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THE SEARCH FOR POWER AND LEGITIMACY IN
BLACK URBAN AREAS : THE ROLE OF THE URBAN
COUNCILS ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

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The Search for Power and Legitimacy in Black Urban Areas :
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1 INTRODUCTION

Since their establishment in 1977, Community Councils, like their predecessors, have been severely criticised by urban blacks for their powerlessness. Councillors themselves are disappointed with their inability to improve the living and working conditions of their constituents, and are aware of the rejection of councils as a meaningful political forum by many sectors of black society. In 1978 the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA) was formed to tie together the ineffective Councils into a more forceful power bloc, which would provide Councils with greater legitimacy and political credibility in the community. By doing so, UCASA acts as a counter to the Administration Boards manned predominantly by whites; UCASA is therefore in the difficult position of operating within government-created structures, while challenging the very structure on which itself is based.

This report will outline UCASA's structure and activities within the context of the controversial position of local black urban authorities. It will also be necessary to describe UCASA's political standpoints, both on issues relating to Community Councils and broader South African problems. Three dominant themes constantly recur: structural deficiencies within UCASA itself; tension between UCASA and white officials within Administration Boards and the Department of Co-operation and Development; and UCASA's reaction to leftwing critics who adhere to the non-collaborationist approach with regard to government-created institutions. These divergent attitudes to UCASA will be discussed in more detail towards the end of the paper; finally, an evaluation of UCASA's success in establishing itself as a focal point of pressure for reform from within the ranks of Community Councils will be presented.

2 COMMUNITY COUNCILS: THEIR ESTABLISHMENT, DEVELOPMENT AND DILEMMAS

Community Councils were introduced in 1977, after the massive expression of popular dissatisfaction in black urban areas in 1976. Until 1977, urban blacks had merely an advisory role in local administration, through the Urban Bantu Councils and the Advisory Boards. Because of their powerlessness vis-á-vis (the then) Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, who actually governed and controlled urban blacks, the UBC's soon lost credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of the black population.

In an attempt to change these perceptions, the South African Government created new local authority structures with greater powers in the urban black areas. The Community Councils (CC's) were more autonomous than their predecessors in several important ways: first, a CC was to be a "legal person" and not merely an appendage of another body such as an Administration Board or the Department of Co-operation and Development. A Council can sue or be sued in its own name, which is an essential element of autonomy. Secondly, the CC could eventually acquire full municipal status, instead of merely providing advice to the Administration Board, and executing routine administrative duties. Thirdly, under the former system, an Administration Board could increase or decrease the membership of an UBC, whereas the composition of a CC is determined by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, and its members elected by democratic processes. Fourthly, powers could devolve on a CC to the exclusion of the Administration Board, instead of the Board having jurisdiction in respect of matters assigned to the UBC's.[1]

According to the Community Councils Act (no. 125 of 1977), Councils could be elected by black inhabitants of an urban area, who fulfilled qualifications determined by the Minister. Their qualifications have recently been standardized to include all adults who qualify, in the relevant prescribed area, under Section 10 (1 (a), (b), (c), and (d)) of the Urban Areas Act. The Minister can declare a by-election if sufficient members are not elected.[2]

The powers assigned to the Council can include the following:

(i) The allocation and administration of the letting of accommodation to single persons;

(ii) the allocation and administration of the letting of dwellings, buildings and other structures;

(iii) the prevention and combatting of the unlawful occupation of land and buildings;

(iv) the allocation and administration of sites for church, school or trading purposes;

(v) the approval of building plans of private dwellings and the removal or demolition of unauthorised or abandoned buildings or structures;

(vi) the prohibition, regulation or restriction of the keeping of animals, except dogs;

(vii) the control over the keeping of dogs and the imposition of a levy on

the keeping of dogs;

(viii) the promotion of the moral and social welfare of persons living in its area;

(ix) the promotion of sound community development in its area;

(x) the beautifying of and tidiness of the area;

(xi) the administration of sport and recreational facilities;

(xii) the administration of library services;

(xiii) the award of bursaries;

(xiv) the maintenance of services determined by the Minister.[3]

The CC can also appoint and manage a community guard; advise the Minister or Administration Board if asked to do so; make recommendations to the Minister about transport services, township regulations, educational affairs; assist homeland representatives in the township; impose levies after consultation with the Minister with greater powers not specified in the Act after consultation with the appropriate Administration Board. The activities of the Councils were to be financed by contributions received due to the fulfilment of its duties; by contributions from the Administration Board (received in turn from house rents and service charges, liquor and beer sales, employers' contributions and fines); and from levies and fines.[4]

According to current Government policy, CC's will develop into fully-fledged municipalities in the black areas. This represents a major change in Government policy, since urban blacks are now recognised as permanent residents in urban areas, instead of merely being temporary sojourners.

Although CC's have greater executive powers than the defunct UBC's, they have not satisfied the aspirations of large sections of the urban black population, and so their legitimacy has often been questioned. Their powers were initially very limited, and the more extensive municipal powers (provided for in the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982) are in a process of gradual implementation, inter alia because Administration Boards have questioned the readiness of CC's to receive these powers. Furthermore, the Minister and Administration Boards retained several important powers in terms of the Community Council Act:

1   The Minister takes the decision to establish a Council by notice in the Government Gazette, after consultation with existing UBC's, Black Advisory Boards or the residents of that township, in any manner he deems suitable.

2   The Minister has the power to dissolve any Council at any stage, after consultation with the relevant Administration Board, when he deems it in the public interest to do so, or when he is requested to do so by that Council. The Council therefore has no independent power to run its township as it sees fit.

3   The Minister directs what powers and functions a Council shall have after consultation with the Administration Board and that Council. He can withdraw powers, and confer them on the Board instead.

4   The Minister, after consulting with the relevant Administration Board and Council, has the power to make regulations affecting a wide range of Council activity, including elections to Councils, periods of office of members, their conditions of service and powers and duties, conduct of meetings, employment of staff, control over financial affairs and any other matter which the Minister deems necessary for the effective carrying out of the Community Council Act.[5]

Other problems relating to the credibility of Councils have also surfaced. First, black opinion was not thoroughly consulted when the Councils were created, and some Councils were organised on an ethnic basis, which revived black opposition to the divisive principles of separate development. Secondly, the popular leaders which emerged during the 1976 unrest (the Soweto Committee of Ten) refused to co-operate in the creation of Community Councils: this undermined the legitimacy of the Councils still further. This was reflected in the very low voting polls in the urban areas when Councils were elected. Thirdly, the Department of Co-operation and Development reviews the transfer of powers every year, and on a basis of performance or necessity, hands down more powers, or takes some away.[6] The opinion has been expressed by leftwing observers that Councils are merely "vaguely cranked-up UBC's".[7] Even the powers which are transferred are undermined by the abysmal lack of revenue of the Councils: they derive income solely from liquor sales, house rents, and the rates on essential services. Land cannot be taxed since there is no freehold tenure, and there is little

commerce and no industry which usually form the backbone of municipal revenue.

Finally, a more articulate criticism has emerged from the younger generation of politically conscious blacks in the towns. "The shift in responsibility, from white to black shoulders, for such unpopular measures as rent increases, housing shortages, inadequacy of services and the apparent financial ineptitude of Community Councils is used to equate the Community Councils and their members with white exploitation, and thereby in the non-ethnic context (i.e. local administration run by blacks) lending credence to the notion of a class struggle." [8] The most contentious issue in the functioning of Councils has been their relationship with Administration Boards. According to the theory of class struggle, CC's are more or less willing tools used by Boards to do their dirty work and to bear responsibility for unpleasant decisions. [9] In return, councillors have an opportunity to promote their private interests by means of the Council's power over site allocation. According to Bloch, Councils are simply "agencies of control and division, created by the state to extend co-optive but effectively meaningless 'political' rights to sections of the dominated classes on the urban terrain . . . monopolised by a small (and often corrupt) section of the petty bourgeoisie . . . " [10]

Although this view does have some validity, there are several issues that should not be confused. First, even if it is accepted that the Government intends CC's to be merely a means of control, it does not follow that all or most councillors are content to be used in this way. Many councillors have expressed the desire to increase their powers and loosen the bonds that tie them to the Department and the Boards. Secondly, if the Councils want to increase their powers, that is not necessarily to promote their own private gain at the expense of their constituents'. It is quite credible that many councillors see their position as an opportunity to solve the practical problems of their constituents. Thirdly, even if it is the case that councillors are using their positions simply to get allowances (which are not even very large in most cases), cars, access to trading sites and prestige, it does not follow that these defects are inherent in the structure of Councils; if and when Councils get greater powers, there may be a greater public involvement and restraint on the behaviour of councillors. Finally, if councillors are at present defending the interest of at least some of their constituents, it does not follow that they are the representatives solely of the emerging "petty bourgeoisie" in the townships; it is possible that they tolerate or even

actively support the cause of trade unions. These issues need much empirical investigation and it is imperative that glib generalizations concerning the aims and functioning of different Councils and councillors are not made.

The investigation into UCASA is one attempt to gain clarity on these issues, for it represents at least some of the beliefs, preoccupations and ideals of Community Councils throughout the country. Furthermore, the constraints and limitations under which Councils operate are also often reflected in the functioning of UCASA.

3 UCASA : ESTABLISHMENT, STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES

UCASA was established in October 1978, at a meeting in Dobsonville which was attended by Community Councillors from the Transvaal, Orange Free State and the Cape. Originally known as the "Urban Administrators' Associa-tion of South Africa", the new organisation was the brainchild of Mr Steve Phologo Kgame, the Chairman of Dobsonville Community Council. An Interim Committee was elected.* At the first meeting, Mr Kgame said that "all advisory Boards, Urban Bantu Councils and Community Councils had to come together and speak with one voice in matters of common interest . . . (and) it was time that a direct link with the Government by urban leaders was established".[11] From the beginning, therefore UCASA was intended as a legal urban organisation which would co-operate with the Government by informing it of the problems and interests of urban black leaders. Its aims are similar to those of the Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) and the United Municipal Executive (UME) which represent white local governments; for example, the objects of the TMA are to "encourage and promote the study of and interest in local government to the mutual benefit of the constituent members; to safeguard, protect and advance the interests, rights and privileges of all bodies represented in the TMA by all such constitutional means as may be appropriate; to make representations on such matters as are necessary to the central government, the provincial administration and other institutions, where necessary."[12] Founder members of UCASA believed that UCASA could achieve ends that individual Councils could never have

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* See Appendix 1 for a list of the Committee members

achieved on their own, such as the professional training of councillors, co-ordinated negotiations with white administrators, and the improvement of the quality of life of blacks in urban areas outside the homelands. [13]

a) The Constitution*

"1   To organise and bring together all councillors elected under the Black Urban Councils Act, for the purpose of considering and dealing with matters of common interest in the field of urban local government in all its aspects;

2   To organise seminars, lectures and refresher courses in order to improve the knowledge and ability of councillors in the performance of their duties;

3   To safeguard, protect and advance the interests, rights and privileges of urban Councils and councillors;

4   To promote the interests and the general wellbeing of blacks resident in urban residential areas, and to conduct or cause to be conducted investigations, research and studies to that end;

5   To make appropriate representations to the Government and other authorities, and to negotiate with them in the furtherance of the aims and objects of the Association."[14]
(Section 2)

Other aims are mentioned elsewhere: to rally educated urban residents to participate in civic affairs; to improve the image of Community Councils, so enabling them to produce positive results in the shortest possible time; to work towards unity with black, coloured and Asian groups and with homeland leaders; to work towards a peaceful South Africa and the economic and social stability of the country; to arrange youth activities; and to encourage members of UCASA's management to attend as many Council meetings as possible to give guidance regarding procedures at such meetings. [15]

Membership is open not only to Councils, but to councillors who are members

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* See Appendix 2

of Councils which have not affiliated to UCASA.* (This issue has proved to be one of the most contentious in UCASA's structure, since it has been alleged that individual councillors use UCASA for their own interests.) Furthermore, Town Clerks, Chief Executive Officers and Committee Clerks of the Community Councils may apply for non–voting associate membership at regional level, which entitles them to all the privileges of membership, save that they cannot vote, hold office or serve on the General Council; they may, however, be appointed by the Council to serve on committees. It is evident, therefore, that UCASA wants to extend its liaison function as much as possible, by establishing fairly easy conditions of membership. Membership fees are R300 per Council per annum, and R15 per councillor or non–voting associate member per annum (Section 5). (These fees have been suspended since 1982.) There is pressure from within the organisation to limit member-ship to Councils only, since this would remove criticism that UCASA is undemocratic, and it would make the organisation more widely acceptable. [16]

According to the constitution, UCASA will hold an annual general meeting, where one half plus one of members form a quorum. These meetings have been termed "conventions", and are usually held in May. Both the Councils and the Executive Committee may summon extraordinary general meetings (Section 4). The affairs of UCASA are managed by the Executive Committee whose term of office is three years. The Committee meets at least once per quarter. The most important of the Executive Committee's powers are:

"a)   to administer the funds of the Association and to present the annual accounts to the Annual General Meeting for adoption;

b)   to appoint auditors, legal and other consultants;

c)   to raise and borrow money for the Association's purpose;

d)   to appoint committees comprising such Association members as it may select, and to delegate to such committtees such powers, duties and functions as it may deem;

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* See Appendix 3

e) to liaise and communicate on Association matters with urban councils established under the Black Urban Councils Act, with the United Municipal Executive and with other bodies having related aims and objectives or interests;

f) to establish regional branches . . ." (Section 5).

Between annual general meetings, the affairs of UCASA are administered by the National Council, with a term of office of three years. The Council consists of the Executive Committee, two representatives of each region and any councillors nominated by the Executive Committee for their expertise. According to the Constitution, the Council meets twice a year. In practice, however, the meeting (called a "National Conference") has only met once a year, usually in October. For all intents and purposes, the functions, powers and responsibilities of the National Council are delegated to the Executive Committee, to be ratified at subsequent meetings (Section 6).

The Executive Committee or any members of UCASA in regional areas can establish a region which functions under the requirements of the Association constitution, and under the direction of the Executive Committee. Each region has a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and organiser, and members representing Councils in that region (Section 8). Furthermore, Provincial Conferences are held at least once a year; its affairs are directed by a Provincial Executive Committee, and it is empowered to make recommendation to the National Conference of the Association.

There are some significant differences between UCASA and its white sister bodies, the TMA and UME. The TMA consists of independent regional organisations (such as the Association of Western Transvaal Local Authorities) which then affiliate to the TMA. The UME, in turn, consists of the independent provincial associations (such as the TMA) that represent municipalities. UCASA's structure, in which Councils are directly represented, is therefore much more cohesive, and power is more centralised. Also, these provincial organisations only accept municipalities as members, unlike UCASA, which also accepts individual councillors as members.

b) Organisational development

At present, the President of UCASA is Steve I.P. Kgame (Chairman, Dobson-

ville CC), the Vice-President is J.C. Mahuhushi (Chairman, Diepmeadow CC), and the General Secretary is Mrs V. Mfuphi (Chairman, Volksrust CC)* Steve Kgame was the actual founder of the organisation. UCASA is divided into twenty regions: Western Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Vaal Triangle, South Free State, Central Free State, North Free State, Eastern Free State, Northern Natal, Drakensberg, Port Natal, Northern Cape, Karoo, Cape Midlands, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Highveld, East Rand, West Rand, Central Transvaal and Northern Transvaal + It is estimated by the UCASA leadership that at least 200 Councils belong to UCASA.x

One of UCASA's main preoccupations thus far had been the streamlining of its organisational structure. In 1981, it was decided to set up a small head office organisation with three full-time officials (President, National Organiser and Secretary), with proper equipment and transport facilities. It was also decided to acquire some educational equipment, such as projectors. (Until then, UCASA has operated from the homes of a few members of the National Executive, with no secretarial facilities).[17] An effective system of planning, budgeting and expenditure, both at head office and at regional level, had to be created.

Three National Conferences have been held, in 1980 (Bloemfontein), 1981 (Sebokeng), and 1982 (Bloemfontein), which were attended by delegates from each region. At the 1981 Conference, the first election of the Executive Committee was held, and Steve Kgame was re-elected president (he was opposed by Mr J. Shabalala of Atteridgeville Community Council).** National conferences, which are open to all members of UCASA, were held in May 1981, 1982 and 1983 in Bloemfontein. About 500 members attended each of these conventions.[18]

c) Finances

The greatest constraint faced by UCASA since its formation has been its limited financial resources. The pamphlet, About UCASA estimated that

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* See Appendix 3 for full Executive Committee.

+ See Appendix 5 for regional chairmen.

x See Appendix 4.

** See Appendix 3 for old and new committees.

capital costs for 1981 would reach R21 000 (for cars, furniture and equipment), and running expenditure would be R67 000. Another of UCASA's estimates put capital requirements for 1981 at R87 000, and running costs at R166 300 (total R235 300).[19] Two sources of finances are available: membership fees and contributions from the business community. It was intended that, before the end of 1982, UCASA would be financed completely by membership fees, and it was estimated that Councils' fees would be about R1 000, and councillors' fees about R10. In addition, the organisation of seminars, lectures and courses would generate some income. In the interim, funding from the private sector was necessary, because the required membership fees would only be forthcoming once UCASA had demonstrated its effectiveness; to break this vicious circle, outside funding was essential.[20]

These hopes have only partially been fulfilled. On the one hand, UCASA has been successful in attracting grants from private enterprise.* Among the companies that have donated funds are Barclays, SASOL, United Building Society, Caltex, Standard Bank, Federale Volksbeleggings, Barlow Rand, Toyota, Shell and the Christelike Uitgewersmaatskappy. At least R13 000 came from outside funding during 1981 and 1982.

In fact, both UCASA's income and expenditure were much more modest than originally estimated. In 1981, its expenditure was only R17 380, of which Mr Kgame himself lent R6 150 to the organisation to pay salaries. Donations and membership fees combined came to only R12 690, accumulated fees in 1980 came to R1 150, so resulting in a shortfall of R3 523.[21] Income accruing from membership fees has been disappointing, largely because some Councils cannot afford the R300 p.a. membership fee. The fee has now been suspended.[22] This is probably a wise step, since most Councils' revenue cannot meet the desired expenditure on improvements in the townships. In this way, UCASA can keep as many Councils as possible on its membership lists.

By May 1982, UCASA's financial situation was serious. The organisation had no funds, and Mr Kgame had paid R5 430 towards essential expenses. No salary had as yet been paid to him (the stipulated salary is R950 per

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* See Appendix 6 for list of donors and sponsors.

month). The secretary's salary of R350 per month had also not been paid for six months.[23] After an urgent appeal by the National Executive to members to pay their funds to the organisation, the financial picture improved considerably. Membership and Conference fees increased to R1 917.85 for the financial year October 1981 – September 1982, and income exceeded expenditure by R396.54. (Total income was R14 443.32, which includes donations.)[24]

d) UCASA's activities: Educational Programme and Legal Aid

According to Mr Kgame, UCASA's aims are "more in the practical arena – to upgrade the quality of life in black residential towns and cities . . . we are dedicated, not to ideology, but to 'getting things done." Especially in the sphere of education (of councillors as well as the general public), UCASA aims at preparing blacks to take advantage of greater political freedom and more economic opportunitites, if and when these materialise. Although UCASA does have some definite political standpoints, its main purpose is to "see to it that the individual councils are free, sovereign and independent to make decisions on their own."[25]

i)   Educational Programme

A comprehensive training programme for local government officials was designed by UCASA in close co-operation with Dr Robert Tusenius, Director of "Action South Africa". The programme has three aspects: Executive Think Tanks, Local Government Training Programmes, and training visits to businesses.

Executive Committee Think Tanks

The aim of these Think Tanks is "to train Councillors to deal rationally, systematically and effectively with the problems that confront Community Councils, to deal with these problems in a sequence determined by priorities, and to translate decisions into effective executive and implementation action (sic) within agreed-upon budgets and time-tables".[26]

On 20 April 1980, the Think Tank formulated the main problems confronting Community Councils. The emphasis was initially placed on those problems with immediate relevance and urgency for the

councillors, such as finances, 99-year lease, housing shortage, unemployment, and transport. However, it soon became apparent that other, more fundamental problems concerning UCASA's own organisation and resources, should first be overcome. Five priorities were outlined:[27]

1. UCASA's own organisation and operation, such as regional organisation, operational programme, recruitment, publicity, national conventions, training of councillors;

2. UCASA's dialogue with other black leaders, including leaders of non-independent black states;

3. UCASA's constitution: though certain changes were suggested, such as an honorary life President and an Electoral College to elect the National Executive, no changes to the constitution had been made by June 1983;

4. Community Councils' operations, such as issues of credibility, and relations with Administration Boards and the Department of Co-operation and Development;

5. Improving the functioning of Councils, e.g. by the transfer of all powers in terms of Act 125 of 1977, finances, 99 year lease, housing shortage, education, employment and transport.

The Think Tank Work Group also realised that it needed to have clarity on how local government should and is likely to fit into South Africa's future overall constitutional framework.

Since April 1980, at least seven Think Tank meetings have been held; it is claimed that these meetings were very successful and have contributed significantly to UCASA's development.[28]

Local Government Training Programmes

The aim of this part of UCASA's programme was to "contribute to the knowledge and understanding of elected and permanent

officials at Local Government level of the functions, nature and structure of Local Government; of budgets and finances; of the functions and responsibilities of Councillors; of procedures at meetings; of the relationship between elected and permanent officials; and of the relationship between local, regional and national government."[29]

One such course was offered in Durban in May 1980, and one in Johannesburg in June 1980. The programme comprised addresses, lectures, panel discussions and open discussions. Contributors included Councillors and senior officials of white municipalities, officials of Administration Boards, Township Managers, and academics.[30] In September 1981, a seminar of "Administration and Leadership" was held in Johannesburg, where an expert on administration addressed members of UCASA. [31] It was intended to offer monthly courses in urban centres throughout South Africa [32]; however, these have not materialized, which is probably due to UCASA's limited finances.

Training visits to businesses

The aim of these visits was to "aquaint elected and permanent officials at Local Government level with the nature and the intricacies of business, business management, economics, and private enterprise." For example, one excursion was organised to visit a sugar mill in Durban in May 1980. [33]

ii) Legal aid

In his address to the National Conference of UCASA in October 1981, Mr Kgame announced that one of UCASA's aims is the provision of advice on the legal aspects of municipal administration. Such a "legal aid bureau" could help Councils to reduce their dependency on expensive private lawyers, and the legal staff of Administration Boards are often overburdened with work. Also, "a delicate situation can arise if legal advice is sought in connection with a matter where the Administration Board and the Council do not quite see eye to eye. Inevitably, the legal advice obtained from

an Administration Board will tend to be slanted towards the Admin-
istration Board's general point of view." Kgame therefore visualises
this function of UCASA as a means of loosening the hold of Admin-
istration Boards over Councils. A legal specialist on UCASA's staff
could prepare memoranda to all Councils on matters of common
concern, and could analyse draft legislation submitted to the
Councils by the Minister for comment. At present, Dr Tusenius of
AKSA and Mr Nigel Mandy of the Johannesburg Central Business
District Association give free legal advice.[34]

e) Broadening the Base: Community Council membership and contact with other municipal bodies

It is estimated by the UCASA leadership that at least 200 Councils belong to
UCASA.[35] This represents about 1 200 Councillors.[36] The first recruiting
drive was held in November 1978, when Community Councils in Witbank,
Ogies, Bethal, Standerton, Piet Retief, Warmbaths, Nylstroom and Naboom-
spruit were contacted; most of these Councils were interested in joining the
new organisation.[37] In May 1981 another drive was launched in the Free
State, and at least 19 councils were enrolled.[38] According to Mr Kgame,
UCASA's support is strongest in the Free State, since councillors there are
the most aware of the need for co-ordination and guidance.[39]

UCASA is very keen to have liaison with other municipal administrators. Such
contact will not only be useful to allow councillors to learn from one
another, but liaison with developing Indian and coloured local authorities and
white municipalities will become increasingly important, on matters such as
road construction, water supply, sewerage and electrification. The increasingly
"metropolitan" aspect of local government will necessitate technical co-
operation, which will have nothing to do with politics.[40] UCASA already has
had informal contact with the UME.[41]

4 UCASA : ITS POLITICAL APPROACH

Because the legitimacy of Community Councils is directly linked to their
ability to improve the living conditions of urban blacks, Councils urgently
desire to take over functions and resources previously handled by Admini-
stration Boards. In defending the interests of Councils, UCASA has taken a
stand on the most crucial political issues which Councils must face due to

the democratic pressure of their constituents: the transfer of powers to councils, the position of councillors, and the provision of housing and services to the local inhabitants.

Furthermore, the Councils have to act in a broader political context that often impinges directly on their activities and powers. Examples are influx control that prevent the provision of housing to all who want to live in the townships, and the homeland policy that forbids freehold property rights in townships, which in turn prescribes the economic development and so limits the revenue of the Community Councils. By defending the interests of Councils, UCASA offers the CC's an opportunity to free themselves from their preoccupation with purely local matters, and has developed important standpoints on these national political issues.

This section outlines UCASA's political views, those immediately concerning Community Councils, as well as those on the broader political context.

a) Views on Community Council activities

i)   Transfer of powers to Community Councils

Since the inception of Councils in 1977, councillors have generally been dissatisfied with the extent and pace of the transferral of powers to them from the Administration Boards. Two different issues are involved here: firstly, councillors feel hamstrung by the internal policies of different Boards; and secondly, they want the Department to change its nationwide policy, by transferring municipal powers immediately to Councils.

In general, it is the policy of Administration Boards to transfer powers to Councils as soon as the Boards believe the Councils can effectively implement these powers, and are financially self-sufficient. Board officials claim that they are keen to complete this process as soon as possible, and are taking steps to educate council-lors in fulfilling their duties effectively.[42] However, most councils feel that the Boards are unnecessarily reluctant to transfer powers, at least partly because the Boards fear themselves becoming redundant and ultimately the loss of their jobs.

Even at the founding meeting of UCASA on 10 October 1978, this

issue was repeatedly mentioned. One delegate said that she did not understand why Councils still had to ask for powers instead of these powers being automatically transferred to them. Another councillor complained that the Boards were always deciding for the Councils, which he believed was contrary to the Act.[43] In March 1979, delegates to an UCASA national conference spoke bitterly about treatment meted out to them by some officials of their Administration Boards; some Boards claimed that they needed ministerial approval before transferring powers to Councils, while some Councils were told that they would have to learn about administraion first before they could get any powers conferred to them.[44] Delegates to an UCASA meeting in November 1979 complained of the confusion in the townships because the Administration Boards and the Councils overlapped in some areas of control.[45]

The minutes of the 10 May 1980 meeting [46] of the UCASA Think Tank Work Group also expressed dissatisfaction with the extent of Councils' powers: there is "a need to make a submission to the Government stressing that unless Community Councils can prove within the very near future that they can be effective and visibly improve the quality of life of urban black communities, these Councils will fail, the position and credibility of Black Councillors will be undermined in their communities, and the chances for peaceful change will have been dealt a serious blow." The Work Group also mentioned the following points:

"a) Chief Commissioners or their representatives, who in theory should act as 'watchdogs' at Community Council meetings, in practice play a very passive and docile role. Sometimes, when asked direct questions about legal points, they may give an opinion. But more often than not they are non-committal even then. When asked on one occasion by one Councillor: 'Why are you always quiet and non-committal?' one Commissioner replied: "Otherwise we are blamed for spoiling the Administration Board's game. "

b) Councillors feel helpless because there is no one to effectively arbitrate when problems arise between black Councillors and Administration Board officials. Many feel

that because most, if not virtually all, Chief Directors are members of the Broederbond, Administration Boards are guided more in terms of Broederbond principles than in terms of Department of Co-operation and Development rules.

c) Other sources of obstruction are those (many) white officials in Administration Boards who are afraid that as and when Community Councils take over functions, they (the white officials) will lose their jobs. (Some Councillors feel in this regard: 'People are human - how can you expect officials to train you in order to take their position!?')

d) In many cases decisions by Councils regarding aspects such as tenders, are overruled by the Administration Boards. Sometimes tenders are given, contrary to Community Council decisions, to contractors who put in higher contract prices .
   . . .

e) Some Councillors are suspected of owing some form of allegiance to Administration Boards for favours received or promised. The voting of such Councillors, it is felt, is determined more by Administration Board wishes than by the needs of the community . . .

g) Written and oral submissions to the authorities at Departmental and Ministerial level bringing these and similar conditions to the notice of the officials concerned have remained unanswered - even in instances where replies were verbally promised at top level.

h) Specific examples are known of Administration Board officials who openly discourage Councillors from joining UCASA."

The minutes of the 6 July 1980 Think Tank Work Group also comment on the Administration Boards' establishment of Liaison Committees of Community Councils in the Boards' area of jurisdic-

tion (one example is a Central Transvaal Regional Council). The Work Group felt that:

> "Administration Boards have the right to organise whatever committees they wish. There is no reason why councillors in general and members of UCASA in particular should not belong to these Administration Board Liaison Committees. However, it should be clearly understood that Administration Board Regional Liaison Committees are in no way whatsoever a substitute for UCASA membership, or for taking part in UCASA's regional and national activities. Administration Board Regional Liaison Committees are extensions of Administration Boards and are designed to further their interests. They cannot possibly be compared with an independent body such as UCASA . . . it has as its only objective to serve the interests of Councils and Councillors."

At the national conference of the Association in October 1981, UCASA demanded direct Council representation on the Executive Committee of the Administration Boards, and on relevant Government commissions.[47]

Councillors' frustration with some Boards' behaviour is linked to UCASA's demands for a general restructuring of Government policy as regards the transferring of powers to Councils. At the first meeting of UCASA on 10 October 1978, one councillor said it was time the Government's sincerity was proved, by establishing a direct link between Councils and the Government, instead of via the Boards. UCASA demands that the role of the Boards be drastically reduced, Kgame maintains that " . . . each time we went to the Administration Board (their reply is) . . . 'It's government policy, we can't do that'. 'We are not politicians so you can't speak like that to us'. Then there became the need for us to actually get to know who the politician is and directly go to the politician. . . "[48] The minutes of the 10 May 1980 meeting of the UCASA Think Tank Work Group also comment on this issue:

". . . f) All Administration Boards should hand over all their func-
tions and responsibilities to the Community Councils. The
Administration Board officials concerned should then fall
under the Community Councils and act as their employees
or agents. ('Municipalities had to hand over to Administra-
tion Boards, so why can't Administration Boards now hand
over to the Community Councils?')" [49]

In his address to the UCASA National Conference in 1981, Kgame
compared the position of Councils with that of white Town Councils:
"Whereas white Town Councils liaise directly with their Director of
local Government, our Councils must operate through a host of
intermediaries. It is difficult to understand what role an Adminis-
tration Board, with an exclusively white Board of Directors, can play
in our towns. If there is a place for them, it must be . . . entirely
. . . technical or semi-technical functions. The position where a
white Board of Directors makes decisions which affect our lives is
obsolete. The Administration Boards require very drastic restruct-
uring." UCASA therefore wants the Government to force Boards to
use their R160-million reserve funds, which had been accumulated by
1981, for the provision of infrastructure and services in townships. [50]

In a memorandum to Dr Koornhof, [51] UCASA maintains the
following:

"Section 5(1) of the Community Councils Act transfers powers
which are . . . those of a talkingshop. The vital powers relate
to planning and to the installation and maintenance of services.
Once the principle is adopted that the Administration Boards
will be our agents, we cannot see why all these powers should
not be transferred at once. The experts are in the Administra-
tion Boards and in the consultancy firms which we will ourselves
appoint. We are no less competent in these matters than are
the laymen who make up white Municipal Councils.

"We repeat the point, that if we have financial responsibility we
should also have the direction of these matters . .

"We suggest that in each Administration Board there should . .

be a steering committee (with members representing each Council, the Board concerned and a departmental representative in the chair) with specific instructions to analyse all the practical implications and to recommend detailed procedures and timetables for effective handover powers. At the moment there is the feeling that we are being given unimportant powers now and that there is no urgency about handing everything else over to us. We have the feeling (which might or might not be justified in fact) that it is in the interests of the Administration Boards to delay the transfer of these powers even though the Government has stated its intention to transfer them as soon as possible.

"A related issue is that we can only assess these matters if we can employ our own consultants to investigate and to advise us. If we are to rely on the Department and on the Administration Boards for advice then (however upright and admirable their representatives may be) in fact there are no independent parties in the negotiation. We believe that the Department has accepted this principle but that the Administration Boards are in many cases still resistent to the idea of our employing outside competent parties (who will probably be white)."

Kgame has always demanded that municipal status be conferred immediately on the Councils. However, even in those areas where Councils do have power, the Councils ". . . are being strangled, in their infancy, by endless volumes of complex regulations on matters relating to staffing, finance, etc, which . . . are counterproductive. Just about everything which is of any importance requires specific ministerial approval - which by and large, means the approval of some civil servant in Pretoria who knows nothing about us, and who, in many cases, has never even visited a black town or city . . . a Council, which cannot appoint a Chief Clerk without specific ministerial approval, is unlikely to be able to take any decisions of value at all." [52]

It is significant, however, that UCASA's standpoint is ultimately a realistic, pragmatic one. It has stated that "africanisation" should

never be pursued at the expense of operational efficiency. Training programmes and 'on the job training' were therefore of the utmost importance.[53] Although UCASA finds the present allocation of powers unsatisfactory, it still believes that the Councils are a positive step. This contrasts strongly with more radical observers, who maintain that Councils are doomed to remain subservient to Administration Boards and ineffectual in the townships.

ii)   Improvement of Community Council's finances

The most important aspect of the powerlessness of Councils is their lack of sufficient revenue, and available money is mostly spent on the provision of essential services. It is the policy of most Administration Boards to make the Councils economically self-sufficient as soon as possible; this implies that they will try to reduce their subsidization of the Councils, and the Councils will have to increase rents and service charges to cover their expenses.[54]

UCASA believes it is unsatisfactory that Councils should finance their activities mainly by rent increases, since most inhabitants of townships are living close to the breadline.[55]

Also, rent increases are contributing to the Councils' unpopularity in the townships; for example, according to delegates to an UCASA meeting in September 1979, Administration Boards had known for years that rents in black townships had to increase, but did not have the courage to announce these increases. Councils were then handed the responsibility to announce rent increases, which had been as large as 200% in Dobsonville.[56] Councils therefore want increased financial resources, and UCASA has suggested the following:

1   The Government can contribute to the income of Councils by some form of subsidization (in the same way as for independent black states and homelands). Subsidization can be applied on a limited scale, so that Councils can be self-supporting within 3 to 5 years.[57]

2   The government should enable Councils to issue trading licences,

including licences for vehicles, and Councils should get a percentage of the licence fees presently paid to licensing bodies, which is the case of motor vehicles in the white municipalities. [58]

3 Councils could get a percentage of the revenue accruing in the Central Business Districts of neighbouring white towns, as well as from neighbouring industrial townships. [59]

4 Houses and land must be the property of Councils if Councils are to be responsible for rent increases. [60] This was one of the reasons for UCASA's rejection of the Local Government Bill, which denies Councils the right to own land. [61]

5 Councils should encourage the establishment of small businesses and light industries in the Councils' areas of jurisdication. [62]

6 The Government can pay to the Councils part of the funds accruing from General Sales Tax and the employment services levy. [63]

7 Even though UCASA dislikes the principle of financing urban development from liquor profits, it would prefer all profits to become a source of finance of the Councils (instead of the Adminstration Boards), until this principle is abolished. [64]

8 UCASA dislikes the role of Administration Boards as agents in developing infrastructure in the homelands. It believes that this money should rather be transferred to Councils to provide urban services. [65]

9 At present, some Administration Boards employ white officials to assist the Councils; their salaries are paid by the Councils in most cases. In contrast, white officials seconded to independent states and self-governing homelands are paid for by the Government, so that they are not an additional cost to the emerging governments gaining experience with their guidance. Until Councils have established their own staff structures, this cost should be borne by the central Government. [66]

Furthermore, UCASA is also dissatisfied by the fact that financial responsibility is often imposed on Councils, whereas the transfer of powers "has an uncertain period without any set timetable . . . We think it is absolutely important that the Councils should have the full policy control . . . over the Administration Boards if we are expected to justify the tariff increase. "[67]

iii) **The position of Councillors**

The issues of payment of councillors and their term of office have often been raised at UCASA meetings, even though UCASA thereby runs the risk of being accused by left-wing critics of promoting councillors' own personal interests.

At one of the first UCASA meetings, it was suggested that the minimum allowance should be R200 per month, as opposed to the actual minimum allowance of R25 per month. Also, a councillor mentioned that it was strange that the Boards had the right to recommend the allowances and yet the money was paid out of the Councils' funds.[68] At another meeting, a councillor criticised the disparity in allowances of councillors in small and big townships, especially since teachers, police and Administration Board officials in different areas get the same salary.[69]

UCASA also defended the position of councillors in the memorandum to Dr Koornhof, and requested increases in their allowances.[70] Because councillors had to make a living from other employment or in their businesses, they should be compensated for their time and their frequently heavy travelling expenses. The memorandum suggested that the minimum allowance should be increased at least to R100 per month.

The issue of the term of office was also raised at UCASA's early meetings. One councillor described the current 3-year term of office of councillors as inadequate to implement projects. It was unfair that white municipal councillors had a term of 5 years, Asians and coloureds 4 years, and blacks, who badly needed accumulated

expertise, had to work for a shorter term. The minimum term should be 5 years.[71] The memorandum to Dr Koornhof also stressed this issue: "We emphasise that we do not seek to entrench in power the present councillors but to have for the future a more practical arrangement, and, moreover, one which coincides with the arrangements for town councils for whites, coloureds and Indians."[72]

iv) Housing

UCASA has paid much attention to the acute housing shortage in urban areas. It advocates the automatic application of the 99-year leasehold system to all urban areas, which is at present not applicable in the Western Cape and in various urban prescribed areas. It also favours the elimination of hostels and the extension of family housing. Influx control should be relaxed or abolished, and urban slums tolerated until the Government can provide proper housing. The Government should relax its strict housing standards in the urban areas, since in any case, many people in the homelands live in similar conditions. To satisfy the need for housing in the urban areas, much more land must be made available for black urban areas.[73] UCASA has also commented on the payment of services:[74]

"Furthermore, the payment of R1 000 for established services appears to us to be both very high and to be a discouragement on the purchase of properties. Surely everything possible should be done to encourage people to buy their houses and thereby to assume the responsibilities of homeownership. We note that in Mitchells Plain for coloureds in Cape Town, the deposit has been reduced to a nominal R100. We suggest that whatever payment is to be made for services should similarly be with a low deposit and with the balance spread over at least 20 to 30 years if not over the whole 99 years. That will also maximise the return on the sale of these houses."

UCASA has prepared a fairly detailed proposal for a revolving fund for the development of infrastructure in black urban areas.[75] It suggests that the cost of infrastructure has been the major delaying

factor in getting large-scale housing developments started; this has increased the black home-owners' repayments and put reasonably priced housing out of the range of many. The proposal involves:

1   A revolving fund of R200 million be established by utilizing money from the South African Trust Fund and from prescribed investments by the private sector. The latter could include black pension fund money and would obviously have to pay the same interest rate as normal prescribed investments.

2   The black homeowner would pay back the capital plus a portion of the interest over the full period of the bond, i.e. 30 years, making his repayment for infrastructure about R6 a month against the R40 or R50 a month required if the cost of infrastructure were added to the cost of the house;

3   The Government should subsidise the rate of interest payable on the investment by the private sector. This would be the State's contribution to housing infrastructure;

4   Once the fund is established, developers could tender for the construction of infrastructure in any new townships and apply for finance from the revolving fund, if granted the contract;

5   Once the infrastructure for a given number of stands is installed, the developer divides the total cost by the number of stands and a price is set for each prospective home-owner.

6   The home-owner's repayments on infrastructure could be collected along with monthly bond and rates payments;

Private enterprise should then be prevailed upon to:

- guarantee the deposit of a house for their black workers;
- support the revolving fund with money from their pension funds;
- help with the setting up and initial promotion of the fund.

Control of the fund would be vested in a central authority with representation from Community Councils.

b) <u>Views on wider political issues</u>

Although UCASA has repeatedly claimed to be non-political, the adoption of some basic political principles has been inevitable. In choosing the leaders and organisations with which to associate, and in defending the interests and opinions of Councils, UCASA has gone beyond the mere educational and liaison functions which it envisaged in the beginning. Furthermore, to legiti-mize itself in the eyes of its constituents, a coherent political ideology needs to be broadcast. According to Sinclair, "in the national political context, where the black urban communities represent the spearhead of black political consciousness, it is essential that local political institutions be able to clearly and legitimately articulate the aims and objectives of this political conscious-ness, and that the leaders of these institutions not merely be reactive to political trends dictated from outside the political community, but that the legitimate and trusted leaders be able to shape the political consciousness and its future direction." [76]

The central theme in UCASA's political standpoints is the need for change. UCASA's motto is "Omnia mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis" ("Everything changes, and we are changed by them".) The themes of the National Confer-ence of 1980 and the National Convention of 1981 were respectively, "The Role of UCASA in South African Political Constitutional Changes" and "The Need for and the Role of UCASA in the Process of Peaceful Change in South Africa". Furthermore UCASA believes that non-violent change is still possible and preferable; in a letter to Dr Koornhof (undated) in which UCASA asks for recognition, Mr Kgame stated that "UCASA is dedicated to peaceful change and is totally opposed to confrontation with the Government, to boycotts or violence." The Think Tank Work Group also maintains that "it believes in equal education and equal opportunity, in a negotiated settlement, but it rejects violence." [77]

Kgame's vision and preferences for a satisfactory political dispensation are the following:

>   South Africa is a multi-racial society that needs to be moulded
>   into a national unit rather than fragmenting it into multiple
>   ethnic societies, each battling to determine its own destiny

within the framework of a national unit . . . National consensus goals will enable all South Africans, irrespective of colour, race or creed, an equal opportunity society, with maximum prosperity for all. Large-scale violence could give way to a negotiated settlement if the statutory discrimination, based on colour, could be phased out so that the tools of power, the police, the defence force, and Parliament could be used to the benefit of all the peoples of South Africa. Both black and white in South Africa, should have a hand in the controlling of every . . . institution in the country and leaders of all races should be seen to play a predominant role in determining the framework within which decisions on national issues are reached." [78]

According to Kgame, the importance of 1976 was

"that we have become politically aware, motivated and agitated. Today the blacks in this country are no longer just interested in handling their own affairs; but they want to share in deciding and shaping the destiny of the land of their birth. We are not only interested in what is happening in our locations or in the so-called homelands; we want to know and talk about what is going on in the whole of South Africa. Half-hearted action will lead us nowhere. Any advisory position at any level, we blacks will not accept." [79]

The UCASA Think Tank Work Group stated that "UCASA believes in one undivided South Africa, but it does accept a 'regionalised' type of constitutional solution. There should be a maximum decentralisation of power to local governments. There should be one citizenship and self-determination for minorities. Men should be able to be with their families in the evening. UCASA is fundamentally opposed to any form of statutory discrimination and it believes that this should be phased out as soon as possible" [80]

Lower-level leaders in UCASA have also stressed the Association's political role. A report (1983) on proposals for changes to UCASA's constitution, which was drawn up by a committee appointed by the National Executive, included the following preamble to its recommendations:

"The Committee sees UCASA as a potentially powerful force in South African politics. The political dispensation suggested by the Government still does not make any provision for the representation of urban blacks at national government level. . . The exclusion of urban blacks from the new dispensation means there is still a vacuum for a representative and effective voice to speak collectively on behalf of the country's most advanced and economically active part of the black population. It is our belief that a well organised and structured UCASA representing Councils which have been established in terms of the Government's laws can fill this vacuum in the meantime; such an organisation can demand and get a hearing in the highest Councils of Government and can make an invaluable contribution in conveying the grievances and opinions of urban blacks on any matters which affect them." [81]

This statement reflects UCASA's political dilemma, for its base consists of ostensibly 'non-political' institutions created within the framework of separate development; yet, to increase its legitimacy in the townships it needs to adopt a political ideology that advocates extensive restructuring of this framework. Even the very first meeting of UCASA revealed this duality in Council's (and therefore UCASA's) position: one councillor stated that councilllors had to be aware of the fact that they are disciples of separate development and helping the Government to implement apartheid; another claimed bitterly that "we are all sell-outs of our people and being agents of channelling our people to the homelands."[82] The gradual extension of UCASA's standpoints to more overtly political issues may imply that Councils will have an opportunity to change their nature from conventional local governments into a cohesive pressure group for national change. While Councils may thereby alienate the Government by this change of role, they may also attract support from the more radical critics and enjoy greater legitimacy. Furthermore, the reluctance of the Government to recognize UCASA as a spokesman for Councils may itself help to legitimize the organisation as a political entity in the townships.

UCASA's political statements have concerned two main issues: homelands and citizenship; and a defence of private enterprise.

i)   Homelands and citizenship

UCASA is critical of the notion of independent homelands, and Kgame has stressed the unity of all South African blacks: "Unity of purpose, unity of all efforts to improve the quality of life of our black people, unity of direction between ourselves and our brothers and sisters in the homelands."[83] Furthermore,

" . . . .the homeland governments are not our enemies, on the contrary, we welcome them as our allies. They are as much opposed to apartheid, to the splintering up of our country into dozen small units, as we are . . . We welcome the physical development of the homelands, even if we have our doubts as to the political framework in terms of which this development is taking place. All we ask is that this development should comple- ment the simultaneous physical, economic and political develop- ment of the urban black, and not replace it, or exclude it . . . We are fortunate that the South African black is abandoning ethnic thinking in favour of a nationally based approach to our problems. Consequently there is reason to hope that South Africa's path will not be thrown with boulders placed there by tribalism . . . "[84]

UCASA also maintains that influx control should be abolished, and if it is retained, it should definitely not be the Community Councils' responsibility to administer it.[85] The citizenship of persons whose homelands have opted for independence should not be disturbed for as long as they retain Section 10 qualifications. Furthermore, the South African citizenship of all blacks is a non-negotiable demand, more so than white immigrants who qualify on a preferential basis. Blacks whose ethnic homelands have opted for independence should not lose their citizenship automatically unless they express a desire to do so. Also, public and private employment should be provided in the urban areas.[86]

UCASA has also criticised the proposed "Black Community Develop- ment Bill" and the "Laws on Co-operation and Development Bill", because the rights of blacks to live and work in urban areas if they

had served one employer for 10 years, or had resided in the area for 15 years were being "completely taken away" in the proposed legislation. The right of the courts to exercise discretion on dealing with so-called offenders was also circumscribed. "What we would have liked to see was that in dealing with the new legislation, the rights of urban blacks should be enhanced rather than taken away."[87]

ii) Free enterprise

UCASA believes that one way of improving the position of the urban black is by means of encouraging private enterprise. It has repeatedly demanded freehold property rights.[88] The establishment of small businesses and light industries would provide job opportunities and generate a spirit of self-motivation, thus creating a managerial structure in the black business world. It is time that "the black man got rid of the idea that he can only play the role of employee and see himself developing towards being an employer. To streamline their self-support and self-sufficiency, blacks should develop their own bank and financial institutions, organise themselves into co-operative societies, and become property owners". It was therefore important that the 1936 Land Act be amended to allow land ownership to be vested in the Councils as with white municipalities.[89] UCASA has also supported foreign investment in South Africa, since it would provide employment. The extent of donations to UCASA by businesses can be seen as an expression of faith in UCASA's tendencies towards private enterprise.[90]

5 DIVERGENT ATTITUDES TO UCASA

a) The question of official recognition

i) The Department of Co-operation and Development

It is evident from UCASA's early minutes that founder members envisaged a close and productive liaison with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, so that they could defend the interests of urban blacks. One delegate suggested that a meeting be held with

the Minister to solve problems such as councillors' term of office, allowances, and relations with the Boards. [91] At the same meeting, councillors showed that they expected to participate in national constitutional discussions (referring to the Presidents' Council). At the meeting of 16 December 1978, Mr Kgame reported that he had written to the Minister informing him of the establishment of UCASA, and requesting him to recognise the organisation as the official spokesman of Councils throughout the country. Another councillor even suggested that the Government should sponsor UCASA "as it was sponsoring the homelands." [92]

In an undated letter to the Department, it was stated that UCASA wanted to "make it possible for us and your Department to have a direct link and speak with one voice in all matters of common interest". The Department turned down the request for recognition and challenged UCASA's representativeness:

". . . the question of the recognition or otherwise of the Association of which you are the chairman cannot be considered. There is no clarity as to your aims and objects or even your constitution. Relatively few Community Councils are already functioning at this stage and many more have still to be established. There is no basis on which to gauge the extent or otherwise of the support which is forthcoming to an Association such as yours." [93]

At least three further letters have been written by UCASA to the Department, without recognition having been granted. Perhaps in an attempt to stall for time, Dr I. Morrison, the Deputy Minister of the Department of Co-operation and Development, wrote to UCASA, saying that his Department was not clear whether the Association was representative of a predominant number of Councils; but he promised to look into the matter further at a later date. [94]

By July 1983 UCASA has still not been recognised by the Department. It is interesting, however, that other official departments have acted as if UCASA is a recognised spokesman for Councils. The Bus Transport Commission contacted UCASA in connection with tariffs and subsidies of bus transport; and the Department of Foreign Affairs claimed in an information booklet on South Africa that

Community Councils "have been meeting the Government through this central organisation (UCASA), thus facilitating liaison on matters of vital concern to them."[95] Understandably, the UCASA leadership resents the fact that it is used as a means of publicity for foreign consumption, while it is denied recognition and the advantages which would result from it.[96]

ii) Administration Boards

Furthermore, there is evidence of hostility from some Administration Boards towards UCASA. In April 1980, delegates to an UCASA conference complained that officials of certain Boards had told councillors that they should not join the Association nor attend its meetings.[97] In a letter to Kgame a councillor from Jan Kempdorp described his Board's reaction to UCASA: "Yes, we know about this Association. We have had discussion about it with the Minister. The Association is not recognised by Pretoria and we have been instructed not to give any financial assistance to the Councillors who might wish to attend that Conference. He (the Regional Manager) further explained that the Administration Board would have no objections if we appealed to the residents for financial assistance."[98]

Board officials have voiced several criticisms of UCASA, e.g. there is no control over UCASA's finances, and it is undemocratic since Kgame has allegedly made himself Life President.[99] These criticisms have very limited validity: UCASA's financial affairs are supervised by a firm of public auditors who concluded in 1981 and 1982 that UCASA's financial statements were a reasonable representation of its transactions, although its recordings of income and expenditure could be improved.[100] As regards the second allegation, UCASA's leadership stood for election in 1981, and its second election will be held in 1984. In 1980 the Think Tank Work Group suggested that UCASA create the position of Honorary Life President,[101] but this was merely intended as a ceremonial position, and has never been implemented. Kgame's prominent position in the organisation is not surprising at this stage, since UCASA was his brainchild. Also, UCASA is still in the process of getting on its feet, and so the President has to make great financial sacrifices and administrative

effort to keep it running smoothly; it is unlikely that his position is attractive enough at present for potential challengers to the leader- ship of the organisation. The Think Tank Work Group also recomm- ended that the Executive Committee be elected by an Electoral College, instead of by the whole National Conference;[102] this measure, which would have limited the extent of democracy in UCASA, has also never been adopted.[103]

Some Administration Boards have established their own liaison organisations between Councils in their region of jurisdiction. These organisations have the more or less explicit purpose of undermining UCASA's influence. Besides the examples mentioned earlier, another instance is the Eastern Transvaal Administration Board, which has established a regional Community Council "mouthpiece" in an attempt to undermine the influence of UCASA, which is seen as political.[104] In the Eastern Cape, an organisation called ALBOHAKA (Algoa, Albany, Border, Hangklip, Karoo Association) has been established by the local Community Councils; Kgame alleges that this body is merely a tool of the local Administration Board to challenge UCASA.[105] In other areas, such as the East Rand, UCASA has taken over these liaison committees, and has increased its own influence thereby.[106]

However, a few Boards have reacted positively to UCASA. According to Mr Kgame, the Oranje-Vaal Administration Board assisted the mayor of Sebokeng, Mr Knox Matjila, in organizing UCASA's National Conference in 1981.[107] The chairman of this Board also addressed the 1981 Conference. A senior official of the Highveld Administration Board was also generally in favour of UCASA and believed it should become the equivalent of the UME.[108]

b) Private sector and developmental organisations

UCASA representatives have often expressed the desire to liaise with other black or white organisations whom they believe could advance the position of urban blacks. Most important is UCASA's close links with Dr R. Tusenius, Director of "Action South Africa". He has acted as an adviser to UCASA since 1979; he also acts as financial controller of funds which are made

available by private sector sponsors to UCASA.[109] Dr Tusenius has also
addressed UCASA conferences and conventions on numerous occasions.

According to Mr Kgame, there are many outsiders willing to help in training
councillors.* UCASA also intends enlisting the aid of white sister bodies, such
as the Institute of Town Clerks.[110] The Urban Foundation has accepted in
principle a proposal by UCASA that the Foundation run courses in local
government for Councillors; however, this has not yet been implemented.[111]
Kgame is keen to increase UCASA's links with outsiders to get aid, because
Administration Boards and the Department already have a stigma and are
often not trusted by Councils.[112]

UCASA has established informal links with the United Municipal Executive
(Mr J. Jonker of the UME addressed UCASA's Transvaal Conference in March
1980). UCASA's links are reflected by the agendas of its conferences and
conventions: the organisation has been addressed by Mr D. Curry of the
Association of Management Committees of the Cape Province (Conference,
October 1980); Prof. A. Oosthuizen of R.A.U. (Transvaal Regional Conference,
March 1980); Mr Sam Moss, a Johannesburg City Councillor, Clr. H.
Schroeder, the Mayor of Vanderbijlpark, and Dr Nigel Mandy, the Chairman
of the CBD Association of Johannesburg (all addressed the 1981 National
Conference); and the Mayor of Witbank, Clr. D. Opperman (Transvaal
Congress, 24 April 1982). Mr David Grinker, the Administrative Head of the
Diepmeadow Council, acts as financial adviser. It appears, therefore, that a
growing number of private and public bodies regard UCASA as a positive
force in the development of black urban areas.

c) Black organisations

UCASA has often expressed the desire to join forces with black organisations
to stimulate change in South Africa:

"Not only must we join forces with the homelands leadership in
    using the existing system for the peaceful, non-violent promotion of
    the rights of all people living in the Republic; we must go further,

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* See Appendix 6

and utilise grass-roots movements, such as Inkhata, as allies. We are not a rival of such movements. Our aim is the same." [113]

Several homeland leaders have responded to UCASA's overtures. In 1981, Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the President of Inkhata, addressed the UCASA National Conference. He praised Councillors' "willingness to spend a great deal of time working in very ordinary and mundane ways for the betterment of our people . . . It is a task which carries very little glory, but it is one which benefits our people infinitely more than exalted words and phrases." In 1982, Dr Phatudi, the Chief Minister of Lebowa, addressed UCASA's National Convention.

On 11 June 1983, UCASA representatives met with homeland leaders from Transkei, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Qwa Qwa, KwaZulu and Kangwane. The Indian Reform Party was also represented. They declared their commitment:

"a) to the liberation of all peoples of this land from the racism of apartheid . . .

b) to the reunification of those whom apartheid divides and to enabling them to play a central role in shaping the destiny of South Africa;

c) to giving a quality of leadership which will confront the race oppressors with the challenge of belonging to Africa;

d) to create a Greater South Africa in which land and wealth shall (be) redistributed equally . . .

They also resolved:

"i) to reject the destiny prescribed for us by the white minority and dismantle the oppressive institutions this minority has established to make us third class citizens in our own land.

ii) to establish conditions under which peace, equity, justice and respect for the person and family life can be maintained.

iii) to promote social justice, economic security, progress and better standards of life for all . . . " [114]

It is possible that UCASA and homeland leaders have been brought together because they face the same dilemma of operating from government-created institutions, and yet want to change the whole framework within which these institutions operate.

UCASA has also expressed support for trade unions,[115] and it condemned the banning of Mr Mathata Tsedu, an executive member of the Media Workers Association of South Africa. On this occasion, Kgame said that councillors could not remain silent while the Government molested black people through bannings and house arrests.[116]

UCASA has been challenged by David Thebehali, the mayor of Soweto. Thebehali has dismissed UCASA as an organisation for the promotion of the interests of individual councillors, instead of a genuinely representative organisation of Councils. Thebehali's grievance stems largely from his distrust of Kgame; Thebehali has claimed that Kgame's history of refusing to accede to democratic decision has removed chances of Kgame ever relinquishing power in UCASA.[117] In March 1981, Thebehali attempted to form another Councils' organisation in opposition to UCASA.[118] Kgame, in return, sees Thebehali as a West Rand Administration Board lackey in a crusade against UCASA to destroy it as a meaningful opposition to Administration Board power.[119]

Finally, UCASA is criticised by black movements further left on the political spectrum; they reject UCASA's power base (Community Councils) as Government instruments to keep urban blacks oppressed. Also, the real or alleged corruption of Council officials undermines UCASA's credibility as a leader of popular black resistance to the status quo. This section of black opinion would presumably also reject UCASA's reformist tactics. UCASA has stressed repeatedly that it wants change without violence; and Mr Sam Rabotapi said at UCASA's 1979 Convention that any leader who wanted to crush an "evil like apartheid" can only do so by involving himself in apartheid-created institutions.[120] Left-wing criticism would regard UCASA's willingness to work with Administration Boards, homeland leaders, and white municipal officials as futile or even harmful to the cause of change in South Africa. In return, Kgame has criticised these radical groups for rejecting Councils without being clear on what they would or could substitute in their place.[121] However, it is unlikely that UCASA would get the support of these groups, at least until

the Councils' powers are drastically increased by the Government, and the Councils can thereby become a more forceful opposition group to the Government.

6 CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

UCASA is therefore in the unenviable position of being distrusted both by the white administrative structure, and by the more leftist academic and black sectors. At present, UCASA is successfully maintaining a middle-of-the-road political stance, having identified neither with the Government's broader political policies, nor with the more radical black opposition, such as the Committee of Ten or the African National Congress, that reject the entire Government-created Community Council structure. However, the delay in Government recognition of UCASA as a representative of Community Councils may alienate the organisation to such an extent that it gradually moves closer to the political views of the radical groups; conversely, Government recognition may cause UCASA to lose any potential support it has on the left, and so draw it towards an identification with Government policies. The latter possibility may be the price UCASA must pay to enjoy the benefits of recognition, viz. increased influence in Government circles and more effective promotion of Community Council interests.

Nevertheless, even if UCASA maintains its present political stance of moderation, it is possible that it can become a significant political force in the townships by means of its drive for uniting moderate black and white organisations such as the Urban Foundation, Inkhata and homeland leaders. It has also been supported financially by white businesses, and with its standpoint on free enterprise, UCASA may transform financial support into open political support. However, to be successful in promoting the interests of Councils and in hastening political change, UCASA will have to deliver more spectacular results than it has in the past; this will be delayed by its severe financial weakness. But even if it does not succeed in filling the power vacuum in the black urban areas, it may continue to do valuable work in promoting the expertise of councillors and the practical effectiveness of black local governments.

7 APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 : Interim Committee, elected 10 October 1978

<u>Chairman:</u>	S.I.P. Kgame (Dobsonville)
<u>Vice Chairman:</u>	J.C. Mahuhishi (Meadowlands)
<u>Secretary:</u>	F.A.N. Mohajane (Dobsonville)
<u>Vice Secretary:</u>	Mrs M. Taylor (Soweto)
<u>Treasurer:</u>	H.H. Ngakane (Kwa-Thema)
<u>Committee:</u>	S.M. Nkatlo (Dobsonville)
	E. Manyosi (Soweto)
	E. Moeketsi (Kagiso)
	S. Hanyane (Soweto)
	S. Rabotapi (Evaton)
	P. Mokoena (Evaton)

APPENDIX 2 : The Constitution of UCASA

1 NAME

The Association shall be called "The Urban Councils' Association of South Africa", hereinafter referred to as "The Association".

2 AIMS AND OBJECTS

The aims and objects of the Association are:

(a) to organise and bring together all councillors elected under the Black Urban Councils' Act, for the purpose of considering and dealing with matters of common interest in the field of urban local government in all its aspects;

(b) to organise seminars, lectures and refresher courses in order to improve the knowledge and ability of councillors in the performance of their duties;

(c) to safeguard, protect and advance the interests, rights and privileges of urban councils and councillors;

(d) to promote the interests and the general well-being of blacks resident in urban residential areas, and to conduct or cause to be conducted investigations, research and studies to that end;

(e) to make appropriate representation to the Government and other authorities, and to negotiate with them in the furtherance of the aims and objects of the Association.

3 MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

3.1 Any Council duly and currently serving a term of office in terms of the provision of the Black Urban Councils' Act, Act no. 125 of 1977, and any other new law that will affect Black Councils in the Republic of South Africa hereafter, may become a member of the Association.

3.2 Councillors who come from Councils which have not affiliated to UCASA, may become associate members of UCASA on the submission of written applications; provided that when the latter later take up membership, sub-clause 3.1 above shall apply mutatit mutandis.

3.3 Town Clerks, Chief Executive Officers, Committee Clerks, etc. may apply for non-voting associate membership at regional level which will entitle them to all the privileges of membership save that they will not be entitled to vote, nor to hold office, nor to serve on the General Council of the Association. They may however be appointed by the Council to serve on committees.

3.4 Subscriptions shall be R300.00 per Council per annum; provided that Associate Members referred to in sub-clauses (3.2) and (3.3) above, shall pay annual subscription fees of R15.00 each per annum.

3.5 UCASA's financial year shall commence and co-incide with the RSA financial year on April 1, and March 31, respectively.

3.6 Subscriptions shall be payable annually soon after April, 1, but not later than May 31.

3.7 Privileges and rights, such as voting, attendance at meetings, etc. shall be forfeited until the current subscription has been fully paid.

3.8 Members and Associate Members applying for membership after the end of the financial year shall be required to pay the full prescribed subscription in respect of the ensuing year.

4 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

4.1 The Association shall hold an Annual General Meeting every year at such time and place as may be fixed at the preceding Annual General Meeting or by the General Council Meeting of the Association.

4.2   The Council may summon an extraordinary general meeting and fix the time and place of such meeting.

4.3   Notice of any annual general meeting shall be posted or delivered to members not less than twenty-one days before the date of such meeting. The inadvertent failure to give notice to any member shall not invalidate such meeting. The notice shall state the place, time and nature of the business to be transacted.

4.4   One half plus one of members entitled to attend the annual general meeting of UCASA shall form a quorum; provided that one quarter of such members shall form a quorum for any other general meeting of UCASA.

4.5   Voting shall be by show of hands, unless specifically requested and resolved to be by secret ballot.

4.6   Voting shall be in person provided that a member is in good standing of the Association.

4.7   Within three months after the end of each financial year the Annual General Meeting shall be convened on not less than twenty-one days written notice to members. Accompanying the notice shall be the accounts for such financial year, duly certified by the President and the Treasurer.

4.8   The Executive Committee may summon an extra-ordinary general meeting and fix the time and place of such a meeting; provided that the president or any six members thereof shall have the right to convene and summon such a meeting with a specific agenda stipulating fourteen days notice from date of posting (as indicated in the post office stamp on the envelope).

4.9   Both for the A G M and any other general meeting, voting by proxy shall be permissable; provided that the holder of proxy must himself be a member in good standing in UCASA.

5 NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

5.1 The affairs of UCASA shall be governed and administered by the National Executive Committee, hereinafter referred to as the Executive Committee, comprising:

a) President

b) Deputy President

c) General Secretary

d) Assistant Secretary

e) Organising Secretary

f) General Treasurer

g) Committee Chairmen:

i) Investigation and Research

ii) Personnel, Training and Education

iii) P.R., Welfare, Sports and Recreation

iv) Finance, Housing, Trade and Transport,

whose term of office shall be three years.

5.2 The Executive Committee shall meet at least once per quarter, but may meet from time to time as deemed expedient by the President or by request of at least 5 members of National Executive Committee.

5.3 The quorum at all meetings of the National Executive Committee shall be half plus one of the membership. If there is no quorum at a properly convened meeting of the National Executive Committee, those present shall proceed with the business as laid down and the decisions of such a meeting shall be ratified and confirmed at the next meeting with or without a quorum.

5.4 The President shall preside at all National Executive Committee meetings (or the Vice President or in their absence any other member elected to the chair).

5.5   The National Executive Committee shall be required:

(a)   to receive all resolutions on any matter passed by the Association in general meeting for the consideration of the Government or other bodies, and to submit the same to those bodies through the appropriate channels.

(b)   to endeavour by every constitutional means to attain the aims and objects of such resolutions or of the Association and generally to take such action as may be deemed most advantageous in the interests of the Association and its members.

(c)   to submit report on the activities of the National Executive Committee at each Annual General meeting.

5.6   Further, the National Executive Committee shall have power and authority:

(a)   to administer the funds of the Association and to present the annual accounts to the Annual General Meeting for adoption;

(b)   to appoint auditors, legal and other consultants;

(c)   to raise and borrow money for the Association's purpose;

(d)   to appoint committees comprising such Association members as it may select, and to delegate to such committees such powers, duties and functions as it may deem fit;

(e)   to liaise and communicate on Association matters with urban councils established under the Black Urban Councils Act, with the United Municipal Executive and with other bodies having related aims and objects or interests;

(f)   to establish regional branches;

(g)   to consider and adopt the rules and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Association;

(h)   to appoint and control the work, duties and function of all paid officials and to arrange the terms of employment of those officials;

(i)   to consider and determine honorariums, advances and other allowances to members and other persons who have rendered services to the Association;

(j)   to publish or cause to be published, newsletters, brochures and other communication and information material for members of the Association;

(k)   generally, to do all other things necessary for the carrying out of the decisions of the National Councils and the furtherance of the aims and objects of the Association.

6   NATIONAL COUNCIL

6.1   Between Annual General Meetings, the affairs of UCASA shall be governed and administered by the National Council, hereinafter referred to as the Council, whose term of office shall be three years, comprising,

6.1.1 The National Executive Committee (see 5.1 above) and

6.1.2 Two representatives from each Region; provided that the Executive Committee may co-opt certain Councillors for their expertise.

6.2   The National Council shall meet twice per annum, unless specifically and otherwise stated.

6.3   Therefore, for all intents and purposes, the functions, powers and responsibilities of the National Council shall rest in and be delegated to the National Executive Committee, to be ratified at subsequent meetings; provided that any five Regions, supported by any three members of the National Executive Committee shall have the power to cause the convening of a National Council meeting at fourteen days notice, as stipulated

in 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 above.

7 FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

7.1 The National Executive Committee shall open and operate a banking account in the name of the Association at any registered banking institution.

7.2 All withdrawals shall be effective with the signatures of the President or Vice President countersigned by the General Treasurer or any other selected member of the National Executive Committee.

7.3 All payments and administrative costs shall be effected by cheques (except those of petty cash) and shall be authorised by the National Executive Committee in accordance with the annual approved estimates.

7.4 Petty cash shall not exceed one hundred rand (R100.00) at any time.

7.5 The General Secretary shall keep a proper set of books or records which shall reflect at all times the true financial position of the Association.

7.6 The General Treasurer shall present a financial report at every meeting of the National Executive Committee and an annual audited financial statement to the Annual Meeting of the Association.

8 REGIONS

8.1 The National Executive committee or members of the Association in Regional areas shall establish a region which shall function under the requirements of the Association constitution, and under the direction of the National Executive Committee of The Association.

8.2 The affairs of a region shall be administered and controlled by a Regional Executive Committee elected for two years by members as follows:

(a) Chairman and the Vice-Chairman

(b) Secretary and the Recording Secretary

(c) Organiser and the Assistant Organiser

(d) Members representing Community Councils under the jurisdiction of a Region.

8.3 The Regional Executive is required:

(a) to carry out the requirements of the constitution of the Association and the directives of the National Executive Committee.

(b) to keep proper financial and other records of the regional branch.

(c) to render reports to the National Executive Committee of the Association.

(d) Generally to do all things compatible with the spirit of this constitution and the positive aspects within the framework of the Black Urban Councils Act, as amended provided these promote and advance the constitutional development, material and spiritual welfare of the Blacks in the urban areas of the Republic of South Africa.

9 PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES OF THE ASSOCIATION

9.1 A Provincial Conference shall consist of representatives of the Regions of the Association.

9.2 The affairs of a Provincial Conference shall be directed by a Provincial Executive-Committee.

9.3 The Provincial Executive-Committee shall carry out the decisions of a Provincial Conference as well as the aims and objects of the Association.

9.4   To make recommendations to the National Conference of the Association in the form of resolutions and reports.

9.5   To administer a Provincial fund in terms of the financial requirements of the Association's Consitution.

9.6   To do everything compatible with the furtherance of the aims and objects of the Association.

9.7   A Provincial Conference shall meet at least once a year at a time and venue decided by the Provincial Executive-Committee.

10   LIMITATION OF RIGHTS AND LIABILITIES OF MEMBERS

Membership of the Association does not and shall not give to any member or members any proprietary right, title or claim to any interest in any of the property or the assets of the Association, nor does any member by such membership incur any personal financial liability in respect of any claim made or claim brought against the Association.

11   FORM OF ASSOCIATIONS

The Association shall be an unincorporated Association; provided that the National Executive Committee may in its discretion procure the registration of the Association in terms of the Companies Act as an "Association not for Gain".

12   DISTRIBUTION OF ASSETS

The Association has been formed not for gain. Its assets may not be distributed to its members, whether on dissolution or otherwise. It may be dissolved if the majority of its members present and voting at a General Meeting convened for that purpose so resolve. On dissolution, any assets remaining after satisfaction of debts and liabilities shall be given to such other non-profit making body or registered welfare organisation as the members may resolve.

APPENDIX 3 : Executive Committee until October 1981:

Chairman: S.I.P. Kgame (Dobsonville)
Vice Chairman: J.C. Mahuhushi (Meadowlands)
Secretary: Mrs V.M. Mfuphi (Volksrust)
Committee: T.S. Boya (Daveyton)
                 B.Z. Ndlazi (Mamelodi)
                 H.H. Ngakane (Kwa-Thema)
                 A.L.R. Xaba (Bethlehem)
                 S.M. Magagula (Ermelo)
                 S.K. Mahumapelo (Christiana)
                 E.M. Morakabi (Senekal)
                 J. Ledwaba (Mamelodi)
                 D.B.S. Tsotsetsi (Sakhile, Standerton)
                 R.D. Sediti (Vryburg)
                 M.B. Khumalo (Kathlehong)
                 W.M. Khoza (Saulsville)
                 M.J. Khumalo (Orlando)
                 F.Z.T. Mphepho (Graaff-Reinet)
                 M.A. Sithole (Vryheid)
                 J.K. Modisenyane (Bothaville)
                 N. Matsie (Kanana, Orkney)
                 S.A. Nkoane (Thabong, Welkom)
                 L. Motsoeneng (Bochabelo, Bloemfontein)

Executive Committee at present 1983:

Chairman: S.I.P. Kgame
Vice Chairman: J.C.Mahuhushi
Secretary: Mrs V.M. Mfuphi
Committee :

Cape: F.Z.T. Mphepho
                 T.S. Cetywe
                 R.M. Tinta
                 Z.N. Hanabe

Natal: M.A. Sithole

V. Mchunu

W. Chonco

S.I. Mkhize

Free State: A.L.R. Xaba

E.M. Morakabi

J.K. Modisenyane

L.T. Motshoi

R.J. Motshoeneng

R.J. Mokotjo

E. Phillips

Transvaal: H.J. Ngakane,

T.S. Boya

B.Z. Ndlazi

M.J. Khumalo

D.B.S. Tsotsetsi

S.M.Z. Hlatshwayo

S.M. Nkatlo

J.K. Matjila

A.R. Sekobane

S.M. Magagula

J. Ledwaba

A. Mafohla

N. Matsie

APPENDIX 4 : Councils belonging to, or having links with UCASA

1	Dobsonville
2	Evaton
3	Daveyton
4	Mamelodi
5	Atteridgville
6	Mhluzi (Middelburg, Tvl.)
7	Vukuzakhe (Volksrust)
8	Witbank
9	Belfast
10	Sakhile (Standerton)
11	Mzinoni
12	Sebokeng
13	Bethlehem
14	Kathlehong
15	Graaff-Reinet
16	Kwa-Thema
17	Sivukile
18	Bothaville
19	Vredefort
20	Devon
21	Kanana
22	Diepmeadow
23	Evander
24	Jouberton
25	Kagiso
26	Bethal
27	Leandra
28	Valspan
29	Kroonstad
30	Vosloorus
31	Westonarea
32	Boksburg
33	Fort Beaufort
34	Alberton
35	Bloemfontein

36	Ningizimu	Vryburg	74
37	Ratanda	Jan Kempdorp.	75
38	Middelburg. C.P.	Mr N. Matsie (Orkney)	
39	Duduza	Mr S.M.Z. Hlatshwayo (Ermelo)	
40	Trompsburg	Mr J.K. Matjila (Sebokeng)	
41	Edenburg	Mr L. Motshoneng (Bloemfontein)	
42	Virginia	Mr N. Nkoane (Welkom)	
43	Morgenzon	Mr M.K. Modisenyane (Bothaville)	
44	Breyten	Mr A. Xaba (Bethlehem)	
45	Clocolan	Mr M.A. Sithole (Vryheid)	
46	Vryheid	Mr V. Mchunu (Mooi River)	
47	Mooi River	Mr Msimang (Lamontville)	
48	Bekkersdal	Mr F. Mpepo (Graaff Reinet)	
49	Mohlakeng	Mr P. Masango (Bethal)	
50	Alexandra	Mr T. Boya (Daveyton)	
51	Mosselbay	Mr S.M. Nkarlu (Dobsonville)	
52	Ficksburg	Mr Z.B. Ndlazi (Mamelodi)	
53	Hennenman	Position not filled at present	
54	Warden	Position not filled at present	
55	Lindley	Position not filled at present	
56	Barberton	Position not filled at present	
57	Wesselton	Position not filled at present	
58	Piet Retief		
59	Waterval-Boven		
60	Senekal		
61	Fauresmith		
62	Ladybrand		
63	Petrusburg		
64	Aberdeen		
65	Christiana		
66	Wesselton		
67	Pearston		
68	Jansenville		
69	Richmond		
70	Colesburg		
71	Ogies		
72	Wattville		
73	Steynsrus		

APPENDIX 5 : Regional chairmen

Western Transvaal:	Mr N. Matsie (Orkney)
Eastern Transvaal:	Mr S.M.Z. Hlatshwayo (Ermelo)
Vaal Triangle:	Mr J.K. Matjila (Sebokeng)
Southern Free State:	Mr L. Motshoneng (Bloemfontein)
Central Free State:	Mr N. Nkoane (Welkom)
Northern Free State:	Mr M.K. Modisenyane (Bothaville)
Eastern Free State:	Mr A. Xaba (Bethlehem)
Northern Natal:	Mr M.A. Sithole (Vryheid)
Drakensberg:	Mr V. Mchunu (Mooi River)
Port Natal:	Mr Msimang (Lamontville)
Karoo:	Mr F. Mpepo (Graaff Reinet)
Highveld:	Mr P. Masango (Bethal)
East Rand:	Mr T. Boya (Daveyton)
West Rand:	Mr S.M. Nkatlo (Dobsonville)
Central Transvaal:	Mr Z.B. Ndlazi (Mamelodi)
Northern Cape:	Position not filled at present
Cape Midlands:	Position not filled at present
Western Cape:	Position not filled at present
Eastern Cape:	Position not filled at present
Northern Transvaal:	Position not filled at present.

APPENDIX 6 : <u>Donors and sponsors</u>

Christian Publishing Company

Sage Holdings, Limited

Tiger Oats

Barclays National Bank

Siemens

Southern Life Association

SASOL Limited

Goldfields of South Africa Ltd.

United Building Society

Pep Stores Ltd.

Caltex Oil (SA) Ltd.

The Bank of Lisbon and South Africa Ltd.

Standard Bank

Federale Volksbeleggings Beperk

Barlow Rand Ltd.

Sentrachem Beperk

Reckett and Colman South Africa Ltd.

Toyota

Anglo Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company, Ltd.

G.E.C. South Africa Ltd.

Jeffares and Green Incorporated

Checkers

M & S Spitz Footwear Holdings Ltd.

Uhlman Witthaus & Prins

The Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund

Ash Brothers (Pty) Ltd.

SA Breweries Ltd.

Coca Cola Export Corporation

Rank Xerox Ltd.

Everite Ltd.

South African Block Ltd.

O'Connell, Manthe and Partners, inc.

Schoombie, Hartmann and Partners

Edgars

Nedbank

Price Forbes Federale Volkskas

Stellenbosch Farmers' Wineries

Silverton Engineering

Sanlam

Mon Repos Group Interest

Bester Woning Bpk.

8 <u>FOOTNOTES</u>

1   Speech by Dr P.G.J. Koornhof, 1979, quoted in Keeble, S.M.S.: <u>The Expansion of Black Business</u>, Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1981.

2   Community Councils Amendment Act, 1978.

3   Riekert Commission, Para. 3.316

4   Riekert Commission, para. 3.318.

5   <u>Work In Progress</u> No. 15, 1980, page 1.

6   Bloch, R., <u>All Little Sisters Got To Try On Big Sister's Clothes: The Community Council System in South Africa.</u> African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 1982, Page 8.

7   Bloch, R. op.cit. page 5.

8   Sinclair, M.: <u>The Crisis of Legitimacy: Urban Councils and the Black Urban Communities</u>, Address to Central Transvaal Regional Council, Atteridgeville, 21 August, 1982. Page 12.

9   Sinclair, M. op.cit. page 9.

10   Bloch, R. op.cit. page 12.

11   Minutes of UCASA meeting, 10 October, 1978.

12   Constitution of the TMA, Section 2.

13   Pamphlet <u>About UCASA</u>, January 1981.

14   Pamphlet, <u>About UCASA</u>, January 1981.

15   Letter to the Chairman, Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund, 29 November 1980.

16   <u>Recommendations for changes to the Constitution of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa</u>, Central Transvaal Region, 1983.

17   <u>About UCASA</u>, Jan. 1981.

18   Interview with Mr Kgame, 20 June, 1983.

19   Pamphlet, undated, UCASA files, Dobsonville.

20   <u>About UCASA</u>, Jan. 1981.

21   Auditors' Report, October 1981.

22   Interview with Mr Tom Boya, 25 March, 1983.

23   Auditors' Report, May 1982.

24   Auditors' Report, October, 1982.

25   Address by S. Kgame, UCASA National Conference, October, 1981.

26   UCASA Pamphlet Training Programme for Elected and Permanent Officials at Local Government Level, undated.

27   Report and Recommendations of the UCASA Think Tank Work Group, to the 20 July 1980 UCASA Think Tank meeting, page 2.

28   UCASA Pamphlet, Training Programme for Elected and Permanent Officials at Local Government Level, undated.

29   UCASA Pamphlet, op.cit.

30   UCASA Pamphlet, see footnote 28.

31   Rand Daily Mail, "Soweto News", 28 August, 1981.

32   UCASA Pamphlet, see footnote 28.

33   UCASA Pamphlet, see footnote 28.

34   Interview with Mr Kgame, 18 June, 1983.

35   Interview with Mr T.S. Boya, 15 March 1983.

36   UCASA Executive Meeting Minutes, 24 January, 1982.

37   Minutes, UCASA Meeting, 16 December, 1978.

38   Rand Daily Mail, 21 May, 1981.

39   Interview with Mr Kgame, 11 March, 1983.

40   Speech by Mr Kgame, UCASA National Conference, October 1981.

41   Interview with Mr Kgame, 11 March, 1983.

42   Interviews with senior Administration Board officials, September 1982 and January,1983.

43   Minutes, UCASA Meeting, 10 October 1978.

44   The Citizen 6 March, 1979.

45   Rand Daily Mail, 17 September 1979.

46   Quoted in Report and Recommendation of UCASA Think Tank Work Group, to the 20 July 1980 UCASA Think Tank Meeting, page 7-8.

47   Rand Daily Mail, 13 October, 1981.

48   Address by Mr Kgame at Southern African Economic Convention, 1979.

49   Quoted in the Report and Recommendations of the UCASA Think Tank Work Group, to the 20 July, 1980 UCASA Think Tank Meeting, p. 8.

50   Rand Daily Mail, 13 October 1981.

51   Memorandum to Dr Koornhof, 9 August, 1979, page 2-3.

52   Address by Mr Kgame to UCASA National Conference, 1981.

53   Minutes of UCASA Think Tank Meeting, 20 July, 1980.

54   Interview with senior Administration Board official, December 1982.

55   Memorandum to Dr Koornhof, 9 August, 1979, page 1.

56   Rand Daily Mail, 17 August, 1979.

57   Memorandum to Dr Koornhof, 9 August, 1979.

58   UCASA Resolution, National Conference, October 1981.

59   UCASA Resolution, ibid.

60   Rand Daily Mail, 17 August, 1979.

61   Rand Daily Mail, 18 February. 1981.

62   Sowetan, 21 May, 1981.

63   Rand Daily Mail, 13 October, 1981.

64   Memorandum to Dr Koornhof, 9 August 1979, page 4.

65   Interview with Mr T. Boya, 15 May, 1983.

66   Memorandum to Dr Koornhof, page 4.

67   Ibid p.2.

68   Minutes UCASA meeting, 28 April, 1979.

69   Minutes, UCASA meeting, 6 May, 1979.

70   Memorandum to Dr Koornhof, p. 3.

71   Minutes, UCASA meeting, 28 April, 1979.

72   Memorandum to Dr Koornhof, p. 3.,

73   Interview with Mr Kgame, 11 March 1983.

74   Memorandum to Dr Koornhof, p. 2.

75   Pamphlet, Revolving Fund for the Development of Infrastructure in Black Areas, Minutes, UCASA Executive Committee Meeting, 24 January, 1982.

76   Sinclair, M.: The Crisis of Legitimacy Urban Councils and the Black Urban Communitites, Address to Central Transvaal Regional Council, Atteridgeville, 21 August, 1982.

77   Report and Recommendations of UCASA Think Tank Work Group to 20 July 1980 UCASA Think Tank Meeting.

78   Address by Mr Kgame, undated, UCASA files, Dobsonville.

79   See footnote 78

80   Report and Recommendations of the UCASA Think Tank Work Group, to the 20 July, 1980 UCASA Think Tank Meeting, page 6.

81   Recommendations for changes to the Constitution of UCASA, Central Transvaal Region, 6 February, 1983.

82   Minutes, UCASA meeting, 10 October 1978.

83   Address, 2nd National Convention of UCASA, 30 May 1982.

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85   Interview with Mr Kgame, 11 March, 1983.

86   Memorandum to the Schlebusch Commission, undated.

87   The Citizen, 22 December 1980.

88   For example, UCASA Minutes, 10 October, 1978: Rand Daily Mail 2 April, 1981: Sowetan, 21 May, 1981.

89   Rand Daily Mail, 21 May 1981.

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93   Letter to Dr Koornhof, 6 December 1978.

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95   The Dynamic Change in South Africa, Dept. of foreign Affairs, 1982, p. 35.

96   Interview with Mr Kgame, 18 June, 1983.

97   Letter to Department of Co-operation and Development, 11 April, 1980.

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99   Interview with senior Administration Board Official, West Rand Administration Board, February, 1983.

100 Auditors' Reports, October 1981, and October 1982.

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