'Hippies, radicals and the Sounds of Silence'
Cultural Dialectics at two South African Universities
1966-1976

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy ,
in the Graduate Programme in

Department of Music , University of KwaZulu-Natal,
South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and
borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was
used and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. It
is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosoph in the Faculty of Humanities,
Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None
of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in
any other University.

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Abstract

This study explores the impact of the counter culture on students at two Anglophone universities in the 1960s and 70s. It focuses on the social and historical differences that predisposed English speaking youth to metropolitan based cultures. It explores this in the context of a lack of identity with the dominant culture of apartheid. The study examines the method of transmission, absorption, translation and incorporation of the counterculture and the New Left. The factors that highlighted the differences between South African students and their counterparts abroad are seen not only in their access to technology but also in the nature of their relationship to power both political and educational. The importance of understanding what bred different responses to similar stimuli assists in understanding the process in which the global became local.

It is argued here that the attraction of the counterculture lay in the broader cultural scope it gave to expressions of difference and resistance as a response to the rigid and continuous expansion of punitive measures by the apartheid government. The persistence through the 1960s of a liberal framework is examined in the context of a response to these measures as well as a failure to move beyond the racial foregrounding of the political system. The influences of events in the USA, UK and France in 1968 are seen in the context of their importance in South Africa as a catalyst to practical and theoretical change. The significance of individuals as translators of the discourses of the New Left is paralleled in examinations of South African musicians whose lyrics and compositions carried both the ideas of the counter culture as well as expressed responses and issues shared by their audiences.

The importance of the coalescing of both the New Left and the counterculture are evident in the early 1970s. Students adopted a Marxist framework within which to analyse South Africa, and the methods of the New Left in France in seeking alliances with workers. This practical approach was an example of the global becoming local and introduced those with access to privileged white education into a reexamination of the role of education in changing society. The counterculture expressed itself in the adoption of both cultural and educational methods of focusing on change as a response both to students relationship to power as well as to the emphasis of the 1960s on a broader more individually expressed ability to embrace change and new values.

The study concludes that the framework of the New Left when employed in redefining South African history was central to a process of both economic and cultural change within the country. The absence of a strongly expressed identity suggests the widespread appeal of the central values of the counterculture which emphasized distance and disaffiliation from the dominant culture. The opportunity offered by this position is seen as a response to the political expressions of a racially defined student body against a less obvious but significant change in the definition and role of tertiary education and cultural institutions.

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Introduction
Chapter 1.

'It's all relative!'

The youth of the1960s created buttons and slogans pronouncing, 'History is dead,' 'Frigidaire's are the coffins of dreams,' 'Turning on is the answer' and 'Life is like a beanstalk.' The buttons captured the pervasive sense that life and history were mutable. The realisation that tiny amounts of manufactured LSD[1] could shift entire personal worlds changed concepts of history and certainty forever. Science reached this point in the first two decades of the twentieth century when quantum physics upset Newtonian scientific theory[2], but the social sciences did not reach this point until the 1960s.

Once it was understood that history and life were a matter of perception, different discourses and constructs, every study within the academic world lost certainty and every statement became subject to its own intent form and structure. It was the world Foucault entered when he questioned the dividing line between sanity and insanity at the beginning of the 60s, and which led him to conclude that the realm we come out in is "neither the history of knowledge, nor history itself." Indeed once we go beyond the division, beyond the rational Newtonian world of logic and structure what is "in question is the limits rather than the identity of a culture."[3]

Rejection of ideology, history and bourgeois social structures, irreverence, sexual freedom, drugs and altered perspectives were all hallmarks of the counterculture. It is these and other aspects of the counterculture and its impact on middle class Anglophone students at South African universities that this thesis is concerned with. The counterculture offered spaces within which alternative and oppositional discourses could be explored and it is the counterpoint, ruptures and areas of coalescence between the cultural and political that this study describes.

Locating the Study:

The decision to explore this terrain within the context of two universities was based on the understanding that universities were the most fertile ground for the cultivation of counter cultural values and the New Left. The University of Natal (UN) was the home of some of the most radical structured opposition to apartheid in the early 1970s based on the writings of the New Left and the influence of events abroad. The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) situated within the economic hub of South Africa, had one of the most diverse cohorts of Anglophone students within the country. These factors accounted for the student body referred to in the title and appeared to be a wide enough base within

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[1] Lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) was first synthesized by Albert Hoffman in 1938 at the Sandoz Laboratories in Basel, Switzerland.
[2] Gary Zukav, *The Dancing Wu Li Masters. An Overview of the New Physics* (Bungay, Suffolk: Fontana, 1979).
[3] Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization. A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (London: Routledge. 1992), p.xiii.

which to conduct research. I refer in this study to English-speaking students which should be read as referring primarily to these two groups, unless otherwise stated. I do refer for example to events at the university of Cape Town (UCT) in 1968 so reference to those students should be read as including UCT students, but the primary source of information for this study stems from students at UN and Wits. I chose the two universities as a means to understanding differing contexts and institutional space. I also believed that if one were to find evidence of the impact of the counterculture these two universities would offer a route into such an examination.

This focus on students at the two Anglophone universities in the 1960s and early 1970s might appear limited, but its neglect alone suggests a reason for examination. Beinart[4] and Friedman[5] have both referred to the activities of English-speaking students, in particular their political involvement in the formation of trades unions. The connection between those students and events abroad, which they allude to, has not been more fully explored and is not referred to in non-South African works on the period. Wits and UN were two distinct campuses with the former allowing for a more liberal and academically open program. This acts as a useful counterpoint to the campus of UN, which was more politically circumscribed and controlled. UN's unique status as the only white campus with a black Medical Department created a space unlike any other and it is the particularity of this and the contrasts between the two academic environments that permits an analysis of context and congruence.

This thesis examines the world the students came from and experienced. It looks at the experiences and factors which gave them a common set of referents and how this in turn created a space within which the importation of the counterculture was possible. The process of the transmission, reception, absorption and translation of the ideas of the counterculture is set in the context of specific events that happened in South Africa. Chronologically the study dates from the period following Sharpeville in 1960 and the involvement of students in the African Resistance Movement (ARM) to the period preceding the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

The concept of the counterculture as a space within which oppositional discourses could be explored is fundamental to the central focus of this study. Whilst key questions here link an interest in the counterculture with processes and practices that undermine ideological hegemony expressed within institutions and physical space. This is particularly evident in the contrast between the 1950s and 60s in South Africa when apartheid was increasingly creating limits to racial interaction. The question as to how and why despite the apparent success of the separation enforced by the dominant ideology, white students who grew up within this carefully controlled environment, questioned and rejected apartheid, raises numerous issues around ideological control. The exploration of the manner in which the ideology of apartheid was partially rejected by Anglophone students acts as a connecting strand through this study. The idea that

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[4] William Beinart, *Twentieth-century South Africa* (Oxford: OUP, 1994).
[5] Steven Friedman, *Building Tomorrow Today. African Workers in Trade Unions* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987).

technology reinforces hegemonic control[6] is questioned here as the evidence suggests the contrary in the context of South Africa. The questions are why and how did this happen and what were its consequences?

Technological change is expanded in this study beyond the obvious media of radio, film and television to include the growth in air travel. Airplanes are seen as part of the technology which physically transported individuals beyond narrow national boundaries to foreign countries where they were introduced to new perspectives and ideas.[7] Whilst the National Party led government prevented the introduction of television based on their belief in its capacity to undermine control, they did not manage to fully contain the spread of new ideas through music, books and more directly as a result of travel. It was these three transmitters which were so critical in helping to introduce young students to alternative values and perspectives. In this sense media and technology were means that undermined rather then reinforced hegemony.

Global and Local Contexts:

The focus on the social foundations and physical environment of Anglophone youth is an attempt to place their personal history within a broader context and to explore the validity of Bourdieu's contention that without an understanding and memory of the scenery a journey cannot be recalled.[8] The value of understanding the social 'scenery' lies in the connection between context and agency which it establishes. Combined with the questions concerning hegemony, the exploration of the students world is important in explaining how, despite the relatively successful claiming of schools and curricula by the state, the more subtle influence of backgrounds and exposure to the physical brutality of apartheid in small but very significant incidents, served to some degree to undermine the apparent success of the control of space and institutions. It is suggested that within the personal histories and experiences of the youth some of the reasons for their subsequent rejection of apartheid can be found. Individual agency both conscious and unconscious has significance in expanding on this dialectical process.

The drawing of parallels with youth in California and elsewhere reinforces the sense that whilst isolated, young white students were experiencing many similar cultural experiences, hobbies and forms of expression with international youth which reinforced a sense of connection. When global youth culture was introduced into South Africa via music it was not completely foreign to Anglophone youth. The similarities in experience enabled fluency with many of the values and ideas of American youth of the 1960s. This in turn led to a degree of politicization and relative radicalism which questioned and challenged the hegemony of the apartheid state. What is of importance in this study is an understanding of the limits to that similarity, for it is in the differences that much of the particularity of the local can be explained. There is no direct equation that explains the process, however the focus in this study on cultural expressions, particularly that of

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[6] See Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972).
[7] The 1960s saw a noticeable shift from sea to air travel.
[8] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Biographical Illusion" in R. J. Parmentier and G.Urban, eds., *Working Papers and Proceedings of the Centre for Psychosocial Studies*, (Chicago, 1987).

music, stems from the fact that some music of the 1960s and early 1970s carried strong political messages and posited values and ideas which found accord with audiences across the globe. It was the most easily accessed source of transfer of ideas and it carried a very strong cultural imaginary for white youth whose social and cultural antecedents conferred particular power on imported concepts. It is the nature of this imaginary and how it was interpreted and expressed that this study focuses on to examine the localization of the counterculture.

Music and the Message:

The period covered coincided with a decade of economic growth in the West with West Germany, France and Italy trebling their gross national products and the USA and UK doubling theirs.[9] The world was ideologically divided between the western and eastern bloc, with the latter under communism and the former nominally democratic. It was the height of the Cold War celebrated most famously in the James Bond films which captured the affluence and stereotypes of lavish, sexy and capable westerners pitted against deprived, grey, conforming and fiendish eastern bloc thugs. The sixties celebrated itself in film and music, but it was the music that was the carrier of the ideals and aspirations of youth. Technology had made it possible for young people all over the globe to share music. Two events in 1954 transformed the world of the young. The one was the commercial distribution of the first transistor radios that replaced the cumbersome old valve sets and made radio portable, light and small. The other was the release of the film *Blackboard Jungle*. It was these two events that gave momentum to changes in music which had been evident since the early 1950s, and which gave youth a voice.

Frank Zappa describing his reaction to watching the film wrote, "I didn't care if Bill Haley was white or sincere…he was playing the Teen-age National Anthem and it was so LOUD I was jumping up and down. '*Blackboard Jungle,*' represented a strange sort of 'endorsement' of the teenage cause: They have made a movie about us; therefore we exist."[10] The 'riots' that broke out wherever the film was shown created the impression that 'youth' was an international category, not defined by nationality and place, but by music. Youth undoubtedly shared the music, but what made a young Ronnie Kasrils[11] who saw the movie into a revolutionary, and what made Frank Zappa[12] into a musician lay in their social context and history, not in the music. The music allowed them to share a moment, a feeling of being young, but how they expressed it was where the difference lay. It is this difference and the 'poetics and politics of place'[13] that this study is concerned with.

The impact of the music of the counterculture on South African English-speaking youth is studied from two perspectives. The first is that of musicians themselves, in particular

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[9] Ronald Fraser, *A student Generation in Revolt* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1988), p.2.
[10] Jerry Hopkins, *The Rock Story* (New York: Signet Books, 1970), p.21.
[11] Ronnie Kasrils became a member of the South African Communist Party and was former head of military intelligence in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress.
[12] Frank Zappa was an American musician who satirized popular culture and music in his complex compositions.
[13] George Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads* (London: Verso, 1994), p.3.

those musicians whose work represented a summation of some of the major concerns and values of the period. This process is reinforced and expanded by an examination of students who were at both Wits and UN and who provided alternative insights into the impact of the counterculture on their lives. The focus on music arose out of the manner in which lyrics and musical styles coalesced in themes and ideas. Salman Rushdie captured the impact of the music of the period when he wrote: "In the whole half-century –long history of rock music there is a small number of bands, who steal into your heart and become part of how you see the world, how you tell and understand the truth, even when your old and deaf and foolish."[14] It was the idea that music carried personal truths that made it so compelling. Interviews on the subject of music and the period yielded responses that music carried new ideas and reinforced existing ones, that it was about being young and free, it was the underlying beat and cadence of daily life and it was the lyrics that were the key. The individuals who crystallised the impact were local musicians whose individual stories contained so many of the themes and ideas expressed by their audiences. South African musicians who embraced the new music were relatively few and they performed in front of a small audience, but their lyrics and experiences illustrated not only the importance of music at the time as a means of communication, but also as an expressive force to register local changes and ideas. The attempt to limit their reach through denying them radio-time was part of the government's strategy to isolate youth from new ideas. The inability to control performances in private venues highlighted some of the contradictions implicit in apartheid and racially bound legislation that enshrined white owned private property.

It is through the lyrics of different South African musicians that a perspective on the perception of their audience is examined. It was evident in interviews that many of the themes and ideas prevalent at the time were being expressed in musical form and this was the reason that students supported and felt an accord with local musicians. They captured in a musical sense the way the counterculture was both absorbed and transformed. They also highlighted some of the similarities and dissimilarities between South African and American and English youth. South African youth were culturally predisposed to both British and American influences with the former having had a greater presence in their education, but the latter filtering in through music, comics and film. A cartoon published in Mcluhan's influential book *The Medium is the Massage* has a drawing of a young man with his electric guitar behind him, sitting on a stool explaining to his bemused father that "The invention of type created linear or sequential thought, separating thought from action. Now with TV and folk singing, thought and action are closer and social involvement is greater. We again live in a village. Get it?"[15]

Even though Anglophone youth liked to think of themselves as part of the global village, the cartoon highlighted a critical difference between South African youth and those abroad. There was no television in the country;[16] music came through radio and film. The question was how different from their counterparts did this make them? The belief that

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[14] Salman Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath her Feet* (London: Vintage, 2000) p.157.
[15] Marshall McLuhan & Quentin Fiore, T*he Medium is the Massage* (Harmandsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1967).
[16] Television was introduced into South Africa in 1976.

technology and the global village made individuals think differently was the message of the 1960s. This study looks at whether this was true, and if so, how did South African youth receive the counterculture and what significance did the mediums they received it in have for their actions.

<u>The New Left and the Counterculture:</u>

Much of the early literature on the 1960s tends to divide the period into the music, the politics and the people. Occasional works such as Frank Musgrave's *Ecstasy and Holiness* examines all three, but the majority of the work focuses on one aspect of the counterculture. The question about these various foci is do they offer "significant variations on how we should assess the mix of the cultural and political?"[17] The separation between the studies has tended to foreground radicals with far less attention paid to the students and youth they mobilised. It is difficult describing the link between music and the student movement, but it becomes even harder if one leaves out the students who supported the initiatives of the radicals. The description of youth as activists and non-activists covers the difficulty of describing those who were neither hippies, nor radicals, but supported the latter's initiatives and ideas but did not always become involved nor act. E.E.Ericson suggests that the sharp line of distinction drawn by many writers does not stand up under close scrutiny. Those traits, which the New Left and the counterculture had in common, were many and were crucial to each of these two tributaries. "Both were experience oriented: both emphasised liberation. Both supported the concept of community and berated the competitive clan. Both were alienated from the mainstream of American society; they were reacting to what they considered to be the failure of the American Dream and against centralisations wrought by liberalism."[18]

It is the common elements between the New Left and the counterculture, which are explored here. "Both the intellectual and the more popular branches of the counterculture launched a critique of technocracy which was anchored in a Rousseauistic belief in the possible liberation of an essentially whole but repressed self."[19] It is important to differentiate between phases of the New Left as it was not a very specific movement and the parts of it that impacted on South Africa were relatively limited. The American New Left originated in the writings and conferences of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) who "were trying to find a path. It was a synthesis of individual idealism and mass activity, but without the fetters of a programmatic orthodoxy."[20] In the early stage of the New Left its essential ideas coalesced with the emergence of the counterculture. C. Wright Mills in his 1960 letter to the New Left argued that to be 'Left' "meant to connect up cultural with political criticism, and both with demands and programmes."[21]

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[17] AHR Forum, "The International 1968, Part 1, Introduction" *American Historical Review*, Volume 114, Number 1, (February 2009), p.42.
[18] E.E. Ericson, *Radicals in the University* (Stanford: Hoover Institute Publications, 1975), p.11.
[19] Patricia Waugh, *Harvest of the Sixties* (Oxford: Opus, 1995), p.6.
[20] David Caute, *Sixty Eight. The Year of the Barricades* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988), p.26.
[21] C. Wright Mills, "Letter to the New Left." *New Left Review*. No. 5, (September-October 1960).

What the early New Left addressed was the role of intellectuals, which was important for students who identified themselves in this role. Most critically it implied a rupture with the Old Left and a move away from an identification with and support of the Communist Party. The writing and teaching of key academics in particular Herbert Marcuse reinforced its message. The New Left however is a broad concept and when analysed in the decade of the 60s refers to a changing body of practise and thought. It was mostly confined to the USA in the first half of the 60s and once it travelled abroad its multiplicity of forms emphasised the imprecision implicit in the term. Within the imprecision lies an explanation as to the expansion of the political into the cultural as expressed by C.Wright Mills. It was this fusion, which mobilised huge numbers of relatively politically neutral individuals into an understanding that dissonance and rebellion did not have to be confined to a political arena. It was critical to the emergence of the counterculture. Once however, the Vietnam War escalated and left-wing studies became more widely available to students, the New Left lost some of its anti-orthodoxy and became more confrontational, ideological and violent. The overlap with the counterculture lessened and political orthodoxy strengthened as the influence of the European student movement grew.

The New Left in South Africa had a limited reach and influence in the 60s, if anything the persistence of the Old Left was still a feature of the radicalism of political activists in the early 60s. Access to texts was limited and it is unclear if many students had a clear idea what the New Left meant. Orthodox left-wing literature was severely limited in its distribution and only individuals, who knew possible sources in university libraries or who new of secret collections, could read the works of Karl Marx and interpretative texts and analyses. The writings of Gramsci, Marcuse, Althusser and others only gained a wider currency late in the 1960s and tended to be limited to those who sought them out.[22] The Port Huron statement of the SDS was not part of the language of South African students, neither were the more revolutionary concepts of Che Guevara, Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral. These individuals were revolutionary legends and names with a degree of glamour derived partially from an absence of any real knowledge of who they were and what they said. To that extent the control over publications was effective, but it added potency to the few who did pursue such works and who translated them. The New Left in South Africa was limited to works such as Herbert Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man* because it was at least accessible, even though few appeared to have understood it initially.

In the same way that popular culture of the 1960s arrived in South Africa in a mediated form so to did the ideas of New Left. The distinction between the mediated and the unmediated form is significant because it suggests the spaces that were created for adaptation and alternative interpretations. The New Left abroad took for granted an ease of understanding the centrality of class, critiques of capitalism and concepts such as the relations of production. Within South Africa these were relatively unknown and new ideas. Students were introduced to concepts of class slowly and in limited numbers. The decade of the 1960s was notable for the almost total absence of any significant

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[22] James Leatt, Theo Kneifel, & Klaus Nurnberger, eds., *Contending Ideologies in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1986), p.146.

knowledge of and access to core writings of the New Left amongst Anglophone students. The reinterpretation of South African history, which started in the early 1970s, did not have as wide a currency or impact on students as it would have on subsequent generations. The New Left tended to find circulation only within university campuses whereas the counterculture was not confined to such spaces. This in part explains why it was easier to adopt a broad interpretation of the counterculture and to focus on its most direct transmitter: music.

Unlike the New Left, the counterculture embodied all the inchoate rebellion of youth. It posited consciousness as opposed to class-consciousness; it was anti-technocracy, ideology, capitalism and materialism. Its positive alternatives were in some senses the opposite of whatever it decried, but it was neither a very articulate nor defined movement because that was contrary to its spirit. It was an overall stance of rebellion and rejection with infinite opportunities for reinvention and reinterpretation. Its appeal lay in its formlessness and openness which embraced everything from a spiritual pursuit of Buddhism and Hindu deities to Paganism, which reconnected man with the earth. In South Africa the counterculture came largely through ideas translated in magazines and books, but its most potent and consistent messenger was music.

This study focuses on those individuals who were mobilised by these broad ideas and the spirit in which they were expressed. It examines the people who adopted some but not all of the radicals causes and ideas but also experimented with hippie concepts and practises. There was considerable crossover, and it was only at the extreme ends of the scale that the paths of the two were mutually incompatible. The focus on 'ordinary' students as a group within which to assess the impact of the counterculture is deliberate. Research has shown a consistent statistical average for the number of students in student populations who engaged in radical political action. Research into their backgrounds has been reasonably extensive[23] and they themselves wrote both in the sixties and subsequently, about their lives and ideas. This is not the case for the students who supported them. This group is neither clearly defined nor accounted for.

Within student newspapers, *Wits Student* and *Dome* there are frequent comments about the 'average student' and reference is made to moderates, liberals and radicals, but a German radical was very different from a South African radical and the 'average student' was not the same as a British student. That at least is what one thinks, but we are not really sure because we do not know what the real differences were. This study looks at some of those 'average students' at their social practices and ideas and their relationship to student leaders. The questions it engages with are, why did the counterculture have such an impact on English-speaking white students and what was it that made them so open to what was largely an imagined culture, given the lack of media and direct experience? How did the opposing force of apartheid shape these students and to what extent did it create limits to their actions? How did the global become local, and how did

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[23] See works by Kenneth Keniston, *Youth and Dissent* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971) and Stanley Rotham, & S.Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism* (Brunswick New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1982).

local countervailing influences lead to unique responses?[24] Is that the place where some of the clues about globalisation and its influence are to be found?

<u>Below the Radar:</u>

Positioning this study within the broader framework of research on the 1960s was interesting for the limited accounts on South Africa in most non-South African accounts of this period. The early concern in the USA with the Civil Rights movement did not extend into any significant interest in apartheid and South Africa. There was some interest expressed by American radicals in apartheid, but it never amounted to a sustained connection. Investment in South Africa featured as a cause of student dissatisfaction at the London School of Economics.[25] It was also a cause of brief protest in 1965 in the USA when Todd Gitlin discovered which American Banks were involved in providing loans to South Africa.[26] It was fleetingly considered as an issue American students could protest about in the early 1960s, but an interest in white South African students at predominantly white institutions was not apparent. There were links between NUSAS leaders and foreign student organisations throughout the period, but the limitations posed by distance, poor communication and the lack of funds for travel meant that the communication was mainly limited to the receipt in South Africa of student newspapers and writings.[27]

Within this study attention is given to the differences between foreign students and South African students as a means of understanding how the global became local, and as a way of emphasising the importance of context and time. The differences appear not only in access to material such as the writings of the New Left, but more critically in the trajectory of events that defined the decade of the 1960s in South Africa. The eight years in South Africa between Sharpeville (1960) and the Mafeje Affair (1968), contrasted strongly with developments in student political engagement abroad. Students there had access to the teachings and authors of the New Left. They experienced a greater degree of democratic freedom and were chiefly engaged with opposition to the economic system of capitalism. South African students by contrast were increasingly subjected to governmental censure and police threats. South African academics who were perceived as 'a threat' to the state were banned or expelled from the country and a general atmosphere of fear and intimidation coupled with a high level of ignorance about left-wing ideas effectively limited student radicalism.

Capitalism was not automatically linked to the ideology of apartheid and students who understood the counterculture as being opposed to capitalism did not necessarily link

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[24] Timothy S. Brown, "1968" East and West: Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History. *The American Historical Review*, Volume 14, Number 1, (February 2009): 69-96.

[25] Paul Hoch & Vic Schoenbach, *The Natives are Restless* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1969).

[26] Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS* (New York: First Vintage Books, 1974), p.153. The most important consequence of this research was the "surprising role of U.S. capitalism in the world. However the South African issue seemed secondary to most SDS'ers in the face of Vietnam, and was left to other groups-chiefly religious organizations." Ibid., p.183.

[27] There were individuals abroad who were designated as student representatives. They were few in number and appear to have had limited contact with student leadership within South Africa.

apartheid to capitalism. It was possible to see the two ideologies as separate, a view reinforced by the largely liberal historiography then taught at tertiary institutions. The theoretical emphasis on the linkages between apartheid and the economy was mainly introduced in the 1970s in the works of left-wing historians who were mostly engaged in research abroad during the 1960s. South African academics were not as engaged with the political implications of student challenges to authority as their counterparts abroad and did not focus their analysis or writing on student activity at Anglophone universities.

Academics abroad however were aware in the 1960s that significant events were occurring within the confines of academe and together with their students they sought theoretical models to explain them. The works in the forty years since then have reflected the major analytical shifts within the Humanities. These changes are linked to the presence within academe of many of the individuals who participated or grew up in the 1960s. The practice of finding an explanation for events and placing them within an existing metanarrative meant that students and lecturers at the time looked for a theoretical model which would accommodate and explain student activities. These ranged from Lewis Feuer's[28] *Conflict of Generations* which he saw as a repetitive historical event with almost oedipal connotations, to Roszak's influential *The Making of a Counterculture.*[29] Roszak's definition of the counterculture as a "culture so radically disaffiliated from the mainstream assumptions of our society that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all,"[30] remains a useful definition of the "significant break"[31] the counterculture represents.

Theory and Praxis:

Students in the 1960s were themselves trying to define this break. The subtle differences in their interpretations attest to their own experiences of the different societies they grew up in. The difference in their ideas is a useful index of the breadth of ideas informing the New Left and the relative imprecision implicit in the term. Students recognised the need for a theoretical framework that would give structure to their actions. This recognition alone began the shift from the relative formlessness of the early New Left into a more structured and orthodox engagement with more classic Old Left writing. Italian students believed that as advanced capitalism had permeated through, and dominated all layers of society, they were part of a differentiated proletariat. Their revolt could be part of a far-reaching social and cultural movement. American students by contrast argued that as students were tomorrow's workers, the main area of change should be within the campus in order to transform mechanisms of social control. British students however argued they were the weakest link in society and by the development of critical strands in sociology and other fields, could break down the hold of society. French students believed they were a vanguard when the working class movement was unable to play a vanguard role,

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[28] L. Feuer, *The conflict of Generations; The Character and Significance of Student movements* (London: Heinemann, 1969).

[29] T. Roszak, *The Making of a Counterculture* (London: Faber &Faber, 1970).

[30] Ibid., p.42.

[31] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms" in Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, Sherry B.Ortner, eds., *A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.520.

whilst German students believed that the student's task was to deepen the contradictions already existing at different levels of society.[32]

Academics at the universities under siege tended to choose sides. On the one side were those who condemned students as spoilt middle class children revealing a decided lack of respect for academic institutions,[33] and on the other those like Sartre, Marcuse et al. who understood that the challenges students were presenting could possibly lead to the creation of something new. There was a tension emerging within academe which rested on the difficulty of accounting for contemporary events within given theories. The protests of the 1960s questioned the 'objectivity' of academe and suggested that political activity was not necessarily separate from academic concerns.[34] As the student movement of the 1960s abandoned spontaneity for organisation and shrank into small revolutionary cores, the years of sifting through the significance of the 1960s began. Students who had adopted more revolutionary theory lost the support of the broad mass of students they had mobilised, almost at the same time as questions started to emerge as to why students had been so available to be mobilised. It was both the global nature of events and the crossover between culture and politics which made them so intriguing, although global referred largely to first world countries with a passing reference to Eastern bloc countries.

The fascination with being able to describe history as it happened was one of the reasons why during the 1960s a number of sociological studies were conducted into the causes of the student movement.[35] Indeed so keen were some to frame the period that courses on the 'University and Revolution' were initiated at the American University in autumn 1968.[36] The emphasis however was on radical leadership and radical students with the alternative movement of hippies relegated to a less significant position. This was not surprising as it tended to be the radical leaders who wrote articles and books about their actions and motives.[37]

It was the first time in history that so many people involved in 'making history' were also capable of describing and analysing it. Hoch and Schoenberg's[38] account of events at the LSE captured the drama, confusion and volatility of student activity. It was exciting and confusing. History on the one hand was the present, and on the other it was impossible to predict or assess how history would be shaped by what was happening. Magnifying events happening around the writers merely emphasised the difficulty of assessing the importance of an event without a broader historical vantage point from which to view it.

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[32] Ibid., p.138.

[33] George Kennan, *Democracy and the Student Left* (London: Hutchinson, 1968).

[34] Robin Blackburn edited *Ideology in Social Science* in 1972. He had been involved in the LSE protests and his questioning of positivism and the 'objectivity' of social science resulted in this interesting collection of essays published by Fontana in 1972.

[35] Social scientists Schelsky, Bednarik, Girond, Perruchet, Grasso, Baglion and Riesman to name but a few, all conducted studies on European and American youth.

[36] Gary R. Weaver, & James H.Weaver, *The University and Revolution* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall, 1969), p.165.

[37] See Daniel & Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, *Obsolete Communism: the Left-Wing Alternative* (London: Penguin, 1969).

[38] Paul Hoch, and Vic Schoenbach, *LSE: The Natives are Restless* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1969).

It was the making and writing of history, but it was not history in the traditional sense of an account of the past. Forty years on and the assessment of that period, although comprehensive, still needs to take into account Africa and the impact of the counterculture on the continent.

One of the reasons for this absence of information might stem from the relative absence, until recently, of books by African and South African students on their activities during this period. Students did not write books about their own history or events happening around them at the time, and so were not concerned with the questions that such books posed. In South Africa the emphasis from the mid 1970s was on the history of 'voiceless' black workers and the struggle for liberation. Within academe this was emphasised in the formation of the History Workshops. The only context academic whites wrote about themselves in was in their relationship to opposition, the struggle, or the labour unions. This has changed with a number of new books about growing up under apartheid, but there are still relatively few books that capture the period of the 1960s as experienced in white suburbia. The absence of works on the period within broader studies on the 1960s must to some degree stem from an absence of local writing on the subject, but it is also a product of the very distance that South African students in the 1960s engaged with.

Another major reason for this absence has to lie in the persistence within South Africa of the Marxist metanarrative at a time when the rest of the world had adopted a more ambivalent approach to account for the many movements that followed in the wake of the 1960s. Post-modernism permitted the growth of gender and race studies without the difficulty of trying to fit them into an overarching theory. A focus on the cultural changes that the 1960s initiated seemed to encourage the new cultural studies focus of writers like Clifford Geertz et al. Works encouraging memory and self assessment demonstrated the value of the cultural approach.[39] Two major works that marked the twentieth anniversary of 1968 were Ronald Fraser and David Caute's narratives. Both located the real influence of the decade within the cultural sphere.[40] The fact that they used the date 1968 to focus on emphasised the ambiguity between the political and cultural expression of the decade. The Paris barricades of May 1968 and the brief alliance between French workers and students that followed have come to symbolise the meaning of 1968. Nevertheless 1968 is also used as a shorthand reference to the political consequences of cultural change. The slightly uneasy relationship between cultural studies and other disciplines highlights the difficulty of a 'discipline' that "possesses neither a well defined methodology nor clearly demarcated fields for investigation."[41] This description could also be applied to a study of the 1960s. Despite the many sociological studies both qualitative and quantitative, as well as analyses of the period, it is still an incomplete document that repeats many of the initial findings and conclusions and continuously ignores territories like South Africa. Even the Eastern bloc countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary received mentions in the 1980 studies.

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[39] D.L.Hanley & A.P. Kerr, *May '68. Coming of Age* (London: Macmillan Press, 1989).
[40] David Caute, *Sixty Eight. The Year of the Barricade,* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988), p.406.
[41] Simon During, ed., *A Cultural Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1993), p.1.

Part of the continued blindness stems from a similar lack of interest within South Africa. The new nationalist discourse emerging in South Africa has concentrated on oppositional history with accounts of students in the 1960s and 70s focusing purely on their role in opposing apartheid.[42] History in these accounts has become an exercise in the teleology of black liberation. The difficulty of narrowing the expression of the counterculture into a purely political context becomes evident in this exercise. Much of the cultural activity of resistance that typified the counterculture did not translate into an overtly political form. The resistance and the 'counter' lay in a deeper rejection not only of existing political systems, but a rejection of the fundamental morality and social structure of capitalism. This was why the 'personal is political' became a rallying cry, because everything became political even though it was intensely personal and would never find a clear political voice. It is this overlap that has become the uneasy relationship between cultural and political studies.

In South Africa, Sarah Nuttall has made a concerted attempt to try and expand the concept of resistance beyond a direct and focused attention on apartheid and more importantly to question 'how race works' whilst separating it from the emphasis on racism and condemnation.[43] This study follows in those footsteps, acknowledging however, that the narrow line between resistance to apartheid and to other forms of resistance is sometimes difficult to delineate. Focusing on white Anglophone students is not an attempt to justify the past, nor to diminish the political consequences of apartheid but it is an attempt to engage with their own representation and experience and to explore the questions raised within their social context. These questions engage with how and why they retained their sense of difference, what social practices and relations reinforced this distance, and what were its implications for the society of which they were and are a part.

The structure of this thesis amplifies the concern with an understanding of how identity is constituted, how space is defined politically and socially and how the counterculture came to offer a significant alternative within an increasingly narrow set of political choices. The first substantive chapter examines the heterogeneous origins of Anglophone South African students. It examines their heritage of political quiescence underpinned by a sense of connection to physical and national spaces not defined by their presence in South Africa. The exploration of what constituted their nascent identity is placed within their social and institutional spaces and the factors that gave them common bonds. Language, technology, shared social practices and music are all examined within this context. Whilst the focus here is on the cultural life of Anglophone students, the following chapters engage with the political leadership and activities of radicals. The reason for this derives from the need to describe how the consequences of political action shaped a move away from political action as a means of expression. The constriction of political expression amplified the significance of cultural discourse throughout the period

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[42] See: South African Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Vol. 1 (1960-1970),* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004).

[43] Sarah Nuttall, and Cheryl Ann Michael, "Re-Imagining South African Cultural Studies," *African Sociological Review*, 3 (2) (1999): 54-68. p.57.

of this study and it is the history of how that happened which is described in the subsequent chapters.

The argument that the political radicalism of a small group in the early 1960s changed the course of political involvement for Anglophone students is explored in the fourth chapter. The manner in which specific agency has an impact on groups is examined through the narrative of individual choices and responses. A link between apartheid and capitalism was not automatically perceived and distinctions were drawn between the two. For many students capitalism was far more personally challenging than apartheid. The contexts and messages contained within the counterculture were accessible on a daily basis to students. Musicians carried the global messages of youth and expressed the ideas which found currency with them. The often limited and elliptical references to life allowed for the imaginary culture that linked Anglophone students to their counterparts abroad. Apartheid by contrast was seen as an expression of racist behaviour which they did not necessarily see themselves as expressing or practising.

Whereas politically the New Left was gaining ground abroad in the mid and late 1960s, South African political student leadership was moving into gradualism and liberalism. The deliberate choice of leaders who would not challenge the government did not lessen the expansion of surveillance, direct threats and banning of individuals by the state. This meant that critical opportunities to explore new ground with black students were lost and defined the nature of political activities and choices even further. The chapter, which explores the Mafeje affair and the lost opportunity for political radicalism, suggests the inverse significance that the counterculture came to represent. Even though student political leadership changed after 1969, the founding of SASO and the subsequent acknowledgement by student political leadership that it should not try and direct or patronise black political aspirations, meant that the opportunities for direct political action became circumscribed as white students adjusted to a secondary role.

The exception to this development was the formation of the Wages Commission in Natal. This chapter explores the significance of the direct translation of ideas of the New Left into South Africa. In a sense it is a reflection of what might have been had New Left writing and teaching had wider currency in university circles. The importance of specific individuals and the power of individual agency are underscored in the examination of the role of Rick Turner. The analysis also emphasises the very personalised and small world students moved in and the intimate manner in which ideas circulated. The one instance of the impact of the New Left owed much to the experience of students at UN who met and mixed with black students. The success of apartheid in keeping the races separate was countered in this one case and had huge consequences for the development of internal political opposition to apartheid. The punitive reaction resorted to by the government and the cost to individuals was a lesson not lost on other students. The increasingly powerful expression of state reaction to student opposition had the unexpected result of again emphasising the value of less overtly political discourses.

The focus on music and its message acted as a counter to the concern with political developments which reflected the narrowness of options, choices and freedom to act.

Music as the primary expressive form of the counterculture in South Africa offered a far broader range of responses. Even though the government banned much music from the radio many records and artists were widely available, unlike political texts which were genuinely hard if not impossible to find. The perception of the counterculture as a space, within which oppositional discourse could be accommodated, was reinforced by Anglophone students habit of cultural imaginaries and identification with foreign cultures. Physical distance was narrowing in the early 1970s by which time travel abroad was more common and students were able to travel abroad themselves.

The narrowness of apartheid, its emphasis on separation and its punitive sanctions on politically motivated opposition did not simply result in tacit acceptance. Anglophone students instead found cultural spaces within which to counter its impact on their lives and the growth in theatre, publishing, academe, social services and education of an oppositional discourse was an outgrowth of this realisation. None of these realms achieved the radical changes that the black trades unions did, but this thesis concludes they effected far reaching changes which impacted at many levels and permitted the embrace of identities that did not coincide with the stereotypes of white students as quiescent and complacent. This suggests that the counterculture had far reaching implications on Anglophone students and the society into which they stepped. It is this thesis which is more fully explored in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2

Methodology.

The core of this study is located within the tradition of historical narrative based on empirical research. The linking of individual stories in many of the descriptive passages is drawn from primary material derived from in-depth interviews with over 35 subjects. In addition extensive use has been made of transcriptions from interviews stored in the South African Historical Association's archives. Many of the latter interviews were conducted with individuals whose engagement with political resistance to the apartheid state is well documented. As the focus of this study was more on the counterculture and its broader impact on students it was to a less politically focused group of individuals that the interviews I conducted were directed. It was not that the politically involved and radical students were not significant; it was simply that their histories and personal testimonies were available in the pre-existing interviews, whilst those of less well-known students were not.

I have limited the definition of South African radicals to those who were involved in specific political activities which challenged the state and who openly engaged with debates and activities that could and did result in action being taken against them. South African radicals differed from their European counterparts in that they seldom expressed a commitment to the violence of groups such as the Baader Meinhof group in Germany or the Weathermen in the USA. The only white group who did so in South Africa were the individuals who joined ARM. This thesis suggests that the choices of this small group in the early 1960s had significant outcomes for subsequent groups of politically involved students and militated against the development of political radicals. There are two main groups of radicals referred to in this study, those who engaged with ARM and those who founded the Wages Commission. Other radicals described in this study are more self-styled radicals, i.e. individuals who considered themselves as Marxists, Maoists or subscribed to left-wing orthodoxy, even though they might not have carried out any specifically radical act.

In addition to interview material, extensive use of student newspapers in particular, *Wits Student, Dome* and to a lesser degree the Cape Town based student newspaper *Varsity*, was made. The publications of NUSAS both private and published, which are housed in the UCT archive, represented a rich source of information and record of student leadership. The underlying theme of the intrusion of state surveillance on student activities and the resultant fear and distrust it occasioned amongst students was strongly evident in this archive. The relative elitism of student leaders, their access to papers and publications which were unavailable to the student body emerged both in their sophisticated and yet naïve personal letters.[1] The moderate leadership of the mid 1960s appeared as a result of complex political and personal reasons and was very significant in

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[1] This contrast was evident in letters about the police and spying which seemed almost astonishing to some of the leaders; by contrast their comments on different members of the NUSAS hierarchy and their analysis of students and politics were often very sophisticated and frequently cynical.

shaping the outcomes of student choices and focus in the early 1970s. It was for this reason that I chose to describe far more student political activity than I had originally envisaged. The tension between an overt choice of political activity and activities that were below the radar of the security police emerged as key factors in understanding the impact of counter cultural values in the period. References to and research within daily and local newspapers, such as the *Natal Daily Witness*, *The Star* in Johannesburg and the *Rand Daily Mail* were important because newspapers were frequently the only source of information concerning events both locally and abroad. The relatively limited ideological range evident within these daily papers was also a factor in comprehending student reaction to events.

HYMAP and Hippies:

Prior to establishing the boundaries and content of this study, an attempt was made to focus on the contents of the Hidden Years Music Archive which was the initial starting point for this study and its funding. I knew of the archive in the 1980s but access was prohibited. My curiosity as to what had been so threatening to the apartheid state was what led me to undertaking this study. It transpired that the archive was still not accessible, even though funding, aimed at making it available to a wider public was provided by the National Research Foundation (NRF). The gatekeeper to the whole archive was Dave Marks whose career as a musician and whose influence on the folk music scene and on student concerts is more fully accounted for in subsequent chapters. Marks embodied many of the contradictions of the 1960s, in particular the disdain for 'bread' (money) coupled with a need for it. Throughout the period of this study the funding of the archive was in dispute, making free access to the archive very difficult. The three major musicians referred to in this study were all published and produced by Dave Marks at some point in their careers. Some of the difficulties in accounting for publishing and details concerning dates and publishers of the chosen songs stem from the disorganization in the archive and the impossibility of accessing actual records. The oversights in footnotes are not yet possible to rectify, however the archive might one day contain some structure and such information might become freely available.

The choice of individuals to interview for this study was a response both to reading existing studies on the period as well as examining how research over the period has altered. I was interested in individuals who saw themselves in some senses as having responded to the counterculture, had engaged at some point with hippie values or practices and who had completed their education. The latter point represents something of a contradiction in the strictest sense of a hippie as genuine hippies tended to eschew formal education as being part of the system and usually dropped out of university. The term hippie is defined in this study as representing a set of values which reinforced some of the core elements of the counterculture. In interviews few individuals described themselves as retaining core hippie values, but the ideas they talked about and their observations and memories suggested that they still subscribe to some of the central values of individual freedom, disdain for authority, continued questing for meaning and a spiritual base to their lives.

The use of a storied approach in narrating the collective narrative that emerged from interviews was a way of accommodating both the common elements and variety in the responses elicited in interviews. Individuals recollecting their pasts often resort to stories about specific events that they recall, rather than offering a chronological account of the past. Frequently individuals would recall an event such as the excitement surrounding the arrival of a new record album of the Beatles. They would talk of the friends they shared the experience with and try and convey the emotions they associated with the event. I chose to collate those stories into broader ones because they were so common and so widely experienced. The importance of the narratives of the three musicians who are dealt with at some length in the body of the text was a way of using one articulate individuals account to capture common themes expressed by others who shared their backgrounds. The only musician I included who did not attend university was Colin Shamley, however his life on the fringes of a large group of students and his very obvious preference for the life of a hippie minstrel, provided a useful insight into a genuine hippie.

Sociology and Statistics:

The literature on which this study drew covered forty years of academic engagement and changing values and perceptions. Much of the literature on the 1960s is based on a re-reading of a few sociological studies conducted in the 1960s and early 1970s. Ronald Fraser based his 1988 work on the evidence of more than 230 participants from six countries.[2] Frank Musgrove's, *Ecstasy and Holiness* was based on 596 respondents answering a "Likert scale of counter-cultural attitudes."[3] Interestingly, neither of these studies was conducted in the 1960s yet there is considerable crossover in the results and contents. Musgrove's study, which was conducted in 1972, really captured the students who were the heirs of the 1960s and as such, is only a partial reflection of students in the 1960s. Richard Flacks studies in the 1960s however confirmed most of the conclusions of later studies.[4]

Unlike those early works this particular study is based on a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach. The passage of time made the use of a sociologically precise set of determinants or scale of interests problematic, and led to the conclusion that in-depth interviews would be more useful. It was felt that within the space of a broad ranging interview there would be more opportunity to explore individual responses and ideas. The interviewing process took place between 2007 and 2009 and included some radicals in amongst the less politically involved students.

It was obvious that the interviews did not have the advantage of recent memory, and questions, which merely echoed the findings of the early studies, would probably result in

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[2] Ronald Fraser, *A Student Generation in Revolt* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990).
[3] Frank Musgrove, *Ecstasy and Holiness. Counter-Culture and the Open Society* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1974), p. 84.
[4] Richard Flacks, "Who Protests: The Social Bases of the Student Movement," eds. Julian Foster and Durward Long. eds., *Protest! Student Activism in America* (New York: William Morrow & Co. Inc., 1970): 134 -157.

either a confirmation or denial of their validity forty years later. The early studies of the 1960s were however important as references and were more useful than subsequent studies which contained more analysis and less evidence-based information. The interest in the interviews was to unfold and examine what ideas of the 1960s were expressed in South Africa, where they had resonance and how they manifested. The questions of memory and its variability were not as problematic as I had imagined. What was surprising was how similar memories were, and how that fact alone reinforced the veracity of other accounts. As the interviews took place I began to research the numbers necessary to constitute an acceptable sample. I had reached saturation point relatively quickly and found that I was not getting much new information after the seventh interview. It seemed absurd to conclude that such a small sample could cover two different towns and the people who had gone to university in them during the 1960s and early 70s. I persisted and interviewed over 35 individuals, but in the end limited my sources to 35 as the level of repetition made the surplus interviews unproductive.

Quality versus Quantity debate:

The work of Daniel Bertaux and Isabel Wiame was most useful in answering the problem of quantity. Bertaux himself was a product of May 1968 in France, which he described as the event that "really woke me up from my positivist dream." In his work Bertaux favoured qualitative interviews over quantitative research arguing "if one wants to know how a given population is going to vote in the next election the morphological level is appropriate, however if one wants to understand how the practice of voting and choosing for who to vote takes shape" then it is at the level of "sociostructural relations"[5] that one needs to focus.

He and Isabel Wiame undertook to research French artisanal bakers believing that if one studied a sector of production one would be able to grasp the relationship between capital and labour within a sector.[6] Bertaux concluded that 15 interviews represented the point at which saturation occurred and at which one acquired representivity at the sociological level.[7] The confirmation that such a small number represented saturation underlined the contrast between the 'positivist dream' and the ideas of the 1960s which were focused on rescuing the individual from the concept of an amorphous mass and were critical of massive statistical studies which seemed to feed a machine like mentality and reduced humans to a state of alienation. Bertaux and Wiame's focus and findings constitute part of the wider debate on sociological theory and the dynamics of social relations. Two important features that resonated with this thesis were their acceptance of results that did not fit their preconceptions, and their conclusion that 15 interviews made an adequate sample for studies concerned with social relations.

Even though the study was somewhat dated, more recent research has borne out their finding. The refinements in qualitative research have been continuous, particularly within

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[5] Ibid., p.38.
[6] Daniel Bertaux and Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, "Life Stories in the Bakers Trade," in D.Bertaux, ed., *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences* (London: Sage, 1981), p.171.
[7] Ibid., p.37.

the field of health based studies. The basis of much research has become evidence-based, yet it carries as many limitations as theory based research precisely because of researcher reflexivity and interest. The question whether applied to quality and quantity is: has the researcher posed a series of questions that merely support their theory? Reflexivity suggests that there is never a neutral point in any inquiry. Researchers are always collecting data to answer specific questions. Having stated the main points this study is concerned with it was inevitable that this was the information I would explore. However in-depth interviews, which did not fall into a simple question and answer format, allowed for surprise and difference and went beyond the limitations of researcher reflexivity. It was hard to know whether such surprise would be repeated if one went well beyond an apparent saturation level, however the surprise factor which included information on an individual's time in the army was often very personal and whilst amusing, did not necessarily alter the broader picture that emerged as the interviewing process progressed.

The concern with representivity and adequacy arose out of the fact that this research covered a period already replete in most interviewee's memory with forty years of intervening events. Memory is notoriously fallible, personal, incomplete and often unreliable. Given these attributes, how was one to gauge a representative sample given that the defining characteristics were based on language and place? Students selected for this study had to have attended either University of Natal (UN) or the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits)[8] between the years 1966-76. It seemed to be a very broad category covering a considerable span of years. Memory was clearly the route no matter how fallible and varied. The consistency within personal recollections led me to the conclusion that there was some sort of collective and I was not guilty of personal preference and invention. I was not alone in traveling into aspects of a collective South African memory. The nature of the past and the silence apartheid bred has created a surge of individuals needing to tell their 'true'story. It is clear that the distortions of apartheid left not only the obvious victims of its policies, but other minorities with stories that needed to be told and recorded. I saw this research is part of that project.

South African History and Memory:

As South Africa has dealt with its past, memory has become one of the most common tools and sites of contestation in the fashioning of a new history. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which sought to effect some sort of accountability, forgiveness and closure to some of the pain caused by the implementation of apartheid, relied on memory as part of its information. Curiously, even with the testimonies of 22,000 victims available to the commission and the "multi-pronged set of engagements with the past," Posel and Simpson conclude that in the end it could only "render up a range of fractured, incomplete and selective truths."[9] Minkley and Rassool suggest that the boundaries to memory and the use of the TRC lay in its concern "with the politics of memory in which the past is uncovered for the purposes of political reconciliation in the

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[8] Although the University of Natal comprised both Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses, this study is limited to the Durban campus. The use of UN instead of UND will refer to the Durban campus
[9] Deborah Posel and Graeme Simpson, *Commissioning the Past* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2002), p.11.

present."[10] By contrast they suggest that van Onselen's book The *Seed is Mine* is an exercise in placing the "social experience of black rural lives into a collective memory of cultural osmosis, interaction and reconciliation."[11]

The importance of capturing as broad a history as possible inevitably raises the questions Minckley and Rassool raise in their suggestion that memory and its interpretation fall into the world of the literate and the class bound. However whilst the issue of reflexivity is always there, the capacity to introduce and to cover an ever-expanding historical picture carries a weight beyond the limitations of reflexivity. South African history is increasingly emerging out of its political cocoon and the variety and multiplicity of backgrounds it covers is part of the exercise in reclamation. Within such an exercise the value of the personal, whether Kas Maine's story, or that of a 1960s minstrel hippie lies in the insight such histories provide into the complexity of social structures and the importance of individual agency.

The interest in the relationship of particular events within the life of an individual to a broader social group gives some insight into the manner in which personal choices and influences are made. Whether in interviews or in personal accounts there are always specific moments and memories which seem to have stood out. The difficulty lies in extrapolating such personal particularity into a broader narrative. The English feminist Sheila Rowbotham describing what influenced her in the 1960s referred to the personal feelings of antagonism she experienced after reading about torture in Algeria.[12] Her comment is valuable because when listening to South African Anglophone youth of the same period, Algeria was simply not a reference. It is a small point, but it suggests specific references which explain broader based difference. Implicit in such references is the fact that UK based newspapers could and did report on torture in Algeria, whereas no such accounts are found in South African newspapers. It becomes evident in such narratives that trying to pin down the interplay of the personal and the public is an exercise in complexity and what a person foregrounds in their memory is important. There is never a complete account, but finding the personal moments of significance, the events that were important add up to as complete a portrait as possible. What becomes absorbing is discovering how many of the seemingly intensely personal events are shared by others and add up to a group response which in some instances becomes an organized movement or as happened in the 1960s became a more generally shared but deliberately unbounded common set of experiences and values.

Resistance, Reason and Research:

The period that this study embraces contains the seeds of the theoretical impetus which underlay the shift in South African historiography that started in the 1970s and which gave birth to works such as van Onselen's. This suggests that we are within a multi-

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[10] Gary Minckley and C. Rassool, " Negotiating the Past," S. Nuttall, & C.Coetzee, eds. *Negotiating the Past: the making of memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: OUP, 1998), p.89.
[11] Ibid., p.89.
[12] Sheila Wandor, *Once a Feminist* (London: Virago, 1990).

layered and rich set of contexts all of which hinge on shifting political concepts of ownership and political subtlety. At core however none of them look at the simple issues of how can one take a narrative and create a collective narrative out of memory. The concern seems to be far more to what end that collective memory is being used and to what extent does it reflect part of the "constructions of resistance."[13]

Whilst the focus on resistance may be useful, it "is equally important to read the resonance's of something that is beyond either" difference or resistance.[14] The interest in this study in uncovering and finding something beyond a statistical example emphasized the need for qualitative interviews. I was not aware of the research on saturation numbers when I started out interviewing but independently came to the same conclusion as Bertaux, Guest, Bunce and Johnson, although I traveled a different route to that conclusion and did not start my research with a specifically didactic approach. I initially conducted group interviews which I did not record. I was testing to what extent the criteria of time 1966-1976 and place; Wits and UN were useful categories. I allowed the discussions to guide the responses to whether there was any point to such a study as I proposed as well as to see if there was any interest on the part of the participants. To that extent much of this research was guided by others rather than myself. What emerged from the group discussions was that the collective story suggested by the narrative experiences of the social category to which the individuals belonged led to the response "that's my story. I am not alone."[15] There was excitement that someone was interested in finding out their story and considered it worth telling.

What emerged out of group discussions was that certain individuals are more articulate than others, and some have far better memories than others. Within group discussions there were those who once prompted or carried by a tide of 'do you remember?' would then recall similar events, however when selecting subjects for in depth interviews, the latter group were not selected. Inevitably this influenced decisions as to whom to interview. However even within this narrowing down of individuals the most surprising quality was the level of shared experiences.

A degree of homogeneity became apparent within the then relatively small world of English-speaking South Africans based on the high degree of shared social contexts and experiences. The differences lay mainly in degree, gender and education. Listening to the radio was an activity shared by virtually every interviewee. Some listened a great deal more than others, but most mentioned the same programs and virtually all of them referred to the Top 20 hits of the week on Springbok radio or LM radio. It emerged that far more males listened regularly to the radio than did females.[16] Whilst acknowledging

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[13] Minkley and Rassool, op.cit., p.95.

[14] Sarah Nuttall and Cheryl Ann Michael, "Re-imagining South African Cultural Studies," *African Sociological Review*. 3(2) (1999): 54-68, p.58.

[15] Jane Elliot, *Using Narrative in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (London: Sage, 2005), p.13.

[16] There was no specific reason why more males than females appeared to listen to the radio. In the same way there was no adequate explanation as to why it was and still is mainly males who are responsible for the purchasing of music. (This information is courtesy of the owner of the chain of music shops, Look&Listen)

these differences, what nevertheless was both surprising and interesting was the similarity in the contexts within which the students lived and which formed their cultural reference points.

To expand on this interesting realm of experience I experimented by extracting five pages of memories from Denis Hirson's book *I Remember King Kong (the Boxer).*[17] I asked a random selection of subjects I interviewed to tick off a simple yes or no against each memory listed. With few exceptions they all remembered well over 95% of the memories on those 5 pages. Where there were divergences they were due to the age of the respondent and whether one had grown up in Durban or Johannesburg. Whether someone was born in the 1940s or 50s was of significance and this difference carried through the closer examination of the years from 1966-76. There were some references to places that no one in Durban would have known, although again, what was interesting was that there were equivalent places in Durban. There was no Nels Dairy milk delivery in Durban, but there was a similar company that performed the same function. I did not use the pages of memories as interview material, but rather asked individuals to do the exercise at the end of an interview, as I did not wish to influence their individual narratives. However they were of great value in understanding the differences between places and also time periods. It helped to establish the sense of common referents, the small experiences and memories within which a common language of memory exists.

Following group discussions I narrowed down the initial set of interview subjects and starting with them, then used the snowball method to acquire further subjects. This meant that even though I had a preference for lucid interviewees, I was not always able to find them once I broadened the reach. The purpose of expanding the base of informants was to avoid the limitations implicit in staying within one small reference group. Justifying a qualitative approach which excluded students who stated that they had never really became involved in anything and were not interested in the music of the time or anything else, but had merely done their studies and got on with their lives, was an issue. I did conduct two interviews with individuals who made such claims, but apart from the fact that they yielded very little information, they seemed to fall into the category of either 'don't know' in structured questionnaires or what are termed the 'silent majority.' They were of importance, but they were not the subjects of this study. As I was exploring active influences and responses to input from abroad and looking at this period of student activity in its wider context, it was a given that there were students who played absolutely no part in this, but their existence did not invalidate that of students who did respond and who were more aware of what was going on.

Part of the problem of using the term 'life story' is that one cannot and does not cover a person's life in an hour or two of their time, one rather has access to a memory bank. Jane Elliot in commenting on the way in which analysis of narratives might tell us about the "cultural framework within which individuals make sense of their lives" writes that "the external sense of generalizability of this evidence will…depend on a demonstration of how widely the intersubjective meanings are shared or…what delineates the boundaries

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[17] See Appendix A.

of the community or culture that is being shared."[18] She points out that it is an issue, which has not been widely explored in the literature on qualitative research.

Her observations were borne out in the one piece of research dating from 1973, which specifically examined radicals at Wits. David Ginsberg used quantitative research to examine the similarities between South African student radicals and their counterparts in the USA. He established they were predominantly high achievers, often of secular Jewish extraction and from liberal homes. He used indices established in American studies and proved that there were similarities between radical student populations. His study was interesting but raised more questions than it answered. The question as to what made South African radicals different from their American counterparts was not raised. This difference it is suggested can only be explored in detailed interviews that allow individuals a less structured frame of reference.

To manage such a lack of structure and to emerge with useful references, qualitative interviews have evolved into complex interactions with arguments ranging from the importance of the place where they are conducted, the language and inflexions used the body language and many other contextual details.[19] The concern that one might be controlling or influencing the outcome is central to these considerations.[20] As so much qualitative research is focused on the health profession and questioning people in relation to some very sensitive personal data, the context in which that takes place acquires extra significance. Some of the concerns about where and how an interview is held change when one conducts an interview covering a period most people regard as a happy one about which they do not have any feelings of anxiety or privacy. Most interviewees enjoyed recollecting their years at university and were very relaxed about the process. The only questions and quotes I did not attribute freely were those concerning sexual history and drugs. The laws surrounding drugs remain punitive and it was unethical and unfair to the honesty of the informants to expose them.

I chose to reveal myself in the interviews and to appropriate feminist methodology acting in some senses as co-creator of knowledge, and to be informal where it was appropriate.[21] This approach meant that some interviews expanded beyond the strict bounds of the questions being asked, but where someone is prepared to wander off and relate something of their experience that was important to them, it seemed important to allow them that privilege.[22] No interview is ever the same no matter how similar the questions. It is part of the narrative experience, which is not a constant and cannot be treated as such. The

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[18] Jane Elliot, op.cit., p.28.
[19] See for eg. Wendy Holloway and Tony Jefferson, *Doing Qualitative Research Differently. Free Association, narrative and the interview method*, (London: Sage Publications, 2000) and Kate Connolly op.cit.,
[20] Ibid.
[21] Kate Connolly and Rosemary C. Reilly, "Emergent Issues when researching trauma: A confessional tale" *Qualitative Inquiry* (2007), p.522.
[22] This is a risky strategy as when one replays the recordings one finds unanswered questions and shifts in subject matter. It is a problem but keeping the flow of an interview going is important in creating a relaxed flow.

lives of individuals are not part of a scientific experiment and this research was not about the efficacy of, for example, specific drugs in the treatment of a dire disease.

Wherever someone wished to be allowed to read any direct quote I attributed to them, I agreed to that. Professor Paula Ensor specifically requested the right to read any direct quotes of hers and their context, because she has experienced being misquoted and did not wish to repeat the experience. These seemed perfectly reasonable demands as this is not a newspaper article aimed at exposing the sins and secrets of public officials, I had no problem in agreeing to reasonable demands. I did offer individuals copies of their interviews, which only a few requested but extended that to the right to check their quotes, the overall response was that they wished to see the entire study and what conclusions if any were drawn, as the interest in seeing how their lives connected with others was the dominant response.

The interviews for this research were mostly conducted in the informant's houses, which was their choice of context and time. Where people were working on campuses interviews took place in and outside of offices or in restaurants. I did not choose any of the contexts, but as far as was possible always left the informant to choose both time and place. It was interesting to conduct interviews in homes and to see the narrative contained in the houses, but this was not the subject of the interviews and was merely a personal observation which led to the conclusion that in all cases, individuals lived in interesting and comfortable homes which contained many visual references which reinforced some of the values they expanded upon in interviews.

Distance and accountability:

Differences in responses amongst interviewees were most marked in the case of those who had become academics and those who had not. The latter were far less inclined to construct their narrative or to be self-consciously aware of the potential implications of what they were saying. In short they were less self-analytical and measured in their speech. Some, who saw themselves as radicals, tended to have a far more constructed narrative and sought to extrapolate meaning from their stories. Perhaps what was more interesting than an attempt to find meaning was that radicals needed to be acknowledged and to define purpose and worth to their lives given that not all of them had been rewarded with public recognition. This was a differently expressed response to the many individuals who felt that they had done something "although never enough"[23] and whose feelings of ambivalence about their past were far less resolved. The period in which I conducted this research was one of considerable political ambivalence and change within Southern Africa. What became of interest was to observe that individuals who felt that they should have done more, also implied that the trajectory of events since 1994 was justification for their lack of involvement.

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[23] This phrase was used in many interviews by both radicals and students who did not see themselves as radicals.

Their observations inevitably led to an examination of my own "voice and role in how the narrative is analysed, discussed and disseminated."[24] I knew that in many instances I had no real distance from the people I interviewed. I belong to the same generation. Their story was partly my story. Whatever I learnt enlarged a foundation existing in my own memory. Unlike many of the people I interviewed, I do not have a very good memory as I remember intangibles far more clearly than facts and places. I seldom confused myself with what I was being told because generally until someone mentioned something, I tended to have forgotten it or more likely not have been aware of it. I would have dismissed myself as far too vague a subject. The question whether this closeness to the subject leads me to personal bias and a lack of critical distance inevitably arises. I do not have a clear answer because there is such a vast world that exists beyond the boundaries of libraries, the printed word and archives. So many places merely exist in memory. Hillbrow,[25] which was such a central social loci in the lives of so many contemporaries as a shared memory, exists in that form only in memory. Its current physical reality contains none but the physical traces of what was an entire social landscape. Sharing a memory of what a place was like and what it meant to walk freely between Exclusive Bookshop and the Hillbrow Record Library is easier if one knows what the person is referring to, the difficulty lies in knowing whether this is simply a common memory or something that tells one anything.

Questions which seem obvious now and which are easy to dismiss an entire generation with, such as, "Why did you not act in a meaningful way to achieve change, given that you despised the system?" seem too simplistic, but also revealing because I understand and know that only if you were in the social context where such a seemingly obvious course of action was the least obvious choice, would you then comprehend the importance of context. Equally the importance of theory, which seeks to understand the structure of societies and the way they function, start to have a connection to a known reality, and can be examined in such a context in a more detailed way.

The difficulty of examining this space and utilizing narrative and records of the period is part of the tension of writing about a period within living memory. The method whilst apparently clear was anything but, it emerged as research progressed and patterns and themes started to emerge. The outcome of choosing interviews backed up by the literature on the period although limited, offered an insight that was at odds with the prevailing notions of the 1960s and 70s having been a time of quiescent and uninvolved Anglophone youth.[26] It allowed a story to be told that offered a more nuanced account of individual perceptions and roles. The following chapters attempt to capture the specifics of that narrative and connect individuals to the broader strands and changes within the purview of two institutions.

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[24] Kate Connelly, " Introduction to Part 2: Exploring Narrative Inquiry Practices," *Qualitative Inquiry* (2007; 13): 450-453, p.450.

[25] Hillbrow is a high-rise area north of central Johannesburg. It is reputed to house Africa's greatest density of inhabitants per square kilometer. It has been the home to successive waves of immigrants to South Africa.

[26] See *The Road to Democracy Volume 1 (1960-1970).* op.cit.,

Chapter 3
'Teach Your Children Well
Their father's hell did slowly go by'[1]

This chapter is tasked with examining the social foundations of the students who attended Anglophone universities in the 60s and early 70s. Within their backgrounds as products of richly varied and multicultural homes lie some of the explanations as to their lack of a distinct nationally defined identity. The exploration of what constituted the elements of their identity as well how social and institutional spaces defined common ground constitutes part of this chapter's reconstruction of their childhood identity. The boundaries of homogeneity are questioned and seen as the foundation of a space which allowed for an embrace of imagined identities and alternative worlds. The impact of limited technology and its capacity to create shared spaces and experiences is situated within that imaginary and is examined as a means of unconsciously reinforcing imagined social constructs. It is suggested that the identity fashioned around those common experiences led to a bonding based on a common set of experiences shared by Anglophone youth. Once they entered university those embedded assumptions and shared social practices acted as the foundation for imagined similarities and dissimilarities with youth in other continents.

Roszak,[2] Fraser[3] and Keniston[4] all describe inter generational conflict as a constitutive element of the counterculture. Most studies mention the impact of the Great Depression and the Second World War on parents, but they are pictured as retreating into a "myopic sense of prosperous security" engendered by technocracy.[5] Examinations of students, seldom explore their cultural backgrounds. It is assumed that nationality is not contested. This alone suggests one of the major differences between South African English-speaking students and their counterparts. American youth shared a plural background, but their questioning of America was more of its failure to fulfill its promise, than of their right to belong. This made them very different from South African Anglophone students whose multi-cultural roots and the consequences thereof help to explain what it was that made the reception of the counterculture so different in South Africa.

Generational Differences and Social Context:

The concept of generation is used in writing on the 1960s not only to describe family conflict, but also to define the youth of the period. The concept is linked to the large numbers of babies born after the Second World War, popularly known as the 'baby boomers' who in turn gave rise to the 'university boom.'[6] Pascal Ory explores the

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[1] Graham Nash, "Teach Your Children" on *Déjà vu*, 1970, LP.

[2] Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counterculture* (London: Faber &Faber, 1970).

[3] Ronald Fraser et al, *1968: A student generation in revolt* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1988).

[4] Kenneth Keniston, *Youth and Dissent* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971).

[5] T. Roszak, op..cit., p.13.

[6] Ibid., p.28 provides global statistics on increase.

concept of a generation in terms of an intellectual generation.[7] He suggests "every generation becomes aware of itself because of one seminal event symbolizing values."[8] As a French writer he sees May 1968 as the seminal event, whereas a broader palette might extend to the Woodstock concert. What is useful in the concept is the way it links generations.[9] The parents of the 'baby boomers' were responsible for the huge increase in university attendance. Their own experiences of the Second World War and the Great Depression led them to the conclusion that an education was vital for survival. Their children in turn went to university not necessarily knowing why they were there or what they were going to study. The link between the generations and their experiences is what this chapter explores. It looks at how issues around identity, multi-cultural heritage and the disruption of the Second World War coalesced in the lives of Anglophone youth growing up in the 1960s.

A broadly storied way emphasizing place and personal difference is used to illustrate these themes and the differences between South African youth and their counterparts abroad. The emphasis is on the social factors that influenced their parents to root themselves in South Africa and the responses this drew from their offspring. The diverse social origins of English-speaking students of the 1960s and the lack of a common identity suggest the importance of an imported cultural imaginary, and the openness of those who were growing up in this decade to imported cultural expressions. The focus is on the physical and social world of the period in terms of what their accounts of the period suggest as having been important to them. It is argued here that identity and a sense of complex histories and personal potential influenced the actions and directions of students far more than a simple binary of black is good, white is bad. The process of becoming, of defining who they were, was as much a part of their lives as it was and has been through the centuries in South Africa where wave after wave of settler existence has posed challenges to identity.

The Library Lawn:

A social analysis of a random group of students gathered together on the library lawn at Wits in 1972 offers the most direct route into the rich and varied backgrounds of students in this period. This group carries a narrative which expands the puzzle of South African identity. First we have a male student whose parents were born in Greece, but who both left their homeland because there were no economic opportunities in their villages. This young man attended St John's College[10] in Johannesburg even though his parents did not have a social background to equal others at the school. He speaks English as his first language but can speak some Greek. Christened in the Greek Orthodox church he is taken on holidays to Greece but also to Central Africa. His father has moved from owning a corner café to property ownership and lives mainly off rentals from property. The family

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[7] Pascal Ory, "The Concept of Generation as exemplified by the Class of 68," D.L. Hanley and A.P Kerr, *May '68 Oui* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), p.182.

[8] Ibid., p.185.

[9] As a general concept it is not very useful since it assumes the existence of a simultaneous media, it can only be used in the context of studies in the twentieth century.

[10] An exclusive Anglican private boys school in Johannesburg.

celebrates all culturally significant Greek events although his mother speaks French because she grew up in the Congo where a small settlement of Greeks settled between the two world wars of the twentieth century. He has inherited Greek hatred for Turkish nationals even though he has never met any. Inexplicably his family favour German goods despite the history of Germans in Greece in the Second World War.[11]

Next to him is his friend he met via his less affluent Greek cousin who went to King Edwards school, an old English-medium government run school. This young man has an Afrikaans surname, but his father and mother speak English although they are conservative and vote for the ruling National Party, he however went to Pretoria Boys High School a government controlled school well known for its educational standards, where radical teachers encouraged him to think critically about South Africa. He sees himself as lost in a cultural backwater and at odds with his parent's political views. His father is an engineer and so is one of the few parents in this group who has a tertiary degree. The family is Methodist, but nominally so, the son is interested in New Age spirituality[12] and has no interest in formal religion. His parents, grandmother and brother are shortly to die in a car crash so the son will be left with one brother. All his memories of his family are clouded by this event.

Next we move to a female friend whose grandmother married a doctor in the colonial civil service in India. He was brought up accordingly, and the family talks endlessly of their 'piles' in Ireland (all fictional, but the foundation of family cultural traditions rooted in mythical pasts of grandeur). Her mother is the daughter of German parents. The grandfather was from a wealthy Jewish family. He impregnated the German housemaid and so the two traveled (were banished) to South Africa to save the family from social disgrace. The grandfather became an inveterate explorer whilst the grandmother buried herself in making cakes and recreating a German environment. Their daughter (the mother of the girl) adopted the accent, mores and values of the colonial descendant she married. Her daughters have grown up being taught that they are a cut above all others and so socially superior to any Afrikaans or ordinary English-speaking South African, that the daughter is suffering from complete confusion and despite undoubted brilliance is shortly to fail her second year exams because of her social inability to cope with her world. She and her best friend both went to St Teresa's Convent a private Catholic school in Johannesburg. Her mother is a Catholic convert, and more Catholic than any born Catholic.

Her friend who attended a government co-educational school comes from a family where the mother was born into an affluent English-speaking family. The family went farming later in life. Her parents met each other during the Second World War when her father

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[11] Personal knowledge of this group provided information of their backgrounds and education.

[12] New Age spirituality was based on the same premises as the counterculture. The belief that one was responsible and able to create one's own reality was a product of an amalgam of writings ranging from Buddhist texts, Sufi writings and other mystical traditions. The counterculture expressed this idea in cultural terms whilst the New Left did so in a political context. The spiritual focus was in its infancy in South Africa during this period. It was frequently accompanied by visits to ashrams in India and other places, a route that very few South African could travel as their passports were not valid for most of the countries on the hippie trail.

joined the RAF as a pilot. Although he was English-speaking he came from an Afrikaans family stationed at the Cullinan Mine. His family and friends snubbed him for joining the British army. The family has no particular religious affiliation and her parents avoid any reference to politics.

Next to her is a male friend whose father was born in England to Jewish parents who came from Russia and France. His mother is also Jewish, but her parents grew up in Australia and Germany. His mother however will not allow any German manufactured goods in their life and still boycotts German goods despite the Second World War having ended more than twenty years ago. His maternal grandfather came to South Africa to supply feed to horses during the Anglo-Boer war and never returned to Australia. Despite their Jewish roots, both of his parents are agnostics. He however was sent to both St Martin's, an Anglican, and St Stithian's, a Methodist private school. His father is a practising trades unionist and his mother is one of the only mothers in the group who works and who has a degree. The family has many friends who have left South Africa and are members of anti-apartheid groups abroad.

Another friend in the group has similar but dissimilar Jewish roots. He is the son of Jewish parents who are divorced. His grandparents were Jewish immigrants from Latvia, whilst his parents were both born in Johannesburg. He has grown up in a family of shifting and mostly bad relationships, and is a rebel. He went to Observatory High, a mixed government school, and has to partially support himself at university, which he does, dealing occasionally in drugs which he obtains from his sister who is a nurse. He is the only one in the group who is not fully supported by his family. His father is a pharmacist and the mother is a bookkeeper. He has been exposed to Jewish traditions, but is not interested in anything religious. He is mostly interested in girls and drugs. Of the group he is the only one who will die young as a result of adopting the cause of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

This group is a microcosm of a much larger group of friends who meet every day on the library lawn,[13] but these descriptions should suffice as a brief overview of the complexity and variation within a very small group of what are described as 'Anglophone' students. The group is random and not at all atypical, but they do see themselves as South African although not similar to Afrikaners whom they nevertheless regard as South Africans. They are mostly liberal in their political outlook and participate in the regular political protests held at Wits. They see the denial of political rights to black South Africans as the work of apartheid and the Afrikaners, and disassociate themselves completely from the 'system.'

Language and Identity:

The common factor amongst the group is language. They all learnt English as their first language and communicate in it. They attended different schools and formed their

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[13] The library lawn at Wits was considered to be an alternative university and was the site of a complex social interaction remembered by many students of the period with far greater clarity than their formal academic pursuits.

friendships at university, or in some cases amongst the men in the year they were obliged to spend in the army. What binds them together is not school, religion, parental friendships, nor received cultural experiences. Their common cultural experience lies in language both spoken and musical. Music is a shared language brought to them on radio and records. Although they read the same set works at school (if they were in the same year in matric),[14] they did not grow up reading the same books. They have more comics than literature in common, although gender differences meant that the boys and girls did not all read the same comics.

American Marvel comics featuring *Superman* and *Spiderman* and *Beano*[15] represent a closer bond between the boys than Shakespeare. Amongst the girls British comics and magazines titled *Princess, Bunty* and *Girls Own* together with the American comics *Little Dot, Richie Rich, Lulu, Hotstuff* and *Archie and Veronica*, are shared memories. One or two of the group read the adventures of *Tintin*. Some of them read the adventures of the *Famous Five* and other *Enid Blyton* books as well as *Noddy*. Only one of them was prevented from reading either *Noddy* or comics, because his parents believed *Noddy* was racist and comics were inappropriate. They are starting to read similar books at university such as *Siddharta* by Herman Hesse but as the group enjoys smoking marijuana and occasionally taking LSD they are more interested in Carlos Castaneda's writing, although again even within this small group only two of them persist with Castaneda, the others finding him too mystical and strange for their taste.

They are however all listening to Jimi Hendrix, Pink Floyd, The Beatles, Free, The Rolling Stones, The Who, Bob Dylan, Crosby Stills Nash and Young and many other groups. Some of them like other musicians such as Frank Zappa, but as a group they all have memories of listening to LM and Springbok Radio and top of the pops and every single one of them remembers their first pop musical memories of Elvis and Cliff Richard. "In the late 1950s we used to have competitions with each other. Listening to Springbok Radio on a Saturday, me and my brothers and our friends as to whether Elvis or Cliff was going to be top of the pops."[16]This single memory is common to virtually every single person of this generation down to the fact that everyone remembers that "one was either an Elvis or a Cliff fan" but never a fan of the two of them.[17]

Saunders suggests "one of the legacies of apartheid is that a stable 'South African' identity is still a long way off."[18] This observation amplifies the perception of identity in terms of alterity. Yet whilst describing a group whose roots are nothing but composed of alterity, we are nevertheless looking at a cohesive group who recognize their own group codes and language. To understand why and how this happened, it is necessary to go back to what drew them together and provided them with a symbolic language that was mutually intelligible. It is within this social context that we find the unifying experiences

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[14] Matric is the final year of secondary schooling in South Africa. It normally is taken between 16-18 years of age.

[15] Superman and Spiderman were American comics, whilst Beano was a UK product.

[16] Interview, Tony Bentel, Johannesburg, 2 November 2008.

[17] Cliff was not known in America and the issue of choosing between Cliff and Elvis was not an issue in the States.

[18] James Saunders, *Apartheid's Friends* (London: John Murray, 2006), p.6.

that allowed this collection of hybrids to express some sort of constituted identity. This brings into question many of the assumptions about whites as a class rather than as a group defined by race. South Africa offered a refuge and new chance to many of their parents who left their countries of birth out of necessity, not choice.

Displacement and the Legacy of War:

Most of the people in this group had family who were affected either by the First or the Second World War. These two wars, described as global although initially fought over purely European issues, relied on colonial forces to increase their troop numbers. Colonies were useful places for raw materials and manpower during the wars. In peace time they were useful not only for resources and markets, but also for settling excess populations displaced by economic hardship, crop failures and wars.[19] The colonies absorbed the excess population making it possible for the metropolitan country to recover more rapidly without an increased burden on the fiscus. The colonies were seen as places where it was perfectly legitimate to indulge in a form of social engineering placing whites at the top of the social and economic pyramid, even if their skills were limited and their class status lowly. They were places where social reinvention was possible. This was qualified by the colonials already in residence in the colonies who were not quite as open as the metropole, and who often brought with them all the social distinctions that they had learnt in the metropole. Indeed as Arendt noted "those who were singled out as scum of the earth –Jews, Trotskyites etc – actually were received as scum of the earth everywhere."[20]

The flow of immigrants from Europe was not purely from the colonial powers. Immigrants came from both western and eastern Europe. Russia and Lithuania contributed to the flow of immigrants with minority groups, in particular Jews taking the opportunity to escape the hardships of life in the ghettos and the terror of pogroms. Jews however were not favoured immigrants. At the time of the Anglo-Boer war in S.A. despite their entry into the war on both sides of the conflict, their presence on the side of the British was derided. Milner's political secretary wrote "the Peruvians (derogatory name for Jews) are a wholly objectionable element and the more of them that can be sent down the better."[21] Jews however were white and their colour gave them preference over all other colour groups. By the early twentieth century regulations were in place to restrict any 'non-whites' from immigrating. The restriction of immigration from India to South Africa as contained in the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1910 was a fine example of colonial attitudes to colour and settlement in the colonies. It has to be remembered that in the same way that the National Party believed that blacks were breeding far too fast compared to whites thus leading to the bizarre 'a baby for Republic day' celebration plan, [22] the same disdain for the working class was expressed by the ruling class in the UK and

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[19] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Meridien Books,Inc., 1960), p.189.
[20] Ibid., p.269.
[21] Erna Bradlow, "Jewish Refugees at the Cape in the Anglo-Boer War," *Jewish Affairs,* (Spring, 1999): 37-42, p.40.
[22] Jeremy Taylor, *Ag Pleez Deddy. Songs and Reflections* (Pretoria: Jeremy Taylor Publishing, 1992), p.124.

on the continent. Ridding the metropole of excess population and increasing the proportion of whites to blacks at the same time was an ingenious solution to the social issues of the time. Even after the Second World War, Holland, which no longer had many colonial territories, negotiated with various colonial territories including Canada and South Africa to take its excess population. On their part the Dutch government provided assisted passages to those willing to go.[23]

South Africa could never get sufficient numbers of the 'right' kind of people. The Alien Act of 1937 effectively curtailed the immigration of German Jews into South Africa, but not of Germans, who together with the Dutch constituted the single largest European group of consistent immigration into South Africa during the pre- and immediate post-war years.[24] A 1958 report on Christianity in Africa published by the Synod of the Dutch Reformed church described Copts, Catholics and Muslims as a threat to Protestant values stating, "It is a remarkable fact that communism has its largest following in Catholic countries. Communism was the result of the abuse of power by the Catholic Church in Russia."[25] Despite this extraordinary logic, the desire to have white immigration meant that of the three despised religious groups, Catholics were the most common group of immigrants. Assisted immigration meant that most of them arrived with very little money.

They lacked land, family and often language, but very few of them remained poor whites. It is with this group and other minorities who adopted English as their lingua franca that this study is concerned with, as the majority of them constituted the grandparents or parents of the students at the Anglophone universities. These were people who came and settled and built the economy with the advantages given to them based on their race. Thus the displaced Greek peasant, whose own home village was overcrowded and could not support him, could become a café owner and a property owner in a matter of years. The ghetto Jew could become a doctor and landowner in one generation as well. They maintained the status quo, but because they were not incorporated into any ruling elite, they remained nominally loyal to their origins. Despite the concept that these were people who were '*soutpelies*'[26] cowards who would run home at the first opportunity, many of them had a residual loyalty to South Africa simply because it had provided a home and livelihood for them when their 'home' had failed to do so. Home instead became a mythic cultural place reconstituted in the form of memory, associations, cultural celebrations and food. It was clear that if that much could be achieved in a new country where one had achieved a social standard impossible at 'home,' then one did not need to go home at all.

This did not mean that acceptance of the country and its values and mores came with time. South Africa was not always a destination that had been chosen, "My father

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[23] Gijs Dubbeld, interview, Durban, 20 October 2008.

[24] The Number of Dutch immigrants intending to settle permanently in South Africa in 1945 was 11. This rose to 249 in 1946, 929 in 1947, 2,024 in 1948 and 1,728 in 1949. Union Office of Census & Statistics, *Official Yearbook of the Union* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1949)

[25] *Natal Mercury*, 14 August 1958.

[26] A derogatory term meaning "salt penises" implying that with one foot in Europe and one in Africa penises became salty from hanging in the ocean.

described how you would go down to the dock and simply take the first ship that you could get on."[27] This was the way many Lithuanian Jews managed to exit their country. My own Dutch grandfather came to South Africa by accident. He was traveling to South America but was so appalled by the shipload of prostitutes who were traveling there, that he decided to disembark and travel to South Africa instead. He never liked this country, but his wife was not prepared to leave and start anywhere else. Cedric de Beer's father "basically moved to Africa when he got a job in the time of the depression and stayed in Africa."[28]

Whoever I talked to had grandparents or parents who had come to South Africa for a multitude of reasons. Economic betterment, escaping religious persecution, black sheep and remittance men, individuals who had nowhere else to go, relatives who offered them positions in their fledgling companies or who wanted family around them. In some instances, the relatively recent migrant had married someone from older settler stock, but even then the settler emphasis was on the distant English or Scottish origins. Even in families where one parent came of earlier settler stock the importance of English origins was retained in a sense of class and breeding. Michael Green for example, referred to his mother's Cawood family heritage as 'aristocratic.'[29] The class awareness of the Anglo-Saxon immigrants was not lost in the privileges of race.

It is within the attitudes and values revealed by the parents of the generation who this study is concerned with that some of the key defining social practices emerge. The majority of the parents of this generation were affected by the Second World War. All of them were aware of the political settlements that followed the cessation of hostilities. Many were distrustful of political 'solutions' as a result. The experience of losing friends and family was a lasting one; those who had fought on the side of the English felt that they still belonged to the Commonwealth. Those who spoke of the Second World War referred to a world that had been reduced to good and bad where explaining what one did in the war was adequately answered by the answer "I killed Germans" or supported any cause that killed Germans.

The result was that the threats of fascism and communism were far greater concerns than racial issues. It was those two ideologies which fashioned the thinking of many of the individuals who grew up in the inter-war years. Indeed the generation of the counterculture has been described as having been a consequence of the cold war.[30] Even the young described themselves in these terms. Glenn Cowley of UN at an undergraduate enrolment ceremony in 1966 commented "If we look to our immediate past we see a century torn by two World Wars...If we look to the present, we see a world in the deadly grip of the Cold War."[31] The experience was not limited to one country. Bob Dylan described how at grade school in 1951 "we were trained to...hide and take cover under

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[27] Lionel Berman, interview, Johannesburg, 4 November 2008.

[28] Transcript Cedric de Beer interview, p.1 OH AL 2460 papers SAHA, UWL.

[29] Michael Green, interview, Durban, 26 February 2008.

[30] Jeremy Suri, " The Rise and Fall of an International Counterculture, 1960-1975," *The American Historical Review*, Volume 114, Number 1, (February 2009):45-68, p.58.

[31] Speech at undergraduate enrolment ceremony, 26 February 1966, *NUSAS* files BC 586/03.1. UCT Archive.

our desks when the air-raid sirens blew because the Russians could attack us with bombs…These were the same Russians that my uncles had fought alongside only a few years earlier."[32] The other defining factor was the Great Depression of 1929. Most parents had experienced the depression as children and it was the memory of economic hardship and hunger, followed by the Second World War which left indelible memories. Many of this generation recall hearing stories of the two events as seminal ones in their parent's lives.

Many of the immigrant parents did not have English as a first language and had little idea of the complexity of the politics of South Africa. The experience of European politics and the consequences of strife, made them actively disconnect from any further involvement in politics. They were a remarkably apolitical group, encouraging their children to keep a low profile to avoid the disillusion and loss they had experienced. "My mother had grown up in Russia and was so traumatized by that, that she was terribly nervous for me, and I remember when I started at varsity her saying to me don't do anything that will attract the attention of the authorities."[33] There were many who carried nominally liberal views and taught them to their children, but they were compromised by the contradiction of living in South Africa. More complexly some argued with their children that their education carried the price of their silence, and the children should not question or neglect the opportunities they were getting and the high price it represented.[34] Complex reactions from parents to their children were not limited to South Africa, Anna Paczuska writing of her Polish mother's reaction to her involvement in left-wing politics at college in the UK when she was dragged off a pitch "over a South African rugby team" received a letter from her mother asking "Is this what we've all struggled for, so that you can become like one of those hooligans? She always thought of the left as being pro-Russian, so for her it was me supporting the very things that made her family suffer."[35]

Imagining the Future:

The commonality of experience of young people in this period suggests in some senses the factors that opened them up to influences from abroad and expanded their reference points beyond the not very definable or evident boundaries that a lack of a strongly defined South African culture expressed. There was little at the time that represented a broad and inclusive South African identity. Afrikaans speaking children were taught a national identity which glorified their ancestors and family history as participants in the Anglo-Boer war or earlier conflicts. Their identity hinged to some extent on resistance to a common enemy in the form of the British. English-speaking children by contrast had very few local referents. The talk of the Second World War and the Great Depression referred to a global picture. Even events within their memory such as the declaration of South Africa as a Republic in 1961,[36] which drew widespread resistance amongst the

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[32] Bob Dylan, *Chronicles* (New York: Simon&Schuster, 2004), p.29.
[33] Monica Fairall, interview, Durban, 31 March 2008.
[34] Lionel Berman interview, Johannesburg, 4 November 2008
[35] Michelle Wandor, *Once a Feminist* (London:Virago, 1990), p.147.
[36] Christopher Saunders. "Britishness in South Africa. Some Reflections. *Humanities Research*, Vol XIII. No.1. (2006), p.62.

English-speaking population, emphasized the importance of the metropole and the greater world.

The experience of the war and the depression that preceded it had an important outcome for the baby boomer generation throughout the western world. Parents were determined wherever possible that their children would be educated. They saw education as the key to 'getting on,' to avoiding the destitution of the pre-war years: Deborah Choate recalls that her parents insisted that she chose a profession "where if there's another depression you'll get a job."[37] What made this attitude so different from that of earlier generations was the importance placed upon women being educated alongside men. The post-war generation were the first to experience large numbers of young women being encouraged to be educated at the tertiary level.

Their parents were not feminists, but they laid some of the foundations for the growth of feminism, in the same way that their ambitions for their children created the massive expansion in tertiary education that was to lead to fundamental change in the way universities were run, and in the content of education. Whilst parents insisted their children go to university no matter what happened, and often placed little importance on what was studied, many of the children had no great plans or dreams about university. They went, and were going because it had always been assumed they would go. Peter Hudson's comment "it was always assumed from day one, just taken for granted that I would go to university,"[38] was repeated by virtually every interviewee.

The majority of individuals interviewed reflected on the fact that their parents had seldom been able to study in the fields they had wanted, and had deferred their dreams so that their children could have a better chance. Although the concept of affluent white students from affluent homes is a trope well grooved into South African writing, the fact is that many white students of the 1960s and 70s, whilst undoubtedly privileged through race, were often from homes where considerable economic sacrifice was the only reason they were able to attend university. Raphael de Kadt had to work to put himself through university, while Michael Green worked as a stoker on the railways to support himself, and Gerry Maré worked in a bookshop. The Department of Education provided bursaries for university education with the contractual obligation that recipients would teach in government schools once they had completed their degree. Amongst the interviewees both Gil Robb and Gijjs Dubbeld acquired an education on those terms. They would not have managed to attend university if those bursaries had not been available. This was a common way to get through university. It meant of course that individuals were favored because they were white, however it also indicated the fact that not every family was as wealthy or able to afford education as is so widely assumed.

Whilst parents were determined that their children should go to university, the youth were not always as committed to the plans drawn up for them. The individuals who accepted bursaries to become teachers, were not necessarily committed to the choice of teaching, however they took the bursaries more to fulfill their parents expectations than their own

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[37] Deborah Choate, interview, Johannesburg, 4 October 2008.
[38] Peter Hudson, interview, Johannesburg, 10 October 2008.

undefined choices. This was not limited to South Africa, and it was one of the underlying reasons for the intense questioning about the nature of tertiary education which became common in the discourse of the period. Students whether in the USA, UK, France or SA could not accept that there was necessarily a point to their studies. The general belief that it did not matter what one studied so long as one studied, made the exercise even more questionable. What was called the generation gap was in part incomprehension about the value of education. Students did not always feel that university would answer their needs. They often signed up for degrees and courses in which they had minimal interest. The sense that they were being groomed for a limited set of options was echoed in interviews. Parents believing that a degree was a passport to economic security did not grasp these negative responses and continued to send their children to university in ever increasing numbers.

South African students did not increase at the same rate as students abroad. There were only four English-speaking universities within the country as opposed to the vast number in the USA where total enrollments doubled from 3.7 million to 7.8 million by the end of the decade and kept climbing to 9.6 million by 1973.[39] South Africa by contrast had a total number of 2,941students at university in 1963.[40] This number doubled a decade later, but the numbers of students at university remained below 1% of the total population. The small size of the student population explains the very personal nature of life at Anglophone universities.

Imagining and Belonging:

Despite the multi-cultural roots of the young, the shared factors in their education, their music and response to parental values created a bond that transcended cultural differences. There was no strong South African identity, indeed even though they did not feel themselves to be primarily Greek, German or French, they nevertheless did not necessarily feel themselves to be South African. "I have never felt I belonged,"[41] is not an uncommon response of this generation. At the 1966 NUSAS[42] conference held in Durban the one motion that appeared to generate the most discussion was whether the South African flag should be flown at all future congresses and days of Affirmation.[43] It was not a minor issue since it represented the ambivalence towards being associated with the symbols of white South Africa which as Margaret Marshall, the president elect of NUSAS, pointed out was a symbol which on "certain occasions non- whites have been forbidden even to touch."[44] The flag issue carried all the confusion of Anglophone students seeing themselves as South Africans, but not identifying with its symbols. In the 1960s when students were so concerned with ideals and values it was inevitable that symbols would carry a similar weight.

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[39] Tom Hayden, *Reunion. A Memoir* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), p.26.
[40] Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Year Book* (Pretoria: Republic of SA, 1964).
[41] Baden Woodford, interview, Durban, 3 April 2008.
[42] NUSAS = National Union of South African Students. NUSAS was open to students of all races from all campuses.
[43] *Wits Student,* 29 July 1966.
[44] Ibid.

The concept of English-speaking students sharing a common set of stimuli and social experiences or rallying around a symbol representing an identity, emphasizes the consequences of relatively unstable and fragile backgrounds. Studies in identity employ the concept of 'the other' as a way of defining how identity is formed or perceived.[45] The other presupposes a way of standing outside oneself and one's environment to perceive the role of the other. In Barthes[46] writing the hegemony of the state and its role in making a particular discourse seem natural is used to explain the other as unnatural and strange.

Another way of accounting for a lack of identity is to position it within cultural relativity. In the case of Anglophone students it might well have been that a British flag would have raised even more debate or none at all. What is interesting about the group is that not all of them responded to the symbols of the dominant ruling group. The questions groups like this raise around identity relate to its binary assumptions of them and us, either/or, and black and white. The curious case of identity in South Africa is that it never was as simple as the racial politics suggested. The mere layering of races with coloureds, Indians and Chinese being granted a slightly higher status than that of blacks has made it even more complex.[47]

Whilst educated into an awareness of difference, the central absence of a core definition to set at the center of difference was continuously highlighted by the divergent home backgrounds and associations with foreign lands that in many instances had no more reality than the never-never lands of fairy tales. English-speaking individuals did not identify with the dominant Afrikaans culture, indeed they were surprisingly ignorant of it, and saw identity with South Africa as "virtually coterminous with membership of the Volk."[48] Another reason for the distance is explained in an interchange between Antjie Krog and her parents when she asked them about the feeling of inferiority that Afrikaans-speakers felt in the face of English-speakers:

"But how did you deal then with criticism in the fifties and sixties?'
"We minimized contact with it. We stopped reading their newspapers – why should we expose ourselves to daily ridicule? We didn't go to their universities, we didn't listen to their radio programmes. If we had a need for something, we created it ourselves, our own films, our own books, our own history, our own Afrikaner businesses and millionaires."[49] It was this retreat into discreet and separate cultural worlds that sustained differences. The sense of the other acted to bind such groups. Amongst Afrikaans-speakers, language and a shared history was far stronger than amongst the far less homogenous English-speaking South Africans.

The very diverse nature of global populations, the lack in colonial territories of a uniform history of immigration suggests that virtually all colonial identities are complex

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[45] See works by J.Lacan, L. Althusser, S. Hall et al.
[46] Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).
[47] An example of these gradations was evident at the Medical School at UN where black students were permitted to study. Of the black students over two thirds were in fact of Indian descent, a difference which did not go unnoticed or unremarked upon by the students.
[48] Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), p.9.
[49] Antje Krog,. *A Change of Tongue* (JHB: Random House, 2003), p.69.

structures which survive because of their fluidity rather than their exclusivity. Defining an English-speaking South African white in the 1960s was far easier for the 'other' the British journalist or the radical American student, than it was for the subject of their definition. Perhaps the question should revolve around the practice of definitions. The imperial habit of defining, quantifying and assessing i.e. the academic habits of Empire which sought to limit and define and thus 'know' a subject, a nuanced anthropologically motivated functionalism.[50] The path to understanding identity suggests rather a constant fluidity and complex set of events, symbols, inputs and responses which change with time, place and opportunity. In the context of this study identity is something that is more intelligible through the lens of history than in any overall expression within the period. As such it seems to be more of a theoretical construct and a way of understanding, rather than a conscious process of change.

The question to be asked is whether those who grew up in the 1960s with their mostly complex social origins really constituted Anglophone youth? If language is indeed the definition of Anglophone, then certainly they could be described as such. The binding factor of language was the heritage of Empire. To that extent the foundational discourses of the new population were rooted in Empire. English offered via education a common means of communication which was politically expedient. It was the language of the victors of the two World Wars, it was the language of Empire.

Anglophone youth were not necessarily all first generation South Africans, but the extreme mix of their origins does highlight the very hybrid nature of white settlement in South Africa. The consequences of this were many. Cultural traditions from the countries of origin of their parents or even grandparents remained as a connection. One often finds that in recollecting their origins, some countries are favoured over others.[51] For children growing up in S.A. without a strong South African core, this inherited tradition provided a cultural imaginary. It familiarized them with the concept of culture as an imaginative and unstable concept that could revolve around anything ranging from rituals around rites of passage to food to something as simple as which hand a wedding ring was worn on.[52]

This cultural imaginary[53] also meant that they grew up with a consciousness of alternative cultures. Whilst South African youth characterized themselves in this period as cut-off, remote and isolated, that sense grew out of their awareness of other cultures. They would not have considered themselves isolated if they had been unaware of other countries and cultures. It was the combination of their inherited cultural imaginaries and awareness of other societies and countries, plus their dislocation in South Africa, that in part led them to their interest in and eager absorption of what appeared to be the more modern and contemporary world of youth in the UK and USA.

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[50] Saul Dubow, op.cit.

[51] The practice of favouring one set of ancestors over another was evident in a number of interviews. The prominence of cultural traditions appears to have been determined by a variety of factors ranging from the relative success of one side to the maintenance of contact. It was not, as assumed a gender based matter.

[52] Children whose parents were German adopted the German habit of wearing wedding rings on their right hands whilst the more common Anglo-Saxon tradition of the left hand was more widespread.

[53] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

How the boundaries of white urban English-speaking society were defined in the 1960s and then altered is one of the concerns of this study. The post-war period had resulted in a far less rigid and codified society than is subsumed under the words white and English-speaking and this is expanded when one examines the decade which is most frequently summed up as one of economic growth and expansion.[54] The implications of that growth and expansion and its impact reveals a distinct openness and connection with other English-speaking populations. Whether in cultural spheres, products, travel, academic discourse or training, it was a decade when South Africa had very robust connections with other countries. South Africa had a strong currency and this underpinned contact with foreign countries through trade. The physical distance between countries and the relatively limited technology allowed for a cultural imaginary which was based more on individual items and images that altered significantly over the huge distances. The changes within South Africa in the 1960s and the technology of the era favoured an emphasis on foreign inputs, whilst the simultaneous expansion of apartheid emphasised the separateness and isolation of groups from each other.

Conservatives, Communists and Capitalism:

The decade of the 1960s began in South Africa with the Sharpeville massacre. This event continued to have its after effects in ways that effectively consolidated the power of the ruling National Party Government. The white election in 1966 demonstrated how successful apartheid had become in separating the races and posing the dominant black group as a problem. This was reflected in the fact that amongst the electorate what was described as the 'race problem' was the most prominent issue.[55] Research into the mind of what was called the 'average voter' revealed that most of them associated communism with political rights for blacks.[56] Given that communism and the fear of it remained a dominant theme in this period, this coupling in popular perception suggests an expanded dimension to the thinking of the time, which is important to note because it also explains the subsequent and almost continuous reference by the government to 'communistic'[57] thinking and behaviour as being allied to any demand for political rights for blacks.

The coupling of race with communism was a product of the events earlier in the decade when many treason trialists and others arrested for their membership of the African Resistance Movement (ARM) admitted to membership of the Communist Party. The trial of Bram Fischer in 1965, reinforced this connection which was to create a legacy of conservativism and resistance to any demands for a liberalizing of apartheid, based on this perception. The coupling of black resistance with communism was a stereotype that persisted through subsequent decades. The reasoned argument of students such as Dave Hemson, who took the trouble to answer one of the standard bigoted newspaper letters

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[54] William Beinart, *Twentieth-century South Africa* (Oxford: OUP, 1994).

[55] H.Lever, *The South African Voter* (Johannesburg: Juta & Co. Ltd, 1972), p.56.

[56] Ibid, p.57.

[57] Reported comments of cabinet ministers reveal that the terms 'communistic' or 'liberalistic' were interchangeable in their minds. The confusion suggests the reason for accusing liberals of communist sentiments.

about NUSAS and communism, stated clearly that "NUSAS condemns all forms of totalitarianism" and "by our actions in seeking to provide a peaceable solution to our country's affairs, we hope to provide students with an alternative to the frustrating conditions which breed communism,"[58] fell on blind eyes and deaf ears.

It was barely 6 years after the winds of change speech and the granting of independence to most black African countries, and already there had been a coup in Ghana and Nigeria. This reinforced perceptions that blacks were "not able to govern themselves."[59] It was the beginning and reinforcement of African tropes that would grow through the decades. As Antjie Krog recalls "It had been written indelibly on our hearts: 'Third World' means bad roads, corruption, means black leaders in shining suits surrounded by sweaty gun toting soldiers, all sweeping in cavalcade past gaunt looking women and pot bellied children covered in flies. The tell tale signs of Africa."[60] The issue of Rhodesia with its breakaway from Britain and declaration of UDI[61] raised uneasy questions about the balance of white and black relations in Africa and reminded most voters that Britain was no friend of racially divisive politics, even though historically it was the reason that they existed. The fear of the Cold War and the propaganda following the brief uprisings of POQO[62] and sabotage by ARM[63] in the early 1960s, translated into a 'racial problem' and had all contributed towards a swing to the right amongst voters.[64]

It had seemed that the declaration of South Africa as a Republic in 1961 might split the vote especially as it was so fiercely opposed by English-speaking South Africans with Natal acting as the most vocal point of opposition.[65] The indifference to the views of the inhabitants of the province and the success of Verwoerd in separating South Africa from the Commonwealth brought the animosity between the language groups to the fore. However the threat of racially inspired violence, particularly that exemplified by the members of POQO overrode any language difference and aided the growth in right-wing sentiment.

The Civil Rights campaign in the USA, which started in 1960, indicated that racism was not confined to any one country. The 1960s saw racism increasing in the UK as immigrants from the former British colonies reversed the flow of people and settled in the UK. Enoch Powell made a series of racially inflammatory speeches culminating in his famous diatribe in Birmingham when he used the analogy of the Roman Sibyl predicting

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[58] *Natal Mercury*, 11 April 1968.
[59] Antjie Krog, Ibid., pp.18-19.
[60] Ibid., pp. 18-19.
[61] UDI= Unilateral Declaration of Independence. Rhodesia declared UDI in 1965. South Africa chose to maintain a position of neutrality in the dispute between the UK and Rhodesia.
[62] POQO was the military wing of the Pan African Congress (PAC) and was mainly active in the Cape Province
[63] African Resistance Movement – a small ideologically variable armed resistance movement formed in the wake of Sharpeville.
[64] The language of 'race relations' at the time is remarkably telling as the phrases 'race problem and native question' sum up the persistent perception of blacks as an amorphous mass, despite apartheid's insistence on their tribal differences, as well as the inherent threat that the mass posed.
[65] The referendum held on October 5 1960 showed 850,458 voters in favour of a republic and 775,878 against. The referendum represented 90,75% of the voting population.

that the River Tiber would be "foaming with much blood."[66] Reports in the South Africa press of racism in the UK with headlines announcing the march of British dockers in 1968 to "Keep Britain White,"[67] reinforced the belief that "overseas countries had similar problems which they must first solve with their non-Whites."[68]

Even though the image of the sixties is that of a swinging time, the western world was in fact very conservative with the Cold War at its height. The revolt of youth in the decade was partially in response to that conservatism. America's war in Vietnam escalated throughout the decade. The Cuban Missile Crisis during President John Kennedy's term in the White House brought the world closer to nuclear war than at any other time. The threat of nuclear war and possession of nuclear capabilities had created a generation who grew up with the threat of annihilation and who were told, " it was better to be dead than red."[69] The main protagonists in the war were the USA and Russia, but the West as a whole was firmly against Russia and by inference Communism. South Africa was not to be outdone in this Cold War, and local newspapers frequently carried headlines announcing "REDS…" With the automatic assumption that the reader understood the reference was to communists.

South Africa excelled in its version of conservativism under the leadership of Dr. H.F.Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid. If there was any belief that his death would bring about a more liberal approach, the appointment of B.J. Vorster as his successor following the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd on Sept 6, 1966, rapidly dispelled any such notions.[70] Until his appointment as Prime Minister, Vorster had been the Minister of Justice and had been responsible for introducing the laws following Sharpeville that had effectively limited any open resistance to the state. As Deputy Minister of Education he had guided the Extension of University Education Amendment Bill through Parliament in 1959.[71] Vorster effectively initiated the separation of South African universities and later, as Minister of Justice was responsible for the General Laws Amendment Bill of 1963.[72]

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[66] Patricia Waugh, *Harvest of the Sixties* (Oxford: OPUS, 1995), p.173.

[67] *Natal Mercury* April 25, 1968

[68] H. Lever, op.cit,. p.61.

[69] Tom Hayden, *Reunion. A Memoir* (London: Hamish Hamilton), p.34.

[70] B.J.Vorster and his wife had both studied sociology under Verwoerd at Stellenbosch University. Vorster was also a committed member of Ossewa Brandwag which was a pro-Nazi, anti-English movement that had arisen as a vehicle for Afrikaner Nationalism in the pre-Second World War years. Vorster had been interned during the war at Koffiefontein along with P.J. van den Bergh, who he was to make head of the Security Police when it was restructured in 1963.

[71] This bill led to the racial sanitizing of universities and led to the creation of racially and 'ethnically' separate universities.

[72] The General Laws Amendment Bill gave the Minister of Justice the right to order the continued imprisonment without trial of individuals who had completed their jail sentence. It also gave all police officers the power to order the arrest and detention for up to 90 days of anyone suspected of committing an act of sabotage or any offence under the Suppression of Communism Act or the Unlawful organizations Act. The detainees were to be held incommunicado and no court of law had the power to order the release of a detainee.

The arrest of Walter Sisulu and all the other Rivonia treason trialists[73] whilst Vorster was Minister of Justice, had cemented his reputation as a man who was able to prevent communism from gaining a foothold in South Africa. As the electorate swung to the right, the 1966 election resulted in a resounding victory for the National Party. This was in marked contrast to the very small majority that had brought them into power in 1948. The National Party had consolidated their power by redrawing the voting boundaries of districts and weighting votes so that a rural vote carried twice the value of an urban one. This together with the right wing shift in the 1960s, was one of the reasons for their success at the polls.

South African Economy and the 1960s:

During the 1960s the economy of South Africa grew at an unprecedented rate. Despite the repercussions of Sharpeville, the apparent ability of the minority white government to contain resistance had resulted in an increase in investment from abroad. England was the largest source of investment and trade, but Germany, France and Japan were also important trading partners whose presence grew throughout the decade.[74] South Africa was moving from the level of a producer of primary goods to a processor of raw materials, and the focus on import replacement fueled an already growing economy. Mining was still the core industry and the daily newspapers in SA and abroad continued to report on 'Kaffirs,' which were gold traded stocks

The city of Durban, which had grown through the 1950s, reflected how the changes in the economy impacted on urban development. "Multi storey buildings were appearing in the central area and suburban shopping centers were being built."[75] Industry was expanding the city with a need for workers creating a larger population base and a concomitant increase in new housing. In 1960 only 16.7% of the total population i.e. 32,645 people lived in suburban areas around Durban. An annual rate of 7.7% growth in the suburban population through the 1960s changed that, and by 1970, 53.4% of the total White population (183,355) lived in the "genuine suburbs."[76] The physical removal of black urban workers from any contact with other race groups was one of the hallmarks of the 1960s. Kwa Mashu and Umlazi outside of Durban grew into satellite areas, as did Soweto on the outskirts of Johannesburg. Over 20,000 (housing) units were built in Umlazi during the decade, whilst Kwa Mashu grew by over 14,000 houses with additional hostel accommodation for nearly 17,000, adding to its development.[77]

The critical feature of the economic growth of the period was that it assisted in the cementing of the practice of apartheid. This had been much more visible in the 1950s with the result that by the 1960s the physical removal of blacks from areas was far less

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[73] The Rivonia treason trial began on 9 October 1963. 11 individuals, including Nelson Mandela, were accused of having embarked on a campaign to overthrow the government. With the exception of three individuals, all the accused were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment
[74] William Beinart, op.cit., p.166.
[75] Peter Johnston, *The Durban Chronicle* (Durban: Urban Strategy Department, 1995), p.306.
[76] G.H. Waters, '"The Process of White Suburbinization in Greater Durban," *Humanitas*. RSA Vol 5,4. pp.307-316.
[77] Peter Johnstone, op.cit., pp.309-310.

obvious. The growth in urban populations and the development of exclusively white suburbs around Johannesburg and Durban increased the distance between the race groups. In 1968 the Durban City Council announced that there would be no white bus services after dark as "not enough whites traveled by bus at night" to make the service economically viable.[78] The scaling down of the bus services was but one example of the consequences of separation. One of the most consistent remarks made in interviews was the fact that the only black people students knew were the domestic workers in their homes. There were less and less places for people to interact across the colour line in normal everyday urban settings other than in the home, or in places where the master/servant relationship was reinforced. White children seldom went into black townships and very rarely had any idea of the homes the family servants came from. Whilst there were 'liberal' families who knew black individuals socially, it was extremely unusual for a white family to have any social contact with a black family.

One of the few spaces still shared by black and white in the 1960s was the city centres, which continued to be used as places of commerce and trade through the decade, although Johannesburg had already spread to the north with the municipality of Randburg having been proclaimed in 1959. Johannesburg lay at the heart of the South African economy and drove the changes in the country as a whole. The city in the 1960s was still the center of both commerce and trading. People traveled into their office in town and did their shopping there. However "the days when a northern suburbs wife could drive up to Anstey's or John Orr's stores and have the doorman park her car"[79] had ended. Johannesburg had been linked to Braamfontein via four major bridges erected over the main railway lines, in 1952 and the thrust since that time had been northwards.

 The first supermarkets appeared in 1966 and reports in the press carried observations that "thousands of retail butchers (were) in danger of closing down if supermarkets persist."[80] Even though the sixties saw the development of new shopping malls, city centers competed successfully for shoppers. Large department stores acted as the focal point for shoppers.[81] In Durban there was Bonne Marche as well as branches of Stuttafords and John Orrs who also had shops in Johannesburg. The sixties were years of affluence and a strong currency and imported goods were affordable. The trend towards boutiques saw small shops in places such as St Mary's Arcade in Johannesburg opening small boutiques. These were often owned by recent immigrants who stocked fashionable clothes and household wares imported from Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Durban had a boutique named after Carnaby Street in London in addition to boutiques opening up within the larger specialist clothing stores of Truworths and Foschini. The focus on the foreign provided a standard against which South African goods were measured and found wanting. The criterion against which sophistication and modernity were measured was an international one, and maintained the perception that 'overseas' was the source of all that was most desirable and contemporary. Despite the growth in

[78] *Natal Mercury,* 17 April 1968.
[79] James Clarke ed., *Like it Was* (Johannesburg: Argus, 1987), p.154.
[80] *Natal Mercury,* 19 April 1968.
[81] Johannesburg's first shopping centre was the Southdale centre in the southern suburbs built in 1961. Sandton City was developed a year later.

import replacement industries the preference for imported items remained. This was not limited to the white population, as black urbanites were also eager and sophisticated consumers of high quality branded imported items.

The development of the suburbs around the city centers saw a concomitant rise in the number of motorcars on the roads. Most families had one car, which expanded to two cars by the 1960s when one of the main duties of mothers was to ferry their children to and from school. Bus services had not extended to many of the outlying new suburbs and the fact that few mothers worked due to the government policy of dual taxation, encouraged the growth in the number of two car families. Very few of the individuals interviewed had mothers who had worked. They were described as 'housewives' even though few did more than organize their domestic staff to do the actual housework. It was in the intimacy of the home that most white children had any experience of black South Africans. It is important to emphasise that this experience of blacks in subordinate roles was accepted by the children as normal. The abundance of cheap black labour meant that the majority of middle class families had both a maid and a gardener. The former was usually female and the latter male. They were housed in 'servants rooms' which were usually attached to the backyard of the houses.

Servants, Schools, Socials and Silence:

 The relationship between white families and their servants is one explored in Jacklyn Cock's *Maids and Madams*, but there are other interesting hints in autobiographies by individuals growing up in the fifties, and whilst there was distance there was also implied trust. Children were left in the care of nannies and male servants and allowed to be taken to the park with other nannies and their charges. Many children were in effect brought up by their nanny and their first experience of constant attention and warmth was from their black nanny and not their mother. They experienced a degree of intimacy which translated at some level into an understanding that black people were to be trusted. The terms nanny, maid and servants were used in some families, but the most common reference to a maid was as a 'girl' and a male servant as a 'boy.' There was a strange familiarity and interaction between servants and families, and children were usually taught an unconsciously patronizing attitude to the family servants. This would translate into giving them their old toys and old clothes for them to take home to their children and family. Few questioned being served and waited upon by the same person they had cuddled as a young child.[82] The relationships between servants and family were complex and multi-layered and deserve their own study. Whilst servants were often regarded as 'members of the family' they more than likely had their own tin cups and plates and did not eat with the family.

Social contact even in the home was limited. Most interviewees remember going occasionally into the maid's room and seeing the bed raised above the floor standing on tins or bricks to keep the 'tokoloshe' away.[83] Denis Hirson's memories of the

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[82] This relationship of charity and patronage was repeated at university until the 1970s when students started to question such assumptions and relationships.

[83] D.Hirson, *I remember King Kong (The Boxer)* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2007), p.23.

relationship between domestic workers and their employers sums up the memories of most. He recalls "whites in the kitchen asking their maids what the weather was going to be like that day."[84] There was both distance and incomprehension, but the Althusserian observation of the abnormal seeming normal because one is locked into a system[85] helps to explain how to most children, the relationship seemed natural and normal. Everyone else had servants and they were black. I found only one interviewee who questioned the relationship as a child, interestingly in her case it had not translated into either activism as an adult nor politically radical ideas. At the end of most white family holidays at the coast the ritual of collecting seawater in a large bottle reinforced the belief that the family had thought of the servant whilst on holiday.[86] Some families took their maids on holiday but this was only common where families had holiday cottages.

The laws relating to the presence of blacks in urban areas were complex and harsh, and constantly tightened up. By 1968 for example, an African from a 'reserve' could visit a town for up to 72 hours without seeking permission, but was not allowed to look for work independent of the existing labour bureaux.[87] As apartheid refined its practices through the 1960s and moved more and more blacks to 'homelands' and out of white areas, it brought in laws that made it extremely difficult for a worker to have any mobility either in their work or accommodation. The possession of a job in a white suburb which came with a room was desirable simply because it gave the worker the right to live in an urban area, and thus to earn some sort of living which might help the family back 'home' who were usually without any other source of income. The system of pass raids was widely abused and used as a way of supplementing police incomes through obliging bribes. Many families ignored the laws and allowed their servants to house family members looking for work. The more liberal values of many English-speaking families gave their children an unwitting example of dissension and disapproval by defying the law. Children observed that their parents did not approve of the government's policies and did so through ignoring its laws in small but significant ways.

In many more liberal homes children heard their parents being critical of the government, but did not necessarily connect it with their own experience. The contradiction of living in a society where all black people seemed to be servants and where adults would sit and talk with their friends about apartheid whilst being served by blacks was confusing, but unchallenged. These were not necessarily families who were unkind or unhelpful, but the uneasy relationship of living within the system, whilst not supporting it, was one that had an impact on their children. For interviewees these contradictions became apparent only when they attended university.

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[84] Ibid.,p.32. Denis Hirson was the son of Baruch Hirson who was jailed for his involvement with ARM. It is interesting to note that whereas some radicals in America called the 'red diaper' babies', i.e. children of communists, were important in the student movement. In South Africa children of individuals banned or imprisoned for political reasons, seldom became involved in political leadership or movements.

[85] L.Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971), 170-186.

[86] No one was too sure why they had to bring back sea water, but they believed it was part of 'their beliefs, and muti' (medicine)

[87] Muriel Horrell et al.,eds., *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa* (Johannesburg: SAIIR, 1968), p.165.

Apartheid was a word most children had heard of, but had little concept of. Whilst English-speaking students of the 1960s clung to liberal ideas and the state evolved its own antediluvian racial policies, it was in fact the observation of the petty brutalities of apartheid, that most impacted on younger English-speaking children. Virtually every interviewee recounted a story of having observed a pass raid, of witnessing policemen harassing and arresting black pedestrians for what appeared to be no reason. It was those moments that stayed with them, and which they recounted with great clarity. At the time few had elicited adequate explanations from their parents about what they had seen. Most of them simply thought that what they had seen was grossly unfair, but whilst some claim that there never was a moment when they became aware of apartheid, the majority of interviewees could recite the exact experience that had represented the first vivid experience of apartheid, and what it meant to be a black person in South Africa. It was never a revolution nor a riot; rather it was the small but fundamentally inhumane reality of apartheid which bred the first moments of awareness. It was the first pricking of the bubble of living in the cocoon created in white suburbia, but for most individuals it only started to form part of a composite picture when they went to university and were exposed to more alternative versions of South African history.

The education offered in white schools in the 1950s and 1960s had not yet been fully transformed by Christian National Education. The Director of Education in Natal in 1958 pointed out that "whilst Afrikaans cultural organizations wanted teachers in Afrikaans schools who were strong supporters of the Afrikaner way of life, English medium schools were inclined to welcome more diversity in their common rooms."[88] A report commissioned by Sprocas on Education Beyond Apartheid identified one of the failures "of South Africa's education system" as being its failure "to foster loyalty and patriotism common to all peoples."[89]

This failure was rooted in the curricula of the schools where only History and Afrikaans referred to South Africa as a country with recognizable inhabitants. Afrikaans was taught as an 'other' language and many schools lacked teachers who could teach the language properly. It was however the only subject where books written by South Africans about South Africa were read. English by contrast, was taught through the eyes of writers such as Charles Dickens, William Shakespeare and Jane Austen. There was no visual reference for students to encompass the world they knew, it was a time when even though students saw acacia trees and aloes around them, they read of oaks and hawthorn. The English-speaking education had been laid down in colonial times and it had been "natural, liberal and English in spirit and direction."[90]

This legacy in English-speaking schools was one of the few consistent clues as to why, despite a very contained and relatively uncritical life, it was individual teachers who had such a huge impact on individual students. The ideology of apartheid had however invaded school textbooks, and the view of the white man saving Africa predominated in

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[88] *Natal Mercury*, 12November 1958.
[89] NUSAS Files, BC 1072 L16. UCT Archives.
[90] Sprocas, *Education Commission on Christian National Education*. Report of the Sub-Committee, 26 January 1970.

history textbooks. The interviewees memories of the two main prescribed history books at the time, by authors F.A.van Jaarsveld and A.N. Boyce, was one of lasting boredom. Interviewees uniformly loathed South African history, which began with van Riebeek and devoted an inordinate amount of attention to the Great Trek. Denis Hirson examining the *Illustrated History for Senior Certificate*, a prescribed history textbook in schools, captured the contradiction in the presentation of South African history in his analysis of the visual representation of "Who Made our History." This consisted of a diagram of a circle enclosing a triangle with Afrikaners at the top of the triangle, Bantu on the right hand corner and Briton on the left hand corner of the bottom of the triangle. The 'Outside' world, Europe and the East are represented in the outer circle. He comments "There was so little white history linking us all to the place where we lived, and such a tenuous moral foothold available in the face of apartheid, that points of reference as clear as AFRIKANER, BRITON and BANTU seemed to be hewn out of everlasting rock."[91]

It was not really surprising that there was a decided preference for European and English history which was not as boring as that of South Africa. It reinforced the belief that 'overseas' was more exciting, sophisticated and a place which was more desirable to identify with. The stories of parents who had been in the Second World War expanded the concept of a larger world that lacked the narrowness and profound dullness of South African history. Private boys schools tried in some reported instances to engage more critically with the views presented in the standard text books. It helped to stimulate some awareness of the world in which they lived, but this was the exception, not the rule. There was little to engage students with South Africa in an appealing way and the focus on 'overseas' held. Christopher Hope writing of his boyhood choice of literature described how "he developed a fascination for a world which was located almost entirely over there."[92] The contrast with Afrikaans medium schools was summed up in an interview with Gijs Dubbeld who described witnessing the headmaster of his school weeping on the day of Verwoerd's assassination.[93]

Events such as Sharpeville which had impacted some children depending on how political their parents were,[94] were part of a puzzle, but somehow for the majority of children growing up in this period, the pieces of the puzzle seldom came together. If anything, confusion and ignorance seem to be the one common factor in accounts of life in a sterilized and politically sanitized environment. The one exception would be a school with a more enlightened teacher. Private schools, and in particular boys schools, had teachers who provoked their students into thinking about their environment. Derek Jooste recalled how as boarders at Pretoria Boys High School, they were encouraged to read the liberal English newspaper the Rand Daily Mail and to comment on its contents. The

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[91] D.Hirson, *White Scars* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2006), p.171.
[92] Christopher Hope, *White Boy Running* (London: Abacus, 1988), p.83.
[93] Gijs Dubbeld, interview, Durban, 20 October 2008.
[94] Linda Albertyn Cross recalled Sharpeville vividly because her parents were doctors in the area and had come home that evening shocked and uncertain as to how they should respond. Her memory of Sharpeville was the exception within her peer group, most of whom had little understanding at the time of what had happened.

presence of Walter Batiss[95] as an art teacher further encouraged a critical viewpoint, as he urged boys to see the world through their own eyes, and not that of their parents.[96] It was this critical element that helped to widen the bubble and to open the narrow boundaries of the prescribed education. Few girls schools had teachers who encouraged any sort of questioning, but again individual schools provided exceptions such as a teacher of Paula Ensor's who introduced her class to writing. Although these were exceptions, few as they were, they made a lasting difference. Female schools tended to rather encourage girls to think of themselves in a nascent feminist way which was reinforced by the emphasis most parents placed on their going to university to study. At Jeppe Girls High, Gil Robb recalls that "They used to say to us, you should try and be independent earners."[97]

For those few students who were American Field Scholars (AFS), their experiences in the USA highlighted the conservative and authoritarian nature of primary and secondary education in South Africa.[98] All the students who were interviewed and who had been AFS students recall being amazed at how liberal the education of their peers in the USA was. "Our education was so different. Theirs was based on praise and positive reinforcement only, whereas I'd come from an education system that was absolutely negative."[99]

Inside the Bubble:

The bubble world of white youth in the 1960s was surprisingly similar whether in Johannesburg or Durban. The authoritarian nature of their education and respect for adults was reinforced by the social practices of the time. Events that are commonplace now, such as going out to a restaurant were reserved for birthdays and special celebrations. 'Grown ups' would go to places such as *Sardi's* in Johannesburg for lunch or special dinners, but the concept of children accompanying their parents everywhere was not the norm. There were fewer restaurants then and the well-known ones in Johannesburg were a microcosm of the different elements that made up the social mix of white Johannesburg. The *African Pavilion* had waiters dressed to resemble east African military men with red fezzes and white outfits. *Munchener Haus* near the railway station was modeled on a German beer hall and had German waiters serving typically German food. *The Blue Room* at the main railway station in Johannesburg was considered very smart and suitable for a family celebration. There were also restaurants in hotels particularly in Durban. Hotels such as the *Edward* in Durban and the *Oyster Box* in Umhlanga Rocks, were off limits to children. The 1960s however saw the emergence of the first steak houses with *The Spur* in Rosebank Johannesburg, introducing the concept of family eating in a more relaxed environment.

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[95] Walter Batiss was a noted artist who invented a country called Fookland which was populated by bizarre characters. He was born in Somerset East and came from colonial British settler stock.

[96] Derek Jooste, interview, Johannesburg, 26 February 2008.

[97] Gill Robb, interview, Johannesburg, 4 October 2008.

[98] AFS scholarships were started after WWI and were aimed at fostering cultural contact and understanding between nations.

[99] Gill Robb, interview, Johannesburg, 4 October 2008.

The pattern of family eating seems simple, but reflected the interaction of the period within families. Parents assumed a far more distant and 'grown up' role and the idea that children should be seen and not heard or taken out on occasions only, was a guiding principle. Children were not encouraged to talk back or necessarily have opinions, and parents did not discuss much with their children. Information was presented, not discussed within families. It was not a generation of hugging or visible displays of affection. Respect for authority was assumed and encouraged, and even if families were not very religious, respect for the values enshrined in Christian values was common. The separation between the adults and children was another reason for the more noticeable generation gap that developed towards the end of the decade.

This was a generation witnessing the transition from personalized shopping to supermarkets. They had all grown up with the corner or neighbourhood grocery where goods where weighed and poured into brown paper packets. The shops were owned by individuals who had names, and whether it was the Greek corner café, which kept later hours than the grocery stores, or the Portuguese green-grocer who delivered to individual homes, it was a far more personal world.[100] Battery chickens had not arrived and for a family to have a Sunday roast with a chicken was more special than a lamb roast. Junk food was not common and few children ate hamburgers and chips except at a roadhouse,[101] which was not a place they would go to very regularly if at all.

It was a very personal and small world with the newspapers in Natal carrying daily reports of which ships were docking. The first jet air service from London to Johannesburg had started in 1952 with the flight involving stops at Rome, Beirut, Khartoum Entebbe and Livingstone before finally touching down in Johannesburg. In total that flight took 23 hours and 30 minutes.[102] By the 1960s air travel had become more regular but the number of flights was still small enough for the newspapers to announce all the arriving and departing flights on a daily basis. Travelling abroad was an event with special outfits being bought to travel in. It was customary for large parties of friends and relatives to arrive at the airport to bid farewell. Security at airports was virtually non-existent.

The importance of the personal needs to be emphasized because it is key to understanding why information and ideas transmitted by individuals carried such weight. The decade was the last one which had a relative paucity of media. This meant that newspapers, magazines and radio were dominant in the spread of news. The lack of a vibrant competitive market in this field, resulted in print media having greater weight as there was more time to consume their contents. The absence of much visual media[103]and the limited amount of information available about what was happening abroad, was

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[100] The tendency of different immigrant groups to carve out sectors of trade led to an unconscious set of stereotypes which further emphasized difference.

[101] Choc 99's were a combination of a Flake chocolate and ice-cream served in a cone. They were available at a limited number of roadhouses such as the 'Doll's House' in Johannesburg, which also sold hamburgers. Both these food items and the places that sold them represented the epitome of American food and lifestyles as portrayed in film.

[102] *Natal Mercury,* 2.May 1952.

[103] Television was only introduced in 1976.

something that became apparent in later years. Most interviewees commented on how little it took to fire their imaginations and the lengths they would go to to find new information and ideas. Paul Clingman commenting on how difficult it was to get new music in the early 1960s described how he would go to town by bus "Because there was a CNA[104] on the way back. If you sat on the top of the bus you could see into the window of the CNA. There was a Bob Dylan album – *Freewheeling Bob Dylan* – I used to go to town, get onto the bus, just to see that album and come home again. It was hard finding out information."[105]

Despite the description of the decade as an affluent one, there was a paucity of input and children were not materially affluent. The sources of inspiration which fed images to them were relatively few. Most interviewees recall reading *Time* and *Life* magazine, but not regularly. There were a few South African magazines but it was only in 1965 that the first South African English women's magazine, *Fairlady* was launched. It was very important to be up to date with the latest fashions, trends and ideas which was why the limited media was so important as it was the major source of information on these topics. The ideas were less easily transferred to the young where the only direct source of inspiration came in the lyrics of popular music or in film.

Parents were important for transport, but bicycles and buses were still used to get around. Ingrid Ussher[106] recalls taking two buses on a Saturday to get to the beach with her friend as she and others recalled, parents were not particularly perturbed about them traveling on their own. It was a physically safe world. It was also a contained and a rather simple one. Few interviewees recall having had much money at any point and most recall having been occupied mainly by school, sports and friends. The major interaction between the sexes amongst the school going population was at socials. These were organised under the aegis of churches, sporting clubs and scout halls and were a highlight of the weekend. The Lemon Squeezer social in Victory Park, Johannesburg, was the same as that at the Lifesaving club on the beachfront in Durban. Live bands like the Gonks in Durban would perform at these socials, and would mostly perform cover versions of popular music. Parents and priests would oversee the socials which were very popular and very tame. Sid Kitchen and his brother were introduced to live music at the Stella Football Club social which their father managed in Durban. The socials raised money for the club. It was the place where he first sang accompanied by the band The Kittens at the age of 13.[107]

Female interviewees recall one of the highlights of the week was shopping on a Saturday morning for fabric and patterns to 'run up a dress' to wear to the 'Social' that evening. That was the way they could ensure that they had something totally fashionable and new. "I remember having a Beatles shirt and flared pants. They were very visible ways in which it was helping to define one's identity as a teenager."[108]Even though the emphasis was on knowledge of fashions from abroad, it was perfectly normal to have the clothes

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[104] Central News Agency.

[105] Paul Clingman, interview, Johannesburg , 15 May 2008.

[106] Ingrid Ussher, interview, Durban, 10 April 2008.

[107]http://www.sydkitchen.com/hystrypgs/hstry60.html (accessed 2/24/2008)

[108] Monica Fairall, interview, Durban, 31 March 2008.

made at home or by a dressmaker. Indian traders dominated the fabric trade and shopping in Fordsburg, Johannesburg or in Grey street in Durban was a popular pastime for girls. An insight into the strange emphasis on marketing in the era is captured in front-page advertisements placed by Stuttafords in the daily press for a Simplicity clothing pattern and "fabrics from Switzerland."[109]

Relations between the sexes were carefully controlled at socials and were relatively innocent. The sexual liberation of the late 1960s was not evident in the sexual education of the young of that period, and few people learnt about sex at an early age or had much knowledge other than that gleaned from their friends. Parties and social get togethers of 14 year olds and upwards were carefully monitored and sexist attitudes were fundamental to the time. Boys were seldom as tightly controlled as girls, and were allowed to go out at an earlier age and to be less accountable. Despite the fact that the pill already existed, it was not easily available in South Africa as it was only obtainable via a doctor and most general practitioners treated the whole family and would inform parents of their daughter's request. There were parents who felt it was safer to put their daughters on the pill rather than endure an unwanted pregnancy, but they were the exception. It was still common for girls who fell pregnant to be sent away for the duration of the pregnancy and to have their baby put up for adoption. Abortion was illegal in South Africa and very few doctors would perform the operation.

The social world of English-speaking youth of the 1960s was extraordinarily limited yet outward looking. Most of them knew about the *Beatles*, the *Rolling Stones* and could discuss the top twenty hits on the radio as well as the current fashions, but few if any had ever heard of the ANC, the PAC, the conditions under which blacks lived in the Bantustans or indeed even what the prevailing National Party was bringing into law. The wholehearted lack of interest in Afrikaners translated into total ignorance of who they were. Even in families where there were cousins who belonged to the two different language groups, relations might be cordial, but politics would be avoided. Although there were friendships between Afrikaans and English speaking children, they were rare, the distance and taunt of 'Afrikaner vrot banana'[110] was symptomatic of the distance between the two groups.

The irony of this distance became evident in later years when reading books such as Rian Malan's *My Traitor's Heart*, it emerged that the difference between his childhood and his attitude to it, was a hairsbreadth away from that of most English-speaking children, despite the much greater history of connection to South Africa that came through his heritage. Anyone of the people I interviewed could have written the following lines:
 "Looking back, the strangest thing about my African childhood is that it wasn't really African at all. It was more or less generically Western childhood unfolding in generic white suburbs where almost everyone subscribed to *Life* and *Readers Digest*, and to the generic Western verities they upheld. Our heads turned to the North like flowers to the

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[109] *Natal Mercury*, 18 January 1966. Contemporary marketing would emphasise the higher priced item i.e. the fabric and not the pattern.
[110] 'Afrikaner rotten banana' In retaliation, English speakers were called 'rooineks' referring to the Anglo Boer War when British soldiers often sported very red necks as a result of exposure to the sun.

sun, toward where the great white mother culture lay. Our imaginary lives were rooted there, not in this strange place where Zionists danced on Thursdays and rain washed the red earth of Africa into the streets."[111].

The world they lived in consisted of school, socials, sports, movies and friends. Whether in Johannesburg or Durban the axis of their lives was a small one. Although suburbs were growing in the period, town and a few nodal areas defined the areas of activity. In Johannesburg social life revolved around movies on Saturday whether at suburban movie houses like the Lake in Parkview, or the Parisienne in lower Rosebank. The movies were the places where a view of youth in the rest of the world would come via Pathe news clips read in a grand colonial accent, which influenced the way this generation spoke. Most children at private schools in this era had some sort of elocution lessons and the desirability of an 'English' accent was emphasized by a disdain for a 'South Efrican eksent.' Anthony Sher recalls his elocution teacher "encouraging me to say *ektewelly* instead of *akchilly*."[112] Although Jeremy Taylor was one of the very first to incorporate South African pronunciation into his song writing, it was done in a humorous fashion and reflected the dislike for the flat vowels of a South African accent.

His famous song "Ag Pleez Deddy won't you take us to the drive in" referred to a world recognizable to young people even though it consisted of American cultural symbols: Chevrolets and drive–in's.[113] The song, which was recorded in 1962 "sold more copies in South Africa than any of Elvis Presley's" however it "was banned from the airwaves for incorporating slang and for mixing English and Afrikaans."[114] The popularity of the song and its banning from the airwaves encapsulated the absurdities that seemed normal at the time. The banning was completely incidental because everyone knew the song and it is still widely remembered. The attitude to something like the banning of the song on the airwaves was one of amusement. In more liberal homes and amongst youth a banning of this nature was treated as a joke, another example of the strangeness of the 'Nats' but seen as relatively harmless and absurd. Anthony Sher ironically refers to them as 'Uncle Nat' in his autobiography emphasizing the fact that they were seen as strange and separate, but not bad. Distance and ignorance made them seem relatively harmless which was reinforced by the unconscious assumptions of shared race.

This was a generation that differed from their European counterparts because there was no TV. John Chatterton who arrived in South Africa from the United Kingdom, with his parents in 1968 described it as a "culture shock, things called cultural references were different. You know things you saw on television – you had a cultural slang. It was totally different here. There was only Springbok Radio. The *Beatles* were banned and nobody knew who Jimi Hendrix was. The last thing I'd done in Leeds was to go to see *The Who* live. I was 14."[115] This quote captures the vast difference between a young person in the UK and one in SA and concisely sums up the very different exposure they

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[111] Rian Malan, *My Traitor's Heart* (New York: Vintage, 1991), p. 62.
[112] Anthony Sher, *Beside Myself* (London: Arrow Books, 2002), p.23.
[113] Drive-in's were drive-in movie houses.
[114] Jeremy Taylor, *Ag Pleez Deddy*! (Pretoria: Jeremy Taylor Publishing, 1992), p.30.
[115] John Chatterton, interview, Johannesburg, 24 August 2007.

had to new music and ideas. Radio was the source of musical entertainment. The idea that pop groups and singers had a physical reality which could be experienced was a remote one. The ability to attend a concert and experience music live was equally remote. Everything served to emphasise distance and within that distance the culture of imagining grew.

Few children had record players of their own and tape recorders only became common in the early 1970s. Radio serials such as Mark Saxon and the BBC's humorous Goon show drew a diverse audience. Most children have memories of being sick and staying at home with the radio for company. They could listen to Radio Bantu if they wanted, but only the odd child like Paul Clingman listened to the station with an interest in the music. Children did not learn African languages, although they would hear them and 'Bantu' music via the domestic servant. Most interviewees recall very clearly consciously tuning into the Top 20 hits on Springbok radio on a Saturday night and the Top 20 on LM radio on a Sunday night. It was incredibly important to know what was current and who was top of the pops. For those who had some pocket money the purchase of a favourite seven single would follow the weekend ritual of listening to the Top 20. In the 1960s seven singles and Long Playing records had replaced the '78's' of the 1950s. Most families had a radiogram which looked like a large wooden sideboard in which a radio was housed in the middle, a turntable on one side and a place for storing records on the other side. Some youth were fortunate enough to get their own turntable for their rooms, but it was more common for a family to have one piece of equipment. This was a source of dispute in some homes as parents were critical of the new pop music and did not enjoy having to listen to it.

The emphasis of this period was firmly on the imported and the new. South Africa was a construct that English speaking children interacted with on holidays when they went to the Kruger Park[116] or the sea, but it was only as adults that they would recall that the world they were looking at was never described in anything they read at school. They could tell you the words of the latest Beatle song or the need to own a striped T-shirt such as Mick Jagger wore, but they had no particular connection with families living twenty miles away from them in Soweto. They differed in this from the generation that preceded them who had witnessed far more of the changes that apartheid had wrought and who had been old enough to understand the meaning of events like Sharpeville. It was this group who were so critical in offering some direction and connection to those described in this chapter. It was a small gap, but large enough to make a difference.

Conclusion:

This chapter has focused on the shared experiences of white Anglophone children who were brought up under the ideology of apartheid and who should have been its supporters having been subjected to its reality from their earliest years. The factors which made this apparently normal world abnormal, revolved around their experiences of inter-racial contact, the paucity of media and the controls exercised over it. The absence of defining expressions of identity whether in school textbooks or film, assisted in the retention of a

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[116] The largest game reserve in South Africa.

relatively colonial set of social referents which placed the distant imagined metropole as the source of identity. In the case of children of heterogeneous cultural origins, this core was layered with their personal family histories resulting in a complex multi-layered identity in which being a South African was merely one of a set of options. Their apparent compliance with apartheid and distance pose interesting questions about identity, ideology and belonging. It is suggested here, that the reasons for the relative failure of apartheid to earn their allegiance, lay in the focus of the young on an external culture, and the heritage from their parents and education of a culture of detachment and distance. It is suggested that the reasons for their focus on an imported imaginary lay in their multi-cultural heritage and in their absorption of an inherited Anglophone emphasis from their basic education.

 This suggests that identity as it was being constituted, was an interplay between what the limited media offered, the context in which it was expressed, and the way it was enjoyed and shared. The significance of physical locations and the distance between groups, in this case black and white, is evident in the unconscious acceptance of an enclosed and limited boundary. A cultural acceptance of physical space as a limit to understanding is evident even in individual recollection and interaction with other groups on the periphery of defined physical localities. The separation of schools on the basis of language kept English and Afrikaans children apart and they seldom interacted. The difference between how different generations experienced this distance and familiarity between groups was a product of a less defined and rigid separation of the races and language groups. It was within this less defined space that a different set of relations was experienced by individuals who were already in their late teens in the early 1960s. It is within those spaces that alternative views and interpretations happened which suggest that culture is a constantly ongoing process of constitutive elements and the illusion of sameness and stasis is a function of memory and ideological necessity. This will be seen in the following chapter where the important years following Sharpeville led to consequences that would later impact on the generation described in this chapter and indicate the way in which generations connect within both a physical space and common memories. The emphasis on the factors which confined the world of young Anglophone whites in the 1960s is further emphasized by the different experiences of the generation that preceded them. These differences and their consequences are examined in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

'We Shall Overcome'[1]

This chapter examines the interplay between agency and outcomes. It empirically explores the way in which the actions of a few impacted on the choices and options of subsequent groups of students. It suggests that the early radical response to the claiming of institutional space by apartheid, shaped the manner in which individuals within those institutions responded to the challenges of imposed racial exclusivity. The emphasis on student political activity countered with a continuing imagined identification with American student opposition, serves to highlight the reason for the appeal of counter cultural values.

The shift from a contained system of education and exposure to the ideas and values of Anglophone universities in the 1960s introduced students to new concepts and experiences. In this chapter the difference in the two decades of the 50s and 60s is explored in the context of the generation which attended university in the early 1960s, whose relationship to authority and power was to define and frame the debate on the role of education and white students. Their embrace of ideas from abroad was a predisposition established in their childhood. The growing focus through the 1960s on exploring a political role for students was both a product of developments in the USA and elsewhere, as well as a reaction to Sharpeville. The latter event foregrounded the racial nature of apartheid and distanced economic from racial issues. The complex set of reactions to this event was to define student responses throughout the decade. South African students differed radically from their counterparts abroad as a consequence of the way in which they responded to Sharpeville.

The decade was to witness an initially partially radical student leadership at odds with the larger student body, followed by more conservative student leadership in the middle of the decade. By 1968 the discordance between leadership and students was even stronger and failed to connect with the changes amongst students. It is the path of this uneven relationship that concerns much of this chapter. The way in which the decade started explains both where the South African student movements converged thematically with student movements elsewhere, but differed in response and action. The American student movement is credited with having started when on February 1, 1960, "four unknown black students staged a sit-in at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina."[2] This event highlights the contrast in race-related issues between USA and SA. On March 21, 1960 at Sharpeville near Vereeniging, 69 unarmed pass demonstrators were shot dead by police. The contrast between the violence of Sharpeville and the relatively peaceful sit-in characterised the early part of the 1960s and suggests fundamental differences between the South African student movement and those in the USA and elsewhere.

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[1] "We Shall Overcome," composed by Rev. Charles Pindley, 1947. This song was originally titled "We Will Overcome." It was first recorded in 1950 and became the anthem of the civil rights movement in the USA.
[2] Tom Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1989), p.31.

<u>Discontinuity and Desperation:</u>

When John Harris, a member of the African Resistance Movement (ARM) was sentenced to death for his part in the 1964 Johannesburg station bomb explosion, in which one person was killed, he walked to the gallows singing "We shall Overcome."[3] The song, the values and the attempt at defiance encapsulated the 1960s foundation of resistance and thinking in South Africa. A mix of liberalism and guilt combined with inept, amateur and vaguely directed underground acts of sabotage grew out of the increasing despair following the 1959 Separation of Universities Act, the 1960 shootings at Sharpeville and the banning of the ANC and the PAC.

The importance of the events, individuals and values of the early 1960s for subsequent waves of Anglophone student activities is not evident in their own sense of their role and history, yet without that history the actions of the state and their responses do not make much sense. The disconnectedness and reinvention of the student movement was one of its outstanding features. There were few individuals who were informed of its history and foundations. Margaret Marshall, the president of NUSAS in 1967, was one of the few who tried to remind students that there was a time before the 1959 University Act[4] but she was an exception and like so many student leaders of her time, she went abroad as soon as she was able. It was this constant loss of continuity, and the fact that so much of the thinking of leaders and students was focused on the metropole, that allowed a liberal vacuum and a period of retreat following the more radical behaviour of students in the early 1960s.

David Caute wrote that the "first phase of the New Left, from 1960-1965, really belonged to America alone-despite the marginal influence of the post 1956 intellectual 'New Left' in Britain, and of the British campaign for nuclear disarmament."[5] He suggests that the roots of this New Left in America took shape in the segregationist states of the South where groups of young activist whites demanded an end to segregation. The New Left in his definition was a "movement of personal commitment, of young idealists operating outside the political machines and more influenced by Camus' existential humanism than by Sartre's socialist ideology."[6]

Caute could have been writing in part about South Africa, except, even he, with his far greater interest in South Africa than that of most Western academics, failed to acknowledge that the period 1960-1965 was a fertile period for a new kind of radical activity on the part of young white Anglophone students. They too were focusing on racial segregation, were influenced by Camus and Sartre and, like their American counterparts, were also socialising in coffee bars learning folk songs, and trying to reach across the barriers that were being erected between the races. Not all of them however were limiting themselves to singing folksongs and marching arm in arm to register protest and solidarity.

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[3] Baruch Hirson, *Revolutions in my life* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1995), p.287.
[4] *Wits Student*, 10 March 1967.
[5] David Caute, *Sixty-Eight* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988), p.24.
[6] Ibid.

Some felt they had little choice but to act in some radical way given that the state kept increasing the burden of apartheid and had left no room for negotiation or compromise. Baruch Hirson describing the move into sabotage wrote "it seemed to us that, with the banning of the PAC (Pan African Congress) and ANC (African National Congress) and the virtual death of SACTU (South African Congress of Trades Unions), old methods would not and could not achieve anything. The contemplation of sabotage was not ours alone. Similar ideas were being discussed by members of the ANC and CYL (Communist Youth League) who had not been arrested."[7]

The fact that a small group of whites comprised of students, lecturers and others were prepared to take up arms against apartheid is generally dismissed as an event of minor importance. This view overlooks a few salient and significant points. The first is that this was the first group of whites in the 1960s to take up arms against segregation and to attempt to overthrow a government. It was only at the end of the 1960s that groups like the Weathermen in America resorted to violent measures. The second is that unlike the New Left elsewhere in the world, ARM maintained relatively strong links with earlier political leftist movements.[8] Whilst they were debating the subtleties of different political viewpoints and endlessly falling out over them, the state treated them as a left-wing collective where differences of degree and belief meant nothing. The consequence of this for subsequent student movements was the persistent confusion of liberals with communists.

This early period of radicalism was followed by one of fear and a reversion to liberal values, and it is this period that this chapter is mainly concerned with as it expresses the last full blown period of identification with colonial liberalism and a focus on the metropole, expressed particularly in education through a reverence for, and aspiration to, education abroad. At the same time it suggests how and why influences and ideas from abroad found fertile minds keen to embrace new discourses and interpretations. The critical connection between the early 1960s and the end of the decade was in the few individuals who had been students in the early 1960s and who went abroad and chose to return, bringing with them new perspectives and theories. A persistent theme of this period was that of opposition to the dominant culture represented by the state and its continued criticism of English-speaking students. The importance of the spreading global youth culture in this context was highlighted.

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[7]Baruch Hirson, op.cit., p.298.

[8] Initially the student movements abroad rejected the old left as it subscribed to a Marxism that ran counter to notions of spontaneity and individual development. Student ideologues revisited classic Marxism after 1968 but found the actions of the Soviets in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary to have been proof of the inadequacy and failure of Soviet style communism. They believed that a genuine people's revolution had taken place in China, which was the reason for the popularity and interest in China and Maoism amongst some radicals. The other strand of Marxism that was more widely engaged with was that of Trotsky. The decisive rejection of the old left abroad was in itself indicative of the freedom of access to information that students had. South African students by contrast operated with a distinct lack of information and seldom understood the differences.

<u>Growing up Pre- and Post-Sharpeville:</u>

The difference between children of the 1950s and 1960s in SA resulted in different trajectories. Whereas the 1960s were years of growth and consolidation of apartheid, the 1950s were years where the contrast was more visible. Children and young people could and did see the implementation of apartheid and contact between races was not almost completely limited to master-servant relationships. This critical difference bred a generation who had a far greater continuity with the people who had opposed the adoption of apartheid and the ascendancy of Afrikaner nationalism. It meant that they had a more easily accessible set of alternative references and social experiences, which meant that they were never as literally the children of apartheid as those who grew up in the 1960s.

The numbers at English-speaking universities in the early to mid-1960s were small. The huge influx of students into the Humanities, which was much more of a late 1960s phenomenon, meant that the circles of friends and students were far more intimate. Dr. Biesheuwel noted in 1964 "Our universities have become very largely, professional schools." He observed that the percentage of the student body in the pure arts at Wits was 17.8% whilst those in Science constituted only 9% of the student body. He concluded that the figures indicated, "that the study of the Humanities and the pure sciences is no longer a major objective of our universities. In fact it is becoming virtually insignificant."[9] It is clear from the comments of students at the time that many of the underground organisations were discreet and members and friends were not always aware of each others activities, but what is evident is that there was far more revolutionary potential than is acknowledged, but it foundered on the very small numbers of those involved, and a lack of clear leadership.[10]

One of the most useful accounts of the ideas and values prevalent at the time was Jonty Driver's novel *Elegy for a Revolutionary* written after he left South Africa. It is a fictional account of the small group in Cape Town who joined ARM. The book relates how seriously these individuals took themselves and their choices. It is filled with moral statements "you chose one side or the other,…or you got out…and to get out was not more than a refusal to choose finally."[11] The sense that history gave them a choice and role was part of this ponderous morality "The disintegration had started well before that;…had started three hundred years before, when the first white man came to South Africa, had started even before that."[12]

The focus is on white liberal guilt transformed into revolutionary action. "They believed that human suffering mattered more than any natural beauty; they believed that the

[9] 1964, "Follow-up Select Committee on University Education." Dr. Biesheuwel's address to University of Natal Convocation. BC 586. N6, 1964. UCT Archive.

[10] An article by C.J Driver describing a group of friends at a celebration of a 21st birthday at a restaurant in Cape Town in 1962 published on http://www.barbara-follett.org.uk/columns_2003/030122_cj_driver.html captures the ideas and differences between some of this generation.

[11] C.J. Driver, *Elegy For a Revolutionary* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1984), p.128.

[12] Ibid., p.104.

loveliness of the Cape was little more than an excuse for the beastliness of the townships."[13] The logic is clear and seeks the moral high ground,[14] but it all flounders on the character of the individuals and their personal and unresolved family issues.[15] In this period of much greater existentialist angst, the search for moral purpose became more dramatic. The central problem of existentialism namely the contradiction of a moral code based on meaninglessness, remained. In the case of radicals the non-acceptance of society's mores and values seems to have encouraged a focus on sexual freedom. In this book, this is no different. Non-marital sex and relationships conflate and highlight the contrast between the personal and the public. Individuals confuse their emotional choices with political actions.

There is a value posited about life throughout which is at odds with the apparently existentialist base and captures the confusion of ideas and values. Although this group saw themselves as more radical than liberals, their fundamental thinking was that of liberals. Their motives for action, after all, lay in the denial of political liberty to black South Africans and was emphasised by the fact that the individuals in ARM wanted only to cause damage to places and objects, which represented the state. They believed it was necessary not to harm any individuals, as much to prove their own humanity as to prove to the public that the argument was with the state and because, more than anything else, they did not want to injure any black people.

Within this tale of sabotage and commitment is a description of an uncomfortable encounter with black underground organisers, who even at that stage were suspicious of whites. After the fictional character James Jeremy, breaks under interrogation and names the co-conspirators, the rest of the group is arrested. Jeremy is a pseudonym for Adrian Leftwich the individual who, like John Vorster, became the nemesis of student movements in South Africa. The difference between the two was that Vorster was consciously the nemesis, whereas Leftwich merely became so through historical circumstance. Leftwich, in an article published in 2002 which finally broke his silence about the events in 1964 that had affected so many lives, suggested that membership of ARM might really have been about his personal needs "needs that had only a tenuous relationship to the politics of the country."[16] Leftwich admitted, "when arrested and interrogated, I simply collapsed like a house of cards. Giving his verdict in the Cape Town trial, a judge said that to refer to me as a rat was hard on rats."[17]

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[13] Ibid., p.31.

[14] There is the possibility that Driver was also mocking the students sense of self-importance but the general tone of the novel suggests that their was a sub-text for readers with a slightly cynical bent.

[15] The early themes of the counterculture are evident in the focus on the individual in relationship to power. The ways in which an individual's personal experience defines their choices was a recurring theme.

[16] Adrian Leftwich, " I Gave the Names," *Granta* no 78 (Summer 2002), p. 13. Leftwich came from what he described as a 'liberal, Jewish, professional Capetonian family. He does not fully explain his initial involvement in ARM other than to say that the "cause was right...Its activities provided an outlet for the frustration and hopelessness I had increasingly come to feel about conventional forms of resistance." p. 13.

[17] Ibid., p.22. Such a harsh observation would probably never be allowed in the more politically correct contemporary world.

Although Leftwich refers to Driver's novel in his explanation, he fails to acknowledge that Driver was far more generous in his understanding of him, than he implies. In the novel Driver, who is represented by the character Quick, has a meeting with Jeremy after the latter's release from prison. At this encounter the denouement lies in the realisation on Quick's part, that he is as egocentric as Jeremy and thus potentially as guilty.[18] Whilst it seems to be a relatively trite conclusion, in effect Driver was pointing to the identity debate that was the subtext to so much of the period. England, in particular Oxbridge, remained the cornerstone of English-speaking education in South Africa and this generation firmly believed in everything that it stood for. For this group attainment of that goal was relatively easy. For many the step from student politics to recognition and entry into educational opportunities abroad was the real goal. Standing up for the principles represented by English universities reinforced their belief that they belonged to that world, and by extension had a right to enter it. It was the logical conclusion to an education primarily focused on the metropole.

Within the novel there is a great deal of moral flagellation but the most compelling theme is that of straight-forward guilt expressed most tellingly, in the discussion about whether to leave South Africa or to stay. "The rights and wrongs of exile were always in their minds; and it was part of the way their minds worked that they should assume that is was moral to leave South Africa if you were in serious political trouble."[19] The reasoning underlying this argument was that if you went to prison you would be treated as a white man and in effect would be privileged. The logic of this thinking is important for it again emphasises the extraordinary levels of guilt that followed in its wake. It also provides a different view of the judgemental trope of English liberals clutching foreign passports ready to jump ship.

André Brink[20] was also inspired to write a novel based on reports about this group. He explains that what mesmerised him about them were the questions and choices they raised: "In a country like the South Africa of the apartheid years, what was there a young white woman or man could do to take on the massive, blunt, violent power of the state?"[21] It was a question and problem that was to lie at both the centre and periphery of the lives of Anglophone youth throughout the period of this study. The response that had led Leftwich and his compatriots to arms was a product of their environment. Within the social landscape of the late fifties and early sixties there were moments that suggest the difference between the bubble world described in the previous chapter and the world that preceded it. As suggested earlier it was within physical spaces that boundaries and cultural repertoires were established. It was also within this space that motives for action and choice were explored.

The life that led students like Driver and Leftwich to the choices they made is described, not only in a few autobiographies, but also in fiction. Barbara Trapido in her semi-autobiographical novel *Frankie and Stankie* describes starting university "under the

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[18] J.Driver, op.cit., p.165.
[19] Ibid., p.136.
[20] Brink was a member of the 'sestigers,' an avant garde Afrikaans cultural group of the 1960s.
[21] André Brink, *A Fork in the Road. A Memoir* (London: Harvill Secker, 2009), p.191.

shadow of the State of Emergency which lasts through most of their first year…the army have occupied the campus, because it provides a perfect view of Cato Manor, the black township just below Dinah's house. So Dinah's four years at university coincide with a dramatic downturn in the texture of national life. It leaves her with ongoing feelings of moral discomfort and unease…Dinah is always feeling that she's got no right to a good time. Because how can she claim any right to such a thing, when all around her most people have got no rights at all? And everything that's on offer for her is set up at their expense?"[22]

This generation witnessed the separation of the races in a physical way. More traumatically, they were old enough at the time of Sharpeville to understand what was happening. They grew up able to read about the ANC and PAC, some knew who Albert Luthuli and Robert Sobukwe were. As students they could organise receptions for black leaders of the calibre of Professor Z.K. Matthews and read what influential black leaders wrote.[23] John Daniel described how he met the Nobel Prize Winner, Albert Luthuli in a sugar cane field and how what the ANC leader really wanted to do was to be taken for a drive in the little Volkswagen in which the students came to the secret meeting.[24] An incident such as this enabled them to experience the fundamental inhumanity of apartheid laws and to feel as well as intellectually understand its human cost.

There was above all continuity and contrast, a before and after period. This was the critical difference between these students and those who followed. Hilary Claire describes a journey from her school Roedean "through the sad ashes of Sophiatown, where Father Huddleston had ministered. Bricks and rubble were all that remained of the old houses…The brand new township of Triomf, which would spring up in Sophiatown's place, was not yet complete. We drove around through Pimville, Jabavu, Orlando, Moroka. The names of these places were familiar…There were no words to express my horror and my guilt. At fourteen, this shocking vision of apartheid confronted me not just with how people lives a bare twenty miles from my home, but with what was being hidden from us."[25]

 The 'before' period encapsulated a history when universities were not yet segregated, when individuals who were members of the Communist Party and other left-wing organisations held jobs in universities and schools. Eddie Roux who had written *Time Longer than Rope* was still able to teach as Professor of Botany at Wits.[26] His wife Win Roux was able to teach mathematics at Roedean where she was valued for her mathematical skills independent of her personal politics. It was a time when District Six

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[22] Barbara Trapido, *Frankie and Stankie* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), pp. 232-233.

[23] All SRC's had received a copy of the speech made by Prof. Z.K. Matthews at a reception organised for him by NUSAS at Alice in 1961. BC 586. N4 1962. UCT Archive.

[24] John Daniels, interview, Durban, 2 April 2009.

[25] Hilary Claire, *The Song Remembers When* (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2006), p.121.

[26] On 15 December 1964 Wits was informed that the appointment of Prof.E Roux would be terminated by the Minister of Justice on the grounds that he was a listed communist. Mervyn Shear, *WITS A University* in *the Apartheid Era* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1996), p.38.

still existed and individuals like Ronnie Kasrils[27] and his partner Patsy could spend time there being entertained by an alternative version of left-wing political education: "Ma'am, dark and sultry looking, was a member of the Coloured People's Congress, an ally of the ANC. One afternoon, their house full of the pungent fumes of dagga, panic broke out when some political colleagues arrived at the front door. One of these was Sonia Bunting, the first communist I ever set eyes on."[28]

There were still people around who could and did present an alternative South Africa. Although small, radical leftist groups existed and provided a forum for individuals who were opposed to apartheid and its implementation. An insight into this life of opposition and social involvement is evident in the description given of conversations in Pretoria Central Prison between political prisoners arrested in the wake of Sharpeville and ARM. "The lawyers (Bram Fischer, Lewis Baker, Rowley Arenstein) talked of court cases and their careers. Ivan spoke of his many travels with Bram through the Transvaal, raising money from Indian merchants for the Communist Party papers. The journalists (Hugh Lewin, Dave Evans, Marius Schoon) produced the illegal annual journal and the annual play. The lecturers and teachers (Johan Laredo, Norman Levy, Harold 'Jock'Strachan and myself) explained subjects drawn from the college classroom."[29] They were drawing on their memories of that before world where multi-racial crowds had combined to support Solly Sachs the leader of the Garment Workers Union, when the government was threatening the unions.[30]

It was a world where the judiciary still acted independently and even apolitical lawyers would stand up for black leaders. Nelson Mandela in his description of the 1954 attempt to have his name struck off the list of accredited attorneys described how he received offers of support and help from "a number of well-known Afrikaner lawyers" who believed the application was biased and unfair.[31] The left-wing publications *Torch* and *New Age* were available and not banned. Ideas prevalent at the time owed much to the Beat generation and to its most famous writers Kerouac, Hemingway, Carson MacCullers and Henry Miller. The writing of Camus and Sartre showed "a world of ideas and experiences opening up and showing us the insularity and narrowness of the world we lived in."[32]

It was the same world described in the chapter on the 1960s but seen from older eyes, students who knew an even simpler world and whose musical references were defined by the beginning of rock 'n roll. Its impact on South Africa had been as dramatic as elsewhere. "Alongside droves of white teenagers, I was taken into custody following the showing of Bill Haley's *Rock Around the Clock*. Caught up in the hysteria of the new musical beat we had poured out of a city cinema into lines of police. I was assaulted for

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[27] Ronnie Kasrils joined the ANC at the age of 20 and went on to become the head of military intelligence in Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was also a leading figure in the South African Communist Party.
[28] Ronnie Kasrils, *Armed and Dangerous* (London: Heinemann, 1993), p. 21.
[29] Baruch Hirson, op.cit. p.3.
[30] James Clarke, ed, *Like it Was* (Johannesburg: Argus, 1987), p. 149.
[31] Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom* (London: Abacus, 1994), p.190.
[32] Hilary Claire, op.cit., p.165.

being in the vicinity- easily identified as a rock fan by my blue suede shoes and hair style."[33]

There were also jazz concerts in the townships "they were held in small halls…You could count the whiteys present on the fingers of one hand. There were musicians like Kippie Moeketsi, Dudu Pukwana, Mackay Davashe, and Dollar Brand."[34] There was still some sort of vibrant creative life even though it was severely constricted in its ability to move around. Exile had not yet claimed an entire generation leaving a vacuum in their wake. It was a narrow window but sufficient to express a before and after. In his poem Silence, Jack Cope described the after period:

you wrote your brief life
on our hands. I read your names:
Peter and Alfred and Zeke, have we
Wiped out the fading letters?
Todd and Bloke, David, Jonty, Alex,
(only a part of you all) Nat, Dennis,
Albie and you, Lewis – from
Sea to dead sea. I cannot break
The stones of your silence or send you
The irreparable grief
Of your homeless land.[35]

Cope, was a member of the group known as the 'Sestigers.' The group consisted of both English and Afrikaans speaking individuals and carried a certain similarity to the American Beats of the 1950s represented by Jack Kerouac and his fellow writers. The 'Sestigers' were important not only as an avant garde cultural group critical of apartheid and in tune with the ideas of writers such as Camus, whose work was so important in the evolution of the values and ideas of the 1960s, but also because they were a crossover group. Writing of the events following Leftwich's betrayal, Vernon February who had gone into exile in Leiden wrote, "Ons was almal jonk, het almal gedink dat ons die staat kon verander, dat ons magtig genoeg was om ons idee van 'n demokratiese samelewing te vestig. Miskien was dit die 'hubris' waarvan die Grieke gepraat het wat met hulle parte gespeel het."[36] Out of this group came some of the very few strands of continuity between the period 'before' and 'after' 1963.[37] The crossover between English and Afrikaans was something that seldom happened in the post 1963 period when apartheid and Afrikaners became virtually synonymous and the physical distance between English- and Afrikaans-speakers grew.

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[33] Ronnie Kasrils, op.cit., p.18.

[34] Jeremy Taylor, op.cit., p.23.

[35] Jack Cope/C.J.Driver, *Mantis Poets* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1979), p.25.

[36] "We were all young, we all thought that we could change the country, that we were powerful enough to secure our idea of a democracy. Possibly it was the ''hubris' which the Greeks write about and which had a role in it." Vernon February, "Die 'Sestigers' en die geval van Adrian Leftwich," *Die Suid Afrikaan*, (August/ September 1991): 59-60.

[37] André Brink was in touch with Rick Turner in the late 1960s. Turner visited him to engage his support for the cultural program he had in mind for Aquarius.

Ascendancy of the Security State:

The 'after' period came with the ascendancy of B.J. Vorster in 1961 to the position of Minister of Justice. He initiated the clamp down on political opposition and the capture of most of the members of ARM. This was followed by the departure, both legal and illegal, of most individuals who belonged to organisations declared illegal by the government. The Security Branch (SB) of the Police, although only restructured in 1963, were very active at this stage and letters between senior NUSAS organisers refer to the 'gremlins in the garden.' They were shocked to discover that their neighbours had allowed the gremlins to use their houses to conduct the taping of their private conversations.[38]

It is clear from students' correspondence at the time that they were only beginning to realise the extent of the surveillance already taking place, and were not aware of quite how vulnerable they were. The limitations of technology at the time worked greatly in the favour of the SB. Students communicated via letter and telephone. They would arrange times to phone each other via letter, which obviously meant that their conversations could be monitored. Transport was also far more of an issue as vehicles were not as reliable and roads were far more challenging in the pre highway era. Student leaders were very polite and after visits to different campuses, would write letters of thank you to the people who had offered them accommodation. They unconsciously gave the SB an ever-expanding list of individuals to monitor.[39]

Students were not initially cowed by the state's response. Jonty Driver in his famous Botha's Hill speech at the NUSAS congress held in Pietermaritzburg in 1964,[40] threw down the gauntlet to the state, as did editorials in some of the student newspapers. Driver suggested that NUSAS could play a part as the student wing of the NLM[41] with the possibility that leadership could pass into black hands. [42] These statements caused an uproar in the press and were ones NUSAS did not manage to live down in the eyes of the government and conservative South Africa. They were in effect sabre rattling and whilst brave, not in tune with their student constituency. NUSAS received a large number of cancellations of student membership following Driver's statements. It was evident at this stage that radicalism was limited to a small group of students.

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[38] Ian Robertson the president of NUSAS wrote to Peter Mansfield in Jan 1966 with the news " I am told they (the gremlins as he referred to the security branch men) watched you very closely during the latter part of last year" It transpired that the SB had approx 385 tapes they had made with the help of his neighbours. BC 586. N8 1966. NUSAS papers. UCT Archive.

[39] John Daniels as President of NUSAS in 1966 had begun to realise this problem advising M.Shill who was to run the international office that "it requires very careful handling due to BJV's close interest in it. Letters overseas should always give a strong line, though not too hairy eg not too many solidarities, revolutionary greetings, imperialists etc." 27 July 1966, NUSAS papers BC 586 A2.1 UCT Archive.

[40] Driver had stated that NUSAS would seek to destroy the traditional South African 'way of life'. The speech was widely reported in the Afrikaans press. There were 1,000 resignations from NUSAS as a result of his speech. Cape Argus, 11 June 1966.

[41] NLM stood for National Liberation Movement.

[42] *Cape Argus,* 11 June 1966.

A notable feature of this period were the issues student leaders were addressing. One of these was a report on wages, which had been carried out by the churches,[43] and the other was that of NUSAS multi-racial ideals. In 1965, Maeder Osler, the then President of NUSAS, urged the Natal SRC to put pressure on the university authorities to permit 'non-white' NUSAS delegates to stay in residence during the 1966 congress. This matter Osler wrote, "strikes at the very purpose of our being."[44] It is interesting that student leaders understood the contradictions implicit in their stated values, but the difference between them and the broader student body could not easily be breached. One of the problems lay in the lack of communication. Cape Town had the only NUSAS office in the country until 1970. Fear of the SB was a significant factor but most importantly the framework of thinking around students and their role rested on liberal principles. Anglophone students perceived themselves as operating within a reactionary Kafkaesque state. A degree of credence to this belief lay in the responses of the ruling Afrikaner elite to Anglophone students.

A small but typical incident concerning the 1965 NUSAS congress was the fact that it opened with a cocktail party held on a Sunday evening. This innocuous event drew public comment from Dr J.D. Vorster, the brother of B.J. Vorster. He commented, "such action is completely foreign to our beliefs, morals and traditions. It shows that NUSAS is completely out of touch with the philosophy of life and customs of the South African people. If any further proof is needed to show that NUSAS is following the wrong path, then this is the action."[45] This comment was one of the many that every small activity and action elicited. It explains both the censorious environment NUSAS operated in, and the bizarre values and people they were engaging with. Whilst they were brave, they were also far too radical for most students, and the public debate that ensued in the wake of these statements led to increased attention on student leadership on the part of the state.

Cape Town had been the epicentre of student leadership until the mid 1960s but the involvement of Cape and Transvaal based students and lecturers in ARM, led to a shift in leadership to Natal.[46] It was felt that UN and Pietermaritzburg students were not implicated in ARM and their presence in leadership positions might help to lessen the pressure from the government. The government however appeared to have no intention of lessening its practice of banning and deporting anyone who might be suspected of radical action or thought. Bannings, passport removals, denial of visas and deportations gathered pace in the mid 1960s.

There was considerable disparity between the responses of the various student bodies to these events. On the one hand student leaders wanted students to become radicals with the courage to protest, yet in their SRC resolutions they were 'respectfully requesting' the university to consider (eliminating) the compulsion of lecturers to take attendance

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[43] The Interim Report of the Committee on the Social Responsibility of the Church published in October 1966 lists research into domestic wages and the suggestion that using experts further investigations into wages should be made. Misc. Individual Correspondence. N3. 1961. BC 586. UCT Archive.
[44] *Cape Times,* 6 July 1965.
[45] *Cape Times,* 3 July 1965
[46] John Daniels, interview, Durban, 2 April 2009

registers.[47] This disparity in expression and approach reflected an attitude that was held in varying degrees by both university administrations and the government. The latter was most extreme in its persistent description of students as 'children.' Throughout the speeches and reported statements of John Vorster are references to students as 'children'. He nurtured the view that most of the students were merely 'misguided children.' In a 1965 parliamentary debate about students Vorster stated, "It is not my people's children we are dealing with, but yours"(referring to the Opposition).[48] It was a theme that persisted through the years in one shape or another. In 1967 he stated "I have never fought with children in my life, but I regard it as my duty to protect certain parents from their children."[49]

The belief that students were misguided children led to the early release of three students imprisoned for their role in ARM. When asked why he released Trew, de Keller and Kemp, Vorster answered " I did not want them rotting in prison, well knowing that it was grown-ups who used them for their own purposes. Ag, they were babes in the wood."[50] The view that students were children was central to the government's response to them. The idea that they would behave and get on with becoming useful members of white society if only baleful and evil influences from 'outside' could be removed and controlled reveals itself in the discourse of the state throughout the period. The armoury of laws with increasingly wide terms of reference somewhat undercuts this argument, but contradictory behaviour and values were hallmarks of their rule, whilst punishment in the Calvinistic ethos was never light. Banning individuals and organisations, deporting suspect lecturers, controlling the media and censoring and banning books was all part of the containment strategy. Outsiders and foreign ideas were to blame even if the only evidence of foreignness was based on their possession of a British passport. Lack of loyalty to the state was emphasised in the possession of a foreign passport and was damning in itself and later became illegal.

John Daniels, description of how in 1966 when student leaders met with Vorster to protest the banning of Ian Robertson, Margaret Marshall eventually lost her temper and said to Vorster "We are not fools you know" resulted in Vorster becoming visibly disconcerted.[51] Marshall's response reflected the distance between the student and the state. Vorster commenting on the meeting said "I was shocked because their views were much worse than I had thought."[52] Nevertheless the view that students were children being misled by outsiders persisted.

Neville Curtis writing in *Wits Student* in May 1966 observed that because Vorster treated students like children, "we must realise that he does not take us seriously enough to believe that we might have a genuine reason for our actions."[53]Curtis's observations were perceptive, but the government appears to have been more ambivalent than he or others

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[47] BC 586 03.1 UCT Archive.
[48] *Varsity,* 9 June 1965.
[49] *Cape Times,* 17 0ctober 1967.
[50] John d'Oliviera, *Vorster. The Man* (Johannesburg: Ernest Stanton Publishers, 1977), p.171.
[51] John Daniels. Interview, op.cit
[52] BC 586 J4. UCT Archive.
[53] *Wits Student*, 27 May 1966.

realised. The fears of challenges to the state were reinforced by the fact that such challenges were evident across the globe in the 1960s. America led the way with radical new concepts of sit-ins, teach-ins and be-ins. Sit-ins had started in 1960 on the West Coast in the USA at the University of California, Berkeley as well as in San Francisco which were the then mecca's of student activism. Support for sit-ins was intense and students demanded the "right of student government to debate and take action on off-campus issues, a practice forbidden by the UC (University of California) administration as too political."[54]

The American student movement was leading the way in global student circles. It had been fuelled by the revival in political campaigning around the Kennedy bid for presidency, the challenge to institutionalised racism in the south and a redefinition of students and their rights. The latter was a by-product of the huge increase in student numbers at tertiary institutions. South African students had links with these student bodies in the form of reports sent through to NUSAS to its grandly named International Department. The information was passed onto students somewhat belatedly, and did on occasion reach them. It was a cumbersome process made evident in a written instruction from the President of NUSAS in August 1966 in which he wrote to his Vice President "I have given Ian Robertson a copy of the RIC report on racial discrimination in the US and asked him to prepare, from this, a series of articles, which can be used by the student press next year."[55]

Teach-ins were a new concept to SA students and were direct copies of the American example. A document in the UN SRC file contains a step-by-step description of a teach-in. The students obviously took it to heart as evidenced in a report on a subsequent teach-in held in Durban which was attended by about 500 students. A.T Chattaway reported, "The atmosphere was very pro-liberal…even professors, although not opposed, were merely accepted and ignored. The teach-in was a great success in bringing students of all races together and some of the more valuable questions came from the non-white students who attended." [56]

The rather formal language, the emphasis on a the 'pro-liberal' atmosphere and the patronising acknowledgement of 'more valuable questions' from 'non-white-students' is a key to student discourse of the time and suggests the formality and politeness that they used in their reports. The government through its spying network had access to these reports and chose to interpret them as clear evidence of 'foreign control and involvement.'[57] The invitation extended by NUSAS to Dr. Martin Luther King to open the 1966 NUSAS congress was the kind of evidence they used to support their theories. His acceptance fuelled their theory and the editorial in *Die Vaderland*, which was a

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[54] Tom Hayden, op.cit. p.33.

[55] BC 586, A 2.1 Presidential correspondence with UPIR. NUSAS files UCT Archive.

[56] BC 586, 03.1 UCT archives. This teach in was even more of a success than Chattaway indicated given that the number of registered students at UN was only 3,019 in 1966.

[57] NUSAS was trying to find funding in order to conduct a large scale educational plan promoting a more accurate understanding of the organization. It also wanted to hold seminars at 'tribal colleges' and was seeking funding from the US for these seminars. When twisted around this information could be used as evidence of 'foreign interference.' NUSAS papers BC 586 G1.3, UCT Archive.

reliable index of their opinions, expressed their judgement and beliefs about Dr. King. "Na die mislukking van NUSAS se plan om Dr. Martin Luther King, die Amerikaanse Neger-agitator, na SA te bring, is 'n Engelse predikant nou besig om langspeelplate to versprei van dr King se roep tot die Engelse kerke om die sosiale rewolusie in SA aan to wakker."[58] It was evident that they had failed to understand that change was already happening. There was a subliminal awareness of change and a challenge to authority, but the government failed to understand that they were assisting in its growth through over-reaction. The real change that was taking place was in the space left open by a lack of identity

Campuses appeared to be more conservative than they really were largely because many students who were pro-NUSAS did not involve themselves in direct opposition because they were scared to do so. It did not mean that they were conservative in their inclinations, but they were actively nervous of the consequences of direct action. The government exploited this fear in every manner possible and seems to have maintained its belief that the problem lay in the leadership and its focus on political ideas. It appears to have believed that if it could starve NUSAS of funds and therefore emasculate its leadership, then the threat that students potentially posed could be contained, as without leadership they would do nothing. The strategy was aimed at cutting off contact with abroad and keeping the 'children' pure and happy. The government took reports about NUSAS's contact with overseas organisations very seriously. In 1964 NUSAS sought "loose liaison with the communist-controlled International Union of Students (IUS). The motion made it clear that NUSAS did not want to take part in policy making of IUS. The SA student leadership merely wishes to know more about the workings of communism."[59] NUSAS actions abroad were monitored as evidenced by constant reference to them. Vorster did not fail to comment on the fact that "The overseas representative of NUSAS in America, Mr Barry Mason, had addressed the UN Special Committee on Apartheid during August 1963 and had lobbied with the Afro-Asians against South Africa and has foreshadowed that NUSAS will submit a memorandum to the UN substantiating his charge."[60] It was these kind of contacts that led him to state that NUSAS was "playing with fire."[61] The contact with 'foreign agitators' was seen as happening mainly through the contacts NUSAS had with overseas student bodies, which the government had monitored and interpreted in its unfailingly obtuse way.

One of the ways it sought to undermine student activism was over the issue of supposed automatic membership of NUSAS. This plan deserves attention because it had long-term consequences for NUSAS and its activities, and also because it rebounded badly. It also demonstrates the irreconcilable thinking between the groups. As early as 1963 Mr.Vorster as the then Minister of Justice, said "that is was up to thousands of students who were compulsory members of NUSAS to end their membership of the organisation

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[58] *Die Vaderland,* 5 July 1966. Translation. "Following the failure of the NUSAS plan to invite Dr Martin Luther King, the American Negro-agitator to South Africa, an English pastor is now busy with the distribution of Dr King's call to English churches to wake up to social revolution in South Africa."
[59] *Cape Argus,* 15 July 1964.
[60] *Cape Argus*, 30 September 1963.
[61] *Cape Times*, 6 July 1965.

in their interests and for the sake of South Africa."[62] This call was to be made again and again through the sixties from different National Party members. The focus of the calls was on ending 'automatic membership' of NUSAS.

On the surface the government always presented itself acting in accordance with the law (albeit law of its own making) and in this instance its resort to legal avenues emphasised its own perception of its correctness. What was disputed was the way in which students became members of NUSAS. As an organisation it was open to all students on all campuses in South Africa. Membership of NUSAS was automatic until 1965 when it changed. The new changes involved Student Representative Councils (SRC's) making the decision on behalf of their student body whether they would retain membership of NUSAS or not. In the 1960s it was mainly the English-speaking universities that were still members of NUSAS, but membership was technically open to all universities. Wherever the SRC had elected to retain membership of NUSAS it donated money out of its discretionary fund to NUSAS for its operations. NUSAS had its head office in Cape Town and only expanded its presence in the second half of the 60s largely thanks to the increased attention of the government.

It was in Cape Town that two students, G.van Zyl and G.Swart, represented by Truter and Lombard, attorneys whose letterhead described them as 'attorneys, notaries, conveyancers, parliamentary agents' working out of the Groote Kerk Gebou in Parliament St, Cape Town, began a correspondence with the university in 1965 about the funding of NUSAS. The correspondence is revealing for the fact that the attorneys wrote mostly in Afrikaans and the issue persisted over a period of more than two years. The amount at issue was the funding of NUSAS, which was represented by the payment of 12½ cents per student per year.[63] To all appearances the matter was civil and legal and the state had nothing to do with it. There is no evidence to prove that it was the state that paid Truter and Lombard, but the question has to be asked why would two students hire expensive lawyers over the matter of such a small subsidy, when all they had to do was write a letter to NUSAS in Cape Town stating that they did not wish to be personally represented by the body? The length of the correspondence and the rudeness of it, suggests a different strategy which had an interesting consequence. The Chancellor of UCT was so disturbed by the implication of this challenge that legal opinion was sought from all English-speaking universities as to how students who were automatic members of NUSAS would be affected should NUSAS be implicated in an action that transgressed any existing legislation.[64]

The Afrikaans press commented at length on this issue. Whilst the argument ended inconclusively, it was a strategy that persisted into the 1970s by which time NUSAS's finances were so constrained that it had little option but to look for funding abroad. This

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[62] *Cape Times*, 10 September 1963.

[63] The total amount being disputed was about R1,500 according to reports in Die Burger, which together with other Afrikaans newspapers reported extensively on the matter.

[64] See correspondence in Sir Richard Luyt papers C1.1 BC 1072. Correspondence concerning issue of implications of University supporting NUSAS. UCT was concerned whether its granting of funds to NUSAS implied that it approved of the aims and activities of NUSAS.

was the point at which the state argued that not only were external forces controlling students, but the proof lay in the external funding. The fact that NUSAS was forced to look abroad for such funding because of the unrelenting pressure from the state was not provable. The Machiavellian strategy was absurd given the relative ineffectiveness of students in the 1960s, but this was the real consequence of the involvement of Anglophone students in ARM, something that Vorster vowed would never be allowed to happen again. In the same way that he never stopped talking about students as 'children', he never forgot Adrian Leftwich and constantly referred to the fact that he would not allow another Leftwich to happen. Even though it was the weakness of Leftwich which gave the state the information it needed, it was his weakness and apparent inability to stick to his beliefs and principles that created the belief that most students were deluded and weak children.[65] Vorster always referred to his own internment at Koffiefontein during the Second World War and the fact that he took his punishment like a 'man', as evidence of his convictions in contrast to Leftwich who had been influenced by 'others.' It was the weakness of Leftwich and the letters of thanks from the parents of the students he released from prison that appears to have convinced him that students were childish puppets in a left-wing conspiracy. Implicit in Vorster's attitude was a disdain for English-speaking South Africans who did not share his history and his identity.[66]

NUSAS did not appear to have the measure of student opinion. Locked into a liberal framework of ideals about the freedom to learn and express opinions, it focused on responding to the rather puerile baiting activities of government agents. It is unclear whether the aim of much of their activity was to identify individuals, provoke broad action or implicate innocent students in illegal activities. The planting of misinformation was a common strategy. Pamphlets purporting to have been issued by NUSAS would appear on campus allegedly signed by the current leadership. One such pamphlet issued in 1966 appearing under the name of Ian Robertson stated:

" To encourage the Liberation Movement in South Africa we have invited Dr Martin Luther King, the well known communist orientated Civil Rights leader of America, to open the 1966 NUSAS Annual Congress.
The document ended with the even more absurd statement "NUSAS is NOT an essentially "Students-as-such" group but a radical and militant organisation."[67]

Whilst the leadership might have wished for such student radicalism, the fabrications were in the minds of the SB and their activity kept the leadership constantly on the defensive rather than the offensive. The SB had acquired extraordinary powers dating from Vorster's time as Minister of Justice. "I realised that if the security forces had to play according to the rules it would be like fighting an implacable and vicious enemy with one hand tied behind your back."[68] The man who was in charge of the SB, General van den Bergh, was an old friend of Vorster's who had promised, "if he gave us the

[65] *Cape Times*, 17 October 1967.
[66] The fact that the Ossewa Brandwag was an outgrowth of Nazism and was in fact a 'foreign' idea was not seen as comparable.
[67] BC 1072 c1.1 NUSAS files UCT Archive.
[68] John d'Oliviera. op.cit., p.130.

weapons then we would guarantee that not a shot would be fired, that there would not be a revolution in South Africa."[69]

Liberals and Leadership:

Students were not inclined to cause a revolution at this stage. The different responses to student actions by university administrations suggests that the liberal leadership and focus of Vice Chancellor Bozzoli at Wits kept student reaction within the bounds of the liberal framework they still subscribed to. UN by contrast had Owen Horwood as its Chancellor. At that stage he was a closet supporter of the National Party and clearly shared the belief that university students were children. Every challenge to university authority drew a disproportionate response with the consequence that Roger Hulley reporting to Margaret Marshall at the 1967 NUSAS congress wrote that "students at UND over the past 18 months have become increasingly disturbed by a growing dictatorial approach to student affairs by the administration…Three times this year, student demo's were mooted to protest at the admin's high handedness."[70]

Horwood's response, predictably, was to blame "politically inspired agitators from outside."[71] The response was reported on and commented upon in the national press. Horwood treated students as though university was some sort of extended high school and went so far in 1967 as to personally select who could be on the SRC's welcoming committee at fresher's reception. The bizarreness of his behaviour is well illustrated in this particular narrative. Although it was eight years after the separation of the universities, UN was the one campus that had well over 300 registered black students. They were registered in the medical faculty and housed in residences which were located a considerable distance from campus.

Whilst Horwood was preoccupied with the potentially adverse infection of freshers by members of the SRC, black students in the Alan Taylor residences were avidly reading the works of any black American writers they could lay their hands on and discussing ideas, which would coalesce in the formation of the Black Consciousness (BC) Movement. Describing those times, Mamphele Ramphele wrote "we used to have parties on weekends at which we drank beer and sat around in the smoke-filled room of one of the members of the group talking politics, listening to Malcolm X's speeches on tape as well as those of Martin Luther King, discussing banned books which were secretly circulated amongst friends."[72] The isolation of black students from the main campus worked in their favour and emphasised the way in which the separation of races emphasised some of the fundamental contradictions of apartheid.

The attempt at preventing the 'infection' of the thinking of white children was part of National Party discourse. Vorster's nationalism was always couched in terms of the family. In his first speech as Prime Minister he talked of his responsibility to the

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[69] Ibid., p.142.
[70] BC 586. 03.1 p 2&3 UCT Archive.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Mamphele Ramphele, *A Life* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1995), p.58.

fatherland.[73] His concept of the family, children and their ties is emphasised in Afrikaans society where acquaintances automatically become 'oom' and 'tannie.'[74] Hierarchy within the family structure confers respect and structure. The threat of youth in the 1960s was to the core values of the family, and by extension the fatherland.

The other strand of significance within this narrative was the real racism implied in the assumption that blacks simply lacked the ability to organise or think for themselves. Like white students, they were to be kept safe from outside ideas. This was particularly evident at the 'tribal universities' which were off limits to virtually everyone excepting lecturers and students. No matter how hard the state tried to keep out malevolent forces the spirit of the 1960s filtered in. Even singers as mainstream as Dusty Springfield were deported from South Africa for performing in front of multi-racial audiences,[75] whilst Adam Faith cut his tour of the country short because of restrictions on the composition of the audience. Even though the removal of such threats occurred, it was impossible to stop the importation of books and music from abroad.

Music was available on records and the press reported on events abroad. South African youth were becoming increasingly aware of the changes in lifestyle, values and ideas abroad. They were reading of the changes and starting to interpret them in their own environment. The appeal was self-evident. Monica Fairall described it as "the sense that there were people wanting to replace a value system that they found unacceptable with something new. I was certainly aware of that and the sexual revolution."[76] The impact through the 1960s was relatively small and slow, and distance and containment undoubtedly had an impact, but the eagerness to absorb anything from abroad and to re-emphasise the connections between local and international youth was always apparent.

The 1966 visit of Robert Kennedy at the invitation of NUSAS was a small but significant turning point in the shift of focus from the failure of the early student movements in the 1960s to what was happening abroad. NUSAS had initially tried to invite Martin Luther King, knowing that his arrival would make a huge impact, but the denial of a visa prevented that plan. Instead Robert Kennedy was invited. The state appears to have been seriously displeased by this, and three weeks before Kennedy was due to arrive in South Africa, they banned Ian Robertson, the then president of NUSAS.[77]

At the public level, Kennedy's visit came at a time when student direction and involvement was mainly on the defensive. The absence of constructive leadership was

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[73] References to 'the fatherland' were popular amongst National Party senators and the lack of respect for the 'fatherland' frequently appears in their criticisms of English-speaking students.
[74] Oom=uncle and Tannie=aunty
[75] *Natal Mercury,* January 1966
[76] Monica Fairall, interview, Durban, 31 March 2008.
[77] J. Daniels, who succeeded Robertson as President, reports that Robertson was delighted at the banning as it not only focused attention on the event, but on a personal level it opened the way for Robertson abroad and gave him political credibility and access to important universities abroad. This was the careerist side of student politics which dwindled in the 1970s as white student leaders became increasingly suspect and criticized for being compromised by their participation within the system of apartheid. Robertson left for Harvard shortly after Kennedy's visit.

palpable and had resulted in the emergence of alternative organisations. The formation of the South African Volunteer Service (SAVS) in April 1966 was a pro-active response to the endless dilemma posed by the political orientation of NUSAS leadership. SAVS was in part inspired by the Peace Corps in the USA and focussed on action as opposed to theory. It called on volunteers to "develop the spirit of working in the South African community."[78] It appealed to students who wanted to see results and who were impatient with political theorising and posturing. The organisation's activities however were only permitted in neighbouring countries and consisted mainly in the building of schools and clinics in poor communities. Their actions emphasise the non-reflective and liberal focus of student interpretations of apartheid.

Although students were neither well resourced nor particularly professional in their organisation the visit of Robert Kennedy was a huge success. A measure of the political distance between South African and American students lay in their ignorance of the more critical attitude of American students to the Kennedy family. The Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba had driven a wedge between the liberals and the Left and "it had become clear that the Kennedy administration was not just about the New Frontier, the Peace Corps and the race to the moon."[79] It was this kind of ignorance of political detail that distance and a paucity of detailed information resulted in. It meant however that when Kennedy spoke to South African students his words would be embraced.

"I come here because of my deep interest and affection for a land settled by the Dutch in the mid-seventeenth century, then taken over by the British, and at last independent; a land in which the native inhabitants were at first subdued, but relations with whom remain a problem to this day; a land which defined itself on a hostile frontier; a land which has tamed rich natural resources through the energetic application of modern technology; a land which once imported slaves, and now must struggle to wipe out the last traces of that former bondage.
I refer, of course, to the United States of America."[80]

Kennedy by cleverly highlighting the similarities between the USA and SA offered the kind of optimistic connection that was so important to English-speakers who were struggling with their own sense of identity and belonging. His speech went on to emphasise the importance of youth and its values. It was these themes that students resonated with. He suggested a role and importance to youth that made it seem as though they belonged to a new global tribe of young people seeking truth and justice for all. John Daniels summed up the impact of the speech when he wrote "He gave us a clear and unequivocal endorsement that our hopes and ideals were part and parcel of the great traditions of the contemporary western world and not as we are so often told, something alien, unwholesome, unpatriotic or treasonable."[81]

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[78] *Wits Student*, 22 April 1966.
[79] Mark Kurlansky, *1968 the Year that Rocked the World* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p.166.
[80] Day of Affirmation Speech. University of Cape Town. June 6 1966. UCT Archive.
[81] BC 586 F4. UCT Archive.

<u>A Shared Language</u>:

The feeling of belonging to something that was identifiable and indeed encouraged was important given the growing spread of global youth culture. Youth was not only becoming an identifiable market, but products aimed specifically at it were growing in number and variety. The most portable and direct carrier of the new ideas lay in the music. From 1965 on the pace of change in popular music abroad shifted as pop singers were increasingly introduced to LSD and the first reference to 'hippies' appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner*. America was moving from folk music with its emphasis and support on the anti-segregation movement to electronic music personal exploration and resistance to the war in Vietnam.

South African youth were not moving at the same speed and folk music, which brought the ideals of the anti-segregationist movement with it, dominated the local concert scene. Students met in clubs and small venues and listened to performances from a small but popular group of folk singers including Keith Blundell, Des Lindberg, Mel Miller, Ritchie Morris and Colin Shamley. The music reinforced the sense that they belonged to the world and shared responses to similar issues. Despite the insistence of the state that they were mere children, they persisted in the belief that if they behaved as responsible and mature citizens they would make their point. The imaginary impasse is notable because of the lack of interaction between black and white and English and Afrikaner resulted in the substitution of imaginary tropes. Blacks were permanently oppressed and miserable in white minds, Afrikaans-speaking people were all conservative fascists and English-speaking youth were all weak willed and uncontrolled children in the eyes of the Afrikaans establishment. The mutual ignorance was profound.[82]

Young English-speaking students were drawn to folk music out of choice, desire for an identity that was international, and a need to reinforce their values and beliefs. The folk music that they listened to was a direct import from the USA and to a lesser degree music from the UK. The lineage of the folk movement reinforced its identification with the common people and the young. Woody Guthrie, who was a product of the dustbowl generation in the USA, was a singer songwriter who had written songs of belonging, of the virtue of work and simple, honest values: "Work is a funny thing. It's the best thing in the world. It's the only religion that's worth a pinch of snuff. Good work and good rest."[83] Pete Seeger who followed in his footsteps, wrote of how Woody threw in his lot with the labour movement whilst his opposition to war expressed itself in lyrics that applied to any modern war:

Why do your warships sail on my waters?
Why do your bombs drop down from my sky?

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[82] These stereotypes persisted and a revealing letter from Neville Curtis to a critical letter from J.G. Kopke dated 19 March 1971 captures the ahistorical foundations of stereotypes mixed with a sense of guilt. "You will reflect that until the time of Chaka, the cultural heritage of the 'Bantu' was of peaceful pastoralism and that it was only our white ancestors with their 2000 year old tradition of killing, arrived on the scene that murder became part of South Africa's traditional way of life." NUSAS papers. BC 586 n13. UCT Archive.
[83] Woody Guthrie, *Bound For Glory* (London: Picador, 1974), p. 150.

Why do you burn towns and cities?
I want to know why, yes, I want to know why?[84]

For Bob Dylan, Guthrie was the man who led him to understand that music could express ideas and values. His song "Masters of War" echoes Guthrie's song and suggests the musical genealogy of the folk movement whose sentiments resonated amongst a generation opposed to war.

Come you masters of war
You that build all the guns
You that build the death planes
You that build all the bombs
You that hide behind walls
You that hide behind desks
I just want you to know
I can see through your masks.[85]

Dylan was the musician who communicated the folk movement to the generation of the 1960s, whereas Guthrie and Seeger spoke to the 1950s Beat generation who were the progenitors of the 1960s. The power of the lyrics was that they expressed the feelings of young people who had grown up in the Cold War and who had listened to their parent's stories about the Second World War and its destruction and waste.

Whether it was youth in Germany filled with guilt and disgust at their parents participation in Nazism, or American youth learning of the destructive power of the nuclear bomb at Hiroshima, there was a collective inherited guilt and horror that such dreadful deeds had been committed by their parents and in their name. It was the realisation that it had not ended, that war, hatred, destruction and greed persisted that made the songs and what they represented so important. The lyrics simplified issues. One did not have to have studied philosophy to understand the world they referred to. The clarity amplified their appeal.

In South Africa the folk movement was present in all major cities and carried the same messages. Folk concerts were held and America's Newport folk festival inspired the South African National Folk Song Festival held at Meredale Resort, south of Johannesburg. In 1966 the second such festival was held there from Sept 3-10. Dave Marks, who performed there, recalled how after his performance he had to return to work his shift underground as a miner. It was this unusual connection to a lifestyle that carried all the romance implicit in the folk movement that gave figures like Marks, credibility. Marks had grown up in a liberal home with a stepfather of Greek origin. His sister's godfather was George Bizos[86] and Marks had been exposed via the Greek community

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[84] Ibid., p.8.

[85] Bob Dylan, "Masters of War," on *The FreeWheeling Bob Dylan,* May 1963. LP.

[86] George Bizos a South African lawyer of Greek birth, acted on behalf of a number of prominent anti-apartheid activists throughout the years of apartheid. He accepted cases that most other lawyers considered far too dangerous to take on.

and his home to criticism of the National Party and apartheid. His participation in the South African folk movement followed his exposure, like so many young men at the time to the excitement and potential that possession of a guitar promised.

Performances of folk music were popular even though they also had an almost Sunday school element. The theme 'Our family of Man' at the Wits Folk Song Festival Show held in September 1966 employed slides to illustrate the theme representing an early attempt to link music and images, but the show suffered from poor production. This was a besetting problem in South Africa and increased the widespread sense that South Africa was second rate.[87] Dave Marks song "Mountains of Men," sung by Des Lindberg was considered to be the only song sung that was worthy of a place in a South African Folk song Festival.[88] Such concerts were regular events on campuses countrywide with Des Lindberg a particular stalwart at such events. Songs featured covered everything from traditional folk "Galway Bay" to Dylan's "Blowing in the Wind." The theme of the common man, the folk hero was redolent with a sense of sympathising with the poor and marginalized. The sense of injustice based on race meant that there was as yet no attempt to interrogate the causes of poverty. Students were marching in the same way that the anti-segregation movement had marched in the American south. Their responses seemed to be almost ritualistic events where students would march and protest but always with great decorum. When the African Night Schools were closed in 1966 and students were no longer allowed to offer extra tuition to black workers seeking further education because they were doing so in a whites only area, students failed to grasp that the liberal values they persisted in espousing were increasingly tenuous theoretical constructs.

Challenges, Charity and Change:

The detention of two UN students under the 180 day detention clause, saw more than 1,000 students in Durban dressed in their academic gowns, marching to SB headquarters to express their anger. The head of the SRC, Glenn Cowley declared at the meeting preceding the march, "We as progressive thinkers must re-affirm our stand by our individual rights and freedom, no matter what may happen."[89] Robin Margo, head of the SRC at Wits led a motion before a gathering of 1,000 students that affirmed the right of the university and students to "non-racialism, to the right to enquire into the complex problems that face the Republic and the unprejudiced pursuit of truth."[90]

The NUSAS representatives were envious of the events in Natal, but apart from marching sedately in groups of four at 15 to 20 paces apart, so as not to transgress municipal bye-laws, students carried a liberal obsession with ideals and values that were almost completely ignored. They were operating within the argument presented by Leo Marquard, which was "that if academic values are destroyed the whole purpose of

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[87] There was always the belief that South African cultural expressions were 'second rate'. This perception underscored the importance and influence of the metropole as the ultimate bearer of standards.
[88] *Wits Student*, 23 September 1966.
[89] *Wits Student*, 22 April 1966.
[90] *Wits student*, 22 April 1966.

universities is destroyed."[91] They were not yet examining the purpose of their education, because they were focused on the liberal concept of freedom within educational institutions, as such the institution had not yet come into question. They appear to have had a fundamental inability to understand that the government took them very seriously. Waggish jokes like those of Robin Margo's that when Vorster claimed he was not a fascist, it was not for want of trying, whilst amusing, captured the levity with which they viewed the government. Humour aside, the inability to see South Africa's problems as anything but racial at core, kept the focus on race.

Whilst ideas from the United States had a warm feeling of identity and solidarity particularly around segregation, America was already moving away from that focus. The folk movement was changing and students were focussing increasingly on the growing involvement of America in the Vietnam War. The belief that "only when America's middle-class children were taking life-threatening risks would their parents at last listen and react against the treatment that had gone on against black for decades"[92] had not occurred. The concern was rather with the threat of their children being killed in Vietnam.

Black Americans whilst not totally abandoned, were being obliged to fight their own struggle, and in the process were increasingly disenchanted with white co-workers and sympathisers. As radical writings emerged and black power grew, race and segregation lost its "we shall overcome" folksy approach and moved away from the control and interference of well–meaning whites. Nina Simone's song, "Mississippi Goddam*"* expressed the sentiments succinctly:

Don't tell me, I'll tell you
Me and my people just about due
I've been there so I know
Keep on sayin' "Go Slow"

But that's just the trouble,
Washin' the windows, pickin' the cotton
You just plain rotten
You too damn lazy, your thinking's crazy

Oh, this whole country' full of lies
Y'all gonna die like flies
I don't trust you anymore
When you keep sayin' "Go Slow, go slow."[93]

South African white youth had even less experience than their American counterparts of working with blacks at any level. Their views were patronising and illustrated a genuine lack of knowledge of black South Africans. When the black groups Sponono and

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[91] *Cape Times*, 17 September 1963.
[92] Tom Hayden, op.cit., p.116.
[93] Nina Simone, "Mississippi Goddam" Sam Fox Publishing Co. 1964. LP.

Malombo[94] performed at the Great Hall at Wits in May 1966, Ruth Swersky wrote "the show may not have been sufficiently 'ethnic' for some, for the costumes ranged from loincloths to helenca stovepipes" she concluded "we cannot analytically push African music back to its isolated origins-that would be unrealistic and artistically retrogressive."[95]

Malombo and Sponono were early exponents of a new kind of South African black music that paralleled the emergence of Black Consciousness. Wits was one of the few performance arenas open to them. It represented one of the many anomalies of the time. Black culture was distant despite its presence, and even performing at Wits did not seem to shift the unconscious patronising tone. The belief within the liberal paradigm that doing good would bring change was emphasised at the time by the organisation of SAVS and the continuation of Witsco,[96] a medical clinic staffed by Wits Medical students who provided the only medical service in the coloured area of Riverlea. Started in 1964, Witsco was premised on the belief that "students are in a unique position to diagnose and act upon the failures of the services in their community."[97]

Students impatient for change saw organisations like Witsco as opportunities to 'get on' with changing society. They did not see the world except from the top down. They had no ability or experience that could lead them to understand how demeaning and patronising their activities could be viewed. In that sense they were no different from their white American counterparts. John Kane Berman writing in 1966 about the American Student Movement stated "At Harvard last year… nearly one thousand students volunteered to assist in educational and hospital programmes; the United States National Student Association estimates that some 70,000 students are involved in tutorial projects in urban and rural slums across the country." [98] Like their American counterparts there was a belief that charity and white motivated liberal social activities within the black communities would be welcomed as a means of bringing about change.

The impatience felt by students who chose to join SAVS, Witsco and Kupugani[99] in Natal, was in part a response to the posturing and apparently pointless debates of student political leaders over matters affecting students in South Africa and abroad. This was well illustrated at the 1966 NUSAS congress held at UN, over a motion on Vietnam. The proposed motion read that NUSAS "believed that the perpetuation of the war against the will of the people is indefensible," after much debate the majority of delegates however felt they did not understand the complex situation well enough to form an opinion. In the end they agreed, "this motion be not now put."[100] For students focused on apartheid and their own environment, such debates seemed to be pointless.

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[94] They were the first groups to use indigenous musical instruments and sound within a contemporary group format. They were innovative and musically exciting and did not have a wide following.
[95] *Wits Student*, 6 May 1966.
[96] SAVS = South African Volunteer service, Witsco = Wits community.
[97] *Wits Student*, 18 February 1966.
[98] *Wits Student*, 15 June 1966.
[99] Kupugani was a non-profit co established in 1962 in Natal to provide high protein food to fight malnutrition in SA. Only members could contribute and NUSAS was a member.
[100] *Wits Student*, 29 July 1966.

Even with evidence of such wavering 'liberalistic or communistic' thinking at the main gathering of what were supposed to be the most radical students of all, the government persisted in reading danger at every corner and spent what appeared to be an inordinate amount of time legislating apartheid into the universities. When the UCT SRC refused to recognise the Conservative Students Association at its formation in 1966, because it was not multi-racial, the state responded promptly. The Minister of Education, Senator de Klerk, said he intended to report "the untenable position" at UCT to the Cabinet. He felt himself bound to state that the government would consider putting "an end to the efforts of the unbridled liberalistic Students Council."[101]

The consequence of this incident was the introduction of two University Amendment Bills, which made it even more difficult for blacks to study at white universities, whilst the other bill prevented anyone who practised racial separation from being discriminated against. The latter bill took irony to a new level, but the National Party members were never known for their sense of humour. It was part of the strategy to destroy student leadership and as an added threat they never failed to voice the threat of a withdrawal of university subsidies, which kept administrations docile.

The pattern did not alter and merely grew. When John Sprack, the 1967 President elect of NUSAS, used his British passport to travel to the UK, the state withdrew his South African passport on the grounds that he had failed to "show the undivided loyalty South Africa requires of its citizens."[102] The state was highlighting the trope of disloyal English liberals, another recurring theme. Silencing and removing student leadership worked to the extent that the replacements were usually more conservative as was the case with Robin Margo who replaced Sprack after he was deported. Margo was within the classic liberal paradigm and his appointment as leader of NUSAS had consequences which were the opposite of what the government desired.

At the 1967 NUSAS congress held at Rhodes campus in Grahamstown, the issue of accommodation for all the delegates brought matters between black and white students to a head. Rhodes refused to house all the students in the same residence. Margo proposed as a compromise that whilst blacks and whites slept in separate residences, they should boycott the eating facilities, as they would want to eat together. To liberal whites, unaware of the daily indignities apartheid bred, the solution seemed sensible. Like members of Witsco and SAVS, they believed that progress could be achieved despite, rather than because of, restrictions. They simply failed to understand the fundamental contradiction expressed in Nina Simone's song. To that extent they were true liberals, believing in compromise and good intentions. The recipe had not worked at any point in the past, but they were not discouraged. The irony of Professor Tobias presenting a speech at the same congress debunking apartheid, for which he received a standing ovation, was simply lost on delegates.

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[101] *Wits Student*, 12 August 1966.
[102] *Wits Student*, 12 October 1967.

The most significant event at the conference was the decision taken by black students under the leadership of Steve Biko, to walk out of the conference. It acted as the catalyst to profound change in the relationship between black and white students and was to shape student responses in the 1970s. The issue of providing accommodation for black delegates was one with a long history at NUSAS conferences but it was the failure to understand that it symbolised so much about liberal white values that resulted in the walkout. NUSAS leadership had failed to understand the core issues that black students were affected by. Black medical students at UN were housed in old army barracks far from the main campus next to the airport and an oil refinery. "We were told as soon as we began our academic studies that Howard College campus with all its facilities, academic and sporting was out of bounds for us."[103] It was the sense of exclusion, of being there exclusively on white terms that white students failed to grasp. NUSAS leadership did not appear to react to the walkout or to understand the radical parting of the ways that it represented, nor did it provoke the kind of mass action that events of far less significance provoked abroad. The initiative that the early 60s students took had changed into a gradualism that was at odds with the spirit of the time. This single event redefined the role of white and black students in the following decade, but the fact that it happened owed much to the failure of white students political involvement in the early 1960s. Their actions had neutralised and inhibited students throughout the decade.

Conclusion:

Adrien Leftwich's legacy was a lasting one for the student movement. It not only resulted in prison and exile for individuals who had trusted him as a co-conspirator, but it led to an unrelenting government focus on the student movement. The over-reaction of the government throughout this decade is partially explained by the fact that ARM happened at the beginning of B.J. Vorster's senior political career. Acts of sabotage had occurred whilst he was allegedly in charge as Minister of Justice, and he was determined they would never happen again. He never stopped referring threateningly to NUSAS and English students throughout his years in power and he also never stopped referring to Leftwich. He was astute enough to understand that English-speaking left-wing activists underestimated Afrikaners, but not astute enough to grasp it was mutual. His over-reaction to students gave the initial impetus to support for NUSAS, whilst he failed to understand that far more fundamental change was already happening at a cultural level. In a curious irony all the fears of infection from abroad, the desire to stamp out anything before it happened, seemed to be fuelled by these responses.[104] It was precisely these influences, which would result in greater radicalism, but the focus on the political obscured what was really happening. The shift in students from gradualism to a greater radicalism came as a result of changes that were happening at a cultural level.

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[103] Professor Soromini Kallichurum, Speech at 50th Anniversary Banquet, Nelson R.Mandela School of Medicine, University of Natal, 29 July 2000.
[104] Ironically, J.Edgar Hoover, the head of the CIA in the USA in the 1960s shared the same assumption. According to him most significant student disturbances were caused by outside influences. Tom Hayden op.cit.p.xviii

The isolation of South African students and the belief that the battle within the universities was essentially over their right to maintain a free and independent voice, climaxed in the failure of young liberals to understand the depth of resentment and anger that young black students experienced. The split between black and white in the student movement in South Africa, although similar to that in the USA, came out of different circumstances and had very different consequences. It is these factors that further help to expand on the theme of what was unique and particular to the South African student movement, and the reason that the counterculture found expression in ways that were adapted to a society where race was foregrounded.

The student movement abroad had evolved from its early engagement with the anti-segregation movement in the USA to wholesale rejection of America, the war in Vietnam and capitalism. Students abroad had been exposed to unimaginable levels of freedom compared to South Africans, and it showed in their far greater absorption and understanding of the New Left. They had not encountered any serious resistance from the state to their activities, and even though heavily monitored by the CIA, they were not threatened with a phalanx of restrictive and punitive laws. Their understanding of the power of the media had led to their understanding that publicity could help spread their message "We want to fuck up their image on TV. It's all in terms of disrupting the image, the image of a democratic society being run very peacefully and orderly and everything according to business."[105] Their development into a powerful student voice grew in volume and intensity through the 1960s whereas the South African experience was almost in reverse.

The absence of television represented a critical difference between South Africa and elsewhere, and resulted in a time lag, which delayed the impact of events abroad on South African students. Not experiencing the power of television meant that students had no way of being seen by the broader public except in terms mediated by the press. It was difficult for them to engage with the public in publicising their messages. Whereas American parents did not enjoy seeing their children being beaten up by the police and could exercise their right to condemn such activity, South African parents were at a distance from such events. This meant that the relationship between students and the government was not mediated and even more uneven for lack of third party input. The persistent desire to appease authority, which led to the critical break between white and black students, was a failure on the part of student leadership to grasp opportunities. The significance of the counterculture lay in its expansion beyond the purely political, and it was here that students found an opportunity to sidestep the increasingly fraught world of direct political engagement. The appeal of cultural change as a response to the restrictive relationship to power and the need to find an alternative identity are themes that are taken up in the following chapter.

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[105] Abbie Hoffman quoted in Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year That Rocked the World* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p.284.

Chapter 5

'The personal is political'

'Something's happening here and you don't know what it is, do you Mr Jones?'[1]

Cultural studies have permitted a broader understanding of the role of cultural activity in expressing social divergence and change.[2] One of the consequences of the counterculture was that it accommodated cultural difference. Culture itself became fragmented, diverse and expressive of multiple identities and responses. The process of it becoming an expression of difference and diversity was critical amongst Anglophone youth who found a key to alternative expression and discourse, which direct political action could not accommodate. Music, it is argued here, was one of the primary carriers of new ideas and expression. Its role and meaning in different societies is as varied as the societies themselves, but what is of interest here was the specific way in which it was not only created but also consumed by Anglophone students.

The argument that "music has meaning through its role in the ongoing life of a society"[3] is explored within the context of the cultural changes experienced by students and crystallised in the works and life of Colin Shamley, a popular folk musician of the period. The chapter is also concerned with the way in which the counterculture was absorbed and translated into different cultural milieus in student circles and the way it amplified concepts of identity, belonging and motivation for action. The direct way in which May 1968 influenced the sit-ins and teach-ins that followed in the wake of the Mafeje affair, is presented as an obvious example of the impact of student actions abroad. It is suggested that the cultural predisposition to emulate foreign students was a product of the sharing of new ideas and perceptions in all spheres. The evidence of music such as Shamley's suggested that the difference between some of the ideas of South African English-speaking students and youth abroad was not that great, what was different was the social context which had such a profound impact on the way the new ideas were expressed.

Expanding Horizons:

Whilst the government was hemming in political expression and apparently succeeding in moderating the activities of English-speaking students, it was merely holding down the lid. The plan to destroy student leadership had brought to the surface the last remnants of the careerist moderate students, who believed in compromise and ideals. Robin Margo had left for Oxford, which has always been the pinnacle of achievement for intellectually bright, metropolitan-oriented students.[4] A new generation of returning South African

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[1] Bob Dylan. "Ballad of a Thin Man," on *Highway 61 Revisited*. 1965. LP.
[2] Simon During, *The Cultural Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1993).
[3] Theodore Gracyk, *I wanna be me:Rock Music and the Politics of Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), p.133.
[4] Whilst Oxbridge has never lost its allure, the difference in the 1960s was that a political track record was a positive virtue which assisted students in gaining entry.

academics were starting to appear on campuses bringing with them the intellectual discourses of the New Left and the beginning of a radical reappraisal of South African historiography.

It was these individuals as well as students who had been exposed to what was happening abroad whether through reading about student movements and ideas or through travel, that was changing the discourses amongst young people. This was slightly but not completely below the radar of the security police, who by contextualising students purely in a potentially politically disruptive role, failed to grasp that the essence of the 1960s revolution lay in the counterculture and what it represented in the form of values and lifestyles. The government did use security branch personnel to monitor musicians and writers[5] and at that level cannot be accused of having been blind to the effects of cultural change. However what they really did not grasp was that the levels of detachment amongst English-speaking youth were such that they could and did grasp cultural expressions that undermined the dominant ideology. The fact that they did not go out and actively rebel was a separate issue, but the attempt by the government to police thought failed from its inception because the culture of detachment and criticism was rooted in the history of immigration and some Anglophone schools in South Africa.

The huge expansion that was taking place in the Humanities had created a student body with both time and interest for extra-curricular exploration. At universities across Europe, the UK and USA, it was mainly arts students who led the youth movement. The critical factor however, was that the groups were proportional to the size of the campuses they were on. A standard observation in all the research on this period is the relative consistency in the size and number of students devoted to leading and working in a political realm. Whilst they could draw on support from the student body, and at critical times that is what they did, in essence the numbers who were active representatives of SDS or French students interest groups was never large.[6] The same was true of South Africa. The mistake the government made in assuming that students were really children, was in failing to understand that a far more profound and long-lasting change was happening amongst less politically-focussed students. The one-dimensional view of students meant that no matter how hard the government tried to contain the impact of new ideas, it ultimately failed.

The message about involvement at a political level had been grasped. Students were intimidated and many chose to heed the warnings. Several interviewees described how they had been approached by members of the SB who told them they knew where they lived, who they went out with and every detail of their lives and, if they really valued their freedom, they should be aware of this. The result was that many students held back from overt involvement in politics. The SB was remarkably blatant and fear was always

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[5] Dave Marks writes of Security Police Warrant Officer Paul Erasmus who was sent to monitor Roger Lucey's music in the 1980s. The evidence of widespread intimidation and control in the South African music industry is evident from the lack of airplay local musicians experienced, nevertheless the folk clubs, private venues and support of students ensured an audience albeit a small one, for musicians.
[6] R.Fraser suggests the percentage of the student body "genuinely concerned with democratic purposes" was usually 9%. R Fraser et al., *1968: A student generation in revolt* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1988), p.48.

an issue for students. The overt threats forced them to confront their beliefs and ideas and many came to the conclusion that they were not ready to be political martyrs. Those who were aware of what had happened to members of ARM knew the price that students had paid in personal terms. "The whole episode made a profound impact on me, as it did to many others of my generation, serving as a sober warning of the consequences of badly conceived political strategies."[7]

Students were exploring their own options and coming to terms with the freedom that university life offered. On the one hand they were being told that they were young adults choosing careers and lifestyles, whilst on the other hand they were being told that as whites they had privileges they should feel guilty about, and any attempt on their part to challenge their privilege would carry a very high personal price. They were also told that they were not "our children"[8] which was a relief, as their eyes were firmly focused on their peers abroad. To find out what they were thinking and exploring, musical discourse provides some of the answers. Dylan claimed that "if you want to find out anything that's happening, you have to listen to the music," which he pointed out differed from earlier decades when music did not carry the ideological and social concerns of a generation.[9]

Music was the most direct medium and although many of the folk singers such as Des Lindberg[10] were mainly singing covers of composers like Dylan, there were a few who were trying to emulate his example in a more original way. These were singers who were taking the language of folk music and using it to explore the South African environment. One such singer songwriter, Colin Shamley, who had a large and devoted following in clubs and at concerts, earned his following because of his accord with his audience. It was refreshing to have someone perform songs that were original and which described a recognisable world. The reason Shamley could write such resonant lyrics was because his life and experiences carried so many of the major discourses of the time. It helps to explain some of the strands of interest and development shared by his generation. The one area he differed in, and which gave him some perspective on South Africa, was that he did not spend all his formative years in South Africa.

A Folk Minstrel of the 1960s:

Shamley's life history allows one to explore issues around identity in a storied way and also unfolds some of the central concepts of identity. One of the key reasons for choosing him was the fact that he appears to have never realized his full potential. The barriers to his life whether external or self imposed were shared by many Anglophone youth of this period, and this makes him interesting for what he represents about privilege, boundaries created by privilege, and the questioning and shifting directions he explored in examining his identity founded on sixties values. Shamley also represents close adherence to most of the values and ideals of the 1960s, which were shared across the globe. Richard Mills

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[7] Eddie Webster, "Rebels with a cause of their own" *Transformation*, 59, (2005), p.100.

[8] Vorster regularly referred to Anglophone youth as "not children of my people." *Cape Argus*, 4 June 1965.

[9] Craig MacGregor, ed., *Bob Dylan. A Retrospective* (London: Picador, 1975), pp. 67-68.

[10] Des Lindberg is a South African folk singer who later married Dawn Silverberg. The two became known as the folk duo Des & Dawn. They continue to be involved in entertainment.

study on hippies, identified two persistent themes, which have proved to be enduring. These were the belief that the dominant society was not real and only the detached outsider could perceive what was real which linked to the second persistent dominant theme, namely detachment from society.[11]

At a political level, Colin Shamley accorded with liberals who predicted dire consequences for the country's history of misrule and racial exclusion. In this sense he represents the thinking of students in the 1960s who still believed that apartheid could be criticized using principled arguments. These were the values that Black Consciousness rejected seeing only patronizing and limiting attitudes emerging from the genuinely felt white guilt. Shamley himself the product of a colonial background, represents an archetypal traveling folk singer, exactly the kind of person the 1960s folk audience desired – a genuine troubadour- in an age when the romance of a troubadour was increasingly threatened by electronic music and all that it implied. Shamley's live performances were far more outspoken than the recorded versions, and so a great deal of what made him popular in coffee bars and clubs has been lost.

He currently lives on a farm called Nebo in the Free State, where he is writing his autobiography. The latter occupation is a recurring theme amongst individuals I interviewed and suggests that many of them require some validation for their lives, which the process of writing might confer. It also had repercussions in narratives, which whilst helpful, were always been guarded at some level.[12] The farm carries the spirit of the 1960s in its theme of escape to nature and living off the land, and the discord and confusion generated by places that do not generate an income. It was initially supposed to become a communal living space. The experiment did not prosper and the farm has recently been bought up by a group of individuals who are trying to find ways to make the farm a paying proposition. Colin was already living on the farm when the change in ownership occurred and stays there in a type of grace and favour relationship. He lives very simply, has a ramshackle car outside his cottage and appears to be in relatively poor health. But the "fucking doctors don't know what's wrong."[13]

His language whilst not strictly of his era, retains the use of slang as a way of creating boundaries and descriptive values that immediately separate him from apparently more conventional people. People 'rap', instead of talk, they are 'folk' rather than people and their brain cells are 'beads.' The life of the troubadour has been one of choice and compulsion for him. Like so many of his generation he has always lived on the sidelines, neither involved nor accepting the society of which he is a part. He lived and continues to live on the margins guided by a personal philosophy of relative liberalism and disinterest, "My cause, if I ever consciously had one, was a humanitarian (or humanist take your pick) one that happened to cross the political line. I didn't want a political organization to

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[11] Richard Mills, *Young Outsiders: A study of alternative communities* (London: Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1973).

[12] Dave Marks and Michael Green inadvertently admitted that they withheld certain information, as they wanted to write about certain subjects themselves.

[13] Colin Shamley, interview, Nebo Farm, Eastern Free State, 11 April 2008.

echo my views. I had my guitar and I could make observations heard. I felt, that the moment an artist endorses any political point of view he takes on baggage and loses a bit of his song."[14]

His family left South Africa for Malawi when he was three years old. His family was of Lebanese, Irish origin with Catholicism as their nominal religious home. His father had fought in WWII but "would not stay here (SA). He said the cops looked like Nazi's… My father was bush happy." When Shamley senior's health declined the family returned to South Africa. For Shamley the time in Malawi was a time of anger. He did not have a good relationship with his father who he says was "always angry." Shamley's reflects that he spent his entire childhood "just getting away."[15]

Like the young Johnny Clegg, who spent formative years in Zambia, the less restrictive racial laws only became apparent to Shamley when he returned to South Africa and came up against the strictures of apartheid. In the 1950s a remarkable number of young boys were forming small bands emulating the new pop groups signaling the beginning of rock 'n roll. They heard the music on the radio, which made it possible for children in remote Malawi to join in the global craze. Shamley was part of a loose musical group formed by his older brothers. His brother came back from a holiday with a record "I think it was Frankie Lion.The record was "I'm not a juvenile delinquent"[16]and I gobbled it all up. My second eldest brother started a band and I would sing. I was always embarrassed to sing that stuff. I liked the music but not the lyrics." It was only when Shamley returned to South Africa, that he first came across the music of the troubadour/folk singer musicians of the 1960s where lyrical content was almost more important than the music.

He first heard this music after a chance encounter with a young woman at Port Elizabeth (PE) railway station and after moving in with her he became dedicated to his exploration of folk music. Ironically when he first heard Bob Dylan he " hated the music, which (he thought) was fucking awful" but loved the lyrics and "So I just played and played and wrote and wrote." Shamley came to the attention of the security police in PE through a bizarre and naïve route. He played in a little coffee bar called Jojo's located on the ground floor of the Sanlam Centre. This is one of the few high-rise buildings in Port Elizabeth and was part of the concrete block-like architecture that conveyed the ascendancy of Afrikaner capital in the 1950s. Not surprisingly the PE branch of the Security Police had executive suites in the building. Shamley discovered many years later that Jojo's was allegedly used by members of the police as a way of laundering illicit money whilst providing a convenient place for them to keep an eye on any longhaired hippies. It was Shamley's bad luck that he was composing songs about events that he witnessed. "I came out of this pub in PE and these guys were beating up this black dude. He died a couple of days later. I wrote a song about it. I think it was one of the first

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[14] Colin Shamley, " Born Guilty and Other Stories,"
http://www.3rdearmusic.com/hyarchive/hiddenyearsstory/colinshamley.html, p. 14. (accessed 4/15/2008)
[15] The anger expressed by Shamley's father was shared by other interviewees who suggested that their parents had suffered from post-traumatic stress following their experiences in the Second World War. It was not a recognized or treated condition at the time.
[16] It was Frankie Lymon and the Teenagers. The song was a hit in 1956 and was about being a rebel.

times I got their attention." Students and other young people who were not involved with political organizations at the time had little experience of the police, but the idea that they were 'pigs' which was imported from the USA and were 'like heavy' gave a certain street credibility to them, even though they had very little idea of the extent of the surveillance taking place.

After Shamley left Port Elizabeth in 1965 he eventually found his way to Johannesburg. Here he encountered a new and radical group of left-wing students who lived in Hillbrow. The area with its high-rise apartment buildings had been home to a small inter-racial and artistic community since the 1950s, and was renowned for its cosmopolitan atmosphere and late night café's and coffee bars. Despite the strengthening of the apartheid laws and the imposition of rigid and racially exclusive living areas, Hillbrow never quite lived up to the ambitions of rigid segregation. From the early 1960s through to the early 1970s it was the place where most foreign whites arriving on government assisted immigration schemes, were housed. The majority of the immigrants were tradesmen of varying political backgrounds, some of them were refugees from the Eastern bloc countries, others were young working class Europeans hoping to better themselves who had been attracted by guarantees of employment and good wages. The Johannesburg Art School was located at the town end of Hillbrow and students, who saw themselves as avant-garde artists, enjoyed the proximity of coffee houses where they could drink and converse with people of all nationalities. The Troubadour situated in Noord Street, was the most famous musical club of the time, and was the place where all aspirant folk singers wanted to perform[17] Shamley fitted the bill and managed to get gigs there.

Although it was an exciting time musically, the intellectual debates of the mid-1960s were what really attracted him. Not surprisingly he was particularly attracted to the works of R.D. Laing whose own childhood led him to questioning and exploring violence within seemingly normal family relationships. Laing had written, "From the moment of birth, when the stone age baby confronts the twentieth-century mother, the baby is subjected to forces of violence, called love, as its mother and father have been, and their parents and their parents before them. These forces are mainly concerned with destroying most of its potentialities. By the time the new human being is fifteen, we are left with a being like ourselves. A half-crazed creature, more or less adjusted to a mad world. This is normality in our present age."[18] Laing argued that this was the source of false consciousness as suggested by Marcuse and Marx. For him the source of these problems lay within the family. Laing's work dealt with the fine line between sanity and insanity and the way in which regression could sometimes cure seemingly incurable psychological problems such as schizophrenia. In *The Divided Self* he suggested that emotional problems, sadness and violence were most commonly rooted in experiences

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[17] There were Troubadour folk singing clubs in London and New York, but they were not connected in a formal way. They emphasized the importance of the folk tradition in the sixties.
[18] R.D Laing, *The Politics of Experience and The Bird of Paradise* (London: Penguin, 1990), p.50.

within the family.[19] For Shamley, dealing with his own anger and the rage of his father, the appeal of Laing seems self-evident.

Laing's ideas remained fashionable through the 1960s and 70s when the questioning of the safe nuclear family and the pain of parents who had seldom resolved their own childhood and adolescence through the years of the Great Depression and the Second World War, led to a generation who believed that 'keeping a stiff upper lip' was far preferable to 'letting it all hang out.' This healthier alternative was the common response to their parents. Crosby Stills Nash and Young captured the bleakness, which so repelled youth in the following lyrics:

Four and twenty years ago
I come into this life
Son of a woman
And a man who lived in strife.
He was tired of being poor
But he wasn't into selling door to door.
And he worked like the devil to be more. [20]

The idea that one should not compromise in life in order to attain financial security was a focal idea of the discourse of the time. Parents who appeared to have settled for an existence which, focused on the need to generate an income, were held as models of the pointlessness of existence and married life. The lack of rewards for a life spent doing work that was meaningless, was felt to be unacceptable, even if the contradiction between living as comfortable students depended on parents fulfilling their roles as apparently unfulfilled wage earners. The idea that life could have greater meaning, was undercut for some by the existentialist angst expressed by groups like The Doors, whose leader Jim Morrison carried the despair of someone who found life meaningless and questioned the apparently false and pointless limits imposed by a morality based on nothing more than conformity. The other strand that grew out of this lack of purpose was the counterpoint of new age spiritualism which sought a purpose and meaning to life and expressed itself indirectly in lyrics such as "*We are stardust we are golden and we've got to get ourselves back to the garden.*"[21]

In Shamley's case the answer to some of his anger came through his exposure to eastern philosophy in the works of Alan Watts who focused on the spiritual importance of becoming a fully realized individual at one with life and the environment. The writing of the mystically inspired Alan Watts was of great importance to Shamley. Watts explorations of eastern spiritually based philosophy were amongst the first to become more widely available in the west, and his interpretation and role in translating eastern

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[19] Laing's mother reportedly burnt the family's rubbish in the house so that the neighbours would not see the contents – it is not in the least surprising that he had issues around family. Daniel Burston, The *Wing of Madness: The Life and Work of R.D. Laing* (Cambridge.Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008).
[20]Stephen Stills. " 4+20," on *Déjà vu.* Gold Hill Music, Inc., 1970. LP.
[21]Joni Mitchell. "Woodstock*,"* performed by Crosby, Stills and Nash. Siquomb Music, BMI, 1970. LP.

philosophies for western readers was significant.[22] Together with the writing of Laing his ideas were critical in reshaping Shamley's worldview.

Mind-altering drugs also played their part in changing his view of life. The consumption of drugs was part of the social interaction amongst artists in and around Hillbrow. LSD, which had only started to appear in large quantities in the USA in 1966, was not widely available in South Africa at the time and was not as well known as the far more common dagga (marijuana).[23] Amphetamines were easily obtainable as they were available in various diet pills and were used by students who wanted to stay up all night, as well as the growing number of young women who were trying to emulate the English model Twiggy, who was as thin as an inmate at Belsen.[24] Shamley used all of these drugs to which he attributes his changed consciousness.

The new writing, the drugs and the friendships that centered on these practices and the performance of music all contributed to the development of a "new consciousness" for Shamley. Although he was not writing much music he was performing work he had composed as well as cover versions of popular folk singers. When he did write, he focused on more personal statements "because sometimes the personal statement gives someone a good idea of what you're actually talking about."

In his case this led to songs about everything that came into his life. "Judy Marigold," which was about lesbianism, was banned. The song reflected the very personal way Colin interpreted his life in music. He recounts how he himself was shocked at the revelation that his girlfriend's sister was lesbian, but once he thought about it, he realized how unutterably lonely it would be. "I couldn't believe it. I came from a small town until I went to the theatre. It was not like having a black girlfriend but it was just as bad." His song "Stopping Time" was about the bizarreness of the state of South Africa. The lyrics reflected his feeling about how easily one withdrew into a small world away from political action. He had been driving with a friend who wanted to buy dagga when they came across police barricades, which were there to stop student protests. The song captured how easily "you withdraw, you let go. That's what we do,we stop time. We take our minds off things."

Shamley's songs were always personal which was what made them so appealing. They were authentic and interesting, a questing for some sort of reality in the unreality of apartheid as well as personal songs about love, life and confusion. He met Ben Segal, the founder of Third Ear music, who introduced him and fellow musicians to what were then unheard of but important groups such as the folk rock group, the Incredible String Band. Their music had a far greater influence on him than anything he heard locally. Shamley

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[22] Information about Eastern spirituality was available mainly in books sold at a very limited number of esoteric bookshops.

[23] See chapter 7 for more detailed information on drugs and dagga in particular.

[24] The mini-skirts made fashionable in the 1960s exposed women's bodies in new ways. The expansion of the media which was simultaneous with the changes of the 1960s, created a conformist pressure amongst young readers who wanted to look like the models identified as desirable. This issue captured one of the contradictions of the period with its emphasis on greater personal freedom and self honesty, whilst succumbing to the standards and values set by the media.

was not looking for a route into African music. He played with black musicians, but his music did not demonstrate an attempt to cross the borderline between the cultural input he experienced and that of black South Africa. This critical difference between him and musicians of the early 1970s, precisely expresses the difference between the generation of 1960s students who were immersed in liberal guilt but felt themselves to be at one remove from the society they lived in, and the next generation who absorbing the message of the 1960s, came to understand that exploring their world and seeking new ways of crossing boundaries might offer a way of approaching the politically fraught world they lived in.

The fact that music from the USA and UK played such an important role in helping Shamley define his own style corresponds with the experiences of so many young whites in the late 1960s. The 'internationalism' and appeal of music and styles from abroad lay precisely in its non-identification with South Africa. The dislike of what was perceived as Afrikaans popular culture required a counter and that came from abroad. There was hardly any romance with African culture largely because experience and knowledge of it was so limited. It also reflected the absence of any conscious links with black culture. Even though it was right on everyone's doorstep the parts of it that were known were too familiar and yet 'other' for an interest in it to be expressed. Even though blacks lived side by side with whites, they were relatively invisible

This is what makes musicians such an interesting group for this period, because unlike most white young people, they actually knew and were friendly with black musicians. They would play music with them and drive them into the townships, crossing the colour line in ways that were illegal and almost unheard of in the sixties. It made them more aware of apartheid and the damage it was doing to the cultural growth of the country, but their response was not overtly political. "Guys like Allen Kwela would come to Hillbrow and we'd play together and then take him home and get picked up by the police. They'd also insist on taking their white girlfriends with them, As if it wasn't dangerous enough…I used to get upset because a lot of the white people would go over the top when black people were around and it used to irk me."

Even though Shamley probably had a number of black friends at a time when few whites knew any black people, he did not express a desire to emulate their music or to incorporate it into his own style. This locates Shamley alongside the broad group of white students who describe and see themselves as not really having belonged. They talk of South Africa at the time in a disassociative way as a place where they lived and grew up, but were not part of the political dispensation and did not approve of it either. "I've never belonged" is a statement that has come up frequently in interviews as has a sense of distance, of curiosity at finding oneself living as a South African but never recognizing any leadership or political dispensation as one they could identify with. It is both a protective and distancing mechanism, that keeps identity unresolved and free floating. Christopher Hope captures this feeling in his lines "The sense of exile we felt within our own country is something which has never left me. We were a generation who went into exile before we left home."[25]

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[25] Christopher Hope, *White Boy Running* (London: Abacus, 1988), p.92.

Shamley's song "Colonial Man" sums up not only the disassociation but also the sense of fear, frustration and insanity at the possible consequences of apartheid.

Hey Colonial man what's your hurry
Hey Colonial man don't move now
Colonial man you've made your money
Colonial man take a look ahead

Saddle up and ride with me
Through a land that used to be
From the mountains to the sea
You don't have to be afraid of me

Saddle up and ride with me
The blood is on our wagon wheels
Through a land that used to be
From the mountains to the sea
You don't have to be afraid of me

Hey Colonial man look across the river
Colonial man tell me what you see
Colonial man look across the river
Colonial man are you as scared as me.[26]

The first verse of this song covers the anti-establishment views of the 1960s and the idea that capitalism was a negative and destructive economic state. Distaste that so many students had for capitalism and what was perceived as the naked greed that had caused so much of the social breakdown in South Africa. Anti-capitalist ideas were current in the 1960s and were not limited to SA. What makes this a South African idea that links with race, is that it is clearly associated with colonialism. The second theme that the song deals with is that of the environment. In it's original form it was closely linked with anti-capitalist ideas. "The land, in itself, became a key to the communitarian's search for another style of being. It offered a chance to invest himself and adjust his whole physical being to a living environment."[27] Shamley's experience captures the difference between the romance of the back to the earth movement in America, which was the progenitor of the ecology movement, and the detachment of an observer. He described how on his travels "You'd see these farms and these huge dust clouds in the Free State. They'd just plough the fields and leave it." It was these direct experiences, which coincided with broader social awareness. Concern for the environment is seen as one of the lasting legacies of the 1960s and Shamley was novel in the South African context for his early awareness of the environmental impact that greed and rape of the land had caused.

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[26] Colin Shamley. "Colonial Man," on *Born Guilty*, Third Ear Music, 1975. LP. Note the date of release of the song did not necessarily indicate the dates of its earlier live performances.
[27] William Hedgepath, *The Alternative. Communal Life in New America* (London: Collier-Macmillan.Ltd, 1970), p.75.

The link between the two was seen as almost natural and the image of the wagons traveling across the land displacing people through warfare and leaving a trail of blood and environmental degradation was a theme that would grow in less emotive ways through the following decades. Shamley's question about where this history would lead and the fear that it engendered, sums up the widespread liberal conclusion of the time that apartheid if left on its course, would inevitably lead to a violent and destructive future.

Shamley wrote this song in one sitting. He says, "I was wondering how long it would take for change to happen, where it wouldn't have to be that vicious."[28] He added, "It doesn't threaten me." This last comment was interesting because it emphasizes that slight distance and disassociation that many Anglophone students had. They did not necessarily see themselves as colonial nor did they see themselves, as being the one's who were responsible for the political dispensation that had led to apartheid. They did however start to understand once they reached university that they were the beneficiaries of the system and guilt motivated the beginning of a search for a response to the circumstances they had begun to understand. This created a gap in their thinking which was the small area in which new ideas and responses could germinate and it was this critical distance which allowed for a the shift in the 1970s from imitation of the distant imagined community of protesting and disenchanted students to the exploration of a new and as yet undefined identity.

Shamley is an interesting barometer of the decade in the South African context. The fact that he was always pursuing what he saw as his own journey, makes his work more intriguing because that personal focus was an equally strong feature of the decade. Internal questioning, an almost obsessive pursuit of an understanding of personal motives, placement in society and relationships was intensified because of the introspection that the concerns and use of drugs and social interaction led to. The growth in psychology departments globally[29] reflected the growing fascination with an understanding of one's individuality. The obsession of theorists like R.D. Laing who posited the impossibility of fixing on conceptions of self, invaded the wider world of social theorising. Laing's view that no one could ever fully know the self, unleashed the seemingly unanswerable stance that if the self can never be known, how can anything else be stable?

Issues around Identity:

This focus created endless intellectual problems because foregrounding self and then contextualising the individual becomes a continuous contradiction. Theorists like Lacan whose analysis rested on the recognition by the child of itself in the mirror as a definition of the other, seemed to take the step out of the inner into the outer with the accompanying

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[28] All quotes unaccredited in the text are from Shamley are from the interview at Nebo.
[29] In a letter to a disgruntled student published in *Dome*, Professor R.C.Albino, Head of Psychology at UN wrote that they had 700 students in their department. *Dome*, March 27 1969.

questions of "who is that person in the mirror?"[30] The denial by white students of a recognizable self-reflection compounded the issue of identity, which was so removed from the world in which they lived.

Stuart Hall suggests "identities are constituted through, not outside difference."[31] He sees identity evolving through a person defining what they are not. In this context, this would mean that a white singer or student in South in the 1960s would define themselves against a landscape where different language, colours and customs would help them to see what they were not. The 'other' whether black radical or white conservative would tell them who they were not and the negative identity would transform or at least elicit in time a positive identity. This theory has an elegance and degree of validity to it, but it assumes too much and is rather one sided. It assumes one is always seeking identity and is one sided in that it is limited in its references. Even though isolated, Anglophone youth were placing themselves within an international youth movement. They saw themselves as similar to youth in the UK and America. They were not necessarily looking at what they were not, but rather what they were like. The works of Shamley whether exploring the loneliness of lesbians or the insanity of colonial men, were not ones that led to a greater definition of his identity. The capacity to view the society around one and the strictures this might place on behavior does not necessarily create a consciousness of one's own otherness.

In essence 'otherness' as a concept, whilst very useful, is inadequate because it fails to offer alternatives to complex choices which signify different values and resolutions and, because it assumes a perception of otherness which might well not exist in the form that it implies. The consistent theme of personal life history is the complexities posed and pursued in individual lives in response to their personal and social landscape. The moment one reduces this to the kind of elegant theories surrounding identity the important nuances disappear.

Althusser in his insistence that every one of us writing and linking within a pre-existing and constituted ideological framework of which we are a subject, suggests that we are inescapably controlled by both the visible and invisible ideological constraints and social structures of that framework.[32] In his theory, contradictions between the structures are the main source of potential dissolution of any system. Even our desire to stand outside of our subjective ideological stance, is limited by our placement within an ideology. He suggests in a broad sense that identity is only a reflection of both the visible and invisible ideological constraints dominating social relations.

As with Hall, this is true in the sense that a greater awareness of race would attach to anyone growing up in a racially defined society, but it fails to allow for example, the difference Shamley perceived when he experienced a different set of race relations in Malawi. It was that experience that gave him a perspective on the inhumanity and

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[30] Jacques Lacan, "The Mirror Stage" eds. Paul du Gay, Jessica Evans and Peter Redman, *Identity a Reader* (London: Sage Publications, 2003)
[31] Ibid., p.17.
[32] Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971).

absurdity of apartheid, which meant that he never was completely defined by the ideological constraints of the society he was born into. It was neither natural nor normal to him. His understanding and communication of what he saw was interpreted in his lyrics, and these were heard by those living within the system. The question that this raises, if someone does step outside of an ideological structure, is Althusser suggesting that one can never step far enough? If that is the case, why is it that revolutionaries emerge?

In terms of identity, the fact that someone recognizes the failings or contradictions within a system, does not necessarily lead them to doing anything about it, but one cannot read that as a sign that people are unaware of contradictions or limitations. Implicit in all the assumptions about identity and ideology is that once someone is aware of wrong or the fact that they do not accept the system they live in, they will react. There is no reason to assume anything of the sort. Equally, should they react, the reaction might not take any predictable form. The fact that music and its impact is clear yet beyond measurement is an example of this. Shamley was to some extent outside of the given society and capable of recognizing its limitations, but his response was through his music and within a broader political paradigm of the time. To conclude that he was incapable of escaping his identity and recognizing the ideological constraints he operated within, suggests the implicit tension in such ideas about identity and how it is formed.

It was as Shamley suggested the sense that lyrics could do so much that led him on his troubadour career. The fact that it was Bob Dylan who set him off on his path, highlights the connections that were made possible by the development of new and affordable technology, the antithesis of the folk ideal.[33] It was that technology and its implications for change that created the uneasy relationship of 1960s youth with capitalism. On the one hand they enjoyed the products but found the price unacceptable.

Capitalism, War and Alternatives:

The question and answer as to why this decade bred so many young people who were critical of capitalism lies partially in the Vietnam War. This war fought ostensibly to keep communism from spreading into southern Vietnam was more honestly explained by President Eisenhower who had stated in 1953: "Let us assume we lose Indo-China…The tin and tungsten we so greatly value from that area would cease coming…So when the United States votes 400 million dollars to help that war, we are not voting a give-away program. We are voting for the cheapest way (to protect)…our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia."[34]

Students in the 1960s were not necessarily aware of Eisenhower's explanation of America's reasons for becoming involved in Vietnam, because by the 1960s Presidents

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[33] When Bob Dylan appeared at the 1966 Newport Folk Festival and played an electric guitar he was booed and criticized by the audience. They failed to understand the potential of electronic music and its appeal to a musician of the calibre of Bob Dylan.

[34] David Caute, *Sixty-Eight:The Year of the Barricades* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988), p.4.

were more discreet. However there was an understanding that the war was wrong, that it was destroying the lives of thousands of young Americans, not to mention Vietnamese, and it was being conducted in the name of freedom and capitalism. A central question of the time was "why?" As young people explored alternative consciousness via drugs and the growing interest in eastern spirituality, there was a concomitant rejection of the materialism of capitalism and the west. This made the concept of another order, one where sharing, simplicity, living in harmony with others, desirable. The idea that in order to have two cars, two and a half children and endless appliances, young people had to be killed was anathema. The fact that so many young people had grown up in what they perceived to have been dysfunctional and fundamentally unhappy families, made the purpose of pursuing these values even more pointless.

This made the appeal of left-wing theories so much more powerful. The concept of a nuclear family with its selfish concerns seemed the antithesis of a society based on community and sharing. Ideas emerging around psychology, morality, social organization and technology fed the need for a new view of the world. Whether it was the work of Herbert Marcuse or Marshall Mcluhan, these thinkers struck a chord with young readers. Jonathan Miller criticizes Mcluhan as having assumed the "stance of a sophisticated Luddite,"[35] but it was that contradictory mix that held so much attraction. The romanticism of such historical simplification was powerful. Vietnam was the first TV war and the first and last one where the press had virtually unlimited access to the areas of conflict. It was the first unedited war, and it invaded American homes daily.[36] No other war before or since, was as brutally or truthfully explored by the media, indeed it became a lesson to governments on how not to conduct public relations, but it was that accessibility, the use of the media and television, which provided graphic evidence to the young of the need for alternative ideas and values. Vietnam became a symbol of the clash of Cold War ideologies and left-wing thinking emerged the victor.

These were the reasons that youth were finding something to share all over the world. In South Africa, military conscription had been on a ballot system until 1968 when it became compulsory for all white males aged 18. Having to go to the army as a young English-speaking white male was considered a waste of time and an exercise in futility. South Africa was not fighting a major war, and for many young men in the late 1960s and very early 1970s the army was nothing but a nuisance. This changed once South Africa became fully engaged in Angola and Namibia in the mid 1970s. The point however in the late 1960s, was that young English males were being asked to spend 9 months of their life in the service of a state they did not identify with, for reasons they did not understand. This made them feel that they could identify with young people abroad, in particular young male Americans.

For young English-speakers the ferment of the period from 1967 into 1968 was carried primarily through the media, music and direct contact. Although the contact was limited, it was no less important. If anything it was amplified because of its rarity. Distance and lack of detailed information conferred power on the activities and organization of youth

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[35] Jonathan Miller, *McLuhan* (London: Fontana, 1971), p.11.
[36] Mark Kurlansky, 2004. *1968: The Year That Rocked the World* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p 52.

abroad. The imagined strength and levels of organisation were by no means a reality, as subsequent detailed accounts now reveal. Hoch and Schoenbach's description of events at the LSE[37] in London, which was written shortly after it happened and had not been subjected to historical ironing, highlights the naiveté and confusion of the 'revolt' and the evident over-reaction of the British Government.[38] It was the reaction of the latter and the press reports that both conflated as well as inflated events. Viewed from the distance of South Africa they acquired a form and structure, which made them far more complete and sophisticated.

It was all part of being young, being contemporary and redefining the world. Distance made such events more concrete, and anything that represented that spirit was enthusiastically embraced. The immediacy of 'pop' culture was a novelty, especially as so little of that immediacy was experienced. When buttons were imported into South Africa with their humorous little slogans, they were enthusiastically embraced as symbols of contemporary and 'hip' values. They were even more fun because they could be adapted to South African conditions and students were quick to come up with slogans like 'Lager not Laager' and 'Be creative: Invent a new race classification.'[39]

Fashions at the time are most revealing. In the photographs of South African students up until the middle of 1968, most students are relatively neatly attired. Men have short hair and usually wear jackets and blazers. Girls are still in mini-skirts and have long free-flowing, but neatly combed hair. The Natal *Sunday Tribune* carried a report which is revealing, both for its sexist, patronizing comments and what was considered proper. The University of Durban had a security officer, Mr. Dick Dunlavy, whose job included keeping an eye on the way students dressed. He was quoted as saying, "I can think of nothing nicer than a young girl 18 or 19, with long legs wearing a mini."[40] Apparently bare feet were taboo as were flip-flops and 'slacks' on the girls. Wearing a rugby jersey or Bermudas was also judged improper attire and Dunlavy's duty was to point this out to students.

Strict dress codes were standard on campuses in South Africa and fashions up until 1968 reflected what was being worn abroad by more conservative young adults. A few more daring individuals followed the influence of hippies and Carnaby street, but already there was an awareness that the "flower-and-bell-and-banana-scene itself (was) a crummy, commercial fake."[41] Reports on fashions in London featured the names of boutiques in London and noted the influence of the film *Bonnie and Clyde*[42] on fashion with more romantic longer skirts, velvet, and curls replacing mini skirts. Men's hair was also getting longer. South African papers reported on this fashion and bellbottoms were still thought

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[37] LSE= London School of Economics.
[38] Paul Hoch & Vic Schoenbach, *LSE: The Natives are Restless* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1969).
[39] Buttons were introduced onto Wits Campus in June 1967. *Wits Student* offered a prize of R1.00 and 3 free buttons for every slogan that was good enough to be made into a button. Sex was more popular than politics with favourites being "If it moves, fondle it" "Yankee go homo" and "Be creative invent a new sexual perversion."
[40] *Sunday Tribune,* 19 May 1968.
[41] *Wits Student*, 8 March 1968.
[42] *Bonnie & Clyde.* Director. Arthur Penn, 1967. Film.

way out. The Afro hairstyle made popular by Jimi Hendrix was reported as being common in London, but "people are too chicken here." The same report noted that long hair for men was becoming as big an obsession as hair was with women. "The male student who decides to grow a 'mat' is confronted by many problems, the predominant one being parents. Parents as a rule hate long hair."[43] The shift to more casual and relaxed attire was notable at the July NUSAS congress, however the photographs of the period when contrasted with those of students in the early 1970s show a relatively neat and conservative appearance with student leaders persisting in the belief that dressing like adults would make adults take them seriously.

In Europe and the USA, the hippie fashions which had become widespread suddenly explode after May 1968. Hippie styles invade the campuses and there are few neat students any longer. Student leaders all have long hair and a slightly wild and woolly appearance. In South Africa that change started, much more slowly in the second half of 1968. In the same way, speech changed. Whereas student reports up until the first half of 1968 are formal, often verbose and inclined to employ meaningless phrases, they change in their use of slang, style and content after mid-1968.

What altered student's perceptions of themselves and their role and potential in society was a combination of events in 1968. The most important news item was the dramatic confrontations between students in Paris and the state. Equally the news of the increased violence being used to quell student opposition in America, as well as the events in the UK and Germany, were all reported in South Africa. There are reports in *The Star*, *The Natal Mercury* and *The Daily News* of the events in France, they tended to have headlines like "Dutschke Riots Spread to UK,"[44] but the information and its impact was felt. Peter Hudson who was still a schoolboy in Durban recalled, "Things were happening in Europe, especially in France and the slogan, it was even being reported in the *Daily News* in Durban, 'Student Power' that was the slogan. So there I was at Westville reading these things and wondering what their significance was for me."[45]

What is apparent in the first half of 1968 is a growing awareness in student newspapers of the student movement abroad. Reports are more common and formerly taboo subjects such as homosexuality were being aired for the first time. A report in may 1968 in *Wits Student* commented, "It is rather interesting to note that over three quarters of the students interviewed denied even knowing any homosexuals, a few suspected one or two of their acquaintances while only three students honestly confessed to knowing any."[46] The gay community had not been left alone with periodic 'swoops' on known gay cruising place, but in 1968 the government decided to amend the Immorality Act. "Ironically the threat of repression galvanized the gay subculture created community as never before."[47] Gevisser commented that the 1968 inquiry into homosexuality in South Africa meant that it was impossible to eradicate. The real outcome of the inquiry was that

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[43] *Wits Student*, op.cit.
[44] Reported on the front Page of *Natal Mercury*, 16 April 1968.
[45] Peter Hudson, interview, Johannesburg, 10 October 2008.
[46] *Wits Student*, 17 May 1968.
[47] Mark Gevisser and Edwin Cameron, *Defiant Desire* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1994), p33.

it formalized gay culture, creating as never before, gay venues that became safe and dependable community meeting places.[48]

It was undoubtedly the emergence of a more visible gay community that led to the reports in the student press about homosexuality. A similar pattern was repeated in the increasing reports on drug usage. Claire Gibbons attempted to describe the reported experiences of individuals who took drugs. An account written by someone "under the influence of drugs" was included in the report. It contains strange statements about "people lack the beauty to shout out like a trumpet to the world with great happiness that something exists- I am as God" and "Now I call my world the cycle of an addict by the disciple of Marxist methodology since I too am a communist, this drugs if used in the correct way, with the correct attitude are pretty good."[49]

The first reference to a sort of communal living experiment appears, albeit far removed from any communal experience elsewhere, with servants, laundry and daily menus.[50] For many reports of 'the summer of love' in the USA were the most exciting. Brian Jackson a student at UCT at the time wrote, "Several other fundamental shifts were taking place. The 'summer of love' in California had a big impact on me personally (still does), the music at the time was seminal and the fact that French students could impact their government so profoundly was an encouragement indeed to attempt to do the same…. And then, for some of us, pot and drugs doubtless had an influence of an undefined nature."[51] There is clear evidence of a shift in ideas and approach even though responses from authority were the same. UN campus was declining into deadlock with Chancellor Horwood shutting down the SRC and refusing to have any consultation with students. NUSAS was still under attack from the government, and even though no one seems to have made any connections about the persistent attack on finances, NUSAS was obliged to prove its relevance to students. It received a strong positive vote indicating that students were ready to support NUSAS in its desire to move into more pro-active profile.

May 1968 and the Mafeje Affair:

Inspired by events in Europe and the USA a conference on 'The role of the Student in Modern Society' was held at Wits in August 1968. A. Murray who lectured in Political Science at Wits suggested "the chances of a Sorbonne or Columbia occurring at Cape Town or Wits, is totally unlikely in view of the unadulterated privelege in all spheres, enjoyed by the white student and in view of the governmental recriminations which lie so near the surface."[52] The conference appears to have been part of a new debate on the role of students, however its timing allowed the truth of Murray's observations to be tested. A week later, South Africa's own Nanterre came to the attention of students in the shape of what is called the Mafeje Affair. The fact that after years of provocation this event triggered a change in student reactions suggests the real impact of May 1968 on South

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[48] Ibid., p 37.
[49] *Wits Student*, 13 September 1968.
[50] *Wits Student*, 15 March 1968.
[51] Brian Jackson, e-mail message to author, 29 June 2009.
[52] *Wits Student*, 2 August 1968.

African Anglophone students. The event that acted as a catalyst to this change in attitude and response was the failure of UCT to appoint Archie Mafeje, who was black, to a position in the Department of Anthropology, after having succumbed to pressure from the state to rescind the offer of employment. The offer came about as a result of an anomaly in the University Act of 1959. It had never been made law that black or non-Caucasian lecturers could not be appointed in white universities. The Minister of National Education was incensed when it became apparent that the University of Cape Town had used the loophole to offer a senior position in the Anthropology Department to Archie Mafeje

Although students only became aware of the details of the incident after their return from their July vacation, it had in fact been evolving over the previous months. Interestingly even though both the government and university administration were aware of events taking place in May 1968 in France, they did not seem to think that South African students would react in quite the same way. This was rather odd considering an aide memoire written by Sir Richard Luyt ,the newly-appointed Chancellor of UCT at the time. Dated 23 April, 1968 it states:
"The minister made clear, with emphasis, that the government, viewed student unrest overseas in a most serious light and did not intend to allow it to manifest itself, similarly here…The enemies of South Africa would use student idealism for their own purposes. Already there were signs of student leaders being so used."[53]

It was a clear underestimation of the inspiration students had drawn from activities abroad. The fact that the Mafeje affair transformed students at UCT as nothing before had done, suggests that, whilst the government was right in its suspicions about influences from abroad, it was relatively clueless as to what was really happening. Its inability to understand the fundamental shifts taking place lay in its misreading of events. The university administration revealed a similar ignorance. They argued that it was better to compromise and retain the relative freedom of the university than to take a stand and lose their financial subsidy. It was the fact that UCT buckled under government pressure that so incensed students. The hypocrisy of the institution that prided itself on representing liberal ideals was evident. It was also the first time that students appear to have reacted to the contradictions of liberalism.

Raphael Kaplinsky, the founder of a small radical left-wing group, heard about the issue and a mass meeting to voice opposition and criticism was called. Kaplinsky became the man of the moment giving an impromptu speech in which he gave the administration a week to change its mind, or face further action. A second mass meeting was called with the threat that it would be followed by a sit-in, if student demands were not met. Rather to the surprise of those involved, following the second mass meeting, a nine-day sit-in started on August 14, 1968.[54] As soon as they heard about the sit-in, Wits students organised a teach-in. The two events were unprecedented successes. The Wits teach-in drew a crowd of approximately 2,000 students, whilst the sit-in at UCT grew and declined according to the time of day, with a hard core of approximately 200 students who stayed throughout the event.

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[53] 23 April 1968. BC 1072. B2.1 Sir R. Luyt papers. UCT Archive.
[54] Muriel Horrell, *A survey of Race Relations Handbook* (Johannesburg: SAIRR. 1968), p.263.

The UCT sit-in was a transformative event for many individuals with Jeremy Cronin, describing Rick Turner who was part of the event as 'the key seducer' Cronin's life and values were never the same, and the depth of that transformation is an index of how excited students were at being exposed to new and alternative ideas and teaching methods. For Cronin the teach-in "marked my entry into political intellectual activity and, quite quickly after that, organizational political activity as well."[55] Students were rapidly beginning to understand that they had some sort of role and collective power, which could go beyond marches of protest. Clive Nettleton and Duncan Innes noted that there was a 'new militancy' evident amongst students.[56] An editorial in *Wits Student* observed that Vorster was worried and suggested, "the power we wield is great enough to force his hand." Professor John Blacking who was one of teachers at the Wits teach-in cautioned that students needed to crystallize their aims, ideas and methods, and needed to "continue to reappraise South Africa, its situation, ourselves and our philosophy of action."[57] Blacking appears to have realized that whilst there might have been individual transformations such as Cronin's, greater depth and understanding of the role of students in society was the path to sustained activism.

Student leadership however, failed to capitalize on the upsurge in student protest. Students from Wits formed a delegation to see B.J. Vorster in Pretoria, but were stopped by roadblocks on the way. Some of the Wits students were abducted by students from the University of Pretoria and had their hair shaved off.[58] *Current Affairs*, a radio programme that acted as the government's mouthpiece, warned students that they had nothing to complain about like the French students. The programme was reinforcing Vorster's comments about how "we have seen how a well organised country like France can be disrupted by undisciplined leftist students...the same would not be allowed to happen here."[59] Another delegation of student leaders representing UCT went to see Vorster who warned them that if students staged another sit-in he would send his "boys to put a stop to it."[60] Kaplinsky had his passport withdrawn.

The government was far more abrupt and vicious with students at the 'tribal' college, Fort Hare. Students there had also embarked on a sympathy sit-in protest. Those who took part in what became a lengthy sit-in were suspended and escorted off the campus by police armed with tear gas and dogs. After all the names of the participating students

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[55] Interview with Jeremy Cronin by Helena Sheehan. http://www.comms.dcu.ie/sheehanh/za/cronin-aah01.htm (Accessed 8/19/2007). It was following this period that Cronin became an active member of the South African Communist Party.

[56] NUSAS "Conference on Student Government," July 1968. NUSAS papers BC 586. F4 UCT Archive.

[57] *Wits Student*, 23 August 1968. Professor Blacking was a lecturer in the Department of Anthropology at Wits; he was deported from South Africa as a result of his affair with a woman of Indian descent. He was prosecuted under the Immorality Act. Rick Turner who also lived openly with his Indian wife Foszia Fisher was never attacked on this subject. The uneven treatment was fairly typical of the unpredictability of the application of apartheid in individual cases.

[58] This was not the only time Pretoria University Students did this. It was a symbolical act which reflected the large ideological chasm between English and Afrikaans students at the two institutions. Folk music was banned at Pretoria University at the time.

[59] *Cape Times*, 4 January 1969.

[60] Muriel Horrell, op.cit., p.265.

were recorded, they were transported to the railway station and sent home. Of the 290 students, who were reported to have been sent home, all but 21 were readmitted to Fort Hare.

The separate and much harsher treatment of black students might have been a red flag to white students, but lack of communication was an issue and clearly leadership failed to recognize that they could sustain the spirit of the initial protest through supporting black students. It is not surprising that at this stage Steve Biko and his circle were firmly on the path to the formation of SASO.[61] The fact that white students knew so little about what happened at places like Fort Hare was a result of the tight controls exercised on those campuses. Free access was not possible, and students at English-speaking universities considered their very existence to be morally wrong.

An organization which had formed in 1967, the University Christian Movement, (UCM) had failed to make an impression on NUSAS leadership, and one of the few avenues for understanding what was really happening amongst black students had been overlooked. Anglophone students were predominantly secular and did not appreciate the central role missionary activity played within black society. This was evident as early as 1965 when Ian Robertson writing to Maeder Osler about the moral re-armament conference held in Basotholand[62] in February 1965 described those attending as "the arms are up-in-the-air pack of hoohah about love, unselfishness, purity and chastity…They are all the Anglican Sunday-School picnic types."[63] The same letter contained the information that more than three quarters of those attending were black, which should have alerted Robertson to their interest in religious matters, but clearly did not. Even reports on the meetings of religious student organizations held clues, which were ignored. The 1968 meeting of the National Catholic Federation of Students was held at Hammanskraal north of Pretoria. Those attending consisted of black and white students and a variety of lecturers including Rick Turner who gave a controversial lecture on the relevance of God.[64] Religious missions within black communities were generally ignored with one of the few exceptions being the work of Father Cosmos Desmond who wrote *The Dumping Grounds* about the dumping of communities in remote areas as a result of the implementation of apartheid. Students did not appear to be aware of the radical new thinking of South American clerics which was influencing the UCM and which could have been a potential ally.

Parting of the Ways:

Many black students only chance of a slightly better education had been through missionary schools. It had exposed them to religious education in a Christian form. It was a very small step from that experience to their rallying cries found in the fundamental Christian doctrine of 'Love thy Brother.' Some were aware that the Beatles were singing "All you need is love," but the dearth of love in their experience made them realise that "Christianity can never hope to remain abstract and removed from the people's

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[61] South African Students Organisation.
[62] Basotholand was the pre-independence name of Lesotho.
[63] NUSAS papers BC 586. 03.1 UND SRC Jan 1965-Dec 1965, UCT Archive.
[64] *Wits Student*, 10 July 1968.

environmental problems."[65] The days of 'turning the other cheek' were over for student leaders like Biko, and white students did not grasp that they were witnessing a different kind of black student response to both white students and white government.

When SASO was being formed in March 1969 at a meeting in the Alan Taylor residence at UND, 4 white students, Halton Cheadle, Dave Hemson, Veronica Vorster and Jennifer Brown, appeared at the meeting. They were greeted by cries of "Hello Baas, Hello Missus."[66] They were not welcome and eventually left although one of their black friends invited them to tea in his room after their humiliating experience. The four were taken aback at their reception. "I was shocked by the hostility of the students, many of whom I consider as friends," was Vorster's response, while for Hemson "It was a very frustrating experience to be discussed as a stranger and foreigner, and not to be able to reply."[67]

The meeting was the foundation of parallel paths for student political movements in South Africa. Anglophone students were for the first time laying claim to belonging as suggested by Duncan Innes speech earlier in the month when he told Freshers at UN, "We believe firmly that this is our country…and that it is our duty to work for a better future for South Africa."[68] It was ironical that as BC coalesced into a political form, Anglophone students were taking tiny steps along a new path of identity. Ideas from abroad continued to hold their inspiration for both groups. At education week held at UN in April 1969, A.McConnell from the English department, who had been in France prior to and during May 68, suggested to students that "the university was not a 'mind hospital', but a place where as soon as one clamped down on its freedom one automatically encouraged revolt."[69] Dr Edgar Brookes, speaking in the same week sustained the idea of white protest, arguing that the great "spiritual mission of the English universities" was protest on behalf of others."[70]

Conclusion:

In Mamphele Ramphele's autobiography, she describes the discussions that used to be conducted between Steve Biko and Rick Turner, who by 1969 were both on their influential paths which in a very personal way coalesced the different strands of the late 1960s on English-speaking white and black campuses. "He (Turner) spent long periods of time arguing with Steve about the analytical limitations of Black Consciousness, which socialist perspective could remedy by adding a class analysis to address some of the complexities of power relations in South Africa. Steve in turn pointed out to Rick that an economic class analysis which ignored the racist nature of capitalist exploitation in South Africa,...was itself inadequate…The debate would drift into a discussion of the false consciousness of white workers…Steve's often quoted remark in this regard was: "Go

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[65] Steve Biko, *I Write what I like* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2004), p.64.
[66]" Hello Boss", "Hello Mrs". Generic forms of address between employers and employees in South Africa. The sarcasm applied to the implied deference of the greetings.
[67] *Dome*, 27 March, 1969.
[68] *Dome,* 15 March 1969.
[69] *Daily News*, 10 April 1969.
[70] *Daily News*, 11 April 1969.

and talk to van Tonder about solidarity with black workers, and see what his response would be."[71]

This discourse highlighted a number of shifts that were directly attributable to the influence of the New Left and Black Panther writings. The new focus on class and consciousness in the part of Turner, whilst for Biko the radical effect of race on consciousness "with Africa at the centre of things, not existing as an appendix or a satellite of other countries and literatures"[72] took the debate into new territory and alignments.

1968 was important for South African students because it marked the beginning of a return to a political engagement with apartheid and a desire to find new ways of expressing that engagement. The Mafeje affair, which appears to have not been noticed internationally, would have been taken up with far greater vigour if it had happened anywhere other than in South Africa. The decorum, liberal reason and relative conservatism of student leadership were to some extent a product of the relentless harassment of student leaders. The failure of student leaders to grasp the moment and to see opportunities such as earlier student leaders had over the issue of shared accommodation for all delegates to the NUSAS conference, effectively limited any real hope they might have had of political relevance. This was underlined in their ignorance and indifference to changes within the churches. Their limited knowledge of the New Left meant that they lacked any theoretical framework to work around or within.

The student body was more open to change than the leadership realised, but the students were not keen to engage with political actions that seemed to have no real consequences. Cultural change was happening despite the limits placed on its expression. It was the appearance of new leadership that was to change this, and to result in a more pro-active and positive engagement with students. The discourse contained in the debates between Turner and Biko manifested in the 1970s. The one tranche concerned class, labour and action and a role for students within them. Another lay within the realms of culture, consciousness and social change, and another lay within identity and race. Whilst all three overlap and intertwine, the following chapter examines the first branch of the discourse and its consequences.

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[71] Mamphele Ramphele, *A Life* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1995), p.62.
[72] Barney Pityana, The DVS Oosthuizen Academic Freedom Memorial Lecture, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 18 September, 2008.

Chapter 6

**'We can change the world, rearrange the world.
It's dying to get better.'[1]**

This chapter examines the relationship between praxis and theory as expressed by students seeking a political role. It moves away from the broader cultural sphere as it chronologically describes how it was only when theory framed praxis and the teachings of the New Left became available to a small coterie of students, that the rupture inherent in the broader discourses of rebellion and dissonance became apparent. The linking of the ideology of apartheid to relationships of production was the foundation of an understanding which helped to contextualize a potential role for students as intellectuals. Whilst students abroad sought to define their relationship to society and to carve a role for themselves, they demonstrated an array of theoretical constructs that were increasingly distancing the broader counterculture from students who had specific political agendas. American students believed they could bring about change by focusing on transforming universities into arenas for producing a radical new working class. British students also focused on the need to counter bourgeois ideology from within the university. It was the French students however who saw themselves as an alternative vanguard who triggered the worker's movement in May 1968.[2] It was this example which came to have resonance for South African radicals, but the issue of race and access to tertiary education and its knowledge base was to influence the way in which this relatively simple equation was adapted to the South African situation.

The emphasis on finding a role for students occupied student leadership in South Africa, but they were facing a society where race was foregrounded and where access to information such as students abroad had, was severely limited. They could not simply formulate their thinking around changing bourgeois society, since that did not address the issue of race nor the largely black and unorganized working class. The method of transmission of new ideas was in itself an obstacle, but its paucity tended to amplify what information was available. What makes the decisions and way in which events unfolded in South Africa unique is both the history of labour movements as well as the way in which race was addressed. It is these unique factors, which led to a result markedly different from any other alliance between labour and students.

This chapter examines the foundational discourses which returning academics introduced to South Africa. The focus on Richard Turner is because of his position at UN at a time when students there were pioneering a role for students based on their engagement with new texts, the example of students in France and their own experiences with fellow black students. Whilst there were equally important teachers at Wits, including Michael Nupen, and Sheldon Leader,[3] the focus on UN lies in the interaction between students and

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[1]Graham Nash. "Chicago," on *Songs For Beginners*, 1971. LP.

[2] Ronald Fraser, *A Student Generation in Revolt* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1988), pp.137-138.

[3] Michael Nupen and Sheldon Leader were both lecturers in the Political Science dept. at Wits. Nupen was a Hegelian who introduced the works of the Frankfurt School whilst Leader lectured on the French

academe and the presence of a small but significant group of black intellectuals and the way the different groups translated theory into praxis.

Finding Political Paths and Relevance:

English-speaking students were seeking new directions, leadership and continuity. It was the latter which was most critical, and one of the forms it came in was South African academics who had gone abroad to pursue post graduate study. They brought back new perspectives, fresh interpretations and writings to students. They coincided with a period of reflection and reassessment of the role of white students in bringing about change in South Africa. As such any input they had on the subject was significant.

The reason direct contact was so important was a result of the relatively isolated nature of South Africa and the controls exercised by the government over all media and forms of information. Gijs Dubbeld, describing Halton Cheadle's first hand account of the mood and events after his return from a trip abroad in 1969, can still recall the excitement his accounts generated.[4] The effect of this was that whatever the state chose to restrict or ban became an immediate topic of interest to students.

Eddie Webster describes how upon arriving at Balliol in 1968 "I immediately threw myself into reading any banned book on South Africa I could lay my hands on." [5] Graham Boynton, an arts student from Natal wrote, "the day I arrived in London in 1970, I headed for Foyle's bookshop in Charing Cross Road and bought up all the agitprop literature I could find."[6] Linda Cross Albertyn brought back a pile of Black Panther literature from the USA after her year there as an AFS student –it was confiscated and made her a target for the security police,[7] but the literature was available albeit getting hold of it was rather like finding pornography.[8] The importance of direct contact and personal accounts was increased because of the constant banning, censorship and lack of publicly accessible information.

Travel abroad meant that white students came into contact with the ideas and lifestyle of student movements there, and could access literature not available in South Africa. The strength of the South African economy in the 1960s had given rise by the end of the decade to an era of relatively cheap air travel. This coincided with the shift from slow ocean journeys on the royal mail to the new rapid air services, which made journeys during university holidays more feasible. NUSAS organised cheap travel for students and prided itself on this feature of its organization. There were special charters for students

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Structuralists. In the early 1970s there was considerable rivalry and tension between the two schools of thought on campus.

[4] Gijs Dubbeld, interview, Durban, 20 October 2008

[5] Eddie Webster, "Rebels with a cause of their own: a personal reflection on my student years at Rhodes University, 1961-1965," *Transformation* 59, (2005), pp 98-108.

[6] Graham Boynton, *Last days in Cloud Cuckooland* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1997), p.79.

[7] Linda Cross Albertyn, interview, Johannesburg, 17 January 2008.

[8] The Xerox machine which had been invented in 1937 and made commercially available in 1950 was an invaluable resource for distributing banned material. The company established itself in South Africa in 1964.

and the cost of travel was even lower than on normal flights. The post-colonial mindset of students and their parents was another incentive. 'Overseas' was a mythical metropole of sophistication, liberty and trend setting ideas and fashions. As the decade progressed and London became known as 'Swinging London' the desire to visit places like Carnaby Street, Kings road and Soho with their boutiques and clubs, grew. The metropole remained as a symbol of identity in the absence of any interrogation of a more localised identity.

At an academic level a different process resulted from the time spent studying abroad. Exposure to the metropole had stimulated a new examination of South Africa. "Young South Africans who went abroad to study in the 1960s not only found in Britain and America a strong anti-racist climate, but also a new freedom to consider ideas taboo in their repressive country. Marxism as a coherent body of theory, attracted émigré intellectuals searching for a way to understand South Africa."[9] The work of these academics and those, upon whom they based their work, was slowly introduced to South Africa in the very late 1960s. The effect was radical and can be seen in the change in assessment of the role of white students taking place amongst student leadership throughout 1968. By 1969, the words 'proletariat,' 'working class' and 'conscientisation' were beginning to find their way into texts written by student leaders.[10] More importantly, academics were starting to investigate the history of the South African working class and were beginning to focus on black workers in particular. "One work that was widely read by the new generation was *Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950* by Jack and Ray Simons, which appeared in a large Penguin paperback in 1969."[11] Dave Hemson, whose research was so vital to students in the early 1970s, had begun his study of the Durban stevedores. It was his work that was to enable NUSAS to successfully raise money for its Wages and Economics Commission.[12]

Class based analysis started to replace liberal race based analysis, which was central to the re-evaluation of the role of white students. There is a curious symmetry in the timing of the growth and demise of black and white resistance movements in South Africa. In the same way as the NLM and PAC and ARM all emerged and then went underground around the same time, the split between white and black students in the late 1960s echoed those earlier events. As had happened with earlier BC style movements, the action grew out of a reaction to the unconscious racism inherent in black and white student

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[9] Christopher Saunders. 1988. "The Making of the South African Past, Major Historians on Race and Class," http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/saunders/making-past/ch16.htm 2 (accessed 5/10/2007)

[10] Jeremy Cronin described how difficult it was getting books about Marxism following his joining of the SACP. "It was very difficult to pursue things. If you read Sartre and he would refer to the Eighteenth Brumiere, then you couldn't get hold of the Eighteenth Brumiere. So a lot of our energies and resources and skills were in that early time devoted to hunting down texts." Interview with Jeremy Cronin by Helena Sheehan. http://www.comms.dcu.ie/~sheehanh/za/cronin-aah01.htm

[11] Ibid.

[12] When Paul Pretorius wrote to Lars-Gunnar Eriksen on 14 January 1972 requesting funds for NUSAS' economic research and action programme he wrote "Should money be forthcoming, we will be able to employ a highly qualified economics graduate and an ex office bearer of NUSAS who initiated our pilot student-workers programme in Durban. He was the author of that document I gave to you entitled 'Black Wages in South Africa' as well as other invaluable material I will send to you." Pretorius was referring to Dave Hemson. NUSAS papers A3.15, UCT Archive.

relationships. The student reaction to the formation and declarations of SASO with its insistence on as little interaction with whites as possible, varied from hostility to incomprehension and everything in between. Radical students at Anglophone universities were however, not prepared to be consigned to a role of irrelevance within the struggle to end apartheid.

Part of the impact and appeal of the New Left literature that was becoming available lay in the fact that it was the same as that which students abroad were reading. As news of student events filtered in and were analysed in the pages of student magazines and other liberal journals, students read of the potential of students to influence change and to be connected with real economic changes. What animated these ideas were individuals who could translate and interpret these ideas within the South African context. Richard Turner embodied all of this in a context particularly receptive to what he represented.

Right Place, Right Time - Richard Turner:

Turner was a University of Cape Town graduate who went to the Sorbonne in 1964 to pursue a doctorate based on the philosophy of Jean Paul Sartre. His supervisor was, Professor Jean Wahl,[13] but it was Turner's two meetings with Sartre himself that gave him legendary status with students in South Africa. Turner's choice of Sartre indicated his close affiliation with the most influential contemporary thinking at the time. Having attained his PhD, Turner returned to SA in 1966 missing the immediate build up to the events of 1968 in France, but his contacts and his interest in the country, meant that he kept a close watch on events unfolding there. His first wife, Barbara Follett has written "Although we were no longer living in Paris when the events of May 1968 unfolded, he was very excited by the idea that real change could be on the way. He was particularly excited about the relationships being forged between student activists and workers in France … his desire to see things change in South Africa increased at this time."[14]

The events in France were compelling for a number of reasons. A student protest mushroomed into a general strike involving nine million people. "Was there not for a fortnight or more, to the delight and incredulity of those who lived through it, the almost total collapse of one of the strongest state apparatuses in the world?" Hanley and Kerr suggest that despite the precise time period and the almost rock star status of May 68 "it cannot be apprehended as a single historical whole."[15] In a country as far away as South Africa, it was viewed as a whole and few if any of the nuances were explored. The one compelling fact was the link between labour and students, which suggested a possible role for white students.

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[13] Professor Jean Wahl was a French Jew who had been interned at Drancy deportation camp from which he escaped during World War II. He spent the remainder of the war years 1942-45, in the USA. He was in analysis with Lacan who adopted Wahl's translation of Plato's Parmenidas as a central point in psychoanalysis. Wahl was one of those who introduced Hegelian thought into France and was known to have influenced Sartre. For Turner the fact that he was able to converse in English and had had experience of racial oppression might well have been points of useful interaction.

[14] Barbara Follet, e-mail message to author, 25 February 2008.

[15] D.L.Hanley, & A.P. Carr, eds., *May'68. Coming of Age* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p.3.

The highly politicized nature of French society "affected Turner profoundly. In France, a radical language was already encoded in the minds of those to whom discourse was addressed. In addition to this radical culture, there were radical institutional forms, political parties and trade unions, that served to universalize the individual experience."[16] Turner was aware this was not true of South Africa, however within the universities there were groups of politicized individuals and he made contact with them after his return. Until his appointment as a political science lecturer at UN in 1970, he worked at various campuses and connected with student leadership throughout the country. He was by no means alone in seeking to capitalize on the response students displayed following the Mafeje affair, but where student leadership had failed to capitalize on the potential, he had the intellectual training and ability to extract what could be relevant to South Africa.

Although primarily a philosopher his lectures and his writing reflect the thinking of the 1960s with a symmetry that helps explain why his ideas struck such a chord with students of the period. South African students were animated by his Socratic style of teaching. This was a refreshing and novel method and one that he developed over time. Barbara Follett has noted that it took Rick some time to develop this style, and it was partially influenced by his reaction to the events in 1968.[17]

Peter Sacks, a former student of his, wrote a poem upon hearing of Rick's assassination in 1978. It contains a poetic memory of his physical presence and its effect on Sacks;

You sat among us on the floor
Translating Althusser,
Barefoot, jeans, a pale blue shirt,
Your black-rimmed lenses doubling
The light, the red shock or your hair.
At some slight turn of argument
Your freckled hands followed
The actual phrasing in the air.
"I know its difficult in this country,
but we've got to think more clearly
than the State allows."[18]

Sacks poem echoes a theme to be found in all Turner's writing, namely his interest in encouraging students to interrogate and understand their unconscious assumptions, and in so doing develop their own capacity for changing their consciousness. He believed that an individual's capacity to develop their own reasoning ability and change their consciousness was a far more powerful tool in personal transformation than a lecture that only partially engaged a student's attention.

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[16] Duncan Greaves, "Pessimism of the Mind but Optimism of the Will: Richard Turner's Politics 1968-1973, "Paper for presentation to the Southern African Studies Seminar," University of Natal, PMB, 25 September 1984, p.43.

[17] Barbara Follett, op. cit.

[18] Peter Sacks, 1986, quoted in Tony Morphet, "'Brushing History Against the Grain," The Richard Turner Memorial Lecture, delivered in Durban on 27 September 1990.

Turner fell into the category of someone who was under the magical age of 30. (He was born in 1941) He had a physical style that signaled a disdain for the commercially minded world of conformists. In the context of South Africa it drew considerable reaction. For Ralph Lawrence, another student of his Turner "embodied the spirit of 1968...The wild red locks, periodically a ferocious Castro like beard...He marked such a radical departure from the prevailing norm. Most academics stuck to dowdy formalism, looking like retreaded FBI agents...Turner appeared the rebel incarnate: I loved it."[19]

Whilst the clothing of a philosopher does not convey their mental contribution and seems irrelevant, in the late 1960s, clothes and hair lengths were codes for consciousness and group identification. A lecturer adopting the style favoured by students meant that he was sympathetic. A reviewer of the film *Woodstock* in the Durban student newspaper, *Dome*, wrote "One thing that immediately stands out is the responsiveness of the audience, a vast contrast to our own audiences, whose ridiculous reserve even goes so far as to wear suits to a pop concert. Wonder how far behind the times we are this time!"[20] There are two revealing themes in this quote, which appear with some frequency: the belief that South African youth were 'behind the times' and that they were too restrained. It was a self-conscious awareness, which is why anyone who seemed to challenge that or have achieved an indifference to it, was a leader by default.

The real power and impact of Turner lay however in the confluence of his ideas with those that were current amongst students and which had become common currency amongst them as a result of their exposure to the music and literature of the decade. The one word that comes up most frequently in interviews with representatives of this generation is freedom. It is freedom in the broadest possible context encompassing freedom to be oneself, to experience political social and economic freedom. It extended to freedom for others, and freedom to act in whatever way one wanted unrestricted by social norms. It is the one concept that applied as much to personal expression as it did to political action. The degree and context in which the word had meaning for individuals was the way in which he or she drew their own imagined boundaries to action.

The word and the concept rested on the understanding that developing one's own consciousness separate from that of society, and detached from the alienating influence of capitalism, was central to evolving into a new person detached from the blind and deadening effects of society. Richard Turner was the one lecturer in the period who openly used the world love, who talked of the freedom one had to change one's consciousness. He quoted Herbert Marcuse, Jean Paul Sartre. "He encouraged students to stretch their minds in a way I seldom encountered at a University. Reading there was aplenty, the more eclectic the better."[21]

The accord in his lecture notes and his thesis and the core discourses of the 1960s, explain the affinity students had with him. "The Vietnam War impinged greatly on our

[19] Raphael Lawrence, "Democracy in a Future South Africa," *Theoria*, 76, (October 1990), pp.101-114.
[20] *Dome*, 17 September 1970.
[21] Ralph Lawrence,.op.cit., p.102.

minds; so did Allende's shortlived experiment with socialism in Chile. Nixon's administration was crumbling in the wake of The Pentagon Papers; Britain under Edward Heath was at loggerheads with the trade unions, especially the coal miners. Students on King George V Avenue cultivated a European mentality, yet at the same time they willingly delved into the bowels of South African politics."[22] Turner was interested in the question of anteriority and the manner in which one could escape and transcend the historical limitations of the environment one was born into. For students facing their own experience of growing up under apartheid, this was a central question, which they were trying to interpret both in a personal as well as political sense. Turner had an English colonial background and a father who was an alcoholic.[23] Like so many of his generation, his interest in Sartre and existentialism was connected to his personal history. The ability to transcend environment and inherited family beliefs and values was linked to alienation. This subject matter appealed strongly to individuals who felt that they were not part of the world their parents had created. Turner examined the central theory of alienation in Marxist terms, and could explain Marcuse, whose theory had eluded the understanding of students at Wits.[24]

Turner's criticism of capitalists and their values is illustrated in his writing. In his PhD thesis he writes of his own incomprehension of capitalists who were not content to retire to the country once they had made more than enough money to live off, but preferred to continue to accumulate capital.[25] The incomprehension sums up one of the values prevalent amongst youth in the decade, namely the desirability of opting out of society, cities and 'getting and spending' and living close to the land. It was part of the belief that all work was unsatisfying and money was nothing more than a means to an end. Money itself was called 'bread' which relieved it of its object status and made it more palatable. Amongst all the individuals interviewed, attitudes to money were persistently those of the 1960s, with the idea of retreat to the country and a small community still part of the dream.[26] The communal ideal was something that Turner had explored at his mother's farm outside of Stellenbosch, and continued to explore once he moved to Durban. Students shared his house and were always welcomed by him and his partner Fozia Fisher. He would welcome them even when bathing unconcerned by the tradition of formal teacher/student relationships. Small as they were, such incidents made a lasting impression. It was the 1960s dream made real.

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[22] ibid. Alcoholism was a fairly common strand mentioned in interviews. Many students viewed their parents alcoholism as a response to what they believed were meaningless lives.

[23] Turner had attended school in Cape Town and had registered as an engineering student at UCT in 1959. In his second year he changed direction and began to study philosophy. He was friendly with many of the individuals who constituted the core group of NUSAS and ARM in the early 1960s. When he returned to SA after completing his PhD he ran his mother's fruit farm at Stellenbosch where he experimented with communal living. It was one of the reasons for the break up of his first marriage to Barbara Follett.

[24] Students in the Politics Department were excited at the arrival of Turner in 1969 to lecture on Marcuse. No lecturer had been able to provide them with an adequate understanding.

[25] Richard Turner, *Notes on Sartre's Political Theory*, undated, chapter 8, p.10, U (S) 320.1, SAR, UKZN Archive.

[26] The community is now talked of as a collection of old friends who once retired will live together as an alternative to a retirement village.

He expanded this project to an engagement of students with individuals at the Phoenix settlement in Durban. "The idea was that we'd go to Phoenix which was a very depressed community and we would get them involved in various kinds of programmes. Dave Hemson was particularly interested in agricultural programmes and I remember we'd sown all sorts of crops around Phoenix and the other idea was that we were going to raise money for a clinic."[27] The black consciousness students resented this involvement although Hudson and others only became aware of this later. It suggests that the two movements were conflicting over similar issues, as Phoenix was " a kind of consciousness raising exercise,"[28] but the conflict was over what kind of consciousness.

Turner's focus on changing consciousness led to different attempts to initiate cultural change. The main objective of the NUSAS Arts Festival of 1971 was "to give students and other interested people an opportunity to consider and to criticize the cultural dimensions of SA life."[29] He had attempted to launch a program of lectures and events with NUSAS in 1970 entitled 'IF' based on the Lindsay Anderson movie of the same name. It was to be a series of interactions aimed at exploring cultural and educational possibilities in SA through direct experience." It was to be extended to a conference whose theme was that "individuals in our society are atomized, they have become passive consumers of lectures, culture and material goods."[30] It did not materialize due to a lack of money, but it continued Turner's interest and involvement in student life and affairs After less than a year at UN he had already been instrumental in establishing Monday evening 'platform' meetings at City Building which belonged to UN. These meetings covered everything from Heidegger to Sartre and "attracted many members of the public."[31] Few other lecturers at the time represented similar levels of involvement over such a broad range of interests and activities. In the narrow and much more intimate world of campuses in that period, his presence and influence was considerable.

Gerry Maré emphasizing that closeness described how important the venue of Logan's bookshop at the top of Francois Road in Durban next to the campus was. "That was really the core of so much…through that I had contact with a whole lot of students."[32] This was extended in living arrangements. Maré met Turner through providing him with accommodation in the house he lived at in Furness road. As had happened in Johannesburg the change in the structure of suburban Durban created an area on the border of the suburb of Overport where large old houses were changing in function. Furness road in Durban was similar to Girton road in Parktown, Johannesburg, known for its hippie communes. Maré lived next door to 'Hobbitsville'[33] which was so famous that

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[27] Peter Hudson, interview, Johannesburg 10 October, 2008. Phoenix settlement was originally started by Mahatma Gandhi. The interest in working there suggests a similarity in ideas around work, communal activity and different forms of social and economic organization between sixties ideas and Gandhi.
[28] Ibid.
[29] R.Turner, Miscellaneous notes, Turner papers A6.1, UKZN Archive.
[30] NUSAS newsletter, No 11, Friday 1 May 1970.
[31] *Dome*, 17 September 1970.
[32] Gerry Maré, interview, Durban, 28 October 2008.
[33] " Hobbitsville" was a reference to the amiable forest dwellers known as Hobbits in *Lord of the Rings*. The latter was a very popular book at the time.

people would drive past it almost as a tourist attraction.[34] The houses brought together a wide array of individuals ranging from rugby players to activists. It was "modeled on the America's plus all the local lines of political activism."[35]

It was students inspired by this activism who were seeking new directions and answers. Turner addressed these issues from many angles. In his lecture notes Turner wrote, "The first question, the most interesting question I think to ask about any society, or about societies, is why they in fact hang together. What is it that keeps societies in place?"[36] His related question was what ensures stability in unequal societies? Within the essays and writings of student leaders of the time these questions recur in one form or another. There are some mechanistic arguments based on what are clearly first readings of Marx and Marcuse, but there are also emotional statements that testify to the deep sense of guilt and despair that was not uncommon amongst liberal and radical students. Turner's importance here, was that he gave students raised in a relatively unquestioning academic tradition, the tools to develop their own understanding of concepts. He encouraged them to think for themselves and to be independently critical.

This period marked the beginning of a shift to a Marxist analysis of South Africa away from the largely liberal historiography which had informed liberal reaction to apartheid. The development of class based, rather than race based analysis not only shifted the focus of academic study, it influenced student interpretations of the role of whites. It has been suggested that the eagerness with which white left-wing academics embraced class analysis, was because it permitted them to somehow condone their own position whilst contextualising race within class.[37] This trivializes and simplifies a range of complex issues and questions around nationality, race and political allegiance many of which are still being explored in the complex terrain of South Africa. As E. Webster commented, in the seventies when he joined forces with black labour, "it was my cause too as my commitment was now to a class project that went beyond the narrow confines of race."[38]

Rick Turner was part of the process of conscientisation. He had involved himself in the cultural activities of student organizations as much as in their political questioning. He believed that students had a role to play in changing the consciousness of other whites. "One of the themes of 1968 was to challenge authority in a whole variety of institutional contexts and he (Turner) took that very seriously and he succeeded in a small way at least in completely transforming the relationship between himself and his students."[39] This meant that students engaged with the projects and ideas he suggested. In 1970 Turner believed that a major role for white students lay in attempting to convince other whites of the irrationality of their outlook, however he also suggested that students be involved in

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[34] This echoed what had happened in Haight Ashbury in San Francisco when tourist buses were taken through the area to view the 'hippies.'

[35] Gerry Maré, op.cit.

[36] "The present as history" series of lectures in R.Turner papers. A6.1UKZN. P 2(undated) UKZN Archive.

[37] Shireen Ally, "Oppositional intellectualism as reflection, not rejection of power: Wits Sociology, 1975-1989," *Transformation* 59, (2005): 66-97.

[38] Eddie Webster, op.cit., p.106.

[39] Peter Hudson, op.cit.

literacy and educational campaigns.[40] He took to heart Biko's advice that the main contribution white students could make was in going out and changing the way whites thought. A class of his students was encouraged to engage with ordinary citizens by knocking on their doors. They were surprised to find that the householders they approached were not uniformly hostile to their visits or ideas.

<u>An Alliance between Labour and Students</u>:

A few of his own students, however, working within the ideas of alliances between labour and students were examining and developing ideas that could be applicable in the South African context. They were not prepared to accept that the only useful role white students could play was in changing the thinking of white society in some sort of public relations exercise. Two Political Science students, David Davies and Halton Cheadle were seeking ways of connecting with black labour. They sought the advice of a former UN political science student David Hemson who had independently been developing a Marxist based analysis of SA. "It is not clear whose idea it was to start a group focused on wages. David Hemson, Halton Cheadle, Charles Nupen and other students all spent hours in discussion with Rick Turner, probably leading to collective thinking on the matter."[41]

Turner in his comments about events in France in 1968 identified a considerable difference between South African students and their peers in France. It also captures the new left character of his thinking. In his analysis of 1968 he noted that not only were French students no longer an elite, they were not about to join an elite either The similarity between the workers and students lay in the fact that their general cultural formation was in contradiction with the authoritarian structure of the work situation. This he concluded led the French communist party to base its "actions on out of date analyses of the problems of capitalist society. They mistrusted the students as 'unreliable intellectuals' and could only think in terms of wage increase for the workers."[42] His own awareness of the difference between France and conditions in South Africa meant that in formulating a role for students, only the general theory of an alliance was possible, how it would emerge would be for the students to find. This might well be why he also encouraged students at all times to involve themselves in trying to change the way whites thought.

In 1969, Rob Davies in addressing the potential role of white students within society, had advanced the argument that "much useful work could be done encouraging, discussing issues, strategies and tactics, present to the proletariat ideas from abroad, attempting to organize workers." He argued that because of the white students "greater awareness of events abroad, of SDS and overseas thinkers and philosophers eg Marcuse and Sartre… the white student has a role – indirect and elitist though it may seem, in raising the

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[40] *Dome*, 17 September 1970.

[41] Davie, Grace, "Strength in Numbers: The Durban Student Wages Commission & the Poverty Datum Line 1971-1973," *JSAS*, 33 (2): 401-420.

[42] R.Turner, Notes on Sartre's Political Theory, unpublished, undated. P48. A6.1, UKZN Archive.

political consciousness of the proletariat."[43] This was a variant on educating white society and suggests the importance of the French alliance students had with workers. Implicit in the argument was the acceptance that white students were not a central part of the struggle for change, but could apply their knowledge in practical ways.

Although Turner's teaching impacted a large number of students, it is not a compelling explanation as to why it was that the Wages and Economics Commission which grew out of the debates around practical engagement with workers, started in Durban and why it had the success that it did. The critical factor was the presence of black radical students at UN and their engagement with a handful of white students. No other English-speaking university had black students in the numbers that were present at UN. Uneasy as their experiences of the founding of SASO had been, the experience of engaging with black intellectual equals was unique to UN white students. Paula Ensor, who was a student at UN, described how she spent a great deal of time at the Alan Taylor Residence, which she believed was what influenced her far more than the teaching of Rick Turner.[44] Hemson likewise had studied the 1969 stevedore strike at Durban harbour and had already graduated by the time Turner arrived at UN. It was the access to black students, the debates around their role as well as the small size of UN's student body that was as important as the presence of Turner. He always said that he was a philosopher and teacher, and that was his primary concern. It was the combination of these factors that made the adoption of the Wages and Economics Commission a logical consequence to the discourses that had followed in the wake of May 1968.

The group that comprised Turner's reading group formed the nucleus of the initial Wages and Economics Commission, but Hemson who was critical to the whole process did not believe that revolutionary organization could be developed out of students sitting around, discussing ideas.[45] Hemson's research had indicated that black labour was prepared to act and to speak out, but up until 1970 had never been successful in achieving a sustained presence or voice. Even though Hemson was critical of Turner's reading group, they were the ones who formed the first Wages commission at UN. "For the first time, white students were moving beyond the politics of reactive protest, way from the marches and the endless public meetings… Now they were out there in the real South Africa, on the docks, in the abattoirs and the union halls. Rick Turner inspired all this, although he did not specifically encourage students to get involved in the worker's movement."[46]

This was the beginning of what came to probably be the most important political activity on the part of white students, in initiating long-term change. At the NUSAS congress in July of 1971 following the lead established in Durban, the Wages and Economics Commission was set up to investigate workers wages and working conditions in South Africa.[47] Rick Turner was the only teaching academic who presented a paper at this

[43] Schlebusch Commission, Republic of South Africa, *Fourth Interim Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations* (Pretoria: Government Printers, 1974), p.466.
[44] Paula Ensor, interview, Cape Town, 23 March 2009.
[45] Dave Hemson, interview, Durban, 12 April 2009
[46] Graham Boynton, op.cit., p 95.
[47] In 1973 even students at Stellenbosch were encouraged to take a greater interest in eradicating wage discrepancies based on race. An editorial in *Die Matie* on 4 May, 1973, described how the English

conference and although his paper was on the power of radical thinking, it is clear that whilst he did not necessarily initiate or oblige students to establish the commission, he was very much a part of its collective founding and continuation.

From small beginnings. The Revival of Black Trades Unions:

"The 1970s began for South African employers early on the morning of January 9,1973, when 2,000 workers at the Coronation Brick and Tile Works on the outskirts of Durban gathered at a football field and demanded a pay rise."[48] By Wednesday 7th March 1973, 30,000 workers were on strike in Natal and the unrest had begun to spread to other cities and smaller towns in Natal. It was also the day that the strikes started to subside and workers began to accept small wage increases. However by the end of the year 90,000 workers had struck throughout the year[49] and the seeds of the sustained rebirth of the African trades unions had been planted.

 As Friedman points out in the preceding decade labour had been seen but rarely heard[50] the question was what broke the silence. How and why did underpaid black workers find the courage and initiative to strike and for others to join them? The other related question is why did this start in Durban rather than in the Witwatersrand, which is, and was, the industrial heartland of South Africa? One of the answers to both questions lies in the activities of the students who initiated the Wages and Economics Commission who were an important factor in a multi-causal strike. Other factors were a steady rise in inflation through the 1960s with no concomitant wage increases, a degree of cultural homogeneity in Natal, a history of union leaders from Natal, but ultimately none of them really answers the questions as to why it was in Natal that workers finally acted.

The 1960s, although a time of great economic prosperity and growth, had been a decade in which the attempts to implement the envisioned racial segregation of grand apartheid in the workplace resulted in the introduction of harsher pass laws. The already limited rights of blacks to live in urban areas and to seek work were further eroded. Job reservation had been tightened and workers who had jobs could not afford to lose them because their rights to live in an urban area could be lost. South Africa had been facing a skills shortage throughout the decade, but the government persisted in its view that "non-whites should … be trained to use their skills in the services of their own people"[51] The government was expanding and consolidating the 'homelands' and using restrictive labour laws to prevent the numbers of black South Africans from increasing within 'white areas.'[52] The limitations placed on black workers were the same in all major centers in South Africa, and there had been sporadic individual strikes in every major industrial city in the country in the 1960s, but not one of them managed to initiate the set

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campuses had investigated wages on campus. It also noted that a workers union on Stellenbosch campus had recently been started.

[48] S. Friedman, *Building Tomorrow Today* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), p. 37.

[49]Ibid., p 40.

[50]Ibid., p.36.

[51] Muriel Horrell, ed., *A Survey of Race Relations* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1964).

[52] Soweto was still treated as a temporary solution to the housing of the black population. The plan was to ultimately move all its residents to distant 'homelands'.

of strikes that the Coronation strike did. The question then is, why did a small strike at a relatively obscure place result in what no strike of a similar nature had achieved in the previous decade?

The Wages and Economics Commission:

Part of the answer has to lie in the activities of the Wages Commission and their link with Harriet Bolton, a trades unionist who was then secretary of the Garment Workers Union.[53] Initially Hemson says, they were hostile to the idea of contacting a white woman, but "she was amazing". She was delighted to have them on board and was endlessly helpful and resourceful. She also had the respect of the workers and impressed Hemson with the fact that when she called a meeting, she would receive a number of letters of abstention. Her authority and knowledge were invaluable and clearly the other key factor in explaining the success of the Wages and Economics Commission. Students had been put in touch with Bolton through Rick Turner who had read about her in the newspaper.[54] They had been collecting data on wages by standing outside of factories and talking to workers about their wages and working conditions. The research revealed that the wages were well below the poverty datum line and this was the foundation of the next phase of their activity, which was to provide labour with evidence of their low wages. Bolton was vital to the next phase, and brought courage, experience, an ability to engage the public and media to the students. She also saw that Bolton Hall, named after her husband, was available for workers meetings.

From June 1971, students started their campaign of publishing and distributing pamphlets explaining that wages were below the poverty datum line. Students printed a pamphlet explaining that the PDL for Durban had been calculated at R16.30 per week, which was almost twice the new minimum wage rate.[55] The students on the commission called African, Coloured and Indian workers to a meeting at Bolton Hall. The meeting was filled to capacity[56] and all present signed an objection to the Wage Boards Determination along with Michael Nupen, Rick Turner, Peter Duminy and Fatima Meer.[57] They unanimously agreed to inform the Minister of Labour they were demanding R20 a week.[58] A day after the meeting workers at the McWillaw Iron and Steel Foundry in Isipingo, south of Durban, stopped work. Workers held up Wages Commission pamphlets in support of their demands for an increase demonstrating the direct link between their actions and the work of the Wages Commission.

This was the beginning of the real work of the Wages Commission who, following the advice of Bolton, chose to work within the structures of existing wage negotiation to effect change. The mechanism they could exploit was the Wage Board, which had been

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[53] Bolton, a mother of 6, was involved with organizing workers in South Africa for 30 years. A self confessed socialist she opposed the alignment of trades unions with political parties. She now lives in an old age home in Durban.

[54] Harriet Bolton, telephone interview Durban, 12 April 2008.

[55] *Dome*, "Special Issue on the Wages Commission," 17 June 1972.

[56] *Dome,* 17 June 1971.

[57] NUSAS newsletter, 18 May 1971. NUSAS Papers. SAHA Papers. UWL.

[58] *Natal Mercury*, 9 June 1971

established under the Wage Act of 1924. It provided a loophole that allowed for the negotiation of wages in any industry referred to it by the minister, or in a trade not already covered by an agreement or award made under the Industrial Conciliation Act. The first Wages Board meeting where students presented evidence was for the cement products industry on 25 June 1971. It was the beginning of a strategy uniquely suited to South Africa and could only have evolved in Durban with such initial success given the combination of individuals behind its formulation and implementation. This ensured its adoption and success on other campuses. It showed that meaningful action was possible.

In publications distributed on campus members of the Wages Commission suggested to students "Students may feel that wages as such are peripheral to student concern, but in a capitalist society wages are the key to food, shelter, health, education etc. Wages are a variable in our society controlled by strict institutional procedures, which have effectively excluded workers from putting the case for a living wage. The function of students is to redress the imbalance by using the facilities provided by a university: Information gathering, correlation and dissemination and undertaking social action to make people aware of the situation of poverty wages."[59]

In 1971 this call was adopted at other universities in South Africa and the Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, Rhodes and Pietermaritzburg took up the challenge under the aegis of NUSWEL,[60] the welfare arm of NUSAS. The commission to establish Wages Commissions on these campuses suggested that "organizers would have to concentrate initially on establishing a small nucleus of staff members and senior students who would be prepared to co-operate on this project."[61] This report emphasizes the fact that the Wages Commission owed its existence to a uniquely fortuitous set of factors at UN. The students who initiated it were already looking at where and how the information they were collecting could be used. They were not content with merely informing workers that they were underpaid, as the workers were patently aware of that.

Halton Cheadle and David Hemson were moving on from the collection of data to ideas of how to further the workers cause. They were considering how white students could use their status as students, not affected by the labour laws and not fearful of losing their jobs, to represent workers at Wage Board meetings and to somehow animate labours collective strength. The students were following and exploring fairly classical Marxist type analysis of the role of intellectuals in the organizing of labour.

However committed or not, it was the pragmatic advice of Bolton which helped them to keep the momentum rolling whilst sidestepping the complex and punitive legislation in existence. It should be pointed out that all of the activities described so far were done against a backdrop of fear and intimidation. Workers were suspicious of white students. They had much to lose if they failed. White students were followed and aware of constant

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[59] " Proposed establishment of Wages Committee under the SEC," 1971, p.2. NUSAS papers, SAHA, UWL.
[60] NUSWEL= NUSAS WELFARE
[61] Report of the Commission set up to examine the establishment of Wages and Economic Commissions at Affiliated Centres. NUSAS papers, SAHA. UWL.

surveillance. It was this that kept the numbers involved in the research activities of the commission small. Most students were simply too scared to join. Everything was being watched and every paper written and distributed was finding its way into the hands of the security branch. This is why the actions of students who took on these activities were seen as particularly brave. Rick Turner was especially closely monitored and his daughter Jann in her account of her search for her father's killers describes how even his neighbour Jack Tubb was actually an agent whose job was to monitor the activities at his home at 32 Dalton Ave, Bellair.[62]

Unions were illegal, and Harriet Bolton suggested that instead of a union, a fund should be established which would collect subscriptions from workers to provide funeral benefits. This idea came up following a meeting addressed by Rick Turner where he spoke to workers and suggested that labour should organize itself. Workers were enthusiastic and The General Factory Workers Benefit Fund was launched in Durban in 1972. A short while after this meeting the Durban stevedores attended a Wage Board meeting on 18 July 1972. A letter written by JB of the Durban Stevedoring Labour had been published in the first Bulletin of the Wages Commission. It read "We greet you who have been sent by our Lord to enlighten us by your pamphlets on those things which we do not see or understand…The problem is this: we don't speak ourselves and the people who talk for us are goody-goodies of the Boss and these people give the Boss power to play around with us."[63] This letter suggests the initial reason that the stevedores attended the meeting. Workers had been told that their wages were low and something could be done about it. It also demonstrated the difficulties around language that constrained workers ability to speak for themselves in English. Alec Erwin who attended the stevedores wage board meeting commented "It was very easy for people who were prepared to do some work with black workers to be accepted, because there was just such a hunger for support and assistance."[64]

The outcome of this determination suggested that there was some confusion as to the wages agreed upon by the wages board. Workers thought that they had been granted R18.00 per week, however they had not. Even though they misunderstood the determination their attendance made them understand they had a voice. Morris Ndlovu describing why he went to the meeting said, "it was because I was actually encouraged by the advice from the students about organization, that without uniting and speaking with one voice we were not going to win."[65] The presence of so many stevedores was a result of the contents of the pamphlets that students' had been distributing. In simple terms they had explained the concept of a minimum wage and the Poverty Datum Line. The fact that someone was talking with and for them was emboldening. It was this ability to act as a bridge which suggests the importance of the students.

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[62] http://www.jannturner.co.za/Articles.htm
[63] Bulletin 1, Wages Commission SRC, UND. 6 December 1971.
[64] Alec Erwin, interview with Julie Frederickse, p2. SAHA, UWL.
[65] UND, SRC, Izincwadi/letters, 1971, Bulletin of the Wages Commission in FOSATU papers, 1971, a1 2457 (ORIG) M4.3 Historical Papers, UWL.

There were setbacks and difficulties throughout this period, but the difference was that action was sustained. The failure of the Wages Board to come to a decision on the demands of the stevedores resulted in a strike in October 1972 at both Durban and Cape Town harbours. The strike failed and workers returned to work when threatened with retrenchment. However in December they were still waiting for their R18.00 and went out on strike again. 2,000 workers struck and 20 were dismissed. The Cape Town Economics Commission suggested to the stevedores that they should form a trades union and sent them a very simple list of 5 steps on how to go about it. The list ended with an offer of assistance "Write to us and tell us if you need help forming a trade union."[66] This offer revealed yet another significant shift as students had begun to understand that whereas old style liberals tended to march in and organize and arrange everything without always being asked to do so, it was important to show respect and to listen to what people wanted.

At the end of the Christmas holidays and the beginning of 1973, the Coronation Brickworkers strike started. It was also the day that the strikes started to subside, and workers began to accept small wage increases. By the end of the year 90,000 workers had struck throughout the year[67] and the uneven road leading to the rebirth of the black trades unions at the end of the 1970s had been established.

The Wages Commission in Natal had successes that spread the information it uncovered abroad. Students at Pietermaritzburg University researched wages on wattle farms in the Natal mist belt. The results of their research were picked up in the UK newspaper *The Guardian*. It published articles on conditions in the wattle estates, which were owned by a subsidiary of Slater Walker, a British company. The result of foreign press publicity on all aspects of "British investment in SA, was the establishment of a British parliamentary enquiry."[68] The enquiry led to new employment codes for British firms operating in South Africa. Even though the state was antagonistic to everything the Wages Commission was doing, it was delighted that their critics were being shown up for exploitative practices in South Africa. Mr. F.W. de Klerk, newly elected M.P. for Vereeniging, said, "we all know of employers who present themselves as protectors of the non-Whites against the so called oppression by the National Party, while they themselves are guilty of scandalous exploitation of their own non-White workers."[69]

Praxis and Theory:

The significance of academic research and Anglophone universities in assisting the nascent revival of unions was further evident in their involvement in worker education. Harriet Bolton noted that "during the strikes the trade unions and other interested bodies were appalled by the lack of knowledge displayed by the workers, the employers and the

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[66] Workers in the Stevedoring Trade, FOSATU papers, SAHA, UWL.
[67] Steven Friedman, op.cit., p.40.
[68] M. Dubois, "The role of the Wages Commission," *Reality,* Volume 5, No 4, (September 1973)
[69] *Wits Student*, 23 March 1973.

general public, about the rights of workers."[70] In response to this the Institute of Labour Education (ILE) was founded in May 1973. It was an "off campus, educational cum research body set up in 1973 in Durban largely by academics from the University of Natal. The key ideas were contained in six study books in English and Zulu produced largely by Richard Turner. These booklets introduced union activists to the key ideas of accountability and mandate among worker representatives - concepts that were to percolate into the movement and over time were to help shape the political culture of shop floor democracy that was to emerge in the eighties."[71]

The founders of the ILE also planned to produce a newsletter, whose function would be to report on general problems of the trade union movement in South Africa and elsewhere. It became the *South African Labour Bulletin*. Foszia Fisher, Rick Turner's second wife, who was on the Working Committee of the ILE, saw the bulletin as being aimed at trade union officials rather than the rank and file. Fisher at this stage, although representing her own views, also of necessity spoke for Turner who was not allowed to be present at any of the meetings.[72] Differing views on the role of the bulletin reflected the differing approaches to education for change. Turner maintained the intellectual tradition of interrogating ideas, and obviously believed that adopting a singular approach would deprive the labour movement of a self critical and reflective voice.

The ILE initially operated as a relatively autonomous body, " although it was linked with the trade union movement…However the tie was with the unions was considerably loosened when Halton Cheadle and Dave Hemson…were banned in February 1974 and were not replaced on the committee. From this point on the tension between freelance intellectuals"[73] and the unions manifested in changes which resulted in the unions taking greater control over the institute and the *Labour Bulletin* becoming more independent of the institute.

Turner's influence continued in both the individuals involved in these organizations as well as in a new student activism that saw students move into trades unions on a full time basis. Alec Erwin, who had never been a student of Turner's, but had had many discussions with him, had his own reading in development economics According to him "Rick contributed to that, and the kind of activity around the Wages Commission and in activity around the unions were the things that really shaped my thinking."[74] Erwin assisted in some of the wage board hearings including the stevedoring and textile industry hearings and then "from late1972, early 1973 we began discussing the formation of the Institute of Industrial Education, and I was involved with Rick Turner in writing some of the books on economics and that, which were used then."[75]

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[70] Harriet Bolton, "Minutes of Inaugural meeting," (30 May 1973) FOSATU papers, SAHA Archive. UWL
[71] Alec Erwin, op.cit.
[72] Turner was banned in 1973. He was murdered in 1978 shortly before his banning order was to expire. The identity of his murderer remains unknown, but there is little doubt that the murder was politically motivated.
[73] E.Webster, "The impact of Intellectuals on the Labour Movement, " *Transformation*, 18, (1992): 88-92.
[74] Alec Erwin interview with Julie Frederickse, op.cit., p 2.
[75] Ibid.

For students who became involved with labour the work was gratifying, based as it was on their theoretical education of the potential role of workers in bringing about change. Turner in his book *Eye of the Needle* wrote about this potential power. It was to remain a focus for both students and colleagues such as Eddie Webster who, following Turner's banning in 1973, became an active force amongst students at UN. The focus on black workers was to inform the new historiography but it always retained a practical emphasis and never returned to a purely academic consideration. In that sense it was one of the most remarkable and enduring incidences of the impact of New Left and counter cultural ideas and practices.

Conclusion:

Tony Morphet posed the question of what story or narrative was Turner or the Durban moment a part?[76] He answers this suggesting that both Turner and Biko expressed a certain liberalism that was about to be replaced by a more engaged and restrictive activism. It is difficult to characterize either of them using the term liberal because the term has lost its association with broad intellectual engagement and capacity. Both of them were individuals who evolved their concepts and ideas in response to the dialectical intellectual traditions of the 1960s. They were unique conduits who each carried archetypal values of the 1960s. Biko revisited race and identity in South Africa through the works of the Black Panthers and his own experience. He reformulated it to identify and find a way to reinvigorate the Africanist debate. Turner brought the ideas of May 1968 into the intellectual debate that was starting in South Africa. His presence in Durban at a time and place where theory could become praxis was fortuitous. The intellectual debate that he and Biko engaged in was a starting point. The fact that it made Biko and his friends hostile to white participation was a spur to the whites to examine their potential contribution and to explore their values. The combination was unique to Durban and has fore-grounded both Turner and Biko and the groups they were part of. They emphasize the importance of the individual in the 1960s in working within a collective. As such they were perfect exemplars of some of the core ideas and values of the decade.

Assertions as to the significance of the role of white students in the revival of trades unions in South Africa are not uncontested. The importance of claiming this moment in history is obvious given the role trades unions were to play in the dismantling of apartheid as well as internal opposition to it. In Jeremy Baskin's *Striking Back. A* History *of Cosatu*[77] he acknowledges white students as a factor in the re-emergence of the unions, but argues that the real reason for the revival of the trades unions lay in the fact that Sactu grew most rapidly in Natal and the Eastern Cape where the relationship between the unions and the ANC was the closest.[78] He is at pains to point out the relative ineffectiveness of Black Consciousness leaders in this moment, describing them last and as those with the "least impact." The observations of Alec Erwin about black workers at

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[76] Tony Morphet, "Brushing History Against the Grain. Oppositional Discourse in South Africa, " The Richard Turner Memorial Lecture, Durban, (27 September, 1990), p.95.
[77] Jeremy Baskin, *Striking Back. A History of Cosatu* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1991).
[78] Ibid, p.16.

the time certainly support this argument, but they also underscore the interaction and role of white intellectuals who were accepted by workers precisely "because they didn't have the kind of assertiveness that B.C had developed elsewhere."[79]

Reflecting on the success of the Wages Commission and the debate around who was responsible, Paula Ensor observed "We couldn't have functioned without the networks that had been established in the 1950s which were SACTU and ANC networks. We used those networks. We wouldn't have coped otherwise." She suggests that "the Wages Commissions emerged at a time when the whole mood in South Africa was shifting. If we'd tried to set them up five years previously they wouldn't have worked."[80] Her comments are valuable because they bring together the contending sides of the argument claiming credit for the revival of the black trades union movement. It was a unique opportunity, but the one element that differed from previous attempt to revive black trades unions, was the presence of white students. The concept of a poverty datum line, was linked to other university based research, it carried 'white scientific credibility,' it was challenging the white man on his own terms. These were small but important differences, and they were emphasized by the creation of the ILE and the important role it played in worker education and analysis. These were what made the difference and it was here that the privilege of education was obvious. It was also the first time that there was a marriage between theory and praxis and suggests the value of theory in this instance as a means of grasping a previously unsuccessful answer to a persistent issue.

The student movements of the 1960s had all resorted to various interpretations of Marxist thinking to provide a framework for their movements. What made the framework so valuable in South Africa was that it moved beyond race and focused on class. It advanced the value of changed perception as a means of responding to an existing economic structure. It took theory out of the classroom and suggested that education could link with change rather than with maintaining the status quo. This was a seminal idea of the sixties, and in the context of South Africa suggests that the New Left and the counterculture resulted in far reaching changes both in the economy and in education. The absence of the media and television in particular, worked to the advantage of the students and the workers. The public could not become incensed by footage of black workers striking and marching, which would have been the visual impact they would have received. Instead they read in the paper of the abysmal wages industry paid workers, and were appalled.[81] They supported the call for higher wages and focused on them rather than on the role of students. It is an interesting example of how the huge difference between the South African student movement and elsewhere worked for once in their favour.

The focus of this chapter on the importance of the means of transmission of the ideas of the New Left and the counterculture was underscored by its outcome. The importance of tracing how the global became local is emphasized in this narrative and suggests that even though the numbers involved were small, it was no less significant than what

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[79] Alec Erwin, op.cit., p.3.
[80] Paula Ensor, interview, Cape Town, 23 March, 2009.
[81] The English-speaking newspapers carried both articles and letters in which readers expressed their feelings about the low wages. They were surprisingly supportive of demands for increased wages.

happened in Paris in May 1968. Indeed in the context of long-term change it had a greater impact and set of consequences. The success of the Wages Commission however carried a price. Students were aware that the state would react but they do not appear to have been aware of the form or shape that such reaction would come in. Before examining this response, it is necessary to turn to the other developments that followed the reappraisal of the role of white students as a result of 1968. These continued the theme of cultural change and conscientisation of whites.

Chapter 7.

'You say you want a revolution
Well you know we all want to change the world…

But if you want money for minds that hate,
Well Brother you'll have to wait.'[1]

The linking of praxis and theory and the teachings of the New Left, initiated a rupture within the overall impact of the counterculture on South Africa. Students were engaging at a broad level with society and choosing in many instances not to engage with direct political action. What the counterculture demonstrated was that it was possible to express opposition to both social structures and ideology, without necessarily having to frame such opposition within a political context. The boundaries of political action were broadening at the same time as theoretical constructs were becoming more orthodox. The legacy of the foregrounding of race and language as key identity issues coupled with the failure of liberal ideologies initiated a re-examination of individual cultural repertoires. Students were experiencing greater direct contact through travel and the slow breaking down of the cultural imaginary of 'overseas' helped to some extent to awaken a realization that imitation was not the only path to expression. The social and ideological impact of separation could be countered in a variety of spaces and as the limits to political expression grew, a concomitant expansion in other areas of expression grew.

Within the boundaries of the English-speaking universities the questioning of the nature of education linked to the assumptions and ideology of a colonial inheritance acted as a catalyst for significant theoretical redefinition. The consequences of an outward looking cultural focus and the ideas and values imbibed from the 1960s counterculture, combined to create the foundation of a new examination of identity. The early 1970s were the beginning of a Lacanian moment of looking into the mirror,[2] but it was a mirror with many prisms, and suggested that the formation of identity could extend beyond the boundaries of both race and language. Two discernible directions emerged out of this. An interest in subjects that had been denied existence became the source of a new fusion and melding of a tentative identity. This direction receded against the response to the emergence of SASO. The inevitable focus on race caused the attempt at fusion to have a limited impact. The second direction linked to a sense of an identity in denial,[3] which led to practical responses to race based on access to education and privilege. It was the period when the discourses of the 1960s and the focus on the individual and consciousness

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[1] Lennon/MacCartney. "Revolution," on *White Album*, Northern Songs, 1968. LP.

[2] Lacan posited that when one looks in a mirror and sees oneself as an other that recognition represents a moment of self-awareness. It is suggested here that when South African students started to initiate their own change and to expand their cultural repertoires, they began to express a nascent self-awareness which was the beginning of a tentative and alternative South African identity.

[3] The identity that was being denied was that of a stereotypical white racist South African.

found practical expression in the choices made by students. This chapter explores these directions and the manner in which the global became local.[4]

<u>Heirs of the 1960s-roots of an Alternative Identity:</u>

The generation that arrived at university in South Africa in the 1970s represented the real heirs of the European student movements of the 1960s. The slow distillation and dissemination of information from the 1960s created a time warp that resulted in the South African version of the years of 1967–1969 in Europe transmuting to 1971-1974 in South Africa. SA Anglophone students had absorbed the 1960s primarily through the music of the period as well as through the media and its portrayal of foreign students. The information had been relatively sparse, but virtually everyone interviewed for this study recalls having wanted to be the same as young people in the UK and the USA.

The importance of international influences and connections was a consistent feature of this period, but whereas previously it had acted as a means to obliterating the local, it was now a way of reinterpreting the local. Whilst increasing numbers of students were exposed via affordable travel to foreign lands and culture, they were acquiring a different perspective on South Africa. Students who were AFS scholars learnt that they were not as ignorant as they had previously believed. They were shocked by the conservatism they encountered in America "I'd assumed it was a totally liberated society and actually it was interesting to discover that conservative Americans were deeply conservative."[5] Whilst they came to understand what a repressive and conservative society they had grown up in, they also acknowledged that their desire to be like American and British youth, combined with their own often multi-cultural heritage, had left them with a broader general knowledge than their American counterparts.[6]

The government was suspicious of AFS, it was attacked as being liberal and left-wing and influencing the political views of the students who went to America.[7] AFS students did have a disproportionately important role in spreading news about America. Their experiences were particularly interesting because they met students from all over the world and lived with an American family. They had significant experiences they could narrate and which had meaning to their friends. Everything from encountering Black Panthers first hand to attending Neil Young[8] concert's carried significance. Small as their numbers were, with less than one hundred students per year qualifying,[9] their impact was far greater than their numbers suggested. Gill Murdoch recalled clearly being fascinated

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[4] Timothy Brown, "1968" East and West: Divided Germany as a Case Study in Transnational History," *The American Historical Review*, Volume 114, Number 1, (February 2009): 69-96.

[5] Linda Cross Albertyn, interview, Johannesburg, 17 January 2008.

[6] Interviews with AFS students, Linda Cross, Gill Robb, Michael Green.

[7] Interview Duncan Innes in NUSAS papers BC 586.F2. UCT Archive.

[8] Neil Young was a sometime member of the group Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young. In the early 1970s he recorded solo albums. He is regarded as one of the 'greats' of the rock era.

[9] The numbers of South African students who qualified as AFS students in the 10 years of this study were 1964/65-73. 1966/67-92. 1968/69-98. 1969/1970-96. 1970/71-88. 1971/72-87. 1972/73-82. 1973/74-74. 1974/75-80. E-mail message to author from Eleanora Golobic, (AFS Archivist and Alumni Relations Manager) Fri 2009/02/27.

to hear about America from a friend's sister who had been an AFS student.[10] These links carried on through personal contact, and as with all other travelers, everything they returned with was examined and analysed in great detail. Friends of a friend would have an influence, which would ripple out and be expressed in knowledge about a new Pink Floyd album or the latest fashions in London. Apart from travel, music and film were the major carriers of the ideas that came to exert considerable influence on students.

The significance of film as a means of transmitting the ideas and values of the counterculture is evident in the response to two films in particular. *Woodstock* [11]and *If'* influenced both individuals and groups, and became the foundation of social practices and movements. *If'* directed by Lindsay Anderson and released in 1969, became the name of the cultural program Turner launched together with NUSAS's cultural arm, Aquarius. The latter was a reference to a song from yet another seminal 1960s play, *Hair.*[12] The song "Aquarius" referred to the coming of a new dawn, an age of "harmony and understanding."[13] The program 'If' which was directed at encouraging white South Africans to think differently, translated into a focus on cultural ways of influencing and changing white thinking. It manifested in different strategies, but its initial formulation owed much to the inspiration of *If* the film.

Woodstock, the film, was released in SA in 1970 and had a huge impact on young people. Whereas *If* carried discourses of the 1960s as expressed in English cultural terms, *Woodstock* was one of the first and strongest visual representations of musicians and young Americans ever seen in South Africa. For the audience it conveyed a sense of being part of a global tribe who shared the same music, ideas and values expressed primarily through the medium of music. The press had described *Woodstock* as the quintessential experience of the hippie movement and it was anticipated and relished for that reason. The spirit of Woodstock of peace, harmony and co-operation was what made it so compelling. To young viewers, the idea that music by all the leading performers of the time could be seen live, was almost unthinkable. 'Overseas' and the counterculture came closer with the screening of *Woodstock,* which was unlike any other film of the time, with real people rather than actors as its subject.[14]

Virtually everyone recalls seeing *Woodstock* as a pivotal experience. Even though it was a mediated experience, it carried the energy of youth, freedom from social constraints, togetherness of purpose and ideals into a vision. From the air guitar playing of Joe Cocker to the announcements about avoiding the bad acid, it was where and what people wanted to be. The film also made everyone aware of what they were missing out on. It summed up the belief that there were alternatives to life, which did not involve 'heavy' politics, but nevertheless suggested alternative worldviews were possible.

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[10] Gill Murdoch, interview, Johannesburg, 3 January 2008.
[11] *Woodstock*. Director Michael Wadleigh, 1969. Film.
[12] The record cover of *Hair* described the play as "crystallizing the revolt of youth...the lack of communication between the generations."
[13]Glat Macdermot. " Aquarius," on *Hair*, United Artists Music Pty. Ltd. 1969. LP.
[14] Some interviewees went to see the movie eight times. Even though it was censored, the essential message was not lost.

The majority of writing on Woodstock focuses on Jimi Hendrix's playing of the "Star Spangled Banner"[15] which is described as a seminal moment of deconstruction. For South African viewers it was the experience of seeing Hendrix playing in the flesh albeit again mediated through a film that was important. The fact that Hendrix was already dead by the time many finally saw him 'live' captures the distance between them and the metropole. Few have ever commented on what he played. What counted was the realization that they were not that different from their counterparts overseas and the experience of Woodstock could, to some extent, be recreated in South Africa.

Woodstock came to South Africa in a tangible form in the shape of the Woodstock sound 'bins' which had been donated by Bill Hanley for use at multiracial concerts.[16] Dave Marks had worked at Woodstock and brought the bins back to SA as part of the dream of promoting a multi-racial South Africa via similar concerts. These concerts known as the Free People's Concerts were held at Wits where it was still possible to hold a multi-racial event.[17] The Free People's Concerts, were an attempt to forge a new identity with music as the anchor, and to provide a platform for artists who wanted to say something about South Africa. This was what had happened in the 1960s abroad and Marks, working with NUSAS representatives and Aquarius, believed that such concerts might have a similar effect. They were financed from Mark's earnings from his international hit of 1966, "Master Jack." The song itself carried the idea that boundaries and cultural stereotypes were pointless. In the same way that students who had gone to the USA had learnt to engage with individuals from all over the world, "Master Jack" was about "a strange, strange world."[18] Marks explained that the song had been percolating in his head for some time whilst working underground at the mines near Welkom in the Free State. It came together on the evening of the assassination of Prime Minister H.F.Verwoerd. Marks had witnessed a fellow Afrikaans miner who was "a huge fellow" being beaten up in the change room. He discovered that the beating was because the man, whom he had assumed was a staunch Afrikaner, had in fact expressed delight at the assassination.[19]

New Voices and the Potential for Change:

It was this unexpected realization that stereotypes and assumptions about people were false, which bred hope that change via cultural means was possible. Marks had seen this happening in the 1960s when he took fellow miners to The Troubadour club in Hillbrow. He had seen some march out in disgust whilst others had stayed and engaged with the music and the lyrics. This was the foundation of a broader less overtly political move to do exactly what the 1960s had suggested, and that was change the way people thought. The optimism came from the realization that it was indeed possible.

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[15] See Charles Shaar Murray, *Crosstown Traffic* (London: Faber, 1989), p.195.
[16] Http://www.3rdearmusic.com//hyarchive/hiddenyearsstory/hookupbrother.html. (accessed 3/20/2007), p.2.
[17] This was possible because Wits was private property.
[18] Dave Marks. " Master Jack," 1966. 7 Single.
[19] His words were "Ek is bly die bliksem is dood" which roughly translates into "I'm glad the bugger is dead"

The Free People's Concerts provided a platform for local artists who reflected not only international trends in music, incorporating over time, new instruments and sounds, but also a place for original compositions. Each year the concert would have a theme such as the 1973 concert whose theme was 'Free All Detainees.' Artists such as Lefifi Tladi and Paul Clingman would perform at the concerts, but there was always a price to pay for any attempt at free speech. In the case of music recorded by Third Ear, it was an almost blanket ban on any airplay on SABC. Even though the concerts mixed culture and politics, for the audience they were often simply great occasions to get 'stoned'[20] and to have a good time.

The knowledge that South Africa was a bizarre and dysfunctional society, bred a variety of reactions, not least of which was weariness at the constant need to express political resistance. For some students politics was their staple diet, but for others it never felt right or comfortable. It was not always indifference that led to their more complex reactions, it was simply a desire to now and again be young, forget that the world was imperfect and to be like they imagined other young people in the UK and USA were. It was the element of fun, the vision of everyone having a good time that explained some of the appeal of *Woodstock*. Watching the film captured the feeling of being on the outside looking in. There was both regret and anger at being born into a political system that students neither supported nor wanted to be identified with. If they were to choose the latter then there was little choice, but to find some way of expressing resistance or doing something that might change the system. Doing something as simple as having fun appeared as a lack of political and moral sophistication, yet even with an awareness of the need to change apartheid, politics was not the issue most dominant in their lives. All they wanted to do was to be young and explore the world on their terms, and the film suggested that it was possible. Everything in it was copied right down to the anti-fashion statements of its participants.

The one 'fashion' at *Woodstock* that stood out amongst all the others was the almost ubiquitous denim clothing, but more importantly, the long hair particularly on the men. Long hair, had started to become a fashion in South Africa but only became widespread in the early 1970s. It was a badge of belonging; "Letting their freak flag fly."[21] The direct translation of this fashion was succinctly summarized by Linda Cross Albertyn describing the planeload of AFS students she traveled with to America in 1970. On the plane going over they were all neat and well dressed and the boys had short hair, a year later they all had long hair and were scruffily dressed in denims and T-shirts. "It was very much the Nats version of how you got corrupted."[22] The description vividly sums up how fashion and trends from abroad were physically translated into South Africa.

By the 1970s the anti-materialism of the counterculture had become evident in the clothes and hairstyles of both genders. Woman generally had long flowing unstyled hair and wore either the unisex uniform of T-shirts and jeans, or long flowing Indian skirts or dresses. Make up was considered bourgeois but only hard-core young women refused to

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[20] Getting stoned is international parlance for smoking marijuana.
[21] Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young "Almost Cut My Hair," on *Déjà vu*, 1970. LP.
[22] Linda Cross Albertyn, interview, Johannesburg, 17 January 2008.

ever use make up. The denial of fashion, even though messiness was a fashion, implied that not only was the individual choosing not to identify with fashion and its implied market manipulation but also wanted to be seen as a whole person not defined by their gender or dress. It appears from male interviewees that such concerns were generally not respected. One of the most important activities for young men on campus was the hunt for females. With or without make-up, the main message men were looking for in the clothing was whether "the 'chick' might be available."

Language revealed new influences both from travel and songs. 'Hassle' was a word that emerged in the late 1960s, as did 'paranoid,' 'cat,' 'getting bust,' 'freaks' and routine swearing. 'Getting your shit together,' meant pulling one's life into some order. A more significant political change was in the disappearance of the word non-whites and Bantu and the use instead of Black. Listening acutely to language in film introduced new phrases and expressions that helped to delineate the boundary between young and old. Whereas in the late 1970s slang originating in South Africa like 'larnie' and 'jol'[23]would be heard more widely, in the early seventies slang was largely imported.

Whether in clothing, hairstyles or language, there was a visible change amongst both older and incoming students on campus. Neville Curtis as the president elect of NUSAS in 1970 had encountered this change at a more profound level when he travelled to all the Anglophone campuses. In an interview following the 1970 NUSAS conference, he described the aims of Aquarius as a need "to find creative expression for South Africans and to find something which is neither black nor white, but both original and vital."[24] He had found that whilst most students had virtually no contact with other race groups, the most common question he heard was "What can we do?"[25] As a leader he set the tone of the early 1970s when he stated "If we can seize the chance we can move away from resistant defense to active expansion."[26]

It was this new energy and focus, which saw the establishment of the Wages and Economics Commission as well as Nuswel, Nused and Aquarius.[27] Curtis's travels in the United States had given him a sense of both the nearness and distance between the two countries. He had seen that the student movement in the States had changed and become smaller and more radical. What had become evident from the experience of the 1960s was that protest had failed to achieve long-term political change. "But what I did learn in the States that was particularly interesting was that alternatives can exist, and that changes can take place."[28] Curtis's private letters to senior members of NUSAS reveal that he had a cynical understanding of the change in attitude of potential funders to South African white students. Whereas in the 1960s funding had been compromised by the

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[23]' Larnie' means smart or fancy. 'Jol' means an excursion, having fun or a party.

[24] http://0-www.aluka.org.innopac.wits.ac/action/showAllText?doi=10.5555/AL.SFF.DO (accessed 2009/02/19), p.4.

[25]The State of the National Union, NUSAS newsletter, No 6. 3-70.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Nuswel was the welfare arm of NUSAS, Nused focused on Education and Aquarius on Culture.

[28] Neville Curtis, " Statement for Sunday Times." 28 November 1971. p.1, File F2, NUSAS papers, UCT Archive.

CIA's funding of the American student movement,[29] it was clear that the perception of white students had shifted. As individuals in the States had become more radical, their attitude to SA had changed and whereas student leaders from the 1960s would be secure in being accepted as opponents of the government, now there was a far more critical approach. Curtis was aware that the issue of NUSAS being a largely white organization was a problem and advised skirting around the issue by emphasizing that it was a non-racial organization.[30] For the students arriving at university in 1970, such subtleties were yet to be learnt. The desire to emulate their peers abroad was based on their understanding of them from the 1960s. They were keen to engage with protest and to explore the relative freedom of university life. "We were convinced we were going to change the world."[31]

South African Age of Aquarius:

Assessing the impact of the counterculture on South African youth the influence at this juncture is even more obvious and profound than it had been in 1968. This was the generation described in the chapter on identity. These were the students who had grown up in the cultural vacuum created by the conflicting loyalties of an increasingly dominant official Afrikaans based culture. Their focus had been almost exclusively outward and global, with their environment acting as a backdrop, rather than a source of connection and inspiration. "We were going through a western society very conscious sort of thing."[32] The music of the 1960s had been their major unifying cultural expression and echoing the sentiments of youth in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other repressive regimes, the music had become symbolic of the freedom and sophistication of the lifestyle they aspired to.

When this generation arrived on campus, they were ready to engage with any issue that interested them. NUSAS understood that communication was key to holding this enthusiasm, and from 1970 published a weekly newsletter. It also established offices on campuses other than UCT and became less focused on UCT. Through its different divisions it stayed in touch with students who were involved in focused activities. Even though protest was not seen as the most effective means of countering the government, it was not dead. Detentions and deportations continued, and protests against them were well supported. Protest however was not only about actions taken against students. When Nicky Brodie, a first year arts student at Wits spontaneously organized a protest against the new job reservation proclamation on April 3, 1970. 'Seasoned' campus politicians predicted it would be a flop. The NUSAS newsletter however observed, "students at Wits

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[29] In 1967 it was discovered that the CIA had been secretly funding student organizations as a means of infiltrating student movements. It was discovered that they had given money to USNSA, which was used to fund SA refugees and Anti-Apartheid organizations. When the scandal broke, President Lyndon Johnson ordered an immediate cessation of "Agency assistance to all civilian organizations in the US." Following this decision the ISC and international student movements all struggled to find funding. NUSAS papers. BC586 A2.1 & BC 586. G1.3, UCT Archive.

[30] See Letter from Neville Curtis to his sister Jenny entitled "Follow up from American Trip," NUSAS Papers, Files A3.14, UCT Archive.

[31] John Chatterton, interview, Johannesburg, 24 August 2007.

[32] Tony Bentel, interview, Johannesburg, 2 November 2008.

have always had their protests laid on for them. In 1968 the Mafeje protest was SRC organised and only after egg-throwers, Hells Angels and the police livened up the scene did the vast mass really respond…NUSAS hoped that the 'spontaneity' is the long awaited crack in the wall."[33]

The crack in the wall was widening at the same time as the economic and political landscape of SA was changing. The white election of 1970 reflected a split in the National Party between 'Verligte's' and 'Verkrampte's.'[34] The issues, over which the election was fought according to Mr. Vorster, were "the effectiveness of the National Party in combating communism and a demonstration to the world that the South African government was neither weak nor frightened."[35] The election results revealed a loss of support for the National Party, but not enough to make a real difference. No reference was made to the fact that America had gone off the gold standard in 1968. This meant that gold was no longer the official standard against which major currencies were pegged and stabilized. South Africa as the world's largest producer of the metal was not threatened by any immediate loss in the global value of the metal. However what had been the keystone of the global economy had become instead a commodity to be traded like any other commodity. It signaled the arrival of a postmodern economy of shifting and unstable values. In South African newsworthiness it was rated as important as South Africa's expulsion from the Olympic games in Mexico in 1968.

John Vorster's comment on hearing of this expulsion "then we are in the jungle"[36] could have extended to the economic world, but he was not a politician with a great grasp of modern economics. Like so many of his cabinet his roots lay in agriculture, which was reflected in the generous tax benefits and assistance extended to white farmers. Farming had been changing since the late 1960s with the introduction of sprinkler irrigation and feedlots for fattening up cattle. It was also the decade of the last concerted (and failed) effort to rid farming land of 'vermin' i.e. jackals and lynx. Alongside this attempt to transform and control nature, the National Party dream of modernity in urban South Africa continued. It seems quaint to mention that a newspaper report in 1966 had stated "by 1970 it should be possible to lift a telephone almost anywhere in South Africa and dial through to most places in the world,"[37] however it helps to underscore how relatively simple and unsophisticated communications were. Expenditure on infrastructure continued with the 1970s reflecting the need for more efficient road networks. Car purchases had doubled in the decade and the growth in suburban districts and the lack of public transport accelerated the growth in a car based culture.

The building of the M1 highway in Johannesburg in the 1970s continued the theme of National Party modernity and was imposed on the city by the Provincial Government housed in Pretoria. The tussle between English and Afrikaans speakers found expression

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[33] *NUSAS* newsletter (no 10), Fri. 17 April 1970.

[34] 'Verligtes' were 'enlightened' and 'verkrampte's' were 'narrow minded' and ultra conservative. The former wanted renewal and change and the latter wanted to enforce Afrikaans values and a narrow Calvinism. They referred to whites who did not reflect their values as 'Seekaffirs' i.e. 'seakaffirs.'

[35] H.Lever, *The South African Voter* (Johannesburg: Juta, 1972), p.178.

[36] *Natal Mercury*, 25 April 25 1968.

[37] *Natal Mercury,* 11 January 1966.

even in the location of a highway. The lack of decision-making power on the part of the Johannesburg City Council was an inheritance from the old Transvaal Republic. Pretoria could override and impose any decision it wanted on Johannesburg.[38] The resentment between the two groups played itself out in apparently petty ways. These were not issues that concerned students, but the routing of the M1 had a fortuitous outcome for some students.

A by-product of the plans for the new M1 was the destruction of former Randlord mansions in the suburb of Parktown. These large, ornate architecturally interesting, old houses many of which were due for demolition to make way for the highway, became ideal communes with relatively low rentals, large numbers of rooms and close proximity to the campus of Wits. These places became the epicenter of parties and social interaction for many students who wanted nothing more than to live the life they imagined West Coast hippies lived. Communes were places where new ideas and music could be heard and discussed. The idea of a commune, which was to defy the nuclear family and its hierarchy, was denied to many students who could not afford to live away from home. Many students were still dependant on parents and bursaries for their fees and allowances. Whilst keen to be free they were aware of their financial constraints and this played out mostly in their ambivalence around political involvement.

By the 1970s the Security Branch was linked to BOSS (the Bureau of State Security.)[39] It is impossible to gauge how many spies were employed on campus, but amongst those who have come forward in the past years,[40] it is clear that having a spy within a key group on campus was an effective way of garnering information. UN had some individuals who outed themselves in the 1960s, but perhaps the most damagingly powerful of all the spies was Craig Williamson who managed to become closely connected to the leadership of NUSAS. Students were aware of the presence of the SB and no student protest would have been complete without a gathering of BOSS men with cameras facing the protest. The fear the SB engendered was real and effective. Many students chose not to become involved in political action precisely because they were scared. Chancellor Bozzoli of Wits went so far as to state "the main cause of the brain drain in South Africa was intimidation of students by security police."[41]

Although fear played a part in restricting political involvement it did not translate into inactivity, in fact it was the spur to action in more subtle ways. It coincided with the knowledge that protest had a limited and largely symbolical impact, which could carry disproportionately heavy consequences for participants. Fear and a feeling of helplessness generated a growing interest in exploring an alternative South African

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[38] Cutting a swathe through randlord houses, which symbolized the wealth of the English, carried a symbolical value for Afrikaners who resented the loss of the Republic because of the Anglo-Boer war.
[39] Boss was created in 1968. "There had been an extra R4 million rand allocation for 'secret services' in the 1969-70 budget." James Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends* (London: John Murray, 2006), p. 38.
[40] The end of apartheid and the establishment of the TRC bought a number of spies out in the open, including Mark Behr, Craig Williamson, David Brune, Arthur Macgiven and many more. Earlier confessions such as that of Keith Mathee, who confessed in 1974 to having been a spy on UN campus, were far less common.
[41] *Wits Student*, 17 April 1970.

identity. No one at the time would have seen themselves as engaged in anything as formal as defining an identity, however the constant separation from the dominant culture and the desire to reach outside of the boundaries of apartheid created a space within which questions about race, culture, education and language could be examined. The early exploration of the spaces created by the counterculture were often comical and frequently abortive, but it was a beginning and once the following initiatives started, they changed the landscape of choice and response and widened the perception of how individuals could engage with change and challenging social structures.

Students were engaging with many of the central concepts of the 1960s. A small group involved themselves in the nascent environmental awareness of the period, but they never grew into a significant force. They adopted curious projects such as a frog eradication program at an old age home in Sherwood in Durban. "This formed part of a broad anti-pollution campaign planned by Aquarius."[42] They were rather inept and somewhat comical. In 1975 an attempt to draw attention to the pollution and waste caused by tin cans, involved students throwing a large pile of cans into the entrance of Barlow's Head Office in Braamfontein. It would have had some impact, if they had got the address right, but they had gone to the wrong place.[43] Environmental concerns never rose to the fore in South Africa. The cause was adopted by hippies which isolated the movement and resulted in stereotyping of the movement as the province of 'brown rice, open toed, tree huggers.'

The first stirrings of women's liberation was influencing young women although few works on the subject were available and the disdain for 'hairy legged bra burning' females despised by most males, was not much of an incentive for young women to join their ranks. Every time an article appeared in the student press discussing or outlining the ideas of Womens Lib, letters would follow insisting that it was merely an excuse for lesbians and generally unappealing young females to find a social purpose. The contradiction of the hippie movement was that "we all had to be earth mothers to make it and it was really dreadfully sexist."[44] The centrality of apartheid as an issue tended to diminish the importance of other new discourses and delayed their expression in significant numbers, but the initial interest and response dates from this period. Within the left, men dominated and there were very few women at executive level. Sexual engagement complicated relationships, but was widely explored by the left as an expression of freedom from bourgeois values.

Amongst female interviewees there was considerable ambivalence in the values they expressed around the sexual 'revolution.' The one notable feature amongst interviewees was that they seemed to be aware of others having sex, but very few of them seem to have had early sexual experiences. The difficulty in obtaining the pill anonymously was one of the problems,[45] as was living at home, but whilst everyone knew of individuals

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[42] *Dome,* 24 March 1972.

[43] *Wits Student,* 25 August 1975. They had meant to leave the cans at Coca Cola's head office.

[44] Interview Hilary Wilson, Johannesburg, 11 March 2008.

[45] A family planning clinic offering contraceptive advice was only established at UN in August 1973. Its slogan was "A pill means never having to say you worry." *Dome,* August 1973.

having sex, the numbers seem to be smaller than assumed. It appears that for the majority of female students living with someone or having sexual experiences was delayed until they left university and moved out of home.

Female interviewees were not as open about their personal sexual history as some males were. However amongst the men, pursuit of girls was acknowledged as one of their primary memories of the time. As many girls were not 'available' the pursuit was tireless. If that meant joining a political group to get to the females they desired, they were perfectly prepared to do so. However it does appear that on the whole, the sexual revolution of the 1960s was not widely experienced by South African university students in the early 1970s. It was only amongst the 'politicos'[46] that sexual involvement was more common. Even that was not left outside of the purview of politics. Jann Turner, daughter of Rick Turner recounts a story, which in its bizarreness encapsulates many of the elements typical of trying to be normal in an abnormal society. The SB agent assigned to monitoring Turner "knew- from experience- that on Sunday nights a couple of the students who stayed in my father's commune would go into the spare room to have sex. Not wanting to miss a trick Jack had excused himself from the dinner table and gone into the surveillance room for his own private peep show."[47] Evidently his long absence from the family dinner table resulted in his wife looking for him and finding him masturbating in the shed. The incident was 'sorted out' by his handler Vic McPherson and only came to light many years later.[48]

Moving out of home was not essential to experiencing one of the central experiences of the counterculture. Drugs were not new to South Africa, but the number of young people consuming them in the early 1970s was considerably more than in the previous decade. Dagga was the most commonly available drug, always popular with groups as it is a relatively sociable drug, as well as its long history in South Africa. There were abundant growers and sources of supply because of its historical usage in many black communities. Pat Hopkins tells of his father, a descendant of Irish settlers, who lived near Bergville in KwaZulu, who supplemented the family income from trading in dagga. "He would lead donkeys laden with bags of mielie meal[49] into the mountains and return with hessian sacks full of the precious herb."[50] Hopkins father traded with the Amangwane whose use of the plant could be traced back many centuries. The 1960s brought an expanding market for the plant amongst white youth and traders like Hopkins found a curious way of straddling two very distinct worlds.[51] South African youth had easy access to dagga and many experienced it whilst still at school. It could be bought from waiters, ice cream sellers or garage attendants for less than a Rand.[52] As few parents knew what it smelt or looked like, they were seldom aware of its use by their children.

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[46] The term used to describe left-wing politically involved students.
[47] http://www.jannturner.co.za/Articles.htm 1-6. p.3. (accessed. 2008/01/15)
[48] Ibid.
[49] Maize meal derived from corn, also known as polenta.
[50] Pat Hopkins, "Mountain Greenery" *Keeping Track* (Aug/Sept.1997), p.15.
[51] Hopkins senior was eventually arrested and imprisoned but not for his trade in dagga, but rather because of his involvement with a black woman.
[52] In 1969, a large (clean) oil drum full of Durban Poison was offered to an informant for R5. She did not take up the offer, as she had no idea how to conceal such a very obvious object.

Through the 1960s the influence of the writings of Alduous Huxley and Carlos Castaneda had led to small numbers becoming interested in the psychotropic plants mescalin, peyote and pscylocibin. They were believed to be 'purer' than man made drugs and infinitely more powerful than dagga. However reports on LSD were circulating and there are anecdotal accounts of a number of individuals who tried it in the 1960s. It was easier to get mescalin and heroin particularly if you were in a port town, where sailors traded in them, but no one appears to have bought LSD from sailors. There is no way one can definitively record the first arrival of LSD in South Africa, however its usage is more widely anecdotally acknowledged from 1969 onwards. It was clearly in South Africa in the 1960s, but the more widespread use started in the early 1970s. One dealer described how she and her partner received their LSD in books that had their inner pages cut out. As it is so small and odourless and drug detection methods were relatively primitive at that time, it was not easily detected.

Drug 'pushers' in South Africa were often conventional seeming individuals. Sometimes they were nurses or student or parents. One interviewee used to have a friend who bought opium from Indian shopkeepers in western Pretoria whilst a scholar at Pretoria Boys High. The shopkeepers had everything from Spanish fly to marijuana for sale. The interviewee did smoke the opium with his friend, but was disappointed, as it did absolutely nothing for him. Opium however was a relatively rare drug; dagga was by far the most common substance as it was cheap. There are some individuals who forty years on are still buying dagga from the same supplier they used at university. Whilst there are women who are regular users, it is males who constitute by far the greatest number of consistent users. Most women interviewees described having tried dagga once or twice, but very few liked it and none of them continued to use it.

Dagga was not heavily legislated against until 1971[53] when it became classified at the same level as hard drugs. Punitive laws and penalties were introduced for both users and pushers, but it made little difference to those who used it. There were a number of names for marijuana. The American word 'pot' was never commonly used. Its most common name was 'dagga' followed by 'dope' and 'zol.' As a social practice, smoking marijuana replicated practices abroad, but through its long term presence in South Africa it represented both an absorption as well as a melding of two social patterns.

Drugs were seen as a shared experience and part of a common bond between groups. If one is to talk of South African hippies at all, then it is around the use of drugs that the distinction can be drawn. Like their counterparts in the USA and UK, students who used drugs tended not to be heavy users. The heavy users who drifted into communes and went off to live on farms in the country, dropped out of university. They saw the attainment of a degree as part of 'the system', which is precisely what they did not want to participate in. However many of the core values of hippies, as opposed to the social practices of hippies, were shared by students and continue to define them in their present lives. Richard Mills defined these core values as being a belief that the dominant society is not

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[53] Under the new legislation no distinction was drawn between dagga and hard drugs such as heroin. It was estimated at the time that 500,000 people of all races smoked dagga. *Dome* 21 May 1971.

real, and only the outsider detached from the dominant society is capable of seeing what is real.[54]

This definition accurately describes how many students saw themselves in the 1970s. Little in their history in South Africa had engaged them in society and their sense of alienation from the dominant culture found expression in the detachment at the heart of hippie values. Whilst many who adopted hippie dress in the period were never really hippies. If one accepts Mills definition a considerable number of students who nominally stayed in 'the system' could be classified as hippies. The recreational use of drugs or at least tolerance of their consumption separated them from the more politically motivated and concerned individuals. Few if any radicals or politically active individuals took drugs or even tried them. Rick Turner whose opinion counted amongst many of the radically inclined students, was opposed to drugs and amongst the politically active, it was felt that drugs of any kind diminished their mental abilities. At a practical level it was not clever for anyone already under surveillance to be seen consuming illegal substances.

It is in the attitude of student political leaders in SA and USA to users of drugs, and the response of users, that the fundamental difference between the two groups of students is evident. For hippies the issue was best expressed in the oracle " How can we have a groovy, happy society unless everyone has reached his own nirvana? The message of the hippie was simply "straighten out your own head first."[55] For the political student it was the opposite. Drug experiences had introduced users to a view of the world diametrically opposed to the confrontations of politics. Hallucinogenic drugs provided visions of the infinite, of potential and human happiness. If one could get there by taking an infinitesimal amount of LSD then why take the long road of struggle and ideological debate? The one outcome of this experience that drew both radicals and hippies together was an understanding that changing the way one viewed the world changed the world. This belief was manifesting in and around the central discourse of political change and was sustained by the influences students had absorbed.

Laughing it Off:

The spirit of the 1960s of irreverence and disdain for 'the system' emerged in the use of humour and satire. It had been reinforced by Marshall Mcluhan who suggested that humour "does not deal in theory, but in immediate experience, and is often the best guide to changing perceptions…Today's humor...has no story lines. It is usually a compressed overlay of stories."[56] It was one of the ways students resorted to in order to express their disdain and incomprehension at the government's behaviour. Tom Hayden suggested that the counterculture generation owed some of its irreverence for authority to its exposure to *MAD* magazine in the USA.[57] "It played a significant role in the move toward free expression among children; its relentless exposure of parental dishonesty caused shock

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[54] Richard Mills, *Young Outsiders: A study of alternative communities* (London: Routledge, 1973), p.71.
[55] Jay Stevens, *Storming Heaven* (London: Paladin, 1989), p. 414.
[56] Marshall McLuhan, *The Medium is the Massage* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), p. 92.
[57] Tom Hayden, *Reunion. A Memoir* (London: Hamish Hamilton, proof copy 1989), p.15.

waves and reaction among its young readers."[58] In the UK this same generation had been exposed to *Private Eye*, which started in 1960.[59] South African students had grown up with these magazines as well as daring local humourists and comedy revues such as 'Wait a Minim' which poked fun at the government.[60] By the early 1970s this same irreverence was being expressed in student newspapers.

Humour and student jokes were harmless outlets for frustration, but the government failed to grasp this. They saw evidence of foreign infection. This was suggested by the fact that one of the most well remembered covers of *Wits Student* was published by an English born and educated editor, Mark Douglas Home. He had introduced *Private Eye* style covers to the newspaper. It was the picture of a little boy peering down a lavatory with the caption "Excuse Me are you the Prime Minister?" which resulted in Douglas Home's deportation from the country. It did not stop the cartoonist, Franco Frescura from creating a series of often vicious and sometimes very pointed cartoons. They were however the source of intense annoyance for the government, who had their spy Derek Brune on the staff of the newspaper. Edition after edition of the publication was banned with the editor, Derek Louw and Frescura finally being suspended in 1973.

It was apparent that not even humour was acceptable as a Durban group calling themselves the League of Empire Loyalists also discovered. Baden Woodford explained that the group was founded as a joke during the 1970 elections.[61] He and a friend had been amused and dismayed to discover that a 'drinking buddy' of theirs was a staunch supporter of the National Party and revealed a disturbing lack of tolerance on the subject. As a joke they decided to hold a mock election meeting and invited him to address it. They hung a large Union Jack above the space allotted to the speaker who never arrived. In the spirit of the meeting a decision was taken to form the League of Empire Loyalists with its primary demand being the secession of Natal to the Empire. Ken Pottinger, a UN student, used the press to publicize the activities of the League. One morning, just prior to rush hour, he and his fellow loyalists commandeered road workers equipment and closed off King George Ave near the university. The resulting traffic jam received wide local news coverage, as did their simultaneous proclamation of King George Land. The group was at core a satirical commentary on the imperial illusions of the English-speaking population in Natal. It suggested that as children of individuals who talked of Britain, as 'home' the parents were as absurd as the government that they despised. At a more prosaic level it was also a great opportunity for fancy dress, social interaction and laughter.

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[58] Stanley Rothman and S.Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism* (New jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1982), p. 108.

[59] *Private Eye* was banned in 1971, however the compendium book of the *Best of Private Eye* was not. These kinds of anomalies were common.

[60] Jeremy Taylor who performed in the show commented that when the cast took it to London in 1963 the London critics regarded them as irrelevant fiddlers. For Miriam Makeba and her friends and relatives who were miserably homesick "The African drum finale excited them so much that they filled the theatre with ululations and came again on the following Monday." Jeremy Taylor, *Songs and Reflection* (Pretoria: Jeremy Taylor Publishing, 1992), p.40.

[61] Baden Woodford, interview, Durban, 3 April 2008.

The government with its memory of a more serious group of loyalists, who had opposed the declaration of the Republic in 1961, was not amused.[62] The League was thoroughly investigated by the SB in 1971.[63] They were concerned as to the 'subversive' nature of the League, largely due to the theft by one of the members of the League of two 'thunder flashes' (used to simulate explosions) during his army camp. The SB wanted to know if he intended to "carry out 'subversive' acts in the name of empire loyalism."[64] The belief that threatening ideas and values needed to be kept out the country fuelled bannings and deportations, with censorship fulfilling the rest of the equation.

The establishment of the Publications Control Act of 1963 saw the start of increasing censorship of imported and local media. Members of the government had ideas about music that influenced the work of the Censorship Board. In November 1973, the Dept. of Education drafted a statement about 'good and bad' music. The Director of Education, Dr.A.K. Kotze wrote, "Some of the words used in Pop music were blasphemous. He cited the example of Aqualung which contained the words that in the beginning man created God in his image."[65] Censorship was necessary not only to prevent infection of ideas from abroad, but also because by the beginning of the sixties there was a groundswell of popular support for the dissident Afrikaans group known as the 'sestigers.' "It caught the government unprepared, which prompted hurried moves towards new forms of cultural control, specifically censorship."[66]

Pieter Dirk Uys father who was on the censorship board because "he realized he could see films for free" described how within weeks his father had converted to his son's contempt for authority. "How could I be frightened of the Censor Board? They were all idiots! They were senile old farts more interested in their ham sandwiches than looking at the films!"[67] Students shared this opinion but for different reasons. Even through many films were banned, they were available from private hire shops. Equally whilst a vast number of books were banned, copies could be found. Censorship like all other attempts to keep foreign infection out, failed in its goal with the result that students arriving at UN and Wits knew more about 1968 and France than they did about South Africa. There were occasional narratives in the student press of the history of student activism in the 1960s but clearly they were not widely read. Interviewees were often hearing of the Mafeje affair for the first time from me. They had no knowledge of it, even though they were in senior school at the time.

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[62] In 1961 there had been a group of right wing monarchists who had supporters throughout the country. They opposed the declaration of the Republic of South Africa. They had advocated secession and had urged English-speaking South Africans to oppose the government and preserve their rights and traditions. 4 of the Natal group were arrested and charged. 1 was given a prison sentence.

[63] *Dome*, 10 March 1971.

[64] Ibid.

[65] *Daily News*, 3 November 1973. This quote is evidence of a very close listening to Jethro Tull's album *Aqualung* and suggests that despite P.Dirk Uys's comments, some members of the censorship board took their job very seriously.

[66] André Brink, *A Fork in the Road. A Memoir* (London: Harvill Secker, 2009), p.214.

[67] Pieter-Dirk Uys, *Elections & Erections* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2002), p.30.

This ahistorical stance was one of the underlying reasons for the limited power of the student movement in political terms. Students are a moving constituency. Even during the time that they are at university they differ in their interest in extra-curricular activities. The focus of the 1970s on cultural change, on changing the way whites thought, whilst less easy to quantify, penetrated individual lives more easily than radical political action. The interest in hippie values and change had translated into not only a focus on consciousness raising, but also on an emphasis on developing the individual. It was important to define oneself and to find constructive ways to engage with individual talents and abilities.

Fusion and Synthesis. The Beginning of a New Sound:

The narrative of Paul Clingman, a musician who attended Wits in the early 1970s carries many of the themes and experiences of the time and allows a storied approach to the presentation of the discourses and interests emerging then. In the academic context the combination of the New Left and an awareness that black South African history had been deliberately ignored, had resulted in a wave of interest in everything about black society and its history. For students who had arrived at university and virtually for the first time become critically aware that they were living under a system known as apartheid, the desire to learn about black culture and anything that remolded their understanding and knowledge of the landscape and context they were part of. This is the reason Clingman is so significant as he was one of the first South African musicians to explore this concept in a new genre of music.

Clingman came from a liberal Jewish family. His uncle introduced him to African American blues musician's recordings at an early age. He read the *Rand Daily Mail* and had Cecil Skotnes as his art teacher. All of these were liberal and strongly formative influences on him. The impact of Skotnes was particularly strong for it was the artist's interest in African forms and art that led Clingman to an awareness of this rich and unexplored culture. His interest in South African black music grew out of having listened to it as a child "I always loved it, when I was sick as a child I would put on Radio Bantu and listen to it."[68] When he first started to play music he discovered Bob Dylan who had an enormous impact on him. Clingman recalls that his music was not widely available and had to be actively hunted out, but the example Dylan set in his lyrics and style helped him to the realization that he too could write his own songs. It was when he met Dave Marks that he found someone who understood what he was trying to do. Marks believed that what was needed for South Africa was our own songs that did not represent the dominant voice of apartheid. He had seen what songs about Vietnam, American apple pie and similar themes had achieved in questioning American identity and believed that South African might also change if a homegrown version of this focus could be encouraged. It was in response to an advertisement in a Jewish newspaper looking for people writing their own songs, that Clingman first met Marks. It was after he had signed a recording contract and had performed at a Free People's Concert where he saw Johnny Clegg and Sipho Mchunu dancing, that Clingman decided that something different and more original to South Africa could be created. He was one of the first musicians to mix

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[68] All quotes from Paul Clingman interview, Johannesburg, 15 May 2008.

black traditional sounds with western folk/pop rock.[69] He was not trying to make a political statement. "What I wanted to do was put my finger on whatever universals one can observe… I never saw myself as a protest singer."

Clingman was ahead of his time with his music, it was neither black nor white and music companies did not know what to make of it. It was what was called crossover 'head' music, i.e. one listened but did not dance to it. He was asking questions in his music and posing alternatives. In his song about "Dingaan's Day"[70] he presents a view, which suggests that both sides of the conflict carried some compelling truth, but neither were wrong nor right. In that sense Clingman represents a more sophisticated liberalism than that of the 1960s.

His song "Amabaca" about the dustbin collectors carries the seeds of an acknowledgement of the existence of black people in the lives of white South Africa. It coincided with the same growth in awareness amongst students that black South Africa was literally in front of them although rendered invisible through apartheid.

You are the other Zulu song.
You are the other Zulu dance
You have a way of running that brings a smile to the town
You have no plans among the cans
There is no one who understands Amabaca
Sticks in hand you whistle and whistle as you shake them and you heave across your shoulder everything nobody needs.
And in your face there's just a trace of a different world a different place
Regimented the streets, regimented the alley zone
And never really enough time to meet the dent
And in your way you clean the day
So we both can say Amabaca.[71]

This title of the album this song is on was *Father to the Child*. It was a reference to his own growing understanding that in many respects he had a child's knowledge of his own country. On the same album his song entitled Dingaan's Day described an event that his audience could recognize and which was uniquely South African.

On the 16th day of December as a child I remember
Everyone going past the house to the church to pray on Dingaan's Day.[72]

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[69] There had been a few local groups such as Abstract Truth who had used an African Jive sound on a track entitled "Pollution" on their 1970 album, *Silver Trees*, whilst the international release of *Osibisa* had introduced the idea of fusion music. Clingman believes he was the first South African musician to try and achieved a sustained mix of musical influences.

[70] Dingaan's Day (16th December) commemorated the battle of Blood river. The battle was between the Zulu and the Trek Boers in Natal. Sarel Celliers, on behalf of the Boers had made a solemn vow that should they win the battle, the day would forever after be observed as a Sunday. The Boers won the battle.

[71] Paul Clingman. "Amabaca," on *Paul Clingman 1972-1979*. Third Ear Music, 1979. LP.

[72] Paul Clingman. "Dingaan's Day,"on *Paul Clingman 1972-1979*. Third Ear Music. 1979.LP.

His song about the rubbish collectors is remarkable because it is the first time someone sang about the lowly but important role the virtually invisible dustbin collectors played. From the perspective of the present the blindness of white students to the reality of apartheid seems extraordinary, but in a complex Althusserian way, the success of apartheid lay in its social engineering which made the presence of black people as servants and labourers seem normal. Keeping black and white apart worked. That is why the beginning of an understanding that people who collected rubbish bins represented a culture that had been debased was important. The parallel drawn between their daily task of dealing with 'everything nobody needs' and their own status was remarkable.

The shift represented by Clingman is the musical expression of the slow but definite first step away from identifying with the imagined metropole, to an understanding that being South African could be something new. As such the journey was one of a growth in defining a very tentative but interesting new South African identity. This change was evident in many spheres particularly in non-political student organization. The real changes start to be evident by 1974, but as early as 1971 organisations like SAVS had changed their emphasis to one identifying needs based on "consultation with the communities they were involved in."[73] By 1973 this had progressed to NUSWEL suggesting, "it is neither feasible nor desirable for white students to attempt direct involvement in black community development programmes."[74]

The change in the role of English-speaking white students represented a quantum shift in their understanding. The shift had started as a response to the formation of SASO in 1969 and had continued in the reassessment of their role as they tried to define a response to SASO's rejection of them. They no longer believed that that they would or could be the leaders in political change. Charles Nupen as president elect of NUSAS expressed this when he acknowledged, "SASO is the existing body best able to represent and realize the needs and aspirations of black students." He added that the focus would rather be on changing consciousness.[75] "There was a movement towards more long term input into black or mass organizations, and away from street politics."[76] Students were still prepared to express outrage and anger and to initiate campaigns that involved protests which they did most notably in 1972 and 1973,[77] but the emphasis on recontextualising their own understanding of South African became a more constructive response. The emphasis on a cultural exploration of this understanding was a response to the difficulty inherent in political responses.

The Counterculture takes Root:

The strands of this growing consciousness are to be seen throughout this period in different formal cultural formats. The Arena theatre situated in a renovated old house in

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[73] *Wits Student*, 26 March 1971.

[74] *Dome*, 20 August 1973.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Fink Haysom 9/8/85 Tape 1 side 2, p.2 of transcript. OH AL 2460, SAHA, UWL.

[77] Student marches and protests peaked in these two years with students regularly engaging in running battles with police. It was a very dramatic time, but as with earlier protest it resulted in another round of restrictive legislation and failed to achieve long-lasting results.

the suburb of Doornfontein in Johannesburg opened in 1970 with a production entitled "Jo'burg Sis and Miss South Africa (6th)."[78] The production was a South African one and it was here that the nascent theatre company that would form the basis of the Market Theatre group, started. Theatre, which had for so long been the carrier of metropolitan values and cultural imaginaries with RADA[79] accents dominating speech patterns in plays about British cultural values, started to change. In the 1970s South African accents started to be heard, it was a small step, but symbolized a huge transition. Noel Coward was still performed but the formation in 1974 of The Company under the leadership of Barney Simon and Mannie Manim, gave a platform to South African writers and actors.[80]

Plays were written and workshopped on South African themes in university drama departments. The University of Natal's Speech and Drama students were performing the Afrikaans writer André P. Brink's work. Small as it was this inclusion suggested that the capacity to redefine identity beyond the boundaries of English and Afrikaans, was possible. Themes that would raise awareness were evident in choices of plays about the holocaust [81] and revolution.[82] Guerilla theatre was presented at Wits on the library lawn in 1973. What made these kinds of events remarkable was their freshness. They made an impact precisely because they were so novel. It was all part of a tentative and exciting new direction in theatre. The founding of a home for the Company at the Market Theatre in Johannesburg in 1976 was another symbolical expression of this reinterpretation of a colonial history into a contemporary idiom. It became the home of innovative and 'agitprop' theatre which gave practical expression to the focus on changing consciousness.[83] It was a tangible expression of the way in which the decision to alter consciousness found expression whilst allowing individuals to participate in the process of change without adopting an explicitly political role.

The critical change in theatre was echoed in student demands that the content of their curricula change to one of greater relevance. In 1973, Geoff Budlender, a student leader, wrote, "Our universities train their students to solve the problems of an elite white society. They do not train them to solve the problems of South Africa." He questioned why it was necessary to bring out "from America an expert on African sociology? Where is the research into South Africa's real problems?"[84] A handful of lecturers picked up on this need. As early as 1970, Mike Kirkwood had read African prose and poetry at the Warwick Avenue public meetings held in Durban on university property. [85] 'Africa Explosif' a three-week cultural and political exploration of contemporary Africa was

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[78] *Wits Student*, 19 February 1973
[79] RADA = Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts
[80] Manim had resigned as head of PACT drama, a state subsidized body, in order to establish an alternative theatre free from bureaucratic control.
[81] "The Representative" by Rolf Hochhuth performed by the Durban Theatre workshop Company in October 1974.
[82] The play was G.B. Shaw's "Maxims for Revolutionists."
[83] Interviews with non-students around the subject of awakening to the reality of apartheid revealed a number who claimed that it was because of a play seen at the Market theatre that they first started to review apartheid and their role in it.
[84] *Dome*, 7 June 7 1973.
[85] *Daily News*, 15 June 1970.

scheduled to start at Wits on 18 May 1970. That same month Athol Fugards first play 'No Good Friday' was revived and performed on campus for the first time.[86]Students at Wits, empowered by a NUSAS seminar held in April 1974, protested against "watery-Oxford ivory tower courses on campus." [87] Students were demanding a more relevant education and achieved their goals when black writers such as Sol Plaatje appeared for the first time as required reading. These changes came after the period that this study covers, but the impetus for the change dates from pre-1976. For many students it would be their first glimpse of the world north of their border. It was a recognition that English "the language (that had been) the perfect instrument of Empire"[88] was something they shared with many former colonial territories. The common language allowed them to explore the continent they were born on. They could not only rewrite the history of South Africa, they could celebrate and share in the cultures that had been denied existence and reality

In retrospect this period is seen as one of compromise and caving in, when in fact it was the time of a new foundational discourse around an alternative South African identity. Leaving South Africa was still something discussed by students but not an option for most who held South African passports. Despite the stereotype of English-speakers as having foreign passports, very few had the rights to such passports. Most recall traveling abroad in the 1970s and denying their South African origins, even though their passport declared them to be South African. Revolution was not realistic for most students[89] and the government was constantly on the lookout for any resurgence of the early 1960s.

Student newspapers often cited Vorster's comment that he "would deal with Nusas in his own time." Vorster had not let up with his threats to students and was quoted again in 1971 saying "I want to issue this warning to a few of the present leaders of NUSAS: Remember Adrian Leftwich and others. I have summed you up. You are going to run into very great trouble."[90] That trouble began in earnest in 1972. NUSAS had repeatedly invited the state to appoint an impartial commission to investigate the movement to establish the fact that they were not a 'communistic' organization.[91] The Schlebusch commission established in 1972 came to the conclusion that the state had been advancing for years. The commission displayed a vast amount of information on student movements which demonstrated how assiduous its 'gremlins' had been in collecting every scrap of paper NUSAS generated, but it was the interpretation of these papers that illustrated the reactionary and deliberately obtuse comprehension of government officials.[92] The

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[86] *Wits Student*, 17 May 1971.

[87] *Wits Student*, 26 August 1974.

[88] André Brink, *Reinventing a Continent* (London. Secker & Warburg, 1996), p.215.

[89] Throughout the process of interviewing individuals for this thesis, it was apparent that only a small proportion of any given group function in an overtly political space. Whilst radicals castigated fellow students for their lack of revolutionary fervour, they failed to understand that it took courage to admit that one did not want to be a hero and did not believe in violence as a solution.

[90] *Dome*, 21 May 1971.

[91] NUSAS leaders had always been aware that the state wished to destroy the organisation, but did not seem to be aware that the policy of focusing on the financial aspects of NUSAS would be the route it would adopt.

[92] Whilst the state was accusing students of financial mismanagement of petty cash, they were simultaneously allocating R64 million to countering negative publicity about South Africa. This was to

banning of NUSAS's leadership in 1973 as a result of its findings was a severe blow to NUSAS, but the real damage was the Promulgation of Affected Organisations act of 1974, which denied foreign funding for any organisation declared as affected, needless to add, NUSAS was one such organisation.[93]

This was the successful conclusion to the plan that appears to have been hatching since the early 1960s. The plan appears to have been to starve NUSAS of funds.[94] It worked to the extent that NUSAS became incapable of continuing the practical programmes it had started. In 1974 Nuswel and Nused were disbanded,[95] but Aquarius continued underscoring the importance of cultural change. White students had already accepted that they had a secondary role. Their numbers were too small and they had accepted that it was for blacks to decide on the path they wanted to pursue. SASO had told white students to change the way they thought and to stop telling them what to do. They had complied.

Disillusion and Distance:

The complexities of this position and what it implied is represented in the work of Michael Green whose narrative integrates many of the strands evident in student lives and discourse at the time. His story illustrates the interplay between the personal, the inherited and the public. As with Shamley and Clingman, Green found that music was a means to express himself. He too had listened to Dylan as a young boy and it had left its mark.

His work carries the far more complex issues around measuring oneself against the metropole. Although his time as a musician was relatively brief and his subsequent comments on music and his own work reflect his own critical perception of his work, he nevertheless carries the sense that white students in the 1970s did not stand a chance. What they did would be irrelevant and so would their work. This was a more pessimistic view of accepting a secondary role in change, but the reasons for it lay in personal experience and interviewees frequently echoed Green's responses.

Michael Green, the musician and Michael Cawood Green the writer/poet/ex-professor of English at UKZN, has multiple mirrors and identities represented in his use of a double barreled name for his writing which he sees as his creative link to his mother, whilst

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emerge when the Information Scandal erupted in 1978. The public was informed that the Prime Minister had approved a huge budget for spying and disinformation. None of the money was accounted for. The positive outcome of this scandal was the resignation of J.B. Vorster as PM.

[93] The one person, who bailed NUSAS out on more than one occasion in these difficult times, was Harry Oppenheimer, the chairman of Anglo-American and De Beers Corporation. There was some irony in students who were openly hostile to capitalism and the exploitation of workers, relying on the generosity of Oppenheimer. A letter of thanks from Paul Pretorius to Oppenheimer in November 1972 lists how the money he donated was spent. They were finally learning that donors liked to know how their money was used. NUSAS papers BC 586 A3.13 UCT Archive.

[94] The loss of funding for student organizations in the States and abroad following the expose of CIA involvement in funding was certainly a factor in the demise of student movements abroad in the late 1960s.

[95] *Wits Student,* 26 July 1974.

within his writing he has yet another persona who interrogates Green in his novella *Sinking*. Green carries the complexity of the early 1970s in its belonging and understanding of an international cultural landscape, which increasingly rejected white South Africans, contrasted with a tentative but undecided South African identity.

Green's family background he described as a quasi-Lawrencian crucible with a father who in Natal terms was solidly lower middle class whilst his mother, descended from 1820 setters married 'beneath her' even though her family had already declined along with "the decline of the liberal cause."[96] His close examination of his origins is valuable for he more consciously dealt with an identity that was far more colonial in the Anglophone sense. He is most vividly aware of his colonial heritage

Green grew up in the dormitory town of Pinetown in Natal, in a predominantly male home following the death of his mother when he was 10. Green's sensitivity to class, belonging and place appears to have developed into a chameleon shape-shifting role open to influences, but almost too replete with analytical sensitivity to be able to make a clear and definitive choice. He went to the army at the end of his high school career to try and circumvent the longer period of conscription then being discussed. He refused rank and was put into the medical corps, which he describes as brutal.

In the middle of this he went off for a year as an AFS scholar to California where despite the small town nature of his home there, he was exposed for the first time to legendary musicians such as Neil Young. It was a transformative experience, but in other senses it almost seems as though his own self-undermining and uncertainty had its roots in his exposure to globally popular musicians. Green had not intended to go to university but his experiences in the States changed that and when he returned to SA he finished his army service and then attended UN which he financed acting as a railway stoker in northern Natal.

Green is a complex person who would probably not see himself as being representative of others in his generation, but the themes and issues he expressed in the early 1970s were not atypical, albeit somewhat attenuated in his case. His song "White Boys" contains some of this ambivalence and the shift from guilt to accepting that through an accident of birth one has inherited a complicated non-identity that forces choices that are not really choices.

Now some boys get their kicks in hiding from the [boredom] of a better deal
And some boys just take their kicks in silence pretending they don't feel.
And some boys are born to a name [and a] place in [life's] sweet and simple joys
While other boys just know that they're [black and they're nowhere and] you don't call a white boy, boy

Chorus,
But I [say] white boys hey hey
I [say] white boys ho ho

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[96] Michael Cawood Green, *Sinking* (Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 1997), p.133.

Now the [word's] out in the suburbs
And the [word's] out in the townships
[That a] black boy can grow up to be a man too between his factory and garden shifts.
So mother's telling [young] whitey to go on and get a good education
Because the talking head tells her on the TV every night
That her middle class is black [boys] new temptation

Chorus

Now [there are] poor white[s] and [there are] poor blacks
[All trying to] reach a better situation, but [it's] not quite the same [when] any progress you make
Is officially designated rising black expectation.
And [it's] not easy for a white boy either
With his back under his white man's burden
But he's too scared to put it down because
The justification for his existence would no longer [be certain]

Chorus

Now [there are] white boys playing guitars
And they're singing the [liberal's lament]
And there's white boys playing soldiers
They're just going wherever they're sent
And [it'] s all in the line of duty
Because each white boy is in the front line
In his disco shoes or his army boots
You know [he's] walking that same thin line
Between the AK's and the [R1's]*
He's not left too much choice
While Soweto moves and KwaMashu grooves
The township jazz just [drowns his voice][97]
* The standard military issue semi-automatic rifle of the time, technically an R1 FN

This song which is not only about being obliged to fight in an army that has no meaning, but also about a burden of race that complicates being young, is not about the kind of guilt that Shamley refers to or the potential for a new blending of culture. This song simply asserts that history has cast individuals in an involuntary role that allows for little choice and questions resistance. Green is not presenting an optimistic view, but by the mid 1970s white students had abrogated their political role to one of handmaiden to black needs and demands. By the end of 1973 they had two directions open to them as a practical response to apartheid. One was to respond to whatever black demands were being made, and the other was to attempt to shift and change white values and ideas. The

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[97]Michael Green. "White Boys." on *White Eyes.* 1982. Third Ear Music. LP. The song "White Boys" was written in the 1970's.

latter path expanded cultural activity and interest and allowed for those students who never felt drawn to the explicit, and in some senses, limiting world of direct political action.

History makes it easy to condemn privileged whites for their lack of choice in what appears to be a world of choice. Njabulo Ndebele disparagingly writes of the English-speaking South African "now he was indignant and guilty; now he was thriving. This no-man's land ensured a fundamental lack of character. With a foreign passport in the back pocket of the trousers, now they belong – now they don't. When will they tell this story?"[98] Green, Shamley and Clingman were telling this story and were doing so through the most obvious doors open to them at the time, but few have listened because of tropes like Ndebele's. It is a confused and shifting message, which moved from guilt and distance to one of tentative sharing and exploration to one of detachment and confusion. None of these are reassuring or simple points.

Green is a person who chose to pursue words and stories in a more thorough way and music receded for him. Green had Dave Marks as his producer on the album White Eyes, which despite its potential needed stronger production values and direction. The example of Dylan as a master poet songwriter who could express political and universal values was inspirational, but he did not explore values as confused and complicated as the values that these three were trying to express. Dylan was not writing as a member of a minority cast in a moral fault line. His musical inspiration Woody Guthrie sang, "This land is your land"[99] without any great questioning about the Native American Indians displaced and destroyed by white settlement. The sense that Americans had that their land was theirs was never the question, whereas in South Africa that was the one question no one had an answer to. It is very hard to profess an identity without a sense that the land one is supposed to belong to is indeed 'your land.'

Green acknowledged that protest bore no fruit, an opinion shared by a growing number of students after 1973. The ban on NUSAS's foreign funding effectively emasculated the organization and student involvement. NUSAS shrank to a point where a vote in 1975 of no confidence on the various campuses was held. It was surprising that what had seemed to be an inevitable outcome, namely a No vote, emerged as a Yes vote. Linda Albertyn explained what happened. "I had a scene[100] with Mike Stent, and they had a referendum at various universities and Durban voted to disassociate from NUSAS. Cape Town voted to keep and Rhodes not. The vote hinged on Johannesburg and they voted to disaffiliate and they rigged the vote. It was Craig and Mike.[101] Obviously it was important for Craig to know who the various student leaders were. Mike was in such a moral dilemma of wondering whether the ends justified the mean...he felt it was more important that Nusas

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[98] Njabulo Ndebele, "Memory, metaphor, and the triumph of narrative," Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee, *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.26.

[99] Woody Guthrie. "This Land is Your Land." Ludlow Music, Inc., 1956.

[100] 'scene' was slang for a 'relationship.'

[101] The 'Craig' she is referring to was Craig Williamson, the SB agent and Mike was Mike Stent.

survived and it survived because of that vote and it should have died a natural death."[102] Having cut off financial support for NUSAS and destroyed its programmes, all that remained of NUSAS were determined individuals whom Williamson could cherry pick for information. The white left was always believed to be a far greater threat than it really was. Although the government had succeeded in destroying the effectiveness of what it believed was the core of student opposition, it had underestimated the change happening amongst individuals who for different reasons were not overtly linked to the political left.

This failure was symptomatic of the increasing paranoia as threats were mounting on the borders of South Africa. Following the coup in Portugal in 1974, the rapidity with which the new government in Lisbon disposed of its former colonies of Mozambique and Angola was surprising. The exodus of large numbers of Ovambos from SWA into Angola was according to Mr. Vorster "absolutely no cause for panic in any respect."[103] The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr.H. Muller observed clumsily "isolation is a threat to us. It is the objective of our enemies. I want to admit at once that they have succeeded in isolating South Africa in some respects. But in most spheres, in the important spheres, their attempts have failed."[104]

South Africa's growing involvement in military action along its borders as well as within Angola and Namibia, led to a shift in the attitude amongst Anglophone youth towards conscription. Even though the majority of interviewees for this project served in the army in the period when it was not as threatening as it later became, there was already a move towards conscientious objection as early as 1970.[105] America had shown the way with the scores of young men who escaped the draft for Vietnam, but unlike the USA, it was difficult for young men to escape to another territory from South Africa. The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) which drew both parents and young conscripts into an anti-government role, became far more organised and vocal after South Africa became seriously engaged not only north of the border, but also in brutally quelling black student unrest in the wake of the 1976 student revolt. The idea that one could oppose what appeared to be a civic duty, was an example that had been set by the American countercultural opposition. It translated well in South Africa. "The ECC used innovative and creative ways to draw in ordinary people. Peace festivals, fasts for a just peace, sand building fairs, rock against the ratel, all helped build an effective organization."[106]

From the early 1970s apartheid South Africa was increasingly criticized and despised internationally, but the policy of separating the races continued. The treatment of opposition intensified the passing of laws banning and limiting comment or resistance of any kind. An amendment proposed to the Official Secrets Amendment Bill proposed a ban on any press reporting in any 'circumscribed' area without the Minister's consent.

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[102] Linda Cross Albertyn, interview, Johannesburg, 17 January, 2008. This is the first time this information has been disclosed. The implications for the many individuals compromised by Craig Williamson are considerable, however the disparity in motives illustrates the very divergent nature of intention behind individual actions.
[103] Hansard 5 cols 1991-1994, (2 September, 1974).
[104] Hansard 6 col 2629, (11 September, 1973).
[105] *Dome*, 17 September 1970.
[106] Mark Gevisser & Edwin Cameron, *Defiant Desire* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1994), p.260.

The definition of a circumscribed area was any area to be defined by the Minister. The irony of this proposal was that it was submitted to the Newspaper Press Union for comment.[107]

The strategy merely pushed everything underground and into new channels, but unlike the 1960s the new theoretical understanding of class as being more important than race, meant that an understanding of the economic role performed by the working class, had managed to challenge the previous focus on race. It allowed for a different answer to practical and meaningful engagement. Alec Erwin who became involved in the labour movement described how "The change in historiography that was initiated in the 70s…made it clear to me that the only way, in the long run, that (this) was going to change was through worker organization."[108]

Changing education had been the one consistent theme of the period. The countrywide protests in 1972 had been over the denial of free and fair education. The protests had been an example of NUSAS initiating confrontation. The government had brought in the Riotous Assemblies Act in response to these protests, repeating the message that protest merely resulted in further restrictions. It was in exploiting and examining their access to tertiary education that white students finally found their most productive engagement. A visit by Murray Biggs a visiting lecturer from Berkeley, California, had commented "In SA the universities are hemmed in politically and so, perhaps, turn to education itself as an outlet for creative thought." [109]

The research carried out by the Wages and Economics Commission was one example of practical research, but the change in historiography that Erwin was referring to was a product of a different but related group. "Amongst those who led the radical challenge, were individuals who had gone abroad for further study but could find no political role abroad and so turned to historical research."[110] Within tertiary education the new historiography reflected the ongoing impact of the metropole on South African Anglophone ideas. The core of the activities of the 1960s had emerged out of universities and academics had joined in. The siding of important academics such as Sartre with students and the appeal of the New Left combined to give impetus to both the Old and the New Left. French theory was increasingly translated and took a central place in the reformulation and expansion of the Left. Theory had the capacity to become real and decode recognisable worlds.

For South African postgraduate students it was exciting material. With each wave of postgraduates who went to either Oxbridge or the newer redbrick universities such as Sussex, a new revisionist approach was adopted. Race was supplanted by class reflecting the introduction of clever young academics like Martin Legassick and Stanley Trapido to

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[107] Muriel Horrell, *ed., A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, Volume 28, (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1974), p.83.

[108] Julie Frederikse, *The Unbreakable Thread* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1990), p.136.

[109] *Wits Student*, 27 August 1971.

[110] Christopher Saunders, "The Making of the South African Past," http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/saunders/making-past/ch16.htm. (Accessed 5/10/2007) p.3 of 10.

the seductive writing of Edward Thompson. The fashion for structuralist explanations was then adopted by Robert Davies, Dave Kaplan, Mike Morris and Dan 'O Meara in the early 1970s.[111] These four were at Sussex University and were influenced by the work of Poulantzas. Historians Jeff Guy and Philip Bonner whose doctoral theses were influenced by the work of the French Marxist anthropologists and the British History Workshop Movement followed them.[112] The passage through the minds of the dominant left-wing fashions of the metropole continued in the works of the revisionists who were rewriting South African history. It was always an attempt to understand and frame and resurrect forgotten history and trajectories, but its core direction was always a product of the metropole and its prevailing ideas. It was these ideas that the students they trained took with them into their worlds. "In a global context, this generation of South African Marxists played a vital role in interpreting for the western left, in the terms of their own thought, a struggle which had come to be 'crucial to the whole history of our time.'"[113]

Whether as teachers in the primary and secondary fields or as academics in tertiary education and research institutions, the emphasis was on education for change. Students believed that this was the sphere in which they could make a difference. "The first thing we can do is to use our education and specialized knowledge to assist others to implement change."[114] The introduction of the African Studies Seminars in 1973 was a product of the focus on South Africa that was emerging abroad. "There is now a flourishing 'Southern African studies' scene in England. That has re-awoken interest to some extent when people came back from there with new ideas."[115]

Outside of the university there was a liberalizing process taking place with private schools opening their doors to black students, albeit in very small numbers. " Catholics took a pioneering step in 1976 when they announced their intention of opening their schools to all races, in defiance of the law."[116] It was however in these schools that education by the new batch of teachers was continuing the tradition of questioning the dominant ideology. This was not the case in government schools where the program of Christian National Education[117] was in full force. What was happening in the private schools replicated their earlier role in instilling a more critical view. Education had been at the core of so many of the initial students revolts in the 1960s. The French students had revolted against the system and quality of education they were receiving and this message has been relayed to South Africa by the 1970s when students took up the example of the French and started to question both the context and content of their tertiary education.

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[111] Christopher Saunders, *The Making of The South African Past: Major Historians on Class and Race* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988), p.181.
[112] Ibid., p.182.
[113] Andrew Nash, "The Moment of Western Marxism in South Africa," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*," Volume XIX No.1 (1999): 66.
[114] *Dome*, 7 June 1973.
[115] Interview with Phil Bonner. *Wits Student*, 9 June, 1975.
[116] M.Hope & J.Young, *The South African churches in a Revolutionary Situation* (New York: Orbis, 1983).
[117] Christian National Education was the government directed control of education based on what it defined as Christian values aimed at cultivating nationalist racial concepts. It was implemented in the 1970s.

Students expanded their teaching activities into the field of adult education and non-governmental organisations. Even though the African Night Schools had been banned in 1966, the movement never really died; by the 1970s it had become the site of "much anti-apartheid work…Conscientisation became the strategy with labour activists (including Judy Favish, Debbie Budlender and Trevor Manuel) involved in teaching literacy."[118] Creative thought in the case of the black townships exceeded expectations in 1976. The scholars there had teachers who had been influenced by Black Consciousness and so were as much the indirect recipients of the impact of the counterculture as their white counterparts. The strands and strains of this impact were long-lasting and transformed South Africa in every sphere. Whilst the 1970s produced students who were far less inclined to involve themselves in direct political action, it was this group who carried the expression of many of the values of the counterculture into their lives. The interviewees who participated in this study all demonstrated that in some way they retained many of the core values of the time. They were to some extent less full of hope and illusions about their capacity to change and influence anything, but their detachment from the society they are a part of has allowed them to engage over time in myriad ways with its complexity.

In her book *Rituals of Fertility and the Sacrifice of Desire*, Carol Ann Muller writes " it is through academic endeavours that I have found space to confront the horrors of apartheid, and to explore the implications of its manifestations for all the people of South Africa, particularly for women."[119] Exploring one's personal space in a safe and relatively neutral ground was the resort of many verbal opponents of apartheid. Whilst not always able to inspire students to action as Rick Turner had done, they nevertheless had a desire and need to explore ways to make sense of the peculiar and skewered reality of which they were part. Being a South African with access to education and knowledge was probably one of the most perplexing roles of all. Without a Camus like existentialism or a belief in radical action, the middle way was always a troubled one and indefensible to an external viewer.

It involved coming to understand the many layers of hidden South Africa, its coded languages and chains of signification. This is probably why the writers of such works, the academics and students feature only as ghosts in the machine, people who exist on the periphery. The work they undertook was largely that of exploring predominantly black social structures. Where the work touched on whites it would mostly be in the context of exploitation, *Maids and Madams*[120] or broader metanarratives involving the causes underlying the development of the gold industry.[121] By writing about the other and being the other, the academic became disassociated from the society which birth made them a part of. The crossover and potential of a South African identity as briefly explored in the early 1970s was in its own purgatory and suspended animation. The practice of almost

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[118] Johan Atichison, "Struggle and compromise: a history of South African adult education from 1960 to 2001," *Journal of Education*, No 29, (2003), p.134.
[119] Carol Ann Muller, *Rituals of Fertility and the Sacrifice of Desire* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999), p.14.
[120] J.Cock, *Maids and Madams* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980).
[121] Duncan Innes, Belinda Bozzoli and Peter Delius were all important historians of the revisionist school.

denying one's existence, which is so deeply rooted in white English-speakers, is at the core of many choices.

As a group they have always been accused in South Africa of doing wrong whether as imperialists, capitalists, liberals or Marxists. The attempt to define an identity that goes beyond those definitions has always been hard. Amongst the generations examined in this study, Baden Woodford summed up the feeling expressed by many "I was never, and to this day, have not really belonged here. I was born here...I've always been rejected by this country politically."[122] He captures the sense of disassociation that was a core hippie concept, and allowed many who did not adopt any other aspect of the hippie culture, to find a space to exist within the complex political landscape of their 'home.'

Hippies however were not seen as actively useful in effecting change, and by 1975 disillusionment with hippies was being expressed by the left. At its 1975 congress, NUSAS launched a programme for Peace in Southern Africa. "Practically, the programme will involve dispelling anarchistic, hippie-type notions of peace (opting-out, free love, flower power)."[123] This comment reflected the same rejection that the left in the USA had expressed as it chose a harder more revolutionary approach. For students who had adopted hippie values its resonance lay in the detachment it offered from society. This was where the counterculture converged with South Africa. It offered a route that accommodated the feelings of not belonging, of not wanting to be a hero, and of not wanting to prioritise the political. It was a rejection of the political is personal, but it was a political statement nevertheless. For the radical left, the counterculture and the protest movements of 1968 introduced them to the New Left and a route into South Africa in the form of Marxist analysis and praxis. The two groups that had joined together to protest came to an inevitable parting.

Conclusion:

For many of the interviewees who contributed to this study, the vision of a society where they were not alienated has remained an unfulfilled dream. Conversely the constant denial of their role and value has made them examine their own connection to their personal history. They all call themselves South Africans, but do so with reservation. Their story represents the uneasy problem of foregrounding race and language whilst insisting on class and its relationship to colour. Most of them express some regret that they lived such narrow lives, and were so unaware of not only blacks but Afrikaners as well. They have come to a place of identity despite never really belonging, rather than because of belonging. Most of them still want to retire to the country with a group of like-minded friends and live out the hippie dream, and most of them wish that they had not had lives dominated by apartheid. They all acknowledge that the counterculture and its music changed their, lives and university was the space in which they most actively explored its possibilities and ideas.

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[122] Baden Woodford, interview, Durban, 3 April, 2008.
[123] *Wits Student*, 28 July, 1975.

The student revolt in Soweto in 1976, which coincided with the introduction of television in South Africa, marks the end of the period covered by this study. The revolt was directed at one of the core expressions of Afrikaner identity, the language of Afrikaans. It had been the subject of many reports from both government commissioned researchers[124] as well as those critical of the government. Awareness that there was great discontent about the use of Afrikaans was consolidated by the presence in Soweto of a generation of teachers who had been influenced by Black Consciousness at their respective universities and who loathed being obliged to teach in the language of the 'masters.'[125] Even the students at Wits were becoming aware of the state of black education and devoted an issue of *Wits Student* to the subject two days before the outbreak of June 16th.

The cultural emphasis of the revolt highlights the theoretical difficulty that emerges when exploring events that translate into a political outcome but stem from a cultural expression. The revolt of youth in the 1960s, which was linked to the counterculture,[126] carried that contradiction into the depths of social structures. They were questioning everything about society. Although the answers did not emerge and the only ones that did were based on a reintroduction of Marxism and socialism as the only way towards more egalitarian and humane societies, the solutions were not acceptable to many students who rejected the structured nature of such theory. At a theoretical level the problem of linking a focus on culture with political outcomes especially in the case of small group expressions of resistance, became at first a concern with subcultures. The inspiration of this work was the emergence of the Punk movement in the UK. It was an angry rejection of the materialism of Thatcherite England and beloved by theorists because Punks were mostly working class.[127] Subculture fitted into the idea of class and did not really challenge concepts of class.

Postmodernism, which emerged at the end of the 1980s, reduced such theories to their reflexive base. It introduced a wealth of new categories and suggested that actions within the cultural sphere were far broader in their scope and consequences than a linear set of indices. This led to comments by Hebdidge that postmodernism was the product of disappointed critical theorists of the 1968 generation.[128] Culture did not fit easily into theory that saw economic determinants as more significant. In Africa the space allowed by a break with metropole based theory, saw the introduction of works and ideas originating outside the metropole. Said and Bhabha started to resonate with a sense that the production of knowledge could extend beyond the existing limits. Foucault's challenge of the early 1960s was finding expression. In South Africa that led to the

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[124] See for example the Cingo Commission mentioned in Sprocas Commission on Education Draft report, (13 May 1970),p.20. BC 1072 L16, UCT Archive.

[125] Pat Hopkins & Helen Grange, *The Rocky Rioters Teargas Show* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2001), p.71.

[126] The ideas informing BC stemmed from the Black Consciousness movement in the USA which was a response to the Civil Rights campaign of the early 1960s. Another link lay in the idea that students had a political voice and could use their combined power to make an impact. The students of 1976 made that clear.

[127] See Dick Hebdidge, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen & Co. 1979).

[128] Dick Hebdidge, "'After the Masses" in Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, Sherry B.Ortner, eds., *A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

castigation of some of the radicals who led the transitions this thesis has concerned itself with. Andrew Nash suggesting that the politically inspired radicals of the "generation of the 1970s "have "capitulated almost without exception to the imperatives of the market and the crudest forms of bourgeois ideology."[129]

 The conclusion has been different for the interviewees who indicate that the sense that existed in the early seventies that a new syncretic culture was possible, was a hope that political realities destroyed. The hope that such a syncretic culture could find expression has been moved onto their children. The first half of the 1970s carried the foundations of a change in identity and cultural repertoires. It was a brief period of exploring an engagement with South Africa's many fragmented racial and social groups. The process became far more complex in the second half of the 1970s following the Soweto student rebellion of June 1976. Racial division, despite the lessening of petty apartheid, brought an end to the brief period of crossover. The focus remained on consciousness, but the creation of a new alternative identity was put on hold. Identity could never be limited to a political arena. The contradiction of the counterculture lay in the emphasis on cultural difference which gave rise to black power in South Africa, contrasted with the countercultures message of peace, love and understanding which relied on a homogeneity that was at odds with expressions of difference. The absence until the present of a South African identity suggests that the dialectic glimpsed in the early 1970s was possible, but the alternative Hegelian Master/Slave cultural and political dynamic remains the subtext of social and political discourse.

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[129] Andrew Nash, "The Moment of Western Marxism in South Africa," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. XIX No. 1 (1999): 66-80, p.60.

Chapter 8.

Conclusion.

This study set out to establish the impact of the counterculture and the New Left on South African Anglophone youth at Wits and UN. It was not primarily concerned with the radicals who led students, but instead focused on those students who both supported and failed to support them, and their relationship to student leaders. The reasons for their actions were sought in their personal histories and their relationship to power. The focus throughout has been on what differentiated the student movement in South Africa from elsewhere. Differences in size, access to media and distance were a major part of the story, but other unique factors offered a more detailed understanding of the difference. South Africa was one of the first places where students began the decade with a resort to armed movements. Even though the numbers involved were small, it had a lasting impact on the evolution of the student movement. The coercive power of the state was applied to students in a continuous and increasing manner, and shaped and influenced many responses. The legislative venom was aimed at all perceived threats, black and white, and became increasingly restrictive and punitive. Fear of the consequences of engagement demystified the romance of being a student revolutionary. This differentiated South African students from their counterparts in the west, and was a major indicator of their relationship to power.

The relationship between agency, identity and ideology has formed a theoretical backdrop for the empirical base of this research. Understanding how ideology works and relates to identity has been questioned in terms of the assumptions that language and the 'other' represent points of departure and confluence in the formation of identity. The value of studying a definable group within the macro situation of an ideologically fractured society such as apartheid enforced is that it allows for an analysis of where ideology fails to engage and sustain hegemony. The insistence on separation of races and furthermore of language groups within racial groups created 'others', those others were not only black people, but Afrikaans speakers as well. The ideology of apartheid was unique to South Africa and this made the tension between imported ideas and other ideologies and their impact on apartheid different from an analysis which might focus on similar issues in the USA. Racism was never an officially recognised policy in the USA; it could be combated at a different level and in a different way.

Apartheid was viewed through the prism of a liberal historiography and until it was understood to bear a direct relationship to capitalism, it could be and was viewed as a separate ideological entity. It was possible for students enamoured of the anti-capitalist critique of the counterculture, to reject capitalism without necessarily engaging with political resistance to apartheid. This flexibility and multiplicity of choices and responses suggests that identity and agency are products of the opportunities a given set of social and ideological circumstances offer. Agency allows for choices and an unexpected outcome of enforcing separation in South Africa was the cultivation of a sense of otherness of not belonging and of alternative choices. The experience of the

counterculture amplified such knowledge and enhanced the space within which oppositional discourse could find a voice.

The starting point for this thesis was the political radicalism of a small group of white students in the early 1960s which resulted in a different trajectory of events from those that occurred amongst student bodies elsewhere. The inclusion of and constant reference to political activities serves to underline the way in which it impacted on all other spaces within tertiary Anglophone institutions. The consequence of the radicalism of the early student groups was a very high degree of government control and spying which acted as a powerful deterrent to action and leadership amongst subsequent student groups. The concomitant emergence of the counterculture expressed within South Africa largely through music available on radio and records, offered an alternative and less frightening means of oppositional discourse.

Anglophone students were culturally and socially open to foreign influences based on their own personal and shared heterogeneity. Coupled with the remnants of a colonial past which fore grounded English and foreign imports, they were fluent in imaginary cultural forms and ideas. Radical political discourse was controlled and difficult to access. Student leadership by the mid 1960s was in sharp contrast to the emerging leadership abroad. This was a reaction to the fear and limitations following the unsuccessful activities of ARM and the NLM. Few students arriving at university in the mid 1960s had knowledge of this history nor did they necessarily question the more liberal and moderate leadership that was emerging. In strong contrast to this moderation the small cohort of black medical students at UN were exploring the works of American black radical writing and beginning to challenge the implicit control of white student leaders and their patronizing responses.

By 1968 when French students claimed centre stage in the burgeoning battles between student bodies and authority across Europe, UK and USA, South African students were emerging out of their ignorance but they critically lacked leadership, knowledge and information. South African historiography was still written and taught within a liberal paradigm. Left wing literature ranging from Marx to even local writing such as Eddie Roux's *Time Longer than Rope*, was unobtainable without a very special relationship with some academic librarians, and individuals who could explain and translate the writings of both the New and the Old Left. This was why individuals such as Rick Turner carried such significance. UCT in the early 1960s had been at the heart of student radical discussion, and Turners interest in Sartre and the works which were the foundation of much of the New Left thinking made him uniquely well qualified to communicate this view. He acted as a link with both the past as well as events abroad.

The only Anglophone students who had an even comparable set of referents were politically motivated and involved students who through the extensive network of publications sent to NUSAS from student organizations abroad, had heard of many of these writers and had sought their works out. The result was the creation of a semi-elite in student political circles, which was reinforced by the need to be vigilant in an attempt to exclude the ever increasing numbers of political spies. The problem of a white elite

political group who were in transition from liberal to more radical ideas lay in the timing. The critical break in student political leadership occurred when Steve Biko led a black student walk out of the 1967 Rhodes NUSAS conference which led to the founding of SASO and BC.

The timing was interesting because the 1968 Mafeje affair at UCT which occurred a year after the conference, had the potential to radicalize and to motivate Anglophone students who were by this stage cognizant of what had been happening abroad. Student leadership failed however to capitalize on this new spirit which was a product of an increasing awareness of the linking of the counterculture with political expression. The leadership was still trying to formulate and understand the new directions and seemed to lack a voice and ability to capitalize on the broad current of change. From 1968 Anglophone students were more engaged and prepared to express cultural and political dissonance. However they were isolated both in terms of their privilege as well as their racial and linguistic separation. The space that the counterculture continued to offer them was one in which alternatives to direct political action could be expressed. By the early 1970s when new students arriving at university were even more open to adopting the banner of political rebellion, student leadership had taken new directions. The emergence at UN of the Wages Commission was a direct translation of the French idea of an alliance between workers and students, and reflected to some extent the power of a small and motivated political elite. It was not a route that many students chose who had already committed to a far broader exploration of the concept of personal freedom and who were wary of political involvement with its potentially dangerous outcomes. When the government acted to ban students involved in the Wages Commission such fears appeared justified. Allied to this issue was the stated intention of student leadership of accepting a supportive role in student politics in which black student leaders set the direction.

Whilst this political trajectory evolved against a background of global student movements, the far more easily accessible and engaging world of the counterculture offered a parallel path of engagement with many of the political and domestic issues being addressed by students globally. The access to music and the ideas and values embodied in the lyrics of composers such as Bob Dylan offered a tangible connection with a metropole both imagined and desired. Whereas writings of the New Left were hard to find and read, a song such "Masters of War" could be played repeatedly whilst socializing with friends. The music was a core part of such groups and sharing of records and tapes was as much part of social discourse as discussion of new fashions and ideas appearing in the popular press.

South African musicians took their inspiration from American and UK pop groups and folk singers and in some instances adapted the idea of social commentary to the world they knew. This was why singer songwriters such as Colin Shamley became important. Although never a commercial success, he captured the poetics of place and issues and earned for himself a following based on his ability to express what others felt or thought but had not necessarily articulated. The importance of Shamley in this study is the way he captures so many of the emergent issues and values of the mid 1960s in South Africa. Within his account of his life are many of the themes and ideas prevalent amongst

students at the time. His significance, like that of subsequent musicians, lies in his ability to verbalize the shifting social mores and focus of Anglophone students. The exploration of Paul Clingman's music in the early 1970s reflects a shift in student ideas and marks the progression which resulted from the dialectical process of importation of ideas, absorption and reformulation. As students were expressing a greater desire to learn more of South Africa and its history and to be more involved in it, they were tentatively exploring fusion. The separation with which they grew up was being challenged in a cultural space. The idea that black music was not confined to Bantu Radio was part of that growth and the early fusion expressed by Paul Clingman's music captured that idea. Synthesis was an attempt to go beyond the boundaries of separation enforced by apartheid. The relatively short flowering of this idea in its early formulation resulted from the reversion to political separation in the radical expression of BC as well as in the acceptance by Anglophone students of their secondary voice and role. It was relatively easy to return to the global cultural imaginary.

The songs of Michael Green express the emergence of a more disillusioned and distant status. By the mid 1970s the limits to a broadly expressed political resistance were apparent. To all intents and purposes, white students were locked into a racially defined role where they could neither lead nor necessarily follow. Political action had a narrow range of expression and choices were limited. The success of the government in silencing radical leadership was evident. The counterculture offered greater continuum at this stage in its continued demonstration of the ability to carve out cultural spaces of resistance and discourse in both academic and creative circles. The concept of a new fusion could remain within such spaces and the slow but definite carving of an alternative South African identity started within those spaces. It was that ability to claim and use different areas which this thesis concludes represented one of the main impacts of the counterculture on South Africa.

The description and emphasis on what differentiated South African Anglophone students from their counterparts has acted as a contrapuntal voice and way of exploring what was unique to them. Although the South African economy was growing in the 1960s and suburban life was expanding alongside the growth, it was not an economy like that of countries such as Germany or the USA. South Africa was primarily an exporter of raw commodities and most critically, the largest producer of gold. Gold was the benchmark of the international currency system until 1968 when America's overspending on the Vietnam War had resulted in the depletion of half America's gold reserves. The consequence of this was that America was not able to maintain the fixed price of gold at $35 an ounce.[1] Its response was to simply go off the gold standard and South Africa's importance as the producer of the world's gold diminished. The power of America lay in its ability to make a decision that had an impact on the global economy whereas the weakness of the South African economy lay in the fact that it could do nothing about the decision. The implication of this was that whereas American students were seen as products of a hugely affluent and powerful self-sustaining economy, South African students, although privileged, had not experienced anything like the affluence that their counterparts abroad had.

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[1] Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p.105.

The physical distance and isolation, which the developing global transport system had not yet significantly altered, meant that a cultural imaginary had space within which to grow. South African Anglophone students had grown up with the metropole at the core of their education. Anthony Sher captured the image precisely describing his excitement and fear at the thought of going to study in "London of hippies and *Darling* and decadence, London so far away from home, London the capital of Overseas."[2] The physical distance and the repressive nature of the South African government which had introduced the Publications Control Board in 1963 to control all suspect media, meant that there was a genuine paucity of material, both academic and cultural, informing youth of new ideas and values. It had the counter effect of making them particularly assiduous in seeking out banned literature and movies, which increased the importance of individuals as transmitters of ideas. Those who could access and interpret material were vital to its dissemination.

Another feature which differentiated students was their grounding in an Anglophone culture with a simultaneous absorption of American cultural expressions. It was these differences allied to their confined and narrow social base, which made them different from other students. It was within these kinds of spaces that the impact of the counterculture was differently experienced and absorbed. It was in the tension and interaction that clues as to both the homogeneity of cultural influences and its non-homogenous absorption lay. This is what this thesis has been concerned with. The shift from an outward to an inward looking culture where the fashioning of a new cultural identity could take place was a direct product of the counterculture and expressed itself in the spaces where more than one culture impacted on the other. An obvious example of this was what was called crossover music.

The use of a storied approach relying on individual life stories, in particular those of local musicians who were intimately connected with students, provided illustrations of what was shared and what was unique to South Africa. The concept of alienation from the dominant economic and ideological apparatus was an internationally expressed value, whereas a history of colonial exploitation was not. The musicians, who took their lead from the folk movement in the USA, captured in their lyrics and lives many of the themes that were shared by the group of interviewees who contributed to this study. Within that group there were divergences, particularly amongst the more radically inclined, but there were many shared social contexts and experiences within the broader group, that gave them a degree of homogeneity, which their multi-cultural backgrounds were at odds with.

The impact of the counterculture in this storied mould was particularly evident in the trail of a few significant individuals. Richard Turner has been highlighted in this study not only as a carrier of counterculture values into South Africa, but also as a link between earlier unsuccessful forms of protest, which he had witnessed and later more considered approaches. Turner was friends with the individuals who were members of ARM and cannot have been ignorant of their fate, even if he had no knowledge at the time of their

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[2] Anthony Sher, *Beside Myself* (London: Arrow Books, 2002), p.78.

activities. The influence of the counterculture on Turner was evident both philosophically and in his own changed lifestyle after his return from Paris in 1966.

He was a quintessential 1960s person. Everything about the period, apart from the drugs, interested him. He was a link between the early part of the decade and the later years, and he actively sought out and involved himself in student politics and groups. He was capable of explaining the writing of Herbert Marcuse to students who found his works incomprehensible. Marcuse had been influenced by the Frankfurt school and retained the cumbersome Germanic sentence structure of that school. Whereas students at Brandeis University in the USA had Marcuse as a lecturer able to explain himself to them in 1962,[3] South African students had to wait until 1969 for Turner to help them work through the ideas. This small example encapsulated the importance of Turner and individuals in relaying to students the ideas and values of the counterculture.

When the Mafeje Affair exploded into South Africa's own Nanterre[4] in August 1968, Turner was there at the teach-ins and had such an impact on Jeremy Cronin, that he had a 'Damascus' moment which transformed him into a life long member of the South African Communist Party. Other individuals who were as affected by the excitement that Turner animated can also be counted as direct products of the counterculture in its political concerns. When Turner became a lecturer at UN in 1970 a small group of students who were connected with NUSAS and who had been part of the reappraisal of the potential of white students to effect change in South Africa, followed his suggestion of contacting Harriet Bolton and finding a way to engage with black labour. Turner understood from the impact of the alliance between workers and students in France, that there was an opportunity in South Africa for such an alliance. It went counter to the political separation that had occurred within student circles as a result of the formation of SASO in 1969, but it was based on the ideas of the New Left and countered the cultural impulse of focussing on black identity which had become prominent in the USA.

The revival of the black South African trades unions can be connected to the way in which the ideas of the counterculture were translated into a South African context. Students throughout the world had understood that their access to tertiary education gave them a unique tool that could be used in different ways. It became evident in the individuals involved in the formation of the Wages and Economics Commission how an education in law and economics could be used to assist the organisation and education of workers, as well as assist in their protection from punitive action. The subsequent position of so many of those core individuals in positions of power in the post-1994 governments is further proof of the significance of this strand of the counterculture.

Alec Erwin became the Minister of Trade and Industry and his place has been taken in the current Cabinet, by Robert Davies who was one of the earliest to understand the role

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[3] Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS* (New York: First Vintage Books, 1974), p.86. Marcuse was teaching at Brandeis and participated in the Brandeis Conference in 1962. At this conference Tom Hayden pronounced, "the university cannot be reformed without total social revolution."

[4] A dispute at Nanterre campus over freedom of access of males and females to residences was the initial incident that led to the May 1968 student uprising in Paris.

of the students in educating workers. The strands of influence of this group remain within the sphere of labour. Charles Nupen became a labour lawyer who is best known for his mediation between labour and the government whilst Halton Cheadle, a Professor of Law at UCT has been involved in framing some of the legislation of the new South Africa. Within the academic sphere, Paula Ensor became Dean of Humanities at UCT whilst Gerry Maré is head of a new Department of Identity Studies at UKZN.[5] All of these individuals were in some way impacted by Turner and his teaching as well as by the radicalism of the black students movement at UN, which owed much to the development of ideas of Black Consciousness in the USA. The ways that the strands coalesced in South Africa carried significant outcomes both for the individuals and for the country.

The impact of the counterculture on students who did not choose an overtly political route has been as significant, although much harder to quantify. For musicians the counterculture provided them with a route into self-expression. Even though they had little intention of being expressive of a larger group, they carried the themes and strands of their time into their music and helped those less able to express themselves, to find a resonant voice. The lack of access to radio for these musicians meant an emphasis on the personal. It was as Shamley said "a lot of footwork."[6] The means of spreading the ideas of the counterculture in South Africa were very personal and direct. Books and film acted as a means of introducing students to the ideas and values, but it was when they were translated into a South African medium as in the Free People's Concerts, modelled on Woodstock, that they came to have an impact and to find new ideas that were applicable to the country.

The focus throughout the 1960s on everything that came from abroad, allowed for the impact of the counterculture to register in ideas around sex and drugs, although it appears that drugs, in particular marijuana, was the influence most copied. It converged with a long tradition in South Africa of consumption of the plant and its illegality merely made it more desirable. The efforts on the part of the government to limit the transmission of new ideas were particularly evident in the failure to introduce TV at the same time as the rest of the world. It encapsulated all the anxieties of contagion and old cultural rivalries, which were part of the landscape. In the 1950s "an official of the Broederbond said that, although the struggle against anglicanisation from without had been won, the battle against the enemy within had just started and must succeed in stopping the non-Afrikaner influences based on English and American ways of life which were infiltrating the Union through radio, cinema and the popular press."[7]

This quote demonstrates that there was an understanding of the power of the media and the establishment of the Publications Control Board in 1963, was direct evidence of an awareness that 'foreign ideas' had crept in. The absence of TV was critical. Whereas students and politicians abroad came to learn the language of TV in the 1960s, and discovered the power of extreme and provocative actions in attracting television

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[5] University of KwaZulu Natal, formerly University of Natal.
[6] Colin Shamley, interview, Nebo, Free State, April 2008.
[7] W.A. Hachten and C.A. Giffard, *Total Onslaught. The South African Press Under Attack* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 207.

coverage, South African students had no such media to assist them. The absence of any international interest in what students were doing or achieved in South Africa in both the 1960s and early 1970s was directly connected to the absence of the medium of TV. By the time SA got TV in 1976, the stage had shifted to black scholars and stayed firmly there, it helped to consign white students to limbo.

Yet as a result of the counterculture and its impact on them, university education changed, as did secondary and adult education. Teachers who had been exposed to the new historiography translated their knowledge and understanding into the schools and transmitted it to their students. Education became the terrain of subtle interrogation and critical engagement with the ideas of Christian National Education and apartheid. The decision of Catholic schools to open their doors to all races in 1976 did not cause any major retaliation or change. It was those kind of subtle but definitive changes that followed in the wake of the huge changes in education that the 1960s engendered. This was backed up by a multiplicity of new organisations, which were founded in the wake of the spread of the counterculture generation into education. The days of patronising and self-serving charities declined and changed into non- governmental organisations, which were based on identifying what individual communities needed and responded to. They were an outgrowth from the work of organisations such as SAVS and Witsco.

Within tertiary education the new historiography reflected the ongoing impact of the metropole on South African Anglophone ideas. These ideas were brought back and translated into teaching and research. South Africa had its own History Workshops initiated by Belinda Bozzoli at Wits in 1978. The importance of an intellectual construct as a means of interpreting relationships to power and change carried a political role even though only a few individuals such as Luli Callinicos[8] formalised the connection by joining the ANC. The value of the shifting constructs was in their ability to reinterpret and understand the structure of South Africa. The limitation lay in their origin. They simply failed to turn the world on its head as later works like Said's *Orientalism* did. They were theories posed and formulated in the heart of the former colonial powers. They lacked the inclusiveness and fluidity of a refashioned world, which was the gift in a sense of postmodernism which accommodated a vastly expanded picture. One of the positive outcomes of the academic imports was the rediscovery of forgotten and neglected African writers of the calibre of Sol Plaatje, and their incorporation into standard course material. The need to sustain the labour movement also led to a far greater emphasis on the history of labour and its organisation.

The provision of free legal counsel and advice and help for the poor, found expression in the establishment of legal aid and medical clinics at Anglophone universities. Free clinics were a feature of the 1960s response to private ownership. The Digger[9] community in San Francisco in the mid-1960s had started to challenge the prevailing capitalist ethos of

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[8] Luli Callinicos is a social historian, previously involved in trades unions as well as former lecturer at Wits.
[9] The 'Diggers' took their name from a group in Cromwell's era which claimed communal village land and produced food for free distribution amongst the poor.

private wealth and knowledge. It would be stretching credibility to see a direct link between the two movements, but free clinics and advice bureaus were a definite by product and expression of the counterculture.

 This was not a sop to guilty consciences, it was in fact the understanding that changing consciousness, the most fundamental idea of the 1960s, was something that could and did happen in a variety of contexts. Again the understanding and example of Turner as an exponent of the counterculture is evident. When Gerry Maré asked him how he suggested he could became engaged with change, Turner suggested he try working in the Durban City Council. Maré did not follow his advice, but it represents the understanding that change of a lasting nature can happen everywhere no matter how unlikely the of place.

The awareness that cultural change is as important as political change found expression in the arts and theatre. It was never an overwhelming movement, but it was significant. The founding of Ravan Press in 1972[10] as a vehicle for publishing more radical works was as important as the establishment of the Market Theatre in Johannesburg. The link between the expression of an alternative South African identity was evident in the crossover music of Clingman and more successfully, Johnny Clegg. The Afrikaans press had always been more generous in supporting and writing about local musicians and Clingman's example had a direct bearing on the music of Anton Goosen who told Clingman that he had found a way of integrating his own ideas as a result of his exposure to his crossover music.

The counter current of the 1960s so widely expressed in the development of the hippie culture held great significance for South African youth who neither believed in direct political action nor violence, but who nevertheless were critical of the prevailing ideology of apartheid. Their distance from the dominant culture was confused with their status as privileged whites. The consequences of the racism of apartheid have been its perpetuation in works covering the years of its implementation. Whites are not seen as anything other than complicit in its practise.

The difficulty of identifying with the dominant ideology was compounded by a disinterest in overt political activity. The excessive and frequent threats made by the Security Branch increased the fear of involvement at an age when clear decisions as to life paths had not been made. It forced an early realisation amongst interviewees who commented that they knew they were not heroes. For students enamoured of the hippie movement its primary value of detachment provided a means of handling the confusion inherent in being white, but not identifying with apartheid. Detachment meant distance and disaffiliation. Even when the beads and long Indian dresses ceased to be worn, the core hippie values remained. Its lesson was reinforced by the multi-cultural heritage of many students whose parents had taught them a degree of distance and disaffiliation as a survival mechanism. It continues as a practice even in the present when books asking *Do*

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[10] Ravan Press was founded as an outgrowth of SPROCAS (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society) in 1972.

South Africans exist?[11] are not only published, but considered important reminders of contemporary issues.

The emphasis on difference and consciousness has theoretical implications. A constant theme of this study has been the way in which the change from liberal to Marxist analysis assisted in contextualising viable activities aimed at challenging apartheid. This was the political outcome of changed consciousness, and the success of the engagement with black workers, suggests that theory was vital to the success and implementation of praxis. In a broader sense this suggests that a metanarrative has political and social value even without a radical rupture. The subsequent change in consciousness, which allowed for diversity whether in feminism or gays, meant a breaking down of broad categories. Being a feminist before a Marxist created the kind of contradictions that were already evident in the 1960s when the heritage of men taking control was subsumed under the need for establishing a useful theoretical construct. What emerged in the wake of the sixties was a relative democracy of focus. Crudely put, the problem was what was more important, women in society, or the advance of the working class which included women? In pre-1960s terms such an issue would have fallen under the rubric of social, economic, cultural or political. The understanding gained through post-modernity and the breaking down of grand and broad categories lay in the acceptance of difference. Culture could be viewed as a collective, an expression that incorporated difference and diversity. One could be a woman, gay, of mixed race, passionate about animals, a union member and a parent. Multiple identities meant multiple roles and potential, no one needed to be everything simultaneously or accountable in only one context.

The breadth of the counterculture allowed for its importation as a mental construct into different contexts. Its overlap with political change was part of the breaking down of the rigid borders and boundaries between classes and colour. What was remarkable for many white students was their first experience of meeting black workers. In this they were no different from French students who had seldom encountered a worker. They became aware in South Africa of colour and class simultaneously. The reaction of guilt which was so often alluded to, had a history of action and reaction, but it was always from a position of power and patronage. The contested nature of who revived the black trades unions is not simply an historical issue; it reflects the issues Black Consciousness was addressing. Even though whites were not acting based purely on their race, they are seen in that light, and so their involvement and attempts to give credit to their role are contextualised within an old format of guilt stricken whites whose engagement was based on the unbroken liberal tradition of knowing what blacks should fight for.[12]

What is not acknowledged or understood is that the genuine attempts at defining a completely new South African identity which was part of the early 1970s, was part of what white students were engaging with. They were resorting to existing theories, but the space suggested by the 1960s was one in which it was possible to step outside of known boundaries and create something new. The intellectual engagements that continues as to who can claim credit for ending apartheid and the what, when, where and who, is a

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[11] Ivor Chipkin, *Do South Africans Exist?* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2007).
[12] Steve Biko*, I write what I like* (Johannesburg. Macmillan, 2004), p. 71.

continuation of Biko's assessment of superiority and inferiority.[13] In that sense, the multiracialism of the early ANC has not managed to challenge the inheritance of both BC and apartheid. There has not really been a progression forward, as such the potential seen in the early 1970s has never been realised. We are still locked into using theory that emanates from abroad, with a powerful Marxist legacy informing concepts of the black working class. The conclusion that theory informs or guides change is rather lost in this ideological terrain.

This study however argues that the counterculture had a lasting and significant impact on South Africa despite the contestation over the 'true' history of the apartheid years. It is suggested that in this instance, theory has had more value as an a priori condition of change rather than as an historical tool. The importance of carving out spaces of understanding in a landscape which has been reduced to a monochromatic representation of 'white South Africans' is not an historical necessity. It is nevertheless a step into the reclamation of history as a carrier of different truths and perceptions and ultimately a record that time adjusts to some semblance of balance. The excitement of the 1960s as the beginning of a time of relativity and reflexivity is echoed in this work and has been its guiding principle through the interviewing process that informed it. A history of everyday life and a small group of individuals defined by the prevalent parameters of race and language is precisely that and no more. It requires time for the immediacy of events to filter into a bigger picture, in this case the bigger picture is part of the narrative of the sixties and the changes it engendered.

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[13] Ibid., p.70.

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APPENDIX
A

I remember watching Jailhouse Rock.

I remember when tennis balls were fluffier and almost white.

I remember the sweet oily smell of Brylcreem in its squat glass jar

I remember some cinemas in the middle of town: His Majesty's, the Empire and The Colosseum.

I remember Talent Contests.

I remember traveling to town on a cream and red double decker bus, and the delay when the conductor had to reconnect the runners to the overhead lines, using a long bamboo rod that he slid out from the undercarriage.

I remember the sign in the bus at the front of the stairs: DO NOT SPIT/MOENIE SPOEG NIE.

I remember the ticklish feeling of a songololo on my hand.

I remember miniature groceries: also miniature drinks of everything from Coca Cola to Johnny Walker whisky. You could get them from people who had been on planes.

I remember second-class bus stops, overloaded dirty green Putco buses.

I remember Lemmy Special's penny-whistle music.

I remember boys singing "Oh dear, what should I do, my baby's black and I'm feeling blue; also "Baby won't you hold my gland" and "There she was just awalking down the street singing 'Do what Daddy did to Mommy to get me."

I remember the Nelsrust Dairy delivery man, and the tinkle of milk bottles in his bicycle carrier.

I remember fathers projecting films during birthdays onto glistening white pull-down screens and the moment before the film when everyone stuck their hands in the light-beam of the projector.

I remember:
Happy Birthday to you,
You belong in the zoo,
You look like a monkey
And you act like one too.

I remember "Nog a piep!"

I remember DDT

I remember silkworms, puries and stripies, four for a cent, and the pleasure of stabbing a shirt box with the prongs of a fork so they could breathe.

I remember Jeremy Taylor singing:
"Ag pleez Daddy won't you take us to the drive-in…

I remember that divorce ended in something horrible called a broken home.

I remember Hayley Mills in the Parent Trap.

I remember that our maid's bed was raised on bricks to keep the tokoloshe away.

I remember the face of Dr Verwoerd streaming with blood on the front page of the newspaper after David Pratt shot him at the Rand Easter Show.

I remember the Tower of Light at the Rand Easter Show, where lost children could go and the searchlight beams swinging across Johannesburg at night.

I remember Portuguese greengrocers, Greek cafes and the Lebs of Highlands North.

I remember L.M , L.M. Radio and L.M. prawns.

I remember when fishnet clothing was in fashion.

I remember Cornelia on the radio singing:
Picking up pebbles
And throwing them into the sea

I remember charms, scoobidoes, jacks and cat's cradle.

I remember hula hoops, around the waist, up around the arms, down to the thighs and back again.

I remember inkwells and bits of blotting paper stuck in them and dipping pens.

I remember:
What's the time?
Half past nine,
Hang your broekies
On the line.

I remember Charles Fortune's cricket commentaries on the wireless.

I remember the "View-Master" and cardboard disks of tiny 3-D slides.

I remember golliwogs.

I remember the girls high school where peanuts were banned from the tuck shop because they were supposed to be sexually stimulating.

I remember the dustbin men running after the dustbin truck which was always just beyond their reach.

I remember that one of the Lion Lager lions opposite the Jan Smuts Ave. entrance to Wits flicked its orange neon tail at night.

I remember white or khaki safari suits, and then the fashion for various pastel shades with long socks to match.

I remember Ansteys, Stuttafords, John Orrs, Garlicks, Greatermans and Cleghorns in the middle of town.

I remember that you could take clothes home on "appro".

I remember capsules with shiny brass ends and a transparent middle, called "dockets" sent off with documents inside them and then arriving back via overhead tubes at the counter.

I remember log tables, in a little blue covered book.

I remember IQ tests.

I remember rare, dramatic overseas telephone calls.

I remember the Mark Saxon radio series.

I remember Forces Favourites, with "min dae" included in all the messages.

I remember packets of Lucky Strike white sugar cigarettes with red tips.

I remember the Wall's ice cream van with its out of tune recorded jingle.

I remember friends called each other "my china".

I remember black maids waiting at the end of the street for the "fah fee" man.

I remember the With love and Hisses column by Molly Reinhardt in the Sunday Times.

I remember when black garage attendants wore a silver change distributor like bus conductors.

I remember that black servants used to ask whites to bring them back bottles of seawater from the coast.

I remember "crushes", "getting fresh", "necking" and "going steady".

I remember that Rhodesians had TV and we had drive-ins.

I remember that Paul Kruger lost a thumb.

I remember:
Janpierewit, Janpierewit…

I remember the unspeakable boredom of our van Jaarsveld history book.

I remember "flat-boys" sometimes with huge discs in their ear lobes and car tyre sandals.

I remember black and white Movietone news-reels at the cinema.

I remember "Strue's God."

I remember "It's none of your beeswax".

I remember when LSD meant pounds, shillings and pence.

I remember the Park Station Bomb.

I remember Stork nappy service.

I remember children going to elocution lessons

I remember Archie and Veronica comics

I remember when I discovered that the words of one of the songs of Hair were taken from Hamlet.

I remember when Made in Hong Kong or Japan meant bad quality.

I remember water restrictions.

I remember Tretchikoffs paintings of the blue woman

I remember Angela Davis and Afro hairstyles.

I remember fringes of leather across suede jackets, long hair and fuzzy side burns.

I remember other children shouting out "Afrikaner vrot banana."

I remember how often you used to hear about women's measurements and that the ideal figure was 36-24-36.

I remember the East African Pavilion, where waiters wore a red sash and fez.

I remember the Doll House on Louis Botha.

I remember headbands, sandalwood, bushy beards and patchouli.

I remember that on Thursdays steakhouses like the Golden Spur were full because it was maid's night off.

I remember the hairy left.

I remember when people stuck plastic oranges on their car aerials

I remember the saying that if you hadn't started to revise by the time the chestnut trees on the library lawn at Wits got their new leaves, you were in trouble.

I remember the nagging question of what exactly we thought we were going to do when we left University.

I remember sit-ins and drop-outs.

I remember when Fontana Bakery opened in Hillbrow and was open all night.

I remember the night watchman standing in the doorway before the showing of a film by the Wits Film Society began, and saying:"Before you go, remember: let out the cat. Cover the canary. Switch off the light."