

Durban Riots.

For some weeks prior to the Cato Manor riots, and after an outbreak of typhoid, Municipal authorities in Durban had been conducting a "cleaning-up" campaign in the area, during which a large quantity of illicit liquor had been found and destroyed.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, 17th June, 1959, a demonstration was staged at the Cato Manor Beer Hall by a group of African women who destroyed beer and drinking utensils. The women were dispersed by the police and the beer hall was closed. The police remained on guard throughout the night.

On the following day, Thursday 18th, groups of African women staged similar demonstrations at beer halls situated elsewhere in the City, including Dalton Road and Victoria Street. African men present at the beer halls were attacked and warned that they were not to drink Corporation beer.

At 2.30 p.m. on the 18th, Mr. Bourquin, Director of the Bantu Administration Department, met a group of about 2,000 women at the Cato Manor Beer Hall. (1). Police had been in attendance throughout the morning, and Mr. Bourquin was accompanied by members of the police. Spokesmen for the women expressed some of their grievances, and Mr. Bourquin addressed the assembled crowd. At the conclusion of the meeting, the police warned the women to disperse. When they failed to do so, a police baton charge took place. Scenes of general disorder and rioting followed, during which a number of shots were fired. The African women were joined by men, some of whom had returned from the city by bus.

At approximately 5.30 p.m., rioting crowds commenced to destroy Municipal vehicles and buildings at Cato Manor. Corporation buildings at Chesterville, an adjoining Location, were later burnt down or damaged, and also a number of buildings housing welfare, health and community services.

Mr. Bourquin has since estimated damage to buildings at the sum of over £100,000, which included "the Bantu Administration offices, shops, store-rooms and huts, the Chesterville Community Centre, a Municipal shop block in Lyttleton Road and the Corporation's Recreation Hall". The Minister for Justice, in a statement in the House of Assembly, said that 25 buildings had been burnt out, and 7 damaged. (2).

(1) Assembly, 19th June, 1959, Hansard 20 Col. 8547.

(2) Assembly, 19th June, 1959, Hansard 20 Col. 8546.

Corporation officials who had been present at the Cato Manor office at the outbreak of the rioting were escorted from the area by police. Members of the police force maintained a watch at the Beer Hall throughout the night. An attempt was made to prevent the destruction of the Cato Manor office. Thereafter, it would appear that no further police action was taken to attempt to prevent the burning and looting of property within the area. A fire engine was prevented by Africans from entering the area.

Reliable African observers have reported that the crowds who participated in the burning and looting of buildings included groups of teen-age youngsters of both sexes and a "strong hooligan element". It has also been suggested that the reason for the destruction of premises of voluntary welfare organisations may have been the fact that they were connected in the minds of the African public with "white officialdom".

At approximately 10.30 p.m., a police picket at the Beer Hall was attacked by Africans who were driven off by <sup>the use of</sup> Sten-guns. Three Africans were killed.

No official casualty list has been issued, but a Press report on the 19th June stated that 3 Africans had been killed and 14 Africans admitted to hospital with injuries, mainly bullet wounds. One European policeman was injured by a bullet. (3).

The casualty list for the Durban Riots in 1949 comprised 142 deaths and 1,087 injured Persons. (4).

African unrest continued on the following day in the form of various demonstrations and arrests throughout the City. A group of women in Greenwood Park were disarmed by the police, and the Umgeni Beer Hall was placed under police protection. Women demonstrated outside <sup>a</sup> ~~the demonstration~~ in the Mobeni industrial area. Beer Hall/ Later in the day, women demonstrators at a Beer Hall at Rossburgh were arrested by the police.

Sporadic/...

(3) Daily News 19/6/59.

(4) Report of Enquiry into Riots in Durban U.G. 36-49.

Sporadic demonstrations and manifestations of African unrest continued for several weeks, in areas throughout the City, and a number of arrests were made by the police.

Ex-Chief Luthuli, President General of the African National Congress, issued a press statement appealing for peace at Cato Manor and for a return to normality as soon as possible. He stated that the grievances of the people should be formulated and submitted to the authorities. He promised that the African National Congress would do all it could to find a solution to the complaints. (5).

The Paramount Chief of the Zulus also appealed to his people to remain calm and not to act irresponsibly. He urged that grievances should be lodged with the authorities through the proper channels. (6).

Beer halls were temporarily closed by the Municipality because of the lack of support. Municipal bus services to various African areas were withdrawn after repeated attacks on vehicles.

City Council services to Cato Manor, including public health, sewerage and water were suspended for seven weeks after the riots, because it was feared that the safety of Municipal employees might be endangered.

At the beginning of July, the City Council and police decided to intensify action against illegal liquor brewing in Cato Manor. A press report stated that by 9th July, nearly 86,000 gallons of shimiyané had been destroyed, and 55 persons had been arrested on liquor charges. (7).

#### BACKGROUND TO THE RIOTS IN DURBAN.

As no public enquiry has been held, no definite authoritative findings exist on the causes of the riots. It is, however, clear that these are manifold and inter-related. Various opinions have been expressed in the press and elsewhere, but in the absence of evidence properly weighed, it is impossible to do more than sketch the socio-economic background to Cato Manor and to list some of the many grievances that have been mentioned.

Events/...

(5) Daily News 19/6/1959.

(6) Daily News 20/6/1959.

(7) Daily News 9/7/1959.

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Events flowing from the destruction of ~~liquor~~ ~~shops~~ at Cato Manor, and from the campaign on the part of African women to prevent men from patronising Municipal beer halls, clearly 'sparked off' the riots at Cato Manor and the subsequent widespread demonstrations and unrest. Grievances expressed by Africans have included the fact that permits for home-brewed beer covered only family consumption and that, although beer was important in the traditional life of the Zulu people, it could not be offered to relatives and guests. Men were forced to entertain in beer-halls, which made inroads into low earnings and created the danger of arrest on the way home for over-indulgence.

It is also well known that a <sup>group</sup>/~~class~~ of professional brewers and 'shebeen queens' exists at Cato Manor, who make their entire living from the production of illicit liquor. In addition, and because of the prevailing poverty, considerable numbers of other women have succumbed to the temptation of supplementing their incomes in this way. Destruction of liquor thus holds economic implications.

Mr. Bourquin, Director of the Bantu Administration Department, in a letter to the Town Clerk dated 23rd June, 1959, stated that in his opinion, whatever the nature of the contributory and superficial factors might be, the basic and ultimate reason was an economic one, i.e. the poverty of the urban Bantu and the discrepancy between his earning capacity and his cost of living. He said that the women had talked about kaffir beer and illicit liquor, transport and housing, shack removals and influx control, the keeping of livestock and the keeping of husbands, gambling dens and of shebeens. "Only here and there did the real, naked reason break to the surface : money or rather the lack of it".

Mr. Bourquin urged the City Council to make immediate and substantial increases in the existing wage of £10.8.0d. per month paid to its 7,700 unskilled African employees. He pointed out that not a single one of these workers could afford the rent for family housing at Kwa Mashu. He addressed a similar appeal to private employers, warning the public that the slums of Cato Manor would remain as long as the average earnings of African workers placed decent living and housing beyond their reach; and that, as long as these slums remained, so would the danger of violence, arson and bloodshed remain.

(Since this date, a hearing of the Wage Board has taken place in

Durban/....

\* A special meeting between the Cato Manor Welfare Advisory Board and the Bantu Administration Committee of the City Council was held on Wednesday, 17th June (the day preceding the riots), when the Board's dissatisfaction was expressed concerning aspects of the removal scheme.

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Durban and a number of increases in African wage rates have been made by employers. These are dealt with later in this Survey).

Hardship and resentment arising from shack removals at Cato Manor were among grievances expressed by the African community. \*

The very dense shack settlement of Africans in the Cato Manor area developed largely as a result of the increasing tempo of industrialisation during and after the war years. Industry was expanding rapidly at a time when building operations had come to a standstill. Sanitary Services were non-existent and conditions generally were appalling. In the early 1950's action was taken by the Municipality and a section of Cato Manor was proclaimed as an Emergency Camp as a temporary measure to alleviate some of the worst slum conditions. Basic services were provided in the form of sanitation, water, communal ablution blocks, roads, etc., erection of new shacks was controlled and regulations were promulgated regarding the administration of the Camp.

However, all improvements and developments were on a temporary basis because Government policy had determined that the area should be proclaimed for future white occupation under the Group Areas Act, and that the existing African population should be removed as soon as possible.

During the pre-war years, the Municipality had been faced with a huge African housing problem.

In 1950, the Natal Housing Board, in co-operation with the Government Native Affairs Department and the Municipality, undertook to build six villages, each to contain about 430 dwellings, in the Umlazi Mission Reserve to the south of the city. When two of these villages had been completed, the Minister of Native Affairs directed that the scheme should be discontinued for the reason that it was wrong in principle for the Government to build a township in tribal territory to serve the Durban municipal area.

After a long period of negotiations and delays, the Minister persuaded the Municipality to undertake a housing scheme at Duffs Road, about 12 miles north of the City. Further long delays took place before the land was acquired and the new township of Kwa Mashu planned, so it was not until 1958 that the first families moved in.

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Meanwhile, building in existing locations could only take place on a limited scale, and Africans who could not obtain municipal houses had to find other accommodation as best they might.

Until recently no removals could take place from Cato Manor because of the lack of alternative housing. In February, 1959, only about 45,800 (or less than one-quarter) of the 200,000 Africans estimated to be in Durban were living in Municipal houses or hostels. The Corporation estimated that 10,362 families of 40,723 persons were then living in 4,419 shacks in the emergency camp of Cato Manor, whilst 5,045 families of about 21,000 persons were occupying 1,750 dwellings in neighbouring areas of Cato Manor.

The scene in the shack areas of Cato Manor is one of sordid and overcrowded living, extreme poverty and frequent ill-health caused by malnutrition and unhygienic conditions.

The Corporation, since the new Kwa Mashu housing scheme was started, has been attempting to clear those shack settlements outside the Emergency Camp and to move as many people as possible to the new Township. It is, of course, the intention that the entire area will eventually be cleared.

The one very great difficulty is the fact that rentals at Kwa Mashu are not subsidised by the Government because of its present policy of providing only economic loans for housing. Rents vary between £3.3.0d. and £3.5.0d. per month, and are thus beyond the resources of the great majority of Cato Manor residents. A survey of 500 families in Cato Manor in 1956 showed that 61% earned less than £10 per month. Families moving to Kwa Mashu have an added burden in the form of increased transport costs, and women find it much more difficult to undertake part-time domestic work and laundering in order to supplement income.

Considerable numbers of shacks are owned by women, who derive their livelihood by letting rooms. They may supplement this income by part-time work, or by illicit trading or brewing. To these women, shack clearance means economic ruin, even if they are permitted to remain in the urban area.

Until the housing back-log is overcome, a ~~man~~ <sup>married and wife</sup> does not qualify for family housing unless ~~his~~ <sup>the</sup> wife arrived in Durban before 1956.

Only persons and families who qualify under Section 10 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act are granted alternative accommodation of any type. Many Africans have settled in Cato Manor who do not qualify to remain in terms of Section 10. Wives have come from the country to join their husbands, and/...

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and widowed parents have come to live with sons and daughters. Urban women who have lost their legal right to remain when becoming widowed, divorced or deserted have stayed in the urban area, often with a number of children.

Many households at present living in Cato Manor shacks include fathers and mothers, uncles and aunts, and various other relatives who are not in registered employment and thus not entitled to remain in the urban area. Men who have lost their employment and failed to find other work, have sought shelter with relatives in the shack areas rather than leave the city, as required by the law. Many Africans have lived in the towns for very long periods, and have thus lost all ties with the reserves and rural areas.

The Director of the Durban Bantu Administration Department stated in a public address to the Institute in Durban on 15th September, 1959: (8)

"A Municipal Department of Bantu Administration can be concerned only with the provision of housing for those Bantu who make up the City's labour requirements and who are required to provide essential services to their compatriots within the urban area. Any Bantu who are surplus to these requirements are not the responsibility of the City Council. They are not wanted, and must leave or be removed from the urban area."

Dissatisfaction on the part of African women regarding the shack clearances at Cato Manor was manifested in February, 1959 when a large group of women and children squatted outside the offices of the Bantu Administration Department for several days. A meeting between the Mayor and representatives of the women took place on 27th February, during which policy and procedures of shack clearance were discussed.

At the end of February, and because of mounting African tension resulting from shack clearances, the Institute of Race Relations in Natal initiated a voluntary Committee consisting of representatives of the Institute, Bantu Child Welfare Society, the Chesterville Child Care Association, and a number of individuals. During March, the Committee  
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(8) Full text available from Durban Office of Institute.

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made a careful study of the shack clearance scheme and its resultant problems and hardships. Numbers of family case histories were examined, and a detailed memorandum submitted to the City Council. (9) A few concessions by the Council were later made, for example that couples with children who had lived for some years as man and wife should qualify for family housing, even if they were not legally married.

Shortly after the riots the Institute arranged for a panel of experts to write a series of short press articles on the socio-economic background to Cato Manor. Copies are available from the Durban office. (10)

ACTION TAKEN AND EVENTS AFTER THE RIOTS IN DURBAN.

The Minister of Justice was asked in Parliament whether he intended to appoint a judicial commission to inquire into the cause of the riots, and if not, why not. He replied that a judicial commission was unnecessary in view of the fact that the Durban Corporation was taking steps to institute an enquiry. (11)

Immediately after the Cato Manor rioting Mr. Bourquin had announced that there would be a departmental inquiry, and that he would also welcome a full judicial enquiry. (12) On the 16th July, the Mayor of Durban announced his support of an independent judicial inquiry into the causes of the disturbances, and also of a full investigation into African grievances, once law and order had been restored. (13) On the same date, the Bantu Administration Committee stated that it was "sympathetic" to the view that independent investigations, perhaps by a judicial commission, should be made. It deferred a final decision until more normal conditions had been restored. (14) Representations to the Municipality had previously been made by the Natal Region of the Institute urging that if the Government still declined to appoint a judicial commission, the Council should institute an independent, rather than a departmental enquiry. The Director of the Institute wrote to the Ministers of Justice and Bantu Administration and Development again urging a judicial commission. Similar representations were made by other bodies and individuals, and editorials in the Daily News and Ilanga Lase emphasised the importance of independent investigations. The latter paper stated that "unless this step is taken we are heading for more and even more devastating riots in the immediate future". (15)

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(9) Memorandum and reply published by Institute (NCR 33/59)

(10) N.R. 66/1959

(11) Assembly 30th June 1959. Hansard 22 Cols. 9511/2

(12) Daily News. 20th June, 1959

(13) Daily News 16th July, 1959

(14) Daily News 16th July, 1959

(15) Ilanga Lase Natal 11th July

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It is of very great regret to the Institute that the Government has not heeded these requests. Furthermore, at the time of writing no public enquiry had been conducted by the Durban Corporation.

As previously stated, the Director of the Bantu Administration Department said in a letter to the Town Clerk that the main cause of the riots was in his opinion economic. He appealed to the City Council and other employers to make an immediate and urgent increase in African wages. On 20th July, the City Council decided to raise the wage rates of unskilled labourers by £1. 12. 6. per month, pending the decision of the Wage Board which was shortly to hold hearings in Durban. Mr. Bourquin's appeal was endorsed by a number of leaders of commerce and industry, by trade union groups and by the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations. A number of industrial and commercial concerns subsequently announced immediate increases in African wage rates.

Early in July, the City Council was asked by its Bantu Administration Committee to ban from the Durban area, in terms of the Native Urban Areas Consolidation Act, nine Africans whose presence was considered to be detrimental to the maintenance of law and order. The Natal Coastal Branch of the Liberal Party appealed to the City Council not to make use of this arbitrary legal procedure. By a majority of one vote, the City Council decided not to ban the Africans concerned from the Durban area.

Immediately after the riots, the Bantu Child Welfare Society launched a public appeal for assistance in re-establishing its services. On 22nd June, Mr. Ronald Butcher, M.P., Chairman of the Cato Manor Appeal Fund, the chief source of finance for the many welfare bodies operating in the area, emphasised the importance of continuing charitable work. On 24th June, it was reported that a number of African residents had offered their assistance in re-building seven welfare huts operated by the Cato Manor Community Huts organisation. On November 3rd, the Director of the Bantu Administration Department stated that restoration of buildings of private welfare organisations was proceeding, often with the help of Africans in the area.

On the 18th July, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Durban held a meeting at Cato Manor when African residents were invited to express their grievances. About 2,000 Africans attended. In an editorial of 1st August, the newspaper Ilanga Lase Natal commended the Commissioner for his action in calling the meeting. It emphasised the importance of mutual understanding and co-operation.

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On 23rd July, senior Government and Municipal officials carried out a personal inspection of conditions in Cato Manor. They were accompanied by African members of the Cato Manor Welfare and Development Board.

On the 27th July (16) the Senior information officer of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in Natal, issued a statement on the riots in Cato Manor. He rejected outright the contention of the Director of the Bantu Administration Department of the Municipality that the riots were the result of general economic need. He criticised the Municipality for inadequate control in matters such as population influx and liquor brewing. He suggested that if the housing problem had become too big for the local authority, it should be handed to the Government for urgent and drastic action. On the following day, the Mayor of Durban replied to the criticisms, and expressed disappointment at the fact that a senior Government official should have engaged in public recriminations. He outlined the efforts that had been made by the City Council in the field of housing, and the difficulties that had been encountered. He stated that mutual co-operation was needed between the Government and City Council. (17)

On 2nd August, a special meeting of African residents at Cato Manor was called by the Welfare and Development Board discussed the re-introduction of health and other services to the area.

On the 3rd August, a deputation from the Durban City Council held a meeting with the Minister of Bantu Administration in Pretoria, when the Cato Manor situation and the restoration of basic services was discussed.

On the 11th August a special meeting took place in Durban between City Councillors and senior Government and Municipal officials, after which the Mayor announced that essential services would be restored immediately. He also announced the establishment of an ad hoc liaison Committee which would remain in existence as long as was necessary.

Following discussions between City Council and Government representatives it has been announced that a large new African housing scheme is to be established in the Umlazi Mission Reserve to the south of Durban. It is planned that this will accommodate about 20,000 families and as a matter of urgency, 10,000 sites are to be provided to re-house Africans now living in Durban locations, including the Cato Manor area. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ At the time of writing, transport services to the new township were

(16) Daily News 27th July 1959

(17) Daily News 28th July 1959

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~~XXXXXX~~. At the time of writing, transport services to the new township were being investigated by the Government and a contour survey was being carried out. The area falls outside the Durban Municipality which will act as the agent of the Native Trust. Whilst the scheme has been announced in broad outline, details have not yet been officially released. As the land falls within the areas set aside in terms of the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, it is believed that Africans will be able to acquire freehold rights to property.

As a result of the boycott of Municipal beer, profits dropped considerably. The profit made from this source of revenue in 1956/57 amounted to £193,000 of which £74,000 was spent on welfare work and £128,000 on African housing. About 30 different welfare and community organisations received grants-in-aid totalling about £14,000. Financial estimates for budget for 1958/1959 show the planned/subsidised milk at £37,000. As a result of the drop in profits, the Bantu Administration Department at the end of July decided to discontinue temporarily a scheme under which milk was sold to location residents on a subsidised basis. Representations to the Municipality were made by a number of interested welfare organisations. Milk is a very important factor in combatting the high incidence of malnutrition among Africans, particularly children. Leader articles in the Sunday Tribune (12th July) and the Ilanga Lase Natal (25th July) criticised the fact that under the present financial system, welfare services were of necessity dependent upon profits made from beer. A critical study of the system of financing African services is at present being undertaken by the Natal Region of the Institute. At the time of writing sales of Municipal beer had not returned to the previous level.

Tribute has been paid to the police from many quarters for their handling of the riots and disturbances in Durban and other centres in Natal. Ex-Chief Luthuli in a statement published on 23rd August, expressed his heartfelt gratitude to the police for the patience and restraint they had shown.

Some criticism has been expressed at the methods of reporting of the Durban riots in some overseas newspapers. A meeting in June, ~~at~~ the Executive Committee of the Durban branch of the South African Society of Journalists decided to ask its national council to protest to the British Press Council at the poor standard of reporting in certain overseas papers, drawing attention to the slur which reports of this nature cast on the integrity of English South African journalists.

OTHER AREAS.

PIETERMARITZBURG.

On the afternoon of Friday, 14th August, large crowds of women staged demonstrations at the three beer halls in the City, and warned men that they should not drink Municipal beer. Police action was taken throughout the afternoon and early evening, and the crowd was dispersed. During the disorders, a European member of staff at one of the beer-halls was seriously injured.

On the following evening, an uncontrolled mob destroyed by fire three African schools at Sobantu Village, a location on the outskirts of the city. The families of European municipal officials vacated their houses under police protection. Two Africans, including a school-teacher, were killed during the rioting. Thirty-eight Africans were subsequently charged on various counts including arson, public violence and assault. Five of the accused were women, and twelve were under nineteen years of age. Eleven persons were found guilty on various counts, and sentences ranging from 18 months to 2½ years were imposed upon eight adults. Three juveniles were remanded for special report.

An attempt was made to destroy a school at Edendale, an African area on the other side of the City, but the fire was extinguished before the police arrived. African residents took steps to extinguish the fire.

The Natal African Teachers' Union and the Maritzburg Urban Bantu School Board sent letters to the City Council condemning the rioting in which the three schools were destroyed. The School Board expressed its loyalty to the City Council, and stated that only a minority of the Sobantu people had taken part in the riots. The Teachers Union Commended the City Council for its "liberal policy towards native administration".

The beer halls were closed during the disturbances and remained closed for some weeks afterwards. At the time of writing, the Manager of the Native Administration Department stated that conditions had returned to normal.

The African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress branches in a public statement condemned the use of violence and appealed to African rioters to stop demonstrations.

/ ..... HARDING.

HARDING.

On 14th August, thirty African women were convicted in the Harding Magistrate's Court of malicious injury to property and each sentenced to twelve weeks' imprisonment, four of which were suspended.

According to evidence given during the Court proceedings, there had been resentment in the district at the proposal of the Bantu Administration Department to undertake certain soil conservation work, which would necessitate some of the fields being 'grass-stripped' and some of the huts being moved in a year's time. The Agricultural Officer had planned to start work on 16th July, but it was decided to postpone this until a meeting had been held and the nature of the work explained to members of the Maci tribe. The Native Commissioner called a meeting on the 21st July, but because of certain reports received, the meeting was cancelled. Those tribesmen who arrived for the meeting were informed accordingly, and the gathering dispersed.

Shortly afterwards, a group of African women arrived and destroyed a wood-and-iron hut used by the Agricultural Officer of the Department.

After their trial and sentence on 14th August, and whilst the women were being escorted to the gaol, a number attempted to escape from custody.

During the evening, fires were started on farms belonging to European farmers. Because trouble was feared, a large number of European families sought accommodation over-night at the Harding hospital, and it is reported that by mid-night, 600 women, children and aged persons were within the hospital which was guarded by armed European men.

At 2.30 a.m., a group of Maci tribesmen arrived in the town and requested the <sup>African</sup> women's release <sup>from gaol,</sup> pointing out that many had young children and babies at home. (At the subsequent trial, evidence was given that seven women had breast-fed babies). After discussions with the police and magistrate, they left the town peaceably.

On the following morning, the women were transferred to the Pietermaritzburg gaol. The train service between Harding and Port Shepstone was temporarily suspended following reports that boulders had been placed on the tracks.

The Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development said later that a contributory cause of the friction had been the existence of a rebellious tribal faction with their own candidate for the chieftainship.

Twenty-seven Maci tribesmen later appeared in Court. Eighteen were found/...

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found guilty. Sixteen were sentenced to two years' imprisonment, one to eighteen months, and one to two years, two months. In each case, six months were suspended. An appeal has been noted.

#### OTHER COUNTRY AREAS.

From the early part of August, demonstrations took place and unrest manifested itself in a very large number of different centres in Natal. Some of the demonstrations were orderly, when large congregations of women met outside Native Commissioners' Courts in various centres, and deputations expressed the women's grievances. Other incidents involved the large-scale destruction of dipping tanks, threats to dipping inspectors, commandeering of buses, and further beer-hall demonstrations.

On the 13th August, the District Commandant of Police in Pietermaritzburg reported that 75 per cent of the Government dipping tanks in the Natal Inland Police division had been destroyed by gangs of African women.

On the 19th August, 113 women were found guilty by an Umzinto Magistrate of malicious injury to property, arising out of the destruction of a dip. They were each fined £25 or three months' imprisonment. At the stage of the trial, the Umzinto jail which was built to accommodate 115 prisoners was accommodating 482 persons.

On the 12th August, over 350 women met at the Dweshula Trading Store near Port Shepstone and demanded an interview with the Magistrate and Government Agricultural officer. This meeting later took place, when the women expressed dissatisfaction at the fact that whilst in the past they had been paid to clear fire-breaks around the forest, they were no longer paid and were told that it was a tribal responsibility.

On the 14th August, 84 women were fined £5 (or one month) in the Umzinto Magistrate's Court for creating a disturbance, after they had demanded that the owner of a bus firm should provide free transport to the Magistrate's office. Similar incidents involving buses took place in other areas.

Demonstrations and unrest - some involving arrests - were reported at Ixopo, Hibberdene, Camperdown, Port Shepstone, Colenso, Estcourt, Inanda, Wartburg, Indudutu, Umtwalumi and a large number of other centres.

On 22nd August, a press report estimated that about 600 African women/...

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