

1924 in Graaff-Reinet (Gem of the Karoo)

S9

Healdtown: major institution in black education, british missionaries in 19th. century
1940s noch „great days“ of black education

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brightest student we had...
wonderful speech

Fort Hare (neben Cape Town und Witwatersrand – die nur begrenzt blacks Zugang gaben)
„premier institution“ of black students

also a small number of white students..260 blacks, 29 Asians, 35 coloureds,
31 Frauen

teaching staff v.a. white

Mugabe, Tambo, ein Jahr vor ihm: Mandela, Mbeki, Hugh Lewin etc.

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Fort Hare: mit 23: began a process of fundamental change, eigentlich alt für Studierende, aber
nicht unüblich unter blacks – mussten oft warten, bis Geld da war...

1948, in dem Jahr also in dem die Afrikaner Nationalist Party gewonnen hat,: 3 Einflüsse
seiner Politisierung (schon damals durften ganz wenige coloureds und blacks wählen, but
“whatever the colour of voters, only whites could be elected as members of parliament) :

1. Native Administration: shock, how blacks were oppressed...
2. Cecil Ntloko – lecturer in Native Administration (AAC – All African Congress) etwa
Widerstand vs. United Party, Hertzog, stellten weiter Weichen zur Apartheid, etwa
Representation of Natives Act 1936: begrenztes Wahlrecht für blacks, und Native
Land and Trust Act, containment of blacks to the “reserves”: the intention was to
limit, in perpetuity, land ownership by blacks to a maximum of some fourteen per cent
of the country. – Widerstand, eine Strategie, die der nicht-collaboration, wurde zum
Vorbild der nächsten Generation
S. 20 “should not take part or assist in their own oppression and should therefore
refuse to participate in bodies such as the Native Representative Council created
especially for them by the government
3. Freundschaft mit Siwisa and Stampa...die 3 S

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mit 1948 und nach den Wahlen folgte drastische Erweiterung der Segregation
ANC bettelte regelrecht bei British King um Unterstützung, in den 1940s the ANC began to
break away from mere pleading, Dr. A.B. Xuma – wurde ANC mehr zu einer modernen
politischen Bewegung

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1945 ANC: “African Claims in South Africa”:

“We ... urgently demand granting of full citizenship rights such as are enjoyed by all Europeans in South Africa.” – the abolition of political discrimination based on race, called for the right to equal justice ... the right to own land...

1942 wurde Congress Youth League gegründet, headed by Anton Lembede, dabei waren von Beginn an: Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo, Robert Resha, Jordan Ngubane und A.P. Mda – übte starken Einfluss auf ANC aus, von der CYL ausgehend...

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von Beginn an Selbstbeschreibung als non-racialist, opposed to any form of racism, gewillt zu kooperieren “with other non-European groups on common issues but, it declared, the only force which could achieve freedom was that of African Nationalism organized in a national liberation movement led by Africans themselves.”

(Communist Party of South Africa, 1921 gegründet)

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ANC hatte ambivalente Haltung gegenüber non-collaboration (konnte man System doch von innen heraus verändern?) – rückte aber mehr und mehr davon ab, zu kollaborieren, man sah, dass man innerhalb der Organe keinen Platz für Änderung hatte – etwa “Native Representative Council” im Parlament – wurden ab und an eingeladen – und im schlimmsten Fall arbeiteten einige darin gar am oppressive system mit... Kritik seitens CYL an letztlich allen Formen der Kollaboration...

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Mda schreibt: “Fort Hare is just the place to start a Youth League. The young people there are the intellectual leaders to-be.”

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mit ihm hatte Sobukwe viel Austausch – knowledge and strategy, er selbst wurde beschrieben als seiner, der “totally free from any tinge of racialism or anti-whitism. But he was inflexible opposed to white domination. He made a distinction in this matter.”

Sobukwe: a rising star, auch bei Aktionen stark beteiligt... boycott dummy institutions (lernte auch seine spätere Frau hier kennen, Nurse) is the first step on the ladder to non-collaboration, above all a impressive speaker...

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z.B. 21. October 1949, **speech**

über Fort Hare:

Fort Hare must become the centre of African Studies to which students in African Studies should come from all over Africa. We should also have a department of Economics and of Sociology. A nation to be a nation needs specialists in these things.

[...]

Are we understand by that an African University predominantly guided by European thought and strongly influenced by European staff?

I said last year that Fort Hare must to be the (to?) African what Stellenbosch [University] is to the Afrikaner. It must be the barometer of African thought. It is interesting to note that the theory of ‘Apartheid’ which is today the dominant ideology of the State was worked out at Stellenbosch by Eiselen and his colleagues. That same Eiselen is Secretary for Native Affairs. But the important thing is that Stellenbosch is not only the expression of Afrikaner

thought and feeling but it is also the embodiment of their aspiration. So also must Fort Hare express and lead African thought.

[...]

We must fight for freedom – for the right to call our souls our own. And we must pay the price. [...] the price for freedom is blood, toil and tears.

[...]

‘You cannot grow beyond your thoughts. If your thoughts are those of a slave, you will remain a slave. If your thoughts go skin-deep, your mental development will remain skin-deep.’ (Marcus Garvey)

[...]

I wish to make it clear again that we are anti-nobody. We are pro-Africa. We breathe, we dream, we live Africa; because Africa and humanity are inseparable. [...]

We have been accused of bloodthirstiness because we preach ‘non-collaboration’. I wish to state here tonight that that is the only course open to us. History has taught us that a group in power has never voluntarily relinquished its position. It has always been forced to do so. And we do not expect miracles to happen in Africa. It is necessary for human progress that Africa be fully developed and only the African can do so.

We want to build a new Africa, and only we can build it.

[...]

We are the first glimmers of a new dawn. And if we are persecuted for our views, we should remember, as the African saying goes, that it is darkest before dawn, and that the dying beast kicks most violently when it is giving up the ghost, so to speak. The fellows who clamped Nehru in jail are today his servants.

[...]

Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm.; tell a man moderately to rescue his wife from the arms of a ravisher; tell a mother to extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but do not ask me to use moderation in a cause like the present.”

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it was quoted for years by students,

speech contains much of what was to be Sobukwe’s later political philosophy:

the rejection of any trace of white paternalism

the stress on black-self-regard and on African continental approach to the world

the emphasis on service, and with it, sacrifice

the rejection of colonialism and the reaching out to socialism

“And there is the firm declaration: ‘We are anti-nobody’, followed by his then still-tentative call to whites, coloureds and Asians to establish their security and freedom by committing themselves to Africa.”

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Standerton: Sobukwe as Teacher in a school

Blacks are present in a white town, with its wide paved streets and substantial commercial buildings and houses, because their labour is needed: they are also more than welcome to spend their money in the white-owned shops. It would be catastrophic for the town if this were not so. But it is also made clear that the black presence must be limited....”

In dieser Zeit viele ACTs

1950: Population Registration Act: the most basic of all apartheid laws, intended to classify every single South African into defined racial category

The Group Areas Act, which began the process of dividing the entire country into separate residential and business areas for different racial groups

The Immorality Act, which extended prohibitions on inter-racial sex

The Mixed Marriages Act, which debarred inter-racial marriage

The Suppression of Communism Act – gave the government the power to ban by administrative decree other organizations deemed to be futhering the – widely defined – aims of communism

1950 Defiance Campaign

using the ‘wrong’ railway station bench, if intended as a protest against apartheid, could mean a heavy fine, or three years in jail, or ten lashes – a whipping – or a combination of any two of these.

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1954: Marriage and Wits University (hier noch so etwas wie “academic non-segregation” – doch nur bedingt, blacks, e.g., were excluded from most students sports and social activity – Sobukwe einer der wenigen blacks as teacher...)

wieder mehr Politisierung, schloss an jene in Fort Hare an

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1952: Freedom Charter (vom Staat als kommunistische Gefahr abgestempelt, oder als Strategie – um nach dem Comm. Act die Leute “legal” verfolgen zu können – siehe dazu auch Bio von Mandela und Rivonia-Prozess...)

Sobukwe übersetzte zB Shakespierre ins Zulu

hier, in diesen Tagen, haben sich Pogrund und Sobukwe auch erstmals getroffen...

66 – hier zum Beispiel kommen 3 Bücher zusammen: Geschichte Südafrikas, Geschichte/Gedanken Sobukwes und Geschichte einer Freundschaft (er selbst: Reporter bei Rand Daily Mail)

Sobukwe: for blacks to develop an effective political organisation they first had to develop a national consciousness. This was the only way to unite blacks, he said, and the only means of achieving it was building up black nationalism.

contradictory? speaking of a non-racial society while at the same tme pushing the idea of black nationalism:

“It was only a partial contradiction, said Sobukwe, as once the new South Africa was created there would be no more racialism. Meanwhile, however, black consciousness must be fostered, and much as he did not like the prospect he had no alternative but to accept the inevitability of armed conflict between white and black. Whites would not freely and unwillingly relinquish their position. The history of oppression throughout the world showed that no ruling class ever willingly and of its own accord conceded rights to the oppressed. (...) After the revolution, there would be a non-white feeling.

wieder zur Freundschaft

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allg. Politik auch zu HOUSING-policy GROUP AREAS ACT, Beginne 1950

auch die Geschichte: Blacks could enter a restaurant – on condition they did not try to sit down and eat on the premises. “The concession would, of course, help ensure that white-owned business did not lose customers.”

labour-policy der späten 50er Jahre... etwa Einkommens-Unterschiede (S. 75)

Education-policy – more and more: cut down access to so-called white universities

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Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act

greater strictness in the pass laws, clause which defined the criteria which blacks had to fulfil to gain the right of live and work in city areas. On 16 October, teams of officials began issuing passes to woman in Johannesburg. This was already causing anguish in other parts of the country for what now lay ahead was that women would be as susceptible as their menfolk to being stopped by any policemen and dragged off to jail. Protests erupted in Johannesburg, and nearly 2.000 woman were arrested, to appear in mass criminal trials...

it was a criminal offence to be in any of the cities or towns for more than seventy-two hours without permission – were, it turned out, often spending three months as labourers on white-owned farms. ... Alongside this system, farmers could buy the services of prisoners, and there was publicity too for their savagery of their behaviour.

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Each person was given an identity number, part of which was a racial classification: thus 00 meant a white South African, 01 a coloured, 02 a Malay, 04 a Chinese, 05 an Asian, down to an 09 for Nama of South West Africa. Two sections, 06 for ‘Other Asian’ and 07 for ‘Other Coloured’, provided for those who could not be fitted in elsewhere, a sort of miscellaneous of the human race.

“Those vital two digits were intended to, and did, affect life from birth to death, with every detail specified and fixed by law: in which hospital you could be born; in which suburb you could live; which house you could buy; which farm you could buy; which nursery school and school you could attend and which university or technical college; which cinemas and theatres you could go; which buses, train compartments and taxis you could travel in; which bus stops, railway pedestrian bridges and platforms you could use; which beach you could swim from; which municipal swimming pool you could use; from which library you could get books; which park bench you could sit on; in which restaurants you could eat; which lavatories you could use; in which hotels you could stay; whether you were allowed to enter a municipal hall; which jobs you could hold and how much you would earn; how much liquor you could buy and possess; who you could legally have sex with and who you could marry; how easily you could get a passport for travel abroad; how much your old age pension, disability or war veteran’s pension would be; which sportfields you could use, and the quality of the facilities available to you; whether you could vote; which hospital you could go to if you fell ill and which doctors and nurses would attend to you; which hearse you would be carried in when you died; and in which graveyard you would be buried.