

**SOUTH AFRICAN
POLITICAL MATERIALS,
1964-1990**

**A CATALOGUE OF THE
KARIS-GERHART COLLECTION**

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INTRODUCTION

The historical materials in this catalogue were assembled in the process of writing volumes 5, 6, and 7 of *From Protest to Challenge: a Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1990*, published by Indiana University Press in the United States and the University of South Africa Press in South Africa. The Catalogue serves as a guide to the microfilms of the Karis-Gerhart Collection, available through the Cooperative Africana Microform Project (CAMP) of the Center for Research Libraries, 6050 South Kenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60637-4545, USA, as well as to the Collection itself, which is housed in the Cullen Library of the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

From Protest to Challenge uses primary sources to present the history of South Africa's freedom struggle in the words of those who were its active participants. The idea of producing such a history was first conceived in the 1960s by American scholars Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter. Their work, with that of Sheridan Johns and Gail Gerhart, resulted in the publication of a four volume series by the Hoover Institution Press at Stanford University in the 1970s. The series covered the years 1882-1964. The first three volumes included primary source documents plus explanatory text placing the documents in historical context. Volume 4 was a political who's who of extraparliamentary opposition in the 1882-1964 period. The documents, interviews, and biographical materials used in producing the first four volumes were deposited at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. The collection was microfilmed and a guide to the microfilms, *South African Political Materials: a Catalogue of the Carter-Karis Collection*, compiled by Susan Wynne, was published in 1977.

In the late 1980s, Thomas Karis and Gail Gerhart decided to update the series and began work on three new volumes. Volume 5, which covers the years 1964 to 1979, appeared in 1997, and volume 6 (1980-1990) and volume 7 (a political who's who for 1964-1990) are scheduled for publication in the year 2000. Five new authors have participated in writing the update series: Teresa Barnes, Clive Glaser, Antony Levine, David Lewis, and Nimrod Mkele.

Prospective users of the Carter-Karis and Karis-Gerhart Collections should note that the several hundred primary source documents reproduced in *From Protest to Challenge* represent only a tiny fraction of the many thousands of documents included in these two collections. While the books serve as an introduction to the history of the struggle for democracy in South Africa, serious researchers will want to examine the documentary iceberg that lies under that tantalizing tip.

Our purpose in assembling these collections was to create a database from which we could study South Africa's history and produce the *From Protest to Challenge* books. In searching for useful material, we surveyed several dozen public and private collections in Britain, the United States, and South Africa (where visa denials made our access problematic for varying periods during the apartheid years). Copies of other documents were acquired through the generosity of dozens of individuals, including South African lawyers who donated, or permitted the authors to photocopy, documentary exhibits from five landmark trials: the Treason Trial of 1956-61, the SASO Nine trial of 1975-76, the Pietermaritzburg treason trial of 1985, and the Delmas and Moses Mayekiso trials of the late 1980s.

We have sometimes been credited with preserving historical documents that might otherwise have been lost. In fact, only a very small percentage of the documents in the collections fall into this one-of-a-kind category. In respect to all other documents in these archives, we have benefited from and built upon the collecting and preserving efforts of others. Acknowledgments in the separate volumes of *From Protest to Challenge* and the Source Key in this catalogue indicate the range of our debts. We are also indebted to the hundreds of South Africans whom we have interviewed, formally and informally, over many years. The records of these conversations form a unique part of the collections.

Where the greatest strength of the *From Protest to Challenge* collections lies is that they draw together in one place a wealth of materials on certain centrally important political organizations — in the 1964-1990 period, for example, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha, the black consciousness organizations, and the United Democratic Front. Other important organizations with extensive records — NUSAS, the Black Sash, church bodies and trade unions, for example — are much less well represented, in part because well-consolidated or even microfilmed archives of these organizations already exist. In 1996, after the completion of the manuscript of volume 5, a portion of the extensive exile archives of the ANC became available at the University of Fort Hare, and were surveyed for material relevant to the writing of volumes 6 and 7. At the time of producing this catalogue, however, much pre-1990 ANC material still remains closed, as do the official exile records of the PAC. Thus, large as the *From Protest to Challenge* collections may appear to be, they represent only a small fraction of the total corpus of historical material that is available, actually and potentially, on anti-apartheid and South African extraparliamentary organizations.

The story of South Africa's freedom struggle has only begun to be told. It is our hope that by facilitating access to historical raw materials, we may contribute to the future work of other writers and researchers in the field of South African studies.

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USING THE CATALOGUE

Part I: Interviews

Interviews are listed alphabetically by the name of the person interviewed.

A list of interviewees appears on pp. 1-21.

Part II: Political Trials

Trials are organized by year (the year the trial began). Within each year, trials are listed alphabetically, in most cases by the name of the first accused.

A list of the trials appears on pp. 22-27.

Part III: Political Documents

Documents are listed chronologically, either

(a) under the organization which issued them (or the organization with which their authors were identified), or

(b) under a miscellaneous organizational category (e.g. Youth organizations—Miscellaneous, Journalists—Miscellaneous)

Organizations and miscellaneous organizational categories are listed alphabetically. Some documents are cross-listed under more than one organization or category. Serials (i.e. periodicals numbered by volume and/or number) appear under their issuing organizations, at the end of the listing for the organization.

The table of contents for Part III appears on pp. 29-35.

Part IV: Trade Union Documents

Trade union documents are listed chronologically under their issuing organizations. Issuing organizations are listed alphabetically. Serials appear under their issuing organizations, at the end of the listing for the organization.

The table of contents for Part IV appears on pp. 449-450.

Part V: Biographical Files

Biographical files are listed alphabetically in two categories, Main Files and Supplementary Files.

The Main Files contain information on persons who appear in volume 7 of *From Protest to Challenge*, which is a political who's who.

The Supplementary Files contain information on other persons who were prominent in the politics of the 1964-1990 period but who are not profiled in volume 7 (with some exceptions still undetermined at the time of printing this Catalogue).

The list of files in Part V appears on pp. 501-517.

ACRONYMS

A

ACAG	Anti-Censorship Action Group
ACTSTOP	Action Committee to Stop Evictions
ACTWUSA	Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union of SA
AFRA	Association for Rural Advancement
AICA	African Independent Churches' Association
ANC	African National Congress
APDUSA	African People's Democratic Union of SA
ARM	African Resistance Movement
ADAC	Ad Hoc Detention Action Committee
ASSECA	Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People
AYCO	Alexandria Youth Congress
AZAPO	Azanian Peoples Organisation
AZASM	Azanian Students' Movement
AZASO	Azanian Student Organisation

B

BAWU	Black Allied Workers' Union
BCMA	Black Consciousness Movement of Azania
BCP	Black Community Programmes
BPA	Black Parents Association
BPC	Black People's Convention
BSS	Black Students Society

C

CAHAC	Cape Areas Housing Committee
CAL	Cape Action League
CAYCO	Cape Youth Congress
CCAWUSA	Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA
CDF	Conference for a Democratic Future
CEAPA	Center for Enrichment in African Political Affairs
CI	Christian Institute of Southern Africa
CIWW	Council of Industrial Workers, Witwatersrand
CLOWU	Clothing Workers Union

CONTRALESA	Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA
COSAS	Congress of South African Students
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
COSAW	Congress of South African Writers
COSAWR	Committee on South African War Resistance
CRADORA	Cradock Residents Association
CRIC	Community Resource and Information Centre
CTMWA	Cape Town Municipal Workers Association
CUSA	Council of Unions of South Africa
CUSA-AZACTU Unions	Council of Unions of SA-Azania Congress of Trade Unions
CWIU	Chemical Workers Industrial Union

D

DBAC	Disorderly Bills Action Committee
DDA	Durban Democrats Association
DESCOM	Detainees Support Committee
DHAC	Durban Housing Action Committee
DLA	Democratic Lawyers Association
DPSC	Detainees' Parents Support Committee

E

ECC	End Conscription Campaign
EDASA	Education for an Aware South Africa
ERIC	Education Resource and Information Centre

F

FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
FCWU	Food and Canning Workers Union
FEDSAW	Federation of South African Women
FEDTRAW	Federation of Transvaal Women
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions

G

GAWU	General Allied Workers' Union
GRACA	Grahamstown Civic Association
GTWUCC	Garment and Textile Workers Union Coordinating Committee
GWIU	Garment Workers Industrial Union
GWU	General Workers Union
GWUCC	Garment Workers Unions' Coordinating Committee

H

HRC	Human Rights Commission
HWA	Health Workers Association

I

IAS	Industrial Aid Society
IAWUSA	Insurance Assurance Workers Union of SA
ICT	Institute for Contextual Theology
IDASA	Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA
IIE	Institute for Industrial Education
ILRIG	International Labour Research and Information Group

J

JODAC	Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee
JORAC	Joint Rent Action Committee
JUEP	Joint Union Education Project

L

LERC	Labour and Economic Research Centre
LMF	Lutuli Memorial Foundation

M

MACWUSA	Motor Assemblers and Component Workers' Union
MAWU	Metal and Allied Workers Union
MGWUSA	Municipal and General Workers' Union of SA
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MWASA	Media Workers Association of SA

N

NAAWU	National Automobile and Allied Workers Union
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
NADEL	National Association of Democratic Lawyers
NAFCOC	National African Federated Chamber of Commerce
NAMDA	National Medical and Dental Association
NAYO	National Youth Organization
NCAR	National Committee Against Removals
NECC	National Education Crisis Committee
NEUSA	National Education Union of South Africa
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NUCW	National Union of Clothing Workers
NUDW	National Union of Distributive Workers
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUMSA	National Union of Metal Workers of SA
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
NUTW	National Union of Textile Workers
NUWCC	National Unemployed Workers Co-ordinating Committee

P

PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PACSA	Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness
PEAC	Port Elizabeth Action Committee
PEBCO	Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization
PEYCO	Port Elizabeth Youth Congress
POTWA	Post and Telecommunications Workers Association

R

RAWU Retail and Allied Workers' Union
RMC Release Mandela Campaign

S

SAASM South African/Azania Student Movement
SAAWU South African Allied Workers Union
SACBC Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference
SACC South African Council of Churches
SACHED South African Committee for Higher Education
SACOS South African Council on Sport
SACP South African Communist Party
SACPC South African Coloured People's Congress
SACTU South African Congress of Trade Unions
SACWU South African Chemical Workers Union
SADWU South African Domestic Workers Union
SAHWCO South Africa Health Workers Congress
SAIC South African Indian Council
SAM Students' Africa Movement
SAMWU South African Municipal Workers Union
SANCROC South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SANSCO South African National Students' Congress
SARHWU South African Railway and Harbours Union
SASM South African Students' Movement
SASO South African Students' Organisation
SASPU South African Students Press Union
SAYCO South African Youth Congress
SAYRCO South African Youth Revolutionary Council
SCA Soweto Civic Association
SFAWU Sweet Food and Allied Workers' Union
SOMAFCO Solomon Mahalangu Freedom College
SOSCO Soweto Students Congress
SOYA Students of Young Azania
SOYCO Soweto Youth Congress

SPCC
SSD
SSRC
SUCA

Soweto Parents Crisis Committee
Students for Social Democracy
Soweto Students' Representative Council
Student Union for Christian Action

T

TGWU Transport and General Workers' Union
TIC Transvaal Indian Congress
TRAC Transvaal Rural Action Committee
TRASCO Transvaal Students' Congress
TUACC Trade Union Advisory and Co-Ordinating Council
TUCSA Trade Union Council of South Africa
TWIU Textile Workers industrial Union

U

UBC Urban Bantu Council
UBJ Union of Black Journalists
UCM University Christian Movement
UCT University of Cape Town
UDF United Democratic Front
UDUSA Union of Democratic University Staff Associations
UDW University of Durban-Westville
UMSA United Municipalities of South Africa
UTP Urban Training Project
UWC University of the Western Cape
UWCC Unemployed Workers Coordinating Committee
UWO United Women's Organisation

W

WASA Writers Association of South Africa
WECTU Western Cape Teachers' Union
WESCO Western Cape Students Congress
WPGWU Western Province General Workers Union

SOURCE KEY

Each document entry is followed by a source code indicating where or from whom the document was acquired

AB	Abdul Bemath	DB	David Bonbright
AC	Arthur Chaskalson	DK	Dirk Kotze
AH	Allen “Tex” Harris	DKu	Denis Kuny
AD	Andries du Toit	DR	David Russell
AK	Ahmed Kathrada	DS	David Soggot (<i>S v Cooper</i>)
AS	Albie Sachs	EC	Edwin Cameron
B	Ben Turok	ESR	E.S. Reddy
BC	Brian Currin	FB	Fran Buntman
BD	Bill Davies	FBi	Francois Bill
BL	Brook Larmer	FG	Frene Ginwala
BS	Black Sash	FH	Fort Hare ANC Archives
BW	Betsy Widenmann	G	Gail Gerhart
C	Wits University-Cullen Library	GB	Geoff Budlender
CAA	United Nations Centre Against Apartheid	GH	George Houser
Camp	CAMP (trial exhibits)	GM	Gilbert Marcus
CC	Craig Charney	GMb	Govan Mbeki
CCI	Centre for Contemporary Islam (UCT)	HB	Howard Barrell
CK	Claire Keeton	HI	Henry Isaacs
CM	Cedric Mayson	ICS	Institute of Commonwealth Studies
Cory	Cory Library, Rhodes University	ICS-PG	Paul Gready
CR	Charles Runyan	IDAF	International Defence and Aid Fund
CTH	Cheadle, Thompson and Haysom	IM	Imrann Moosa
CU	Columbia University Library	IMoh	Ismail Mahomed
D	Delmas trial exhibits	JA	John Aitchison
DA	Diana Aviv	JAr	Jim Armstrong

JB	Jules Browde	PSM	Smangaliso Mkhathshwa
JC	Janet Cherry	PT	Patrick Tandy
JGM	Joe Matthews	QP	Quraish Patel
K	Tom Karis	RAS	Ray Alexander Simons
KJ	K. Jochelson thesis	RR	Rory Riordan
L/DL	David Lewis	RT	Raymond Tucker
LF	Liesel Fichardt	S	Sebastian McKay
LJ	Larry Jones	Sached	South Africa Committee on Higher Education
Lmf	Tom Lodge (microfilm)	SAHA	South African History Archive
LS	Lynda Schuster	SCohen	Steve Cohen
LW	Letitia White	SE	Steve Ellmann
M	Sipho Mahamba	SL	South Africa Labour Education Project
MB	Mary Benson	ST	Senti Thobejane
MC	Mayibuye Centre	SV	Sonny Venkatrathnam
MG	Magnus Gunther	TGL	Tom Lodge
MinJ	Ministry of Justice	TM	Anthony Marx
MJ	Mkhuseli Jack	TP	Thami Plaatjie
MS	Mark Swilling	TS	Themba Sono thesis
Muf	Steve Mufson	UCBWM	United Church Board for World Missions
NG	Nigel Gibson	UCT	University of Cape Town
ORT	Oliver Tambo papers	Unisa	University of South Africa
PB	Pauline Baker	V	Goolam Vahed
PG	Paul Goller	WK	Willem Kleynhans
PH	Pierre Hugo	WSF	Walter Felgate
PHT	Popular History Trust	WW	Walter Wink
PJ	Priscilla Jana	Y	Yale University
PN	Pascal Ngakane	YK	York University (UK)
PogMf	Ben Pogrund (microfilm)		

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