GOVERNMENT CREATED POLITICAL BODIES

Coloured Persons Representative Council

Stage of Development.

THE COLOURED PERSONS Representative Council opened its 6th session on the 19th July, 1974, amidst growing speculation that this session might be its last. This speculation was mainly due to a previous statement by the leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Sonny Leon, that he would plead for a united front consisting of all Coloured political parties to confront the Government with a demand to abolish the Council, or take its resolutions seriously. He said: 'As it is now, the Council is a farce. We have passed numbers of resolutions, including demands for the repeal of the Immorality, Job Reservation and Group Areas Acts, and there has been a total silence from the Government'.

Opening the 6th session of the Coloured Persons Representative Council, the State President Mr. J. J. Fouche, assured members of the C.R.C. that any constructive proposals they put to the Government for the advancement of the interests of their community would not fall on deaf ears. The official opening was attended for the first time by the Labour Party. It had previously boycotted the opening ceremonies because the State President did not officiate.

The development stage of the Coloured Representative Council was suddenly brought to a head when, within a week of its opening, the C.R.C. was prorogued by the Minister of Coloured Relations, Dr. S. W. van der Merwe, without any of its formal business having been done.

The prorogation of the C.R.C. was a direct reaction to a motion of no confidence in the Government policy of Separate Development and all its institutions, including the C.R.C. by the opposition Labour Party, which was successfully carried. The prorogation however, did not affect the activities of the Department of Coloured Relations as a result of funds not having been appropriated. The Government must have foreseen a position of stalemate such as this because a prior amendment to the Coloured Persons Representative Act gave the Executive Committee power to appropriate funds if Council refused, and the Minister to do so if the Executive refused.²

(a) Sixth Session—First Council—and Matters taken up by the Council

No progress report was given as the C.R.C. was prorogued within a week of its opening without any of its formal business having been done.

The following resolutions were however adopted:

- (i) That the Executive be requested to make strong representation to the Government for the abolition of the restricting measures which the dividing line viz. the 'Fish Cat line',' which stretches from the mouth of the Great Fish River up to Aliwal North, has on Coloureds.
- (ii) that Duncan Village be incorporated in the municipality of East London and that the inhabitants of Duncan Village be allowed to reside there permanently.
- (iii) that this Council calls for the immediate report of the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act.
- (iv) that this Council notes with alarm the treatment meted to the Coloured people by the police and officials of both the State and Provincial Department and request that the Government direct all Departments, especially those in rural areas, to respect the dignity of the Coloured people.

A motion by the chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. T. Swartz that the Part Appropriation Bill be considered, was defeated after a lengthy debate in which the Labour Party members described the C.R.C. budget as part of the discriminatory policy of the Government.³

(b) Prorogation of the C.R.C.

Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the opposition Labour Party, departed from the traditional policy regarding the submission of a motion of no confidence and accordingly submitted his motion as follows:

"That this Council has no confidence in the policy of Separate Development and that all institutions, including the Coloured Persons Representative Council, established under the system be abolished, and further calls upon the Government of the Republic of South Africa to grant direct representation in Parliament and all the Councils of the nation to all people so that they can participate effectively in the government of the country".

Mr. Jack Rabie, Transvaal leader of the Federal Party, introduced an amendment that "institutions be retained until Coloureds on separate roll obtain direct representation in Parliament".

The amendment was defeated by 29 votes to 25. A position of stalemate was reached when a motion by Tom Swartz, leader of the Federal Party, that "in view of the no confidence motion" as set out above "the Council immediately adjourns until it is prorogued", was defeated.

In the light of this stalemate, Dr. S. W. van der Merwe, Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, prorogued the Council with effect from 30th July, 1974 in terms of Section 15(2) of the Coloured Persons Representation Act (Act 49 of 1964) as amended.⁴

The prorogation of the C.R.C. heralded the virtual collapse of the Government's official policy for the Coloured people.

The crisis in the C.R.C. brought the dilemma in Nationalist Party ranks over the political future of the Coloured people to the brink of major conflict. Differences of opinion in the National Party were brought to a head by the defeat of the ruling Federal Party in the C.R.C., the outright rejection of Separate Development by the Council, and the Labour Party's demand for full representation in the White Parliament.⁵ Cape Nationalists had by now expressed open dissension that they were "bitterly dissatisfied" with the emphatic statement by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, that the Coloured people would never be allowed full representation. "The wrong man said the wrong thing at the wrong time in the wrong place."

Opening the first session of the Republic's Fifth Parliament on the 2nd August, 1974 the State President Mr. J. J. Fouche said that "a general election would be held for the C.R.C. after a second general registration of Coloured voters".

Reacting to this Mr. Sonny Leon said that another general election would perpetuate the farce of the present Council unless there were drastic changes".8

(c) Meeting between Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster and ten man delegation of C.R.C. Opposition Delegates

The meeting, requested by the Labour Party subsequent to the prorogation of the C.R.C. was held on 19th August, 1974. Mr. Vorster made it quite clear that he was not prepared to accept the motion passed at the last sitting of the C.R.C. asking that the Council be abolished and that direct representation be given to the Coloured people in Parliament.

He side that he did not have the power to abolish the C.R.C., nor was it the policy of the Government to do so. He had no assurance that the motion was the expressed wish of the majority of the Coloured people. He believed that the future of the Coloured people lay in the use and the development of the C.R.C., with the extended powers. "Granting of parliamentary representation would lead to friction", he said and he believed that two parliaments could function in one land. He foresaw the formation of a statutory body consisting of representation of the White and Coloured Parliaments.9

(d) Meeting between Prime Minister Mr. B. J. Vorster, and Representation of Parties in C.R.C.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster met a representation of the parties in the C.R.C. on 5th September 1974, and an official statement said that participants in the hours of candid discussion thought the meeting was a 'milestone in the history of South Africa'. But Mr. Leon of the opposition in the C.R.C. said "We got nothing. We have no alternative now but to go to those people whose arms are open to us, the black people of South Africa." 10

The official statement reaffirmed the Government's policy "based on the mandate given to it by the 'electorate'. It also stated that the Prime Minister believed that the C.R.C. should not be condemned after five years, but should be adjusted, expanded and given a chance to prove itself. Further consultation took place on methods of joint reasoning on matters of common interest. It could for example, take place in a statutory body as already indicated by the Prime Minister or a mutual consultative Cabinet Council with both Coloured and White members.¹¹

Mr. Leon said after the meeting that they (the Labour Party) were not going to get involved in any further talks, and that the core of the matter was that Coloured people demanded representation in Parliament. It was clear that the Government did not want the Coloured people there.

Natal leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Norman Middleton rejected the idea of a joint consultative Cabinet Council because "it would be another social tea party committee".¹²

An independent member of the delegation, Mr. Lofty Adams described the discussion as "an exercise in futility". 13

(e) Seventh Session—First Council and Matters taken up by the Council

The 7th session of the C.R.C. was opened by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster on 8th November 1974, outlining his plans for a mutual "consultative Cabinet Council". The budget speech was delivered by Mr. W. Bergins in the absence of Mr. Tom Swartz, chairman of the Executive Committee. The budget of R133 242 000 showed an increase of R22 098 500 (effective 19.80%) over the 1973/74 year, and provided for the following:—

		R
Finance and Auxi	lliary Services-including Enterta	inment
Expenses		1 703 000
Education		77 168 000
Welfare Service and Pensions		52 637 000
Rural Areas and Settlements		1 463 000
Local Government		22 000
	Total Revenue Votes	132 993 000
	Loan Vote	249 000
	GRAND TOTAL	R133,242 000

Amongst resolutions adopted during the session were the following:-

- That Coloured air hostesses should also be employed, and on the same basis as Whites.
- (ii) That the vote should be extended to include all 18 year olds.
- (iii) That the Council supports the calls of the Christian Institute of South Africa for an immediate end to organised White immigration to the Republic.
- (iv) That the Council requests the Executive to make representation to the authorities of the University of Western Cape to issue testimonials and references to students who qualify for them, on a basis of merit only and not in the light of the crisis at the campus of U.W.C. during 1973.
 - (v) That the authorities concerned introduce suitable legislation in order to determine the conditions of service and wages of farm workers and domestic servants, as in the case of workers in other sectors who are covered by the Industrial Conciliation Act.
- (vi) That better facilities be provided and improvements be effected at the main line entrance to the "Non-Whites" section of the Pretoria railway station.
- (vii) As a direct result of a threat by the Transvaal Association of Coloured Teachers to resign on 31st December, 1974 unless assurances were given on parity for all teachers in comparable catagories, the Council called on the Government for an urgent complete restructuring of the salary scales. All parties unanimously supported this motion.

Repeated calls were made for a cessation of all Group Areas Act moves until everybody affected by them had been suitably rehoused.

The Council also expressed solidarity with the banned student leaders, Messrs. H. Isaacs and J. Issel and all other banned persons.14

The first term of office of the C.R.C. ended on Friday 29th November, 1974 with both major parties unanimous in their rejection of Separate Development. In addition, all the major demands of the C.R.C. made during the past years were flatly rejected by the Government and the Council failed to gain acceptance among the majority of Coloured people.

The call for parliamentary representation, the abolition of apartheid, the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the implementation of the principle of equal pay for equal work and the removal of job reservation were raised consistently—and were rejected with equal regularity by the Government.¹⁵

The Government was only prepared to give in to minor demands—with reservations. Compulsory education was introduced on a "progressive" basis; a Coloured man appointed as "observer" to the United Nations; the Colouredization programme of civil service was stepped up; permission was granted for the acceptance of foreign grants (not foreign loans); the Theron Commission of Inquiry was appointed to counter the growing pressures for a full citizenship; the principle of autonomous Coloured municipalities were accepted; and the Executive Committee was given added control over its portfolio though the Government assumed certain important powers like passing the budget and right to dissolve the C.R.C.¹⁶

General Elections

Dr. Schalk van der Merwe, Minister of Coloured Relations announced on 5th June, 1974 that the earliest suitable date for an election of members of the C.R.C. be the 19th March, 1975. This was subsequently confirmed.

(a) Registration of Voters

The names of Coloured people on the Coloured Persons Representative Councils' voters roll were not automatically transferred from the previous voters roll to the new one. All Coloured persons over the age of twenty-one were supposed to register by the 28th September, 1974. Persons who failed to register were liable to a fine of R50,00 or imprisonment of 3 months.

Of approximately 700,000 possible voters in the Republic who qualified to register, only 555,786 registered (old roll—336,000).17

At the time of going print no known person had been prosecuted for failing to register as a voter.

(b) Election Campaign—The Different Parties

Labour Party

At the annual conference in January, 1975 in Umtata the Labour Party decided to nominate candidates for all 40 seats in the C.R.C. elections which were due in March.¹⁸

On the initiative of the Party's deputy leader Mr. David Curry, the party took a long hard, collective look at the state of the Party, its relationship with the Coloured Community, its handling of the political situation in the country and its attitude towards the C.R.C. and other Government institutions. According to the Party leader Mr. Sonny Leon, it is now the Party's intention to get on to every committee and into every institution, Government and otherwise where we can effect any sort of change in the people's general living conditions". 19

The Labour Party's campaign policy was that it was using the general election as a referendum on Separate Development. If they won the election and obtained a majority in the C.R.C., that majority would be used to boycott the C.R.C. and force its close-down. This boycott policy of the Labour Party was propounded far and wide in the Coloured Community through newspapers and some public meetings that were organised.

This list of candidates, nominated by the Labour Party to the 40 seats in the election excluded 9 sitting Labour Party members of the C.R.C. Those excluded were regarded as "deadwood".

They were:

Mr. Godfrey Julius (Galvandale) Mrs. Norah Polts (Auteniqua)

Mr. M. D. Arendse (Tafelberg and former Labour

Party leader)

Mr. W. E. Dunn
(Natal Interior)
Mr. P. J. Meyer
(Genadendaal)
Mr. W. E. Johannes
(Kasslesvlei)
Mr. P. A. Mopp
(Eastern Cape)
Mr. J. L. Segers
(Fish River)

Mr. D. C. Loubser

Some of the replacements were:

Mr. E. M. (Babs) Essop (Former Federal Party-Strand

(Swartberg)

fontein to replace Mr. E. Jones)

Mr. Lofty Adams (also former Federal Party-

Kasselsvlei)

Mr. M. D. Cairncross (Gelvandale)

Mr. J. Nash (Eastern Cape)

Mr. M. Coetzee (Fish River)

Mr. Norman Middleton (Natal Interior)20

A salient feature of the whole election campaign, was the lack of the number of public meetings normally associated with such an election. This was true for both the two main parties in the C.R.C., the Federal and Labour Parties. In the Western Cape, where the biggest number of the Coloured people are concentrated, this was especially conspicuous. Mr. David Curry, deputy-leader of the Labour Party, blamed this lack of public meetings on the difficulty in obtaining suitable halls.

However, it is generally believed that the campaign strategy by all the contesting parties (house to house canvassing as opposed to public meetings) was a direct reaction to the activities of ACROM (Anti-CRC Committee), which had launched a national campaign with the specific intention of discouraging the elections. ACROM had, especially at the start of the election campaign, been quite successful in breaking up meetings and exposing candidates by asking embarassing questions from the floor. At times the police would have to be called to restore order at meetings.

On the eve of the election Mr. Sonny Leon said that "We are on the threshold of proving to the Government that its brainchild, the C.R.C., is not what the Coloured people want".21

Federal Party

At its annual conference the Federal Party assumed a dramatic anti-apartheid stance. It proposed to strive for full parliamentary representation as well as full economic rights, but also to serve on bodies such as the Civil Service Commission, Transportation Board, Liquor Board and the Housing Committee as well as the proposed Joint Cabinet Council.²²

Ruled with an iron hand by Mr. Tom Swartz, who remained undisputed leader for the first three years of the C.R.C., the party leadership came increasingly under fire from key members of the party in other provinces, and a "palace" revolt last year led by the acting chairman of the Federal Party, Mr. Jac Rabie (supported by the O.F.S. and the Natal wings) was said to have been the main cause of Mr. Swartz's illness, which forced him to retire from active politics.

Mr. Rabie, who proved to be the most activist in the Federal Party, came out with open attacks on the former leadership of Mr. T. Swartz and what he referred to as the "pro-apartheid Federal Party of the past".23

In a surprise move Mr. Jac Rabie, acting national leader of the party, announced that the Federal Party would not accept nominated seats in the C.R.C. if its members were defeated in the election.²⁴

Social Democratic Party

Mr. E. G. Rooks, leader of the Social Democratic Party, which had its power base in Natal, was certain that "nothing can stop us from

taking the Wentworth and Sparks Estate seats in the March C.R.C. election".25

Mr. Rooks contested Sparks Estate;

Mr. M. Finn contested Wentworth.

(c) Election March 19th, 1975

The overall result of the election showed an approximately 46% polling response. However, seeing the percentage poll in the light of about 144 000 persons failing to register, out of conviction or apathy, the result effectively shows a marked increase in the number of people who abstained from any involvement in the C.R.C.

The Labour Party won a massive 31 seats, which would guarantee a majority in the C.R.C., even in the event of the Government appointing its selected 20 nominees from the Federal Party. The Federal Party won 8 seats with only one independent seat won by E. Essop in the Bokkeveld constituency.

Immediately after the results of the election had become known, Mr. David Curry, the deputy leader of the Labour Party, said that the victory of the Party in the election was an emphatic endorsement by the electorate of their militant policy of boycott and confrontation.²⁶

Mr. Peter Swartz, national secretary of the Federal Party, who lost his seat by more than 2,000 majority to Mr. J. Muller (Labour), said that it was clear that the majority of Coloured people:

- 1. Rejected the Government's policy of Seperate Development.
- Rejected the moderate policies of the Federal, Republican and Social Democratic Parties.
 - 3. Rejected dialogue with the Government; and
 - Supported the Labour Party's boycott policy.²⁷

Both Republican and the Social Democratic Parties were wiped out in the election and observers did not expect the parties to last longer.²⁸ The Social Democratic Party leader Mr. E. G. Rooks was known to be interested in retiring from political activity although he was expected to accept Government nomination, if, as was believed, he were offered a nominated seat.²⁹

(d) Post Election Events

Notice of a new Bill, which would enable the Minister of Coloured Affairs to exercise the powers and functions of the C.R.C. in certain circumstances, was introduced in Parliament on 19th March, 1975, the very day of election, by the Minister, Dr. Schalk van der Merwe.³⁰

The Bill was seen as a move by the Government to forestall attempts by the Labour Party to close down the C.R.C. According to the long title of the Bill—the Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Bill will amend the C.R.C. Act of 1964 so as to empower the Minister in certain circumstances to exercise or perform, or cause to be exercised or to be performed, the powers, functions or duties of the C.R.C. or its Executive, or the chairman of the Executive and to provide for matters connected with it.³¹

In a rare move, the Progressive and the Reform Parties opposed the first reading of the Bill to grant the Minister of Coloured Relations powers to exercise the functions of the C.R.C.³²

In a dramatic "about turn" ignoring their pledge to those people who had voted for them—that they would boycott the C.R.C. and force it to be closed—the Labour Party, via a statement by Mr. Sonny Leon, the leader, said that, as a result of this contentious Bill, the Party would now "stay put to destroy the C.R.C. from within". This was a return to the Labour Party's age-old policy of "using the C.R.C. to expose the Government's policy of Separate Development".

The Labour Party's caucus at a post election meeting at Kimberley agreed to accept the offer of the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr. Schalk van der Merwe, to have the Party's leader, Mr. Sonny Leon, nominated as Executive Chairman of the Coloured Persons Representative Council.

The Party also decided to accept the offer from the Minister to have Labour Party people nominated to the C.R.C. Both decisions were taken by 16-9 votes.³³

It was now certain that the Labour Party would take over control of the C.R.C. and its executive committee and that the Party's attitude in future would be one of intense activity in all those spheres which fell under various portfolios in the C.R.C.—education, social welfare and pensions, rural areas and Coloured settlements and Local Government.³⁴

Although there was a fraction in the party who wanted to opt for a continuation of its policy of boycott and walkouts, the majority of the party members were expected to opt for a change of tactics.³⁵

The Labour Party's somersault from a policy of "boycott to close the C.R.C." to a policy "to stay put to destroy the C.R.C. from within", resulted in a hard hitting statement issued by ACROM, challenging the Labour Party to "implement the mandate given to it by the Coloured people who voted in the C.R.C. election".³⁶

The statement further said—"For Mr. Leon and the Labour Party to have pretended that it (the controversial C.R.C. Amendment Bill) was unexpected casts a bad reflection on their political acumen—especially in the light of similar Legislation passed in respect of other apartheid bodies—e.g. Homeland "Governments".

The Labour Party was accused by ACROM of having given "respectability" to the C.R.C. by participating in it, thus sabotaging the will of the people to have nothing to do with apartheid institutions. They

believed that the Labour Party was only after this platform for its bonus of "Government Protection" and were therefore exposing the Labour Party as a party of political opportunism clothed in antiapartheid garb.³⁷

ACROM further stated that "the Labour Party imagine themselves to have the capability to persuade the Government of the need for change and obviously do not realise that socio-economic and political change is not the result of debate between people holding different views and interests".

"It is clear as has been provided, that the Government reacts to the actions of people and not to the chattering and idle talk of self-ordained leaders, who in fits of opportunism exploit the depreciations of the people, even to the extent of elevating those to political philosophies in order to inflate their empty images".38

Opposition to the C.R.C.

(1) Anti-Coloured Representative Council Committee 'ACROM'

During the first week of February 1975, ACROM, a body dedicated to discourage people from voting in the March C.R.C. elections, launched its campaign in all major centres of South Africa.³⁹

In a leaflet, thousands of which were distributed all over the country, setting out the aims and objects of ACROM, it was clearly stated that:—

ACROM was not a political party or an organisation of any such nature; it was therefore not the intention of this Committee to put up candidates to stand for the election or to promote the interests of any existing or new party that might be established.

ACROM believed ultimately in a humanitarian society where justice was meted out to all. It did not believe that this could be achieved by separate multinational or parallel development, of which the C.R.C. was an integral part.

It also believed that any involvement in the policy of Separate Development, whether direct or indirect, and therefore involvement in the C.R.C.—fostered racism. ACROM set out to create a climate in which ideals and aspirations could be reoriented towards a realisation of its beliefs.⁴⁰

The Aims and Objects of ACROM

- 1. To campaign vigorously against the coming March 1975 C.R.C. general election and to discourage so called "Coloured" people from continued participation in such institutions.
- 2. To inform voters of the changes of continued participation in the C.R.C. and/or like bodies.
- 3. To destroy the fallacy that the liberation of Black people lies in separate multinational or parallel development.

- 4. To destroy the "lie" that Black People are dependent on white South Africans for progress and development and to bring to the people the realization that they alone possess the potential to bring about change in our country; and
 - To co-operate with existing agencies with the same ideals.⁴¹

ACROM Campaign

ACROM's campaign strategy centred mainly on:-

(a) Massive pamphleteering campaigns; and

(b) Attending all or most of the election campaign meetings.

At the start of ACROM's campaign, thousands of leaflets were distributed setting out the aims and objects of ACROM. A fact paper was also issued entitled "The Coloured Persons' Representative Council Part of the Grand Design of Separate Development", exposing in it the fallacy of institutions like the C.R.C.

"It is quite clear that the actual intentions of this grand design of Separate Development are:—

1. To offer a new yet fraudulant direction to the Black struggle. While 13% of the land is divided amongst 8 Bantustans we are supposed to forget that the entire country of South Africa belongs to the people.

2. To raise false hopes amongst the people that these "peaceful negotiations" towards our liberation will work, while attempts to

express our aims collectively are killed.

 To enable the Pik Bothas, Ulsters, Naidoos and Matanzimas to declare to the world that we are in fact being freed from our oppression, so that South Africa can assume her seat respectably in the international arena of trade, politics, sport etc.

4. To maximise our differences as Black people with a common struggle and minimise our effort towards finding solidarity towards a

single solution and

5. Failing which, to delay the inevitability of our liberation.42

Subsequently, thousands of 'Don't Vote' pamphlets were distributed all over the country, with large posters—('Don't Vote for apartheid—Don't Vote for the C.R.C.')—going up everywhere, especially in the Western Cape.

Public meetings of all the C.R.C. parties were attended with the specific aim of exposing the C.R.C. and or exposing the election candidates. At some of the meetings, police had to be called to restore order. At one such meeting in Johannesburg (Federal Party) 200 policemen were present and two members of AFRO (Anti-C.R.C.-front) the Transvaal version of ACROM were arrested and charged with disturbance of the public peace.

At a Labour Party meeting in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg the police were called after members of ACROM had asked unacceptable questions.⁴³ At a subsequent Labour Party meeting at Durbanville, Cape, members of ACROM were assaulted after the meeting, after having asked very embarassing questions at the meeting. At a Federal Party meeting in Tiervlei, Cape Town, a member of ACROM led a mass walkout after being refused permission to address the people present.

(b) Saso and B.P.C.

Saso continued to reject the C.R.C., the Government created platform instituted for the propagation of Government which Saso opposed

The B.P.C. constitution spells out very clearly that it will function outside the Government created institutions. The B.P.C. has called for unification of all Black people and a complete rejection of all Government-created platforms. (C.R.C. included).

(c) Groups and Individuals Against the C.R.C.

At the Black Renaissance Convention held at Hammanskraal on the 13-16 December, 1974, a declaration was issued, section A of which clearly stated that:—

"We the Black people of South Africa, meeting at the Black renaissance Convention in December, 1974 declare that:

- We condemn and so reject the Separate Development policy and all its institutions.
 - 2. We reject all forms of racism and discrimination.

The adoption of this resolution led to the expulsion of all homeland leaders and representatives as well as C.R.C. representatives like Mr. David Curry of the Labour Party.

In a letter written to the editor of the Cape Herald,⁴⁴ and entitled, "Some Points to Remember", a member of the public stressed that politically ignorant voters who might be caught up in the propaganda meted out, should note:

- (a) the limited powers of this so-called Coloured Council, decreed by the white parliament, and accepted by the Council.
- (b) All C.R.C. political parties had accepted separate development because they were part of it, in fact they had accepted apartheid, separate parliaments, separate pay, and perhaps worse, sectionalism.
- (c) The C.R.C. had been rejected by both the South African Student's Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (B.P.C.).
- (d) What dialogue, if any, had this "band" of the Government, representative of a separate development institution had with the OAU or for that matter any African Liberation Movement.

(e) What Black intellectual backing could they claim? Police armed with stout sticks and batons were called in to disperse pupils at the Alexander Sinton High School in Athlone demonstrating against their school-hall being used as a polling station for the C.R.C. elections—Pupils held up "Don't Vote" placards and distributed anti-C.R.C. pamphlets issued by ACROM.⁴⁵

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