⁴³ Mamphela Ramphele, *Across Boundaries: The Journey of a South African Woman Leader* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1996), p. 68. See also comment on youthful enthusiasm on p. 63.

until the November school holidays. Students reported that they struggled with a lack of knowledge of working with the mud, financial shortages, and poor planning.⁴⁴

In New Farm, SASO students from UNB attempted to help repair houses destroyed by rain, distribute educational pamphlets on health, and volunteer at the local clinic, in addition to securing a better water supply. They reported that the residents greatly appreciated the help at the clinic because a doctor rarely visited, but when the students first arrived, New Farm residents were suspicious of the student's true motives and affiliations. The students recognized that before beginning their project, they did not expect or call for involvement from the people. With the help of an intermediary (referred to as an *Induna*) the students succeeded in holding a meeting to discuss obtaining a water tap and some students were encouraged by the increased confidence of the people in the students because of their clinic work.⁴⁵ Still, at the end of 1971, students were discouraged with the New Farm project. Their frustrations included a lack of funds, students who dropped out, widespread resignation and fear in the community, and friction between landlords.⁴⁶ Ramphele wrote that the UNB project in New Farm suffered from community skepticism and confusion partly because of the students' disorganization and poor planning.⁴⁷

Participating in community work also taught the students of their false assumptions about the natural harmony of the black community.⁴⁸ SASO students had a

⁴⁴ "Report of Leadership Training Seminar Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center," December 1971, pp. 4, 7.

⁴⁵ Ibid. The students also counted it a success that they "thwarted" the "freehand of the liberals."

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ramphele, "Empowerment and Symbols of Hope," pp. 157-158. See also Report Back Session of "Report of Leadership Training Seminar Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center," December 1971, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 159.

romantic view of black unity and saw themselves as part of the broader black community. They believed, “our community is essentially a black one and there is no real geographical separation,” and argued that “although situated in different places...circumstances are essentially the same.”⁴⁹ Biko wrote in a 1970 *SASO Newsletter*, that African values included “oneness of community” and easy communication. He claimed, “Africans develop a sense of belonging to the community within a short time of coming together.”⁵⁰ Perhaps this view of black unity was influenced by the idealism of youth, or Biko’s upbringing in Ginsberg, a township with a vibrant social life where Coloured and African people had lived together.⁵¹ Yet students quickly learned that black South Africans did not have an automatic bond, particularly in places such as squatter camps.

Some ran into language barriers. Fort Hare students reported communication problems with the residents of Fort Beaufort. As the only university open to Africans for much of South Africa’s history, students who attended Fort Hare came from various parts of the country. Many of the students who supported the SASO project came from the North and could not speak Xhosa, the predominant language of the Eastern Cape. As a result, the residents did not understand the “real spirit” of the project. Fort Hare students who could speak Xhosa “were ashamed because of the ‘up country’ people’s

⁴⁹ “Report of Leadership Training Seminar Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center,” December 1971, p. 9.

⁵⁰ Biko, “I Write What I Like: We Blacks,” *SASO Newsletter*, 1:2 (September 1970), p. 17.

⁵¹ On the history of Ginsberg, see Luyanda ka Msumza, “From Half-way Station to Permanent Settlement: A Study in the Evolution of Ginsberg Township, 1939 to 1964” (Honors Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1993); and the work of Amathole Museum Historian, Stephanie Victor, “Segregated Housing and Contested Identities: The Case of the King William’s Town Coloured Community, 1895 - 1946” (M.Sc. Thesis, Rhodes University, 2007). The Ginsberg Youth Council, sponsored by the Steve Biko Foundation, conducted numerous oral history interviews regarding the social and political life of Ginsberg that covered the 1940s through the 1970s. The collection is held at the Steve Biko Foundation.

involvement.”⁵² In this local context, the realities of differences of ethnicity and language posed a real challenge.

To their surprise, students met distrust and resistance in other communities. General fear and suspicion bred by security police harassment and other forms of repression at times stifled projects. At other times, students were frustrated with apathetic and resigned attitudes of poverty-stricken residents. In New Farm in 1971, UNB students reported that initial suspicion of the activists’ motives came from the beliefs of residents that the “students were sent by the government,” or that the student projects would draw unwanted police attention. The students also complained that among New Farm residents, “no concern was expressed for the next person.” They cited as one of the problems the nature of non-permanent settlements and “inter group differences.”⁵³ A similar problem existed in Winterveld, a settlement twenty miles outside of Pretoria in the Bophuthatswana homeland that served as a labor pool for white residents of the city. Ramphela headed a work camp there in December 1971. She remembered that her team of students became disillusioned by the deep feeling of powerlessness among the poor laborers in the settlement. She was also horrified at the extent to which the residents were exploited by black money lenders, landlords and a “quack” posing as a healer.⁵⁴ Mosibuda Mangena, a member of SASO’s branch on the Reef and later national BPC and AZAPO leader, also recalled the lessons they learned from their difficulties in running a literacy program in Winterveld. He wrote, “No doubt [teaching literacy with Freire’s methods] conscientized the Winterveld people, but they

⁵² “Report of Leadership Training Seminar Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center,” December 1971, pp. 4, 7.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ramphela, *Across Boundaries*, pp. 63-64.

also conscientized us.” He further explained: “There is a difference between knowing about oppression of our people on a theoretical level and actually getting involved with the community in an attempt to alleviate suffering and being prevented from making headway by a hostile wall of negative and anti-people structures.”⁵⁵ (Freire would have been pleased to know that practitioners of his methods received an informal education since he stressed the importance of constantly modifying one’s praxis and ideology while putting ideas into practice.)

In New Farm, local authorities also refused to cooperate possibly because of SASO’s political views. Over the 1971-1972 school holidays, the Phoenix Settlement Committee or Settlement Trust “refused accommodation for a work camp during the summer vacation.”⁵⁶ Later in 1973, even after the project had been somewhat revived (as discussed below), the project was suspended because the Settlement Trust refused to “work hand in hand with SASO.”⁵⁷ During 1972 and into 1973, the Natal Indian Congress, which had a stronghold in Phoenix, had a strained relationship with SASO and the BPC. SASO members struggled to convert congress members to the Black Consciousness defined black identity. In mid-1972, Strini Moodley and Sachs Cooper who had built up the Durban Central branch of the congress, joined the newly formed BPC, taking many with them.⁵⁸ Perhaps the local authorities refused to work with SASO in New Farm because of these political tensions.

⁵⁵ Mosibudi Mangena, *On Your Own: Evolution of Black Consciousness in South Africa/Azania* (Braamfontein: Skotaville Publishers, 1989), p. 27.

⁵⁶ Reports presented at 3rd General Students Council, 1972, UNB Report, p. 2.

⁵⁷ “Commissions presented at 4th General Students Council of the South African Students Organ, St. Peter’s Seminary, Hammanskraal, July 14-22, 1973,” Community Development report, p. 4, GG, Reel 2.

⁵⁸ See Karis and Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge*, p. 121-122, for a brief narration of this.

In retrospect, Ramphele wrote of the limits of community development: “A serious and costly error of the [Black Consciousness movement] was its failure to recognize that not all black people are necessarily committed to liberation and that the poor are not inherently egalitarian.” She continued with a lesson for practitioners in general: “There are differentials of power along lines of class, gender, age and geographic location that need to be taken seriously in development strategies.”⁵⁹ When she made this statement, Ramphele may have also had in mind her personal struggles to find a place in SASO as a female student activist, an issue SASO did not take on as part of their agenda, but one that surfaced in the training SASO students found necessary to increase their effectiveness.

Adapting Transnational Ideas: Training from a Brazilian Man, through a White Woman

By the end of 1971, SASO students had done enough community development work to know they needed more training and evaluation to be successful. In December, they held a special training meeting at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center in Pietermaritzburg, where they discussed the Black Consciousness philosophy as it related to community development. They had theoretical discussions, brought in examples from other countries, and reported on and evaluated projects.⁶⁰ It is unclear at that stage how much their training in Paulo Freire’s methods had influenced them; yet, sometime between the end of 1971 and 1972, a small number of SASO members participated in training sessions run by a white South African woman, Ann Hope. Although she was a white

⁵⁹ Ramphele, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope,” p. 178.

⁶⁰ See “Report of Leadership Training Seminar, Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center, 1971.”

liberal, SASO students decided to work with her because she was schooled in Freire's methods. Freire's writings fit with SASO students' own assessment of society and offered concrete instructions on how to practice it. Freire's approach to working *with* people and not *for* them required conducting preliminary research on a community's needs and constraints, which helped SASO refine its strategy and tactics. In the training sessions, a debate about the role of women in SASO surfaced.

In evaluating their programs in 1971, SASO students recognized their place as external agents and the need to focus on working with the people in communities to develop a sense of self-reliance before leaving. While some communities appreciated the fact that students cared about them, some saw SASO projects as paternalistic. This proved a barrier, for example, for students at the University of the North at Turfloop. The Turfloop students reported that their project at the local clinic did not initially succeed because they met with suspicion from the clinic staff and it was seen as a "paternalistic handout."⁶¹ The students at the training session agreed that in order to sustain projects, community members must be included in the creation and implementation of the projects.⁶² Working with residents and, when possible, cooperating with local leaders, was necessary for a successful project. After all, SASO's definition of development was that a community would become self-reliant by working together to meet their material and social needs.

At the training meeting, students "plunged" into the community surrounding the Ecumenical Center in Pietermaritzburg to practice building student-community relations

⁶¹ Ibid p. 7.

⁶² Ibid, p. 5.

and “get the feel” of a place.⁶³ This sort of preliminary research characterized the work of Paulo Freire. Freire had developed a method of teaching people to read and write while debating societal problems in the late 1940s and early 1950s in Brazil. This was a period of social and political change in Brazil as the *Estado Novo* (New State) pushed for national economic development in order to raise the nation’s status. At the same time, popular movements within the Catholic Church emphasized social justice and work for the poor.⁶⁴ Freire refined his methodologies while working in Northeast Brazil where the low rate of literacy was of particular concern.⁶⁵ He also put his theories to the test in Chile from 1964-1969, where he worked with the Chilean ministries of agriculture and education on agricultural extension education and literacy programs. From Chile, Freire published his most well-known and globally influential book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.⁶⁶ The English versions of the book, first published in 1970, made their way

⁶³ Ibid, p. 10.

⁶⁴ See Scott Manwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986).

⁶⁵ See Andrew Kirkendall, “Reentering History: Paulo Freire and the Politics of the Brazilian Northeast, 1958-1964,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 41, no. 1 (2004): 169-171. Kirkendall wrote that Freire’s ideas were “heavily influenced by developmental nationalism” along with his “own deeply held religious convictions” as a Catholic (p. 72).

⁶⁶ Richard Shaull, Forward to Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of Oppressed*, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), p. 12. See also p. 52.

to South Africa.⁶⁷ SASO students utilized excerpts from this and Freire's other writings, such as *Education for Critical Consciousness*.⁶⁸

Freire developed his methods and ideas in Brazil and Chile a decade before South African students read about them. In the late 1950s and up to the military coup in Brazil in 1964, Freire worked with the Movement for Popular Culture (MCP) and the Cultural Extension Service (SEC) at the University of Recife, running "cultural circles" led by university students who conducted discussions about Brazilian society.⁶⁹ Freire used the model of cultural circles to teach literacy. He and his trained "dialogue coordinators" (university students) first began with careful preliminary research. They learned the vocabulary of the local population through "informal encounters" and interviews (perhaps in markets, in transit, or in neighborhoods).⁷⁰ Coordinators were to familiarize themselves with the community, begin meaningful relationships, and pay attention to the sentiments of the people, their "typical sayings," and "expressions linked to [their] experience."⁷¹ Coordinators then selected "generative" words (basic words to teach

⁶⁷ For a brief assessment of Freire's broader impact on South Africa, Fhulu Nekhwevha, "The Influence of Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of Knowing' in South African Education Struggle in the 1970s and 1980s," in *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948-1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened*, ed. Peter Kallaway (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 134-144. Many of Freire's works were banned by the South African government in 1974, under the Publication Act, No. 42 of 1974, according to Jacobsen's Index of Objectionable Literature, South Africa, accessed at the Beacon For Freedom of Expression website, www.beaconforfreedom.org, accessed April 27, 2010.

⁶⁸ Black Consciousness activists also drew upon Freire's *Cultural Action for Freedom* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970); I focus on *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Continuum, 1973) on the recommendation of Peter Jones and because of the practical explanations of Freire's methodology in it. The outline of the phases of Freire's methodology begins on p. 49.

⁶⁹ The goal of the MCP was to create a service agency that would empower people and affect a "political, social, economic transformation of society" (Ibid. p. 111-115). Freire specifically worked as the coordinator of the MCP's Adult Education Project. The MCP began working jointly with the SEC in 1962 on expanding cultural circles into Popular Institutes of Brazilian Studies (ISEB), autonomous groups run by local people.

⁷⁰ Freire, *Pedagogy of Oppressed*, pp. 103-104.

⁷¹ Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness*, p. 49.

phonetics) and used visual representations of common situations to teach participants how to read and write while debating societal problems. The end goal was to have the participants learn to think more critically and become active citizens in democracy.⁷² In Portuguese, this process of “awakening of consciousness” was termed *conscientização* (“to conscientize”).⁷³ This was a word SASO students incorporated into their philosophy and used to describe their community work.

Freire’s philosophy can be summarized as the belief that “man’s ontological vocation is to be a subject who acts upon and transforms his world.”⁷⁴ In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire explained that every person was capable of critically engaging their world and changing it for the better. The oppressed had been dehumanized, crushed, and divided and thus did not realize their ability to create a strategy for liberation. He wrote that in order to realize the nature of their oppression and do something to eliminate it, the oppressed needed to critically discover their world. Furthermore, he argued that only the oppressed could bring about real change since they understood their oppression better than anyone else. In *Education for Critical Consciousness*, Freire described the specific methods for conducting adult literacy sessions. In the essay, “Extension or Communication” included in this book, Freire argued that agricultural extension agents needed to change their methodology from extending technical information to people through lectures and pamphlets, to engaging in dialogue, posing problems, and

⁷² Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness*, p. 176; Paulo Freire, *Letters to Christina: Reflections on My Life and Work*, trans. Donaldo Macedo et al (New York; London: Routledge, 1996), p. 141.

⁷³ Kirkendall, “Reentering History,” p. 174.

⁷⁴ Richard Shaull, Forward to *Pedagogy of Oppressed*, p. 12.

“conscientizing.”⁷⁵ Throughout his work, Freire repeatedly stressed the importance of working *with* people and the need for constant evaluation.⁷⁶

Freire’s writings about the dehumanized oppressed who could become agents of change if brought to a critical consciousness struck a chord with SASO students who read widely as they formulated their own philosophy.⁷⁷ SASO students debated and applied the ideas from those that made sense to them and fit with their views and in their context. Franz Fanon and Zambia’s Kenneth K. Kaunda had a major influence on their discussions of race, oppression and liberation. They read the writings of Leopold Senghor, the speeches of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., and other black American writers. They also drew upon Tanzania’s liberation leader, Julius Nyerere and Paulo Freire.⁷⁸ Freire in particular provided practical material for developing methodology. For Peter Jones, the writings of European theorists were not especially attractive to him. He said, “I couldn’t understand what you *do*. I was very inquisitive about how do you *do*, how do you apply things, how do you live it. And as we started reading more [from] writers within our world, the African world, the Diaspora, things became more simpler.” Freire was one such writer they viewed as part of their so-called “third world.”⁷⁹ Black Consciousness students’ understanding of Freire became more sophisticated after they met with Hope and implemented Freire’s methodology in the apartheid context.

⁷⁵ Freire, *Pedagogy of Oppressed*, p. 159.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 41.

⁷⁷ As widely as they could in a climate of censorship, although they found ways to find banned materials.

⁷⁸ See Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 3; Pityana et al, eds. *Bounds of Possibility*, pp. 28-30, 146, 155, 218.

⁷⁹ Peter Jones, interview, April 22, 2006.

It is clear that SASO had got a hold of Freire's writings early on. Their 1971 training meeting on community development included a discussion of a paper that described Freire's philosophy.⁸⁰ At the time, Hope was working with the Christian Institute and closely connected to the radical student-Christian network growing in the 1960s as part of a new evangelism and liberation theology sweeping the globe at the time. SASO students most likely obtained copies of Freire's unpublished papers through the UCM (which had a connection to the UCM of the United States, formed in 1966/67) and Hope. She herself had participated in a Christian student organization, the Catholic Federation of Students, as a South African university student in the 1940s. She finished her university degree as the National Party introduced apartheid, then moved to Europe where she became involved with Grail, an international religious women's organization. This affiliation took her all over the world where the Grail had centers of education and training programs. After working in Uganda for four years, she returned to South Africa where she worked with the Christian Education and Leadership training group. Hope then went to study at Boston University when Freire was at Harvard, after his exile from Chile. Shortly after meeting with Freire, she started work at the Christian Institute in South Africa.

Biko approached Hope at the end of 1971 or the beginning of 1972, after she had just returned from studying with Freire in Boston. She recalled, "Steve Biko came to me

⁸⁰ See "Report on Seminar on Community Development involvement, including: V. Mafungo, 'Some Aspects of Community Development.'" See also "Community Development Project Proposals." At a fund-raising banquet for SASO in Durban in June, 1973, Ernest Baartman presented a paper on "Education as an Instrument for Liberation," drawing largely upon Freire to explain the dangers of banking education, the proper teacher-student relationship, and the value of problem-solving education. Ernest Baartman, "Education as an instrument for liberation, speech at a SASO fund-raising banquet, Durban," June, 1973, DISA. See also Harry Nengwekhulu "Community Action and Development," 1972, and "Report on the Commission on Community Development," 1971/1972.

and he said, ‘we believe you know “this Paulo Freire stuff” and we want to learn.’” Hope told Biko that learning Freire’s methods required a “whole process of adapting it.” Biko replied, “Fine. What do you recommend we do?”⁸¹ Hope and Biko arranged four week-long workshops for groups of activists from five different regions in South Africa. Mosibudi Mangena remembered that the first group included, among others, himself, Deborah Matshoba, Barney Pityana, Welile Nhlapo, Steve Biko, Strini Moodley, Mthuli ka Shezi, Johnny Issel, Saths Cooper, Dumo Baqwa, Bokwe Mafuna and Tebogo Mafole.⁸² Students practiced Freire’s methods by going out into the communities to conduct research and holding their own discussions. They discussed the people’s basic economic struggles, race relations in the church, and gender relations within SASO. Hope reminisced fondly about working with a group with such a high level of commitment. Their discussions were “highly political,” but she was impressed with the way they applied the methods to a variety of programs, including later at Zanempilo (the subject of Chapter 3).⁸³

Despite SASO’s strong stance against working with any white liberals, exceptions were made when it came to the issue of resources. (Funding will be discussed below.) Ann Hope had an ideological and practical training SASO wanted but could not get elsewhere. For some SASO students white participation at a training meeting was difficult to accept. At one meeting, Ramphele remembered how Pityana threatened the participants into grudgingly accepting that “there were truly good white people who were

⁸¹ Patricia Romero, *Profiles in Diversity: Women in the New South Africa* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998), p. 173. The above biographical information comes from this book as well as Ann Hope, interview with the author, May 16, 2008, Lakeside, South Africa.

⁸² Mangena, *On Your Own*, p. 25.

⁸³ Romero, *Profiles in Diversity*, p. 173. See also Ann Hope, interview, May 16, 2008.

as passionately committed to liberation as we were.” For Ramphele, SASO had to espouse such a rigid policy against working with all whites to be clearly understood when they explained their position and recruited other students.⁸⁴ Of course, SASO never would have subordinated itself to white leadership; but, for strategic purposes, inviting Hope to conduct training sessions as a fellow activist was acceptable.

SASO programs benefited from Freire’s methods for conducting research in a community before embarking on projects. For example, preliminary research played an important role in the project in the Winterveld settlement, near Pretoria, begun in 1972. Hosted by a local Catholic parish, students began work in a private pre-natal and delivery clinic, run by a nursing sister in Mabopane. While working in the clinic, they surveyed the area. They noted “its geographic scope, population size, demographic details such as employment, education, and available amenities, common health problems, and quality and quantity of health-care facilities.” They used unstructured interviews, observation, and visited shops, clinics, markets, and transport centers “to get a feel of life in Winterveld.”⁸⁵ These students produced a detailed report on medical statistics and general conditions, which Mangena described as hygienically “deplorable.”⁸⁶ This process helped them better understand the needs of Winterveld residents and plan more effectively. The report read that it became clear that the root causes of ill-health in the community were ignorance, poverty, and “the fact that blacks are powerless...have no opportunities and the white man has the monopoly of wealth, power and privilege” (an

⁸⁴ Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p. 65.

⁸⁵ Ramphele, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope,” pp. 159-160.

⁸⁶ Mangena, *On Your Own*, p. 25.

issue discussed further in Chapter 3).⁸⁷ The project was later taken up by local students and a group of students from various universities succeeded in running a two-month long literacy program there.⁸⁸

SASO students had learned that nurturing relationships with community members was essential in order to meet their needs and cultivate self-reliance. Hope's training sessions helped refine their methods. For example, in 1972, Mpumlwana (who had by that time been excluded from medical school at UNB because of his activism) and Siyolo Solombela, a UNB medical student, resuscitated the New Farm project by modifying their strategy.⁸⁹ Their goal was to "make people know and feel that they [were] owning what they're doing." Mpumlwana described how he and Solombela worked to build relationships in the community and spark a more "indigenous" movement to obtain cleaner water. First, they "went into the Shebeens [small pubs], and all kinds of public places and just generally made ourselves friends." Then, they "started having conversations about water" which seemed to naturally emerge as a topic of concern. Eventually people in New Farm (near Pheonix in Natal) called a meeting to discuss how to obtain and pay for piping, resulting in the agreement for every household to pay R2.⁹⁰ This bottom-up approach was accompanied by research conducted similar to that in Winterveld (near Pretoria). For example, a report on the project in 1972 included statistics from the clinic, a summary of housing conditions, and a budget for the different

⁸⁷ "Winterveld Community Project: a Progress Report," nd [1972?], pp. 9-10, GG, Reel 1.

⁸⁸ Mbulelo V. Mzamane, Bavusile Maaba, and Nkosinathi Biko, "The Black Consciousness Movement," in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006), p. 130.

⁸⁹ Ramphele cited the careful work of Malusi Mpumlwana in nurturing a working relationship between the students and residents in "Empowerment and Symbols of Hope," p. 158.

⁹⁰ This was when the NUSAS students stepped in to pay for the project, "killing the initiative." Mpumlwana interview, December 20, 2008.

components of the project.⁹¹ Mpumlwana and Solombela applied their method of conducting preliminary research and listening to and participating in conversations in public spaces to all the different aspects of the New Farm project, including the literacy component.

The Winterveld report indicated that the residents had begun to understand the goal of SASO's work and saw the need to work as a community to solve their problems once they pinned down the root causes behind their ill-health. Discussions leading to a critical evaluation of one's situation was exactly the kind of conscientization that Freire advocated in his writings. According to Magaziner, students used the term in two ways: to describe a personal, psychological awakening to a critical consciousness and the process of being politicized to the beliefs of Black Consciousness.⁹² SASO community work most closely reflected the *conscientização* of Freire. As Biko explained to a judge in the SASO trial in 1976: "we try to get blacks in conscientization to grapple realistically with their problems, to attempt to find solutions to their problems, to develop what one might call an awareness, a physical awareness of their situation, to be able to analyze it, and to provide answers for themselves." This was tied to the basic Black Consciousness philosophy that meant to give hope and fight a sense of defeat.⁹³ But it was developing a critical conscience among people, not naked political mobilization.

⁹¹ Report entitled: "The 'New Farm' Project on Preventive Medicine," nd [1972?], GG, Reel 1. Further attempts were made to continue the New Farm project beyond the clinic, but SASO suspended it in 1973. Mpumlwana and Solombela left the project in 1973, tensions between landlords stalled the project, and the relationship between community leaders and SASO deteriorated. SASO students decided to concentrate their efforts on a more successful project in Dududu, a village on the South Coast of Natal.

⁹² Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 3 and Chapter 7 (particularly p. 251).

⁹³ Biko, *I Write*, p. 114.

Finally, SASO students who participated in the training sessions and went on to work for the BCP also incorporated Freire's lessons on critical thinking, effective problem-solving, and the importance of evaluation in their own organizational meetings. This corresponded with the aspect of the Black Consciousness philosophy that sought to get at the root of South Africa's problems. In community work, it translated into regular evaluation and seeking to treat the deeper causes of problems, not merely the symptoms, such as searching for a cleaner water supply instead of giving medical treatment to illness caused by unsanitary conditions.

During Hope's training, one particular issue surfaced as the students practiced conducting group discussions that reflected an unresolved problem within SASO: the role of young women in the organization. Hope remembered that the young women in the group started to ask why they were always expected to do the dishes and cook at SASO meetings although all students had participated in the meetings.⁹⁴ Ramphele and other scholars have pointed to the difficulty SASO women had in gaining a voice or space as women in a male-dominated and, at times, sexist student organization. Pumla Gqola and Magaziner both examined the masculine discourse and imagery of the movement that seemed to allow only men the possibility of attaining political and social adulthood.⁹⁵ Overall, SASO women struggled to show SASO men that they did not take part only as girlfriends or to perform more domestic chores at meetings. Ramphele described how the young women who participated in SASO had to become "one of the guys" to enjoy

⁹⁴ Ann Hope, interview, May 16, 2008. See also Mamphela Ramphele, "The Dynamics of Gender Within Black Consciousness Organisations: A Personal View," in *Bounds of Possibility*, ed. Pityana et al (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991), p. 219.

⁹⁵ Pumla Gqola, "Contradictory Locations: Blackwomen and the Discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement," *Meridians* 2, no. 1 (2001): 130-152; Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets*. They also show that more conservative roles for Black Consciousness women as mothers and wives were emphasized in the mid-1970s.

participation. She wrote, "As a woman, an African woman at that, one had to be outrageous to be heard, let alone be taken seriously."⁹⁶ She and other female students such as Vuyelwa Mashalaba and Deborah Matshoba became aggressive debaters. They learned to be "assertive," "tough, insistent, persistent and to hold our own in public" in order to enter "the world of political discourse which had been until then inaccessible to us."⁹⁷ These women also adopted a bold, defiant style. They stopped wearing wigs like many other black women at the time and let their hair grow in Afros; they condemned the use of skin lightening creams; and they smoked cigarettes and wore "hot pants."⁹⁸

Although SASO female students challenged gender norms and gendered social conventions with their personal behavior and fashion styles and at a few SASO meetings, they did not push a feminist agenda. As an organization, SASO did not take up women's issues. As honorary males, those women who gained a voice in SASO in some ways saw themselves as a privileged group of a select few who gained special status because of their abilities.⁹⁹ Moreover, efforts to organize as women were not supported by SASO men. Matshoba remembered how Biko discouraged her and others from forming a women's group so as to maintain unity as black people.¹⁰⁰ In the BCP, however, women occupied leadership positions and the BCP sometimes addressed women's issues, albeit unintentionally.

⁹⁶ Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p. 71.

⁹⁷ Ramphele, "The Dynamics of Gender"; Badat, *Black Student Politics*, pp. 112-113, 156-157.

⁹⁸ Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, pp. 57-58; "Interview with Deborah Matshoba," in *Biko Lives!* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 280.

⁹⁹ Ramphele, "The Dynamics of Gender," p. 220.

¹⁰⁰ "Interview with Deborah Matshoba," p. 279.

The Effects of Limited Resources and State Repression on SASO Community Work

Despite the improved planning and research of the Winterveld program, the project was suspended in 1973 due to a lack of funds and volunteers. Other SASO projects met similar ends, challenged by financial strain and state repression. At first, SASO relied on its own manpower and funds to carry out its work. As Badat pointed out, the volunteerism of SASO strengthened the organization, but also became a weakness when volunteers did not materialize or lacked motivation to sustain them in discouraging circumstances.¹⁰¹ SASO leaders at times commented on the poor commitment of students in their evaluation meetings.¹⁰² They expected students who claimed membership in SASO to have the same strong convictions of Biko, Pityana, Ramphela and Jones about giving of their time and skills. As young university students, SASO members were often too poor to do volunteer work. Still, the organization's executive stated in 1974 that the "lack of funds cannot be used as an excuse, lack of initiative and dedication is our strongest draw-back."¹⁰³ SASO leaders discussed the need to convert their membership more fully to Black Consciousness to address this problem, believing that "commitment should come freely" once students understood the importance of community development.

¹⁰¹ Badat, *Black Student Politics*, pp. 150; Ramphela, "Empowerment and Symbols of Hope," pp. 172, 174-175, 160.

¹⁰² See Reports presented at 3rd General Students Council, 1972, and "Commissions Presented at 4th General Students' Council of the South African Students Organ, St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal, July 14-22, 1973," GG, Reel 2.

¹⁰³ For example, see "Report on the Proceedings at the National Formation School held at the Fedsem (Federal Theological Seminary) May 11-13, 1973," p. 5, GG, Reel 2, and "Composite Executive Report to the 6th G.S.C., at the Wilgespruit Conference Center, Roodepoort, Transvaal, June 30-July 7, 1974," GG, Reel 2, and "Composite Executive Report to the 6th G.S.C., at the Wilgespruit Conference Center, Roodepoort, Transvaal, June 30-July 7, 1974," GG, Reel 2.

In reality, financial problems were a major obstacle. In 1970, the SASO budget reported internal funds of less than R1,000. It estimated the cost of physical projects carried out between 1970 and 1971 at R13,200 (out of a total estimated expenditure of R29,635).¹⁰⁴ In 1972, the New Farm project alone had an estimated total cost of R13,910.¹⁰⁵ As the reputation of the student organization grew, it attracted donations from other sources within and without South Africa. SASO received much of its funds from international organizations they had access to as a student group, such as the International University Exchange Fund, based in Geneva, and European and American churches (facilitated by UCM leaders Collin Collins and Basil Moore and later the BCP).¹⁰⁶ Sometimes, SASO even accepted money from white liberals and businesses. This included donations from a new initiative of the mining conglomerate, Anglo American. In 1974, in an effort to be more socially responsible, Anglo American created a Special Chairman's Fund for contributions to community upliftment projects. The corporation offered to finance some of SASO's projects. SASO leaders justified this contradictory use of funds from what they would have considered an imperialist, colonial source, by claiming the money came from the exploitation of black people and thus belonged to them in the first place. They also asserted that they would not let donors

¹⁰⁴ SASO, "Estimated Expenditure 1970-1971," DISA, and Harry Nengwekhulu, interview with Gail Gerhart, October 17, 1972.

¹⁰⁵ Report entitled: "The 'New Farm' Project on Preventive Medicine."

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. For more on funding, see Tor Sellström, "Sweden and the Nordic Countries: Official Solidarity and Assistance from the West," in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Volume 3, International Solidarity*, ed. SADET (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2008), pp. 471-476.

stipulate how they would spend the money.¹⁰⁷ (See also the discussion of Anglo American's donation to Zanempilo in Chapter 3.)

SASO students also attempted to deal with their lack of resources by working with important connections in communities¹⁰⁸; however, the apartheid government generally made this cooperation difficult. SASO suffered from government harassment beginning in 1973 and intensifying after the pro-FRELIMO rallies of 1974. From 1973 to 1977, SASO was dealt severe blows by banning orders, detentions, imprisonment of its leaders, and the cutting off of international financial support due to Pretoria's declaration of SASO as an "affected organization" in 1974.¹⁰⁹ That year, it was reported that the Winterveld project had "stood still for quite some time," in large part because of non-cooperation by the state. Despite an offer by the Anglo American Corporation to build a school there, "permission [had] not been forthcoming from the Bophuthatswana Government."¹¹⁰ SASO survived, but was declared illegal and shut down on October 19, 1977, with other Black Consciousness organizations.

¹⁰⁷ Harry Nengwekhulu, interview with Gail Gerhart, October 17, 1972; Karis and Gerhart, *From Protest to Challenge*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁸ In the 1970 budget report, students stated that, in reserves and re-settlement areas (it is unclear where) where they planned to build schools, they had contacted local authorities to assist them. They had "received promises from highly-placed people that this co-operation is forthcoming." Other students claimed they had been promised by leaders of one of the 'Bantustans' that they would cooperate where students planned to volunteer as health workers, literacy and agricultural educators, and family planning advisors (again the location is unclear).

¹⁰⁹ Badat, *Black Student Politics*, p. 136.

¹¹⁰ "Composite Executive Report to the 6th G.S.C., at the Wilgespruit Conference Center, Roodepoort, Transvaal, 30th June, 1974 to 7th July, 1974," p. 13, DISA.

Conclusion

This chapter has laid down the basis for understanding Black Consciousness community development work. SASO's health, education, and other "physical" projects were part of a philosophy that emphasized the need to restore human dignity and build black self-reliance in order to initiate a total transformation of South African society. Through community work, Black Consciousness adherents also hoped to immediately alleviate the effects of poverty and stressed the need for students to commit themselves to serve their people. This agenda proved more difficult to carry out than the energetic young students expected. Material constraints, tensions between black people, and state repression often frustrated their mission. To improve implementation, students sought out and received assistance from Ann Hope. The student Christian networks SASO and Hope were a part of, locally and globally, linked SASO to Latin American liberation theology, the empowering development methods of Paulo Freire, and funds. Drawing upon this training and their Black Consciousness philosophy, SASO students developed a more effective method of carrying out preliminary research and working in partnership with people to cultivate a critical consciousness in communities. Still, SASO's reliance on white resources and gender tensions remained unresolved.

SASO students hoped that by addressing both psychological oppression and material poverty they could refashion black South Africans into agents of change. The BCP, based on the same Black Consciousness principles, dealt with similar challenges of state repression and limited income. Yet, the BCP's greater financial, organizational, and human resources enabled it to conduct Black Consciousness community development on a larger, more professional level, and inadvertently empower women as a result.

Chapter 2

The Black Community Programs (BCP) Organization

Black Community Programs grew out of two movements in South Africa developing in the late 1960s: the rise of Black Consciousness and the ecumenical, Christian drive to do more to address the negative effects of apartheid on society. The Christian Institute and South African Council of Churches, through the Special Project on Christian Action in Society (Spro-cas 2) provided the initial institutional structure for the BCP. Under the direction of Bennie Khoapa and with the sponsorship of Spro-cas, the BCP became a professional, relatively well-resourced Black Consciousness community development organization. Based on documents, correspondence, and pamphlets of Spro-cas and its sponsors, BCP reports, and oral history interviews, this chapter covers the formation of Black Community Programs, its structure, philosophy and goals, strategies, and key actors. In examining the relations between Spro-cas, the BCP and the staff, it demonstrates the important role of churches in enabling the BCP. It highlights the continued financial dependence on the sponsors of Spro-cas and how Black Consciousness activists ironically worked closely with so-called white liberals, whom their rhetoric rejected.

The chapter also demonstrates how the organization changed over time due to its constraints and local circumstances and provides the organizational context for the case studies that follow. The BCP adhered to Black Consciousness principles. Thus, it sought to become independent itself while it worked to build black self-reliance and change the mind-set of black South Africans. Initially, like its sponsors, it aimed to work in the

broader black community by coordinating with and enabling other black development groups on a national level. It importantly involved Coloured and Indian people on its advisory panels and as employees. Yet, state repression unintentionally led the BCP to expand geographically and become more deeply involved in local (mostly African) communities. The chapter ends by looking at how BCP employees quickly adapted to state repression and creatively drew upon the resources available to them to run health, economic, and education programs in regional branches. The BCP relied on young activists, including women, and their connections with local priests and parishes, friends and family, and community leaders to carry out these programs in a politically hostile environment, until the state shut the BCP down in October 1977.

Spro-cas: An Ecumenical, Christian Response to Apartheid

The massacre of sixty-nine black protestors in Sharpeville and Langa in March 1960 was a turning point in South African history. It marked a dramatic increase in government repression and led to the stifling of the liberation movements. South Africans increasingly faced the question of where their loyalties and commitments lay. After Sharpeville, liberal priests and ecumenical organizations began to speak out more strongly against apartheid. This came in the context of a larger trans-national movement in the 1960s in Christianity to focus on the poor and oppressed, led in large part by the Catholic Church. Catholic priests in South America defined a new evangelism of building communities and promoting social justice, which was adopted at the Vatican II council, 1962-1965, under Pope John XXIII. Liberation Theology in Latin America and Black Theology in the United States (linked to the Civil Rights movement) sought to

make Christianity speak to the liberation and social justice of the oppressed peoples in the Americas. In many places, churches had a position in society that gave them access to resources to address poverty in a way the state could not, or allowed them to speak out against repressive regimes. White, English-speaking ecumenical organizations, radical priests, and a new generation of black theology students in South Africa were part of this larger transnational movement. They measured apartheid against Christian teachings and developed a theology of liberation in their own context.¹

One immediate Christian response to the Sharpeville Massacre was the Cottesloe Consultation of 1960 held by the World Council of Churches and its South African members. The Consultation concluded that South African society did not conform to Christian ideals or teachings on the equality and liberation of humanity. In response, sections of the Dutch Reformed Church, which had provided theological support to apartheid, pulled out of the World Council of Churches.² Beyers Naudé, an Afrikaner cleric, emerged from the Consultation as a “prophetic figure”³ as he confronted his church, other denominations, and the state about the injustices of apartheid. Naudé broke with the mainstream Dutch Reformed Church and launched *Pro Veritate*, a journal that

¹ See Martin Prozesky, ed., *Christianity Amidst Apartheid* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); Dwight Hopkins, *Black Theology USA and South Africa* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989); Peter Walshe, *Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995); Daniel Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Politics, Faith and Hope in South Africa, 1968 – 1977* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010) and “Christ in Context: Developing a Political Faith in Apartheid South Africa,” *Radical History Review*, no. 99 (2007): 80-106; John de Gruchy and Steve de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005); L.D. Hansen, *The Legacy of Beyers Naude* (Stellenbosch: SUN Press, 2005); Bob Clarke, *Anglicans Against Apartheid, 1936-1996* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008). A contextual theology school developed in South Africa in the 1980s.

² See Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); Leonard Thompson, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

³ Peter Walshe, “South Africa: Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29, no. 1: p. 34.

acted as a forum for exposing the negative effects of apartheid and the need to reject racism. In 1963, he helped form the multi-racial ecumenical Christian Institute (CI) that sought to unite all progressive Christians against apartheid. In the meantime, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) began to take a stronger stand against apartheid. In 1968, it published “A Message to the People of South Africa” that strongly rejected apartheid as against the gospel of Christ. It affirmed that the message of Christianity was that God is love and that as Christ had liberated men from sin and “broken down the walls of division between God and man,” he had also overcome the division between man and man. Yet, South African society had placed faith in racial identity and racial separation with faith in Christ, “[amounting] to a denial of the central statements of the Gospel” and limiting the “ability of a person to obey the Gospel's command to love his neighbor as himself.” The message asked Christians, “to whom, or to what are you truly giving your first loyalty, your primary commitment?” and called on them “to work for the expression of God's reconciliation here and now.”⁴

In 1969, the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute joined together to follow their own admonition to labor for a just society. To do this, they launched a study project to analyze the effects of apartheid on South African society – to expose apartheid’s evils through social science research. They named this initiative “Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society” or Spro-cas. The study was comprised of six commissions: Economics, Social, Legal, Politics, Church, and Education. Nearly 150 people took part in the research and reports of the commissions.

⁴ South African Council of Churches, “A Message to the People of South Africa,” June 1968, South African Council of Churches website, <http://www.sacc.org.za/about/celebrate16.html>, accessed October 13, 2009.

It involved church leaders such as Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley, and liberal or radical university professors such as Richard Turner (political scientist at the University of Natal), Francis Wilson (economist at the University of Cape Town), and sociologists Lawrie Schlemmer and Frederick van Zyl Slabbert. Spro-cas published each committee's final report that concluded with recommendations for reform.⁵

The Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches appointed Peter Randall as Spro-cas director; he would prove to be a key figure in the history of Black Community Programs. Randall had a liberal background and experience in conducting and publishing studies. While a student at the Natal Teachers' Training College from 1954-1956,⁶ he became interested in politics and spent time with a lecturer, Peter Hunter, in Sobantu Village in Pietermaritzburg learning Zulu and helping to teach Afrikaans to teachers required under the new Bantu Education Acts to use Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. After spending some time working for the Natal Education Department and teaching in South Africa and Britain, he was hired by the South African Institute of Race Relations, a non-governmental organization dedicated to investigating and reporting on the state of race relations in the country. From 1965-1969, Randall contributed to the Institute's publications and gave talks on human rights and social justice. In 1969, he left the Institute to direct Spro-cas.⁷

⁵ See Peter Randall, *Taste of Power* (Johannesburg: SPROCAS, 1973), for a summary of the commission reports and Peter Randall, email correspondence with the author, October 17, 2009.

⁶ Randall subsequently studied through the University of South Africa and the University of the Witwatersrand to earn his B.A., Med, and PhD.

⁷ Randall referred me to Wikipedia for his biographical information. See Wikipedia Article Peter Ralph Randall, written by his daughter, Sue Randall, and her colleague, Johan van Schalkwyk, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Ralph_Randall, accessed May-October, 2009.

In 1973, Randall published *A Taste of Power*, his summary of the findings of the Spro-cas commissions and explanation of the Spro-cas program. Randall wrote that South Africa needed radical change: black people should share political power, workers should have the right to join trade unions, there should be a redistribution of land, wealth, and income, greater access to social security and education, and an overhaul of the educational system. He also predicted that black people would initiate these changes. They had begun to “taste of power” and whites could not indefinitely prevent them from enjoying the full meal.⁸ Randall’s conclusions may have been influenced by rubbing shoulders with Black Consciousness activists (whom he had worked with by the time his book was published), but *A Taste of Power* also reflected the conclusions of the Spro-cas commissions. The commissions’ reports provided academic evidence for what was obvious to many: apartheid bred stark inequality.

As the study project neared completion, Spro-cas came under criticism from members of the Christian Institute and South African Council of Churches to do more than just publish reports. Churches in general were increasingly critiqued in the 1960s for their inactivity against apartheid. In a study requested by the Anglican Provincial Board of Missions in 1963, John Carter wrote, “...we must declare that South Africa’s racial structure of society is incompatible with Christian values. But pronouncements are not enough; the social order must be changed.” He continued, “we criticize... we deplore... we find it tragic... we regret... we declare... we are concerned...” but more decisive action needed to be taken. Carter concluded in 1963 that since the church was

⁸ Randall, *Taste of Power*, p. 6.

caught between “rival nationalism” it could only be a “confessing” church.⁹ In the early 1970s, there was a stronger call for Spro-cas and churches to act on their pronouncements.

Randall, Naudé, the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches began meeting with organizations and people such as the black-led Association for the Education and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa (ASSECA), the Institute of Race Relations, and white professors who had taken part in Spro-cas 1, regarding the formation of a second phase of Spro-cas in mid-1971.¹⁰ They called this phase the “Special Project on Christian Action in Society,” or Spro-cas 2. They emerged from their meetings with a vision of Spro-cas 2 as an “enabling body” for existing programs, so as to “implement as far as possible those immediately practicable recommendations for change made by the six Spro-cas study commissions.”¹¹ Their broad aims were to concentrate on the areas that would be most effective in bringing about this change – or to “promote black initiative” (while enabling white people to “respond creatively” to it).¹² By October of 1971, Spro-cas had secured staff to oversee the different divisions of the project and identified their priorities. These took shape under three main initiatives: Black Community Programs; programs geared toward the white community; and publications. Spro-cas 2 had a mandate to work for two full years, beginning in January 1972, with an evaluation planned for mid-1973. As the project

⁹ As quoted in John Cochrane, “Christian Resistance to Apartheid” in *Christianity Amidst Apartheid*, 88-89. The original study was entitled, *Methods of Mission in Southern Africa* (London: SPCK, 1963).

¹⁰ Security Police [Brigadier P.J. Coetzee?], “Memorandum: Black Community Programmes,” nd, sec. 21, AA153, Documentation Centre for African Studies, UNISA Library (hereafter UNISA).

¹¹ “Minutes of Spro-cas 2 Planning Meeting: 15-16 October 1971,” A835 SPRO-CAS 1969-1973, C1, Cullen; SPRO-CAS, “Black Community Programmes,” GG, Reel 3.

¹² “Minutes of Spro-cas 2 Planning Meeting October 1971.”

started to take shape, Black Consciousness activists who were brought in to work on Black Community Programs ensured Spro-cas would truly allow black initiative and concentrate its resources in the black community.

The Formation of Black Community Programs

In September 1971, Spro-cas appointed Bennie Khoapa as the director of Black Community Programs. A trained social worker serving as the “Secretary for African Work” of the South African council of YMCAs, Khoapa had a link to the church and brought organizational skills to the program. His appointment also steered the Spro-cas 2 initiative in a Black Consciousness direction. The BCP sought to empower the broader black community by instilling in them a sense of their positive identity and enabling them to analyze and organize to meet their needs. The BCP stressed black-self reliance, both as an end goal of its programs and in its efforts to draw upon white liberal resources while still retaining black leadership and autonomy.

Bennie Khoapa was born in East Griqualand (or Transkei) to a chief and schooled in Lesotho and at Adams College before going to the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work in Johannesburg. In 1960, having finished his training, he took a job as a personnel manager with the South African Rubber Manufacturing Company, based in Howick, Natal. In 1964, he left Howick to work for the South African YMCA. He was hired to help develop the segregated African programs and train those working in administration.¹³

¹³ This information is drawn from three different interviews with Khoapa: with Gail Gerhart and Thomas Karis, June 16, 1989, New York, USA; with David Wiley, May 7, 2006, Durban, *South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid, Building Democracy* website (<http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/interview.php>, last accessed October 15, 2009); and interview by the author, June 4, 2008, Durban.

Khoapa had been drawn into Black Consciousness circles before he was approached by Spro-cas to direct the BCP. He was based in the YMCA office in Durban, where he met Biko and became an “advisor” to SASO. In 1968 and into 1969, as part of his work with the YMCA, Khoapa received further training with the YMCA in the United States. There he encountered black anger and tense race relations in the aftermath of Martin Luther King Jr.’s assassination. He read and was influenced by black American authors such as Lerone Bennet.¹⁴ When he returned to South Africa, he was asked to speak about his experiences at a seminar of the Institute of Race Relations. Some SASO students (including female medical student, Vuyelwa Mashalaba) attended this meeting and afterwards invited him to a debate on the meaning of blackness. After the debate, Biko began to “befriend” him.¹⁵ Throughout 1970 and 1971, Khoapa engaged in many discussions with Biko and his fellow SASO students and began to share the same views.¹⁶

Although Spro-cas 2 was directed by what SASO students would have considered white liberals, Khoapa’s assertiveness and Randall’s belief in the need for black autonomy and leadership (solidified during his meetings with Khoapa and later Biko),

¹⁴ Bennie Khoapa, interview with David Wiley, May 7, 2006, and phone interview by the author, October 8, 2009. See also Magaziner’s discussion of Khoapa’s use of Bennett in *The Law and the Prophets*, Chapter 3.

¹⁵ Bennie Khoapa, interview by the author, June 4, 2008, and interview with David Wiley, May 7, 2006. Khoapa claimed in the May 7, 2006 interview that Vuyo Mashalaba told Biko Khoapa had said some controversial things regarding gender roles and they set up the debate to challenge him more. In his view, the students did not have a sophisticated understanding of blackness at that time.

¹⁶ Khoapa called himself, along with Lewis Skweyiya and a Professor Sibisi at the University of the North at Ngoye, adult advisors to SASO. Bennie Khoapa, interview with Gail Gerhart and Thomas Karis, June 16, 1989.

ensured the BCP enjoyed a great measure of autonomy.¹⁷ When Randall approached Khoapa about becoming a Spro-cas director, Khoapa agreed to take the position on one condition: that he be given the freedom to work on what he viewed as the real problems of black South Africans. He would only accept a position as sole director of a project,¹⁸ and said to Randall, “quite bluntly”:

I'm prepared to come in and work with Spro-cas 2 on condition that I work with what I consider to be the concerns of my people. Therefore, if I come in and work with you, I'm going to come in and work with you to address what I consider to be the core program of this country which is the way black people are treated. So, indeed, I'm prepared to be in Spro-cas ... provided I [am] given a free hand to be able to think of things to be done.

He felt that they knew quite well what the problems were – “They were obvious to me, they were lying there, the faults and the difficulties and so on” – but he and others did not have the resources to address them. “Therefore,” Khoapa said, “if the churches mean what they say, they would have to put in the resources behind this program.” Thanks to the support of Randall, Naudé and the Christian Institute, Spro-cas did just that.¹⁹

In the latter part of 1971, Khoapa and Randall held further discussions with a number of organizations and people in order to get a feel for what was possible and how to structure Spro-cas 2. Randall travelled around South Africa while Khoapa had discussions with Biko. Biko later joined some of the meetings with Randall, during which Randall felt Khoapa and Biko were very patient in giving him a political education.²⁰ In the end, they decided the best way to address the main problems in

¹⁷ Peter Randall, phone interview by the author, May 13, 2008. Naudé was also particularly supportive of the Black Consciousness Movement.

¹⁸ Bennie Khoapa, interview with David Wiley, May 7, 2006.

¹⁹ Bennie Khoapa, interview by the author, June 4, 2008.

²⁰ Peter Randall, interview, May 13, 2009.

apartheid South Africa was to have two separate programs for both the white and black communities. Some, especially in the South African Council of Churches, opposed this as it seemed to conform to apartheid. It was not the kind of racially integrated arrangement that white liberals preferred. Randall and Khoapa succeeded in convincing the South African Council of Churches that allowing black people to direct their own programs would be most effective. White community programs would help white people respond to those initiatives by educating them about their role in the current unjust system and working to change the church, economic, or educational structures they had access to.²¹

Khoapa was given a “free hand,” or “blank check” to shape the BCP.²² As director, he devised the “suggestions for action,” hired staff, prepared budgets, organized conferences and started work on a registry of Black organizations, while Randall continued to wrap-up Spro-cas 1 by publishing the commission reports. Busy with their respective responsibilities, they worked largely independent of one another, holding occasional meetings. Khoapa sat with Randall on the Spro-cas Steering and Liaison committees with the main sponsors, the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches, who put the final stamp of approval on budgets and hiring decisions. Khoapa received pay equal to the technical director, Reverend Danie van Zyl, of R6,000 per year. As Spro-cas director, Randall earned R6,600 per year.²³

²¹ Peter Randall, “SPRO-CAS: Motivations and Assumptions” reprinted from *Reality* March 1973, A835, C1, Cullen; and Minutes of Spro-Cas 2 Planning Meeting October 1971. In the October 1971 meeting, it was stated that Black programs “may call on white experts who can contribute insights etc,” perhaps reflecting an initial hesitation or uneasiness about the BCP acting independently.

²² “Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973” A835, C1, Cullen, and Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008, respectively. See also Peter Randall, interview, May 13, 2009.

²³ See “SPRO-CAS 2: Budget for 1972-1973,” Spro-cas 2 booklet, p. 6, A835, C1, Cullen.

Khoapa's close relationship with SASO and Biko's involvement with the formation of the BCP makes it difficult, as Khoapa said, to pin-point the origins of the "ideological camaraderie [or] relationship" between Black Consciousness, SASO and the BCP. It was all part of an emerging movement that included different organizations, but the same people interacting and mobilizing at the leadership level. SASO and the BCP even shared office space, rented from the Congregational Church at 86 Beatrice Street in Durban. Khoapa said this was "confused even more" when Biko joined the BCP staff. For a time, they enjoyed this confusion because it also confused the police who "could not exactly say who is what and where and how" and delayed state action against the movement.²⁴

Biko's expulsion from medical school at the beginning of 1972 (officially because of poor academic performance, but also because of his activism) made his employment by the BCP necessary. Biko needed to earn money. His wife, Nontsikilelo (Ntsiki) Mashalaba (cousin to Vuyelwa Mashalaba), worked as a nurse and they had one son, Nkosinathi. When the BCP office opened in Durban in 1972, Khoapa and Hester Joseph (née Fortune), the office administrator, were the only employees. The original Spro-cas 2 budget had provisions for the hiring of two field workers as the BCP needed them. Khoapa was thus able to offer Biko a job as a research officer in Durban, which he started in early 1972.²⁵ As a BCP employee, Biko could help support his young family and stay actively engaged in Black Consciousness-related work, close to SASO headquarters.

²⁴ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

²⁵ See Letter to Steve Biko from Bennie Khoapa, Jan 11, 1972 and Letter from Peter Randall to Beyers Naudé and John Rees, July 31, 1972, A835, C9, Cullen. In the interview with David Wiley, May 7, 2006, Khoapa said that Biko's mother called him to ask him to give Biko a job.

A letter from John Rees of the South African Council of Churches reveals both Biko's influence and perhaps some tension between the BCP, Black Consciousness and the South African Council of Churches in the early 1970s. After Biko had officially begun working for the BCP, Rees raised concerns about his appointment. Rees admitted that he did not know Biko very well but had been informed by others that Biko was "much stronger" than Khoapa. This was potentially a problem in Rees's mind since Biko was not clearly connected to the church. He was "very interested" that Biko should take up the post, but "a little worried as to his relationship as it were to the Church [as in the Body of Christ]." Rees saw Spro-cas as a Church action program but Biko was "very heavily identified with an organization which is not overtly Christian."²⁶ This second concern was not a surprise to Randall, whose own hire had invited criticism from some conservative members of the South African Council of Churches because he also did not have a strong religious affiliation.²⁷ Perhaps Rees and other Council members had misgivings about working with one of the new breed of confident, bold, radical black students.

The BCP's four main goals reflected a Black Consciousness analysis of the importance of addressing both the psychological and material elements of development. From the onset, the BCP outlined its mission as:

- 1) to help the Black Community become aware of its own identity;
- 2) to help the Black Community to create a sense of its own power;

²⁶ Letter from John Rees to Peter Randall, August 2, 1972, A835, C9, Cullen.

²⁷ Randall stated, "I also personally came in for some criticism because I wasn't particularly religious or theological. I was probably agnostic." Peter Randall, interview, May 13, 2009. See also clarification in email communication with the author, October 17, 2009.

- 3) to enable the Black Community to organize itself, to analyze its own needs and problems and to mobilize its resources to meet its needs;
- 4) to develop black leadership capable of guiding the development of the Black Community.²⁸

The BCP sought to address the psychological aspect of black development, build self-reliance and the black community's united capacity to solve its own problems. The first goal, fundamental to Black Consciousness, was to affect a change in the mind-set of black people – to awaken them to a consciousness of their value as human beings. This would then contribute to the realization among black people that they had the power to change their situation. Similar to SASO students who argued that without a psychological liberation, black people could not attain freedom, the BCP wrote in a grant application to the Ford Foundation that real change could not occur as long as the “[black man] continues to harbor feelings of inferiority and inadequacy, has no skills and facilities as well as resources to make a positive contribution to his own self-awareness and self-development.”²⁹ The BCP wrote that it must direct “relevant black work” at “eradicating the psychological oppression of blacks by their own over-sized mental image of the white man and his abilities and by their exaggerated feeling of powerlessness which results in lack of creative initiatives.”³⁰ In other words, the BCP explained that “DEVELOPMENT – in all its aspects” was necessary in order to change South African race relations (original emphasis).³¹

²⁸ Bennie Khoapa, “Spro-Cas 2: Black Community Programmes: Tentative Suggestions for Action,” p. 2, GG, Reel 3. See also p. 3.

²⁹ Spro-cas Black Community Programmes, Proposal to the Ford Foundation, p. 2, A835, C9.

³⁰ “Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973,” A835, C1, Cullen.

³¹ Proposal to the Ford Foundation, p. 2.

The BCP envisioned the outcome of its work as a self-reliant black community, unified in its development efforts. The BCP's third goal addressed the need to give people the tools to exercise their newly discovered power – the ability to organize, analyze their needs and problems (which could also be termed developing a critical consciousness or the *conscientização* of Paulo Freire), and use their resources to address those needs. The BCP hoped to help black people who had become conscious of their identity and belonging to the black community “to acquire and use resources needed to achieve the goals of unity, self-determination, collective work responsibility, purpose and creativity.”³² As with SASO, cultivating this self-reliance was more important than the specific project.³³ It did not matter so much whether a project focused on obtaining a clean water source or helping Matric students pass their exams. What mattered was *how* the BCP carried out the project and if indigenous leadership emerged to take over the programs and guide their people to self-reliance.³⁴

An important part of cultivating black self-reliance was building unity between different groups working towards black development. For SASO, black unity was essential in transforming South African society and for reaching their long-term political goals. The BCP recognized that “change agents” or other welfare, education, recreation and church organizations already worked in the black community and sought to make their efforts more effective by unifying them.³⁵ Similar to its parent body, Spro-cas, the BCP saw itself as a “coordinating” and “enabling” agency for these organizations.

³² Ibid, p. 3 and Khoapa, “Tentative Suggestions for Action,” p. 6.

³³ Khoapa, “Tentative Suggestions for Action,” p. 6.

³⁴ See numerous documents, especially Proposal to the Ford Foundation, p. 5.

³⁵ Khoapa, “Tentative Suggestions for Action,” pp. 5-6.

Words such as “coordinate,” “cooperate,” and “encourage” sprinkled BCP reports and publications.³⁶ Whereas SASO worked in local communities on specific “physical projects,” the BCP initially saw itself as operating on a national basis by strengthening and unifying multiple black organizations and their diverse initiatives. It would initiate projects only if necessary.³⁷

In its first year-and-a-half of existence, the BCP focused on creating opportunities for black people and organizations to come together to analyze their circumstances and coordinate their efforts (training for organizations could follow if necessary).³⁸ The director’s duties included traveling around to organize and “maintain contact with points of development.”³⁹ Field officers later assisted by collecting data and communicating with the different groups. One of the first programs was a Black Church Leaders conference held in May 1972 at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center in Pietermaritzburg. This conference involved black church leaders from different denominations of “so-called Multi-racial churches in South Africa, with the view to examining their role within these churches and ways and means of increasing the effectiveness of their leadership.” Speakers gave papers and participants discussed issues of leadership and control, the training of black ministers, and the development of Black Theology. As a result, ministers planned to form regional caucuses to work on literacy and social services projects. The BCP held a follow-up meeting in August and organized

³⁶ See “Black Community Programmes: Spro-cas 2” pamphlet, GG, Reel 3, as well as BCP yearly reports, and Proposal to the Ford Foundation.

³⁷ “Black Community Programmes: Spro-cas 2” pamphlet, “Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973.” See also “Report on the First Meeting of the Joint Liaison Committee of Spro-Cas Sponsors,” March 13, 1972, A835, C1, Cullen.

³⁸ “Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973,” Proposal to the Ford Foundation, and Letter from Peter Randall to Beyers Naudé, June 29, 1972, A835, B9.ii, Cullen.

³⁹ “SPRO-CAS 2,” p. 5, GG, Reel 3.

a conference on Black Theology in 1973.⁴⁰ It employed similar strategies in holding regional and national youth conferences that offered leadership training and resulted in the formation of a number of youth organizations.

Khoapa hired a second field worker from the SASO ranks in September 1972. James Bokwe Mafuna helped conduct research for BCP's major publication, *Black Review*. He also headed labor-related projects and led the BCP to take on the Black Worker's Project, a coordinating and enabling project for workers denied the right to join or organize black trade unions. Mafuna, born in Mafeking in 1937, lived in Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, in the late 1960s and early 1970s. After giving up on becoming a Catholic priest because of racial discrimination in the church and a stint with the trade union movement, he became a journalist for the *Rand Daily Mail*. He and other likeminded people in the area (including Wally Serote) often met to share their political views and hold discussions. The only woman among them, Cindy Ramarumo, met Biko when she visited Ramphele at UNB and took the news of a newly organized student group back to them. Mafuna soon after developed a close friendship with SASO leaders such as Biko, Pityana, and Nengwekhulu, and enrolled in UNISA so he could join SASO's Reef branch.⁴¹

In July 1972, Mafuna resigned from his job at the *Rand Daily Mail* while covering SASO's General Student's Council. The paper's sub-editors continued to change the term Mafuna used to describe the students, "black," to "non-white." Mafuna

⁴⁰ Report of Conference for Black Church Leaders at Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre in Pietermaritzburg, 15-18 May 1972, A835, C1, Cullen. See also BCP, "Year Report 1972," KG-Aluka; BCP, "1973 Report," KG-Aluka.

⁴¹ This information is taken from Bokwe Mafuna, "The Impact of Steve Biko on My Life," in Mngxitama et al, eds., *Biko Lives!*, 77-89; Bokwe Mafuna, interview with Gail Gerhart, June 21, 1990, Harare, Zimbabwe, KG, Reel 2; and Bokwe Mafuna, interview by the author, November 6, 2008, Roodepoort.

resigned in protest and continued to attend the conference as a SASO delegate. He later wrote that his wife “was aghast” when she learned of his resignation.⁴² At that time they had two children and unemployment would bring additional hardship. Biko, who had found himself in a similar situation at the beginning of the year, suggested Mafuna work for one of the Black Consciousness projects. The BCP subsequently hired Mafuna as the director of its office in Johannesburg. Throughout the rest of 1972 and 1973, he continued to work on the SASO-initiated Black Worker’s Project with fellow SASO student, Mthuli ka Shezi. Mafuna and Shezi recruited other SASO students to help them research the state of organization of black workers, inform black workers of their rights and work towards organizing a black worker’s council.⁴³ Mafuna also helped found the Union of Black Journalists.

An important part of coordinating and enabling “the black community to organize itself,” “analyze its own needs” and “mobilize its resources” and was “communicating” – informing different organizations about what others were doing so they could learn from each other and collaborate. One of BCP’s first “communicating” projects was a *Handbook of Black Organizations*, a catalog of voluntary organizations working in the black community. Through this, the BCP hoped to act as a point of reference. It also sought to disseminate information to the black community broadly. Research and publishing was “particularly important” for basing their development efforts on “a sound program of informal education.”⁴⁴ It was also imperative that they produce knowledge

⁴² Mafuna, “The Impact of Steve Biko on My Life,” p. 84. Bokwe Mafuna, interview with Gail Gerhart, June 21, 1990.

⁴³ “Black Worker’s Project: A Proposal,” A835, C1, Cullen; “Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973,” Proposal to the Ford Foundation.

⁴⁴ Proposal to the Ford Foundation, p. 7.

about the black community from what the BCP called a “black perspective.” It published *Black Viewpoint* and *Black Perspectives*, short volumes of position papers written by black people and black academic work. *Black Review* served as a yearbook of activity within the black community, ranging from politics to theater. Its purpose was to counter the liberal Institute of Race Relations’ *Survey* by reporting on what happened in and to the black community as the BCP saw it. The most successful of the BCP’s publications, *Black Review* proved black people could produce a publication of its nature and acted as a catalyst for the growth in black publishing in the late 1970s and 1980s. *Black Review* is the subject of Chapter 4 along with BCP resource centers that held cultural artifacts and collections of speeches, papers, music and poetry, and other publications by black people throughout South Africa, the rest of the continent, and the world.⁴⁵ Like other programs, the broad goal of these centers was to “promote black creativity, self-reliance and a sense of purpose.”⁴⁶

The BCP’s fourth goal stressed the importance of black leadership. Khoapa wrote that black leadership would make sure the BCP addressed the “real rather than the imagined needs of the Black Community.”⁴⁷ As discussed in the previous chapter, working *with* the community and not *for* them was implied in the Black Consciousness philosophy (although SASO students refined their techniques through Hope’s training on Paulo Freire’s methodology). Like SASO, the BCP believed that black people were more in tune with the needs of their own communities than white liberals and emphasized the need to work in partnership with the black community. One of its first pamphlets

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 13.

⁴⁶ “Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973,” p. 7.

⁴⁷ Proposal to the Ford Foundation, p. 1.

explained how the organization viewed its position. It read: "The program operates on the principle that the source of authority for doing anything in the Black Community must be the Black Community itself and such action is taken by the Black Community Programmes is the kind of action which the Black Community requests [sic]."⁴⁸

Coordinating with different organizations in order to bring the core problems to the fore was one way to ensure BCP programs came from the needs of the black community. The BCP also stressed working closely with the poor on a local level and formed a Black Advisory Panel. Khoapa formed the panels in 1972, by asking skilled and educated people he knew and who were "sympathetic to our ideology and approach," to serve on the advisory board.⁴⁹ In the Transvaal, these people included African men who had worked in social work, business, the church, one woman (Mrs. A. August, a community social worker), and physicians (including Dr. Nthato Motlana, ANC Youth League member in the early 1950s and founding chairperson of the Soweto Committee of Ten in 1976). They acted as a committee of "influential and capable" leaders from the black community to "help in the planning and advise on content and direction."⁵⁰ As such, the panels consisted of more privileged Africans who did not suffer the same plight as the majority. Still, the BCP may have felt they worked closely with the majority in occupations that acquainted them with their struggles.

The composition of the advisory panels reflected the view of the black community and the national scope of the BCP at the time. Black Consciousness activists defined the black community according to skin color, not economic status. Thus, the panel members

⁴⁸ "Black Community Programmes: Spro-cas 2" pamphlet.

⁴⁹ Bennie Khoapa, interview, October 8, 2009.

⁵⁰ Proposal to the Ford Foundation, pp. 17-18. See also BCP yearly reports for names of panel and board members.

would have been seen as members of the black community who could identify with their fellow oppressed. This would have been the same with Coloured and Indian members of the panels. In 1972, the BCP reported that it had advisory panels in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban.⁵¹ The early Cape Town panel included Coloured community leaders, evidence of the strong presence of Black Consciousness in the Western Cape that helped legitimize the movement's new definition of "black." The BCP never established an office in Cape Town, however. Bans on employees took the BCP elsewhere and its Cape Town advisory panel contact lost interest.⁵² In Durban, the BCP moved into Umlazi, an African township, after Khoapa was banned there. As the organization moved to the local level, it worked mostly with Africans, especially since the majority of its employees were African and were later confined by banning orders to African communities. Yet, the BCP and its Coloured and Indian employees simply viewed these as "black" communities. According to Khoapa, the BCP never formally sought to challenge the racial divisions of people of color under apartheid, but merely emphasized solidarity across geographically and racially defined groups of black people.⁵³

The BCP had not yet moved to working closely with local communities. Khoapa wrote that responding to the needs communities disclosed required a shift in methodology. Organizations should address the causes of problems such as ill-health, inadequate housing, and poor education instead of merely treating the symptoms. This required research and planning phases and a move from "doing for the poor" to "working

⁵¹ BCP, "1972 Year Report."

⁵² Bennie Khoapa, phone interview by the author, May 3, 2010. Khoapa suspected that while some advisory panel members spoke the language of Black Consciousness, they were more interested in obtaining resources.

⁵³ Bennie Khoapa, interview, May 3, 2010.

with and under” the poor.⁵⁴ The BCP acknowledged that this approach had limitations. It would take time, action would not be controlled by the BCP or other organizations, projects may not develop as they desired; but, the BCP stressed the importance of people learning to work together on what they themselves conceived as important.⁵⁵ At this point, however, the BCP did not see itself as getting closely involved with local programs, but connecting with them through “influential and capable” leaders – who were not exactly the poor. Once the BCP was thrust into the local communities in 1973, it would apply this strategy more fully and work intimately with the poor.

Paradoxically, the BCP stressed black leadership and authority while operating as part of a white liberal organization. This meant that Biko and Neville Curtis – a former president of NUSAS (1970-71), the organization that SASO broke away from – sat in at least one meeting together.⁵⁶ The move for the BCP to be completely independent will be discussed further below. For the most part, the initial arrangement within Spro-cas was acceptable because the BCP was given a “free hand” to determine its direction. Just as Ann Hope provided valuable assistance to SASO, Spro-cas gave the BCP the jump-start it needed. Also, although Khoapa had to assert black autonomy in certain aspects he did have respect in his position. He and his field workers received pay equal to those in corresponding positions in Spro-cas and generally enjoyed good personal relationships with Spro-cas staff. Like the working environment at the multi-racial South African Committee for Higher Education (Sached), described in Diana Wylie’s biography of

⁵⁴ Khoapa, “Tentative Suggestions for Action,” pp. 3-5.

⁵⁵ Khoapa, “Tentative Suggestions for Action,” pp. 6-7.

⁵⁶ See Minutes of Spro-cas staff meeting, July 28, 1972, A835, B10.ii, Cullen. A police memo argued this was the intention of Spro-cas and the Christian Institute – to bring the two radical strands working for change in South Africa together, see Security Police, “Memorandum: Black Community Programmes,” sec. 22.

Thami Mnye, these relationships did not always go very deep and black staff found ways to assert their self-sufficiency.⁵⁷ Khoapa remembered, “Sometimes the black staff people felt that it was a major self-assertion to say we don’t need to do any of these things with you. But they were very polite to each other; we had very good relationships.”⁵⁸ Khoapa seemed to have deeper relationships with Randall, who particularly understood and respected the need for black leadership and thus supported the BCP’s autonomy along with Naudé.⁵⁹ Randall and Khoapa both spoke highly of each other and correspondence suggests Khoapa had friendly and respectful relations with Randall.⁶⁰ For example, in a letter to Randall in December 1973, Khoapa updated Randall on his work and life as a banned person and wrote, “Sorry to hear about your Bronchitis; you must be getting weak old boy. I think you could do with a ‘BAN’ – at least you can rest.” He concluded with greetings to Randall’s wife and family: “Say hello to Isabel and the children.”⁶¹

BCP Independence: Race, Power, and Finances

By the end of 1972, the BCP had evolved into a more boldly and explicitly Black Consciousness body with looser ties to Spro-cas. Khoapa and the BCP staff began to

⁵⁷ Diana Wylie, *Art + Revolution: The Life and Death of Thami Mnye, South African Artist* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), pp. 53-55, 86-90.

⁵⁸ Bennie Khoapa, interview, October 8, 2009.

⁵⁹ See Peter Randall, interview, May 13, 2008, *Taste of Power* and Randall, “SPRO-CAS: Motivations and Assumptions,” pp. 2-5. See also Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008. Spro-cas itself wanted to concentrate mostly on black initiative, but also on helping white people “respond creatively” to that black initiative. “Spro-Cas 2 Planning Meeting: 15-16 October 1971.”

⁶⁰ Peter Randall, interview, May 13, 2008, and Bennie Khoapa, interview June 4, 2008. See also Letter from Bennie Khoapa to Peter Randall, Dec 3, 1973, A835, C9, Cullen, and Letter from Brian Brown to Bennie Khoapa, Sept 5, 1972 A835, B9.ii, Cullen.

⁶¹ Letter from Bennie Khoapa to Peter Randall, December 3, 1973, A835, C9, Cullen. Randall received “a ban” along with most of the leadership of the Christian Institute in October, 1977.

push for the full autonomy of Black Community Programs. The end of Spro-cas, the success of the BCP, and the need for the BCP to be independent on principle all led to it becoming autonomous in September 1973. Yet, it still relied on the Christian Institute, South African Council of Churches, and other foreign church, international secular organizations and so-called “white” sources of funding.

BCP independence was not contrary to the vision of Spro-cas. In fact, Spro-cas 2 had originally only been planned through the end of 1973, with a review in the middle of that year. “Although,” the organizers of Spro-cas 2 had stated, “certain independent ongoing activities may emerge from it,” they did not intend for Spro-cas itself to last very long. Randall made it a point to clarify that Spro-cas was viewed as a short-term project, not an organization.⁶² In November 1972, the Steering Committee of Spro-cas, made up of the director and representatives from the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches, began discussing how to grant the Spro-cas 2 divisions their independence. They proposed to make a joint trust (headed by the members of the Steering Committee) for two companies to allow the white programs and the BCP to continue. Khoapa, his staff, and the black advisory panel naturally opposed this. “In principle it is felt that the idea of establishing a company for the BCP is a good one,” Khoapa wrote in a memo, but setting a separate trust for black programs was a more “logical and positive step in the creation of institutions and organizations for Blacks that are autonomous and are committed to developing a self-reliant, self-determining and self-

⁶² Randall, “SPRO-CAS: Motivations and Assumptions,” p. 1 and 6. See also Peter Randall, interview, May 13, 2009.

respecting community.”⁶³ Soon after, Randall and Naudé both expressed their support for the full independence of the BCP. Randall told Naudé in May 1973 that he felt Spro-cas should be disbanded at the end of July, leaving the BCP to operate on its own and Ravan Press to take over Spro-cas publishing.⁶⁴ Naudé wrote to Khoapa in March that the Christian Institute fully supported the BCP’s move towards autonomy.⁶⁵

Khoapa, the black staff and black advisory panel of the BCP made the case for an independent organization for mainly two reasons. First, the BCP had garnered enough financial support to become independent and had outgrown Spro-cas. Black programs were more successful than the white programs at attracting donors.⁶⁶ For example, the Church of Norway “made special emphasis on the needs of the [BCP]” when it made its donation at the end of 1972.⁶⁷ It wanted its money to be spent on grass-roots programs that would alleviate the needs of those in dire circumstances.⁶⁸ When the BCP was preparing to go independent, their budget was “fully secured,” whereas the rest of Spro-cas was in “financial jeopardy.”⁶⁹ This gave the BCP confidence to go out on its own. In

⁶³ See “Memorandum to South African Council of Churches and Christian Institute of S.A. from Bennie Khoapa regarding Meeting of the Black Panel of the B.C.P.,” December 4, 1972, A835, B10.ii, Cullen, and Letter from Peter Randall to Beyers Naudé, December 18, 1972, A835, B6, Cullen.

⁶⁴ Letter from Peter Randall to Beyers Naudé, May 29, 1973, A835, B5, Cullen.

⁶⁵ Letter from Beyers Naudé to Bennie Khoapa, March 8, 1973, A835, C9, Cullen. The Christian Institute proved this commitment with continued financial support of the BCP until both organizations were banned in 1977.

⁶⁶ The white programs had not been doing nearly as well as the BCP. See “Memo to all SPRO-CAS staff” from Khoapa, October 17, 1972, A835, B4, Cullen; Letter from Beyers Naudé to Peter Randall and Bennie Khoapa regarding the Church of Norway donation, December 21, 1972, A835, B9, Cullen.

⁶⁷ Letter from Beyers Naudé to Peter Randall and Bennie Khoapa regarding the Church of Norway donation, December 21, 1972, A835, B9.ii, Cullen.

⁶⁸ Letter from Peter Randall to Beyers Naudé, June 29, 1972, A835, B9.ii, Cullen.

⁶⁹ “Memo to Spro-cas – from C.I. [Brian Brown],” May 16, 1973, A835, B9.i, Cullen and Letter from Bennie Khoapa to Peter Randall, Aug 1, 1973, A835, B9.i, Cullen, regarding assets acquired from Spro-cas by BCP. See also “Memo to all SPRO-CAS staff” from Khoapa, October 17, 1972, where Khoapa suggested that since the BCP was the most important program and attracting the money, Spro-cas phase out

the 1973 budget proposal, Khoapa reported that the BCP had outgrown its sponsorship by R10,000 in 1972. Taking into account new hires (for a planned Cape Town office), travel costs, and conference expenses, he predicted the budget would be R50,300 in 1973, an increase of twenty-five percent. Khoapa wrote that the original two-year program was “extremely unrealistic for the type of work we are now doing and hence alternative sources of sponsorship should be obtained for the envisaged expansion of work and for possible continuation of the project beyond 1973.” He believed they were doing the work most relevant to the black community and did not want to be “harnessed” by the lack of funds that the BCP may experience as part of Spro-cas.⁷⁰

More importantly, Khoapa argued for BCP independence on principle. Although the BCP operated with a great degree of autonomy under Spro-cas, the relationship was not bound to last very long. From the beginning Khoapa had pushed for black leadership. He made his autonomy as the director a condition for his involvement in Spro-cas. At a staff seminar, in early 1972, Spro-cas employees discussed the number of white staff compared to the number of black staff. It appears that Khoapa had raised the issue that aside from the BCP, the majority of the Spro-cas leadership was white (why SASO had rejected multi-racial student organizations in 1968/1969).⁷¹ In the middle of the year, Khoapa, Mafuna, and Biko met with the black advisory panels from Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban to discuss Spro-cas sponsorship. They wanted to “clean up some matters between BCP and the sponsors, particularly in the area of finance, control,

the white programs and devote the rest of the budget to the BCP. See also Randall, “SPRO-CAS: Motivations and Assumptions.”

⁷⁰ “Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973,” pp. 9-11.

⁷¹ “Report of the Spro-Cas Staff Seminar Held from May 26-27,” nd (but content suggests 1972), A835, C1, Cullen. The minutes state that Khoapa had to appoint his own staff and that the issue of race was only a PR issue because the programs were not integrated.

decision-making and future planning.”⁷² Khoapa wrote to Spro-cas in a memo that he felt the sponsors seemed to want to “program the action.” For him, this went beyond the role of sponsors who normally appoint a director and then leave the director to appoint “his” staff (original emphasis).⁷³ The advisory panel expressed similar feelings in their meeting. A Reverend by the name of McBride from Cape Town complained that “liberal organizations like CI [the Christian Institute] and SAIRR [South African Institute of Race Relations] etc. get money on our ticket (blacks) and very little of the money really filters through to the grass roots.”⁷⁴

By the end of 1972, Khoapa and the other BCP staff called for “a complete break” with Spro-cas.⁷⁵ In the budget proposal for the following year, Khoapa wrote that part of “the underlying rationale on which the BCP bases its approach is that in South Africa part of the problem is the extent to which blacks have been made to depend upon white energy, leadership, guidance and trusteeship for most things relating to the direction of social change.”⁷⁶ To be an authentic black organization as Black Consciousness would have it, to be sure their leadership and authority came entirely from the black community, independence from Spro-cas was imperative.

⁷² As quoted in Security Police, “Memorandum: Black Community Programmes,” sec. 33.

⁷³ “Memorandum from Mr. Khoapa on Sponsorship of SPRO-CAS,” A835, C1, Cullen.

⁷⁴ As quoted in Security Police, “Memorandum: Black Community Programmes,” sec. 34. The Cape Advisory Panel for Cape Town included Rev. McBride, Rev. Charles Albertyn and Merwyn Kemp. The police report also mentions criticism from the Cape Panel of the way the BCP operated. The panels wanted to conduct more programs themselves. Khoapa speculated in a phone interview on May 3, 2010, that McBride was more concerned about obtaining resources rather than the Black Consciousness principles he expressed at this meeting.

⁷⁵ “Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973,” p. 9.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

In the budget proposal for 1973, Khoapa called for an evaluation conference in late June 1973, when he predicted a “growing out” of Spro-cas would occur.⁷⁷ Throughout the beginning of 1973, discussions between the BCP staff and the Spro-cas sponsors about turning the BCP into its own company continued.⁷⁸ In the middle of the year, they settled the accounts⁷⁹ and on September 24, 1973, the BCP officially became a registered non-profit organization, a company limited by guarantee.

And yet, as a non-governmental and non-profit organization, the BCP still had to rely on funding from Spro-cas sponsors, multi-racial or liberal organizations run by white people, and foreign churches. This included the South African Council of Churches, but mostly European churches and organizations such as the World University Service based in Geneva, and the Dutch Interchurch Organization for Development Co-operation (ICCO).⁸⁰ These sources amounted to a large portion of the BCP’s income. The BCP had an estimated R200,000 in the bank alone when the government shut it down in

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷⁸ Letter from Bennie Khoapa to John Rees (regarding BCP joining SACC) 13 July 1973; Letter from John Rees to Bennie Khoapa (regarding setting up a trust for BCP) 4 April 1973; Letter from Bennie Khoapa to John Rees (explaining why BCP’s wants a separate trust) 10 April 1973, all in A835, B10.ii. BCP folder, Cullen; Letter from Beyers Naudé to Bennie Khoapa (regarding BCP’s proposal for autonomy) 8 March 1973, B10.ii, 1973 folder, Cullen; Letter from Peter Randall to Beyers Naudé, May 29, 1973, A835, B5, Cullen; and Letter from Beyers Naudé to Bennie Khoapa, March 8, 1973, A835, C9, Cullen.

⁷⁹ “Memo to Spro-cas – from C.I. [Brian Brown],” May 16, 1973, and Letter from Bennie Khoapa to Peter Randall, Aug 1, 1973, both from A835, B9.i, Cullen; Letter from ? to Bennie Khoapa (regarding Spro-cas finances) June 18 1973, A835, B9.ii, Cullen; Letter from Brian Brown to (regarding vehicle registration/licensing) April 10, 1973, Letter from Brian Brown to Peter Randall (regarding use of office after end of Spro-cas) May 25, 1973, and Letter from Bennie Khoapa to Peter Randall, July 13, 1973, acknowledging the receipt of financial statements from Spro-cas but wanting to meet with BCP panel to discuss them, all from A835, C9, Cullen.

⁸⁰ See above letters. Khoapa estimated that the BCP received more money than any other above-ground organization in South Africa at the time. Indeed, Tor Sellström indicated that donations to Black Consciousness organizations by the Nordic countries through church and non-governmental organizations increased over time, while the ANC’s aid remained relatively the same. See Tor Sellström, “Sweden and the Nordic Countries: Official Solidarity and Assistance from the West,” in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Volume 3, International Solidarity*, ed. SADET (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2008), pp. 471-476.

October 1977.⁸¹ A police memo reported a few months earlier that the BCP received R154,150 in 1974 from mostly international sources; R161,680 in 1975; and R70,041 in 1976, a year when the Soweto Uprisings, the death of Mapetla Mohapi (SASO leader and Zimele Trust Fund director), and detentions of many BCP staff members hindered BCP operations. From February to June it reportedly received R217,843.⁸²

The BCP's reliance on ecumenical or church sources for outside funding did not seem to spark debate beyond the fact that the BCP was not financially independent. Church and international sources of funding could have been considered non-controversial or safe since they came from a sector of society that could play a politically and racially neutral role (though activists very well understood that was not always the case). More controversial, the BCP also accepted funds from the Anglo American Special Chairman's Fund despite its contradictory source. As later chapters will show, accepting Anglo American funds aroused contention with the movement. Some, like the SASO leaders discussed in Chapter 1, resolved this contradiction by claiming they were accepting resources initially taken from Africans. Still the BCP was always uncomfortable with its dependence on outside funds and made plans to generate income on its own. Financial independence became urgent as state repression threatened to cut off the organization's international financial links. The BCP attempted to change its financial dependency in 1976 and 1977, in part by investing in a Cape Town clothing factory, but was shut down before this initiative got off the ground.

⁸¹ "R300 000 BCP assets seized," October 21, 1977, *Daily Dispatch*. Khoapa told Sam Nolutshungu that when the government shut down the BCP, it had a payroll of R66,000 for 50 permanent staff, a total operating budget of over R .5 million with assets of over R 1 million. With the home-industries and the garment factory in Cape Town, he estimated the BCP had 400 more employees. See Sam Nolutshungu, *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), p. 203.

⁸² Security Police, "Memorandum: Black Community Programmes," sec. 65-66 and 70.

Although it never reached financial independence, at least at the end of 1972, the BCP was ready to be completely free of white leadership. Spro-cas 2 ended in 1973 as originally planned. It hoped Spro-cas publications would continue to sell, but told their supporters that police harassment and financial pressures prevented them from continuing on. This would have also been difficult after the BCP, its major action program bringing in financial support, became autonomous. Peter Randall, Danie van Zyl, and Beyers Naudé founded Ravan Press at the end of 1972 to act as the printer for Spro-cas and the Christian Institute with the view of evolving into a full publishing house.⁸³ As one of his last actions as Spro-cas director, Randall sent all of Spro-cas's documents to the University of Witwatersrand's archives.

BCP Goes Local: The Unintended Consequences of State Repression

According to Khoapa, the BCP's independence from Spro-cas did not change the operations and funding of the organization. It was the other changes the year 1973 brought for the organization that had a profound impact on the direction it took. Just as *Black Review* headed to press in February, the apartheid government clamped down on Black Consciousness activists, banning nine SASO and BPC leaders including Steve Biko and Bokwe Mafuna. The state sent Biko to the King William's Town district in the Eastern Cape and restricted Mafuna to his home area in the Transvaal. Government banning orders were designed to render certain individuals politically ineffective. In addition to placing restrictions on their geographical movement, the state prohibited them

⁸³ See G.E. de Villiers, ed., *Ravan – Twenty five Years (1972-1997): A Commemorative Volume of New Writing* (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1997). See also Chapter 4 of this dissertation for more on Ravan Press and the BCP.

from meeting with more than one person at a time, taking part in certain organizations, and from being published or quoted. Khoapa (who was himself banned to Umlazi, southwest of Durban, in October of 1973) stated that this turned out to have positive implications for the BCP. Ironically, the challenges the bans brought expanded the BCP geographically, gave the BCP a greater sense of purpose, heightened activists' creativity, and involved more people. Whereas before February 1973, the BCP had viewed itself primarily as an enabler and facilitator on a national level, the banning orders pushed the organization to work at the local, grassroots level in different regions (the level that SASO had worked at). Activists and employees in these areas constantly battled the security police, but the BCP continued to adjust. It relied on young male and female activists, neighbors and friends, priests and parishes to run its local programs. The BCP also persisted in publishing *Black Review* and *Black Viewpoint* in order to communicate and "conscientize" the broader black community.

After their banning orders, the BCP field officers became directors of regional branches. Mafuna's restrictions did not have a geographical impact on the BCP since he already worked in the Transvaal. Biko, on the other hand was moved 348 miles away (560 km). Instead of letting Biko go, Khoapa remarked, "we were not employed for our brawn, we were employed for our brains." When Biko received his banning order, Khoapa said to him, "Well, you continue doing what you were thinking anyway, and what we will do is we'll provide you with the support that you need."⁸⁴ Some projects, such as the publications, could continue from any location. Work on *Black Review* continued at all offices, though the editor was based in the Eastern Cape. For the most

⁸⁴ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008. See also letter confirming Biko and Mafuna's continued employment, Letter to Bennie Khoapa from Beyers Naudé, March 8, 1973," A835, C9, Cullen.

part, the regional branches became intimately involved in their surrounding communities. According to Khoapa, the staff knew they eventually wanted to work in the Eastern Cape because of its poverty, but had not moved in that direction.⁸⁵ Ready or not, Biko's banning took them there.

The restrictions placed on BCP staff positioned the BCP to become an initiator of programs addressing specific problems in these local communities. The BCP reported that some black leaders had expressed concern that the resources and the potential of the BCP should be more effectively applied in preventing and correcting the social circumstances that caused the "crisis in human and racial relationships in our country" and in improving the lives of individuals and communities. Thus, "The months and years ahead," would see "a more deliberate application of our total organizational resources in these directions."⁸⁶ The BCP would move from facilitating and coordinating – approaches that had them traveling around the country – to doing the work themselves. According to Khoapa, being confined in local areas kept activists from wasting time in meetings in white suburbs, trying to get money and support, and allowed them to "apply a hundred percent of our energy to what mattered most which was our own program."⁸⁷ Biko wrote to Anglican Priest, Father Aelred Stubbs that bannings and police harassment

⁸⁵ Bennie Khoapa, interview by the author, November 3, 2008, Durban.

⁸⁶ BCP, "1973 Report." p. 11. They may have also had some pressure from donors to spend money "in the direction of alleviation of human needs in terms of their immediate conditions and social situation," as stated by Randall regarding a Church of Norway grant in Letter from Peter Randall to Beyers Naudé, June 29, 1972, A835, B9, Cullen.

⁸⁷ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

actually made the organization more stable because it unified the board of directors around this goal.⁸⁸

In the Eastern Cape and at the other offices, according to Malusi Mpumlwana, program assistant in the Eastern Cape, those involved with BCP programs did not have a grand strategy for setting up projects. They were simply guided by the principles of Black Consciousness and continued to work in the same way that they did in SASO projects, described in the previous chapter. With the BCP, they had access to greater financial resources and had learned from experience. For example, like his work on the New Farm project, Mpumlwana said he and Biko spent a lot of time listening and talking to people in local public places in Ginsberg which led them to establish a grocery coop.⁸⁹

This also meant that in the Eastern Cape, the BCP became involved in rural areas surrounding King William's Town. In answering the needs of those in neighboring villages, they approached development in the same way they did in townships or squatter camps, working with the people to build self-reliance – though it may have included slightly different projects such as teaching new gardening techniques and a more female constituency in rural homelands. Khoapa explained, “We said that we were working with our people wherever we find them.” They “could not possibly ignore people” living in extreme poverty in rural areas, he continued, but their approach to rural areas was “contained in our general philosophy of what development should be like,” so they did

⁸⁸ Aelred Stubbs, “Martyr of Hope,” in Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996), p. 166.

⁸⁹ Malusi Mpumlwana, phone interview by the author, December 20, 2008.

not classify communities as urban or rural.⁹⁰ For Peter Jones, there was no distinction in his mind between urban and rural development. The important aspects were whether people were organized and felt they had control over the project.⁹¹

Working within the confines of banning orders and local black communities, led the BCP to involve more people and be creative in drawing upon its personal contacts and local resources.⁹² Employees relied on both their network of activists and contacts as well as key people in local communities to run their health, economic, and educational projects. This included Indian, Coloured, and African activists, but because key employees were African, had been banned to African areas, and these areas tended to be the poorest, the BCP worked mostly with African communities. Many of those drawn into the work were young and had to quickly learn new skills. Yet, these youth were available and had an energy and fearlessness that helped the BCP succeed. Later chapters will also show how their respect for the people they worked with in the Zinyoka and Njwaxa villages helped them build good relationships between the BCP and local communities. Sympathetic and supportive clergy in each area provided moral support, land, and safe spaces to run projects.

If SASO failed to address women's issues and SASO women struggled to have a voice, the BCP did better. In part, this inclusion of women was because the BCP made an effort, but it mostly came as the BCP recruited people to help according to their skills and availability, especially in the aftermath of detentions. Including women in forming

⁹⁰ Bennie Khoapa, interview, October 8, 2009. Peter Jones similarly said that there was no distinction in his own mind between urban and rural development. Peter Jones, interview by the author, April 22, 2006, Athens, Ohio, USA.

⁹¹ Peter Jones, interview, April 22, 2006, (partly unrecorded). See also Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.

⁹² BCP, "1973 Report." p. 2. See also Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

programs was tagged onto Spro-cas' work at a planning meeting in 1971. Penciled in next to minutes that the Spro-cas methodologies should involve new people, were the words, "including women."⁹³ The BCP had some projects directed specifically at women. However, the women's division designed to build women's leadership, headed first by Daphne Mahlangu (former SASO student), then Adina Nobantu Ndamse (who ran a sewing project in Mthatha), did not amount to much.⁹⁴

In the regional offices, the BCP employed many women as office administrators, as well as program assistants, researchers, and project managers. For example, Daphne Mahlangu and Sam Moodley (Indian SASO student and Strini Moodley's first wife) were "professional" research and program assistants in the Durban office and Thoko Mpumlwana and Asha Rambally served as the editors of *Black Review*. Ramphele was the only woman to have a level of employment within the BCP as high as Branch Executive, but other women in the Eastern Cape headed projects, such as Vuyo Mpumlwana. Pumla Sangotsha, a social worker, managed the finances at Zanempilo. Many BCP employees claimed involving people was not about gender, but the worth of a person and what they could contribute.⁹⁵ Those who described BCP meetings said

⁹³ "Spro-Cas 2 Planning Meeting: 15-16 October 1971."

⁹⁴ Not much seems to have come of this – they did not create the leadership training center they said they would and Peter Jones said that he and Biko viewed the project in Mthatha as mediocre. Peter Jones, interview by the author, May 14, 2008, Somerset West. Ndamse was the wife/widow of a homeland politician who supported the BCP. Ramphele wrote about how she disagreed with Ndamse over the politics of homeland independence. Ramphele, *Across Boundaries* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1996), p. 103. Khoapa and Reverend Mcebisi Xundu, who worked for the BCP in the Transkei, explained that some tensions arose within the movement over working with the Ndamse's, but that this was seen as sort of an effort to gain a foothold in the Transkei and Xundu was supposed to keep a check on Ndamse. Bennie Khoapa, interview, November 3, 2008;

⁹⁵ See Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008; Malusi Mpulmwana, interview, December 20, 2008; and Thoko Mpumlwana, interview by the author, July 24, 2008, Pretoria.

everyone's contribution was valued and that Black Consciousness activists worked with all people, old and young, male and female.⁹⁶

Regional Branches

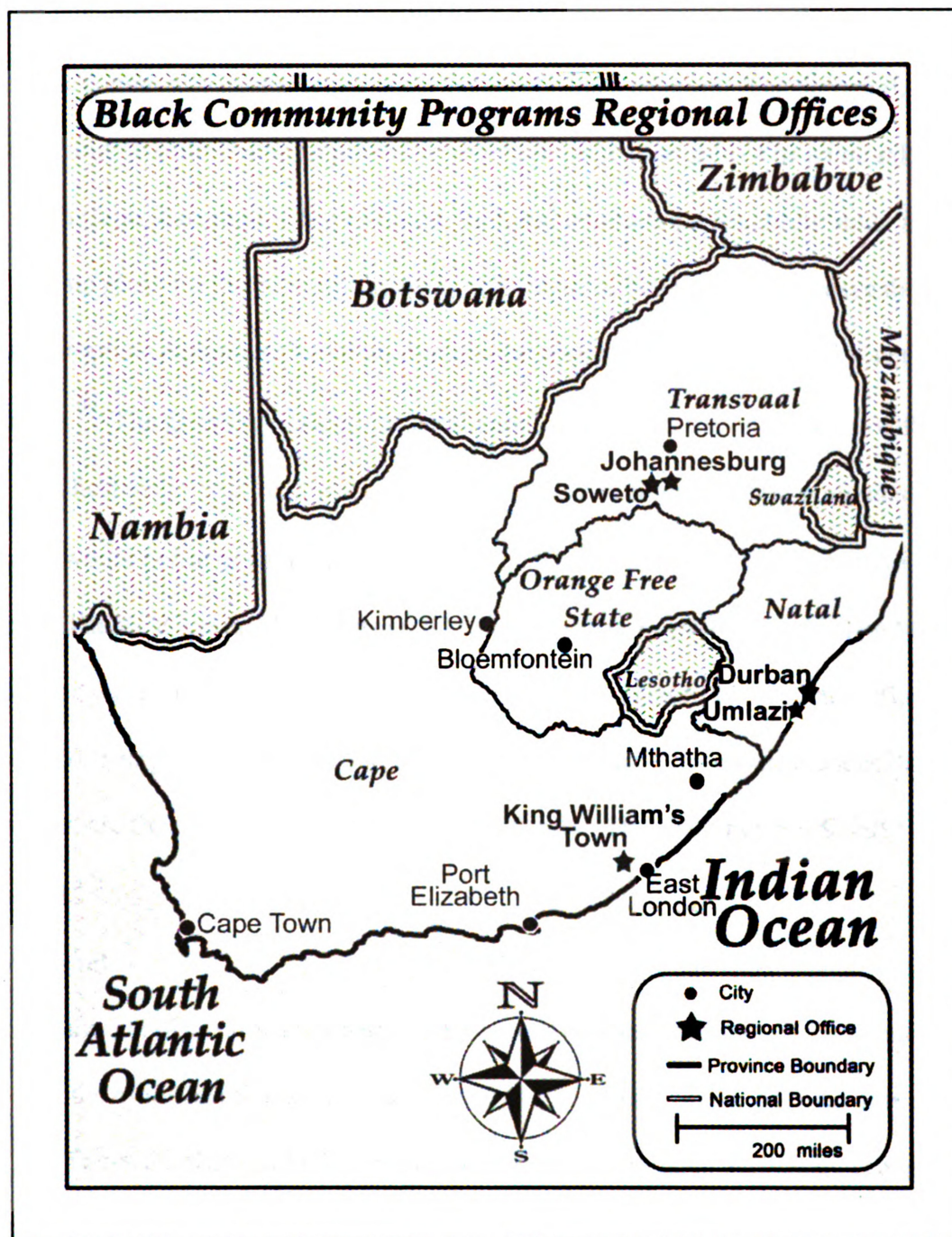
Durban-Natal

The BCP offices at 86 Beatrice Street first acted as both the national offices and the regional office for Natal. After 1973, it continued as the national headquarters, but also got involved in the community through a resource center and established a health center. The Beatrice office initially headed the publications, conference programs, and dealt with the finances and administration of the BCP, with Hester Joseph providing the administrative support to Khoapa. Before 1973, Biko worked out of the Durban office as a field officer and researcher. He helped coordinate conferences and youth programs⁹⁷ and edited *Black Review*. After the state sent Biko to the Eastern Cape, Khoapa assumed the position as editor and ran the national programs from Beatrice Street with the help of Joseph, Sam Moodley, and Daphne Mahlangu until October 1973, when he too was banned. After Khoapa's ban, the BCP secured office space in Umlazi where it developed a resource center as part of the Natal regional activities. This center was open for informal tutoring and served students, professional and self-help groups by holding a collection of newspapers, books and offering conference space to self-help and welfare organizations. In 1976 Reverend B.N.B. Ngidi took up the branch executive post. Mrs. N. Made oversaw the resource center.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ See for example, Luyanda ka Msumza, interview by the author and Lindani Ntente, December 2, 2008, Mdantsane, and Bennie Khoapa, interview, November 3, 2008.

⁹⁷ Resulting in the formation of the Natal Youth Organization and subsequent regional and national organizations.

⁹⁸ BCP Limited, "1976 Report," KG-Aluka. For more on resource centers, see Chapter 4.



Map 2: Black Community Programs Regional Offices

The resource center was virtually the only program until the BCP began building another community health center at the Adams College Mission. The Solempilo Community Health Center improved on the work and experience of its name sake in the Eastern Cape, Zanempilo. By 1976, the BCP had conducted a feasibility study and drawn up plans for the physical facilities. Professional black physicians gave their input on appropriate equipment to obtain, such as the correct size of forceps and water faucets.⁹⁹ The grounds included “experimental” or “demonstration” gardens with an animal husbandry section, a workshop, and a market stall for the extra programs the center would house in addition to the clinic.¹⁰⁰ The building was finished at the end of 1977. The BCP recruited two former SASO students from UNB – Dr. Sydney Moletsane and Dr. Chapman Palweni – as the head medical officer and resident doctor. They never assumed their posts, however. The BCP was shut down by the government as Palweni was enroute from Kimberly to Natal with his family. The clinic never officially opened.¹⁰¹

Transvaal

The Transvaal office was relatively weak because of state repression, but managed to also meet some of the health and economic needs of groups in Soweto. Mafuna opened the BCP’s Transvall office in 1972. He was joined by two program assistants, Tebogo Mafole and Daphne Mahlangu. The Black Worker’s Project, conducted in conjunction with SASO, was their first and main concern, along with research for the *Black Review*. The purpose of the Black Worker’s Project was to organize and “conscientize” black

⁹⁹ Bennie Khoapa, interview, November 3, 2008.

¹⁰⁰ BCP Limited, “Projects and People,” 1977, AAS20, UNISA; BCP Limited, “BCP 1976 Report,” pp. 6-7.

¹⁰¹ Chapman Palweni, interview by the author, November 11, 2008, Pretoria, South Africa.

workers. Mafuna and his assistants began by gathering information on different worker situations and held regional training and discussion seminars in preparation for establishing a Black Worker's Council.¹⁰² Police harassment quickly crippled the Transvaal office. After a three-month detention, Bokwe escaped with Mafole into exile in Botswana in September 1973 (with the initial goal of becoming part of the armed struggle).¹⁰³

The BCP struggled to fill the Transvaal positions and dropped the Black Worker's Project.¹⁰⁴ Once they found employees, the two main programs of the Transvaal office became a home industry centered around sewing and a mobile clinic. Sometime in 1974, Aubrey Mokoena took charge of the Transvaal office while studying through UNISA. He oversaw the sewing project in Soweto, run by Mantuka "Tiny" Maisela, a Fort Hare student who had been involved with the BCP and Border Council of Churches programs in the Eastern Cape. (This project also experimented in producing greeting cards in an African style using the skills of black artists.)

In 1976, the government dealt another blow to the Transvaal office when following the Soweto student uprisings, the state detained Mokoena along with eight other BCP staff members in other regions. To help manage the Transvaal branch, the BCP hired Ramsey Ramokgopa, a Sowetan native with ancestral ties to the Limpopo region. When Ramokgopa was approached by the BCP in 1976 to act as the branch

¹⁰² See "Black Worker's Project: A Proposal," and BCP "Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973."

¹⁰³ They found difficulty maneuvering in exile politics and Mafuna was banished from Botswana in 1978. Mafuna, "The Impact of Steve Biko on My Life," pp. 85-86.

¹⁰⁴ They wrote in 1973 that other groups – most likely referring to SASO – were carrying on the project so did not feel a need to pick it up again. BCP, "1973 Report."

executive, he was working with IBM as a systems engineer.¹⁰⁵ His sister-in-law, prominent female SASO member Deborah Matshoba, had introduced him to Black Consciousness circles. Ramokgopa also became a member of Soweto's Committee of Ten which aimed to restore local educational and health facilities damaged or destroyed in the violence during the Soweto student uprisings. Many white and Indian doctors refused to enter Soweto after police opened fire on students marching to Orlando Stadium on June 16, 1976. To provide needed health care, the BCP started a mobile clinic manned by voluntary doctors. Dr. Motlana, the head of the Committee of Ten and a board member of the BCP, donated a caravan to act as the clinic. Ramokgopa used his station wagon (the one Biko and Jones were driving when they were arrested in August, 1977) to drive the caravan to the Methodist Center in Jabavu.¹⁰⁶ There, people could receive care for free. Ramokgopa worked with the doctors in the area to draw up a volunteer schedule. Dr. Abu-Baker Asvat, a Black Consciousness-aligned Indian doctor who chose to work in Soweto following the uprisings, also donated medications.¹⁰⁷ On the weekends, the BCP took the clinic to Winterveld. It operated for roughly one year before the government shut it down along with other BCP programs in 1977.

Eastern Cape

Once Biko landed in King William's Town in February 1973, he established a BCP branch with the help of Malusi Mpumlwana. Biko and Mpumlwana initiated health,

¹⁰⁵ He had taught mathematics in Swaziland and returned to South Africa to do an advanced degree in physics. When his supervisor left for a sabbatical in Canada, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research that provided his scholarship cut off his funding. Ramsey Ramokgopa, interview by the author, November 10, 2008, Johannesburg.

¹⁰⁶ Where Black Theology proponent, Manas Buthelezi, was the head priest.

¹⁰⁷ Ramsey Ramokgopa, interview, November 10, 2008. Dr. Asvat was particularly involved in running community clinics, establishing one with Winnie Mandela in Brandfort. He became a top Azapo member leader and was tragically killed at his Soweto office in 1989.

educational, and economic projects in Ginsberg, Biko's township, and in nearby rural areas. In doing so, they listened to and worked with community members to meet their needs. Although the politically hostile environment made it a challenge to recruit help, Biko and Mpumlwana developed a network of allies and employees and made Eastern Cape branch became the most successful BCP branch. Activists gravitated towards the King William's Town for political reasons and community members and activists became integral to the projects, including both female activists and women in rural villages. Biko and Mpumlwana also gained a foothold in communities through local Anglican priests and personal connections with people who had particular resources, skills, and influence. This network of people helped the branch grow, along with long hours of hard work, self-teaching, and cunning evasion of the security police.

Biko's links to the Anglican Church proved extremely helpful in establishing the BCP in King William's Town. Biko's mother was a devout Anglican and well known by the clergy in the area.¹⁰⁸ Reverend David Russell was at the time living behind an old, unused Anglican Church on Leopold Street in King William's Town, where he worked under black Reverend James Gawe. Russell headed some of the Border Council of Churches welfare programs and concentrated on bringing attention to the plight of victims of forced relocation in Dimbaza. Gawe gave the BCP use of the Leopold Street church. A similar situation to the Beatrice Street offices emerged as SASO, headed by Mapetla Mohapi, was given offices there as well.

¹⁰⁸ Russell remembered walking to Ginsberg early in the morning to tell Biko's mother of her son's banning order. David Russell, interview by the author, May 15, 2008, Cape Town, South Africa.

15 Leopold Street became a hub for the black people in the area, Black Consciousness activists and political visitors.¹⁰⁹ In 1977, the BCP established a resource center there that brought in students, teachers, and other community members. They also sold some of the goods made at Njwaxa and other Border Council of Churches home industries. Visitors interested in discussing politics ranged from Donald Woods and Australian ambassador to South Africa, Bruce Haigh, to students and BPC members from around the country. The security police also frequented the office and routinely followed activists, one of the most notorious being L.L. Sebe's brother, Charles. They often searched the office premises and barged in to arrest or detain activists and employees. They also disguised at least one nighttime visit as criminal vandalism.¹¹⁰

The programs of the Eastern Cape branch fell into three different categories: health, educational, and economic. The major health initiative was the Zanempilo clinic and its outstations, the subject of Chapter 3. At Zanempilo, the BCP took a holistic approach to answering the needs of the community which resulted in a number of extra cooperative programs and health education. The clinic staff also extended its services to the revived Ginsberg Crèche, a program that straddled both education and health. The crèche had been sponsored initially by the government, but fell out of use in the late 1940s. In conversation with nurses at the Ginsberg clinic and through his own

¹⁰⁹ Charles Nqakula, "1(b): 15 Leopold Street," in *Umhlaba Wethu: A Historical Indictment*, ed. Mothobi Mutloatse (Braamfontein: Skotaville Publishers, 1987), pp. 21-24.

¹¹⁰ For more on the break-in of the offices in 1976 when Donald Card, a former security police officer, offered his opinion that General Hattingh was capable of such an act, Cornelius Thomas, *Tangling the Lion's Tale: Donald Card, from Apartheid Era Cop to Crusader for Justice* (East London: Donald Card, 2007), pp. 193-196 and Donald Card, interview with author, October 15, 2008, Gonubie, East London.

observations, Biko saw a great need for child daycare and helped revive the crèche.¹¹¹

The BCP contributed to staff salaries, advised a new controlling committee and provided free weekly medical visits by the Zanempilo clinic staff.

The resource center established at 15 Leopold Street (under the direction of Nomsa Williams from 1976) was one of the educational projects of the Eastern Cape Branch. The branch had attempted to also establish home education schemes in some of the townships for those who could not go to formal schools; but, this petered out. Biko had more success in reviving the Ginsberg Education Fund, a bursary program for students who had to finish their secondary education outside of Ginsberg (where there was no high school). Others remarked that part of the motivation for reviving this fund came from Biko's desire to do something for the community that had given him money to study for a medical degree he failed to receive.¹¹²

The most important economic initiative of the BCP was the Njwaxa leather-work factory, the subject of Chapter 5. Anglican priest and staff of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice, Father Timothy Stanton, initiated a small sewing project, taken over in 1974 and expanded by the BCP who could provide organizational structure, manpower, and management on a larger scale. The factory also benefited from Biko's contact with the owner of a local tannery. In Ginsberg, Biko and Mpumlwana set up a grocery cooperative. This economic program organized residents to buy food in bulk, allowing them to pay lower prices for their groceries than they would in local stores. Another economically-orientated program that Biko helped develop and Mapetla Mohapi

¹¹¹ Nomazotsho Nyakati Mcako and Nontsikilelo Biko, interview by the author, December 2, 2008, Ginsberg; Luyanda ka Msumza, interview, December 2, 2008.

¹¹² See for example, Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.

took over, was the Zimele Trust Fund. The idea for this fund grew out of the Border Council of Churches' Dependent's Conference designed to give relief to the dependents of political prisoners. Biko felt a more effective way to help this group would be to use the funds to boost the political prisoners' self-reliance. The Zimele Trust Fund covered the initial start-up costs for income-generating projects in addition to education funds or other support of family members. For example, the first project at Dimbaza was a brick-making scheme.

BCP employees at the Eastern Cape also worked on the *Black Review*. People from different BCP branches and other volunteers (mostly SASO students) helped with research and writing of the publication wherever they were. Sometimes the main work was done in Durban, but the editorial team was mostly based in King William's Town. The editor changed from year to year, depending on who was available (not banned or detained) and whose name could appear as the editor. Thoko Mpumlwana (née Mbanjwa), a university student from the nearby Zwelitsha township, served as the editor of the 1974/1975 issue while based in King William's Town.

Like the other BCP branches, police repression and limited funds, forced the BCP to rely on willing and available young adults and trusted personal contacts. Soon after Biko was banned to the King William's Town district, he was joined by Malusi Mpumlwana. Born in Qumbu, about 30 miles (or 50 km) from Mthatha, Mpumlwana grew up in the rural Transkei as well as Mthatha and East London. His father and grandfather had taken part in the Ethiopian Anglican movement in the Transkei. Growing up with this tradition, he was attracted to SASO which stressed the need for black people to believe in their worth and potential as human beings and to work separate

from white leadership. “Pamphleteering” Fort Hare Students first exposed him to the philosophy when he was a high school student at St. John’s college in Mthatha. He then became heavily involved with SASO as a UNB medical student, until he too was expelled for his activism and supposed poor academic performance in 1972.

In 1973, Mpumlwana worked as an organizer for SASO. He went to King William’s Town to help Biko “settle down,” “help him identify people he could work with, and just basically try and set him up,” so that he could work within the confinements of the banning order. He had planned to stay for a short period of two weeks, but police harassment did not encourage people to “easily step up to be associated with us,” or “suddenly just be available to do this kind of thing.”¹¹³ Despite these difficulties, Mpumlwana said that a number of people became good allies, including their office neighbors, the Border Council of Churches (under David Russell and later Reverend Temba Sibeko).

Many of the young men and women who came to King William’s Town to work for the BCP were activists, like Malusi Mpumlwana. In reference to Njwaxa, he said, “there was a number of people just coming in and learning what they can learn and imparting what they can impart.”¹¹⁴ Many were connected to the activists in intimate ways. Ramphele, who initially came to the area to be near Biko (with whom she had two children), served as the head medical officer of Zanempilo. She was later joined by Solombela, Palweni, and Moletsane, all former UNB medical students. The BCP recruited Malusi Mpumlwana’s sister, Vuyo Mpumlwana to head the Njwaxa project and Biko’s brother-in-law, Mxolisi Mvovo, served as sales manager. Nohle Mohapi, the wife

¹¹³ Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

of Mapetla Mohapi, worked as the branch secretary. Others who were hired as nurses or brought in as managers became political through their involvement.¹¹⁵ Despite difficulties at first in gaining community support, activists also found allies in some respected leaders or elders in the communities who gave them credibility, such as Benjamin Tyamzashe in Zinyoka. Church connections proved valuable in this regard as well.

By the end of 1976, the BCP Eastern Cape Branch had secured a staff of over thirty people and was running the more successful BCP programs.¹¹⁶ Some of these people assumed certain positions or came to King William's Town because of police action. Ramphele took over Biko's role as Branch Executive when the police restricted Biko from working with the BCP in 1975. Peter Jones moved to the Eastern Cape in 1976 to help with the BCP's financial books and assumed the position of branch manager when Ramphele was banished to Tzaneen in 1977. Biko recruited Palweni to work at the clinic after the police detained Ramphele and Solombela in 1976. Mapetla Mohapi recruited Voti Samela for his leatherwork expertise after Vuyo Mpumlwana left because of police harassment.

Aside from Ndamse's sewing project in Mthatha, Eastern Cape projects did not target women; however, because of the demographics of the area and the needs of the communities, the projects addressed issues particularly affecting women. In both Zinyoka and Njwaxa, the migrant labor system generally resulted in the absence of most of the middle-aged men in the villages. Women were left in poverty to raise their

¹¹⁵ Such as nurse Nontobeko Moletsane, ambulance driver and clerk, Mziwoxolo Ndzengu, and Njwaxa manager, Voti Samela.

¹¹⁶ BCP, "1975 Report," AAS20 UNISA; BCP Limited, "BCP 1976 Report." This number does not include the employees of the Njwaxa factory.

children. In responding to the needs of the people in the area, the BCP could not help but work with women. Women comprised the majority of the factory employees, child birth and maternity care made up a great proportion of Zanempilo's work, the clinic staff established a women's craft group and taught local women budgeting and gardening techniques. The programs aimed to empowered women in the villages and the involvement of women in running the programs most likely changed the way both women and men viewed women.

The following chapters focus on how black activists carried out these projects, the relationships they had, the resources they used, how they dealt with the security police and the impact they had on the communities where they worked. Zanempilo and Njwaxa were the major, successful, health and economic programs of the BCP, while *Black Review* was its major publication, intended to communicate with and educate black audiences, and give them theoretical and practical tools to change their situation. All of the case studies in this dissertation give further insights into the working of the BCP and the praxis of Black Consciousness.

Conclusion

The emerging Black Consciousness movement, ecumenical, white-English speaking Christian activism, state action against the movement, and young activists with their social connections all shaped the Black Community Programs organization. Ironically, so-called white liberals provided the initial structure for this Black Consciousness organization focused first on coordinating, facilitating, and communicating to develop black self-reliance and affect a psychological change within the broader black

community. Churches – but also international organizations and the Anglo American Chairman's Fund – continued to fund the BCP. This was a pragmatic relationship for activists that the BCP tried to move away from as it worked to establish its financial independence. In response to government bans on its employees in 1973 and repeated police harassment and detentions, the BCP shifted to work more intimately with local communities and involved more people. The overarching goals and strategy of empowering black people both psychologically and materially by working with them to build self-reliance guided the BCP in local urban and rural areas. In the Natal, Transvaal, and Eastern Cape regional offices, BCP employees relied on the resources available to them, fellow young male and female activists, former UNB students, churches and supportive priests, and familial or neighborhood contacts to establish health, economic, and education programs.

In August of 1977, Biko and Jones took a trip in Ramokgopa's station wagon, out of Biko's banning area, to hold political meetings with leaders of the Unity Movement in Cape Town. On their way back through the Eastern Cape, on the evening of August 18, the police stopped Biko and Jones at a roadblock outside of Grahamstown and detained them under Section 6 of the 1967 Terrorism Act. In the following weeks, security police interrogated the two men at their headquarters in Port Elizabeth about their alleged involvement in distributing "subversive" pamphlets in the area. Jones was released 533 days later in February 1979, after solitary confinement and torture. Biko died in a prison hospital in Pretoria on September 12, 1977, after suffering brain damage sustained by brutal police interrogation, inadequate medical care, and inhumane treatment.

As one of the BCP's main drivers, Biko's death significantly affected the organization. For Khoapa, it was a very confusing time, not only organizationally, but personally.¹¹⁷ Biko's death was a symbol of the political climate of the time and a prelude to the death of contemporary Black Consciousness organizations. Just under two weeks after Biko's funeral, on October 17, James Thomas Kruger, then Minister of Justice, signed an order declaring the BCP illegal with all other Black Consciousness-associated bodies, including the Christian Institute, youth organizations, and the *World* newspaper. The leaders of those organizations, such as Beyers Naudé and Peter Randall, also received banning orders. On October 19, the government proceeded to close all of the BCP offices in a calculated move. They confiscated all of the BCP's documents, assets, and materials. Except for some of the employees at the Zanempilo clinic (which was taken over by the government), all the BCP employees lost their jobs and the projects were shut down. The details of how this played out and the histories of the Zanempilo Community Health Center, *Black Review*, and the Njwaxa Leather-work Factory feature in the next chapters.

¹¹⁷ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

Chapter 3

Zanempilo Community Health Center: Bringing Health to Zinyoka

In the rural village of Zinyoka, in the Eastern Cape, the Black Consciousness approach to development led the BCP to create an innovative community health center called Zanempilo,¹ which addressed more than just the physical health of the village and also served surrounding areas. As with all BCP initiatives, Zanempilo developed according to the activists' philosophy, training and experience, but also had to deal with what happened on the ground – the contradictory realities they dealt with in terms of the needs of the communities, their connections, resources, and limitations. For example, the BCP funded Zanempilo with money from foreign churches and one of the richest and most powerful white-owned corporations in South Africa: Anglo American. Activists also encountered opposition within the village from local leaders, and police repression against the BCP adversely influenced the operation of the clinic. Still, Zanempilo had a profound impact on the lives of Zinyoka residents. The high level of health care and extra programs offered at Zanempilo improved the health, self-worth, and economic status of the community. Zanempilo also contributed to changing perceptions of the abilities of black women and the aspirations of educated, professional youth.

After describing the status of black South African health and health care and why Black Consciousness activists became health care providers, the chapter analyzes the establishment of Zanempilo. As in SASO's training in Freire's methods by Ann Hope, Zanempilo benefitted from the resources of a white South African woman.

¹ Zanempilo was officially named a 'Community Health Center,' representing its broader aims. I use the more widely used colloquial word and current name – clinic or *ikliniki* – for convenience.

Funding from Angela Mai allowed the BCP to build the clinic. In building and running the clinic, Biko and others relied on their connections with the Anglican Church, fellow activists, friends, and neighbors. These connections proved important in gaining inroads into the village where the BCP clashed with local authorities. As the chapter examines the dynamics of BCP–Zinyoka relations, it also charts how the clinic expanded its services and included economic and educational programs to address the causes of ill-health in the village. Due to the demographics of the region, Zanempilo primarily served women, both in its health and extra programs. This, and the fact that most clinic employees were women – including the head medical officer – made the clinic a predominantly female space. The work of women at the clinic had the unintended consequence of changing perceptions of gender, empowered village women with wage earning opportunities, and bolstered their sense of self-worth.

The chapter mainly relies on oral history interviews of Zinyoka residents and former staff who remembered the camaraderie and resources the clinic offered. Residents did not take part in the political meetings held at Zanempilo, but saw how homeland leaders cared more about political power than their health. This context contributed to the good relations between BCP staff and Zinyoka residents. In Zinyoka, the Black Consciousness movement was comprised of young, educated people driven by a deep commitment to serve and improve the health, economic self-reliance, and sense of self-worth of black people. In this way, Black Consciousness in practice gave a “more human face” to health care in addition to bringing health to the people.²

² The “more human face” phrase comes from the oft quoted conclusion to Biko’s essay, “Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity,” found in any version of *I Write What I Like*: “We have set out on a quest for true humanity, and somewhere on the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize. Let us march forth with courage and determination, drawing strength from our common plight and our brotherhood. In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible – a more human face.”

Black Consciousness, Health, and the politics of Health Care

The genealogy of Zanempilo had its roots in SASO's emphasis on health in most of its community development projects. It is not surprising, then, that every regional branch of the BCP also had a clinic or community health center. This relationship between health initiatives and Black Consciousness did not develop because of something within this philosophy that was specific to health or healing, but came from the broader goals of the activists, their approach to development, and the fact that Biko and many others were medical students at the University of Natal—Black Section (UNB). SASO students in medical school focused on health because they sought to serve their communities according to their skills and education and answer a need of their people. Black Consciousness activists also took a holistic approach to community development, thus were concerned about primary and community health care for black South Africans along with psychological liberation and economic self-reliance.

As Chapter 1 explained, SASO members (particularly its leaders) felt it important to identify with black communities and look for ways to use their skills to uplift communities. Health projects made up a major part of their work because many SASO members were medical students. The University of Natal medical school, Black section (UNB) was the only place in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s where black students could train in medicine and played a key role in the development of Black Consciousness. UNB students naturally formed a SASO strong-hold with Steve Biko and his classmates among the first advocates of SASO and Black Consciousness. Volunteering on the weekends at the Happy Valley clinic in Wentworth, the nearby Coloured community, became a part of student culture at

UNB.³ Students also volunteered at a clinic in Inanda, an African township, and New Farm (near the Indian settlement of Phoenix). Other major projects such as Winterveldt in the Transvaal (discussed in Chapter 1) included clinic and health education work. Malusi Mpumlwana explained that if it seemed Black Consciousness activists engaged in health projects more than others, it was simply because there were more medical students and nursing students in SASO than others. In general, “It didn’t matter if you are a legal professional, that’s where you contribute, if you are a health professional, that’s where you contribute. If you are a social worker, if you’re a psychologist, you give what you have. If you are a nurse, you are a community nurse.” This ethos carried over into the BCP. Mpumlwana continued, “It just so happened that in the case of Black Community Programs, which is where we were in King William’s Town... Steve [Biko] himself had been a medical student. And there he was. And his girlfriend, Mamphela [Ramphela], was a medical graduate.”⁴

Often, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, medical students chose to be nurses or doctors because as young, black people, that was one of the limited options for top students seeking a profession.⁵ Dr. Sydney Moletsane said that as a bright student, “either I would be a lawyer or a doctor. Those were the top maybe popular positions to go for. Rather than being a lawyer, I decided to be a doctor.”⁶ Although many of these students had little money, they were able to go to the UNB medical school

³ On the role of the UNB in the beginnings of Black Consciousness and student projects in nearby clinics, see Vanessa Noble, “Doctors Divided: Gender, Race and Class Anomalies in the Production of Black Medical Doctors in Apartheid South Africa, 1948-1994” (PhD diss, University of Michigan, 2005), pp. 135-142.

⁴ Malusi Mpumlwana, phone interview by the author, December 20, 2008. As will be discussed below, it made sense to include Ramphela in drawing up the plans for the clinic and to head the clinic because of her expertise, but recruiting her also allowed her to be closer to Biko. Biko’s wife, Nontsikelelo Mashalaba was a nurse. After he was banned to the King William’s Town district, she worked at the St. Matthews hospital in Keiskammahoek and gained experience in rural health care.

⁵ Noble, “Doctors Divided,” pp. 76-80; Vuyo Mpumlwana, interview by the author, October 3, 2008, Mthatha.

⁶ Dr. Sydney Moletsane, interview by the author, November 4, 2008, Port Shepstone.

because of their educational opportunities and their academic achievements.⁷ While they may have entered medical school because they had few other choices and hoped to elevate their economic status, SASO students, once converted to Black Consciousness, began to view their education as giving them needed skills to uplift poor black communities.

Furthermore, it was this commitment to serve their people rather than the type of medical education that led these activists to focus on primary and preventive community health care.⁸ The education medical students received at UNB in the late 1960s and 1970s did not aim to inspire the students to make careers of social medicine. Shula Marks, Alan Jeeves, Derek Yach and Steve Tollman, and Vanessa Noble, among others, have written about the radical movement in social medicine that emerged in the early 1940s in South Africa to extend effective health care to all. The hallmarks of this movement were the 1942-1944 Gluckman Commission and the community health center experiments that recognized the impact of social and economic conditions on health and sought to establish integrative curative, preventive, and promotive (education) health care services. Doctors Sydney and Emily Kark headed the pioneering Pholela Health Center in southwestern Natal, where they took a comprehensive approach. The Karks focused on family health, careful data collection and social science research, de-emphasized medical specialization and technical hospital care, trained local black health assistants, and tried to cooperate with

⁷ Government scholarships also aided many, as discussed in Chapter 1.

⁸ This is the sort of commitment that also motivated early politically involved, black doctors, such as Alfred Xuma to extend health care to their people in townships and rural areas (from the late 1920s). Anne Digby, "Early Black Doctors in South Africa," *Journal of African History* 46, no. 3 (November 2005): 427-454; Welcome Siphamandla Zondi, "Medical Missions and African Demand in KwaZulu-Natal, 1836-1918" (PhD diss., Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2000); Alfred B. Xuma, "Native Medical Practitioners," *The Leech* (November 1933): 12-14.

traditional healers.⁹ In 1949, Sydney Kark also established the Institute of Family and Community Health at Clairwood, to train community health workers, which merged in 1956 with the Department of Preventive Family and Community Medicine (established a few years earlier) at the University of Natal.¹⁰

A lack of political will by the Smuts government, hostility from the wider medical profession, and the imposition of apartheid meant that by the time the first SASO generation of medical students arrived at UNB, the national social medicine movement of the 1940s and 1950s had dissipated.¹¹ South African medical education focused on curative care in urban hospitals with little attention to community or social medicine. This seems to have been true for nursing students (although Nontobeko Moletsane remembered practical field trips to economic and agricultural projects as

⁹ See for example, Shula Marks, "South Africa's Early Experiment in Social Medicine: Its Pioneers and Politics," *American Journal of Public Health* 87, no. 3 (March 1997): 452-459; Alan Jeeves, "Health, Surveillance and Community: South Africa's Experiment with Medical Reform in the 1940s and 1950s," *South African Historical Journal* 43, no. 1 (November 2000): 244-266; Alan Jeeves, "Delivering Primary Health Care in Impoverished Urban and Rural Communities: The Institute of Family and Community Health in the 1940s," in *South Africa's 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities*, ed. Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005), 87-107; Howard Phillips, "The Grassy Park Health Centre: A Peri-Urban Pholela?," in *South Africa's 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities*, ed. Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005), 108-128; Vanessa Noble, "A Medical Education with a Difference: A History of the Training of Black Student Doctors in Social, Preventive and Community-Oriented Primary Health Care at the University of Natal Medical School, 1940s-1960," *South African Historical Journal* 61, no. 3 (September 2009): 550-574; Steve Tollman and Derek Yach, "Public Health Initiatives in South Africa in the 1940s and 1950s: Lessons for a Post-Apartheid Era," *American Journal of Public Health* 83, no. 7 (July 1993): 1043-1050; Neil Andersson and Shula Marks, "Industrialization, Rural Health, and the 1944 National Health Services Commission in South Africa," in *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 131-161; Cedric de Beer, *The South African Disease: Apartheid Health and Health Services* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1986).

¹⁰ The department was founded in 1951. Noble quotes two former UNB students who graduated in the late 1950s and fondly remembered Dr. Sydney Kark's approach to health care. See Noble, "Doctors Divided," pp. 88-89. See also Noble, "A Medical Education with a Difference" and Jeeves, "Delivering Primary Health Care." On the debates about training health assistants, see Karin A. Shapiro, "Doctors or Medical Aids – The Debate over the Training of Black Medical Personnel for the Rural Black Population in South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (January 1987): 234-255.

¹¹ By 1960, all of the nearly forty experimental community health centers had been reduced to mere clinics, the University of Natal departments were closed, and the Karks left South Africa for Israel. See Shula Marks, "South Africa's Early Experiment in Social Medicine: Its Pioneers and Politics."

part of her training at King Edward VIII hospital in the early 1960s).¹² SASO students supplemented their education with what historian Vanessa Noble calls their own “extra-curricular political education” that included a program of community service. Aside from this addition to their education, however, SASO students believed in their training in western medicine. Despite the Black Consciousness call to embrace black or African values, doctors and nurses who worked for the BCP said they did not incorporate African traditional healing practices in their work. As they would later at Zanempilo, they took some general ideas about how to view patients in their “totality” from traditional practices, but otherwise practiced the western medicine they learned in school (see discussion below).¹³

Black Consciousness activists volunteered in clinics and devised projects to improve community health to address the poor health and lack of access to health care of the majority of black South Africans. Infant mortality rates, often used as an indicator of a society’s health, are unreliable and spotty (African births and deaths were not all registered); yet, estimates and available statistics regarding the number of doctors and health facilities indicate an extreme discrepancy between the health of white and black South Africans. Africans, especially those in rural areas, suffered the most. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, the infant mortality rate for white South Africans decreased from 30 per 1,000 births, to 21.¹⁴ Estimates for the infant mortality rate for Africans in the same period ranged from 140 to 180, with an estimate

¹² Novayi Jekwa, interview by the author, March 13, 2008, Beacon Bay, East London; Xoliswa Qodi Nqangweni, interview by the author, November 23, 2008, Bhisho; and Nontobeko Moletsane, interview by the author, May 22, 2008, Amalinda. Moletsane trained slightly earlier than the other nurses and was the only one to remember these things.

¹³ Sydney Moletsane, interview, November 4, 2008, and Dr. Siyolo Solombela, interview by the author, May 25, 2008, Bonnie Doon, East London.

¹⁴ See South African Institute of Race Relations, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations), years 1960-1978.

of 250 in the rural Ciskei in the early 1980s.¹⁵ This inequality in health and health care resulted in large part from the policies and ideologies of apartheid South Africa and explains why at the same time the country could boast of the first successful open heart surgery performed at Groote Schuur in Cape Town in 1967, the majority of the population suffered from diseases of malnutrition, gastro-enteritis, or easily prevented communicable diseases such as tuberculosis.¹⁶

Activists knew the grim state of health and health care for black South Africans from personal experience and community work. Few doctors, black or white worked in rural areas (2% of all doctors worked in the homelands in 1972¹⁷); people were forced to travel to clinics or urban hospitals which did not have adequate space, equipment, and supplies; and structural poverty led to high rates of malnutrition. Malusi Mpumlwana remembered the serious lack of dental care for black people in Mthatha during the early 1960s, when there were no African dentists in the homelands. The white dentist was available only for whites, except for twice a week – on Mondays and Thursdays – when the dentist saw a limit of fifteen black patients at the local hospital. It did not matter how many people waited or needed care, the

¹⁵ Jeffrey Butler, Robert I. Rotberg, and John Adams, *The Black Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1977), p. 132; South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey*, p. 241; Saldru Community Health Project, *Health and Health Services in the Ciskei*, Saldru Working Papers No. 54 (Cape Town: Saldru, 1983), p. 35; Les Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), p. 340.

¹⁶ Groote Schuur saw this contradiction of medical care manifested even within the hospital. See Anne Digby and Howard Phillips, *At the Heart of Healing: Groote Schuur Hospital 1938-2008* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2008), Chapter 3. The high rates of infant mortality and the prevalence of diseases such as tuberculosis and kwashiorkor (a disease of malnutrition in children) were not addressed adequately by the state because it did not acknowledge structural and developmental problems. For example, see Randall M. Packard, *White Plague, Black Labor: Tuberculosis and the Political Economy of Health and Disease in South Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). See also Diana Wylie, *Starving on a Full Stomach: Hunger and the Triumph of Cultural Racism in Modern South Africa* (Charlottesville; London: University Press of Virginia, 2001), for more on how cultural and political racism influenced how poverty (and hunger) developed among black South Africans.

¹⁷ Digby, "Early Black Doctors in South Africa," p. 445.

dentist only saw fifteen. Mpumlwana described how people dealt with these circumstances:

From across all the villages of Mthatha you knew that your chances – it's like a lotto. And if you were not there, if you're there as number sixteen, you [had lost]. Now, of course... people slept there the day before. This is Sunday – there is no public transport – you'll find a way anyway to get there and arrive late in Sunday afternoon to discover that you are number sixteen. You've got no way of going back to your village [at that time]... [so, you'll wake up] in the morning and go back and try to arrive on Thursday or come back on another day. That was the lot of black people at the time.¹⁸

Black people across South Africa would have had similar experiences, though conditions varied for Coloured, Indian and African people, according to the country's racial hierarchy. The delivery of health care in many ways was “dominated by the principle of racial segregation.”¹⁹ For example, the ratio of doctors to people for each racial category demonstrates the glaring disparities in health care services available to South Africans. In 1972, the doctor population ratio estimate for white people was 1:400. It was more than double for Indians at 1:900, while for those categorized as Coloured, it was 1:6,200. For Africans, the ratio was 1:44,400 – that is 44,000 more people per doctor than the white population.²⁰ With 111 times more Africans than white people per doctor, accesses to care by doctors of one's own race and opportunities for training were clearly heavily weighted in favor of the white population. *Black Review 1973* reported, “That section of the population which ‘[suffered] from the diseases of comfort and over-eating’ enjoy the privilege of five medical schools,” but the black population that suffered from “malnutrition and poverty” could only train at UNB, which would explain why the doctor-patient ratio

¹⁸ Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.

¹⁹ Director-General of the World Health Organization, *Health Implications of Apartheid in South Africa* ([S.I.]: United Nations, Dept. of Political and Security Council Affairs, 1975), p. 8.

²⁰ Mafika Pascal Gwala, ed., *Black Review 1973* (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1974), p. 14; South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey, 1972* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1973).

was so high. There were “no black dentists,” (though some were in training) and only ten African pharmacists.²¹ Black nurses, trained in greater numbers in the 1960s and 1970s, often constituted the front line of health care in black communities, particularly in rural areas.²²

Access to health care and facilities depended on a person’s geographic location as well as race. Despite earlier experiments in establishing community health centers in rural areas, in the late 1960s and 1970s the South African government focused more on building the capacity of urban hospitals, especially for white people, that offered curative medicine with high-tech equipment, such as the Groote Schuur hospital.²³ Private practices and hospitals also centered around urban areas where those with the means – white people – could access them easily. In 1965, there were 85 hospitals in all of the homelands with a total of 13,600 beds, as opposed to 21,953 beds available for white people.²⁴ In 1972, the Institute of Race Relations reported the ratio of hospital beds as ten beds per 1,000 white people. This ratio was almost half for “blacks” at 5.57 beds.²⁵ In 1980, the Baragwanath hospital in Soweto was short 2,300 beds of the estimated 5,000 needed.²⁶ The ratio of beds to population was

²¹ *Black Review* 1973, pp. 13-14.

²² In the homelands in 1972, African nurses and midwives numbered 10,725; a reported fifty-four doctors worked in the homelands. This included nine African doctors. South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey*, 1973, p. 351. The nursing profession opened for black nurses at the time of the South African War to relieve white nurses from caring for black patients. The racial segregation of health care providers and patients was codified in apartheid law. Shula Marks, *Divided Sisterhood: Race, Class, and Gender in the South African Nursing Profession* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994).

²³ Digby and Phillips, *At the Heart of Healing*, pp. 44-47. Much of the public health care was still uncoordinated and under the control of provincial governments; private practices and specialists thrived as competition.

²⁴ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey*, 1965, p. 284..

²⁵ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey*, 1973, p. 352. See also *Survey* 1972, p. 409, which gives these figures: 1:95 whites; 1:184 blacks.

²⁶ de Beer, *The South African Disease*, p. 36.

worse in the homelands with 3.48 beds per 1,000 people in 1973.²⁷ These numbers do not include other factors limiting the access to adequate health care including transportation, available personnel, the quality of equipment and medicine, and money needed to pay for transportation or services.

The health of homeland residents was directly related to their economic status. Black South Africans in homelands suffered from the effects of migrant labor, decreased agricultural sustainability, unequal economic development, unemployment and state neglect of basic services. These factors all contributed to a high incidence of tuberculosis, typhoid, and kwashiorkor and marasmus (diseases of malnutrition among children). Dr. Trudi Thomas, a medical officer at the St. Matthews mission hospital in Keiskammahoek who produced studies on the incidence and recovery rate of kwashiorkor in the early 1970s, vehemently argued that migrant labor caused rural poverty and social disruption, which particularly affected the health of children without supporting fathers.²⁸ Women also suffered disproportionately. For decades, the homelands or “Native Reserves” served as a cheap labor pool for white South Africa. Young men from as early as sixteen, and middle-aged men, left their families to work in mines on the Rand or in big cities, only to return once or twice a year. Wives, children, and the aged (termed “redundant labor” by the apartheid government) left behind relied on the wages of absent family members. This money was often sent intermittently or spent on girlfriends, or second wives and families men had in urban centers. There were virtually no jobs in the homelands and most people

²⁷ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey*, 1973, p. 352.

²⁸ In a study she conducted in the rural Ciskei she found that 60% of malnourished children had not been born within marriage; 80% had been deserted by their fathers, most of whom were working in the cities, but did not support their children; 80% well-nourished children had been born to married parents and were supported by fathers; 50% of well-nourished children born to married parents were supported by fathers. Trudi Thomas, *The Children Of Apartheid: A Study of the Effects of Migratory Labour on Family Life in the Ciskei* (London: Africa Publications Trust, 1974), pp. 17-18.

could not support themselves through farming. If the wages from migrant family members did not materialize, the rural poor in the homelands survived with the help of other family members, meager pensions, or charity.

Stark poverty was one strike against the health of homeland residents. State neglect of health care provision was another. Rural clinics were few and far between and lacked medical supplies and personnel, particularly doctors. Mission stations (numbering 85 in the homelands in 1965 and increasing to 93 in 1973²⁹) provided hospitals in rural areas, but relied on government subsidies in the face of financial trouble and were for the most part taken over by the government beginning in 1973.³⁰ In the Ciskei, where Biko would take the BCP, the material conditions were as bad as in the other homelands. Letisha Nonkululeko Dubula, a community health worker in Dimbaza recruited by the BCP to work at Zanempilo, said that in the 1970s, “in the villages, there [were] no clinics.”³¹ Government records and a Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) study show that Dubula was right. Clinics were scattered ten to twenty miles from each other, requiring some patients to walk long distances for care, a seemingly insurmountable feat for some, especially pregnant women about to give birth. Patients would often find only two nurses at the clinics (instead of the stipulated eight³²) and would rarely see a doctor. Even in 1980 in the Ciskei, after an initiative to build more clinics, there were only eighty-one clinics (ninety if mobile clinics and sub-clinics are included) and five

²⁹ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey, 1965*, p. 284, and *1973*, p. 351.

³⁰ Mission hospitals, as with education, provided this social service in the rural areas where the government or private practice did not go. When the national government began to take over provincial hospitals and consolidate homeland governments, it took over the mission hospitals in preparation for the establishment of homeland departments of health. Radikobo Ntsimane of the University of KwaZulu-Natal's School of Religion and Theology is currently studying the history of mission hospitals. See also, Zondi, “Medical Missions and African Demand.”

³¹ Letisha Nonkululeko Dubula, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenteni, August 8, 2008, Tamara Location.

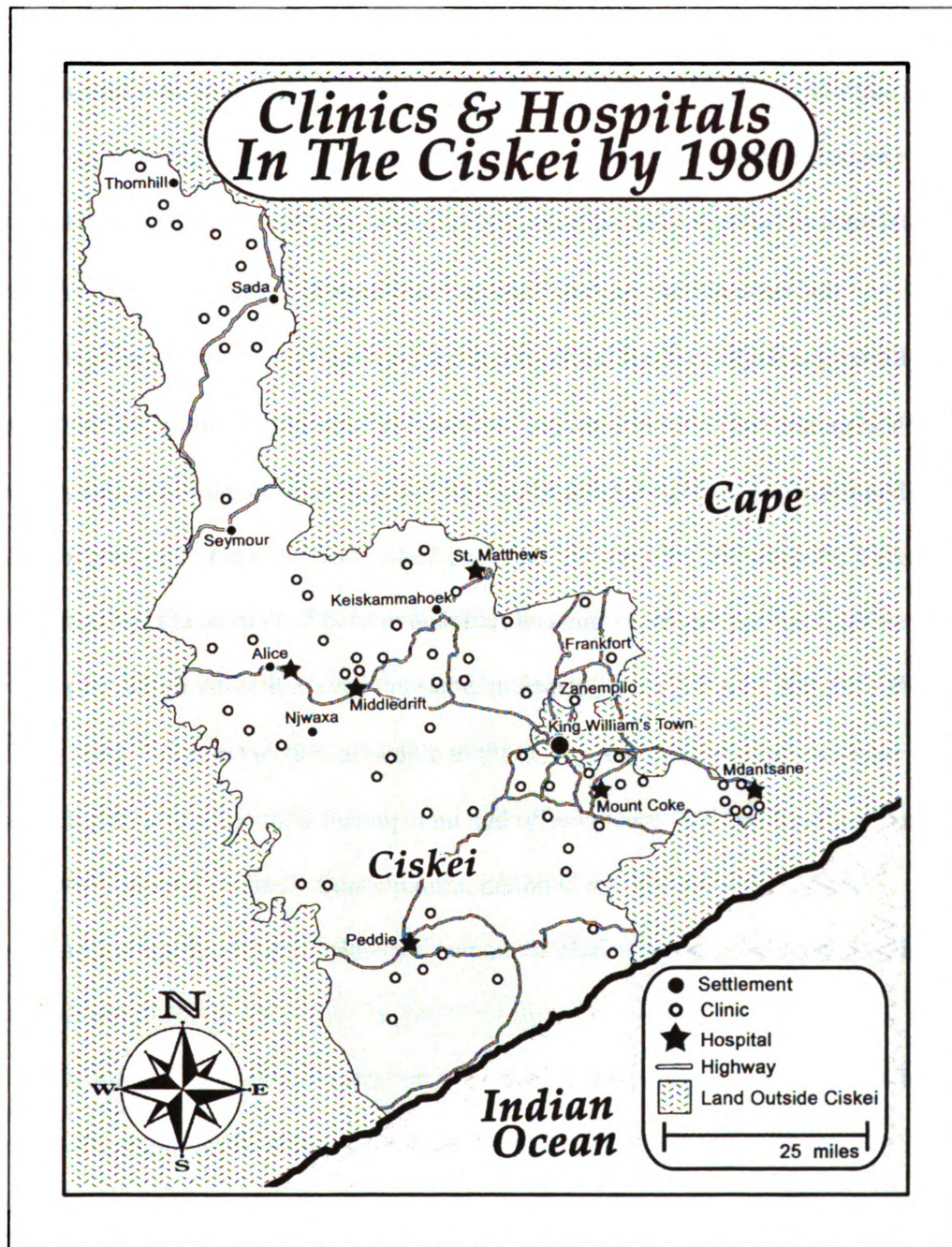
³² Saldru Community Health Project, *Health and Health Services in the Ciskei*, p. 21.

hospitals for a population estimated at 55,306.³³ The Ciskei had half of the minimum number of beds per Africans set by South Africa's Department of Health and a ratio of one doctor to every 8,707.³⁴ Mission hospitals that offered services in the rural Ciskei in the 1970s included Mount Coke, St. Matthews and Lovedale. These hospitals struggled with funding and equipment and a high volume of patients. Reaching mission hospitals proved a great challenge for those living far away from them. The few ambulances in operation were difficult to maintain because of the poor road conditions. The ambulance from St. Matthews reportedly was "so unreliable that it is not unusual to wait nine hours for it to arrive, and in bad weather it does not attempt the journey." The nursing sisters had no vehicle and "in urgent cases they walk to villages."³⁵

³³ Ibid., p. 26. This included the newly built (1975) Cecilia Makiwane hospital, that was built on the periphery of the Ciskei in the largest township of the region, thus inaccessible to many in remote rural villages.

³⁴ Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*; Saldru Community Health Project, *Health and Health Services in the Ciskei*.

³⁵ Saldru Community Health Project, *Health and Health Services in the Ciskei*, p. 28.



Map 3: Clinics and Hospitals in the Ciskei by 1980.³⁶

A further burden was placed on homelands with a shift in policy by the apartheid state in the 1960s towards homeland self-governance. Health care services

³⁶ Map adapted from one found in Saldru, *Health and Health Services in the Ciskei*, p. 23.

that had previously fallen under the jurisdiction of the Department of Bantu Affairs were turned over to newly created homeland departments of Health and Welfare that relied on subsidies from Pretoria for funding. These health care services became increasingly inadequate as thousands of people were forcibly resettled in homelands within a few short years.³⁷ Resettlement in the Ciskei resulted in areas still considered rural “because of their remote geographical location which is generally the countryside,” becoming as densely populated as urban areas.³⁸ The existing health care system could not adequately serve its people, let alone absorb those dumped there beginning in the mid-1960s. As Les Switzer pointed out, although the Ciskei had increased the number of beds in hospitals and clinics, the proportion of those beds to the population virtually stayed the same, increasing from 2.1 per 1,000 in 1946 to 2.3 in 1980.³⁹ The relocation of people to the Ciskei, the transfer of government administration to sometimes incompetent and often corrupt “tribal authorities,” and a continued reliance on funds from Pretoria, inhibited any efforts by the Ciskei government to effectively increase the number of clinics and hospitals and the quality of health care.

Because many SASO members were medical students who wanted to address one of the major needs of their people and they took a holistic approach to development, Black Consciousness activists came to believe that as a “basic component of living,” health was “a fundamental requirement for community development.” Furthermore, they defined health as a “state of complete physical, mental and social well-being,” indicative of their recognition of the correlation

³⁷ The population almost doubled in the Ciskei between 1973 and 1983, from about 350,000 to 630,000. Ibid., p. 6.

³⁸ Luvuyo Wotshela, “Homeland Consolidation, Resettlement and Local Politics in the Border and the Ciskei Region of the Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1960-1996” (PhD diss., Oxford University, St. Antony's College, 2001), p. 14 (see also 4).

³⁹ Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*, p. 339.

between one's health and socio-economic status and their goal to develop a person in their totality.⁴⁰ The report for the Winterveld project near Pretoria, for example, stated that it became clear that the root causes of ill-health in the community were ignorance, poverty, and "the fact that blacks are powerless ... have no opportunities and the white man has the monopoly of wealth, power and privilege."⁴¹ Thus, they focused on primary and preventive health care instead of just curative care. In line with their philosophy that emphasized self-reliance and Freirean methods of developing a critical consciousness, they sought to help people take charge of their own health and get at the root causes of ill health. In addition to volunteering at health clinics, SASO students distributed health educational material and helped communities secure clean water supplies.⁴² At Zanempilo, this meant that the clinic spawned additional economic, educational, and agricultural projects as part of a comprehensive approach to health care (reminiscent of the 1940s social medicine movement).

Yet, Zanempilo did not start off as a fully-fledged community health center designed to completely remake the village of Zinyoka. Plans for a primary health care center, made possible by funds from a white South African and personal connections of activists, evolved into a place that included small economic co-ops. What the BCP encountered as it implemented its plans and interacted with Zinyoka residents shaped the clinic's activities as activists sought to treat the causes of ill-health in the village. The Zanempilo experience proved crucial to the BCP's

⁴⁰ BCP Limited, "Projects and People," 1977, p. 9, AAS20, UNISA. When asked about the relation between health and Black Consciousness, Dr. Dubs Msauli stated that a community can not be fully developed if it did not have access to health care or good health. Dr. Lawrence Menzeleli "Dubs" Msauli, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, July 21, 2008, Mdantsane.

⁴¹ "Winterveld Community Project: a Progress Report," nd 1972, pp. 9-10, KG.

⁴² "Report of Leadership Training Seminar at Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center, Pietermaritzburg, 5-8 Dec, 1971," DISA., and SASO General Student Council meeting reports on projects in New Farm, Pheonix, Dududu, and Winterveld projects (DISA, Cullen A2176, and KG).

innovation in health care and development, which they hoped would become a model for others.

The BCP Goes to Zinyoka: the Church, Activists, Neighbors and Angela Mai's Money

Biko initiated the idea for a fully black managed and operated clinic that focused on primary and preventive health care at the end of 1972. His banning to the King William's Town district and a generous donation from a sympathetic Afrikaner heiress in 1973 meant that he put the plans into action near his hometown. Biko's connections with the Anglican Church in King William's Town led the BCP to build the clinic in the village of Zinyoka (5.6 miles from the town, so within Biko's restricted area). Biko was also aided by a prominent resident of Zinyoka, Benjamin Tyamzashe, and other activists, neighbors, and colleagues.

According to Bennie Khoapa, Steve Biko began thinking about a health project about six months before he was banned in 1973. Khoapa said that after the 1972 conference of black clergy held in Pietermaritzburg, "Steve had suggested that maybe there is something we [the BCP] needed to do about health, mainly because it was a primary need, really, and also influenced by the fact that the people that were helping him like Mamphela, as well as Steve, were all medical people." Khoapa believed in always having project proposals ready, "in case people wanted to help," so instructed Biko and Ramphela to do their basic research and "draft a plan from [all your ideas]...Why we would need a clinic like that, and where and why." When they finished the plan, they gave it to Khoapa. "I liked it," he remembered, "I thought it

made sense and put it in a drawer.” There the plan sat until “a certain Angela Mai” visited the office in 1973, after Biko’s banning had sent him to the Eastern Cape.⁴³

Angela Mai (née Grinaker) was born in South Africa to a wealthy white family. She had married a German doctor and in 1973, approached the BCP with a sum of inheritance money frozen within South Africa that she was interested in donating to an organization. When Khoapa initially met with Mai and her husband in Durban, they did not tell him the reasons for their interest in the BCP, but he answered their questions. Then, according to Khoapa, they went off to visit KwaZulu to look into other possible project to donate to. At that time, Khoapa was “quite fed up with too many overseas people coming to us and ... going away after” and did not think much more about them. A week later, however, Angela Mai and her husband returned to Khoapa and told him they wanted to support the BCP, particularly if they had any health projects. At this point, Khoapa pulled out the plan Biko and Ramphela had devised and showed it to them. The couple demonstrated to Khoapa their commitment by traveling to the Eastern Cape to meet with Biko regarding the plan. They gave the BCP R30,000 which covered the start-up costs of Zanempilo.⁴⁴

With the necessary funds, Biko could start searching for a place to build the clinic and see his plans take shape. The village of Zinyoka followed the larger trends in 1970s Ciskei. A BCP brochure produced after the first year of Zanempilo’s operation stated that the people served were “mainly rural people living on trust lands, freehold lands and white farms between King William’s Town and Frankfort.” Many of the women who made up the majority of the village population relied on wages

⁴³ Bennie Khoapa, interview, November 3, 2008.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Khoapa said R30,000, while Ramphela wrote that the sum was R20,000. The BCP yearly report for 1975 puts the start-up costs at R30,000 but does not indicate where the money came from. Mamphela Ramphela, *Across Boundaries: The Journey of a South African Woman Leader* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1996), p. 95; BCP, “1975 Report,” p. 4, AAS20, UNISA.

from husbands who had gone to work in mines on the Rand. Other women worked for low wages as domestic workers in neighboring towns and farms. The BCP reported, "Most of the patients come from families averaging six in number and living on an income of between R5 and R10 a week." It continued, "The patients are mainly women and children and men over the age of 50 since most young men are away on migratory labor."⁴⁵ Like the rest of the Ciskei, residents of Zinyoka and neighboring villages had very limited access to health care. Grey Hospital in King William's Town mainly served white people. Mission hospitals were far from Zinyoka and under-resourced. The Mount Coke Mission Hospital, nearly 12.5 miles (20 kilometers) east of King William's Town, reportedly had unsanitary and crowded nursery and maternity wards.⁴⁶ The next closest mission hospital was at St. Matthew's Mission in Keiskammahoek, more than twenty miles from King William's Town.

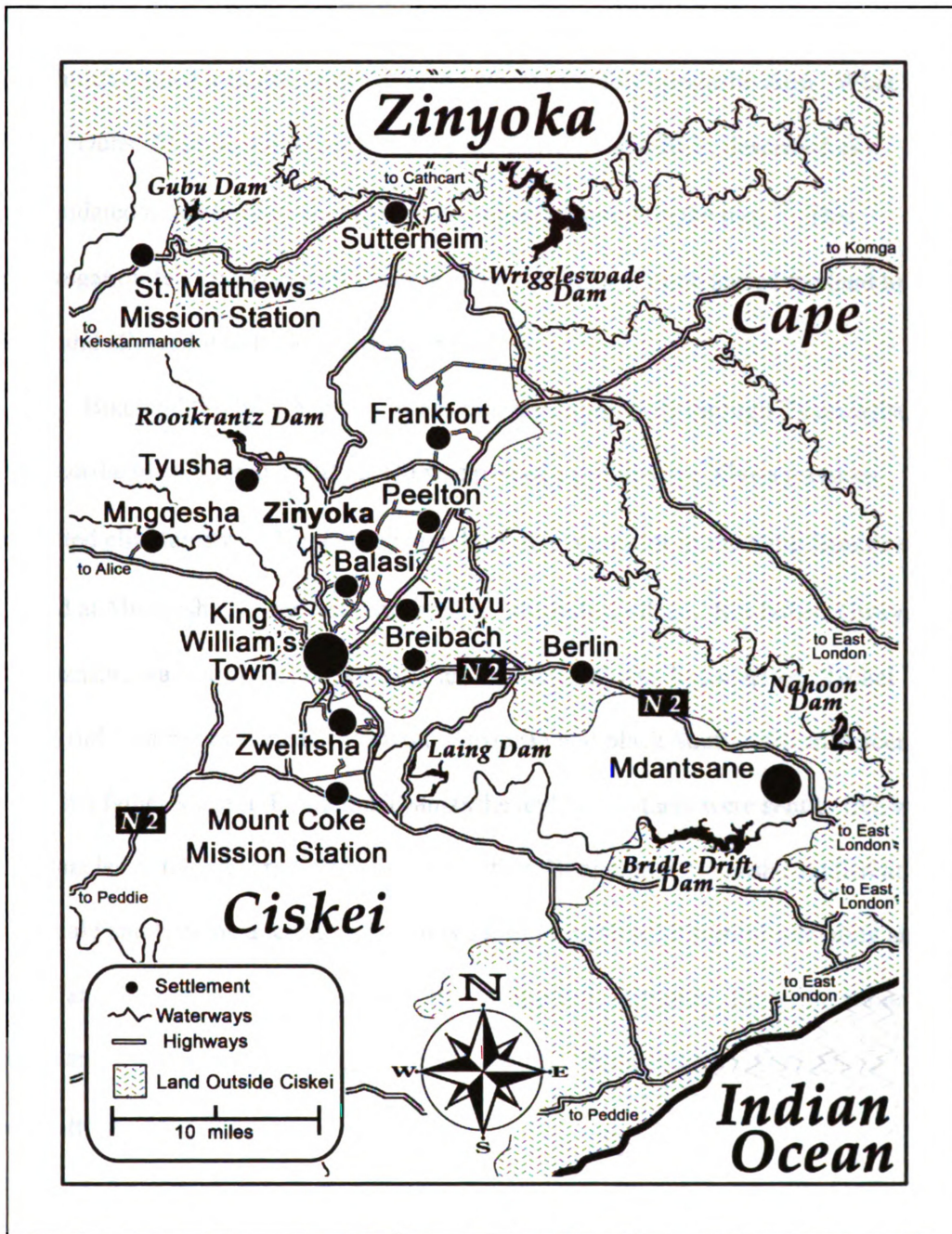
⁴⁵ BCP Brochure, "Zanempilo Community Health Centre," AAS20, UNISA. See also, Dr. Nomonde Xundu, granddaughter of Benjamin Tyamzashe, interview by the author, 26 July 2008, Johannesburg. Zinyoka also absorbed people from surrounding areas. Stanley Roji came from a white farm and Nonzwakazi Dleb'usuku from neighboring villages to work at the Tyamzashe home. Some Zinyoka residents said the village has only become a 'location' within the past 30 years.

⁴⁶ Nontobeko Moletsane, interview, May 22, 2008, Amalinda. See also Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p. 89.



Figure 1: Political Cartoon that appeared in the *Daily Dispatch* on the day before Zanempilo's official opening.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ April 19, 1975, *Daily Dispatch*.



Map 4: Zinyoka

The BCP could have chosen almost any place in the Ciskei region to build a clinic and it would have filled a great need. Biko's connection to the Anglican Church, along with his association with Benjamin Tyamzashe, led the BCP to build the clinic in Zinyoka. Reverend James Gawe and David Russell had already provided

office space for the BCP at 15 Leopold Street in King William's Town. In Zinyoka, the church owned a sizable piece of land adjacent to the Tyamzashe farm. What Dr. L.M. "Dubs" Msauli, a board member of the Eastern Cape BCP, described as a "dilapidated mud structure that passed as a church" stood on the plot.⁴⁸ This congregation fell under Gawe's diocese. The Anglican Church leased the land to the BCP and allowed it to build the clinic there.

Biko and the BCP gained inroads into the community through Tyamzashe. Tyamzashe (also known as "B ka T") was part of a progressive Xhosa mission-educated elite family.⁴⁹ He was the grandson of a counselor in the King Sandile court (based at Mngqesha,⁵⁰) and was educated at Lovedale College. His father, Gwayi Tyamzashe, was a teacher, missionary, and intellectual who had married, Rachel MacKriel, another missionary of mixed European and black South African descent. After his father's death, Benjamin Tyamzashe and his brothers were sent to live with their uncles in the Eastern Cape. Like his father, Benjamin Tyamzashe studied at Lovedale and became a teacher. His musical training through formal schooling and from family members helped him become a respected composer. He wrote numerous songs and was asked by the Anglican and Catholic Churches to compose Xhosa adaptations of the liturgy.⁵¹

Tyamzashe spent most of his teaching career in Cala in the Transkei. When he retired in 1950, he became a revered elder of the Zinyoka village where he bought

⁴⁸ Dr. Dubs Msauli, interview by the author, June 24, 2008, Mdantsane. Later, in return, Biko and the BCP arranged for a new chapel to be built.

⁴⁹ Lungisile Ntsebeza, *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of the Land in South Africa* (Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 5-6.

⁵⁰ The Great Place or seat of the king of the Rharhabe Xhosa.

⁵¹ Deirdre D. Hansen, *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe: A Contemporary Xhosa Composer*, Institute of Social and Economic Research Occasional Paper No. 11 (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1968), p. 17; Xolela Mangcu, *To the Brink: The State of Democracy in South Africa* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008), pp. 20-21; "A life through music," October 3, 1996, *Kei Mercury*.

the land of his brother, James.⁵² In 1968, Deirdre D. Hansen described Benjamin Tyamzashe as a respected member of the community who, although not holding official judicial authority, “adjudicated on numerous occasions” and was called “the Peacemaker.”⁵³ Zinyoka residents described the deference that Tyamzashe commanded from Ciskei president L.L. Sebe and Zinyoka headmen, claiming that no one could do anything in the village without Tyamzashe’s support (the headmen or Biko).⁵⁴ Tyamzashe often directed choirs or otherwise participated in musical functions in Ginsberg, where he would have come to know Biko’s family.⁵⁵ Tyamzashe’s status and support – which included permitting the BCP to drill a well on his land and writing an article in the *Daily Dispatch*⁵⁶ – allowed Biko and the BCP to bypass the local Ciskeian Tribal Authorities who opposed the work of Black Consciousness activists.

Biko and the BCP also drew upon their network of activists, friends, neighbors and colleagues to build and run the clinic. Out of this group grew the community of activists that Mamphela Ramphele fondly wrote about in her memoirs.⁵⁷ Ramphele was central to the establishment and operation of Zanempilo. She qualified as a medical doctor the year before the clinic was built and had moved to the King

⁵² Nomonde Xundu, interview, July 26, 2008. This was freehold land, so available for black ownership. It is unclear how the land was acquired by James and if it had any connection to the family’s previous position in the King Sandile court.

⁵³ Hansen, *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe: A Contemporary Xhosa Composer*, p. 18; Mangcu, *To the Brink*, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁴ Nomonde Xundu, interview, July 26, 2008; Mandisa Xundu, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, August 12, 2008, Duncan Village; Mathew N. Seyisi, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, August 20, 2008, Zinyoka; Dina Mjondo, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, August 27, 2008, Zinyoka.

⁵⁵ Bennet Sizindzo Gulwa, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, June 25, 2008, Bhisho; Nombeko Marjorie Tyamzashe interview by the author, April 3, 2008, Zinyoka.

⁵⁶ Benjamin Tyamzashe, “New Clinic in Zinyoka is a Boon.” *Indaba Supplement*, January 3, 1975, *Daily Dispatch*.

⁵⁷ Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, Chapter 5.

William's Town area to work at the Mount Coke hospital so she could be closer to Biko. It made sense to appoint her as the head medical officer, though she had to learn much about how to run a health center.⁵⁸ Ramphele relied on fellow female health care givers to help her establish Zanempilo. She recruited two of the best nurses she worked with at Mount Coke: Nontobeko Moletsane and Beauty Nongauza. Mpumi Mcilongo and Dubula were hired through their connections with the Federal Theological Seminary (where Mcilongo's husband studied) and the Border Council of Churches (where Dubula worked prior to Zanempilo). Other nurses such as Xoliswa Qodi Nqangweni and Yoliswa Ndzengu, applied to work at Zanempilo after learning about the positions through advertisements.

When the work load at Zanempilo became too much for Ramphele, Biko and Ramphele brought in former classmates and SASO students Siyolo Solombela, Chapman Palweni, and Sydney Moletsane as doctors. Biko asked Msauli, a student a few years ahead of Biko's class at UNB, but known to them through student politics, to serve on the board of the Eastern Cape branch of the BCP. Msauli helped recruit other doctors in the area to volunteer periodically at Zanempilo such as Dr. Petheni from King William's Town and Dr. Kakaza. Biko asked a friend and Ginsberg neighbor working in the SABC Xhosa newsroom, Mziwoxolo Ndzengu, to be an assistant clerk and ambulance driver. Ndzengu later recruited Sido Hlaula, also from Ginsberg, to become the second driver. Biko hired Barney Flusk, an acquaintance of his from the King William's Town Coloured community, to build the clinic, staff quarters, and church. Some residents of Zinyoka, such as Singanyati Leleni, worked on Flusk's crew and gained training and skills in masonry.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Across Boundaries*, pp. 95-96.

⁵⁹ Benjamin Tyamzashe, "New Clinic in Zinyoka is a Boon." *Indaba Supplement*, January 3, 1975, *Daily Dispatch*.

When the police restricted staff activity, the BCP found ways to continue operations, by bringing in other activists. Ramphele took over Biko's administrative duties when the government placed further restrictions on his banning order at the beginning of 1976. After the Soweto uprisings in June 1976 and Mapetla Mohapi's death in detention on August 5, the police detained many Black Consciousness activists and BCP personnel including Ramphele, Mvovo, Mpumlwana, and Msauli. Yet, work continued. Msauli remembered a prison warden's surprise at the amount of paper work brought for him to sign while he was held in police custody in King William's Town.⁶⁰ Those not incarcerated carried on performing their duties and the BCP recruited temporary help. Palweni ran Zanempilo in the absence of Ramphele and Solombela, for four months in 1976. In April 1977, Ramphele was served with a banning order, sending her to Tzaneen in the northern Transvaal. Peter Jones, who had moved to King William's Town in 1976, assumed her position as BCP Eastern Cape Branch Director.

Construction of Zanempilo was completed near the end of 1974 and clinic work began early the next year. On April 20, 1975 the BCP held an opening ceremony. The dedication of the clinic was conducted by Bishop Lawrence B. Zulu and attended by an estimated 5,000 people "as far afield as Durban, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and East London."⁶¹ The program included choir singing and food, in addition to speeches. The BCP reported that the expenses for the occasion "were borne very enthusiastically by members of the public who contributed food and other refreshments."⁶² A *Daily Dispatch* newspaper article reported that the Ciskei Interior Minister, Mr. L. F. Siyo had a place on the program, though did not give an indication

⁶⁰ Ibid.; Dr. Siyolo Solombela, interview, May 25, 2008; Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, pp. 111-116.

⁶¹ "Community Project Dedicated," November 1975, *The Crozier*, p. 4.

⁶² BCP, "1975 Report," p. 4.

that he gave his speech.⁶³ The BCP invited Siyo in an effort to show Ciskei leaders it did not want to compete negatively with local authorities, but work together to improve the health and health care of the villagers.⁶⁴ If Siyo did attend the ceremony, it would have been a rare incident when Ciskei leaders responded positively to Zanempilo.



Figure 2: Canon James Gawe addressing the crowd.⁶⁵

Bringing and Receiving Health in Zinyoka

In Xhosa, Zanempilo means “bringing health.” Yet, despite the desperate need for health care in the area, the headmen of the village opposed the clinic in Zinyoka because of its link to Biko and Black Consciousness. Headmen tried to influence the

⁶³ “Black self-help centre launched,” April 19, 1975, *Daily Dispatch*. “Self-help opening,” April 21, 1975, *Daily Dispatch*; “Community Project Dedicated,” November 1975, *The Crozier*.

⁶⁴ Bennie Khoapa, phone interview by the author, May 3, 2010.

⁶⁵ “Community Project Dedicated,” November 1975, *The Crozier*.

community's reaction to Zanempilo (even calling it *Zanerattex* – “bringing Rattex” a brand of rat poison⁶⁶); however, it did not take long for the majority of Zinyoka residents to embrace the clinic. Much later, in 2008, many spoke of the clinic's early years under BCP management in glowing terms as they remembered its benefits in contrast to the current poverty of the village. The BCP's approach to holistic health care and development led the Zanempilo staff to establish a myriad of programs that not only improved the physical health of the people by bringing much needed services to their villages, but helped some village women feed their families, educate their children, and manage their households as they sought to address the root causes of ill health. These programs and the type of medical care patients received at Zanempilo gave villagers a sense of human dignity and self-worth that their political, social, and material situation denied them. Zinyoka women and female BCP staff were often at the center of these activities.

Zinyoka headmen and the Ciskei government opposed the clinic because of its political kinship.⁶⁷ The hostility of the headmen in Zinyoka to the clinic showed that the issue was more about maintaining their tenuous positions of power than the health of their people. Perhaps the headmen in the mid-1970s – Sidoko Sijama in Zinyoka under the Chief of Tshatshu – feared the clinic would spark a direct challenge to their authority since they did not provide the services the clinic began to offer.

Furthermore, Zinyoka was made up of both Freehold land (owned by Africans like the Tyamzashe farm near the clinic) and Bantu Trust land (administered by the state).

The people of these two different areas apparently did not always get along, which led

⁶⁶ Mzwandile Manyela, interview by the author and Lindani Ntteni, August 20, 2008, Zinyoka; Dina Mjondo, interview, August 27, 2008.

⁶⁷ See Stanley Roji interview by the author and Lindani Ntteni, May 8, 2008, Zinyoka; Dr. Dubs Msauli, interview, June 24, 2008; Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview, February 27, 2008; Mzwandile Manyela interview, August, 20, 2008, Zinyoka; and Fuzile Ndaba, interview by the author and Lindani Ntteni, June 25, 2008, Zinyoka.

to the rise of Sijama as a headman in the Trust land – or Trustin.⁶⁸ The local headmen and chief had reason to fear Biko's presence. The Bantu Authority Acts of the 1950s and 1960s led to a "re-tribalization" of local authority in the homelands. In many communities, people viewed chiefs and other leaders given power during this restructuring as puppets of the apartheid state. In the Ciskei, where the traditional ruling class had previously been replaced by appointed headmen under the direction of white magistrates, new chiefs were created "often on very dubious grounds" to administer newly defined districts.⁶⁹ Thus, the chieftaincy "became a major focus of the critique of apartheid and especially of the homeland system."⁷⁰ At the time the Zanempilo clinic began officially operating in 1975, the Ciskei government was just establishing a clear administrative authority.⁷¹ With a history of resistance in the area and insecure positions of power, perhaps Sijama sensed that some residents had more respect for people such as Tyamzashe and viewed headmen as "toothless bulldogs" who could be intimidating but did not have real power.⁷²

Black Consciousness activists posed a threat to homeland leaders like Sebe in the early 1970s. Sebe rose to the position of Chief Minister of the Ciskei in 1973 as a self-proclaimed Rharhabe chief on a platform supporting "separate development." He

⁶⁸ Other headmen included Luqolo, Sijama's predecessor, Misani and Kewuthi, who came after Sijama. Leslie Xinwa wrote that Mr. F. Kekeni was the headman in, "One clinic too many," January 23, 1976, *Daily Dispatch*. Also, Nosingile Sijama, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, September 17, 2008, Zinyoka; Fuzile Ndaba, interview, June 25, 2008; Mzwandile Manyela, interview, August 20, 2008; Mathew N. Seyisi, interview, August 20, 2008; Stanley Roji interview, May 8, 2008; Marjorie Tyamzashe interview, April 3, 2008. For more on changes to land policies see Wotshela, "Homeland Consolidation, Resettlement and Local Politics," especially Chapter 3.

⁶⁹ Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*, p. 330; Jeff Peires, "Ethnicity and Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Ciskei," in *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa*, ed. William Beinart and Saul Dubow (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 256-284.

⁷⁰ Wotshela, "Homeland Consolidation, Resettlement and Local Politics," p. 18; Bernard Magubane, et al, "Resistance and Repression in the Bantustans," in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006), pp. 758-761.

⁷¹ The Ciskei legislative body had been gaining power beginning in the 1960s under Bantu Authority Acts.

⁷² Dina Mjondo interview, August 27, 2008. See also Switzer, *Power and Resistance*.

hoped the Ciskei would quickly follow in the Transkei's footsteps, the first homeland marked for "independence" (granted in 1976). Sebe held an uncertain position in the early to mid-1970s with opposition from Mfengu Chief Justice Mabandla and other Rharhabe chiefs.⁷³ Having Biko running community projects in the Ciskei threatened his political ambitions and made him uneasy. The year prior to Sebe's rise to power, SASO ousted its own president, Temba Sono, for a speech suggesting SASO ought to cooperate with homeland leaders. From then on, Black Consciousness activists became increasingly critical of homeland leaders. In 1975, the Black People's Convention stated that homelands were "created for the continued oppression of the black man,"⁷⁴ and later, at a conference held in King William's Town, deemed Transkei's independence "a ploy to give apartheid credibility."⁷⁵ Sebe and the Ciskeian police sought to drive Black Consciousness activists from the region. In newspapers, they accused SASO of disrupting education at the University of Fort Hare and the BPC of plotting to assassinate Ciskeian leaders.⁷⁶ Sebe also claimed the BCP vied for political control⁷⁷ and "Black Power" organizations did not "[express] the will of the people" but had been infiltrated with "communistic and imperialistic elements bent on achieving an end other than that chosen by responsible black people."⁷⁸ This was a way of discrediting the BPC and justifying repeated expulsions of SASO students from Fort Hare. The Ciskei also drove the Federal Theological

⁷³ Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*, pp. 330-335; Magubane, et al, "Resistance and Repression in the Bantustans," pp. 767-774; Peires, "Ethnicity and Pseudo-Ethnicity."

⁷⁴ "East Cape head of BPC denies plan to kill homeland leaders," May 13, 1975, *Daily Dispatch*.

⁷⁵ Magubane, et al, "Resistance and Repression in the Bantustans," p. 774.

⁷⁶ "Minister blames Saso for Fort Hare unrest," March 28, 1974, *Daily Dispatch*, and "East Cape head of BPC denies plan to kill homeland leaders," May 13, 1975, *Daily Dispatch*. Sebe also claimed that Black Consciousness activists misunderstood the real needs of the black people. "Sebe lashes Saso, BPC" May 24, 1978, *Daily Dispatch*.

⁷⁷ "BCP hit at Sebe Speech," February 19, 1976, *Daily Dispatch*.

⁷⁸ "This death could have been avoided says Sebe," September 21, 1977, *Daily Dispatch*.

Seminary from Alice in 1973 for nurturing student activists (at the seminary and from nearby Fort Hare).⁷⁹

In an effort to offset the influence of the Zanempilo clinic in Zinyoka, the Ciskei government attempted to run a rival clinic in Zinyoka. It employed a nurse to work from four small wooden shacks in the village, a little over a mile away from Zanempilo. Journalist Leslie Xinwa pointed out the irony that “while many rural areas throughout South Africa are crying out for clinics,” Zinyoka had two. This, he rightfully observed “came as a result of politics.”⁸⁰ Interestingly, although the headmen opposed Zanempilo, their family members went there for treatment.⁸¹ Without resources, extra programs, and a welcoming atmosphere like that of Zanempilo, the Ciskei government clinic did not last long.⁸² Other tactics used to undermine Zanempilo were to withhold an operation license⁸³ and deny access to free immunizations.⁸⁴

Until October 1977, the BCP was able to adapt and mitigate against state action by evading the police, using preventive measures, and replacing detained staff. Sometimes police actions had a minimal effect on the clinic’s operations and the staff

⁷⁹ For more on the Federal Theological Seminary see the work of Philippe Denis; particularly on the relationship between Black Consciousness and the university and theological students see Philippe Denis, “Seminary training and black consciousness in South Africa in the early 1970s,” in *History and African Studies Seminar at the University of KwaZulu-Natal* (Durban and Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 2008), <http://www.history.ukzn.ac.za/>, accessed April 2, 2009.

⁸⁰ Leslie Xinwa, “One clinic too many,” January 23, 1976, *Daily Dispatch*. Xinwa reported that headman F. Kekeni (a name I did not come across in oral history interviews) claimed the BCP did not ask his permission to build a clinic in Zinyoka, so pushed the Ciskei to provide a clinic. He also wrote that Kekeni allegedly stood at the stream to discourage people from going to Zanempilo and that the Ciskei secretary for Health borrowed the building plans.

⁸¹ Nontobeko Moletsane, interview, June 16, 2006, and May 22, 2008; Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview, May 29, 2008; Nosingile Sijama, interview, September 17, 2008.

⁸² Nontobeko Moletsane, interview, June 16, 2006, and 22 May 2008, Dr. Dubs Msauli interview June 24, 2008, Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, 29 May 2008, Zinyoka, and Nosingile Sijama, interview, September 17, 2008.

⁸³ Peter Jones, interview, April 22, 2006.

⁸⁴ Dr. Dubs Msauli, interview, June 24, 2008.

often succeeded at deterring the police. Thenjiwe Nondalana, the domestic worker at the clinic, told of a time the police came to search for documents after the BCP had held a branch meeting at the clinic. She recounted how she hid the documents in a sheet, placed it under a washing basin, then began to do her washing: “They searched and searched and all the while it is here [on my lap], and I am washing [*laughs*].”⁸⁵ The police never suspected that Nondalana was actually pretending to attend to the washing in order to hide the papers.

On one occasion, when the police came to speak with Nontobeko Moletsane, she went into the labor room and locked the door. She was the only person in the room, but started making noises as if a woman was about to give birth. She screamed and yelled, “Push!”⁸⁶ At that time, it was enough to deter the police; however, Ramphele wrote that once “the police” overcame “their reverence for the medical profession and the respect they had for a place of healing” (which took “a while”), the police became “quite outrageous in walking around the health centre, and had to be physically restrained in some cases from entering the labor ward with a delivery in process.” She recalled that they would have “fierce arguments” with the police about “their lack of respect for the dignity of the patients.”⁸⁷

Soon after the clinic began operating, the BCP employed watchmen and built a perimeter fence, partly to keep the security police out.⁸⁸ Stanley Roji, a night watchman, remembered that the security police often raided the clinic at night. He claimed that the police (both black and white) at one time tried to sneak into the clinic

⁸⁵ Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview, February 27, 2008.

⁸⁶ Nontobeko Moletsane, interview, June 16, 2006.

⁸⁷ Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p. 99.

⁸⁸ Dr. Dubs Msauli, interview, June 24, 2008.

by pretending to bring a sick person for treatment.⁸⁹ Msauli described the time when visitors from the Anglo American Corporation came to the clinic to meet with the BCP board members. During the night, as they relaxed after meetings, they discovered that the security police were lying in the grass outside of the fence. Emboldened by the Scottish whiskey brought by Anglo American, they stepped outside, loudly informed the police they were aware of their presence and told them to leave.⁹⁰

Initially, some people in Zinyoka viewed Zanempilo with suspicion. As Nondalana put it, they wondered why the church was mixing with “*izinto zeqindi*” (things of the fist).⁹¹ Despite the opposition to the clinic by the headmen and the chiefs, the community soon saw the tangible benefits brought by Zanempilo and embraced it. First of all, it brought health care to the people, which made it easy for the clinic to make a difference in the health of people in Zinyoka and surrounding areas. It was the nearest primary healthcare center for black people living in that region. Most importantly, the Black Consciousness philosophy and previous experience of activists led clinic staff to investigate the causes of health problems in Zinyoka and link the illness of patients to their environment or living conditions.⁹² This pushed them further to address the economic situation of patients.

At first, Zanempilo was designed to focus on primary and preventive health care. The 1973 BCP yearly report stated that the clinic would cover both curative medicine, “i.e. treatment of already existing diseases in Pediatrics, Medical,

⁸⁹ Stanley Roji, interview, May 8, 2008.

⁹⁰ Dr. Dubs Msauli, interview, June 24, 2008.

⁹¹ Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview, February 27, 2008 and interview by the author, June 9, 2006, Zinyoka.

⁹² This approach was also influenced by their training in the methods of Brazil’s educational theorist, Paulo Freire.

Obstetrics, and Surgical,” and preventive medicine, or health education through discussions with the community and providing information “on causes of diseases prevalent in the particular locality and how these relate to the economic status of the community”.⁹³ The BCP planned to have one doctor and two nurses. The building included a reception area, waiting room, examination room, dispensary, lecture room and a staff room, kitchen, toilet, “sluice” and incinerator room.⁹⁴ The staff would send the more serious cases they could not treat at the clinic to the hospitals nearby, such as Mount Coke.

As the clinic staff learned of the health needs of the area and investigated the cause of the high rate of child deaths, they realized more needed to be done to address the root causes of ill-health in Zinyoka and to provide basic health care to other villages. During its first years of operation, the medical staff at Zanempilo met with the BCP branch executive under Biko’s direction each month to discuss the clinic’s progress and service statistics. Nontobeko Moletsane remembered one month when, after she proudly made her presentation, Biko “was not impressed at all.” Her presentation had included statistics showing a high rate of childhood deaths in the village. Biko told Moletsane, “The report you have given us ... these are diseases that should be prevented, that are not supposed to be there. Therefore, yours is to go and find out why these people are suffering from these diseases.” Although she was not trained in research, Moletsane chose as a “sample,” one family who had recently brought children to the clinic with kwashiorkor. As Moletsane narrated:

I went straight to this house after work – it was after five. And I just told them that I was their visitor, I’ve come to check on children, how they’re doing and also the mother. What struck me there, they were sitting in this rondavel, all of them and there was fire and the three legged pot was exaggeratedly big for

⁹³ BCP, “1973 Report,” p. 9.

⁹⁴ BCP, “1974 Report,” p. 4.

them to be cooking a meal, but it was boiling and they were all sitting there. And the children started yawning and they fell asleep around this fire. And I said to the mother, “Ma, I’ve been here for more than three hours now” – (I think it was something to eight at the time) – “but why are you not dishing what you are cooking and so on?” and when I looked at her, the tears just went – rolled on the cheeks, and I could see the pain and anguish. I hugged her and I opened the pot. It was just water, just to keep the fires burning and also to... keep their pride.

Moletsane then asked the woman to tell her about the village. She learned from the woman that many husbands had gone to work in mines and had not come back or sent money. The women had lost hope and had become apathetic. They had even ceased gardening in their plots of land.

In order to address the poor health and economic conditions of Zinyoka residents, the clinic staff embarked on a program of relief and empowerment by providing food rations for children and then offering skill-building courses that taught women home budgeting, different farming techniques and new crafts. Moletsane used some of her own experience growing up in the rural Transkei to help the women use sisal that grew nearby to make baskets. She also remembered one of the field trips she had gone on during nursing school where she saw a demonstration of a deep trench gardening technique for growing plants in arid regions.⁹⁵

Nonzwakazi Dleb’usuku was one of the women whom Moletsane found in her home visits and invited to work with the craft group. Dleb’usuku had moved to Zinyoka with her husband in 1966. He had subsequently gone to work in the mines, but did not send enough money. She was working for the Tyamzashe family in 1975, but struggling to make ends meet. She remembered that Moletsane visited her and asked her about what she was eating and when the money from her husband came:

⁹⁵ Nontobeko Moletsane, interview by the author, August 12, 2008, Amalinda. See also interview by the author June 16, 2006, Amalinda. A Mr. Mazibuko made the demonstration.

Mrs Moletsane went around looking for people who were struggling. I was one of the first people she came to see because the farm is so close to the clinic. She asked me about my story and after I'd told her she told me to come see her at the clinic tomorrow. She also asked me about other people who were struggling... When we arrived at the clinic, they took our names and they gave us weaving reed and told us we'd be weaving baskets, fruit bowls, mats and table mats. I made a basket that day. Ooh it was beautiful! They gave us different colors of reed and they sold the baskets to tourists.⁹⁶

The women began to meet at the clinic on weekdays, from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

They made sisal baskets and mats, did beadwork, and eventually some helped with piecemeal work from the leather-work factory in Njwaxa. Pumla Sangotsha, a social worker, and Mxolisi Mvovo, the BCP's marketing director, helped obtain raw materials and sell the goods in local markets.



Figure 3: Women's Group at Zanempilo.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Nonzwakazi Dleb'usuku, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, April 10, 2008, Zinyoka.

⁹⁷ BCP Limited, "Projects and People." Unless otherwise indicated, all images are courtesy of the Documentation Centre for African Studies, UNISA.

Dleb'usuku claimed that because of her skilled work, she at one point earned R500 per month. This figure is high (Biko earned R400 then R500 per month as BCP branch director and a 1976 BCP report states that the women who helped Njwaxa earned R20-R30 per month⁹⁸); but Dleb'usuku's exaggeration signifies that she felt her wages had an enormous impact on her life. Dleb'usuku also measured the change in her life by what she was able to eat. She said before the clinic came to the community, she ate mealies. After she started the work at the clinic, she and her family always had food in the house and she was able to pay her children's school fees.⁹⁹

Reflecting the perspective and purpose gained by experience, by the end of the first year of Zanempilo's operation (1975), the BCP wrote that its health programs were designed to meet the health needs of communities taking into account the social and economic conditions of a community and emphasized the participation of the people. They could achieve this only through close cooperation with families (it could have accurately stated women) and "if health services are properly integrated and decentralized so that they provide front-line services for the protection and promotion of the health and the rural community."¹⁰⁰ Dleb'usuku's story as part of the sewing group is one example of the economic and skill-building programs run at the clinic. The staff also instigated a grocery bulk-buying scheme, a soup kitchen, and a chicken-raising co-operative to sell eggs locally, involving some village men as well. The garden behind the clinic provided food for patients and staff and a place to

⁹⁸ BCP Limited, "1976 Report," p. 5.

⁹⁹ She reported that some Zinyoka residents were given money from the clinic for schooling their children in the form of a bursary. Nonzwakazi Dleb'usuku, interview by the author, March 10, 2008 and interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, April 10, 2008, Zinyoka.

¹⁰⁰ BCP, "1975 Report," p. 5.

teach gardening. Soon, according to Moletsane, the death rate declined and the clinic stopped dealing with minute nutrition issues.¹⁰¹

Zanempilo also expanded its geographic reach by bringing health to outlying villages. Within its first six months, the clinic saw close to 2,500 patients (forty-one per day on average).¹⁰² People remember patients coming from as far as Peelson, Tyusha, Stutterheim and near Alice to receive treatment at Zanempilo from over thirty miles away.¹⁰³ For some, it would take an hour to reach the clinic by car while others came on foot.¹⁰⁴ As it attracted patients from surrounding rural areas, the BCP staff decided to run a mobile clinic (something they had wanted to do as SASO students). The BCP procured vehicles for transporting patients and traveling to outstations. Outstations were satellite clinics in other villages visited weekly by a doctor and nurses. On Mondays, Zanempilo staff might go to Tyolomnqa, 48 miles (78 km) away from Zinyoka; on Tuesdays it could be Njwaxa, Wednesdays, Tyusha, Thursdays, Stutterheim. They also visited Ngwenya (near Njwaxa), Ntsikizini, and Ginsberg.¹⁰⁵ They set up their clinic at the rondavels, houses, or churches village leaders had arranged for them. Mziwoxolo Ndzengu or Hlaula would take names and dispense medicine; the doctor and nurses would see maternity patients, children who might have kwashiorkor, or adults with tuberculosis or hypertension and give immunizations. In January 1976, Dr. Solombela said most patients were

¹⁰¹ Nontobeko Moletsane, interview, June 16, 2006.

¹⁰² Thoko Mbanjwa, ed., *Black Review 1974/1975* (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1975), p. 122.

¹⁰³ Leslie Xinwa, "One clinic too many," January 23, 1976, *Daily Dispatch*.

¹⁰⁴ See Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview, February 27, 2008; Mpumi Mcilongo, interview by the author, November 6, 2008, Roodeport.

¹⁰⁵ Thenjiwe Mtintso, "Giving more babies chance to grow up strong," *Indaba Supplement* January 30, 1976, *Daily Dispatch*.

undernourished babies.¹⁰⁶ Ndubula or Yoliswa Ndzengu would make home visits and follow up on children and infants who received milk powder for their nutrition.¹⁰⁷ In 1976, Zanempilo's mobile clinic saw nearly 3,000 patients at the outstations.¹⁰⁸

Zanempilo offered a level and quality of care black people did not have access to in the rest of South Africa. Zanempilo was well equipped and fully staffed with black doctors and nurses. Furthermore, these health care providers treated patients in a kind and respectful manner, taking an interest in a patient's socio-economic situation, and interacted in a friendly and concerned manner outside of the clinic. This seemed to be particularly important for women with child delivery, pre and post-natal health needs. The clean, well-resourced clinic and the positive social interaction between the staff and Zinyoka residents helped the BCP provide health care to Zinyoka with a more "human face."

Most Zinyoka residents interviewed declared that Zanempilo was not a clinic but a hospital. Unlike other rural clinics in the Ciskei, Zanempilo had a large staff of up to two full-time resident doctors, seven nurses, a community health worker, a social worker, two ambulance drivers and six maintenance workers. Doctors and nurses were on call to treat those who came at all hours of the day and night and Ndzengu and Hlaula lived in Zinyoka to drive the ambulance when needed. The clinic added its second doctor in January 1976, to help Ramphele deal with the work load. Solombela came to Zinyoka after finishing his internship at the Livingstone

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ This description of the outstations is taken from the following interviews: Mpumi Mcilongo, interview, November 6, 2008, Letisha Nonkululeko Dubula, August 8, 2008, Dr. Sydney Moletsane, November 4, 2008, Mziwoxolo Ndzengu, interview by the author, August 15, 2008, Zwelitsha, Sido Hlaula, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, November 21, 2008, King William's Town, and Dr. Siyolo Solombela, May 25, 2008.

¹⁰⁸ The mobile clinic run by King William's Town Municipality saw on average 300 per month in 1974, equaling 1200 that year (see National Archives Cape Town Repository KAB 4/KWT 1/1/19-21).

hospital in Port Elizabeth. Ramphele did most of the work in Zinyoka and in King William's Town (especially when she took over the directorship of the BCP branch office) while Solombela visited the satellite clinics. Dr. Sydney Moletsane took over Solombela's role when he left at the end of 1976. Dr. Msauli recruited other doctors in the area to volunteer their services on weekends and medical students also came to learn from Zanempilo's programs.¹⁰⁹ Many of the skilled nurses lived in Zinyoka, or nearby. Some of them, such as Nontobeko Moletsane, had training in midwifery (Moletsane had even received a gold medal in midwifery at King Edward VIII hospital¹¹⁰). Others, such as Dubula, were community health workers who focused on health education and distributing powdered milk for malnourished babies.



Figure 4: "Sister Moletsane examining a labour patient in the labour ward."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Dr. Dubs Msauli, interview, June 24, 2008.

¹¹⁰ But because of her involvement with Black Consciousness, she was blacklisted and could not find a nursing job once she left Zanempilo to go to Cape Town with her husband, another example of how apartheid stifled some of the best talent in South Africa.

¹¹¹ BCP Brochure, "Zanempilo Community Health Centre."

The clinic's infrastructure and equipment also exceeded that of other rural Ciskei clinics and helped the BCP accommodate relatively large numbers of people. The clinic expanded by adding beds and even obtained an incubator for premature babies. It was equipped with flushing toilets, electricity, a phone line, and a clean water supply (filtered with the clinic's own system) when most of rural Ciskei did not enjoy these amenities. Flusk built a second building to house doctors and nurses.

The clinic had to rely on outside funding to support its work and expansion. This was a constant challenge. Ramphele remembered a continuously "stretched budget."¹¹² Yet, it seems the BCP was able to manage its funds so that Nondalana reported that she always received her monthly check on time.¹¹³ Khoapa described Zanempilo's funding as coming in an "ad-hocish way," first with Angela Mai's substantial donation, then from their usual South African sources (the Council of Churches and Christian Institute) as well as churches in Europe and America.¹¹⁴ Msauli, the BCP Eastern Cape board member who oversaw fundraising and health projects, said he did not find it very difficult to obtain donations because people were interested in funding health projects. He described Scandinavian countries, Germany, and Holland as his "happy hunting grounds."¹¹⁵ Ndzengu and Hlaula remembered picking up visiting donors from places like Brussels at the East London airport. These countries were great supporters financially of anti-apartheid activity in South

¹¹² *Across Boundaries*, p. 104.

¹¹³ Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview, February 27, 2008.

¹¹⁴ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

¹¹⁵ Dr. Dubs Msauli, interview June 24, 2008. Aelred Stubbs was also a fruitful contact. See for example, Aelred Stubbs, "Second Report on Black Community Programmes and Zimele Trust Fund," November 1976, to friends overseas, KG-Aluka.

Africa and funded the BCP, which was safer than political organizations because of its focus on community work.¹¹⁶

When the Anglo American Corporation delegation paid a visit to Zanempilo to discuss funding, they provided their own air transportation. Following the establishment of the corporation's Special Chairman's Fund, the BCP became one of the recipients of its new social responsibility program. Records indicate that Father Aelred Stubbs initiated this relationship.¹¹⁷ The BCP ended up accepting money from Anglo American to fund Zanempilo and Solempilo. (Anglo American also pledged funds for SASO's Winterveldt project, discussed in Chapter 1.) Jones explained why "it was a contentious issue in the movement" at the time:

We were generally against any formal contact with what we considered imperialists – the American government, or back home, corporates and so on.

LH: And there you have Anglo-American...

PJ: ...which would be led by the biggest of course image by Anglo American – but Steve had very strong opinions about our responsibility to manage things, that there should be ways in which one would be able to receive money for specific activities of a non-contentious nature, like community activities and so on. As a result, there was, I think, just one transaction, one major transaction involving what is called the Chairman's fund of Anglo American.¹¹⁸

The *Daily Dispatch* and Chairman's Fund reported more transactions.¹¹⁹ Chairman's Fund records indicate that Zanempilo received R15,120 in 1975 and R12,000 in 1976. The BCP itself received much larger amounts, much of it intended for the Solempilo

¹¹⁶ Tor Sellström, "Sweden and the Nordic Countries: Official Solidarity and Assistance from the West," in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Volume 3, International Solidarity*, ed. SADET (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2008), pp. 471-476.

¹¹⁷ Page 15 of document designated as "Appeal Case to Chairman's Fund" [nd] in Anglo American Chairman's Fund records provided to me in March 2010, by Tshikululu Social Investments, the agency that the Chairman's Fund evolved into.

¹¹⁸ Peter Jones interview, May 14, 2008.

¹¹⁹ "Anglo visit Zanempilo," February 1, 1977, *Daily Dispatch*. See also "Anglo men meet BCP today," January 31, 1977, *Daily Dispatch*.

clinic in Natal: R910 in 1975; R85,000 in 1975; and R91,173 in 1977.¹²⁰ The need to finance Zanempilo, Solempilo, and other community projects led Black Consciousness activists to accept money from those they outwardly rejected as legitimately taking part in liberation movements or even organizations perpetuating white supremacy. The clinic did not live long enough for the BCP to resolve this contradiction; nor did it address if it could build the self-reliance of villages in maintaining good health by transferring specialized health care skills to communities.¹²¹

The clinic could not fund itself partly because the people in the area could not pay for the services. Zanempilo charged patients according to their ability to pay. It charged more for black “local civil servants” and those with medical aid (i.e. health insurance) who preferred the clinic over the “impersonal service they received from many of the local hospitals and general practitioners.”¹²² Others might pay fifty cents for an outpatient visit or receive care for free. For in-patients, this included full meals. Having access to that kind of care even meant a lot to the impoverished. Mrs. Madikana and her husband, from Zwelitsha, were so impressed by the clean and welcoming conditions at the clinic that they named their son who was born there, “Zanempilo.” Mrs. Madikana said her husband felt their son would bring health to the family because that is what the clinic did for the villages.¹²³

¹²⁰ Financial registers for “Zanempilo Community Health Clinic – 1” and “Black Community Programmes (Solempilo Community Centre) – 17” provided to me in March 2010, by Tshikululu Social Investments.

¹²¹ This does not appear to have been its plan, although in the late 1970s there was an international movement to empower local communities in maintaining their health resulting in the international declaration on health in the late 1970s and initiatives such as David Werner, Carol Thuman, and Jane Maxwell’s *Where There is No Doctor: A Village Health Care Handbook* (Berkeley, CA: Hesperian, 2007 [1977].)

¹²² See Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p. 103.

¹²³ Mrs. Madikana, interview with the author and Lindani Ntente, October 28, 2008, Zwelitsha. Other children born at the clinic were given similar names such as Zanempilo, Nompilo and Philiswa.

Black people came from the various surrounding villages and urban townships because of the high level of care delivered by black staff who recognized the humanity of their patients and treated them with respect. Zanempilo staff did not separate the body from its social context.¹²⁴ They emphasized understanding a patient's social and economic circumstances and respected their beliefs and culture. This meant that doctors and nurses discussed with patients their personal background and resources, counseled patients about their diets and health, and explained the causes of their ill-health. Nongauza described how this may have looked and highlighted the fact that doctors spoke to patients directly. She said that as patients entered Zanempilo, the staff greeted them, asked them questions and “we *listened* to them.” Because they listened to their patients, “people had a way of opening to us... even the communication with the doctors – our doctors they communicated with them directly. There was no interpreter... So, each one would say all the things, ‘I have this and that...’ talking directly to a doctor and the doctor explaining directly to her, not through an interpreter.”¹²⁵ In hospitals where white doctors could not speak the language of black patients, interpreters and black nurses facilitated communication. This further distanced white doctors and black patients already socially separated because of their race, and gender in the case of black female patients and white male doctors. Also, in contrast to many unfeeling white doctors, Hlaula remembered how Dr. Moletsane took meticulous notes for each patient and insisted the staff have organized and well-kept records.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ See introduction to Steven Feierman and John M. Janzen, eds., *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992).

¹²⁵ Beauty Nongauza, interview by the author and Lindani Ntteni, November 19, 2008, King William's Town.

¹²⁶ Sido Hlaula, interview, November 21, 2008.

Black doctors at Zanempilo who could not speak Xhosa well (Ramphela spoke Sotho and Moletsane spoke Zulu) made an effort to speak to patients in Xhosa. Although this did not always go smoothly, patients appreciated it.¹²⁷ Ramphela wrote of how her efforts to speak Xhosa helped her draw closer to the women of Zinyoka who affectionately called her their *umSothokazi* or *iramram*.¹²⁸ She explained how becoming a student of the village women in learning their language put them “in a position of authority” over her, “being experts in something in which I was incompetent.” This then broke down barriers between them as they saw that “doctors do not know everything” and her medical expertise was “seen in a less mystified light.”¹²⁹

¹²⁷ See Ramphela’s comments on this in *Across Boundaries* and Dr. Sydney Moletsane, interview, November 4, 2008. Beauty Nongauza (interview, November 19, 2008) said patients would be confused when Dr. Moletsane mistakenly told them to sit on their hip when he wanted them to sit up: “...he used to say *Hlala ngeyinx* – the hip, no, he would see the person trying his best to position himself and he [laughs]. So, we had to explain to Moletsane....”

¹²⁸ “Sotho woman” and “delicate one.”

¹²⁹ *Across Boundaries*, p. 98-99.



Figure 5: Dr. Ramphela examining Thenjiwe Nondalana's child while his grandmother looks on.
130

Zanempilo staff also showed they took a genuine interest in the people's health by making follow-up home visits. This was another way village women and female health care providers connected socially. Maria Nomutile Masiki, a Zinyoka resident, gave birth at Zanempilo in 1975. When asked to tell her memory of the clinic, she talked about how Biko improved the life of the village by giving people jobs doing handwork. But what was more important to her was that the clinic helped women give birth. She described the care new mothers received: "After you had given birth, you would stay at the clinic for four days with your baby. Then, you would leave after four days with your baby and then a nurse from Zanempilo would come to your house to help you with the baby. She would wash the baby herself, at

¹³⁰ BCP Limited, "Projects and People." Thenjiwe Nondalana claimed this photo shows her mother who had taken her son to the clinic on the day this photo was taken.

home, swaddle the baby at home...” After ten days, the mothers were invited to visit the clinic for regular check-ups as part of what Zanempilo called its baby-clinic.¹³¹

Part of respecting a person and not separating the body from their beliefs and socio-economic context was recognizing that values and traditions were important to their patients. When asked if Black Consciousness activists looked to traditional African healing practices, Solombela said they understood “western health care was the correct care,” but also that they needed to “look at it in its totality, knowing how people live, what’s available for them, and what they can use to actually make and be able to feed healthy food to their babies...” They emphasized the importance of people’s values and traditions and discussed how they might “build this sort of umbilical chord” to tie traditional ideas to western medicine.¹³² Dr. Moletsane and Nontobeko Moletsane both commented on how they shared with traditional healers the idea of looking at a patient as a social being and worked with some of these ideas to educate people about the causes and cures of their ill health.¹³³ Yet, Nongauza also said, “You know, people wanted actually a stethoscope from the doctor.... They believed in the stethoscope.”¹³⁴ So, while people may have shopped around for health care, they also believed in western curative medicine, symbolized by the stethoscope or injections.¹³⁵

¹³¹ Maria Nomutile Masiki, interview with the author and Lindani Ntenti, September 2, 2008, Zinyoka.

¹³² Dr. Siyolo Solombela, interview, May 25, 2008.

¹³³ Dr. Sydney Moletsane, interview, November 4, 2008, and Nontobeko Moletsane, interview, May 22, 2008.

¹³⁴ Beauty Nongauza, interview, November 19, 2008.

¹³⁵ Feerman and Janzen, *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa*, p. 3; Benedict Carton, “‘We Are Made Quiet by This Annihilation’: Historicizing Concepts of Bodily Pollution and Dangerous Sexuality in South Africa,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 39, no. 1 (2006): 85-106, for comments on the power of the needle or injections.

Many activists and Zinyoka residents commented on the solidarity and communalism prevalent at Zanempilo which influenced how the villagers felt about themselves and the clinic. Former employees remembered the high job satisfaction and staff camaraderie at Zanempilo. Most said working there was like working with family, not least because they were all a similar age, but also because of their commitment to serving the community and providing the highest quality care for people. Ndzengu remarked that they were busy, but “never felt it” because they felt they were making their contribution to helping people.¹³⁶

The way the group of self-confident, empathetic, and welcoming activists interacted with Zinyoka residents had a profound social or personal impact on patients and residents who participated in Zanempilo’s other programs. Villagers did not engage in political discussions or join the Black People’s Convention; yet, they experienced the results of Black Consciousness-inspired action and came to revere the young educated people who instilled a sense of self-worth and human dignity within them. Nondalana said Biko “wanted people to feel they were human.” He used to say, “Black people and white people have the same blood.”¹³⁷ Mjondo remarked, “At the clinic, you didn’t have intellectuals and fools, there was just people.”¹³⁸

One fond memory for many was the *gumbas* (the activists’ term for parties) or community *braais* held at Zanempilo after meetings or on weekends, when activists rejuvenated their energy. Solombela summed up the balance between work and recreation when he said, “When there was work,” they worked hard, sometimes late into the night, “but at the same time there used to be fun at the clinic.”¹³⁹ Nondalana

¹³⁶ Mziwoxolo Ndzengu, interview, August 15, 2008.

¹³⁷ Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview, February 27, 2008.

¹³⁸ Dina Mjondo, interview, August 27, 2008.

¹³⁹ Dr. Siyolo Solombela, interview, May 25, 2008.

talked about how Biko slaughtered sheep for *braais* where everyone was accepted and treated equally regardless of their socio-economic or educational status.¹⁴⁰

Dleb'usuku remembered going to parties wearing traditional clothes and performing Xhosa dances. It was important to her that no one was asked to sit outside. She commented, "I was with them. There was no discrimination. It was as if there was no apartheid at that time."¹⁴¹ This endeared the activists to the community whose respect and admiration for these young people later translated into praise, elevating Biko and Ramphela as their father and mother (though they were at the time younger).¹⁴²

The way the government treated the clinic also influenced how Zinyoka residents viewed Black Consciousness activists. While they may not have joined in the politics of the activists, watching the government disapprove of the clinic and the police harass its staff indirectly raised the political consciousness of Zinyoka residents. Indeed, seeing how the government opposed those who provided them with high quality service that made them feel like human beings, may have been a large factor in the decline of legitimacy of the headman and homeland leaders in the eyes of Zinyoka residents, a sentiment which they freely expressed in 2008.

While Zinyoka residents and former clinic employees have overwhelmingly positive memories of staff camaraderie and community relations, some tensions did surface. For example, Ramphela wrote of her frustrations when working with other activists who did not keep a rigid schedule as she did, the loss of privacy at Zanempilo, and the strain of feeding uninvited guests at this hub for Black

¹⁴⁰ Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview, February 27, 2008.

¹⁴¹ Nonzwakazi Dleb'usuku interview, April 10, 2008.

¹⁴² Dina Mjondo, interview, August 27, 2008.

Consciousness activists.¹⁴³ One former nurse (who will remain anonymous) alluded to personal differences that may have arisen from these frustrations when she said, “Mamphela had her faults.”

Ramphele also described the tensions between herself and Solombela regarding her position in the community and as his boss. She and Deborah Matshoba remembered disagreements with male activists about their participation as women in eating sheep heads after *braais*, a practice reserved for men in Xhosa tradition.¹⁴⁴ Ramphele and others struggled to gain a voice amongst fellow activists as students. Ramphele also had some difficulties being taken seriously as a young, black, female doctor. Malusi Mpumlwana indicated that, “there were always jokes about whether she was up to it.” It seems this also had to do with her age since “old folks [may have seen her as] a child.”¹⁴⁵

Yet, while almost certainly, the idea of a young, black, female doctor heading the clinic took some getting used to, both male and female Zinyoka residents interviewed would not acknowledge that as a problem, indicating that some perceptions of gender changed at Zanempilo.¹⁴⁶ Khoapa said that men who at first did not want to be examined by Ramphele, when they saw her skill and the deference male doctors paid her, or realized they had no other choice, they accepted it.¹⁴⁷ Ramphele asserted that her novelty combined with her professional status gave her

¹⁴³ Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, pp. 104-105.

¹⁴⁴ Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p. 105; Barney Pityana et al., eds., *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991), p. 220; See also “Interview with Deborah Matshoba,” in A. Mngxitama et al, *Biko Lives!: Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 280.

¹⁴⁵ Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008. See Noble’s discussion of the gendered aspects of the medical profession and UNB education in “Doctor’s Divided,” Chapter 6.

¹⁴⁶ Mziwoxolo Ndzengu also said this was not a problem in Ndzengu interview, August 15, 2008.

¹⁴⁷ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

power and respect.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, Mpumlwana felt that having a black female doctor in the village was exciting because no one had any experience of a woman doctor in King William's Town, let alone a black woman doctor. He speculated that Ramphele inspired Zinyoka women.¹⁴⁹

Zanempilo is also an example of how the BCP, although it did not make women's issues political, catered to and empowered women simply because, as Nohle Mohapi explained, women bore the brunt of rural homeland poverty. She stated that through the clinic's programs, "women were mobilized as women to be able to come together and do something for themselves, instead of depending on their men."

Mohapi also pointed out that the BCP employed women in managerial positions.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, Zanempilo in many ways was a woman's world. If not for the male doctors, two male ambulance drivers, and political visitors, Zanempilo would have been dominated by women. Ramphele served as head medical officer, Sangotsha as a secretary and social worker, and the clinic had up to seven female nurses. Most of the patients were women due to the demographics of the area and the community's health needs. Child birth and maternity care were significant portions of the clinic's work. Sangotsha and the nurses managed the women's craft group and taught nutrition and budgeting classes for Zinyoka women.

Dleb'usuku most likely did not have gender relations in mind when she made the above statement that there was no discrimination at the clinic, but the people-centered nature of the work at Zanempilo and who was involved had the natural effect of increasing respect for women and their abilities. Sydney Moletsane stated that he

¹⁴⁸ Ramphele, "Dynamics of Gender," p. 221.

¹⁴⁹ Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.

¹⁵⁰ Such as Ramphele, Vuyo Mpumlwana and Mantuka Maisela at the Njwaxa Leather-work Home Industry, and Thoko Mbanjwa Mpumlwana over *Black Review*. Sangotsha managed Zanempilo's finances. Nohle Mohapi, interview by the author, 30 October, 2008, Port Elizabeth.

felt the community took the clinic staff as a unit and appreciated the positive results of the work they did for them, without differentiating between male and female.¹⁵¹

Ndzengu said that as youth, they communicated and treated the villagers and each other with respect. He said, “Steve, Mamphela, and all of the people that were attached to the clinic” had a lot of respect for each other and communicated well by sitting down and explaining things to people. He commented that this culture of respect influenced his subsequent work with the Metropolitan Life insurance company and HIV/AIDS awareness in rural areas. Even “the way I’m running my family is also influenced by the teachings that I got from Steve, Mamphela and the other doctors. It had a great impact on me.” Along with making sure he did not fail when embarking on a project, he said, it taught him “that you must treat a lady with respect.”¹⁵²

Conclusion

Biko’s death at the hands of the security police dramatically altered Zanempilo as it deprived the clinic of its main founder and led to the subsequent take over of the clinic by the Ciskei government. The news of Biko’s death devastated Zinyoka residents. Dleb’usuku said they cried when Biko died because they felt stranded.¹⁵³ Because of the work he and the BCP did in Zinyoka, residents eulogized Biko in oral history interviews. Many called him a man of the people who lived up to his first given name, *Bantu*.¹⁵⁴ Some considered Biko a father. Others praised him for all the

¹⁵¹ Dr. Sydney Moletsane, interview, November 4, 2008.

¹⁵² Mziwoxolo Ndzengu, interview, 15 August, 2008. Incidentally, Ndzengu met his wife at the clinic when she came to work there as a nurse.

¹⁵³ Nonzwakazi Dleb’usuku, interview, April 10, 2008.

¹⁵⁴ *Bantu* is the name derived from the Xhosa noun, *abantu*, meaning people.

work he did in building Zanempilo. Mjondo compared Biko to Jesus Christ because Biko was willing to die for his people.¹⁵⁵

When the government shut down the BCP and took over Zanempilo, Zinyoka residents and those at the outstations suffered further. At midnight, on October 19, 1977, two armed soldiers came to Sydney Moletsane who was in charge of Zanempilo. They stayed the whole night, searching his room, then went to the clinic and started taking stock of the supplies. They told Moletsane to continue with his work, but when Moletsane instructed the nurses not to help the police, they took him to the police station and kept him until late that night. When he was released, he was informed that he no longer had a job and the BCP had been shut down.¹⁵⁶ The police locked the gates of the clinic and kept the others there while they sorted through its assets. Hlaula managed to hide “important dockets” in the ceiling of the doctor’s quarters, but the police took most everything else, including the cutlery.¹⁵⁷ They even cut the telephone lines. Moletsane and Sangotsha were dismissed, but some of the nurses and Ndzengu and Hlaula were allowed to stay. The state health department of South Africa took over the clinic until 1981, when it handed it over to the “independent” Ciskei government.¹⁵⁸

Without the traffic of regular visitors, financial resources, and a large staff, Zanempilo and Zinyoka changed drastically. Nondalana said, “It was quiet after Biko’s death, there were no more meetings, no projects, nothing. People just sat and

¹⁵⁵ Dina Mjondo, interview, 27 August 2008.

¹⁵⁶ Dr. Sydney Moletsane, interview, November 4, 2008.

¹⁵⁷ Sido Hlaula, interview, November 21, 2008.

¹⁵⁸ And after some conflict with the Anglican Church over the land ownership. See “Church-State tussle over Zanempilo land,” December 8, 1977, *Daily Dispatch*; “BCP clinic now belongs to church,” February 2, 1978, *Daily Dispatch*; “Zanempilo Clinic to be handed to Ciskei,” 1 July 1, 1981, *Daily Dispatch*.

waited.”¹⁵⁹ Sydney Moletsane tried to keep the clinic and its outstations going, but after a month, felt too threatened by the police and was urged by others to leave. The decline of the clinic under Ciskei ownership further elevated Biko and BCP in the minds of Zinyoka residents. Perhaps out of fear, a lack of resources and direction, community members and the remaining staff did not resume the craft group or other cooperatives. The government lacked the resources, commitment and inclination to continue the same level of care that the clinic offered under the management of the BCP. The clinic was no longer open twenty-four hours or on weekends, it no longer had resident doctors or an abundant supply of medication. Staff salaries were reduced so that Ndzengu and Hlaula both left for other jobs and the ambulance service ceased.

Former clinic staff and Zinyoka residents interviewed in 2008, viewed one of Zanempilo’s major goals as showing people they can do things for themselves. With the help of the local church, activists, friends, as well as funding from foreign religious organizations and white South Africans (e.g. Mai and Anglo American), black doctors and nurses ran a clinic that brought high quality health care with a more human face to people who could not get it elsewhere in South Africa. Because Black Consciousness activists took a comprehensive approach to development and health care, they also focused on self-reliance and economic upliftment as part of their clinic work. They took this comprehensive approach to health care after they learned the root causes of ill-health in Zinyoka and listened to their patients talk about their socio-economic conditions. The clinic, at times a predominantly female space, particularly improved the plight of rural women and improved perceptions of the abilities of women.

¹⁵⁹ Thenjiwe Nondalana, interview, May 29, 2008.

The clinic's work and the way the young, professional staff interacted with each other, their patients, and Zinyoka villagers, endeared the patients and community members to the clinic and its staff. As a result, it contributed to increased economic self-reliance and enhanced residents' dignity and sense of self-worth. Yet, the apartheid state hindered and eventually halted the work of the clinic so it is impossible to know if Zanempilo would have succeeded in achieving financial independence or reaching its goal of empowering Zinyoka residents to become genuinely self-reliant. With the closure of the BCP and the decline of Zanempilo, once again political and ideological factors determined the level of health and health care of black rural South Africans.

Chapter 4

A Black Perspective and Relevant Information for Development: *Black Review* and BCP Publishing and Research

The BCP's yearbook, *Black Review*, was part of the production of knowledge that Black Consciousness activists saw as vital for the total development of black South Africans. As a publication project addressing the broader black community and national issues, *Black Review* distinguished itself from *Zanempilo*. By writing about what happened in and to the black community from 1972-1976, from what the BCP deemed an authoritative black perspective, activists sought to instill a sense of positive identity in black South Africans and empower the racially oppressed by networking and coordinating their efforts, exchanging ideas, and devising solutions to their socio-economic and political problems. Part of a program of informal education for development, *Black Review* was a tool for promoting the Black Consciousness goals of black psychological liberation, self-reliance, and socio-economic upliftment. For some, such as Reverend S.M. Mogoba and his fellow black lecturers at the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice, "Black Review [was] like the Bible."¹ The yearbook's extensive coverage of the black South African experience provided them with material for their discussions on various topics relevant to their situation and people.

This chapter begins by analyzing the research and publication goals of the BCP, relying on BCP documents and interviews with former employees. It then examines the content of *Black Review*, demonstrating that the BCP simultaneously articulated various "black" viewpoints and promoted its own particular racially defined perspective. The

¹ Thoko Mbanjwa, ed., *Black Review 1974/1975* (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1975), p. v.

chapter goes on to explore the challenges of creating the publication, arguing that the process of producing *Black Review* was just as significant as the final product.

Oral history interviews provide much of the evidence for the discussion of this process and the publication's impact. First, it proved black people could produce such a publication and contributed to the "surge" of black publishing that followed in the late 1970s and 1980s.² Second, the creation of *Black Review* is another example of how the BCP relied on young men and women. These youths significantly involved in producing the publication gained new skills and were politicized during the process. Like the BCP's other projects discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, state repression also influenced the nature of the project and who participated. Bannings and detentions of staff forced the BCP to appoint a different editor every year and shift the main work on the yearbook between King William's Town and Durban. The effects of the South African repressive political environment and economics on publishing also hindered distribution. *Black Review* would not have been possible without subsidies from the BCP's regular sources of money: foreign churches and ecumenical organizations. In other words, the history of the research and publication programs of the BCP brings out the contradiction between theory and practice that characterized Black Consciousness community development.

Despite its challenges and limitations, the *Black Review* achieved a considerable impact, though the precise extent of such an impact is difficult to measure. Reports and interviews of BCP staff indicate that a number of black academics, activists, and local

² Dick Cloete, "Alternative Publishing in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s," in *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa*, ed. Nicholas Evans and Monica Seeber (London; Scottsville: Holger Ehling Publishing and University of Natal Press, 2000), 43-72.

community members viewed the annual review as a trusted source of information, an inspiration, and used it as material for debate and discussion. Readers in black townships often gained access to *Black Review* at local resource centers that became libraries of informational material on “black life” – thus helping the BCP disseminate information geared towards black community empowerment.

BCP Research and Publications for Development

By publishing reports and position papers, the BCP joined multi-racial and white liberal organizations which were producing studies and printing “facts and figures” in the 1960s and early 1970s in order to bring about change in South Africa. Yet, through its publications, *Black Review* in particular, the BCP hoped to accomplish more than just disseminate facts. The BCP sought to spread *relevant* information to black South Africans from a “black perspective” to help the black community develop a positive identity, analyze current events, and to stimulate debate and dialogue. Unlike community newspapers or the resistance press that arose in the 1980s, the BCP saw publishing as a development tool, related to politics, but not directly political.³ This was part of the conscientization process that would lead black people to devise their own solutions and coordinate their efforts. Over the course of its short lifetime, the BCP published a *Handbook of Black Organizations*, four editions of *Black Review*, and position papers in the collections *Black Viewpoint* (four editions) and *Black Perspectives*.

³ Community newspapers and serials like *Grassroots*, worked to conscientize, but the BCP focused less on political mobilization. See Les Switzer and Mohamed Adhikari, eds., *South Africa's Resistance Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation Under Apartheid* (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 2000); Nicholas Evans and Monica Seeber, eds., *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa* (London; Scottsville: Holger Ehling Publishing and University of Natal Press, 2000); Ineke van Kessel, *"Beyond Our Wildest Dreams": The United Democratic Front and the Transformation of South Africa* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

In the 1960s, white academic, student, or ecumenical groups dominated the South African alternative press, that is, the non-commercial press focused on the mission of its publications rather than earning a profit.⁴ The black alternative press, most often than not also resistance press, had been stifled when the commercial presses had gained ownership of black publications in the 1930s and after the ANC and PAC bannings in 1960. Some African newspapers, such as *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Eastern Cape) and *Ilanga Lase Natal* (Durban), and *Inkundla ya Bantu* (Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal), survived the economic depression of the 1930s, when white companies bought out black-owned publications. These papers along with some organizational newsletters and student newspapers persisted into the 1960s; however, the more politically confrontational publications fell victim to the increased state repression of that decade, just as the socialist *Guardian* and the Communist Party of South Africa's *Inkululeko* ceased when the government banned the party in 1950.⁵ In the early 1970s, ecumenical and white liberal organizations "concerned with race relations" led in publishing studies and position papers exposing the evils of apartheid. For example, the Christian Institute produced *Pro-Veritate*, and the Institute of Race Relations continued to publish their long-established annual *Race Relations Survey* or (*A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*) detailing South African political and social developments (discussed in more depth below). Spro-cas printed the reports of its six commissions and other studies such

⁴ With this definition, I adhere to the view of Cloete, "Alternative Publishing in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s," p. 43.

⁵ Switzer breaks the history of the alternative press into four periods: 1) Mission Press (1830s-1880s); 2) Independent Protest Press (1880s-1930s); 3) Early Resistance Press (1930s-1960); and 4) Later Resistance (1970s-1990s), in Les Switzer, ed., *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), introduction; See also Switzer and Adhikari, *South Africa's Resistance Press*, pp. 38-39; Evans and Seeber, *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa*.

as Richard Turner's *The Eye of the Needle* on participatory democracy.⁶ The radical school of scholars that arose in the 1970s and sought to inspire change by exposing the roots of South Africa's exploitative economic relations and their consequences could also be considered part of this climate of knowledge production.⁷

While the Christian Institute and South African Council of Churches received criticism for producing studies but not taking action to implement the recommendations of those studies (which led to Spro-cas 2), they did not relinquish their publication efforts and saw a particular need for black publications. In a Spro-cas staff seminar held in 1972, the staff noted the need for action programs instead of continuing merely with publications. In the same meeting, the staff called for a black critique and the need to boost black morale by publishing information and producing works from a black perspective.⁸ These black publications had deeper purposes than simply disseminating facts and exposing apartheid's evils. They served to further the BCP's goals to "help the black community become aware of its own identity" and "create a sense of its own power."⁹ The research and publication programs of the BCP were geared towards encouraging self-discovery, divulging local news, tackling community issues, and devising strategies for improving the position of black people in society. Although unlike

⁶ Richard Turner, *The Eye of the Needle: An Essay on Participatory Democracy* (Johannesburg: SPROCAS, 1972).

⁷ Though many published abroad. See Frederick Johnstone, *Class Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa* (London; Boston: Routledge and K. Paul, 1976); "Capitalism and Cheap Labor Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid," and "Introduction," in William Beinart and Saul Dubow, eds., *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995); Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip, 1988), Chapters 16-17.

⁸ "Report of the Spro-Cas Staff Seminar Held from May 26-27," pp. 2-3A835, C1, Cullen. It is unclear who exactly called for more black publishing.

⁹ SPRO-CAS, "Black Community Programmes," p. 2, GG, Reel 3.

Freire's literacy programs, it targeted black people who could already read and was not bounded to a small educational group, BCP publications were meant to conscientize the broader black community in a similar way.

Khoapa probably wrote in the introduction to the first edition of *Black Review* that black people want to know, "and must know, more about who they were and who they are if they are seriously concerned about *whom* they intend to become."¹⁰ Black Consciousness adherents often stressed how scholarship written by white people about black culture and history damaged the self-perception of black people. For too long, the history of black South Africans had been "written by white people who [tended] to give a completely destructive account of black lives and events."¹¹ The BCP wanted to correct that. Black people needed a positive portrayal of their past and culture to move them to action.¹² Biko taught fellow SASO members, "There is always an interplay between the history of a people... and their faith in themselves and hopes for their future." He went on to explain their responsibility to create their own scholarship: "We are aware of the terrible role played by our education and religion in creating amongst us a false understanding of ourselves. We must therefore work out schemes not only to correct this, but further to be our own authorities rather than wait to be interpreted by others."¹³

¹⁰ B.A. Khoapa ed., *Black Review 1972* (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1973), p. 1. Biko was the editor until the government banned him and prohibited any of his words from being published. Khoapa assumed the editorship of *Black Review* to allow the review to be published. Thus, it is possible that these were Biko's words with Khoapa's name on them.

¹¹ "Black Review 1972 Press Release," A835, C1, Cullen.

¹² Biko wrote, "A people without a positive history is like a vehicle without an engine," *I Write What I Like*, p. 29.

¹³ Biko, *I Write What I Like*, p. 52.

Black Consciousness activists did not succeed in creating a new educational curriculum as they had hoped,¹⁴ but through the *SASO Newsletter* and BCP publications and resource centers they sought to produce knowledge about themselves from their own perspective. Biko wrote in the first edition of *Black Viewpoint*, “We have felt and observed in the past, the existence of a great vacuum in our literary and newspaper world. So many things are said so often to us, about us and for us but very seldom by us.”¹⁵ Ramphela wrote that they felt scholarship at the time tended to portray black people as objects of research and victims of racism. It did not include black people in formulating research questions and did not help them see themselves as active agents.¹⁶ Speaking of *Black Review* specifically, Peter Jones remarked, “I think, even though it was very rudimentary, it was a very important project in terms of how we understood our responsibility within our communities to start recording things. We understood the issue of history, that we needed to recreate or create the proper sense [of] the people doing work.”¹⁷ In a press release announcing the first edition of *Black Review*, the BCP stated that the concept for the publication came out of the “need to make the Black Community aware of her total experience.” As “detailed insight into the happenings and events, the organizations and the work of the Black Community,” *Black Review* was intended to fill that need and “give the Black Community an opportunity to evaluate her history from a

¹⁴ Badat describes the evolution of SASO’s views on education and contrasts this with the South African National Students’ Congress focus on education as a site of struggle. Saleem Badat, *Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid: from SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990* (Pretoria: Human Science Research Council, 1999), pp. 95-99, 162.

¹⁵ Steve Biko, *Black Viewpoint* (Durban: Spro-cas/BCP, 1972), introduction.

¹⁶ Mamphela Ramphele, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope: Black Consciousness and Community Development,” in *Bounds of Possibility*, ed. Pityana et al (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991), p. 161.

¹⁷ Peter Jones, interview by the author, April 22, 2006, Athens, Ohio, USA. He also called *Black Review* an authentic record.

completely Black perspective.”¹⁸ Resource centers made informational, cultural, and literary materials by and about black people available to communities for these same reasons.

As Chapter 2 explained, one of the goals of the BCP was to enable black people and organizations to organize, analyze their needs, and mobilize their resources to address those needs.¹⁹ The BCP saw their research and publishing programs as also having the practical outcomes of giving the black community the knowledge and skills necessary for its development according to their assessment of their priorities and needs.²⁰ These programs were “particularly important” in building a “sound program of informal education” and helping the black community “learn the things *they* want to know more about and to develop the skills *they* wish to acquire.”²¹ BCP publications and resource centers brought information and materials to provide them with a basis for discussion and debate to analyze their needs. The BCP promised to focus on issues directly affecting the black community – what it perceived black people wanted to or needed to learn about and not what white people told them.

Khoapa described *Black Review*, the annual yearbook of black activity, as designed to “project present trends” to enable leaders to “asses these directions in the light of societal conditions predicted for the future, determine which trends should be changed and identify the kind of interventions necessary to effect such changes.”²²

¹⁸ “Black Review 1972 Press Release.”

¹⁹ SPRO-CAS, “Black Community Programmes,” 2.

²⁰ See quote of Barney Pityana in Chapter 1.

²¹ Sprocas Black Community Programmes, “Proposal to The Ford Foundation,” p. 7, A835, C9, Cullen; BCP, “Year Report 1972,” p. 4, A2675, KG, folder 270, Reel 27. My emphasis.

²² BCP, “Black Review 1972 Press Release,” A835, Cullen.

Producing knowledge in order to play a more active role in shaping the future was one of the purposes of *Black Review* as well as *Black Viewpoint* and *Black Perspectives*. The BCP intended to produce *Black Viewpoint* quarterly. As a small volume of position papers on current issues, it had a more explicitly political tone. Only four editions made it to print: “Black Viewpoint” (1972); “Détente” (1975); “Apartheid: Hope or Despair for Blacks?” (1976); and “Transkei Independence” (1976).²³ The second and third editions were banned (and had to be destroyed). A fifth edition on apartheid sports and a sixth on the 1976 uprisings never made it to print.²⁴ Police repression and a lack of funds crippled this publication initiative. This was also the case with *Black Perspectives*, a volume intended to include in-depth studies on “major areas of national life” generated by conferences of black scholars.²⁵ Only one of these made it to print.²⁶

Communication and cooperation among the different black groups was important for concentrating efforts, networking, and facilitating dialogue.²⁷ The BCP’s publication more directly geared toward the practical purpose of increasing cooperation between groups was the *Handbook of Black Organizations*, a directory of black voluntary organizations working in the black community, published in July, 1973. Through this

²³ B.S. Biko, ed., *Black Viewpoint*, with contributions by Njabulo Ndebele, C.M.C. Ndamse, M.G. Buthelezi, and Bennie Khoapa (Durban: Spro-cas/BCP, 1972); Thoko Mbanjwa ed. *Black Viewpoint Number 2: Détente*, with essays by A.J. Thembela, Stan Mogoba, S. Sokupa, R.E. van der Ross, and T.T.S. Farisani (1975); Thoko Mbanjwa ed., *Black Viewpoint Number 3: Apartheid: Hope or Despair for Blacks?* (1976); and *Black Viewpoint Number 4: Transkei Independence*, with essays by Mlahleni Njisane, Hector Ncokazi, M.G. Buthelezi, Justice Mabandla, and Hlaku Kenneth Richidi (Durban: 1976) in KG, folder 270-71, Reel 27.

²⁴ BCP Limited, “1976 Report,” KG-Aluka, and Letter from H.H. Dlamlenze to P.P. Nketi, March 24, 1977, regarding “Black Viewpoint 6: The Country Wide Disturbances,” in KG, folder 271, Reel 27.

²⁵ Asha Rambally, ed., *Black Review 1975-1976* (Black Community Programmes, 1977), p. 130.

²⁶ For Ramphele’s view on how South African education and society stifled black creative writing, see Ramphele, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope,” p. 163.

²⁷ BCP, “Proposal to The Ford Foundation,” p. 7, and Letter from Peter Randall to Beyers Naude, June 29, 1972, A835, B9.ii, Cullen.

book, the BCP hoped to “introduce” these groups to each other and the public to help them understand what “each... is involved in doing” and in what “geographical situation” and draw out the common elements of “self-help, self-reliance and self-determination.”²⁸ Nearly one hundred pages long, it covered organizations ranging from cultural, to professional, political, educational, religious and welfare agencies. Each entry included the organization’s purpose, constituency, programs and activities, publications, affiliations, and contact information. The BCP hoped that with the *Handbook*, it could act as a “central registry” and assist “community leaders like clergymen, social workers, teachers, sociologists, businessmen and administrators in the course of their daily work.”²⁹ Instead of taking on every aspect of development and forming numerous organizations, the BCP could build and strengthen existing efforts by linking these groups through the *Handbook*. The BCP planned to update the handbook annually, but only published one edition due to financial constraints.

Providing a Black Perspective and Relevant Information through *Black Review*

Black Review was the most successful and substantial of the BCP’s publications. For the years 1972, 1973, 1974/75 and 1975/76, the BCP published four reviews of “activity by and against the black community.”³⁰ *Black Review* built on SASO’s newsletter which had promoted a new “black” perspective and intended to counter the Institute of Race Relations’ *Survey* and “biased reporting” by the white-controlled press. *Black Review* resembled the *Survey* by reporting on political developments and presenting statistics.

²⁸ *Handbook of Black Organizations* (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1973), p. 1.

²⁹ “Spro-Cas Black Community Programmes Budget Proposals – 1973,” A835, Cullen; *Handbook of Black Organizations*, p. 1, respectively.

³⁰ “BCP Budget Proposals – 1973,” p. 8.

Yet, *Black Review* focused on “relevant” information for black South Africans. It also provided black perspectives by including more black voices and attitudes and using particular terminology. The annual review favored a particular black perspective, however – that of Black Consciousness adherents – despite its empirical style and inclusion of opposing viewpoints.

What was a black perspective for the BCP? *Black Review* mixed two perspectives. At one level, it was what black people in the Black Consciousness sense of the term viewed and thought. *Black Review* focused on the various opinions and experiences of Africans, Coloureds, and Indians – those who merely fit the mold by the color of their skin as racially discriminated against in South Africa. The review included their different political perspectives, highlighted artists and authors from these different groups, and reported events across regions. At the same time, a “black perspective” also meant the perspective of those who created and accepted the new cultural and political definition of “black” championed by Black Consciousness activists. The review favored the opinions and progress of those who rejected white liberals and homeland collaboration with the apartheid state, promoted black psychological liberation, and black people working to economically or educationally uplift black communities.

Like its other programs, the BCP expanded on what SASO did, but with the benefit of greater professional and monetary resources. The *SASO Newsletter*, initiated by Biko as SASO’s publications officer in 1970, played a significant role in spreading Black Consciousness among black students and giving voice to young black writers, particularly poets. It updated students on SASO activities, expressed views on current

events, and gave special reports on various countries in Africa.³¹ As Mbulelo Mzamane and David Howarth demonstrate, this was part of SASO's effort to reconfigure blackness and part of "phase one" conscientization.³² Khoapa remembered that part of the reason for starting *Black Review* was to build on what SASO had done. He said, "What I really wanted to do was to broaden the area of influence by moving beyond students and their affairs, and, in fact, focus on community and national affairs."³³ At the time the BCP initiated *Black Review*, it saw itself as a national organization. This gave it a broader scope than SASO socially and geographically; however, politically, *Black Review* was relatively benign, similar to the Institute of Race Relations' *Survey*.

Black Consciousness sensitivities also led Khoapa and his field officers, Steve Biko and Bokwe Mafuna, to the idea of creating *Black Review* in order to counter the mainly white alternative press. Khoapa explained, "Then we were naturally offended by the fact that there seemed like only one publication that was really well resourced, and it was called the Institute of Race Relations *Survey*."³⁴ *Black Review* 1972 implied that the BCP felt, "Sensitivity of the black community has been highest in respect to [white] 'biased reporting' of events within the black community."³⁵ This was a personal struggle for Mafuna, who had joined a growing number of black journalists hired by white liberal newspapers in the late 1960s, when the *Rand Daily Mail* hired him to work on the paper's

³¹ See Mbulelo V. Mzamane and David Howarth, "Representing Blackness: Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement," in *South Africa's Alternative Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation Under Apartheid*, ed. Les Switzer and Mohamed Adhikari (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 2000), 176-211; Daniel Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Politics, Faith and Hope in South Africa, 1968 – 1977* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), Chapter 7.

Mzamane and Howarth, "Representing Blackness: Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement." Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

Ibid.

³⁵ Khoapa, *Black Review* 1972, p. 44.

township section. Like other liberal newspapers, the *Rand Daily Mail* challenged apartheid and practiced it at the same time, keeping all of their black staff on township duty, while the white staff continued to report on national and international politics, economics, and social issues. Mafuna resigned while he reported on SASO's General Student Council in 1972 after the copy editors repeatedly changed the wording of his articles from "black" to what he deemed a negative, dehumanizing term, "non-white."³⁶ It was possibly Mafuna himself in *Black Review 1972* who wrote that, "Concern has been expressed by most groups that blacks will never communicate effectively until they control their own medium."³⁷

The Institute of Race Relations was a typical South African multi-racial liberal institution that Black Consciousness adherents lambasted for trying to solve South Africa's problems through racially integrated initiatives. As an organization, the Institute aimed to "[further] inter-racial peace, harmony, and cooperation" by "[promoting] contact, discussion, and understanding" among different racial groups. Its membership was open to people of all races and various political leanings. It opposed injustice and discrimination and worked to "further the social, economic, and political development of all communities." One way in which the organization sought to achieve this racial

³⁶ As described in Chapter 2. For more, see Bokwe Mafuna, "The Impact of Steve Biko on my Life," in Chris van Wyk ed., *We Write What We Like: Celebrating Steve Biko* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007), pp. 79-80, 84; Switzer, *South Africa's Alternative Press*, introduction; and Llewellyn Reaubeheimer, "From Newsroom to the Community: Struggle in Black Journalism," in Keyan Tomaselli and P. Eric Louw, eds., *The Alternative Press in South Africa* (Bellville, South Africa; London: Anthropos and James Currey, 1991), pp. 93-130.

³⁷ Khoapa, *Black Review 1972*, p. 44. Mafuna contributed to *Black Review 1972*, but the authors of individual chapters do not appear in print.

harmony, oppose injustice and discrimination, and contribute to the development of all communities was to “[seek] the facts, and [make] them known.”³⁸

The Institute produced the annual *Survey* starting in 1946, to make “the facts” known about South African political, legal, social, and economic development of the previous year. In the 1970s, the *Survey* reported on pass laws, health and welfare, bannings and movements in exile, education, housing and employment among other topics. Its coverage was extensive with volumes almost always exceeding three hundred pages. Its style was empirical, with minimal analysis accompanying the presentation of statistics, new legislation, or journalistic accounts of events. A team of academics and Institute staff (including Peter Randall from 1965-1969, before he became Spro-cas director) compiled the information, based on newspaper and government reports, particularly the parliamentary register, Hansard.

The *Black Review* provided a “black” perspective as an alternative to the *Survey* to portray black people as actors and thinkers, instead of perpetual victims, and to highlight the achievements of black people.³⁹ At first glance, the content of *Black Review* differed little from the *Survey*, using a similar format while focusing on black people in a smaller number of pages. Each edition was over 200 pages long (except for the 1973 edition that had 191 pages) and covered a specific set of topics. It reported on the happenings of above-ground black political, cultural, religious or welfare groups actively working in the black community. Because of the push for “separate development” in the 1970s, homelands received considerable coverage, including

³⁸ See back cover of South African Institute of Race Relations, *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations), all editions.

³⁹ Ramphela, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope,” p. 161.

constitutional developments and debates over land consolidation, as well as the economic state of each homeland, foreign investment, and the role of the Bantu Investment Corporation. *Black Review* also presented statistics, issues, and events related to black education, black workers, sports, arts and entertainment, political trials and detentions. The yearbook even covered pertinent international affairs. Each issue concluded with a chapter on the struggle for Namibian independence involving the South African government, Namibian liberation movements, and the United Nations. These topics received varying degrees of attention depending upon what had happened during the year under review. For example, the 1972 edition gave an extensive report on the student “revolt” sparked by A.O. Tiro’s inflammatory speech as Student Representative Council president at the University of the North at Turfloop, and the 1973 edition had thirty-six pages on the momentous worker strikes centered around Durban.

Yet, *Black Review* diverged from the *Survey* significantly in what it did and did not cover and its terminology. *Black Review* restricted itself to activity by black people, against black people, and issues directly affecting black people – the things that mattered to black people.⁴⁰ It “noted” that “the white-controlled press tends to give priority either to events that occur within the white world or to those aspects of black life that make good reading for the white readership of newspapers.”⁴¹ Thus, instead of starting with white political parties like the *Survey*, in 1972, *Black Review* began with above-ground black organizations. It also covered developments in the government-created Coloured People’s Representative Council and the South African India Council and black reactions to the actions of those councils, leaving out much of the foreign relations that the *Survey*

⁴⁰ Malusi Mpumlwana, phone conversation with the author, May 5, 2010.

⁴¹ Khoapa, *Black Review* 1972, p. 44. See also p. 26.

covered. *Black Review* also reported only on community organizations run by black people. Instead of widely reporting on employment and schooling, it focused solely on black workers and black education. To ensure the struggle for Namibian independence received adequate attention as an issue related to their liberation and for Namibian students studying at South African universities, it dedicated a full chapter to developments there.⁴²

The BCP's yearbook reported more on black achievements to construct its alternative narrative to the one promoted by the mainstream media and the government. One of the more noticeable additions of *Black Review* to the *Survey*'s coverage was a greater section on "Arts and Entertainment." While both the *Survey* and *Black Review* gave comparable space to sport (*Black Review* highlighting black athletes more), in the 1970s the *Survey* only included a limited section with "some notes" on writers, artists, and the performing arts. *Black Review* on the other hand, had more substantial sections on black poets such as Oswald Mtshali, Mongane Serote, and James Mathews, and theater groups such as the Theater Council of Natal (TECON) and the Cape Flats Theater Group under the direction of Adam Small in the Western Cape. It described the content of plays, such as Port Elizabeth playwright, Khayaletu Mqhayisa's *Confused Mhlaba* about the trials of a rehabilitated Robben Island prisoner.⁴³ It also reported on musical festivals and noted the growth in popularity of "soul" music or jazz and the success of black South African musicians like Hugh Masekela, Letta Mbuli, and Miriam Makeba.

⁴² Malusi Mpumlwana, phone conversation, May 5, 2010.

⁴³ See Rambally, *Black Review 1975-1976*.

Black Consciousness activists had a great interest in theater and poetry, but also felt that black people wanted to learn more about black artists.⁴⁴

The terms *Black Review* used and the layout of the chapters further distinguished it from the *Survey*. Using the inclusive Black Consciousness definition of “black,” *Black Review* departed from the *Survey* by not featuring separate education sections for Africans, Indians, Coloureds, and whites. While *Black Review*’s education sections mirrored the *Survey*’s emphasis on data presentation with little analysis, the former merged African, Indian, and Coloured together in a section entitled, “Education for Blacks.” This section featured separate chapters for primary, secondary, tertiary and teacher education and vocational training. As indicated earlier *Black Review* included Indian and Coloured artists and poets in its reports on black arts and entertainment. Instead of using the *Survey*’s section titles, “Attitudes of Members of the Coloured Community,” or “Political and Constitutional Matters: The Coloured, Indian, and African Population Groups,” *Black Review* reported on “Government-created Platforms” or “Government-created Political Bodies.”⁴⁵

Black Review also provided a black perspective by including more black voices than the *Survey*. Like the *Survey*, *Black Review* used newspapers and government reports, but the BCP also conducted interviews. As they became more experienced at compiling *Black Review*, BCP’s field officers’ research and reporting became more sophisticated, presenting various opposing viewpoints.⁴⁶ They gained first-hand accounts

⁴⁴ For more on visual arts, see Diana Wylie, *Art + Revolution: The Life and Death of Thami Mnyele, South African Artist* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008).

⁴⁵ Khoapa, *Black Review 1972*; Mbanjwa, *Black Review 1974/75*; Rambally, *Black Review 1975-1976*.

⁴⁶ For example, they presented both the student perspective and tried to obtain the opinion of school administration after the strikes in 1972. See Khoapa, *Black Review 1972*, Chapter 12.

in interviews with Eastern Cape miners sent home after strikes on the mines in 1974 and 1975, and obtained a different perspective by talking with Sam M. Motsuenyane, the president of the organization of black businessmen, the National African Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC). The *Survey* often focused on people in state created black leadership positions. For example, the 1971 edition had a fourteen-paged section entitled “Constitutional Development of the African Homelands, and Attitudes of Leaders There.” The *Survey* reported on attitudes of “Africans elsewhere in the Republic” in the same edition in eight pages. This included the results of a newspaper poll, a survey of Soweto matriculants, a study of the elite in a township on the Rand (it did not specify which one), and the opinions of some white “observers” and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, one of the more outspoken homeland leaders from KwaZulu and founder of the Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party. To the *Survey*’s credit, it at least summarized SASO’s position and Black Theology at the end of this section.⁴⁷ The *Black Review*, on the other hand, reported more in-depth on opposing black viewpoints. For example, it included as a subheading in the chapter on homelands in 1972, “Groups and Individuals against Bantustans” and often included a similar subheading in regards to the Coloured People’s Representative Council and the South African Indian Council, appointed political bodies created by the apartheid state.

While *Black Review* generally maintained a factual tone, it naturally paid special attention to the spread of Black Consciousness and student and youth activity. Every edition had a section on Black Consciousness. Like the *SASO Newsletter*, activists used *Black Review* as a place to explain their philosophy. The opportunity to speak for

⁴⁷ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey*, 1971, pp. 38-46.

themselves was one of the purposes of the publication after all. The history of SASO's formation in the 1972 edition,⁴⁸ written by those who led it (Biko was the editor), was more "authentic"⁴⁹ than the *Survey*'s account. When describing the pivotal NUSAS conference in Grahamstown in 1967, the *Survey* deviated from its factual tone with a sympathetic parenthetical comment: "The turning point came at a conference in 1967 when (through no fault of Nusas) the African delegates were accommodated separately from the rest, in the African township."⁵⁰ The authors seemed to use this space to justify white liberal participation in apartheid in reaction to Black Consciousness criticism. When presenting black opinions or reactions, *Black Review* always included the opinions of SASO and the BPC, and sometimes only those opinions. In the 1973 edition, the state of black theater was assessed according to how plays or theater groups measured up to Black Consciousness principles and the nature of their relationships to white theater groups.⁵¹ Paradoxically, by reporting on opposing viewpoints, *Black Review* recorded tensions within the broader black community that the Black Consciousness philosophy failed to fully acknowledge but that activists encountered when carrying out community projects.

⁴⁸ Khoapa, *Black Review* 1972, pp. 18-22.

⁴⁹ Peter Jones, interview, May 14, 2008.

⁵⁰ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey*, p. 245..

⁵¹ Bhekizizwe Peterson, "Culture, Resistance and Representation," in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Volume 2* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006); Mbulelo V. Mzamane, "The Impact of Black Consciousness on Culture," in *Bounds of Possibility* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991); Mphutlane wa Bofelo, "The Influences and Representations of Biko and Black Consciousness in Poetry in Apartheid and Postapartheid South Africa/Azania," in *Biko Lives!*, ed. Andile Mngxitama et al, eds., (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 191-212.

Creating *Black Review*

The process of creating *Black Review* was just as significant as the product. Like the BCP's other projects, it undermined racist white notions of black inferiority. The project also empowered participants, editors based first in Durban, and then in King William's Town, and the team of people the BCP recruited to help in these places and around the country.⁵² Creating *Black Review* involved young men and women who developed a heightened awareness of issues affecting their people and gained writing and researching skills. State repression also restricted who worked on this project while at the same time opening up opportunities for those young men and women to get involved. The repressive political climate also dictated the publishing options open to the BCP.

The fact that a black organization produced *Black Review*, a substantial publication comparable to the *Survey*, proved to various white interests, black readers, and even the BCP itself, that black people could publish a serious, substantial, research publication. Peter Randall conjectured, "I think for many people [white and black] it was a revelation that this kind of [work] was being produced within the black community in South Africa."⁵³ Khoapa recounted how when the BCP first floated the idea, they had difficulties obtaining funding because they competed with the Institute of Race Relations' established and professional publication. Yet, they felt they should push ahead:

We knew that there wasn't very much money running around. So, we wrote to Ford Foundation (and we heard the Ford Foundation was supporting the Institute of Race Relations in producing their *Survey*). And they fronted us by saying, "Yeah, well, you know, you're the top two. We consider it's going to be between yourselves and the Institute of Race Relations *Survey*." Now, already [Institute of Race Relations] publications had four senior executives and an editor and so on; we had nothing. But we

⁵² Thoko Mpumlwana speculated that being interviewed even gave black workers a greater sense of importance. Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, July 24, 2008.

⁵³ Peter Randall, interview, May 13, 2009.

said that, I think we must challenge this thing and we will start it with our news resources.⁵⁴

Despite their inexperience and lack of funding (the Ford Foundation never gave them funding), they proceeded with the project, in part to prove they could. Mafuna had experience as a journalist, Khoapa in preparing reports and Biko in producing the *SASO Newsletter*, but no BCP employee had ever produced a yearbook like *Black Review*. Yet, after conversations about the *Survey* and the need for a black perspective, they said to each other, “Why can’t we do it?” Mafuna stated, “We discussed and we did it. We just put together people and ideas, and we worked day and night.”⁵⁵ Within a few months, the first edition was ready for printing.

The continued success of *Black Review* provided further proof the ability of black South Africans to publish a viable alternative to works such as the *Survey*. In the introduction to the 1974/75 edition, Thoko Mbanjwa [Mpumlwana] wrote, “... the knowledge that this is a Black effort at presenting goings-on in the Black Community; presented with a Black perspective which naturally comes out of Black experience should be more gratifying to us.”⁵⁶ For Thoko Mpumlwana, the *Black Review* became “a show-piece that we can do it. [It was] almost like saying, ‘Here, listen to our story, this is who we are as black people. We are capable of taking our destiny in our own hands. Look at our story.’”⁵⁷ Khoapa and Mafuna argued that Black Consciousness publications had a wider impact than just on those who worked for the BCP. They claimed that *Black Review* gave black presses and authors confidence to publish. In this way, it inspired

⁵⁴ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

⁵⁵ Bokwe Mafuna, interview, November 6, 2008 (first quotation unrecorded).

⁵⁶ Mbanjwa, *Black Review 1974/75*, p. v.

⁵⁷ Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, July 24, 2008.

black writers and contributed to the cultural renaissance considered part of the Black Consciousness movement.⁵⁸ Indeed, some scholars such as Dick Cloete, have pointed to these publications as a catalyst to the “surge in black publishing activity” that followed in the late 1970s and 1980s.⁵⁹

Biko and Mafuna were “at the heart of it”⁶⁰ when the BCP produced the first edition of *Black Review*, but they amassed an army of fellow students and activists who helped collect and organize information at the Beatrice Street office. Since the BCP had not received grant money to do the project the first year, they had to recruit help and put in long hours of work. Khoapa explained, “We would get hold of students that have got nothing to do, bring them down here [Durban] and we would start doing the basic research... We got them during December. One time they sat around and cut papers and so on. We began to have an outline by January of that year. By the end of that month we were able actually to go for publication.”⁶¹

Relying on available friends, fellow activists, and family members was always a part of Black Consciousness projects. Thoko Mpumlwana described the research process as involving “a lot of extraction of information,” first from regular newspapers, then related secondary literature and interviews. Activists and BCP employees who had an

⁵⁸ Peterson, “Culture, Resistance and Representation”; Mzamane, “The Impact of Black Consciousness on Culture”; wa Bofelo, “The Influences and Representations of Biko and Black Consciousness.”

⁵⁹ Cloete, “Alternative Publishing in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s”; Mzamane and Howarth, “Representing Blackness: Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement”; Mzamane, “The Impact of Black Consciousness on Culture”; Peterson, “Culture, Resistance and Representation.” This also had to do with the independent presses at the time, as discussed below.

⁶⁰ Bokwe Mafuna, interview, November 6, 2008.

⁶¹ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008. Ramphele also wrote of the long nights and weekend work at the Beatrice Street office that went into the first edition. See Ramphele, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope,” p. 162.

“interest and ability to write”⁶² and were available to pitch in carried out this research in libraries, by monitoring the news, and by speaking to key people and organizations. Some had more training and formal positions than others. Each year an editorial collective evaluated the themes. Every edition had a central editor with a team of people assigned to focus on certain topics. Khoapa’s name appeared on the 1972 edition, Mafika Gwala on 1973, Thoko Mbanjwa on 1974/75, and Asha Rambally for the 1975/76 edition. Who wrote each chapter can not be determined at this point, however, since the *Black Review* only bore the editor’s name.

After the 1973 edition and the Eastern Cape branch had been established, the editor was based in King William’s Town. (According to Khoapa, Mafika Gwala, the second editor, was “always moving around” and they needed to have someone “who would be within BCP offices” and more stable.⁶³) Yet, some activists conducted research in different parts of the country, where they lived and worked. Peter Jones, for example, wrote a section while based in Cape Town. Like others, he would “go to the libraries, sketch out things, catalog it, record it, speak to people, [even] go around the country.”⁶⁴ In the “midst of all [the research]” the editorial team often held “small discussion groups” and workshops “in order to tease out the issues.”⁶⁵

The BCP utilized SASO students and other youth who hung around the Durban and King William’s Town offices to assist with various production tasks. These young men and women gained an informal education on the issues affecting black communities

⁶² Bennie Khoapa, interview, October 8, 2009.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Peter Jones, interview, April 22, 2006.

⁶⁵ Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, July 24, 2008.

and the skills needed for research and writing. One of the students that Khoapa put to work in Durban was Keith Mokoape, a medical student at the University of Natal. Mokoape left South Africa in 1972 with three other SASO students to engage in the armed struggle with the ANC in exile. He became part of the Umkhonto we Sizwe command in Botswana and Swaziland, and, after 1994, a general in the South African Defence Force. Khoapa remembered how Mokoape thanked him for his personal political education:

[Mokoape] said, “Go and tell them you taught me the first thing of politics.” I said, “How did I do that?” He said, “We were sitting around doing nothing one time at the SASO offices and you said you were looking for students to go and interview for some social institute study that [you] were making, and [you] gave us some forms and we went out to Clermont” (which is not very far from here, in Pinetown). He said, “It was the first time I had actually spoken to an African woman in a family and asked her questions about her life in [the township]. At the time to you it was just like, ‘Have you finished that?’ But to me,” he says, “it opened my mind for the first time to the life of a black person in South Africa. And I believe that my political education started from that time on.”⁶⁶

In King William’s Town, the BCP benefited from the work of a young woman who also gained an education by working on *Black Review*. Thoko (née Mbanjwa) Mpumlwana’s work with BCP publications began after the student strikes at Fort Hare in 1972. She was among the SASO students expelled for their activism. A letter from Fort Hare’s rector permitted her to study through UNISA from her home in Zwelitsha. Unintentionally, this decision allowed her to become more involved at the BCP/SASO offices in Leopold Street in King William’s Town. She continued her studies but did not have to attend lectures so she had time to volunteer for the BCP. “And,” she added, “anyway I was too angry to really focus on reading.” The BCP put her to work doing research for the *Black Review*. Thoko Mpumlwana credits her involvement with the

⁶⁶ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

project for heightening her political awareness and critical reading of the news. She found working on *Black Review* “so exciting” because of the way the staff read and analyzed the news:

But when you read a newspaper, it was not about reading the entire newspaper. You would actually focus on what is happening in the black community. What does the newspaper say? When you listen to the news, you are listening in as far as, in what way does this impact on the black community? In what way are black people mobilizing themselves? What are black people saying on various topics? And then we’d also be involved in small discussion groups and focus groups and workshops in order to then tease out issues that we hear.

Mpumlwana also gained an education in writing and analysis by working on *Black Review*. She told me of her first attempt at writing a report and how Biko helped her sharpen her skills:

I always tell people about Steve’s intervention. Here I was coming from university, thinking that I know it all and I was asked to write an article to review something. So I sat and I wrote. I gave it to Steve, “How is this? Have I articulated things properly?” He looked at it and said, “This is absolute nonsense!” [laughs] He said, “You better get your act together.” And I was so fed up. He said, “No, you’ve got to learn to do it right.” ... but he made me realize that I had a lot to learn. He was good at coaching so he coached and ... I improved in my writing, in my analysis, and in my ability. [chuckles] I really got it there. I didn’t get it at Fort Hare.⁶⁷

Mpumlwana said that although Biko was strict and had a high standard of work, he “went with you”; he took the time to show her how she needed to work.⁶⁸ So, although she was at first “fed up” with his criticism, in the end she was grateful for the way Biko pushed her to produce better work.

The BCP began to pay Thoko Mpumlwana a small stipend for “subsistence and travel.” She quickly improved her skills and became more involved in *Black Review*. The detention of BCP staff sped up this process as it necessitated the involvement of others in the publication projects. This was another reason that a number of people

⁶⁷ Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, July 24, 2008.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

worked on *Black Review* and that sometimes the work carried on in Durban and at other times in King William's Town. Thoko Mpumlwana stated, "Of course, those days, the difficulty was that we had to learn fast because the turnover was very high with people... being banned all the time." When the top "layer" working on a project was detained or banned, those working underneath them had to "immediately take over."⁶⁹ The BCP prepared for this. "In fact," she added, "as part of our training in our work, we were to be always ready to take over any aspect of work at BCP because it was anticipated that the 'system' would try to destroy our work by imprisoning or banning people."⁷⁰

Malusi Mpumlwana explained that the *Black Review* had a different editor every year because of actions taken against the BCP. Biko served as the first editor, but the state banned him just as the publication headed to the printer. This delayed distribution for one month since Biko's banning orders prevented his words from appearing in print. Khoapa assumed the editorship to allow the publication of the 1972 edition. Khoapa himself received banning orders a few months after *Black Review* was distributed. Mafika Pascal Gwala, an aspiring black poet and writer who later contributed to *Staffrider* the Sowetan literary magazine begun in 1978, then served as the editor for the 1973 edition. Khoapa explained that they chose Gwala because he had the skill, but was not a high-profile person and thus less likely to be banned. He said, "People like Mafika were just people that we knew that had the interest and ability to write, but were still safe enough as far as the system was concerned."⁷¹ But, Gwala "wasn't very easy to get a hold of" because he moved around so much. In 1975, the BCP moved the editorial team

⁶⁹ Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, July 24, 2008.

⁷⁰ Thoko Mpumlwana, email correspondence with the author, September 14, 2009.

⁷¹ Bennie Khoapa, interview, October 8, 2009.

to the King William's Town office, where Biko could be "close by (editorially speaking)" to the people who were "still growing," and could give "ready advice."⁷² Thoko Mbanjwa's name appears on the 1974/75 edition as editor, a position she retained until she was banned in 1976. Asha Rambally's name appears on the 1975/76 cover under a blackened line where Thoko Mbanjwa's name had been printed.⁷³ Rambally, an activist from Durban, then took the position for the following year, working mainly out of the Durban offices. Her appointment is further evidence of women's central role in BCP's projects as well as the importance of Indians and Coloureds in the movement, especially in Durban and Cape Town.

As women, Thoko Mpumlwana and Asha Rambally were not editors in name only. Many informants referred me to Mpumlwana because of her intimate involvement in the process. Although the BCP appointed Thoko Mpumlwana and Asha Rambally to fill positions made vacant by state repression, they also had skills and knowledge that qualified them for those roles. Mpumlwana herself did not remember feeling hindered by the fact that she was a woman, although she admitted that perhaps she and other women "were just not aware [of discrimination] because we focused on what we were seeking to achieve."⁷⁴

Police action against the BCP affected who was available to work on *Black Review* as well as who was willing to print it. Ravan Press printed the 1972 edition. This

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, July 24, 2008. See also Peterson, "Culture, Resistance and Representation," pp. 182-185, where he explores the male-centered literary cultural production of the 1970s black renaissance. The Institute of Race Relations also had women working on publications in key positions. In 1971, Ellen Hellmann, the chair of the research committee, offered a special thanks to the Research Officer, Muriel Horrell, who prepared the *Survey* for the previous twenty-one years.

was fitting because of the relationship the BCP had with Peter Randall, one of the founders of Ravan Press. Randall's name contributed to the "Ra" in Ravan Press. The "va" came from the name of Danie van Zyl and the "n" from Beyers Naudé. Randall, van Zyl, and Naudé formed Ravan Press at the end of 1972 to act as the printer for Sprocas and the Christian Institute with the view of evolving into a full publishing house.⁷⁵ Ravan Press was one of three independent presses that arose in the early 1970s and supported black authors and published radical works. The other two were David Philip and Ad Donker. Phaswane Mpe and Monica Seeber wrote that Ravan "produced arguably the most substantial body of anti-apartheid literature – poetry as well as prose – and radical, innovative research."⁷⁶ One of Ravan's first and more successful titles, a collection of poems by James Mathews, *Cry Rage*, sold out and was in a second round of printing when it was banned. Ravan employees also founded the black-owned publishing house, Skotaville. The second edition of *Black Review* was printed by Zenith Printers, a new printing company launched by the Christian Institute when Ravan Press stopped printing and focused on publishing. According to Khoapa, the BCP continued to rely on Randall's advice because of his expertise in publishing.⁷⁷

Lovedale Press printed *Black Review* in 1975 and 1976. Located in Alice, it was close to the BCP offices in King William's Town, where the editorial team was based during those years. This mission-based press also had a history of publishing black

⁷⁵ G.E. de Villiers, ed., *Ravan – Twenty five Years (1972-1997): A Commemorative Volume of New Writing* (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1997).

⁷⁶ Phaswane Mpe and Monica Seeber, "The Politics of Book Publishing in South Africa: A Critical Overview," in Evans and Seeber, *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa*, p. 27.

⁷⁷ Bennie Khoapa, interview, October 8, 2009.

authors, albeit a complex one.⁷⁸ Lovedale Press was also more prone to printing academic books. That is, when, as Peter Jones put it, *Black Review* was not “too hot.” Its factual presentation did not call directly for political action. However, after the 1976 student uprisings changed the political climate, Lovedale Press was reluctant to print a BCP publication. Printing such material could be expensive for presses forced to recall publications of a banned person, destroy works already printed, or spend hours blacking out passages by banned individuals.⁷⁹ In fact, Lovedale declined to print the 1976/1977 issue. Jones said they did not do it in an “ugly way,” but explained that they “always have attracted problems when we issue these things” and did not want to invite more police intervention.⁸⁰ Whereas Ravan and Zenith were willing to print *Black Review* because of its content and purpose, Lovedale would not. Ravan and Zenith supported the rising alternative press in the 1970s, but this mission press had to make a profit and stick with printing “safe” material.⁸¹

The Possibilities and Limitations of *Black Review*’s Distribution and Impact

Once the *Black Review* made it to the printers, the next step was to distribute it. The BCP’s target audiences were black people in the townships and black organizations who could use the information in formulating strategies for the future.⁸² The challenges the BCP faced in printing, funding, and distributing *Black Review* limited its contributions to

⁷⁸ Jeff Peires, “The Lovedale Press: Literature for the Bantu Revisited,” *History in Africa* 6 (1979): 155-175; Switzer, *South Africa's Alternative Press*.

⁷⁹ See Peter Randall, interview, May 13, 2009, Letter from Peter Randall to Spro-cas publication subscribers, entitled, “Spro-cas: Some Publishing Problems,” October 10, 1973. A835, C1, Cullen.

⁸⁰ Peter Jones, interview, May 14, 2008.

⁸¹ Switzer, *South Africa's Alternative Press*, p. 2.

⁸² Or opinion makers as Thoko Mpumlwana put it. See also Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

community development. South African book retailers would not sell *Black Review* and its target audience generally could not afford it. The BCP had to rely on its funders to subsidize the publication and distribute it on its own. Despite its limitations, there is evidence that *Black Review* did have some of its desired impact among black academics, students and activist, and some local community members. BCP resource centers in Umlazi and King William's Town played an important role in making available the raw materials of *Black Review*, the finished product, as well as other "relevant information" in order to develop a positive black identity, conscientize, and inspire further action in local communities. These centers, along with *Black Review*, contributed to a program of informal education that the BCP attempted to build for the development of black individuals and the black community.

Distribution, according to Khoapa, was always a problem. *Black Review* "was never going to be a business proposition," he said.⁸³ Bookshops would not sell it because of the lack of a market and fear of attracting police attention. Peter Randall explained how Ravan Press "limped along" in its first years of existence because of the indirect restrictions the state placed on them through "the fear of the book sellers to stock its titles." Describing a familiar story for alternative and resistance presses at the time, he said, "Book stores were actually visited by the security police and told, 'You don't stock that sort of stuff otherwise there will be problems.'"⁸⁴ Moreover, at the time, few book stores catered for black people, partly because the stores would not make a large profit.

The BCP subsidized *Black Review* and distributed it on its own. Thus, the *Black Review* challenged white production of knowledge about black South Africa as part of an

⁸³ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

⁸⁴ Peter Randall, interview, May 13, 2009.

alternative black press, while at the same time it relied on funding from their regular sources discussed in previous chapters, which could be characterized as white: foreign churches or South African “liberal” ecumenical organizations. But, because of the limited market and the repressive political environment, the BCP had to find a way to pay for and circulate the yearbook. The first line of distribution of anywhere from an estimated eight hundred to two thousand copies printed, according to Jones, was black institutions or organizations “of all kinds.” Those listed in the *Black Review* such as ASSECA, IDAMASA or welfare organizations would have been included on the distribution list. Free copies went to strategic institutions the BCP wanted to influence or inform about their philosophy. This included university libraries and embassies.⁸⁵ In an effort to reach “the public at large” the BCP sent copies to the South African national library. At other times, university libraries or organizations such as the Institute of Race Relations bought copies. Individuals who could afford it bought *Black Review* from the BCP directly at its offices, by mail, or at meetings. Jones remembered selling *Black Review* at Black Consciousness gatherings or other gatherings of organizations sympathetic to Black Consciousness.

The majority of black people the BCP wanted to reach were too poor to buy it, which also necessitated subsidies for the publication. Khoapa explained, “The population that we were aiming this thing at just could not afford even the purchase of a SASO newsletter.” The *SASO Newsletter* first sold for ten, then twenty and thirty cents, which even “very highly motivated” students could not always buy.⁸⁶ *Black Review* 1972 sold for R2. The price rose with subsequent editions (selling for R3 and R4). With an

⁸⁵ Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, July 24, 2008.

⁸⁶ See Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

estimated average income for African working men between R13 and R32 per week in 1973, and 61% of African female workers earning less than R10 per week (with only slightly higher figures for Coloured and Indian people) selling a two-hundred paged book in English in townships would have been difficult.⁸⁷ Some institutions and people brought money in when they bought the book, “But otherwise the community itself, which was the one that we were much more concerned about, that people must actually read this in the townships and so on. They couldn’t afford it.”⁸⁸

Reaching a wide audience in the townships challenged the BCP. Assessing the impact on the “public at large” also poses problems. First, if the BCP kept track of distribution numbers, those records were confiscated by the security police. The records of both Ravan and Lovedale Press have been difficult to locate as well. I was told in a phone conversation with Lovedale Press in March, 2010 that the press’ records from the 1970s were burned in 1985. After the end of apartheid, Ravan Press found it difficult to operate successfully in a commercial environment. By the late 1990s, the press was subsumed by another company.⁸⁹ On the other hand, distribution numbers do not always indicate how many people read or are influenced by a certain publication. How many people read one copy of *Black Review*, and where? Also, what was the real impact of government censorship? Banning a book could have prohibited its further circulation, but also increased its readership as people would want to know what the government did

⁸⁷ South African Institute of Race Relations, *Survey, 1973*, pp. 202-205.

⁸⁸ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008. See also editions that list the price for previous editions.

⁸⁹ de Villiers, *Twenty five Years*, pp. 19-23. I am still trying to locate that company and the records of Ravan Press.

not want them to read.⁹⁰ Then there is the question of measuring the publication's influence on those who read it. Unlike community newspapers in the 1980s, or organizational newsletters such as *SASO Newsletter*, *Black Review* was not focused on politically mobilizing a narrowly defined audience, but rather on sparking debate and dialogue and changing black South African perspectives. This makes it more difficult to measure its impact on individual ways of thinking and acting.

Even so, memories and some reports of BCP employees indicate that *Black Review* and other BCP publications did reach a number of audiences and had a fairly large readership. Khoapa estimated that Ravan Press printed just under one thousand copies of the first edition, though Peter Randall felt this may be a conservative number (since Ravan Press had a usual print run of 2,000-3,000 at the time).⁹¹ Khoapa roughly characterized the first batch of the yearbook as "library copies" since libraries were the first to buy the review. Activists, academics, or other interested individuals bought them as well. The BCP estimated that each copy would have circulated between ten and fifteen people in libraries or through individuals.⁹² This means that even if half of the copies of *Black Review 1972* were circulated in this way, it could have been read by five thousand people or more. The BCP ordered almost double the number of copies for the second and third editions⁹³; however, Khoapa felt that the first edition was the most popular. He speculated that the third edition did not sell as well due to the fear of police

⁹⁰ Luyanda ka Msumza, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, December 2, 2008, Mdantsane.

⁹¹ Bennie Khoapa, phone interview by the author, May 3, 2010. Peter Randall, personal correspondence with the author by email, May 4, 2010.

⁹² Bennie Khoapa, interview, May 3, 2010.

⁹³ Malusi Mpumlwana remembered that they ordered 1,000 copies at a time for each edition, and that they had ordered more for some of the editions (he does not remember which ones in particular). Malusi Mpumlwana, phone conversation, May 5, 2010.

harassment and the lower quality of the edition as they scrambled to find someone to fill the position as chief editor (the position Thoko Mpumlwana stepped into). According to Khoapa, state censorship also harmed circulation for the 1973 and 1975/76 editions.⁹⁴

As it circulated through libraries and grew in popularity, *Black Review* became a trusted source of information on black activity in South Africa for those in black academic circles. As a thick annual review, it is more likely that the book would have been read by people in this audience. Thoko Mpumlwana stated that once they sent the book to libraries, “What they did with them, we don’t know,” but they heard that students and other groups used the book as a reference and the basis for discussion groups. In the introduction to the 1974/75 edition, Thoko Mpumlwana wrote of how she heard Rev. S.M. Mogoba, lecturer at the Federal Theological Seminary, tell others that *Black Review* was “very useful whenever he and his colleagues had to talk about any field of black experience in any gathering,” leading him to declare that the publication was “like the Bible.”⁹⁵ *Black Review* must have made a strong impression on Rev. Mogoba, for a man of the cloth to make such a statement. Perhaps he appreciated the content focused on black people, the amount of information it covered, or adhered to the perspective it took.

The publication reportedly also aided organizations and Black Consciousness circles in discussions of events, initiatives, and developments. The *Black Review* reported that the hundreds of copies of the 1972 edition had been used by “public libraries, educational and research institutions, students of race relations, and individuals

⁹⁴ Ibid. A WorldCat catalogue search for *Black Review* as a periodical results in over sixty libraries world wide that hold one or more editions of the publication.

⁹⁵ Mbanjwa, *Black Review 1974/1975*, p. v.

interested” in black community development.⁹⁶ Roughly between 1972 and 1976, Jones was involved in various Black Consciousness organizations while living in Cape Town where he ran projects in his own community and neighboring areas. When remembering how he was involved with SASO and other organizations at the national level, he described how they “were connected in ongoing discussions, and exchanging ideas.” Many times, the material for these discussions came from the *Black Review*.⁹⁷ *Black Review* reported on the activities of educational, cultural, welfare, and religious groups working in black communities. If people knew that the Association for Self-Help planned to run a “communal buying scheme,”⁹⁸ or that the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center had expanded their hall to include women’s craft groups and agricultural projects, they might take some ideas from that or coordinate. Among black academics and community organizations then, *Black Review*, available in libraries and at conferences, provided trusted information and inspired discussions and debates. In this sense, it reached its goal of contributing to development by helping those groups evaluate current events and efforts in order to determine the most appropriate future action to take.

One way the BCP tried to reach local community members was through resource centers. Looking at who frequented those centers can help determine the reach of the BCP’s publication and research programs. For interested community members, resource centers became libraries of information and places to “meet and talk.”⁹⁹ The BCP intended to train future leaders and “promote black creativity, self-reliance and a sense of

⁹⁶ Mafika Pascal Gwala, ed., *Black Review 1973* (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1974), Front Matter.

⁹⁷ Peter Jones, interview, April 22, 2006.

⁹⁸ Gwala, *Black Review 1973*, p. 2.

⁹⁹ Bennie Khoapa, interview, June 4, 2008.

purpose” by offering “facts and figures” and other information on “black life” at these centers.¹⁰⁰ This included collecting and displaying “black cultural artifacts” such as beadwork, woodwork, painting, and sculpture, and developing a library of black poetry, music, speeches, talks, and papers (of course on what BCP deemed as “relevant topics”).¹⁰¹ They also planned to “collect for general readership all publications by black people in South Africa, the rest of Africa and other parts of the world.”¹⁰² The centers were open for people to “come and read, refer, borrow, and list materials of importance.”¹⁰³ They would be open for professionals for “informal tutoring” and would serve as after-school centers where high school and university students could study.¹⁰⁴

While BCP offices acted informally as resource centers, the BCP officially opened resource centers in Umlazi, King William’s Town, and Soweto in 1976 (once the BCP had the finances and space). The BCP employed a full-time supervisor to manage each of these centers, including Mrs N. Made in Umlazi and Mrs. Nomsa Williams in King William’s Town. The King William’s Town center occupied the main hall of the Leopold Street office. In 1976, the BCP reported that the Resource Center in King William’s Town was a center for educational activities and a place that held readings for the public. The Umlazi center had a hall especially built for conference meetings and a resource center.

¹⁰⁰ See BCP, “Proposal to The Ford Foundation,” p. 12; BCP, “1972 Year Report,” p. 6; “BCP Budget Proposals – 1973.”

¹⁰¹ “BCP Budget Proposals – 1973.”

¹⁰² BCP, “Proposal to The Ford Foundation,” p. 13.

¹⁰³ BCP, “1972 Year Report.”

¹⁰⁴ BCP, “1974 Report,” KG-Aluka.



Figure 6: The interior of the King William's Town Resource Center.¹⁰⁵

The BCP 1976 yearly report stated that the center in Umlazi was open to professional groups and self-help, church, social welfare, and cultural groups.¹⁰⁶ The BCP hoped that community members would utilize the centers to buy or read material like *Black Review*. Not only would the centers hold printed copies of the publication, but collections of newspapers they had compiled during the research process. In addition, patrons could access other educational, literary, and musical materials.

According to Jones, Mpumlwana, and Khoapa, youths (particularly high school and university students), teachers, and other people with the interest, time, and ability to

¹⁰⁵ BCP Limited, "Projects and People," 1977, AAS20, UNISA.

¹⁰⁶ BCP Limited, "BCP 1976 Report." The idea of a resource center was not unique to the BCP. For example, the Christian Institute had a resource center in Cape Town. The Wilgespruit Center or the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Center had similar functions.

read, visited the centers. This was the case in King William's Town where the Leopold Street church was a hub of activity. Nohle Mohapi, the branch administrator remembered those who came to the resource center as "teachers, religious people, students, community members." She said even journalists visited the center. "So," she concluded, "it was a really community program [sic]."¹⁰⁷ It is possible that these visitors read *Black Review*, or at least had some exposure to the materials BCP employees used to create the yearbook.

Black youths who hung around the BCP and SASO offices and resource centers became conscientized (or politicized) through their exposure or involvement there. They may not have had the money to purchase a copy of *Black Review*, but it is highly likely one copy held at a resource center easily passed through the hands of dozens of high school and university students. One such youth was Luyanda ka Msumza, a smart, politically active, high school student and neighbor to the Biko family in Ginsberg.¹⁰⁸ When I interviewed him in 2008, he still owned copies of *Black Review*. As a young man, "It was a piece of [available] work" that he could digest. For him *Black Review*'s significance was two-fold. He viewed it as "giving a new voice and a new dimension" to government reports and white media coverage (including the *Survey*) so that one could have a "comprehensive picture of the happenings within the country." He also said it portrayed people as "champions of their own destiny." Whereas the *Survey* seemed to focus on "the suppression and the oppression," *Black Review* portrayed people like striking workers as proactively addressing their problems. He viewed it as really

¹⁰⁷ Nohle Mohapi, interview by the author, October 30, 2008, Port Elizabeth.

¹⁰⁸ Msumza went into exile in 1977, joined the PAC and stayed in Lesotho and Tanzania, then lived and worked in the United States before returning to South Africa after 1994.

authentic. Msumza acknowledged his bias in assessing the importance of *Black Review*. He knew the people who produced and as a high school student who admired their views and work, “looked at them with some awe and envy.”¹⁰⁹ Although anecdotal evidence, his comments suggest that the possible hundreds of others who frequented BCP resource centers and read *Black Review* also valued its particular black perspective, found trusted information, or gained pride after reading about the activities and achievements of black South Africans.

Conclusion

Physically, *Black Review* survived longer than the BCP and its other programs. In October, 1977, the police confiscated all the material in the resource centers and *Black Review* became prohibited material as a publication of the banned BCP. In a way, the police were too late. *Black Review* had already been published, distributed, and read, even if by a fewer number of people than the BCP had hoped. Just as it is difficult to track the impact of the publication on those who read it, it would have been difficult for the police to stifle it.

Through both the product and process of *Black Review*, the BCP challenged the apartheid paradigm and contributed to black community development at different levels. The publication was symbolic of black success in publishing and the production of knowledge. *Black Review* was completely directed and carried out by black people. It purposefully countered the Institute of Race Relations *Survey*, reporting on similar issues, but providing black perspectives and focusing on the information the BCP deemed

¹⁰⁹ See Luyanda ka Msumza, interview, December 2, 2008.

pertinent and interesting to black people. The result was a yearbook that both favored the Black Consciousness perspective and presented the opinions of various black people, including Indian and Coloured people, students and workers, and government-created leaders. By highlighting black achievements and as part of the Black Consciousness body of publications, *Black Review* also helped serve as a catalyst for subsequent black publishing that came in the late 1970s and 1980s.

The history of *Black Review* shares much in common with other BCP development initiatives. The activities of state security forces negatively affected participation and the BCP's printing options. Young students and women such as Mokoape, Gwala, and Thoko Mpumlwana were empowered through their production and publication work, gaining new skills and professional experience. While the *Black Review* struggled to develop a large readership, there is some evidence that did reach some of its goals among a number of black intellectuals, activists, and others in local community resources centers. Overall, by providing crucial information for debate, discussion, and inspiration, the *Black Review* improved many individuals' self-awareness and ability to analyze problems and devise solutions as they worked towards liberation.

Chapter 5

The Njwaxa Leather-work Factory: Black Consciousness vs. Separate Development in the Rural Ciskei

In Njwaxa, the BCP embarked on a small scale manufacturing program focused on economic upliftment and skill development. This stood in contrast to unequal and misdirected grand apartheid “separate development” and other welfare and relief programs that gave limited relief but did not empower. The BCP built a people-centered and black-managed factory, based on its philosophy of self-reliance and liberation that brought employment opportunities into the heart of the homeland and empowered villagers, particularly poor rural women. This cut at the core of apartheid ideology, leading the state to destroy the factory in 1977. Although, state repression did not allow the BCP time to resolve the factory’s reliance on outside funds or hire the one hundred people on the waiting list, the BCP succeeded in giving many villagers means to support their families, send their children to school, gain marketable skills, and improved their sense of human dignity.

Black Consciousness philosophy and methods, influenced by Freireian ideas, were key to the growth of the factory. The ability of the BCP to creatively use its connections to recruit people and obtain resources in a politically hostile environment, the role of young female activists and villagers, and the relationship the BCP had with priests, theological students and a local ecumenical organization also determined the nature and development of the factory. Utilizing government reports, academic studies, and newspaper articles, the chapter first describes Njwaxa in the 1960s and government, business, and welfare organization development and relief efforts in the Ciskei. It then

explains the beginnings of the Njwaxa factory as a home-industry and how it developed into a small factory. Based largely on oral history interviews, BCP reports, and South African Council of Churches records, it recounts how the BCP was brought to Njwaxa through Father Timothy Stanton, an Anglican priest in Alice who initiated a sewing project there with village women. The BCP relied on a young woman, Vuyo Mpumlwana, to run the factory within its first year. The chapter discusses the good relations between her and the villagers and among the female employees. State repression and financial limitations (linked together) inhibited the factory's work at times, but also ironically led to the increased capacity of the factory when the BCP recruited a skilled craftsman, Voti Samela, as the second manager. The chapter also discusses BCP management and concludes with testimonies of how the factory gave people skills and products to market, and instilled courage. This remarkable factory proved that black people could successfully run a specialized factory without white direction or ownership.

Njwaxa, Responses to Homeland Poverty, and the Facade of Apartheid "Separate Development" in the 1960s and 1970s

From King William's Town, it takes thirty to forty minutes to drive the nearly thirty miles to Njwaxa, about six miles past the town of Middledrift, off the main road towards Alice. Voti Samela, the last manager of the factory described it as 'the bundus.'¹ The rolling hills that slope towards the Tyumie River hint that the Amathole Mountain range is not far away. In the early 1970s, Njwaxa was a typical Ciskei rural village secluded

¹ Voti Samela, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, August 6, 2008, Roivaal Administration District/Kwa Gcina.

from urban areas, but significantly tied to them. Like the rest of the Ciskei and other homelands, its people were impoverished and dependent on wages from migrant labor. Various groups in society had different approaches to addressing these conditions. During the 1960s and early 1970s, as the South African government reconfigured the political structures and authority of the homelands for “independence,” it began to focus on agricultural and industrial development in – or near – the homelands. Yet, because these efforts were guided by apartheid ideology and meant to ultimately serve white business and political interests, they did not have a far-reaching impact. Other welfare and charitable relief generally came in the form of “schemes” (milk schemes, soup schemes) or ration distribution and also proved unsustainable. Local priests and the Border Council of Churches attempted to build the self-sufficiency of poor villagers with home-industry projects. These approaches resembled the ideals of the BCP, which had close association with Border Council of Churches, and local priests who then asked the BCP to take over the Njwaxa project.

Njwaxa was a small village with tenuous living conditions in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A 1965 “Reclamation and Settlement” report for Njwaxa estimated that 1,723 people lived in the area of 1600 morgen (3387 acres). According to the report, nearly sixty percent of 299 families in Njwaxa had land rights, while 35 per cent owned neither land nor live-stock. Those who had livestock, kept cattle, sheep, and goats. The major crops cultivated were maize, sorghum, and peas. A few successful farmers made a living off the land, but that was not always reliable. The climate was arid to semi-arid, receiving 18-20 inches of rainfall per year. The Tyumie River and one borehole with a hand pump provided the village with water. The soil was reportedly “fairly fertile”, yet

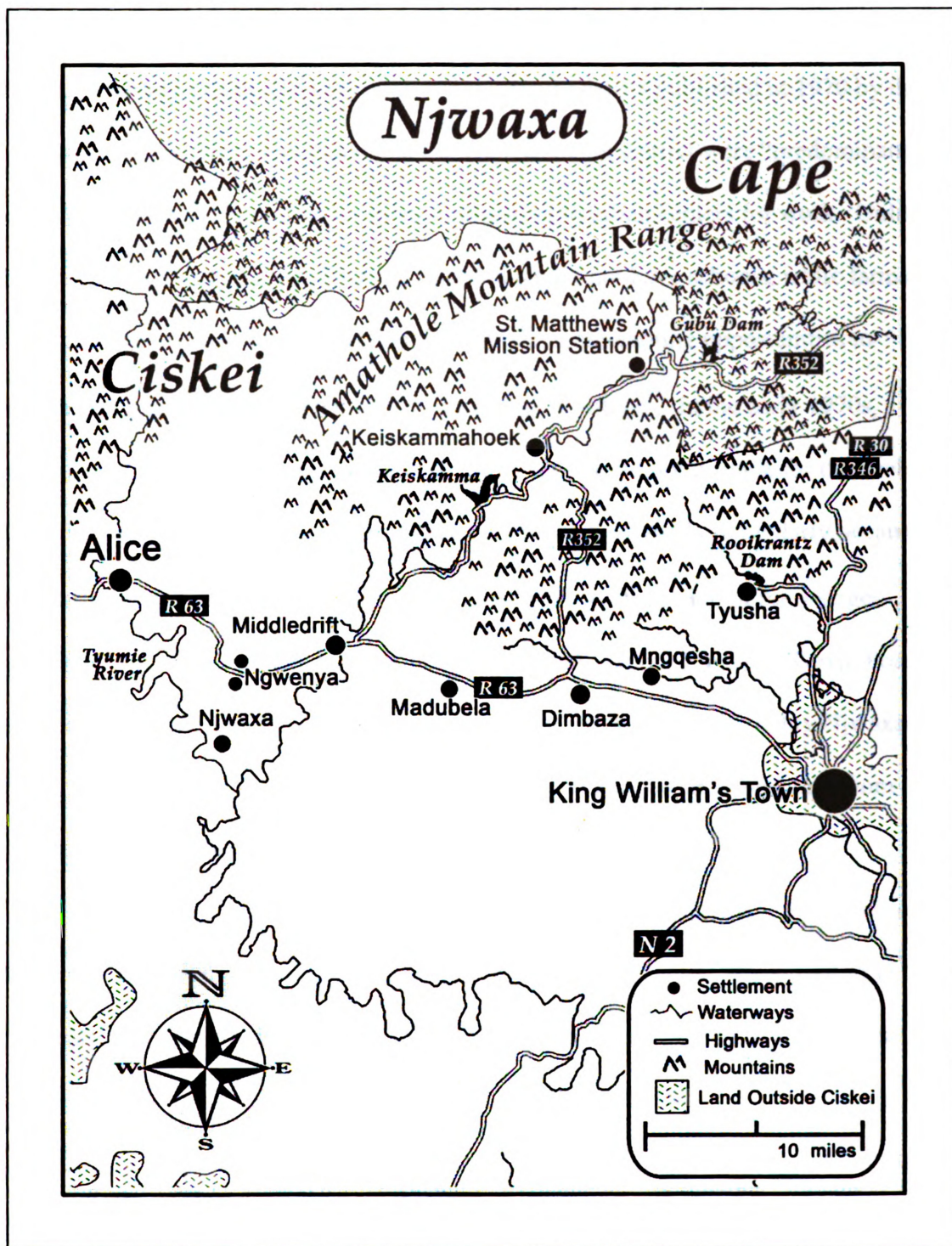
badly eroded in some parts and the veld cover was “fair in parts” but “otherwise poor.”²

Droughts, which came often, could easily have devastating effects on Njwaxa residents.

Many villagers did not have other means of employment and depended on their crops and stock, pensions, or other villagers to survive if their crops and stock failed.³

² “Reclamation and Settlement of Njwaxa Location No. 18, District of Middledrift,” November 3, 1965, Reference no. N2/11/3/27, National Archives SAB BAO 20/615, H128/1431/18.

³ Ibid. See also Meetings of Headmen and People, Victoria East, December 30, 1965, and District Administration Meeting, June 26, 1968, Box 38 N1/15/4, Eastern Cape Archives and Records; Sabra Study Group of Fort Hare, *The Ciskei – A Bantu Homeland: A General Survey* (Alice: Fort Hare University Press, 1971); Nontozande Nofence James, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, June 26, 2008, Njwaxa; Novayi Jekwa, interview by the author, March 13 2008, Beacon Bay, East London.



Map 5: Njwaxa

In many ways, economic and environmental pressures made Njwaxa typical of the region. A socio-economic survey of the Middledrift District published in 1970 by the University of Fort Hare concluded that the villages in the district were “predominantly feminine” due to the high number of men migrating to urban centers for work. Unlike the neighboring Victoria East District, Middledrift did not have schools, white farms, or a well developed trading center that could provide income-earning opportunities to supplement farming and allow people to stay in their village.⁴ In the early 1970s, Njwaxa residents needed wages to pay for goods they could not provide for themselves, which included food and school fees. Cultivation had decreased, particularly because of drought, and men and some young women looked for work outside of the villages.⁵ Migrants found employment in the mines on the Rand or moved to Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and East London for domestic, piecemeal, or factory jobs. Many Njwaxa residents struggled to meet their basic needs as they waited for promised cash from absent family members.

Historically, the plight of the rural poor in the “Native Reserves” had been a concern of the South African government only when it affected the labor pool or in times of catastrophic famine and drought. The government did not generally develop the

⁴ P.J. de Vos, et al, *A Socio-economic and Educational Survey of the Bantu Residing in the Victoria-East, Middledrift and Zwelitsha Areas of the Ciskei* (University of Fort Hare, 1970), p. 25.

⁵ M.M. and B.E. Nakase and Nokukwaka Cola, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, July 3, 2008, Njwaxa; Rev. David Russell, interview by the author, 15 May, 2008, Cape Town; Novayi Jekwa, interview, March 13, 2008. In, “Ciskei farming problems,” 30 May 1974, *Daily Dispatch*, Dr. Tait, a senior lecturer in geography at Fort Hare said the Ciskei had “possibly the lowest agricultural production per unit area in the world.” The most serious problem, in his view, was low production from farming enterprises. It is possible that the betterment policies planned for Njwaxa in the 1960s decreased the ability or interest to rely on crop cultivation and stock for sustenance. The initial plan to change the environmental practices of Njwaxa included a decrease in cultivation (from 805 to 471 morgens of cultivated land) to free land for grazing, as well as the culling of stock to be replenished by more sustainable breeds. See “Reclamation and Settlement of Njwaxa Location.”

infrastructure of rural reserves and missionaries had taken on the responsibility of establishing schools and providing healthcare (though they increasingly relied on government subsidies). With the implementation of apartheid, the government changed its policies. In order to realize Verwoerd's vision of grand apartheid, it had to make the homelands viable as independent nations. Verwoerd called this impossible "big idea" separate development, describing it in a patronizing manner as "the growth of something for oneself and one's nation, due to one's own endeavors."⁶ In reality, this meant that white South Africans could develop South Africa for themselves and relegate Africans to their small and under-developed regions. The apartheid government knew, however, that without improvement of homeland agriculture and economies, this would not work.⁷ In the 1960s and 1970s, the state started to promote agricultural and economic initiatives to curb African migration to the major economic areas and entice more people to stay in the homelands.⁸ However, top-down and geared to favor white people, these initiatives largely failed.

⁶ As quoted in Nancy L. Clark and William H. Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (Harlow; New York: Longman, 2004), p. 60.

⁷ P.A. Black wrote that one could argue that "the policy to develop the Ciskei has generally arisen from a realization of the basic untenability of a system which is based on inequalities between individuals, regions, and nations," in "Economic Development for the Ciskei," Nancy Charton, ed., *Ciskei: Economics and Politics of Dependence in a South African Homeland* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 16-29.

⁸ Les Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), pp. 340-345; Charton, ed., *Ciskei: Economics and Politics of Dependence*, Chapter 2 and 12; Jeffrey Butler, Robert I. Rotberg, and John Adams, *The Black Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1977); Fred T. Hendricks, *The Pillars of Apartheid: Land Tenure, Rural Planning and the Chieftancy* (Uppsala: Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1990). For more on economic development in the Ciskei see Simon Bekker's work, such as Simon Bekker, P.A. Black, and A.D. Roux, *Development Issues in Ciskei* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1982). The Tomlinson Commission and Report of 1954 that reported on the poor state of homeland agricultural, insufficient land and lack of economic development, was meant to assess the homeland situation and thus the possibilities of implementing a policy change.

Agricultural development initiatives first came in the form of betterment policies. In the 1960s the government, building on a program begun in the 1930s, sent agents to demarcate land into residential, arable, and grazing zones in villages, to supposedly decrease soil erosion and increase the ability of people to live off the land. Yet, betterment generally tended to reconfigure villages in a way that reduced the amount of arable land and correspondingly, farming income. Because of this and the top-down non-consultative nature of its implementation, betterment projects often caused social disruption and met resistance.⁹ It also could not accommodate the population growth of the Ciskei due to forced relocations – which in the rural areas increased by 54 per cent in the 1970s.¹⁰ In the mid-1970s, the South African and Ciskei governments began to promote more, larger commercial agricultural enterprises, such as dairy farming or pineapple plantations.¹¹ But these only benefited a few, including Ciskei National Independence Party members loyal to Sebe.

A shift in the economic policies of the government accompanied attempts at agricultural development, though these too did not result in far-reaching improvements. In the 1960s, the government moved towards a new policy of economic decentralization to spread industrial and commercial development to cities aside from the Vaal triangle, Cape Town, Durban, and Port Elizabeth. The state enticed investors and industrialists to

⁹ For example, see the work of Chris de Wet, *Moving Together, Drifting Apart: Betterment Planning and Villagisation in a South African Homeland* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995); Chris de Wet and Michael Whisson, eds., *From Reserve to Region: Apartheid and Social Change in the Keiskammahoek District of (former) Ciskei, 1950-1990* (Grahamstown: Institute for Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, 1997); P.A. McAllister, "Resistance to 'Betterment' in the Transkei: A Case Study from Willowvale District," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15, no. 2 (January 1989): 346-368.

¹⁰ Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*, p. 336.

¹¹ Butler, Rotberg, and Adams, *The Black Homelands of South Africa*, pp. 181-191; Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*, p. 344; Deputy minister of Bantu Development Mr. A.J. Raubenheimer, "Homelands urged to develop land," *Daily Dispatch*, December 6, 1973; "R1.35m to be spent on Ciskei agriculture," *Daily Dispatch*, June 6, 1973; "Abraham appeals to Xhosa farmers," *Daily Dispatch*.

move to underdeveloped white areas near homelands with low wages, building subsidies, tax breaks, and soft loans. This led to the establishment of Border industries (such as the one between the Ciskei and Transkei) located on the edge of homelands where they could take advantage of cheap African labor that could reside in the homelands. White industrialists, investors, and businesses retained control over decision making about development and profits. The Bantu Investment Corporation and its local subsidiaries epitomize the ideology and economic initiatives of the time. The Bantu Trust (founded in 1936 to direct land acquisition and consolidation in the reserves) formed the Bantu Investment Corporation in 1959 to promote investment near the homelands. The Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC) was formed in 1968 to serve the Ciskei and the Transkei (and split into the Ciskei and Transkei Development Corporations in 1976). White businessmen, government officials, and later Ciskei and Transkei officials, ran the corporation from East London and claimed to plan to eventually turn the corporation over to black people.¹²

By the early 1970s, it was clear that industries set up near East London and King William's Town to take advantage of cheap labor in the homelands, like other border industries, only attracted more urban migration. International pressure applied after the plight of people forcibly relocated to Dimbaza had been exposed and calls by homeland leaders for investment within their territories also led the government to open up the

¹² Butler, Rotberg, and Adams, *The Black Homelands of South Africa*, Chapters 7 and 8; A.P. Black, "Economic Development for the Ciskei," in Charton, ed., *Ciskei: Economics and Politics of Dependence*; Sam Nolutshungu, *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), pp. 82-90; Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*, pp. 340-342.

homelands for industrial development.¹³ In 1969, the government allowed investment within the homelands, on the condition that investment agencies directed these initiatives. In 1972, this applied to the Ciskei, after it obtained "self-governing" status. The settlement of Dimbaza was designated as a primary growth point. The XDC led the establishment of factories in the location. For example, on March 11, 1975, at the opening of a new paint factory in Dimbaza, the corporation's general manager said the factory created opportunities for black scientists, twenty-two black workers, and, in the future, twelve matriculated black staff members. "'The only white who will be employed here will be the managing director,' Mr. Meisenholl added." He also announced that they had "signed agreements with seven other industrialists involving an investment of R1.3 million for further development in Dimbaza."¹⁴

Sebe promised that the creation of an independent Ciskei would provide an opportunity to elevate the Xhosa people economically. He defined development as stable government, creating job opportunities and farming cooperatives, and welcomed the XDC, which tried to promote its work as progressive.¹⁵ But industrial development under the direction of these white-managed agencies created only a small number of jobs in proportion to the entire population (including the thousands forcibly relocated into the

¹³ "Border industries of no benefit to Ciskei – Siyo," 10 Oct 1973, *Daily Dispatch*. L.F. Siyo, then Ciskei Minister of Interior said they needed to speed up the process of industrial development; "Blacks want to share economy says Sebe," Dec 4, 1973, *Daily Dispatch*; "Sebe sees Mr. O [Oppenheimer]," May 30, 1974, *Kei Mercury*; "Sebe pleads for more industry," March 11, 1975, *Daily Dispatch*; "Aid needed," Aug. 5, 1976, *Kei Mercury*; "New Store Opens," Aug. 12, 1976, *Kei Mercury*.

¹⁴ "Sebe pleads for more industry," March 11, 1975, *Daily Dispatch*; and "Big Industrial boom forecast for the Ciskei," May 9, 1974, *Kei Mercury*. "Jobs boost for Ciskei," March 28, 1974, *Kei Mercury*, reported plans for new factories in Dimbaza, Alice, and Keiskammahoek as well as "Dr. Meyer Forecasts New Growth in 1976," Nov 13, 1975, *Kei Mercury*.

¹⁵ Barry Streek, "Sebe: Our route for the future," Jan 9, 1973 *Indaba Supplement, Daily Dispatch*. See also Special Insert on the Xhosa Development Corporation, Dec 15, 1973, *Daily Dispatch*, and "New factories for Dimbaza," Jan 14, 1976, *Daily Dispatch*.

region¹⁶). It also kept control over decision making and capital in the hands of white people. It only benefited a few small businesses or large capital-intensive (as opposed to labor intensive) enterprises. Corporations were criticized for giving “too few loans at too high interest rates” and loan conditions required “severe conditions pertaining to the management abilities of prospective borrowers,” which favored initiatives with white managers. In the end, commerce was still concentrated outside of the Ciskei and a downturn in the economy in the mid 1970s rendered any gains insignificant.

Other approaches in the 1960s and 1970s by the state, civic and religious organizations to address glaring poverty in the Ciskei often reflected a mentality of charity giving or paternalism, although some projects involved skill development. Many organizations provided relief by distributing rations while others established centers or projects for disadvantaged or at-risk groups. In times of drought and famine, the government distributed food, such as soup powder, from clinics. They particularly targeted school children and in their mistrust or stinginess, instructed the distributors of rations to restrict supplies to those they deemed truly needy. At times the government offered fruit or other market foods at lower prices.¹⁷ In some places, the government combined infrastructure and environmental projects with material compensation for work

¹⁶ By March 1974, 10,834 black jobs were created, but a 1970 census estimated the population of the Ciskei at 526,000; Charton, *Ciskei: Economics and Politics of Dependence*, p. 230 and p. 10. About thirty-five percent of the potential workforce was left unemployed by the end of the 1970s, Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*, p. 345.

¹⁷ For correspondence and records of the Bantu Affairs Commissioners regarding school feeding schemes and the distribution of soup powder in the 1960s see “Bantu Welfare: Famine Relief Scheme File 1 (1966-1970),” Box 310 N7/8/2, Eastern Cape Archives and Records; “Relief of distress, Famine Relief Scheme, File 2,” Box 313 N7/8/2, Eastern Cape Archives and Records; “Middledrift Quarterly Meetings with Native Administrators, Monday, 30th September, 1968, and June 30, 1965,” Box 39 N1/15/4, Eastern Cape Archives and Records.. These boxes contain similar records from the 1940s and 1950s.

by paying communities to eradicate noxious weeds or work on roads and dams.¹⁸ For example, Njwaxa residents participated in programs to eradicate the thistle weed and build retaining walls to prevent soil erosion.

Civic or community programs caught the attention of King William's Town's local newspaper, the white-owned gossip *Kei Mercury*. It was the white "do-gooders" who received publicity in the local newspaper, and enjoyed both the benefits of a society and economy that privileged them and the satisfaction of doing charity work for their poor black neighbors. The paper praised the generous donations of King William's Town residents to the Red Cross and local schools, and reported on the activities of groups such as the Cripple Care society. Mrs. L.L. Sebe gained media attention by showing up at events held by some of these organizations, such as a workshop held by the Cape Province Women's Agricultural Association who taught Ciskeian women various home and cooking skills.¹⁹

Mrs. Sebe also established her own women's association, in part in opposition to other Zenzele women's organizations. Zenzele women's improvement clubs had arisen in the 1920s and 1930s in the Eastern Cape, led by mission-educated African women in mostly rural areas, evidence that African self-reliance initiatives – even those involving women – in the Eastern Cape were not entirely new. Zenzele groups were still active in the 1970s in the Ciskei, though generally politically and socially conservative.²⁰ Other

¹⁸ Relief of distress, Famine Relief Scheme, File 2. See also Njwaxa Group interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, September 18, 2008, Njwaxa.

¹⁹ "Help for Red Cross," July 13, 1975, *Kei Mercury*, and "Fund at nearly R3000," Oct. 2, 1975, *Kei Mercury*; "Ciskei Women learn new skills," Nov 24, 1977, *Kei Mercury*; "Mrs. Sebe patron [of Cripple Care Society]," Feb 24, 1977, *Kei Mercury*.

²⁰ Catherine Higgs, "Zenzele: African Women's Self-Help Organizations in South Africa 1927-98," *African Studies Review* 47, no. 3 (December 2004): 119-141.

programs targeting specific disadvantaged groups in the Ciskei included a settlement for the aged and physically handicapped near Peddie, handicraft centers, a reform school, and a children's home.²¹

Men of the cloth had first hand knowledge of the debilitating poverty in the rural Ciskei through the plight of their congregations and also actively sought to alleviate it. Clergymen did much of their social welfare work on a local basis. Often, a specific emergency or crises dictated their responses. For example, they distributed food rations, clothing and other needed items to victims of forced removals dumped like refugees in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Dimbaza. Yet, priests and ministers also began to address structural poverty through cottage or home industry projects – small cooperatives where congregation and community members produced an item to sell in surrounding villages or ecumenical organizations' offices and stores. Like some Zenzele projects, many of these home industries centered around sewing and involved women, the majority of those in rural villages. These projects made school uniforms, "African" attire, and perhaps religious uniforms. Some did bead work. The goal was to give people an alternative to living on relief or welfare by developing skills, promoting "black collective entrepreneurship," and encouraging them to "exploit their natural resources."²²

Individual priests, both black and white, led most of these projects, but the Border Council of Churches (BCC) also supported some of them structurally and financially. The BCC was a regional council, organized and run by local black and white church leaders. The council coordinated and supported social welfare efforts, like its affiliate,

²¹ Mafika Pascal Gwala, ed., *Black Review 1973* (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1974), pp. 7-8.

²² BCP, "1974 Report," KG-Aluka; Thoko Mbanjwa, ed., *Black Review 1974/1975* (Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1975), p. 120, respectively.

the national South African Council of Churches. For example, David Russell helped manage some BCC projects from the old Anglican Church where he was staying on Leopold Street in King William's Town. The BCC's Dependence Conference provided a small stipend for families of political prisoners.²³ Reverend Temba Sibeko started to run self-reliance projects amongst his congregations on his own before joining the BCC. As he began to work more frequently with Russell and the BCC, he was drawn into the organization. He became office manager when Russell left King William's Town at the end of 1973 for Lesotho. Clearly, the larger structural aspects leading to rural homeland poverty needed to be changed for real development. Home industries were small, but were efforts to provide longer-term solutions with a different mindset than government and most charity groups. The shared belief of some in the BCC and the BCP in building self-reliance facilitated the development of their relationship.²⁴

Radical students from the Federal Theological Seminary and the University of Fort Hare in Alice often joined the groups of religious and Black Consciousness activists working in the Middledrift, King William's Town, and Alice area. Theology students fulfilled a practical theology requirement by helping priests minister to different congregations in the villages and worked on BCC projects.²⁵ Black Consciousness activists had become friends with these white and black Anglican priests and young black theological students. The University Christian Movement had brought them together as

²³ Biko improved upon this idea with the Zimele Trust Fund, a fund set up to provide start-up capital for released political prisoners wanting to use their skills to generate an income.

²⁴ Rev. Temba Sibeko and Cybil Sibeko, interview by the author, December 15, 2008, Fort Beaufort.

²⁵ Mantuka Maisela, interview by the author, July 24, 2008, Santon; See also the work of Philippe Denis, "Seminary training and black consciousness in South Africa in the early 1970s," in *History and African Studies Seminar at the University of KwaZulu-Natal* (Durban and Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 2008), <http://www.history.ukzn.ac.za/>, accessed April 2, 2009.

students in the late 1960s. Activists and theologians had also engaged each other as they formulated and promoted Black Theology. The seminary frequently served as a haven for Fort Hare students escaping the security police. What Peter Jones characterized as “fraternal” relationships developed between the BCC, the BCP, and SASO, who all shared offices at Leopold Street in King William’s Town.²⁶ In 1974, the BCP reported that they had acted as a sort of sales agency by helping the BCC with supplying and marketing their home-industries in Dimbaza, Alice, and at the St. Mathews Mission in Keiskammahoek. Mxolisi Mvovo, who had joined the BCP staff in 1974, headed the sales and promotion for the BCP and BCC home-industries. Biko also discussed project management issues with Sibeko.²⁷ In the case of the Njwaxa home industry, a single priest began the project with his congregation. Then, on suggestion of a colleague at the seminary, asked the BCP to take over the whole operation.

The Njwaxa Leather Home-Industry turned Factory: Women, State Repression, and BCP Resources

The story of the Njwaxa leather-work home industry or factory began with Father Timothy Stanton’s efforts in the early 1970s to address poverty in the village, especially among women. With a view to empowering villagers with skills, bringing employment to people, and working *with* instead of *for* people, the BCP later expanded the home-industry by providing management, skilled craftsmanship, and proper equipment. Despite a periodic shortage of funds and security police harassment, the factory increased its production and capacity to employ more people. As with Zanempilo, the BCP relied

²⁶ Peter Jones, interview, May 14, 2008.

²⁷ BCP, “1974 Report,” p. 6; Malusi Mpumlwana, phone interview by the author, December 20, 2008.

on available and willing young activists and personal contacts to push forward under these circumstances. Throughout, women in the community and the BCP drove the operations of the project and young activists and employees gained new skills under politically conscious black management. In Njwaxa, state repression even had the unintended consequence of the BCP hiring a leather-work craftsman as the second manager.

At the time, Father Stanton, a member of the Anglican Community of the Resurrection, served as the Rector of St. Bartholomew's Church in Alice.²⁸ He was also on the faculty of St. Peter's College, the Anglican section of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice. As the Rector of St. Bartholomew's, he and his colleagues looked after three congregations in villages close to Alice. The largest congregation was in Njwaxa where the desperate poverty he encountered there moved him to start a home-industry project. Stanton wrote, "Except for a few who had work locally, and due to the migrant labor system, most of the able-bodied men were away. The population consisted of the elderly, women and many children. I was appalled at their extreme poverty. In various ways I tried to help. One way was to start a home industry."²⁹ Stanton knew of a tannery in King William's Town where one could get the unwanted off-cuts of leather for free. He decided to take advantage of this resource and introduce a

²⁸ He served in Alice from 1968 until 1975, when the seminary was "expropriated"; Fr. Timothy Stanton, personal correspondence by email, January 24, 2009. Other members of the Community of Resurrection included Aelred Stubbs, friend to Biko and Black Consciousness activists, and Trevor Huddleston, ardent opponent against apartheid and forced removals in Sophiatown in the 1950s, and leader of the Anti-Apartheid movement in Britain in the 1980s. See Robin Denniston, *Trevor Huddleston: A Life* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

²⁹ Fr. Timothy Stanton, personal correspondence by email, January 24, 2009.

leather-work project in Njwaxa. He set up shop in the mud house in the church yard and employed a small number of women who made purses, belts, and shopping bags.³⁰

As the project developed, “Keeping [the women] supplied with materials and coping with marketing problems” became “too much” for Stanton.³¹ He failed to gain financial support through the South African Council of Churches.³² In a discussion with Lawrence Zulu, a fellow Anglican priest at the Federal Theological Seminary, about his difficulties in Njwaxa, Zulu suggested to Stanton that he talk to Steve Biko about taking over the project as part of the BCP. Biko agreed to take on the Njwaxa project and Malusi Mpumlwana took charge of it (since Njwaxa fell out of the King William’s Town district, Biko’s restricted area).

Aside from ensuring the continuation of a self-help project for a group of Ciskei’s poor rural women, it seems the BCP had bigger plans for this project in terms of the scale of production and its target population. Mpumlwana and the BCP began immediately to increase the materials and marketing power of the project through connections they had with other activists and surrounding communities. BCP employees quickly taught themselves how to work with leather (until they later recruited a professional craftsman) and hired Mxolisi Mvovo as a marketing director. Malusi Mpumlwana remembered that when he first went to Njwaxa he “didn’t know what we could do,” but he felt that working with leather made sense. Other home-industries such as sewing projects did not

³⁰ Stanton also reportedly sold food – milk, soup, and sweets – at a very cheap price and helped the community build a dam. Nakase and Cola, interview, July 3, 2008 and Njwaxa Group interview, September 18, 2008.

³¹ Fr. Timothy Stanton, personal correspondence by email, January 24, 2009.

³² Letter from T.H. Sibeko to Inter Church Aid administrator, September 9, 1974 (regarding a grant from Bridgman Memorial Fund), and Letter from T.H. Sibeko to John Reese, April 22, 1976 (regarding BCC relationship with the Njwaxa project and funding questions), AC 623 South African Council of Churches, file 4.3.3, Cullen.

end up making a profit because people sold amongst themselves, saturating the market for their goods. In his view, leather, a different product, had greater market potential. Mpumlwana began to prepare to expand the home-industry's production capacity by securing a greater supply of leather. Biko was friends with the son of the owner of the tannery in King William's Town, so they easily worked out a deal to purchase proper leather pieces. In the process of taking over the project, Mpumlwana said he "actually had to learn something about how the hides are organized, the different tans, and which parts of the hide are good for what kind of thing... treatment, dyeing..." He would go back to Njwaxa to "lecture" about what he learned.³³

Malusi Mpumwlana soon recruited a young female SASO member to take over the project. This activist happened to be his younger sister, Vuyo, who became available to work at Njwaxa at the beginning of 1974. A student from King Edward VIII hospital in Durban, where she had just completed her nursing certificate, Vuyo Mpumlwana had never worked with leather before. Once she took over as manager, Malusi Mpumlwana continued to help his sister and the villagers "put their thoughts together" and brought them designs, but for the most part, this young woman managed the factory by herself and learned by doing. At times this was a lonely job, made more difficult by the rural context and lack of plumbing, electricity, public transportation, and phone lines. But, like others working in the area who "[had] their hands on the plow," she jumped in and took over the focused production work. It probably helped that Steve Biko had "such an authority," and a "way with words," so that after talking to her about the idea, she felt, "Yeah, I can do that. There's nothing wrong with that. Come on." It probably also

³³ Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.

helped that she came from a family of community workers, had youthful energy and courage and had “zeal and passion” for what she was doing. Her zeal and passion were fueled by the satisfaction she derived from watching Mvovo and her brother fetch completed orders.³⁴

Having a young woman manage the Njwaxa project had its benefits. Not only was Vuyo Mpumlwana willing to take the assignment, she worked mostly with women. Similar to Zanempilo, the Njwaxa project largely involved women. Women benefited most from the project because they constituted the majority of the population in the village. It was not uncommon for factories in the area to employ a large number of women.³⁵ A picture of the first Njwaxa home-industry group published in the BCP’s 1974 report shows Vuyo Mpumlwana with five women and three men. The women who worked at the factory over the years gained leather working skills and also brought their own craft expertise. The wife of the Xhosa author, Guybon Sinxo, who had served time as a political prisoner, also played an important role as a “key elder” in Njwaxa by liaising with Father Stanton and Malusi and Vuyo Mpumlwana to organize the community.³⁶

³⁴ Dr. Vuyo Mpumlwana, interview by the author, October 3, 2008, Mthatha.

³⁵ Njwaxa residents said jobs and money were so scarce women even had to work at a wood factory in Alice. Njwaxa Group interview, September 18, 2008, Njwaxa. Women made up almost seventy percent of the workforce in Dimbaza factories according to Switzer, *Power and Resistance in an African Society*, p. 342.

³⁶ Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.



Figure 7: “The humble beginnings of Njwaxa Leather Home Industry,” with Sarha Papu to the left of Vuyo Mpumlwana, standing fifth from the left.³⁷

Of those who worked at the factory and lived in Njwaxa, in 2008 very few still survived. The stories of three women represent the plight of many women at the time. In the 1970s, Sarha Papu, Nontozande Nofence James, and Nontombomhlaba Mamase all lived in Njwaxa without work and little means of income. Sarha Papu had seven children. Her husband lived in Cape Town where he worked as a driver. He sent money home and she sold some meat to earn cash, but it was not enough to support all of her children. She was among the group of initial employees who learned to cut and sew leather with Vuyo Mpumlwana to make bags, belts, and wallets.³⁸

Nontozande Nofence James’ husband was not working at the time because of poor health. He had lost his job with the railroad when he got sick. She herself did not

³⁷ BCP Limited, “Projects and People,” 1977, AAS20, UNISA.

³⁸ Sarha Papu, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, June 26, 2008, Njwaxa.

have a job, but looked after her husband and children. “We were hungry,” she recalled. “A person that is sick needs constant help.” James was known to be skilled at bead work, so when the factory needed someone who could place beads on the shoes, bags, and purses, the employees came to her. She later also learned to cut and dye the leather.³⁹ Nontombomhlaba Mamase returned to Njwaxa to live with her father’s family in 1974 or 1975 from Ngqushwa (or Peddie), where she had worked on a pineapple farm. James recruited her to help with bead work when it became too much for James. Mamase too had grown up working with beads, so it was easy for her to copy the samples. Eventually she worked with the machines to sew purses, bags, and belts.⁴⁰



Figure 8: Mrs. Esther Mpupa with Mrs. N. Mamase (on the right) putting glue in the purses.⁴¹

³⁹ Nontozande James, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, June 26, 2008, Njwaxa.

⁴⁰ Nontombomhlaba Mamase, interview by the author and Lindani Ntenti, June 26, 2008, Njwaxa, and Nontozande James, interview, 26 June, 2008. They eventually stopped working with beads because it was not worth the time and money – Voti Samela, interview, August 6, 2008.

⁴¹ BCP, “Projects and People.”

The way these women remembered working at the factory indicates that the association between women in the village contributed to the smooth operations of the factory. Any recollections of tensions between workers were eclipsed by the fond memories of a time when the women could earn wages within their village. Although all of the women said they were constantly busy and did not have time to chat (even if orders came in randomly), they remembered enjoying working with each other without any interpersonal conflicts. Other women who worked at the factory included sisters and relatives such as Pinkie James, Niniwe Mamase, Esther Mpupa, Nomust Mpupa. The women interviewed about the factory in 2008, remembered the names of the women who worked with them, but had difficulty remembering the men, even when presented with pictures of some of them. This may have been due to the fact that there were not as many male employees, but also because the women had a closer association with each other.

The factory did employ a number of men in particular need of work because of their political involvement or physical condition. For example, the factory employed a young man who could not walk and used a wheelchair.⁴² The BCP had hoped to help ex-Robben Island prisoners and their families living near Njwaxa by creating jobs for them at the factory. Tainted by their political imprisonment these men found it difficult to obtain work and their families suffered during their imprisonment.⁴³ The factory may have helped a few of these men, but Biko later created the Zimele Trust Fund to give grants to ex-prisoners and their families for them to initiate other ventures, building upon

⁴² Nakase and Cola, interview, July 3, 2008; Voti Samela, interview, August 6, 2008.

⁴³ Vuyo Mpumlwana, interview, October 3, 2008; Voti Samela, interview, August 6, 2008.

the Dependents Conference of the Border Council of Churches.⁴⁴ Many villagers hoped to obtain jobs at the factory. Before the government shut it down, it employed up to an estimated fifty people. Others, like Nokwaka Cola, looked forward to working at the factory when it extended to include an evening shift. Cola lived and worked in East London with her husband but wanted to move back to Njwaxa to help her mother-in-law take care of her children and the homestead.⁴⁵ The names of those hoping to obtain work when the second shift opened were placed on a waiting list.



Figure 9: Mr. Socisha and Mncedisi Xhape (in wheel chair) drawing patterns and making marks for sewing.⁴⁶

Vuyo Mpumlwana did not feel inhibited by the fact that she was a young woman managing a factory and teaching older men and women to work with leather. She

⁴⁴ Mapetla Mohapi and later Pumzile Majeke directed the Zimele Trust Fund. See Ramphele's description in "Empowerment and Symbols of Hope: Black Consciousness and Community Development," in *Bounds of Possibility*, ed. Pityana et al (Cape Town: David Philip, 1991), pp. 168-169.

⁴⁵ Nakase and Cola, interview, July 3, 2008.

⁴⁶ BCP, "Projects and People."

pointed out that her role as the manager showed that Steve Biko, her brother, Malusi, and other Black Consciousness men trusted her and recognized her abilities. Moreover, she believed that her youth and gender worked to her advantage. Vuyo Mpumlwana felt the employees saw her as a daughter of the community. She lived and ate with them like a family member. They shared mutual respect and affection. Villagers also protected her.

As with the Zanempilo clinic examined in Chapter 3, the security police often went to the factory in search of activists and to uncover “subversive” acts. As soon as Vuyo Mpumlwana began managing the factory she became a “very interesting attraction” to the “Special Branch.” Perhaps they paid particular attention to her because she was an anomalous young, black and female manager of a leather-work project in a rural village. Perhaps they thought they could easily intimidate her. The police frequently went to Njwaxa to question or detain her, but were often frustrated in their attempts. The men who worked with Vuyo Mpumlwana devised a system with other community members to help her evade the security police. The Anglican Church stands on a flat hill top, deep in the village and well-positioned for spotting anyone entering Njwaxa. As Vuyo Mpumlwana told it:

The beauty of it was that because it was a village, we could see the cars coming from way, way, way far away....and you know that that is not a village car. There is no village car here. So, already we knew and immediately the people I worked with would take me through the back window and someone else would go on the other side with a blanket and they would throw me through the window into the blanket and carry me and hide me somewhere.

When the police realized that driving into Njwaxa tipped off the villagers, they started parking their car outside the village and walking in. Still, “they were not that smart,” Vuyo Mpumlwana said. Njwaxa residents knew each other and the BCP staff connected

to the factory, so when black policemen walked into Njwaxa, villagers quickly recognized them as such.⁴⁷

Despite the community's help, police harassment became "so uncomfortable" and such a distraction that Vuyo Mpumlwana felt she had to leave.⁴⁸ Near the end of 1975, she left the Eastern Cape. After a brief sojourn in the Transvaal, where she completed ANC underground assignments in Alexandra Township, she said she walked over the mountains into Swaziland and then made her way to Tanzania via Mozambique.⁴⁹

When the BCP needed to fill positions because of state repression, they drew upon other young activists. As Malusi Mpumlwana said, "a number of people came in, learned what they could learn, imparted what they could impart," and made a contribution where it was needed. In the absence of a manager at Njwaxa, the BCP recruited the help of another young woman: Mantuka "Tiny" Maisela, a Fort Hare student who had become active in SASO with fellow female students, Thenjiwe Mtintso and Thoko Mbanjwa (later married to Malusi Mpumlwana). Because of her sewing skills, Maisela had helped with many of the home-industry projects run by Fort Hare and Federal Theological Seminary students and eventually became a field worker for the Border Council of Churches. Maisela did not stay in Njwaxa long. In 1975, she moved to the Johannesburg area, where she established a sewing project for the BCP's Transvaal branch.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Dr. Vuyo Mpumlwana, interview, October 3, 2008.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ She eventually ended up in Canada, where she became a clinical psychologist.

⁵⁰ Mantuka Maisela, interview, July 24, 2008.

At the beginning of 1975, the BCP was fortunate to find a new manager named Voti Samela, a skilled craftsman in leatherwork. Samela came from Sterkspruit, in the Herschel District (the home of Mapetla Mohapi). Samela remembered that an older woman visited the Njwaxa church as part of a women's prayer group. She knew of Samela and suggested that the BCP invite him to work with them. Mxolisi Mvovo made the 200-mile trip to Sterkspruit to make Samela an offer. He found that Samela had formal training in leather-work, but had trouble getting work in the cities (he had been kicked out of Port Elizabeth for not carrying a pass or having a work permit). His father had helped him buy tools so that he could run his own shop. When Mvovo found him, Samela was making shoes. He agreed to work with the BCP and Mvovo helped him pack up his tools and move to Njwaxa.

Thanks to Samela's steady management and technical skills, the factory quickly expanded in 1975. Workers continued to make purses, nail bags, and wallets and began to produce seat cushions and moccasins. The nail bags were particularly popular in local hardware stores.⁵¹ James and Mamase began to do the bead work at the factory during 1975 and the factory began to tan sheep-skins.⁵² Malusi Mpumlwana and Mxolisi Mvovo took Njwaxa goods to local Eastern Cape markets, Knysna, and other tourist markets in the Western Cape and around Durban.

In 1976, the BCP felt the impact of the Soweto student uprisings even out in the "bundus" as the state clamped down on Black Consciousness leadership. Police detentions of staff at the branch office slowed down the factory's work (for example Malusi Mpumlwana was one of six BCP staff members detained for four months). This

⁵¹ Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.

⁵² BCP, "1975 Report," AAS20, UNISA.

also affected the ability of the BCP to fund raise, obtain materials, and delayed the factory's plans to expand its building. Still, production continued and the factory experimented with making saddles and shoes.⁵³ The BCP even organized women in Zinyoka to do the finishing work on some of the bags to help Njwaxa cope with its orders. Near the end of 1976, progress was made on a new wood and corrugated-iron structure in the church yard intended to provide space for new machinery and more workers.⁵⁴

In 1977, production began to pick up with the BCP staff back at the office, new machinery, and recruited skilled help. The growing number of workers (which would reach fifty at the end of 1977) started using the new building and the factory planned to open an additional shoe-making section. Within the first three months of 1977, the BCP proudly reported that they had already succeeded in making 160 pairs of shoes and that they hoped to soon purchase a generator, "for heating and attaching sole to shoes" and a "toe lasting machine" so that "the industry [would] have the capacity to produce up to 100 pairs [of shoes] per day."⁵⁵ They began to market school shoes among black communities with the slogan "buy black." For this, Samela recruited another young man from the Herschel District with skills in leatherwork, known simply as S'buku, or *umHerschelana* (in Xhosa, the diminutive of *umHerschela* – the nickname Njwaxa residents gave to Samela – because S'buku came from Herschel after Samela and was his assistant manager).

⁵³ Again, Papu, James, and Mamase claimed that work never ran out.

⁵⁴ BCP Limited, "1976 Report," KG-Aluka. This was financed in large part by ICCO, the Interchurch Organization for Development Co-operation, in Holland, according to Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p. 101. Peter Jones also described ICCO's support in an interview by the author, May 14, 2008, Somerset West.

⁵⁵ BCP Limited, "Projects and People." They had been making fifty pairs per day.

Black Management and Capitalistic Co-operatives

One of the outstanding features of the Njwaxa factory that was at the heart of its mission and opposition to apartheid was its black management. Working autonomously of the apartheid government and white business threatened the political and economic goals of grand apartheid. The fact that black people successfully operated and expanded the factory testified of their abilities and potential. The BCP's management style of building local leadership was also empowering. Yet, the factory did not have financial independence and did not survive long enough to resolve the contradiction between its financial dependence and promotion of self-reliance or its mixture of both cooperative and capitalistic impulses.

In the middle of 1977, the factory had enough money to "electrify the place."

Samela told how he approached an electrician in Alice to do the job. The white, head electrician could hardly believe that the BCP ran the factory. Samela recounted:

We went to an electrician in town, in Alice.... He asked me where this place is. I told him, it's at Njwaxa. "Can I go and see it?" I said, "Yes, you can follow me." We went there. When he came in there, he was surprised to see the set-up there and then he asked: "Is there any white man here to lead you?" I said, "No." But then he said, "But who am I going to talk to?" I said, "You are going to talk to us." *[laughs]* Because we used not to say, "this is mine," "this is his," – its ours, you know. I said, "You'll talk to us." "But, will you have the money?" I said, "Yes. There's no problem. We will give you the money."⁵⁶

Samela added that if he wanted to check with his boss, he could call the head office in King William's Town and talk to Steve Biko. A few days later, the man came again, looked around, then said he would come back and left. After a week or so of waiting, Samela went to the shop in Alice, but the white man was absent. The black shop worker

⁵⁶ Voti Samela, interview, August 6, 2008.

he met there asked Samela, “Who are you?... What type of people are you?” After listening to Samela’s answers, he warned him that the police had listened to the manager’s conversation with the BCP’s Leopold Street office and the manager had been in contact with the police. The BCP then decided to hire an electrician from East London to do the job.⁵⁷

This incident was significant for two reasons. First, it shows how the police monitored the BCP. Second, it illustrates how the black management of the factory surprised people and is indicative of BCP efforts to cultivate local black leadership. Biko and the BCP practiced a particular programming and management style that encouraged leadership development. At BCP meetings, each project manager prepared a report and distributed it to all the project managers. Each manager then had time to explain the progress they had made or challenges they faced and would receive input from others. Samela said he learned from Njwaxa, “how people are united – how people can be united and do one thing with one voice.” He praised the way that Biko required everyone to prepare and present reports.⁵⁸ Vuyo Mpumlwana said Biko brought out the best in people because he expected everyone to be a leader, work hard, accomplish what they had been mandated to, and report back.⁵⁹ In his individual, personal interactions with staff, Biko respected his employees as individuals and gave people the benefit of the doubt, part of the philosophy practiced by the BCP generally.⁶⁰ Both Vuyo Mpumlwana

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Dr. Vuyo Mpumlwana, interview, October 3, 2008.

⁶⁰ Although they also had to beware of police informers. Biko often dealt with disagreements or other staff problems by taking people aside and dealing with them individually. See discussion of the conflict between S’buku and Samela below. Also, Mziwoxolo Ndzengu reported another incident at Zanempilo when he suspected an employee of stealing R200. Ndzengu said that when he conferred with Biko about

and Samela appreciated this and it seems to have influenced the way they interacted with workers at Njwaxa.

The surprise at black management included white South Africans as well as the Njwaxa villagers themselves. Vuyo Mpumlwana said that she believed one of their goals with the project was to prove to the villagers that black people could make “those things.” In other words, to change their mind-set from being “receivers of ideas” and expecting whites to run production to black self-confidence that, “I can actually establish my own thing. I am creative. I can do this and do that. Belt doesn’t have to come from a white person and be sold in a departmental store... I can actually have my own factory which is business orientated and develop a business idea and implement it.”⁶¹ Samela and Vuyo Mpumlwana both emphasized the collective ownership they hoped the factory employees felt. Samela said he was always careful to refer to it as “our” factory.⁶² One of the stated goals of BCP home-industry projects was to develop a new layer of management within the community.⁶³ In addition to white people, it must have made an impression on the villagers that the project continued and flourished under young black management after Stanton left. In 1975 and 1976 BCP Reports, Mrs. N. Papu, a Njwaxa resident, is listed as a production and clerical assistant under the staff section, further evidence of the BCP’s efforts to develop local management.

The Njwaxa factory stood in stark contrast to the paint factory opened in 1975 by Sebe and the Xhosa Development Corporation in Dimbaza. Establishing a factory in the

the missing money, Biko told him not to worry; he trusted Ndzengu and would take care of the problem. Mziwoxolo Ndzengu, interview by the author, August 15, 2008, Zwelitsha.

⁶¹ Dr. Vuyo Mpumlwana, interview, October 3, 2008.

⁶² Voti Samela, interview, August 6, 2008.

⁶³ BCP, “1974 Report.”

Ciskei was not a radical idea, since the government and businessmen implemented plans to use the Ciskei for industrial projects with low-wage homeland labor. As a home-industry project, the Njwaxa project also did not differ much from the work of churchmen in the area. What was unique about Njwaxa was its black management and substantial growth. The Xhosa Development Corporation boasted of the twenty-two jobs that the paint factory offered Dimbaza residents. When the police destroyed the Njwaxa factory in October 1977, an estimated fifty people worked there. Over one-hundred put their names on a waiting list, to begin work when the shoe section expanded and the factory began two shifts.⁶⁴ The factory grew without a subsidized building from the state, the Xhosa Development Corporation, or a white managing director, but under the supervision of black management. This ambition was tied to the ideological purpose of the factory: fostering black self-reliance and “conscientizing” people of their place in society and their ability to change that. These overarching goals helped the factory succeed in providing jobs and a positive worker morale in its four years of operation.

Outside funding was also vital to the factory’s success. Despite the factory’s growth, it never made enough profit to be self-sustaining. The BCP struggled at times to finance their programs. Much of their problems were tied to the harshly repressive political environment. Peter Jones said that they deliberately limited the scale of BCP commercial ventures because the hostile situation made it difficult to secure funding and greater investments would have meant greater loss if the government stopped the cash flow.⁶⁵ Reverend David Russell said that he himself did not expect much success from Border Council of Churches home industry programs. Like Malusi Mpumlwana, he felt

⁶⁴ Voti Samela, interview, August 6, 2008.

⁶⁵ See Peter Jones, interview, May 14, 2008.

most of the sewing projects were not run well enough to be commercially competitive and economically sustainable. When describing Border Council of Churches projects, he said their efforts were less about production and more of “a way of affirming people.” He pointed out the complexity of creating a larger scale viable factory: “It was hard... when you’ve got the economics of scale and Pep stores can produce all these things and then you try to get some materials and [you’ve] got to market it. How do you market it? Where do you market? What’s the transport...”⁶⁶ The BCP had addressed some of these challenges by hiring Mxolisi Mvovo (Biko’s brother-in-law) as a marketing director. Mvovo worked full time on supplying the factory, finding markets, and transporting goods to the markets. The BCP also expanded the factory to be more competitive. The organization’s connections and contacts facilitated this. Funding from the South African Council of Churches, European churches, and organizations like the Dutch Interchurch Organization for Development Co-operation (or ICCO, which donated a substantial amount to finance the new building) supported the factory’s growth. Still, the possibility of government or police restrictions hung in the air and the BCP was never financially secure.

As a Black Consciousness organization seeking to foster self-reliance, the BCP did not like its dependence on donors and sought to become financially independent. One way they attempted to remedy their dependence was to look into investing in property or a business. As a move in this direction, just before Biko and Jones’ imprisonment in August 1977, the BCP bought a clothing factory in Cape Town. They did this in part to convert their funds into assets so the government could not freeze or

⁶⁶ David Russell, interview, May 15, 2008.

confiscate their money and in part to bring in a profit.⁶⁷ Ramphele also wrote that one strategy to address cash-flow problems was to organize Njwaxa into a joint-share company where the BCP held fifty-one percent of the shares and the workers held forty-nine percent. According to Ramphele, it hoped that this “capital injection” would “hasten attainment of a break-even point,” and eventually help finance other projects.⁶⁸

The investment in manufacturing and the entrepreneurial nature of the Njwaxa factory appeared to contradict the black communalism that Black Consciousness activists discussed and debated amongst themselves (particularly as it pertained to the African socialism experiment in Tanzania).⁶⁹ But, as with the Njwaxa project, the BCP did not have enough time to resolve the role of the Cape Town factory and the contradiction between capitalist entrepreneurship and black communalism. The BCP had to work with the opportunities and resources open to it. Government and police intervention often determined what those opportunities and resources were, and eventually eliminated them.

⁶⁷ Peter Jones, interview, May 14, 2008, Bennie Khoapa, interview by the author, November 3, 2008, Durban.

⁶⁸ Ramphele, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope,” p. 167.

⁶⁹ The Black Consciousness espoused by Azapo after 1977 took on a class-analysis and became explicitly socialist. The structural challenges activists were up against in community work may have influenced this shift, but greater worker organization and protest in the early-mid 1970s, a rise in Marxism among white radicals, and dissatisfaction with apathetic black businesses or middle class also played a role. See Nurina Ally and Shireen Ally, “Critical Intellectualism: The Role of Black Consciousness in Reconfiguring the Race-Class Problematic in South Africa,” in Andile Mngxitama et al, eds., *Biko Lives!: Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 171-188; Nolutshungu, *Changing South Africa*; Robert Fatton Jr., *Black Consciousness in South Africa: The Dialectics of Ideological Resistance to White Supremacy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986).

A Symbol of Self-reliance and a Beacon of Hope for a Better Future: Impact of the Factory on Njwaxa and its Closure

The key to measuring the impact of the factory lies in the memories of Njwaxa community members and former factory employees. Oral history interviews conducted in 2008 revealed that the goals of the BCP in Njwaxa of alleviating poverty, building self-reliance, and elevating the self-perception of villagers were at least temporarily met, making the factory's premature closure by the state a tragedy for the village. Similar to Zanempilo, community-staff relations contributed to the building up of the villagers' sense of human dignity and police action against the BCP politicized residents. A suspected police informer inside the factory, however, tainted the memories of the factory.

The initial goals of the leather-work project were to alleviate women's poverty and encourage self-sufficiency. The BCP also at one point wanted to target ex-political prisoners and their families (though they did not feature as prominently at the factory). More importantly, in the process, the BCP sought to have an impact beyond creating economic opportunities. The BCP aimed to skill workers, instill a sense of self-reliance and ownership within Njwaxa, and foster an understanding that black people were fully capable of managing businesses and producing goods for a market.

Oral histories revealed the importance of cash wages to Njwaxa women. Women who worked at the factory fondly remembered how wage-earning jobs changed their lives. The ability to significantly contribute to the family income and gain marketable skills enabled them to provide a better future for themselves and their families. When asked about her favorite memory of the factory, Papu hesitated, then replied: "*Imali*. [The

money].” At the time, Papu had been living on hand-outs while her husband worked in Cape Town. Thanks to the BCP factory, she was able to feed and send all of her seven children to school. Even after the factory closed, Papu used her skills to work at a Border Council of Churches sandal factory in Alice. She even at one time had the desire to start her own factory (though did not have the money to do so).⁷⁰ James’ wages enabled her to buy needed medicines for her sick husband, food for her family, and pay for her children’s school fees.⁷¹ Mamase began to build a new life in Njwaxa with her earnings. When she moved there to join her father’s family, they gave her some land. With her wages she built a house and brought her mother to live with her.⁷² The long waiting list for positions at the factory reinforced its unique role as a provider of local employment opportunities.

While Njwaxa residents did not take part in the Black Consciousness movement for political reasons, they did gain a new understanding of themselves and their world from Black Consciousness philosophy. This subtle politicization came through interactions with the staff, police action against the BCP, and the experience of working under capable black management. Vuyo Mpumlwana remembered how she discussed with workers the reasons for their economic status and how they might change that (similar to Freire’s methodology, though Vuyo Mpumlwana herself may not have pulled this directly from Freire).⁷³ As discussed earlier, Vuyo Mpumlwana also saw a change in the mind-set of workers. They came to believe in the ability of black people to run a

⁷⁰ Sarha Papu, interview, June 26, 2008.

⁷¹ Nontozande James, interview, June 26, 2008.

⁷² Nontombomhlaba Mamase, interview, June 26, 2008.

⁷³ Dr. Vuyo Mpumlwana, interview, October 3, 2008.

business-orientated, industrial project. The factory instilled pride and human dignity in the workforce. Mamase said they were very proud of themselves and proud of the factory.⁷⁴ James explained, “It was important, this village. It was valued by the other villages around here because of the factory...[People from those villages] bought purses, belts, and shoes...”⁷⁵ Papu felt that having the factory in the community showed the people (some of whom had been previously involved in political movements recently crushed by the state) how to overcome fears about uplifting themselves.⁷⁶

The BCP enjoyed community support in Njwaxa more than in Zinyoka, not only because of the economic opportunities it brought to the village. The positive, communal style of leadership and solidarity in the face of police harassment unified Njwaxa residents and factory employees. Villagers believed that the apartheid government saw the factory as a threat to white supremacy. When asked why the police destroyed the factory, James said, “They didn’t want us to work.” When asked what was so wrong about working, she replied, “Well, we still ask ourselves that question today.”⁷⁷ Others agreed that the government did not want black people to stand on their own feet or speculated that the authorities were jealous of the success of the factory. BCP managers, on the other hand, were genuinely interested in the welfare of Njwaxa. Samela always told police when they asked him if he owned the factory, “This is *our* factory,” not just to evade police questions, but because he truly believed it.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Nontombomhlaba Mamase, interview, June 26, 2008.

⁷⁵ Nontozande James, interview, June 26, 2008.

⁷⁶ Sarha Papu, interview, June 26, 2008; Njwaxa Group interview, September 18, 2008.

⁷⁷ Nontozande James, interview, June 26, 2008.

⁷⁸ Voti Samela, interview, August 6, 2008.

Unlike Zinyoka, the headmen in Njwaxa did not oppose the BCP's work. Rather, they welcomed it, evidence that not all headmen in the Ciskei worked closely with Sebe or consistently opposed Black Consciousness. Indeed, for Samela, Njwaxa's distance from Sebe in King William's Town and Zwelitsha (then the location of the Ciskei administrative headquarters) was significant because it made people more inclined to work at a factory and support a BCP project. Samela remembered how the headman of Njwaxa at the time, Paige Ngono, came to Samela and told him that the police directed the headman to expel the factory from the village. Samela asked him if the factory was allowed to stay. The headman told Samela, "Well... I see no other way because you are creating work for people here."⁷⁹

Despite the good relations among the Njwaxa residents who worked at the factory described earlier, tensions did arise between certain staff members. Perhaps one of the biggest threats the BCP faced came from S'buku, the assistant craftsman. Samela had recruited S'buku from Sterkspruit to manage the shoe section of the factory because of his leather-working skills. Samela said S'buku excelled at making shoes and designing patterns. (Indeed, some villagers said S'buku's superior skills may have been a cause of contention between Samela and S'buku.⁸⁰) S'buku claimed that he had received his training in leather work in England and held a certificate of "general training." In hindsight, Samela felt this strange certificate should have made the BCP suspicious of S'buku. He should have also taken the fact that S'buku often went to Alice as a sign that he worked with the police.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Njwaxa Group interview, September 18, 2008.

Yet, it was the incident when Samela and S'buku argued at the factory that heightened concerns about S'buku's possible role as a police spy. Apparently, S'buku was a heavy drinker and smoker and often got into arguments with Samela (evidence to some of the Njwaxa residents of his bad character). One day, shortly before the factory was shut down by the police, Samela caught S'buku drinking on the job. Samela confronted S'buku about this in front of the other employees which led to a heated argument. At the next BCP staff meeting, which Samela and S'buku attended together in Zinyoka, Samela said S'buku was still visibly irritated with him. When it came time for Samela and S'buku to report on the factory, S'buku complained that Samela had reprimanded him in front of the staff, interfering with his job and undermining his position. Samela remembered that Biko affirmed that S'buku was wrong to drink at work, but also instructed Samela to speak to S'buku alone or come to BCP management to deal with such incidents. After the meeting ended, Biko took Samela aside and told him that he suspected S'buku because he had not been arrested with another man when crossing the border into South Africa from Mozambique after supposedly going on an ANC trip. Biko had seen this in the paper and told Samela to keep an eye on S'buku.

On the day the factory was shut down, S'buku's relationship with the security police was revealed. While Samela was held in police custody at the factory site, S'buku was left alone. When the police allowed Samela to go to his house for food and to relieve himself, he and the black policeman escorting him saw S'buku dumping water outside his place. The policeman inquired about S'buku then said to Samela: "That man has finished

you.” He then told Samela that S’buku had frequented the police offices in Alice.⁸¹ It is uncertain just how dangerous S’buku was.⁸² Nonetheless, speculations by Samela and Njwaxa residents of the damage he could have caused to the BCP or Biko highlight the severely repressive political environment the BCP worked in.

October 19, 1977, the day the police came to shut down and destroy the factory (a month after Biko’s death) stood out clearly in the memories of the people in Njwaxa. Factory employees and other residents were suddenly stripped of their jobs: a devastating blow given the dearth of economic opportunities in the area. It was also dramatic because the police confiscated all of the factory’s leather materials, finished goods, machinery, and Samela’s personal tools before demolishing the new factory building. They left the “concrete slab” foundation, as Ramphele wrote, “as a monument to the destruction wrought by a repressive state bent on the elimination of symbols of self-reliance and beacons of hope for a better future.”⁸³

Early in the morning on October 19, while it was still dark, Samela was awakened by the police, pounding on his door. The police took him to the factory where they proceeded to remove all of the equipment, materials, goods, and documents from inside. They kept Samela nearby in a car, guarded by two policemen. When workers arrived to start a normal day of work, they saw white policemen and cars and found the gate locked. They stood outside the locked gate, watching and wondering. A few individuals saw Samela in the police car and called to him, to ask what was happening. The police

⁸¹ Voti Samela, interview, August 6, 2008. Njwaxa residents also claimed that S’buku took his own tools home, while the government kept the rest, Njwaxa Group interview, September 18, 2008.

⁸² Samela later heard that S’buku had played a role in the South African security forces’ cross-borders raids in Lesotho 1982 and even wondered if he had told the police that Biko and Jones had left for Cape Town, leading to Biko’s last arrest. Ibid.

⁸³ Ramphele, “Empowerment and Symbols of Hope,” p. 167.

ordered Samela to tell them to go home because they no longer had work. Afraid and confused, some workers went home. Others stayed and watched with fellow villagers (who had also gathered) as the police emptied the factory, dismantled the walls and roof, then cut the frame pillars. Witnesses recalled feeling utterly helpless. Mamase said she cried the whole day because their jobs were gone. The destruction of the Njwaxa leather-work factory following shortly after Biko's death deepened the tragedy of the destruction of the factory in the memories of the villagers.⁸⁴



Figure 10: The factory foundation in the church yard as it appeared in 2008 (photo by the author).

⁸⁴ Mrs. Mamase, Mrs. Papu, Nontozande James, interviews, June 26, 2008; Nakase and Cola, interview, July 3, 2008.

After the police raid, Samela, like Dr. Moletsane, tried to keep up the efforts of the BCP. Yet, with their resources cut off and people scattered after the death of Biko and the banning of the BCP, he could not. Soon after the factory closed in Njwaxa, the Border Council of Churches attempted to establish a sandal factory in Alice and asked Samela to manage it. Some of the Njwaxa residents went there to work. They made sandals that became popular in a particular place in Cape Town. However, police harassment resumed and Border Council of Churches resources could not keep the sandal factory working at the same pace and scale as the Njwaxa factory, so Samela returned to Sterkspruit.⁸⁵ Years later, the government built three white buildings on the Njwaxa community hall grounds, intending them to be used by residents for community projects. According to villagers, some people tried using this space for small sewing and bead-making projects. Then, they discovered they were required to pay rent and gave up. The buildings stand empty today. When asked why this initiative did not work, some have said that those who built the buildings just wanted money.⁸⁶ They did not have the people-centered direction of the BCP factory, which had begun to flourish before the BCP had a proper building.

Conclusion

The Njwaxa leather-work factory was short-lived and only partially successful. Samela said he did not feel the people were fully conscientized; that the project did not last long enough to achieve its goals. It operated for only four years and the few attempts to continue with similar projects after 1977 failed. But Njwaxa residents have fond

⁸⁵ Voti Samela, interview, August 6, 2008.

⁸⁶ Sarha Papu, interview, June 26, 2008, Nakase and Cola, interview, July 3, 2008.

memories of the factory, especially in the context of their present struggles. They recalled with excitement a time when their village had much needed economic opportunities and talked about what the factory could bring if reestablished today. One elderly man commented that the factory was an example of how services can be delivered to people.⁸⁷ Presently, most of those who have opportunities for education and employment leave Njwaxa and those who stay behind are hungry.

Yet, the factory did achieve some success, though it was partial and stunted by the apartheid state. By addressing basic material needs, Black Consciousness activists not only helped to temporarily alleviate the suffering of poor communities, but transformed the way some black South Africans thought about themselves and possibilities for changing their socio-economic conditions. The BCP built on the efforts of Father Stanton to bring wage-earning jobs to the village. The factory stressed black self-reliance and offered a concrete example of competent and autonomous black management that challenged South Africa's racist political economy. The factory quickly grew as Black Consciousness activists took advantage of their social connections and human and financial resources. Women in the BCP and the village had a powerful role in the manufacturing project as directors, key village contacts, and the majority of its employees. In a way, the factory's impact was confined to a smaller group of people than the Zanempilo clinic, though the tangible difference it made in individual and families' lives was no less. Factory employees saw their economic status improve and in the process, gained a greater sense of human dignity and developed a sense of ownership

⁸⁷ Hadfield, Ntenti, and Mark Mandita discussion with Mr. and Mrs. James, Mr. and Mrs. Nakase, Sarha Papu, Nontombomhlaba Mamase, 18 June, 2008, Njwaxa. Njwaxa Group interview, 18 September, 2008.

over the project. Had the South African government allowed it to operate longer than four years, perhaps the factory's social and economic impact would have been greater.

The Njwaxa leather-work factory, like the Zanempilo clinic, showed how the Black Consciousness movement developed a holistic approach to changing South African society. Surely, the BCP did not seek to take charge of the economic development and health care provision of the entire Ciskei, let alone South Africa. Rather, the BCP built programs that activists hoped would serve as models for future black-led initiatives that aimed to bring into stark relief the bankruptcy of apartheid policies.

Conclusion

The Njwaxa manufacturing enterprise, *Black Review* yearbook, and the Zanempilo Community Health Center were very different projects shaped by the same overarching philosophy and approach of Black Consciousness. In each project, activists sought to put ideology into practice by serving the needs of poor black communities, countering state repression, and coping with financial limitations and internal tensions within black communities. This history of Black Consciousness community development through the Black Community Programs has demonstrated the importance of this aspect of the movement and the significant role of youths, women and churches in implementing these projects. It has also highlighted how youths and women were politicized and gained skills and greater respect through their involvement. The stories and voices of the rank and file of the BCP and of rural Ciskei villagers are crucial to understanding these dynamics and to assessing the impact of Black Consciousness activists on people's self-perception and on material conditions.

Chapters 1 and 2 charted the genealogy of community development work in the Black Consciousness movement. SASO students were committed to uplifting all people of color discriminated against by the government. They assessed the cause of the social, economic, and physical oppression and poor health of black South Africans as rooted in white racism. They believed in the ability of "conscientized" black people brought to a critical awareness of their worth and position in society to change these circumstances, and thus liberate themselves from oppression in all its forms – not just politically. SASO students felt a responsibility to initiate a total transformation of society, which they aimed to do partly through health, education, and "physical" projects. SASO leaders also urged

students to go beyond their campuses into places like New Farm and Winterveld to use their skills and education to alleviate poverty and cultivate unity between students and the broader black community. The BCP, arising out of both the Black Consciousness movement and the ecumenical, Christian drive to address apartheid in the late 1960s and 1970s, also focused on cultivating black pride self-reliance through their work. It was this overarching philosophy that shaped the BCP's programmatic approach to economic, health, research and publication projects in urban townships and the rural Ciskei.

Also important to Black Consciousness community development were SASO's transnational connections. The influence of Paulo Freire's ideas and methods helped SASO students improve the planning and implementation of their development projects. Freirean methods meshed with the students' assessment of their situation in South Africa and gave them concrete steps for conducting their work in black communities. SASO adapted Freire's literacy teaching methodology pioneered in Brazil and Chile to refine its preliminary research and work more closely with oppressed people. Those who formed Black Consciousness in SASO, with the concept of conscientizing related to the *conscientização*, or the raising of critical consciousness of Freire, carried on with development work with the BCP in King William's Town, Zinyoka, and Njwaxa. Black university student connections to international student and Christian networks facilitated these linkages. SASO students obtained Freire's writings through the University Christian Movement and gained valuable training in Freire's methods from Ann Hope, a white woman who was part of the Christian Institute and the international women's organization, the Grail.

The history of Black Consciousness community work also reveals the interconnections between people working towards liberation on the ground in South Africa. Focusing on the movement's rhetoric obscures these often messy and paradoxical relationships. The challenges SASO students faced during their first attempts to conduct development projects led them to utilize white liberals. The BCP's reliance on white or external resources was a fundamental contradiction in its work. The strong rhetoric of Black Consciousness that rejected collaborating with any white liberal and asserted black autonomy did not always filter through to practice. This was confusing to some of the students who were surprised by Hope's involvement in the training on Freire. Yet, the leaders of SASO saw the need to draw upon these resources as long as they did not invite white leadership. Using these resources and accepting funds from foreign churches and local ecumenical organizations enabled Khoapa and later Biko to build the BCP into a professional Black Consciousness development organization. The BCP also accepted money for Zanempilo from a much more controversial source – Anglo American – on the basis that the money really belonged to black people who the company had exploited to obtain it. The BCP intended to someday become completely financially independent of donations from foreign churches and other sources, but a hostile political environment made for a number of obstacles in not only receiving funds from others, but earning its own income. State repression cut short the life of the BCP so that it did not resolve these contradictions before it was shut down in 1977.

Putting their thought into practice educated activists about the internal tensions within black society. The understanding of these students of the dynamics within communities and possibilities of black unity matured as they encountered these frictions.

SASO at times met suspicion or struggled to communicate with residents when they showed up in poverty stricken squatter camps like New Farm or those near Fort Beaufort, ready to build houses or volunteer at clinics. In the local communities the BCP later worked in, particularly Zinyoka, activists clashed with village and homeland leaders (in addition to the police) who felt threatened by their actions. In *Black Review*, the BCP acknowledged the different perspectives of black South Africans by including a range of opinions of black people, yet also promoted the organization's point of view. And, while the BCP relied on and catered to women, the movement in general did not resolve the tensions between young men and women that surfaced during the training sessions with Ann Hope and between staff members at Zanempilo.

SASO and the BCP faced another major challenge to their work from the South African government and its security forces. Activists had to navigate an intensely politically repressive environment that set bounds on their work, but also at times ironically opened other opportunities. From intimidating communities into suspecting that SASO students had ulterior motives, to detaining staff and leadership, raiding offices and restricting funding options, security police greatly hindered the BCP and its projects. Yet, the police also unintentionally pushed the BCP in more productive directions. For the BCP, the banning of Biko, Mafuna, and Khoapa in 1973 made the organization more focused and pushed them into local communities, particularly in the Eastern Cape where Biko, Malusi Mpumlwana, Ramphela and others built the most successful programs. The BCP realized even more the importance of having community members take ownership of the projects and building leadership as they relied on other activists, neighbors, and family members to fill positions made vacant by detentions. In the end, however, the

state completely shut down the BCP and its projects. This was the single most important reason for the demise of the organization.

The BCP could not have carried out its projects without the help of young male and female activists, friends, neighbors, key leaders in communities, and churches, priests, and ecumenical organizations. The involvement and support of churches and the youth of the activists helped Black Consciousness community development deal with state repression and opposition to their initiatives by local authorities. Throughout the chapters this dissertation demonstrated the importance of the activists' role as young university students in both running projects and working with villagers. It also repositioned women in the history of Black Consciousness and the rural Eastern Cape and highlighted the crucial material support of churches.

This dissertation has demonstrated that young Black Consciousness activists, particularly university students, propelled the movement and the BCP forward and fostered unity and trust with local communities. Black Consciousness flourished on university campuses, places where black students could exchange ideas, connect with writers and thinkers in other parts of the world, and interact with each other. This contributed to the development of their philosophy, a new definition of black, and connected them to Freire. Chapter 1 as well as subsequent chapters also showed how youthful enthusiasm motivated SASO students and later BCP activists to jump into projects and work in a politically hostile environment. With an attitude of defiance characteristic of Black Consciousness adherents, these available and willing participants evaded security police, exploited their connections, resources, and built leadership to creatively continue with their initiatives.

As university students and professionals, such as former UNB medical students who worked at Zanempilo, activists were also positioned well to provide much needed services to poor black communities. While they defied aspects of one status quo, activists adhered to the customs of another set of traditions when working with black people, particularly in rural Ciskei villages. Their status as educated people contributed to the respect and acceptance of their leadership in local communities. The activists in turn adhered to cultural rules regarding behavior and in demonstrating their commitment to building black self-reliance, cultivated a feeling of mutual respect. Vuyo Mpumlwana, a young freshly graduated nursing student at the time, felt that Njwaxa residents viewed her as a daughter of the village. Ramphele's white coat and stethoscope contrasted with her earlier "hot pants," part of the defiant style young Black Consciousness women adopted. Gratitude for the devoted service activists rendered at Zanempilo instilled admiration in villagers, causing some to praise Biko and Ramphele as a father and mother.¹ All of these factors helped these young activists and BCP employees make a profound, though short-lived, impact on the lives of Zinyoka and Njwaxa villagers and produce a substantial publication with a readership in the thousands.

The previous chapters also explored the tacit recognition of women by Black Consciousness activists and the empowerment of women in the BCP, even though the movement did not have a feminist agenda. Chapter 1 began by highlighting the underlying, but suppressed gender tensions within SASO. Young women involved in the training with Hope expressed their frustrations about SASO men leaving domestic chores to women. A similar tension over the roles of Ramphele at Zanempilo surfaced when she

¹ Dina Mjondo, interview with the author and Lindani Ntente, August 27, 2008, Zinyoka.

insisted on eating a sheep's head after a *braai* or asserted her authority in the clinic (as described in Chapter 3). Ramphela serves as an example of how women made important contributions in the BCP which gave women confidence, provided opportunities to improve on their skills, and changed perceptions of gender. While Black Consciousness women struggled to gain a voice within a movement that did not take up women's issues politically, BCP men relied on women to fill key positions. The BCP did this both out of necessity and because of the women's abilities. Relying on women in projects in rural areas facilitated the BCP's work because of the higher proportion of women in the Ciskei. At Njwaxa, a young woman served as the first manager in a factory initiated to help the poor, mostly female, villagers. In Zinyoka, women who made up a majority of the village benefited from the labor ward, baby clinic, and feeding schemes brought by Zanempilo. Through the women's craft group, budgeting classes, gardening training, and health care offered in Zinyoka and the factory jobs in Njwaxa, the BCP helped these women earn needed wages, manage their resources well, and build a better future for their families. It also unintentionally changed some perceptions of gender. As Chapter 3 particularly shows, both men in the movement and people in the communities improved their expectations of the abilities of women – and young women at that. Many factors contributed to this, including their education, age, and respectful service to the villagers.

Churches, ecumenical organizations, and individual priests also played a crucial role in the history of the BCP. These developments were part of a larger shift toward stronger resistance to apartheid among Christians in South Africa in the 1970s. Under a repressive regime, churches and ecumenical organizations enjoyed a measure of insulation from political intervention as religious bodies. This allowed them for the most

part to channel a large number of funds and provide safe spaces to the BCP. As Chapter 2 described, the BCP owed its institutional beginning to Spro-cas, sponsored by the Christian Institute and South African Council of Churches. Churches and priests helped the BCP establish itself in communities in the Eastern Cape, Natal, and the Transvaal, by providing office space and land. Churches provided the Beatrice Street office, the Leopold Street office and the Umlazi offices, for example. The community health centers in Zinyoka and at the Adam's Mission were built on church land and the mobile clinic in Soweto was stationed at the Methodist Center in Jabavu. Likewise, the BCP built the leather-work factory on Anglican Church land. The Njwaxa factory also demonstrated how activists had connections to local priests like Father Stanton and the Federal Theological Seminary and worked closely with the Border Council of Churches.

The Anglican Church's support, along with Benjamin Tyamzashe, proved especially important in Zinyoka. The Zanempilo and Njwaxa factory case studies in rural Ciskei villages reveal some of the political and socio-economic dynamics of villages in the rural Eastern Cape. Chapter 3 and 5 add to our understanding of Ciskei politics and women in the 1970s and demonstrate how Black Consciousness interacted with rural South Africans. The reaction of Ciskei leaders and local headmen to the BCP showed villages that emerging apartheid homeland leaders cared more for maintaining power than the welfare of their people. Churches and sympathetic educated elites had considerable influence in Zinyoka and Njwaxa. In Zinyoka, the church and Tyamzashe facilitated the establishment of the clinic despite opposition by local authority. On the other hand, the BCP enjoyed the support of the village headman in Njwaxa, a place more isolated from the influence of Sebe. The BCP also brought much needed services and

economic opportunities to underdeveloped homeland villages. Zanempilo provided health care for many in the rural Ciskei. Njwaxa's successful management contrasted with the top-down "separate development" of apartheid that reserved leadership and profits for white South Africans. The Zanempilo and Njwaxa chapters also focus on the plight of village women who suffered disproportionately with their children from poverty and a poor health care system. Between 1973/1974 until the end of 1977, the BCP enabled many women to earn wages, feed their families and educate their children. In other words, it helped create the material foundation on which to build a greater sense of human dignity.

What emerges as vitally important to the history of Black Consciousness development in these cases are oral sources: the testimonies of ordinary BCP employees and Zinyoka and Njwaxa residents. Oral history provided information unavailable in lost BCP documents and sheds light on the perspective of young activists. While the Black Consciousness movement was not a mass movement (it did not gain the organizational membership or organize campaigns on the scale of the Congress of the People or the women's marches of the Federation of South African Women in the 1950s), it did have an impact beyond the urban intelligentsia. Interviews revealed that for residents of Njwaxa and Zinyoka, the Black Consciousness movement brought young, educated black people into their villages, added desperately needed services and jobs, and inspired self-reliance. This is the measure of Black Consciousness activity on the ground.

This dissertation has implications for the history of development and contemporary development policy and practice. The use of Freirean methods by Black Consciousness activists in translating their own philosophy into action is an example of

how the history of development cannot be read simply as the diffusion of ideas and innovation from Europe and North America (often referred to as “The West” or “The North”) into Africa, Asia, and Latin America (usually referred to as the “Third World” or “The South”). Black Consciousness activists applied ideas that fit with their own reading of the world and adapted Freire’s methodology beyond literacy projects in their South African context. These South-South linkages and the participatory practice they entailed were in place well before the Western-based international development community began talking about participatory development.² For example, Malusi Mpumlwana and Solombela in New Farm, and later Mpumlwana and Biko in Ginsberg and Nontobeko Moletsane in Zinyoka, demonstrated that participatory development should mean that local people are involved in running projects as well as assessing their needs and devising solutions. People need to understand the spirit of projects and feel that, as with the Njwaxa factory, they have a collective stake in the daily operations and long-term future of development initiatives.

The philosophy of total development at the heart of the BCP also holds lessons for policymakers and planners. Black Consciousness stressed the need for psychological empowerment and cultivating a critical consciousness to lead people to believe they could change their situation on their own. This philosophy tied all the Black Consciousness projects together and was one of the keys to the successes of BCP projects – and the reason the state eventually shut it down. Activists worked for a total transformation of society and a total development of individuals. For them, self-reliance, political liberation, material security, physical health, and human dignity were all linked

² John Martinussen, “People-managed Development,” in *Society, State and Market: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development* (London; New York: Zed Books, 2005), p. 331-343.

and had to be addressed simultaneously by listening to the needs of the people and working with them to reach their goals. This meant that the BCP's fundamental approach to urban and rural areas did not differ and that it worked with women in the Ciskei although it had not initially targeted them. Furthermore, reaching that end goal was foremost in the minds of activists. Their priority was not necessarily the success of the project itself but what happened to individuals and communities in the process. Whether or not the shoes the Njwaxa factory sold were competitive with Pep stores, whether Zanempilo gave out an increasing number of immunizations, or *Black Review* sold more copies than the *Survey*, was not the most important priority. The BCP was more concerned with women taking charge of their own health and the nutrition of their children, with black people gaining confidence and discussing how they could address poverty, and developing entrepreneurial and industrial skills to provide jobs and goods for their communities.

The commitment and dedication of activists to their overall goal proved a crucial element to the accomplishments of the BCP. From SASO's projects to Zanempilo, Njwaxa, and *Black Review*, activists volunteered their time and engaged in politically dangerous activities.³ Even though the BCP employed activists, the nature of their projects required a commitment to work unpaid after hours, as when Nontobeko Moletsane visited the homes of Zinyoka families to understand the root causes of the high rate of child deaths, or to relocate to remote villages. Activists also operated under the constant threat of detention or arrest and even the possibility of death at the hands of police. Their belief in the absolute importance of their work sustained them. This

³ See Badat's comments on the advantages and disadvantages of SASO's volunteerism in *Black Student Politics*, p. 150.

commitment was a requirement for the potential success of the BCP and remains so for development projects today, particularly those lacking financial resources or facing state repression.⁴

Zanempilo and the *Black Review* deserve further comment as experiments in community health care and the production and sharing of local knowledge for development. In Zinyoka, the BCP boosted the physical, mental, and economic health of village residents and those in surrounding villages through a comprehensive approach to health care. As other community health care experiments in South Africa have shown, addressing a group of people's ability to access health care and the root causes of ill health involves looking at the socio-economic position of people as well as their nutrition and physical ailments. Zanempilo also demonstrated how rural clinics can be empowered to make a significant impact on health in addition to urban-centered hospitals. This is an argument made by Jonny Steinberg in his recent book, *Three Letter Plague*, on HIV/AIDS in South Africa, based on extensive field work with Doctors Without Borders (*Médecines San Frontières* – MSF) in Lusikisiki in the Eastern Cape.⁵

Black Review (as well as the *Handbook of Black Organizations*) is an example of the importance of spreading information, coordinating, and communicating among development projects and organizations. The journal, *LINK*, founded in 1977 by the Environmental and Development Agency (EDA) of South Africa is another of many

⁴ However, Ramphela clearly argued that "commitment to the struggle was no substitute for the need for material rewards," and that requiring this commitment could limit the involvement of some unable to sustain their volunteerism in other ways and overwork activists. Ramphela, "Empowerment and Symbols of Hope," pp. 174-175.

⁵ Jonny Steinberg, *Three-Letter Plague: A Young Man's Journey Through a Great Epidemic* (Johannesburg; Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2008). See Steinberg's list of further reading on this, including MSF reports, pp. 330 and 333. Comprehensive community health center experiments seem to be something South Africa keeps coming back to, but is inhibited by politics and a lack of resources, particularly in the Eastern Cape. Dr. Mncedisi Jekwa, interview, May 11, 2008.

examples of these types of publications. *LINK* sought to share ideas between isolated rural projects. Cloete wrote that this served as a bridge between “the theoretical concerns of left intellectuals and practical engagement in the field.”⁶ Sharing lessons learned between different projects can increase the efficiency and effectiveness of different agencies and groups working on similar or related issues. *Black Review*, along with the BCP’s smaller position papers, also spurred on the production of knowledge by black authors and fostered public debate, which contributes to collectively devising solutions and increasing civic participation.

Underlying this history is a fundamental issue for development: foreign aid. Without the finances of white South Africa liberal and radical organizations, ecumenical bodies and foreign churches, international organizations (International University Exchange Fund or World University Service), and even big business (Anglo American), the BCP might not have been formed or survived long enough to merit deeper historical study. This contradiction within the BCP was not resolved, though the BCP had hoped to address it. Recently, the role and effectiveness of international aid has come under greater scrutiny.⁷ The case of the BCP suggests that outside resources in many projects are essential for beginning the process of building self-reliance. However, the BCP only accepted money from white or outside sources if given the freedom to run programs autonomously and on their own terms. When speaking of aid and its merits or demerits,

⁶ Dick Cloete, “Alternative Publishing in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s,” p. 59.

⁷ See for example, Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009); Robert Calderisi, *The Trouble with Africa: Why Foreign Aid Isn’t Working* (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2006); Jonathan Glennie, *The Trouble with Aid: Why Less Could Mean More for Africa* (London; New York: Zed Books; Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); William Easterly, *Reinventing Foreign Aid* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2008) and *White Man’s Burden: Why the West’s Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006); Debra A. Miller ed., *Aid to Africa* (Detroit: Greenhaven Press, 2009).

then, it is necessary to specify where the aid comes from, to whom it is going or received by, who controls it, and how many hands it passes through. In the case of the BCP in South Africa, the international and extra-political connections and resources supplied by churches, allowed activists to operate relatively well-funded, non-governmental initiatives that rejected white supremacy.

A history of the BCP helps to reconstruct a more complete history of the Black Consciousness movement, a powerful force in the struggle for liberation in South African that had a potential transformative development impulse. Bringing together Black Consciousness philosophy and action, a mainly male leadership, a young and female rank and file, and Eastern Cape villagers, deepens our understanding of South African resistance to racism and apartheid and sheds light on aspects of the history of the Ciskei homeland. It is hoped that this study can also help re-examine contemporary debates about development practices and challenges and inspire new research on the topic.

Epilogue

This dissertation finds a natural cutting off point in October 1977, when the government shut down the BCP. Yet, as with most historical studies, precise chronologies are imposed on ideas, cultures, movements, and transformations whose legacies continue through time. After October 1977, people involved in the BCP and the Black Consciousness movement more broadly continued development work and formed organizations that drew upon the ideas and practices developed during the life-time of the early movement and the BCP. The major projects established by Black Consciousness activists post-1977 – Zingisa Educational Trust, Trust for Community Outreach and Education, the Umtapo Center – still operate today. Here, I will briefly recount the history of these in an effort to show that the story does not stop in 1977 and others have applied similar Black Consciousness or BCP principles of self-reliance and a total liberation in running urban and rural projects with youth, women, and churches.

After the government closed the BCP, activists who had worked in the Eastern Cape initiated their own programs. Mamphela Ramphele established a community health center in Lenyenye, in the Tzaneen district in northeastern South Africa, where she was banned from 1977 to 1983. She described the Ithuseng Community Health Center as a “scaled-down but much better planned version of Zanempilo.”⁸ It officially opened in September, 1981 to serve surrounding impoverished rural villages and townships. Along with primary health care services, Ithuseng initiated income-generating programs, such as a brick making cooperative. Ramphele also wrote that “vegetable gardens began to blossom everywhere” and representative village committees established many child-care

⁸ See Mamphela Ramphele, *Across Boundaries*, p. 141.

centers based on community participation after she left Lenyenye in 1984. Ithuseng also conducted literacy classes, spread knowledge of Oral Rehydration Treatment for child diarrhea, and initiated projects to empower women, such as building mud-stoves and cardboard wonder boxes to reduce the need for collecting firewood. It enjoyed support from the local Catholic Church, the British Christian Aid, Oxfam, ICCO in Holland, Anglo American, the International University Exchange Service and the South African Council of Churches.⁹

Thoko and Malusi Mpumlwana established the Zingisa Education Trust in order to “salvage the situation” of the Ginsberg Education Fund initiated by Biko, which had lost funding during the upheaval of the BCP of late 1977. Malusi Mpumlwana said they “needed to make it look like a new project” so they gave it a new name. In Xhosa, *ukuzingisa* means “to persevere.” They named the new project Zingisa because they were “persevering under difficult circumstances.” The project also went beyond the Ginsberg Education Fund to include the entire Eastern Cape. Thoko Mpumlwana created a system that divided different geographic areas into zones to ensure scholarships would be given to both urban and rural areas proportionately.¹⁰ A few field workers went out into urban and rural communities to publicize Zingisa and recruit students for high school and some university scholarships. They also tracked the recipients of scholarships and involved them in winter school programs for younger students.¹¹ In 1980, Zingisa became an affiliate of the Border Council of Churches to facilitate funding (it could not

⁹ Ibid, pp. 138-144.

¹⁰ Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.

¹¹ Thoko Mpumlwana, interview, July 24, 2008.

be registered as a welfare organization, so its funding options were limited.¹²) Zingisa dropped its scholarship component in 1993, due to problems of scale, resources, and management¹³ and focused on supporting rural agricultural programs and helping to give small-scale farmers a voice. For example, Zingisa has raised awareness among farmers about government policies and farmers' rights, facilitated meetings between the government, industries, and farmers, provided technical support, and organized local discussion groups for women. In August of 2007, it helped form *Ilizwi Lamafama*, a regional farmers' union in the Eastern Cape.

In 1983, Malusi and Thoko Mpumlwana left King William's Town for Pietermaritzburg where Malusi trained at the Federal Theological Seminary as part of the Order of Ethiopia Church. In order to secure greater funding for Zingisa from the South African Council of Churches, he worked with the seminary to create a national educational support organization shortly after arriving at the seminary.¹⁴ This umbrella body for educational and other community development organizations was called Trust for Christian Outreach and Education (TCOE). Zingisa, Ithuseng, and Masifundise, an educational project established for students in Langa, Cape Town, were its first three main affiliates. Malusi Mpumlwana served as the first national director until he stepped down in order to focus on his studies. Nontobeko Moletsane, former Zanempilo nurse, served as the director in the late 1980s. TCOE later evolved into the Trust for Community Outreach and Education and now has six regional groupings in the Eastern

¹² Teresa Barnes and Thandiwe Haya, "Educational Resistance in Context: Zingisa Educational Project in the Eastern Cape, 1975-1993," in *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948-1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened* Peter Kallaway ed. (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), p. 150.

¹³ Ibid, p. 152.

¹⁴ Malusi Mpumlwana, interview, December 20, 2008.

Cape, Western Cape, and Limpopo Provinces. The regional groupings include Masifundise, Zingisa, as well as Khanyisa, an organization formed in 1990 to work with disadvantaged communities surrounding Port Elizabeth. After working for Zingisa, Nohle Mohapi established and directed Khanyisa until 2003, when she became a full time Municipal councilor.¹⁵ TCOE affiliates have all adopted a rural focus in recent years, with Masifundise working with coastal fishing communities.¹⁶

The Umtapo center in Durban was founded in 1986 (registered as a non-profit organization in 1987) by members of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), such as Deena Soliar, who became the full time director in 1987.¹⁷ These activists formed Umtapo for two main reasons. First, it was a response to the destructive violence that ravaged KwaZulu-Natal from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, between Inkatha – a Zulu ethnic nationalist movement – and the United Democratic Front (a movement aligned with the African National Congress). They felt a community organization would cut across party politics and bring people together to enter a dialogue about unity. Secondly, they felt the Black Consciousness movement of the time did not engage in enough grass-roots work. Some in Azapo had directed development initiatives, such as Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, who ran cooperatives in rural areas.¹⁸ Soliar and others founded a non-profit organization separate from Azapo to increase community development efforts and

¹⁵ Nohle Mohapi, interview, October 30, 2008. In 2008, Nontobeko Moletsane still conducted sessions with rural women's groups under TCOE, even though she was in her late sixties and had been in a coma earlier that year.

¹⁶ See TCOE Annual Report for 2007 and TCOE website, www.tcoe.org.za/ (last accessed March 23, 2010). Peter Jones served for a period of time as a member of the Board of Trustees for Masifundise.

¹⁷ Most of the following information comes from a meeting I had with Deena Soliar in Durban at Umtapo, June 5, 2008.

¹⁸ Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, interview with the author, November 5, 2008, Midrand.

also find an easier entry into communities as an organization that operated independently from a political party.

As they worked on creating the Umtapo center, Soliar and his colleagues looked to the BCP for an example. (In fact, Bennie Khoapa became involved in the center in 1990 when he returned to South Africa from the United States.) Initially, Umtapo planned to run projects in local communities, establish an information center, much like the BCP's resource centers, and set up an advice office. The purpose of the advice office was to ascertain the needs of the surrounding communities while offering legal assistance to black people. Through this office, Umtapo discovered that illiteracy and the lack of structured youth programs were major problems. Thus, Umtapo established a literacy program and began holding youth leadership workshops.

Umtapo continuously evolves according to the perceived needs of the communities it serves. Soliar explained that the center follows Paulo Freire's methods by holding yearly evaluation meetings and by monitoring their programs closely. Also, like the BCP, it stresses self-reliance. Thus, the center has made its programs independent and taken on other projects since the late 1980s. For example, after joining the African Association for Literacy and Adult Literacy and helping to launch the South African Association for literacy in 1992, Umtapo relinquished its leadership of the literacy program. It also closed the advice office in 1992 when it felt the need had passed. In its stead, Umtapo helped launch the Azanian Workers Union (AZAWO), headed by Patrick Mkhize.¹⁹ The center's local youth and leadership workshops evolved into a leadership workshop for young women that expanded to a ten-day course on women and

¹⁹ See Patrick Mkhize, interview with David Wiley, May 8, 2006, Durba, *South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid, Building Democracy* website (<http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/interview.php>).

development conducted in all of South Africa's nine provinces in 1998 and 1999. The Umtapo Center also created an African Peace Education program that spawned Peace Africa Youth Centers and peace clubs, pioneered by young people in townships and villages. The idea for creating a program focused on peace education came from a series of conferences on the family held in Umtapo's resource center in 1993 and 1994. Young participants of the peace education program eager to work in their own communities, were then trained in establishing centers for community development and self-help. School children also formed peace clubs. Since 2002, Umtapo has coordinated the work of these centers and clubs as well as targeted out-of-school youth through the Peace Africa Youth Forum. Umtapo also publishes a regular newsletter to facilitate cooperation and networking and produces training manuals.

The Steve Biko Foundation is part of this line of organizations that make up the legacy of Black Consciousness community development. Steve Biko's oldest son, Nkosingithi, and his mother, Ntsiki Biko, registered the foundation in 1998 in part to carry on the community development legacy of Steve Biko.²⁰ The foundation has two offices. The executive office in Johannesburg runs national programs and houses historical sources on Biko and related materials the foundation has collected (such as Fort Hare student files and Department of Justice files on Biko). At the national level, the foundation's mission is to promote public dialogue. One of its major programs is the annual Steve Biko Memorial lecture held at the University of Cape Town in September. It has also launched a publication and research program. The King William's Town office focuses on community development to foster participation in South Africa's

²⁰ Ntsiki Biko, interview with the author, August 23, 2004, King William's Town.

political, economic, and cultural life, especially among youth. It provides a place for organizations to coordinate and runs its own programs. For example, it holds an annual Steve Biko Memorial Sports Tournament to promote local sport development and brings different youth leaders and organizations together each year in an Eastern Cape youth conference. The foundation's King William's Town office also fosters programs in arts and culture, community health, education, social history and entrepreneurship. It sponsored the Ginsberg Youth Council and conducted a Ginsberg social history project with this council between 2001 and 2003. It also works with a Keiskammahoek paprika cooperative. The foundation is currently building a heritage and leadership center in Ginsberg to expand its activities in the community and cultivate local heritage and history projects.

The Zingisa Education Trust, TCOE, and the Umtapo center are evidence of the impact of the BCP and continuity of Black Consciousness community development ideas and practices. Although the apartheid state shut down the BCP organization, these groups in both urban and rural areas, working with different black communities on educational, health, and economic programs, practice the basic ideas of the BCP by stressing self-reliance, working with communities to address their needs, and seeking to uplift individuals economically, physically, and socially. The Steve Biko Foundation has a different agenda. It seeks to shape the heritage and legacy of Steve Biko in addition to community development. Still, its emphasis on local development as part of that legacy is also evidence of the important place of community development in Biko's life and within the Black Consciousness movement.

Appendix

Agreement between Leslie Hadfield and the Steve Biko Foundation Regarding the Ownership and Use of Oral History Interviews Video-Recorded in 2008 in conjunction with Hadfield's Dissertation Research on the History of the Community Development Programs of the Black Consciousness Movement

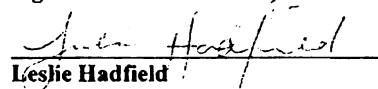
In January 2008, Leslie Hadfield, a PhD student in the Department of History at Michigan State University and Fulbright IIE grantee, came to South Africa to conduct her dissertation research on the community development programs of the Black Consciousness Movement, with an emphasis on the Eastern Cape work of the Black Community Programs in the 1970s. In February 2008, Nkosinathi Biko, CEO of the Steve Biko Foundation, offered to organize video equipment for Hadfield to record oral history interviews she would conduct for her research. Also in February, Hadfield hired Lindani Ntente to act as a translator in his personal capacity while she conducted interviews in Xhosa. Beginning 29 May 2008, Hadfield and Ntente – now in his capacity as the Social History Officer of the Steve Biko Foundation – decided to team-up to video-record oral history interviews they would conduct for Hadfield's dissertation research. The Steve Biko Foundation provided the recording equipment, paid for the tapes, the camera operator, and for transferring tapes to DVDs while Hadfield continued to support her research activities through her Fulbright IIE grant.

This document certifies that Leslie Hadfield and the Steve Biko Foundation agree that:

- 1) whereas the Steve Biko Foundation provided the resources to create video recordings of the interviews, the original video tapes and DVD copies belong to the Steve Biko Foundation to use in any manner it will determine,* but that Hadfield may obtain copies and use this material for her dissertation or future projects;
- 2) audio recordings, transcripts, and translations of the interviews generated by Hadfield belong to Hadfield to use in any manner she will determine;*
- 3) the Steve Biko Foundation may transcribe and translate the interviews, but Hadfield will deposit transcriptions and translations with the Foundation at a time deemed appropriate by Hadfield;
- 4) the Steve Biko Foundation will not release the interview material (audio-visual and written transcripts and translations) to other researchers or the general public until Hadfield has completed her dissertation and earned her PhD and will consult with Hadfield before using the material for the Foundation's own purposes until that time;
- 5) Hadfield and the Steve Biko Foundation will inform one-another of decisions each party makes concerning the archiving and copying of the interview material (audio-visual and written);
- 6) when utilizing the interview material (audio-visual and written), Hadfield and the Steve Biko Foundation will acknowledge the contribution each party has made and the work of all interviewers, transcribers, and translators must be acknowledged as it appears on interview data sheets.

*The Steve Biko Foundation and Hadfield must adhere to restrictions placed on the use of interviews by interviewees as indicated on consent forms.

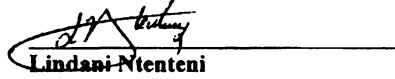
Signed:



Date: Nov 10 2008

Leslie Hadfield

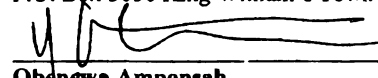
PhD Candidate, Michigan State University, 301 Morrill Hall, East Lansing MI 48823
USA



Date: Nov, 12, 2008

Lindani Ntente

Social History and Leadership Development Officer, Steve Biko Foundation
P.O. Box 3030 King William's Town 5600 South Africa



Date: Nov. 10, 2008

Obenewa Amponsah

Director, Fundraising and International Partnerships, Steve Biko Foundation
P.O. Box 32005, Braamfontein, 2017 South Africa

Bibliography

Archival Collections

African Studies Documentation Centre, University of South Africa Library (UNISA)

AAS 20	Black Community Programmes
AAS 127	SASO and BPC
AAS 153	Black Consciousness, misc.

Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University

Digital Innovation South Africa digital library, www.disa.ukzn.ac.za (DISA)

Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture and Rural Development Land Use Management office, Bhisho

Eastern Cape Department of Sport, Recreation, Arts, and Culture, Records and Archives Services, King William's Town

Historical Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand (Cullen)

A835	SPRO-CAS 1969-1973
A1888	Benjamin Pogrand Papers
A2176	South African Students Organization
A2177	Black People's Convention
A2675	Karis-Gerhart Collection
AB2414	St. Peter's Theological College, Federal Theological Seminary
AC623	South African Council of Churches
AD1126	University Christian Movement

Karis-Gerhart Collection: From Protest to Challenge, 1964-1990, Microfilmed for Cooperative Africana Microform Project (CAMP) of the Center for Research Libraries (KG)

National Archives and Records of South Africa
National Archives Repository, Pretoria
Cape Town Archives Repository

National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre, University of Fort Hare
Azanian People's Organization / Black Consciousness Movement
(AZAPO/BCM)

South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid, Building Democracy,
<http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/interview.php>

Interviews with Ben Khoapa, Patrick Mkhize, Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape

South African National Intelligence Agency, intelligence reports and confiscated documents related to Black Community Programmes, Ltd, as requested under the Promotion of Access to Information Act 2000 (PAIA)

Steve Biko Foundation, Johannesburg
Department of Justice files
Bruce Haigh Collection
King William's Town files
University of Witwatersrand, Karis-Gerhart Collection copies

Struggles for Freedom in Southern Africa, Aluka digital library, www.aluka.org (Aluka)

The Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa – Material from the collection of Gail Gerhart, filmed for CAMP (GG)

Newspapers and Publications

Black Review 1972-1975/76
Daily Dispatch 1970-1978, boxes filed by subject
Kei Mercury 1960, 1974-1977
SASO Newsletter 1970-1977
The Crozier (Diocese of Grahamstown) 1973- 1977

Interviews by the Author

Biko, Nobandile, September 9, 2008, Cape Town
Biko, Ntsiki, April 24, 2008, King Williams Town
Card, Donald, October 15, 2008, Gonubie, East London
Dubula, Letisha Nonkululeko, August 8, 2008, Tamarha Location
Gulwa, Bennet S., June 25, 2008, Bhisho
Hlaula, Sido, November 21, 2008; December 2, 2008, King Williams Town
Hope, Ann, May 16, 2008, Lakeside
Jekwa, Dr. Mncedisi Winston, May 11, 2008, Beacon Bay, East London
Jekwa, Novayi Vitta, March 13, 2008; March 27, 2008, Beacon Bay, East London
Jones, Peter, April 22, 2006, Athens, OH, USA; May 14, 2008, Somerset West
Khoapa, Bennie, June 4 and November 3, 2008, Durban; October 8, 2009, May 3, 2010, phone
Madikana, Mama, October 28, 2008, Zwelitsha
Mafuna, Bokwe, November 6, Roodepoort
Magida, Nokuzola, December 12, 2008, phone
Magida, Ray, February 26, 2008; March 26, 2008, King William's Town
Maisela, Mantuka, July 24, 2008, Santon

Mangcu, Xolela, May 3, 2008, King William's Town
 Mcako, Nomazotsho Nyakati and Nontsikilelo Biko, December 2, 2008, Ginsberg
 Mcilongo, Nompumelelo (Mpumi), November 6, 2008, Roodepoort
 Moletsane, Nontobeko, June 16, 2006; May 22, 2008; August 12, 2008, Amalinda
 Moletsane, Dr. Sydney, November 4, 2008, Port Shepstone
 Mpumlwana, Malusi, April 16, 2008, Johannesburg; December 20, 2008; May 5, 2010, phone
 Mpumlwana, Thoko, July 24, 2008, Pretoria
 Mpumlwana, Vuyo, October 3, 2008, Mthatha
 Mohapi, Nohle, October 30, 2008, Port Elizabeth
 Msauli, Dr. Lawrence Menzeleli "Dubs", June 24, 2008; July 21, 2008, Mdantsane
 ka Msumza, Luyanda, December 2, 2008, Mdantsane
 Ndzengu, Mziwoxolo, August 15, 2008, Zwelitsha
 Ndzengu, Yoliswa, December 19, 2008, phone
 Nefolovhodwe, Pandelani, November 5, 2008, Midrand
 Nengwekhulu, Harry, July 31, 2008, Pretoria
 Nongauza, Beauty, November 19, 2008, King William's Town
 Palweni, Chapman, November 11, 2008, Pretoria
 Pityana, Barney, March 20, 2008, East London
 Qodi (now Nqangweni), Xoliswa, November 23, 2008, Bhisho
 Ramokgopa, Ramsey, November 10, 2008, Johannesburg
 Randall, Peter, May 13, 2009, phone
 Russell, David, May 15, 2008, Rosebank, Cape Town
 Samela, Voti, August 6, 2008, Roivaal Administration District/Kwa Gcina (Sterkspruit)
 Sibeko, Temba and Cybil, December 15, 2008, Fort Beaufort
 Solombela, Pinkie, April 10, 2008, Bonnie Doon, East London
 Solombela, Dr. Siyolo, May 25, 2008, Bonnie Doon, East London
 Xundu, Mandisa E., August 12, 2008, Duncan Village
 Xundu, Nomonde, July 25, 2008, Johannesburg
 Xundu, Rev Mcebisi, October 30, 2008, Port Elizabeth

Njwaxa

James, Nontozande Nofence, June 26, 2008
 Mamase, Nontombomhlaba, June 26, 2008
 Nakase, M.M. and B.E. and Nokukwaka Cola, July 3, 2008
 Papu, Sarha S., June 26, 2008

Group Meeting with Nontozande James, Nontombomhlaba Mamase, M.M. and B.E.
 Nakase, Nokukwaka Cola, and Sarha Papu, August 22, 2008

Group Interview, September 18, 2008:

M.S. Kenene
 M. Kalawe
 N.J. Mamase
 Mildred L. Yoyo
 Maggie Mamase

Nofence James
 Nontobeko Jali
 Thamsanqa Sinxo
 Kholeka Mamase
 Lily Ndlebe

Nomachina Mamase
D.J. Makinana
N.H. Makinana
Mvuzo Papu

Mlindeli Cola
Bonisile Sinxo
Myali Nakase
Nozinzile Nakase

Zinyoka

Dleb'suku, Nonzwakazi, April 10, 2008; July 2, 2008
Leleni, Siganyati, August 20, 2008
Manyela, Mzwandile, August 20, 2008
Masiki, Maria N., September 2, 2008
Mjondo, Dina and Nomnyaka Miti, August 27, 2008
Ndaba, Fuzile, June 25, 2008
Nondalana, Thenjiwe Evelyn, June 9, 2006; February 27, 2008; May 29, 2008
Roji, Stanley, March 10, 2008; July 2, 2008
Seyisi, Ndodana M., August 20, 2008
Sijama, Nosingile, September 17, 2008
Tyamzashe, Nombeko Marjorie, March 10, 2008

Articles, Book Chapters, and Unpublished Papers

- Aerni-Flessner, John. "Quietly Radical: Basotho Youth in the 1960s." Michigan State University's 3rd Annual Africanist Graduate Research Conference. East Lansing, MI, 2009.
- Andersson, Neil, and Shula Marks. "Industrialization, Rural Health, and the 1944 National Health Services Commission in South Africa." In *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa*, 131-161. Berkely, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992.
- Bonner, Philip. "New Nation, New History: The History Workshop in South Africa, 1977-1994." *Journal of American History* 81, no. 3 (December 1994): 977-985.
- Bozzoli, Belinda. "Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society." In *Class, Community, and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, 1-43. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987.
- . "Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9, no. 2 (April 1983): 139-171.
- Bundy, Colin. "Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of Youth and Student Resistance in Cape Town, 1985." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13, no. 3 (April 1987): 303-330.
- Carton, Benedict. "'We Are Made Quiet by This Annihilation': Historicizing Concepts of Bodily Pollution and Dangerous Sexuality in South Africa." *The International*

Journal of African Historical Studies 39, no. 1 (2006): 85-106.

Cherry, Janet. "'We were not afraid': The Role of Women in the 1980s' Township Uprising in the Eastern Cape." In *Women in South African History*, 281-314. Cape Town: Human Science Research Council Press, 2007.

Cloete, Dick. "Alternative Publishing in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s." In *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa*, edited by Nicholas Evans and Monica Seeber, 43-72. London; Scottsville: Holger Ehling Publishing and University of Natal Press, 2000.

Cobley, Alan. "Does Social History Have a Future? The Ending of Apartheid and Recent Trends in South African Historiography." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, no. 3 (September 2001): 619-620.

Denis, Philippe. "Seminary training and black consciousness in South Africa in the early 1970s." In *History and African Studies Seminar at the University of KwaZulu-Natal*. Durban and Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, 2008.
<http://www.history.ukzn.ac.za/>.

Digby, Anne. "Early Black Doctors in South Africa." *Journal of African History* 46, no. 3 (November 2005): 427-454.

Feit, Edward. "Generational Conflict and African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress, 1949-1959." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 5, no. 2 (1972): 181-202.

Field, Sean. "Beyond 'Healing': Trauma, Oral History and Regeneration." *Oral History* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 31-42.

Gqola, Pumla. "Contradictory Locations: Blackwomen and the Discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement." *Meridians* 2, no. 1 (2001): 130-152.

Higgs, Catherine. "Zenzele: African Women's Self-Help Organizations in South Africa 1927-98." *African Studies Review* 47, no. 3 (December 2004): 119-141.

Jeeves, Alan. "Delivering Primary Health Care in Impoverished Urban and Rural Communities: The Institute of Family and Community Health in the 1940s." In *South Africa's 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities*, edited by Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves, 87-107. Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005.

———. "Health, Surveillance and Community: South Africa's Experiment with Medical Reform in the 1940s and 1950s." *South African Historical Journal* 43, no. 1 (November 2000): 244-266.

- . "Public Health and Rural Poverty in South Africa: "Social Medicine" in the 1940s and 1950s." Seminar Paper (Institute for Advanced Social Research) No. 434. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, Institute for Advanced Social Research, 1998.
- Kirkendall, Andrew. "Reentering History: Paulo Freire and the Politics of the Brazilian Northeast, 1958-1964." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 41, no. 1 (2004): 169-171.
- Magaziner, Daniel. "Christ in Context: Developing a Political Faith in Apartheid South Africa." *Radical History Review*, no. 99 (2007): 80-106.
- Magubane, et al, Bernard. "Resistance and Repression in the Bantustans." In *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2*, pp. 749-802. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006.
- Marks, Shula. "South Africa's Early Experiment in Social Medicine: Its Pioneers and Politics." *American Journal of Public Health* 87, no. 3 (March 1997): 452-459.
- McAllister, P.A. "Resistance to 'Betterment' in the Transkei: A Case Study from Willowvale District." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15, no. 2 (January 1989): 346-368.
- Mzamane, Mbulelo V., and David Howarth. "Representing Blackness: Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement." In *South Africa's Alternative Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation Under Apartheid*, edited by Les Switzer and Mohamed Adhikari, 176-211. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 2000.
- Mzamane, Mbulelo V., Bavusile Maaba, and Nkosinathi Biko. "The Black Consciousness Movement." In *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2*, 99-159. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006.
- Naidoo, Kumi. "The Politics of Youth Resistance in the 1980s: The Dilemmas of a Differentiated Durban." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, no. 1. Special Issue: Social History of Resistance in South Africa (March 1992): 143-165.
- Ndlovu, Sifiso, et al. "The Soweto Uprising." In *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2 [1970-1980]*, 317-368. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006.
- Nekhwevha, Fhulu. "The Influence of Paulo Freire's "Pedagogy of Knowing" in South African Education Struggle in the 1970s and 1980s." In *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948-1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened*, edited by Peter Kallaway, 134-144. New York: Peter Lang, 2002.

- Noble, Vanessa. "A Medical Education with a Difference: A History of the Training of Black Student Doctors in Social, Preventive and Community-Oriented Primary Health Care at the University of Natal Medical School, 1940s-1960." *South African Historical Journal* 61, no. 3 (September 2009): 550-574.
- Nqakula, Charles. "1(b): 15 Leopold Street." In *Umhlaba Wethu: A Historical Indictment*, edited by Mothobi Mutloatse, 21-24. Braamfontein: Skotaville Publishers, 1987.
- Peires, Jeff. "Ethnicity and Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Ciskei." In *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa*, edited by William Beinart and Saul Dubow, 256-284. London: Routledge, 1995.
- . "The Lovedale Press: Literature For the Bantu Revisited." *History in Africa* 6 (1979): 155-175.
- Peterson, Bhekizizwe. "Culture, Resistance and Representation." In *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Volume 2*, 161-185. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006.
- Phillips, Howard. "The Grassy Park Health Centre: A Peri-Urban Pholela?." In *South Africa's 1940s: Worlds of Possibilities*, edited by Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves, 108-128. Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2005.
- Pityana, Barney. "Power and Social Change." In *Student Perspectives on South Africa*, edited by David Welsh and Hendrik W. van der Merwe, 174-189. Cape Town: David Philip, 1972.
- Ramphela, Mamphela. "Empowerment and Symbols of Hope: Black Consciousness and Community Development." In *Bounds of Possibility*, edited by Pityana et al, 154-178. Cape Town: David Philip, 1991.
- . "The Dynamics of Gender Within Black Consciousness Organisations: A Personal View." In *Bounds of Possibility*, edited by Pityana et al, 214-227. Cape Town: David Philip, 1991.
- Raum, O.F. "Self-Help Associations." *African Studies Review* 28, no. 2 (1969): 119-141.
- Scully, Pamela, and Denise Walsh. "Altering Politics, Contesting Gender." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 32, no. 1 (2006): 1-12.
- Sellström, Tor. "Sweden and the Nordic Countries: Official Solidarity and Assistance from the West." In *The Road to Democracy in South Africa Volume 3, International Solidarity*, edited by SADET, 421-531. Pretoria: University of

South Africa, 2008.

Shapiro, Karin A. "Doctors or Medical Aids – The Debate over the Training of Black Medical Personnel for the Rural Black Population in south Africa in the 1920s and 1930s." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (January 1987): 234-255.

Suttner, Raymond. "Women in the ANC-led Underground." In *Women in South African History*, 233-255. Cape Town: Human Science Research Council Press, 2007.

Tollman, Steve, and Derek Yach. "Public Health Initiatives in South Africa in the 1940s and 1950s: Lessons for a Post-Apartheid Era." *American Journal of Public Health* 83, no. 7 (July 1993): 1043-1050.

Walshe, Peter. "South Africa: Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29, no. 1: 27-60.

Xuma, Alfred B. "Native Medical Practitioners." *The Leech* (November 1933): 12-14.

Books, Dissertations, and Reports

Achebe, Nwando. *Farmers, Traders, Warriors, and Kings: Female Power and Authority in Northern Igboland, 1900-1960*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2005.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. London; New York: Verso, 1991.

Arnold, Millard. *The Testimony of Steve Biko*. London: M. Temple Smith, 1979.

Badat, Saleem. *Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid: from SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990*. Pretoria: Human Science Research Council, 1999.

de Beer, Cedric. *The South African Disease: Apartheid Health and Health Services*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1986.

Beinart, William, and Colin Bundy. *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape 1890-1930*. London: James Currey, 1987.

Beinart, William, and Saul Dubow, eds. *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa*. London; New York: Routledge, 1995.

Bekker, Simon, P.A. Black, and A.D. Roux. *Development Issues in Ciskei*. Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1982.

- Bernstein, Hilda. *No. 46 – Steve Biko*. London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1978.
- Biko, Steve. *I Write What I Like*. Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996.
- Bonner, Philip. *Holding Their Ground: Class, Locality and Culture in 19th and 20th Century South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1989.
- Bozzoli, Belinda. *Theatres of Struggle and the End of Apartheid*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004.
- . *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983*. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1991.
- Bradford, Helen. *A Taste of Freedom: the ICU in Rural South Africa, 1924-1930*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.
- Butler, Jeffrey, Robert I. Rotberg, and John Adams. *The Black Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1977.
- Calderisi, Robert. *The Trouble with Africa: Why Foreign Aid Isn't Working*. London; New York: Zed Books; Palgrave, Macmillan, 2006.
- Callinicos, Luli. *Oliver Tambo: His Life and Legacy*. Johannesburg: STE, 2006.
- Carton, Benedict. *Blood From Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Zulu Generational Conflict*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000.
- Charney, Craig. "Civil Society vs. the State: Identity, Institutions, and the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa." PhD diss., Yale University, 2000.
- Charton, Nancy, ed. *Ciskei: Economics and Politics of Dependence in a South African Homeland*. London: Croom Helm, 1980.
- Clark, Nancy L., and William H. Worger. *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. Harlow; New York: Longman, 2004.
- Clarke, Bob. *Anglicans Against Apartheid, 1936-1996*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008.
- Davenport, Rodney, and Richard Elphick. *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Denniston, Robin. *Trevor Huddleston: A Life*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Delius, Peter. *A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern*

- Transvaal*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996.
- de Gruchy, John, and Steve de Gruchy. *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005.
- de Villiers, G.E., ed. *Ravan – Twenty five Years (1972-1997): A Commemorative Volume of New Writing*. Randburg: Ravan Press, 1997.
- de Wet, Chris. *Moving Together, Drifting Apart: Betterment Planning and Villagisation in a South African Homeland*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995.
- de Wet, Chris, and Michael Whisson, eds. *From Reserve to Region: Apartheid and Social Change in the Keiskammahoek District of (former) Ciskei, 1950-1990*. Grahamstown: Institute for Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, 1997.
- Digby, Anne, and Howard Phillips. *At the Heart of Healing: Groote Schuur Hospital 1938-2008*. Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2008.
- Easterly, William. *Reinventing Foreign Aid*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2008.
- . *White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*. New York: Penguin Press, 2006.
- Etherington, Norman. *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South East Africa, 1835-1880*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1978.
- Evans, Nicholas, and Monica Seeber, eds. *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa*. London; Scottsville: Holger Ehling Publishing and University of Natal Press, 2000.
- Fatton Jr., Robert. *Black Consciousness in South Africa: The Dialectics of Ideological Resistance to White Supremacy*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986.
- Feierman, Steven, and John M. Janzen, eds. *The Social Basis of Health and Healing in Africa*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992.
- Freire, Paulo. *Cultural Action for Freedom*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.
- . *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: Continuum, 1973.
- . *Letters to Christina: Reflections on My Life and Work*. Translated by Donald Macedo et al. New York; London: Routledge, 1996.

- . *Pedagogy of Oppressed*. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. New York: Herder and Herder, 1971.
- Gasa, Nomboniso, ed. *Women in South African History*. Cape Town: Human Science Research Council Press, 2007.
- Gerhart, Gail M. *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California, 1978.
- Gevisser, Mark. *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred*. Jeppestown [Johannesburg]: Jonathan Ball, 2007.
- Glaser, Clive. *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000.
- Glennie, Jonathan. *The Trouble with Aid: Why Less Could Mean More for Africa*. London; New York: Zed Books; Palgrave, Macmillan, 2008.
- Gqola, Pumla. "Black Woman, You are on Your Own: Images of Black Women in Staffrider Short Stories, 1978-1982." MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1999.
- Green, Pippa. *Choice, Not Fate: The Life and Times of Trevor Manuel*. Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 2008.
- Gwala, Mafika Pascal, ed. *Black Review 1973*. Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1974.
- Hadfield, Leslie. "We Salute a Hero of the Nation: Steve Biko's Place in South Africa's History." MA thesis, Ohio University, 2005.
- Halisi, C.R.D. *Black Political Thought in the Making of South African Democracy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Handbook of Black Organizations*. Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1973.
- Hansen, Deirdre D. *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe: A Contemporary Xhosa Composer*. Institute of Social and Economic Research Occasional Paper No. 11. Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1968.
- Hansen, L.D. *The Legacy of Beyers Naudé*. Stellenbosch: SUN Press, 2005.
- Harries, Jane. "Women in Production in the Ciskei." B.A. Honors thesis, University of Cape Town, 1979.
- Hassim, Shireen. *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006.

- Hendricks, Fred T. *The Pillars of Apartheid: Land Tenure, Rural Planning and the Chieftancy*. Uppsala: Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1990.
- Hopkins, Dwight. *Black Theology USA and South Africa*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989.
- Johnstone, Frederick. *Class Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa*. London; Boston: Routledge and K. Paul, 1976.
- Kallaway, Peter, ed. *The History of Education Under Apartheid, 1948-1994: The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened*. New York: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Karis, Thomas, and Gail M. Gerhart. *From Protest to Challenge, Volume 5, Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- Kasrils, Ronnie. *Armed and Dangerous*. Johannesburg; Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2004.
- Kathrada, Ahmed. *Memoirs*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004.
- Khoapa, B.A., ed. *Black Review 1972*. Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1973.
- La Hausse, Paul. *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula (c.1881-1948) and Lymon Maling (1889-c.1936)*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000.
- Limb, Peter. *The ANC's Early Years: Nation, Class and Place in South Africa Before 1940*. Hidden Histories Series. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2010.
- Maathai, Wangari. *The Green Belt Movement: Sharing the Approach and the Experience*. Nairobi: Environment Liaison Centre International, 1998.
- . *Unbowed*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006.
- Magaziner, Daniel. *The Law and the Prophets: Politics, Faith and Hope in South Africa, 1968 – 1977*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010.
- Mager, Anne. *Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan: A Social History of the Ciskei, 1945-1959*. Portsmouth, NH; Oxford; Cape Town: Heinemann, James Currey, David Philip, 1999.
- Mangcu, Xolela. *To the Brink: The State of Democracy in South Africa*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008.
- Mangena, Mosibudi. *On Your Own: Evolution of Black Consciousness in South Africa/Azania*. Braamfontein: Skotaville Publishers, 1989.

- Manwaring, Scott. *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986.
- Marks, Shula. *Divided Sisterhood: Race, Class, and Gender in the South African Nursing Profession*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- Marks, Shula, and Richard Rathbone eds. *Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa: African Class Formation, Culture and Consciousness 1870-1930*. New York: Longman, 1982.
- Martinussen, John. *Society, State and Market: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development*. London; New York: Zed Books, 2005.
- Mbanjwa, Thoko, ed. *Black Review 1974/1975*. Durban: Black Community Programmes, 1975.
- Mbeki, Govan. *Let's Do it Together: What Cooperative Societies are and Do*. Cape Town: African Bookman, 1944.
- Miller, Debra A., ed. *Aid to Africa*. Detroit: Greenhaven Press, 2009.
- Mngxitama, Andile, Amanda Alexander, and Nigel Gibson, eds. *Biko Lives!: Contesting the Legacies of Steve Biko*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Moodie, Dunbar. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
- Moyo, Dambisa. *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.
- Msumza, Luyanda ka. "From Half-way Station to Permanent Settlement: A Study in the Evolution of Ginsberg Township, 1939 to 1964." Honors Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1993.
- Ndlovu, Sifiso. *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-Memories of June 1976*. Randburg: Ravan Press, 1998.
- Noble, Vanessa. "Doctors Divided: Gender, Race and Class Anomalies in the Production of Black Medical Doctors in Apartheid South Africa, 1948-1994." PhD diss, University of Michigan, 2005.
- Nolutshungu, Sam. *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982.
- Ntsebeza, Lungisile. *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of the Land in South Africa*. Boston: Brill, 2005.

- Nuttall, Sarah, and Carli Coetzee eds. *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Packard, Randall M. *White Plague, Black Labor: Tuberculosis and the Political Economy of Health and Disease in South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Pityana, Barney, Mamphela Ramphele, Malusi Mpumlwana, and Lindy Wilson, eds. *Bounds of Possibility: The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1991.
- Platzky, Laurine, and Cherryl Walker. *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985.
- Pohlandt-McCormick, Helena. *I Saw a Nightmare: Doing Violence to Memory: the Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Prozesky, Martin, ed. *Christianity Amidst Apartheid*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- Rambally, Asha, ed. *Black Review 1975-1976*. Black Community Programmes, 1977.
- Ramphele, Mamphela. *Across Boundaries: The Journey of a South African Woman Leader*. New York: The Feminist Press, 1996.
- Randall, Peter. *Taste of Power*. Johannesburg: SPROCAS, 1973.
- Romero, Patricia. *Profiles in Diversity: Women in the New South Africa*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998.
- Sabra Study Group of Fort Hare. *The Ciskei – A Bantu Homeland: A General Survey*. Alice: Fort Hare University Press, 1971.
- SADET. *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 2 [1970-1980]*. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2006.
- Saldru Community Health Project. *Health and Health Services in the Ciskei*. Saldru Working Papers No. 54. Cape Town: Saldru, 1983.
- Saunders, Christopher, ed. *From Apartheid to Democracy: Localities and Liberation*. Cape Town: Department of Historical Studies, UCT, 2007.
- Saunders, Christopher. *The Making of the South African Past*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip, 1988.
- Schmidt, Elizabeth. *Cold War and Decolonization in Guinea, 1946-1958*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007.

- Smith, Janet. *Hani: A Life Too Short*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2009.
- South African Institute of Race Relations. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*. Vols 1968-1978. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.
- Steinberg, Jonny. *Three-Letter Plague: A Young Man's Journey Through a Great Epidemic*. Johannesburg; Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2008.
- Suttner, Raymond. *The ANC Underground in South Africa, 1950-1976: A Social and Historical Study*. Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2008.
- Switzer, Les. *Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.
- Switzer, Les, ed. *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880s-1960s*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Switzer, Les, and Mohamed Adhikari, eds. *South Africa's Resistance Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation Under Apartheid*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 2000.
- Thomas, Cornelius. *Tangling the Lion's Tale: Donald Card, from Apartheid Era Cop to Crusader for Justice*. East London: Donald Card, 2007.
- Thomas, Trudi. *The Children Of Apartheid: A Study of the Effects of Migratory Labour on Family Life in the Ciskei*. London: Africa Publications Trust, 1974.
- Thompson, Leonard. *The Political Mythology of Apartheid*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Tomaselli, Keyan, and P. Eric Louw, eds. *The Alternative Press in South Africa*. Bellville, South Africa; London: Anthropos and James Currey, 1991.
- Turner, Richard. *The Eye of the Needle: An Essay on Participatory Democracy*. Johannesburg: SPROCAS, 1972.
- van Kessel, Ineke. *"Beyond Our Wildest Dreams": The United Democratic Front and the Transformation of South Africa*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.
- van Onselen, Charles. *Studies in the Social and Economic History of Witwatersrand, 1886-1914*. New York: Longman, 1982.
- van Wyk ed., Chris. *We Write What We Like: Celebrating Steve Biko*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007.

Victor, Stephanie. "Segregated Housing and Contested Identities: The Case of the King William's Town Coloured Community, 1895 - 1946." M.Sc. Thesis, Rhodes University, 2007.

Walker, Cherryl, ed. *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*. Cape Town; London: David Philip and James Currey, 1990.

Walker, Cherryl. *Women and Resistance in South Africa*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1991.

Walshe, Peter. *Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995.

Woods, Donald. *Biko*. 3rd ed. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1991.

Wotshela, Luvuyo. "Homeland Consolidation, Resettlement and Local Politics in the Border and the Ciskei Region of the Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1960-1996." PhD diss., Oxford University, St. Antony's College, 2001.

Wylie, Diana. *Art + Revolution: The Life and Death of Thami Mnyele, South African Artist*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008.

———. *Starving on a Full Stomach: Hunger and the Triumph of Cultural Racism in Modern South Africa*. Charlottesville; London: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Zondi, Welcome Siphamandla. "Medical Missions and African Demand in KwaZulu-Natal, 1836-1918." PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2000.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03063 7692