In the ongoing campaigns to abolish legalized racial segregation in the United States, the nonviolent direct action protest strategy adopted by students at black and white colleges and universities in the South, referred to as the "sit-ins," is considered an historically significant innovation. This act of resistance and civil disobedience had been practiced by previous generations of social and political activists. However, when the four black students at North Carolina A&T College in Greensboro, North Carolina, in February 1960, who were heirs to a black and white radical tradition, decided to "sit-in" at the lunch counter at the Woolworth store, a new phase in the black freedom struggle in the United States was initiated. The southern college campuses spawned hundreds of activists willing to put their lives on the line in the cause of social justice. The student sit-ins and the formation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) represented a turning point and historical marker in the evolution of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States.¹

In the black freedom struggles in the Republic of South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, launching of protests by black students also marked a turning point and the onset of a new phase of the larger anti-apartheid movement. The Soweto student protests in 1976 demonstrated the degree of political consciousness even among elementary and secondary school children and signaled a renewed level of resistance to South Africa's white minority government. But even earlier in the late 1960s "student activists" in South Africa launched a new phase in the black freedom struggle in South Africa with the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement and South African Students Organization (SASO). Under the leadership of Stephen Biko and Barney Pityana, SASO mobilized black African, Coloured, and Indian students and, according to Gail Gerhart, "raised the level of political education and ideological diffusion never before achieved by any black [South African] political organization."² In the black freedom struggles in the United States and South Africa in the 1960s, black student activism played a significant role and made distinctive contributions to the larger campaigns for social and political change. In this essay I will examine black student activism at three historically black, public universities in the 1960s and 1970s—

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Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the University of the North and the University of the Western Cape in South Africa—focusing on the patterns of student protests and the responses of university and government officials to student activism.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

While the launching of Montgomery Bus Boycott organized in December 1955 was generally considered the beginning of the "modern" Civil Rights Movement (CRM) in the United States, sociologist Aldon Morris in his book The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change, published in 1984, argued that the bus boycott organized in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in 1953, and led by Baptist minister Rev. T. J. Jemison, served as the model for the protest launched in Montgomery almost two years later. In Baton Rouge, the mobilization of the black community through church leadership, the formation of alternative means of transportation, and the filing of lawsuits to challenge segregation on public transit in the state and federal courts in Louisiana served as the model for activities that would take place in Montgomery, Alabama. Rev. Jemison became an important advisor to Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association during their year-long bus protest.3

According to Rev. T. J. Jemison, in the period between 1953 and 1960, African Americans in Baton Rouge made some attempts to desegregate eating establishments in the downtown areas, and these efforts were often led by students from Southern University. Students who belonged to the NAACP Youth Council had participated in sit-in protests at restaurants in several southern and border cities in the late 1950s. In August 1958, thirty-five members of the NAACP Youth Council in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, under the leadership of Clara Luper, occupied all the seats at the Kress store, and were initially refused service. But when they returned a second day, they were served.4 In Wichita, Kansas, in September 1958, NAACP Youth Council members conducted sit-ins at Dockum Drug Store for four consecutive days, and were finally served on the fourth day. NAACP Youth Council members conducted sit-ins in restaurants in other cities in Oklahoma and Kansas, as well as North Carolina in 1958.5 However, because the NAACP was under attack in many southern states for its attempts to sue state officials to bring about the desegregation of local public schools, the association's leaders issued statements calling on NAACP Youth Councils to refrain from engaging in these protest activities. The NAACP officials felt that they had their hands full trying to deal with the legislation that attempted to ban the group from operating in various southern states.6

Rev. T. J. Jemison recalled in an interview that students from Southern University participated in lunch counter protests at the Kress store and other restaurants in Baton Rouge in the late 1950s. According to Dean Sinclair, "Jemison reports that during this period, students from Southern University who trained at his church would arrive at a lunch counter individually or in small groups in the afternoon after the lunch time rush and sit in the 'whites only' area and try and get served." In some instances after the police had been alerted, the students were served, and then were asked to leave.7

Thus even before the launching of the student-led civil rights protests in 1960, black students played significant roles in civil rights activities in various parts of the South. Two patterns had emerged by the late 1950s. Students attending colleges and universities in
cities and towns where the local black community had launched protest movements participated in these civil rights campaigns. In the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, bus boycott in 1953, Southern University students refused to ride the buses and supported the local protests, as was the case with Alabama State College students in Montgomery during that year-long boycott campaign. In Tallahassee, the arrest of two students from Florida A&M University, Wilhemina Jakes and Carrie Patterson, in May 1956 for refusing to move to the rear of the bus served as the precipitating event in the local bus boycott. Florida A&M students and faculty members worked closely with Rev. C. K. Steele in carrying out a civil rights campaign that lasted over eight months.8 In other southern cities and towns where black colleges were located, when members of the local black community launched a series of civil rights protests in the 1950s, black students were active participants.9

The second pattern was for black students to initiate their own protests that were sometimes supported and expanded by members of the local black communities. This was the case with the protests and sit-ins organized by the members of the NAACP Youth Councils in Kansas, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and other states. The major difference between student sit-ins in the late 1950s and those launched in February 1960 was that the latter protest ushered in a new phase in the black freedom struggle in the United States led by black and white students.

After the North Carolina A&T students launched the sit-in campaigns in Greensboro on 1 February 1960, they were followed within a week by black and white college students in Raleigh and Durham. And according to Clayborne Carson, by the end of that second week, "more sit-ins had occurred in the North Carolina communities of Charlotte, Fayetteville, High Point, Elizabeth City, and Concord. On February 10 [1960], Hampton, Virginia became the first city outside North Carolina to experience student sit-ins. Protests occurred soon afterward in the Virginia cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth. By the end of February, Nashville, Chattanooga, Richmond, Baltimore, Montgomery, and Lexington were among the over thirty communities in seven states to experience sit-ins. The protests reached the remaining southern states by mid-April."10

Southern University student Major Johns asked Rev. T. J. Jemison to discuss the possible spread of the student sit-in movement to Louisiana at a meeting held on campus on 7 March 1960. On 16 March 1960, however, the State Board of Education, which had authority over Southern University, issued a statement that "warned all college presidents in Louisiana under its jurisdiction that they are expected to take stern disciplinary action against any student or students involved in incidents which would discredit the institution or the state educational system."11 Southern University president Felton G. Clark, who had kept the school under tight reins since 1938 when he took over the presidency from his father James Clark, issued directives informing staff and students about the State Board's directive and asked Baton Rouge community leaders to discourage students from participating in demonstrations. However, on Monday, 28 March, seven Southern University students conducted a sit-in at the Kress store lunch counter and within 20 minutes were arrested. Although the bond was set at $1,500 each, it was soon raised by a local citizens' committee formed within the black community, and the students were released. The following day, two more Southern students were arrested after sitting in at Sitman's Drug Store, and seven other students were arrested for sitting in at the lunch counter at the Greyhound Bus Terminal. Upon hearing of the latest arrests, on Wednesday
morning, 30 March, approximately 3,000 Southern students marched through downtown Baton Rouge to the state capital buildings and held a rally and prayer vigil. When President Clark learned of the sit-ins and marches, he called a meeting of several faculty members and administrators and soon announced that the 16 students who had been arrested, and Major Johns who organized the rally and prayer vigil, had been expelled from the university. The following day, hundreds of students held a rally on campus and decided to boycott classes in support of the 17 expelled students.12

James McCain, a field organizer for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), arrived in Baton Rouge from New Orleans to offer his and the organization's support to the student protesters. Two days into the boycott, President Clark ordered university staff to begin contacting parents to inform them that their children were engaging in "riotous behavior" on campus. This move backfired, however, and parents began summoning their sons and daughters home. Hundreds of students began submitting withdrawal slips. To try and halt the withdrawals from the university, Clark announced that the slips were only valid if co-signed by parents. On 2 April, Rev. Jemison and other Baton Rouge leaders offered to negotiate a settlement and held several meetings with Clark and members of his staff. President Clark also agreed to meet with eight of the expelled students. Following that meeting, the eight students announced their intention to leave the university, but urged the others to return to class. Though disappointed, most students accepted the student leaders' recommendation to end the boycott.13

The following day, however, President Clark demonstrated bad faith by ordering the expulsion of another student. Student leaders rallied those on campus and urged them to withdraw from the university. Although the local citizens' committee that had raised the bail money for students was discouraged by President Clark from providing funds for transportation home, by the weekend hundreds of students had abandoned the campus. Over 1,000 students attended another rally on campus on Monday, 4 April, including the remaining nine students who had been bailed out of jail by the local citizens' committee. Although estimates differ, between 700 and 1,000 students left Southern University, never to return.14

Because of the decision on the part of Rev. Jemison and the local citizens' committee to urge students not to withdraw from Southern University altogether and the black community's failure to sustain the economic boycott of downtown merchants who practiced racial discrimination, Adam Fairclough in his book Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Movement in Louisiana, 1915–1972 concluded that "the 1960 student sit-ins flopped" in Baton Rouge. However, while the economic boycotts in the wake of the 1960 student sit-ins may not have been successful in Baton Rouge, they were effective in cities and towns in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and other southern states. Indeed, at Jackson State University, where students had not engaged in sit-ins, they worked with the local black committee to create an effective boycott of downtown merchants during the Easter holidays.15

Moreover, Fairclough failed to make the connection between the important U.S. Supreme Court decision in Garner v. Louisiana (1961) and the sit-ins launched by Southern University students in 1960. Convicted of "disturbing the peace" on 2 June 1960, the 17 students were sentenced to 30 days in jail and $100 fines each or 90 days in jail. Their NAACP attorneys managed to obtain a 60-day stay of execution pending appeal. On 5
October the Louisiana supreme court upheld the convictions. However, led by NAACP Legal Defense Fund's Jack Greenburg, the convictions were appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, and in the first ruling stemming directly from the student sit-ins, the justices held that there was no evidence to suggest that the students' "peaceful and orderly conduct" could be considered "disturbing the peace" and the convictions were overturned. Justice William O. Douglas went further in his opinion, arguing that privately owned lunch counters operated under public licenses and these facilities were open to the public. Therefore, discriminatory practices enforced by state law constituted denials of equal protection.16

Throughout the remainder of the 1960s student activism at Southern University followed the patterns that emerged in 1960. In December 1961 and January 1962, Southern students who were arrested for participating in nonviolent demonstrations at downtown Baton Rouge department stores were also expelled from the university by President Clark. In response the student body rallied and launched a boycott of classes that disrupted the entire spring 1962 semester. Hundreds of students withdrew from the university and never returned.17 Southern students and former students who became civil rights activists working for CORE in Louisiana launched a "wade-in" in July 1963 at the "whites only" swimming pool in Baton Rouge's City Park, and called for the boycott of any businesses in the entire metropolitan region engaged in racially discriminatory practices. The threat of another boycott in 1963 led to the end of discriminatory practices at twelve white-owned businesses in the area.18

With the coming of the Black Power Movement in 1966 and the increase in black student activism on college campuses around the country, Southern University in Baton Rouge, and its branch campus in New Orleans, became sites of resistance. Although Leon Netterville replaced Felton Clark as president of Southern University in 1968, Netterville's policies and responses to demands for change were no less authoritarian. For example, when the members of the newly established Afro-American Association called for the inclusion of Black Studies programs and courses on both campuses, President Netterville refused to even acknowledge the request. In New Orleans, when several students replaced the American flag with the Black Liberation flag on the campus flagpole, the New Orleans Chief of Police Joseph Giarusso used this as an excuse to send police to invade the campus and attack the students. Violence erupted between the students and police, and 20 students were arrested. Southern University students on both campuses began a series of demonstrations over the arrests, and launched a boycott of classes. In May 1969 Governor John McKeithen ordered the state national guard to occupy both campuses, and the guardsmen remained until the end of the semester.19

At Southern University, the largest public black college in the United States throughout the 1960s, certain patterns of student protest emerged in 1960 and persisted throughout the decade. Students organized or joined in nonviolent direct action protests launched by the local black community, and many were arrested. When the student protesters were expelled from the university, rallies were held on campus and classes were boycotted. In every instance the university administration cooperated with the police and sought to prevent student activists from returning to campus. In the wake of the actions on the part of the university officials, students withdrew from the university, and many never returned. In virtually every instance, the social changes demanded by student activists were eventually made, including the end of racially discriminatory practices at local stores,
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Restaurants, and other public accommodations; and the creation of a Black Studies program at the university.20

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT ORGANIZATION (SASO)

In the United States, in addition to dozens of private colleges and universities often affiliated with religious denominations, separate publicly supported black colleges and universities were established in each of the southern states to comply with the terms of the Second Morrill Act, passed by the U.S. Congress in 1890. To receive federal land grant funds, states with dual systems of public education had to designate one institution as the "black" land grant institution, and federal funding was supposed to be distributed "equitably" between the black and white colleges. In South Africa before 1960, the only historically "black" college was the University College at Fort Hare, formerly the South African Native College, founded in 1916 through donations and contributions from Scottish Presbyterian missionaries. Beginning in 1923 Fort Hare began to receive substantial financial support from the South African government, and eventually offered courses of study in liberal arts, social sciences, African languages, sciences, medical education, agriculture, and the laws related to "native administration."21 In his autobiography Long Walk to Freedom Nelson Mandela pointed out that "until 1960, the University College of Fort Hare . . . was the only residential center of higher education for blacks in South Africa. Fort Hare was more than that: it was a beacon for African students from all over Southern, Central, and Eastern Africa."22

Mandela received his B.A. from Fort Hare in 1941, and in 1951 the college was completely removed from the more liberal administration of the Presbyterian missionaries and placed under the control of administrators at the all-white Rhodes University in Grahamstown. In keeping with the development of "Bantu Education" under the system of legal apartheid established by the Afrikaner-Nationalist government that came to power in 1948, Fort Hare was placed under the control of the Minister of Bantu Education in 1960, and designated specifically as a college for the Xhosa and Sotho peoples of the Ciskei.23

The increasing demands in the late 1940s and 1950s on the part of the black majority in South Africa for access to institutions of higher education led to the creation of four separate public universities in 1960.24 In 1953 the Bantu Education Act created the Department of Bantu Education, headed by the Minister of Bantu Education. Under the terms of the Extension of University Education Act, (1959) University College of the North at Turfloop in north Transvaal was opened for Sotho-Tsonga and Venda peoples; University College of Zululand at Ngoye in Natal was opened for the Zulu and Swazi peoples; University College of Durban was designated for Asians (East Indians); and the University of the Western Cape in Belleville near Cape Town was opened for the Coloured (mixed race) population. All were considered colleges affiliated with the University of South Africa; however, the state-controlled institutions were placed under the authority of the Department of Bantu Education.25

As was the case at historically black universities in the United States, black student activism in South Africa was intimately connected to the larger developments in the black freedom struggle, and the year 1960 also ushered in a new, more militant phase of black resistance. In Sharpville, South Africa, 35 miles south of Johannesburg, on the afternoon of
21 March 1960, several thousand Africans surrounded the police station where several militant Pan-African Congress leaders were being held. The police, who were outnumbered, ordered the crowd to disperse, panicked, and began firing at the demonstrators, who turned and ran in fear. When the shooting ended, 69 African men, women, and children were dead (many shot in the back), and over 400 were injured. The massacre sparked demonstrations and protests throughout South Africa and in various other parts of the world. When rioting erupted in Cape Town during a protest rally of 50,000 people, the apartheid government declared a State of Emergency and South Africa was under martial law.

The African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-African Congress (PAC), which had been committed to nonviolence in their campaigns to end apartheid and the Afrikaner policy of "separate development," and to gain "one man, one vote" in the political arena, shifted their strategies in the wake of the Sharpville massacre. The ANC created "Umkhonto we Sizwe" (Spear of the Nation), which engaged in sabotage against the apartheid government, and the PAC formed POQO (We Stand Alone), which pursued acts of terrorism against the non-black population. The increased state repression in the form of mass arrests, incarceration, bannings, torture, and clandestine executions that began in the mid-1960s created a political vacuum for black South African activism that was soon filled by students.

Prior to December 1968, although it was officially banned from black college campuses, black African university students belonged to the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), a multiracial student organization dominated by liberal white South African students. "Despite its multiracial membership," wrote South African historian Martin Legassick, "NUSAS was essentially white-populated, white financed, white-led and white controlled, although its policies ran counter to the nationally dominant white consensus." Black African students were not only marginal to the organization, they "in some instances were callously used and manipulated as symbols of NUSAS' integrated nonracialism." In 1966 the University Christian Movement was formed as another multiracial organization opposed to apartheid, but within a year it had a black majority and was serving as a vehicle for dialogue among non-white students. This dialogue and communication further demonstrated to non-white students the need for their own organization that would reflect their distinct needs and objectives under the apartheid regime. In December 1968 a group of non-white students meeting at Marianhill called for the formation of the South African Students Organization (SASO), which was officially organized at the University of the North at Turfloop in July 1969.

Steven Biko, who later became the leading spokesperson for the "Black Consciousness Movement," was SASO's first president, and in his book of essays I Write What I Like he argued that the formation of a separate student organization for non-white students was long overdue and represented independence from liberal white control. Because the organization was made up solely of non-whites—indigenous Africans, Coloured (mixed race), and Indian students—did not necessarily mean that it was "militant" or "racially inclined," but that non-white students had come to recognize their obligation to participate in the larger freedom struggle. "What SASO has done is simply to take stock of the present scene in the country and to realize that unless the non-white students decide to lift themselves from the doldrums will they ever get out of them. What we want is not black
visibility, but real black participation.30 Barney Pityana, who also served as a president of SASO, was even more explicit about these connections:

Black students owe their first allegiance to the black community with whom they share the burdens and injustices of apartheid... It is essential for the black students to strive to elevate the level of consciousness of the black community in promoting awareness, pride, achievement, and capabilities. In the long run this will prove more valuable than the sentimental and idealistic attitude of perpetually trying to ‘bridge the gap’ between the races.31

Within the Black Consciousness Movement in general, and SASO in particular, the term "black" was used to designate all non-whites, including the Coloureds and East Indians. In a discussion of this important ideological innovation on the part of the students, M. O. Nkomo in Student Culture and Activism in Black South African Universities: The Roots of Resistance, pointed out that "ethnicity [was] viewed by SASO as contrary to its philosophy and the interest of black people. . . . 'Black' referred not only to Africans, but Coloureds and Indians—an extraordinarily significant development given the State’s avowed policy of ethnic and racial separation." One result was that SASO was popular among Indian students at the University College in Durban, and many of the officers were of Indian descent.32

The political arm of the Black Consciousness Movement took the form of the Black Peoples Convention (BPC), which was formed in 1971 and served as an umbrella organization for all black consciousness groups. The Black Community Program, formed in 1972, grew out of the BPC and sought to provide food, clothing, and other resources to blacks in the urban areas and rural townships in need of assistance. The purpose was to promote self-reliance and self-help among all black groups in South Africa. In addition to SASO, other groups affiliated with the BPC included the Black Allied Workers Union, the National Youth Organization, and the South African Student Movement (SASM), formed in 1972 among high school students in Soweto and other townships in the Transvaal. By the time of the Soweto uprisings by high school students in Johannesburg in June 1976, SASM was a truly national youth organization, with branches in Cape Town, the Transvaal, the Eastern Cape, and Durban.33

BLACK POWER AND THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

In the United States the demands of the black freedom struggle shifted virtually overnight from civil rights to Black Power in the summer of 1966. Stokely Carmichael, the chairman of SNCC, popularized the new demand for Black Power during the "Memphis to Mississippi March" begun by James Meredith, who on 6 June 1966, the second day of the March, was shot in the back. Meredith's march was soon taken up by Martin Luther King, Jr., Floyd McKissick, and other civil rights leaders, and in Greenwood, Mississippi, Carmichael seized the moment to announce the new, more militant objective for black political and economic mobilization. The coming of the Black Power Movement not only signaled a significant challenge to the nonviolent strategies associated with SNCC, CORE, and King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), but also represented an
ideological change for African American students, such as those at Southern University, who in the late 1960s organized Black Student Unions, and other groups that called for the creation of Black Studies programs, black cultural centers, and an increase in the number of black students and faculty at historically white colleges and universities.\textsuperscript{34}

The demand for Black Power was echoed in other parts of the world, and oppressed peoples of African descent in the Caribbean, South America, and Africa adopted the slogan and applied specific meanings, strategies, and objectives based on the local circumstances for the African populations.\textsuperscript{35} With the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa in 1968, Stephen Biko and the other black leaders were accused of importing the militant "Black Power" slogan from United States. Indeed, there were important transnational linkages between Black Power in the United States and Black Consciousness in South Africa. For example, Robert Fatton in his book \textit{Black Consciousness in South Africa} argued that "what the American Black Power ideology provided was a theoretical source for the renewal of black South African thinking. . . . The black South African intelligentsia discovered in Black Power ideology the basis for generating a new theoretical paradigm, but one which had to be adapted and reconciled with its own peculiar conditions."

Stephen Biko was arrested in 1976 and placed on trial by the Afrikaner-dominated South African government, accused of importing into South Africa the militant, "anti-white" values associated in many people's minds with Black Power in the U.S. At his trial, however, when these accusations were made, Biko responded that Black Consciousness and Black Power were not the same concepts. "I think the end result of the goal of Black Power is fundamentally different from the goal of Black consciousness in this country [South Africa]. . . . Black Power is the preparation of a group for participation in an already established society, and Black Power therefore in the States operates like a minority philosophy." In South Africa the black population was in the majority, and their empowerment could result in sweeping social changes. "Blacks are out to completely transform the system and to make it what they wish. Such a major undertaking can only be realized in an atmosphere where people are convinced of the truth inherent in their stand. Liberation therefore is of paramount importance in the concept of Black consciousness, for we cannot be conscious of ourselves and yet remain in bondage."\textsuperscript{36}

Thus, despite the obvious similarities between legal segregation in the United States and government-sponsored apartheid in South Africa, the black freedom struggles in the two societies had fundamental differences. Whereas "Black liberation" in the U.S. as a movement sought the inclusion and recognition of African Americans as a distinct cultural group within the U.S. political system, in South Africa black political empowerment would mean a shift in control of the political structures and institutions from the white minority to the black majority.

In the case of the separate universities established and controlled by the state in the U.S. and South Africa, the patterns of black student protest had important similarities and distinct differences. At the University of the North (U.N.) in May 1972 there were mass expulsions of the students following a speech by Abraham Tiro, an officer in SASO. When Tiro was expelled for the speech, over 1,100 students marched on the administration building. The police were called by the Rector J. L. Boshof, and Tiro fled to Botswana. While there Tiro received a parcel bomb that exploded and killed him. In September 1974 a rally was organized at the University of the North by SASO in support of the
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Mocambiquan liberation group FRELIMO, fighting to end Portuguese colonial power in southern Africa. During the rally stones were thrown at white security personnel on campus and the state security police were called in and arrested two members of the U.N. Student Representative Council (SRC), Jeremiah Nefolorhodwe and Kanuda Sedibe. Hundreds of students then marched on the police station at Mankoen with a petition calling for the release of the student leaders. Classes were boycotted until the end of the school year (November 1974) and in subsequent petitions the students not only demanded that university officials intervene on behalf of detained student leaders, but called for the "Africanization of the university." It was reported that in 1960 when U.N. opened, there were 5 indigenous Africans on the teaching staff, and 17 whites; by 1974 there 52 blacks on the staff and 98 whites. The students demanded that the faculty and staff at the university reflect the realities in South Africa. "The University is not an isolated world. It is effected by what happens outside. The real answers lie outside the University of the North." 37

The Africanization of the university was one of the issues that sparked widespread student protests and boycotts at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in Belleville in May 1973. The Coloured students at UWC had not been engaged in widespread protest. In May 1973 SASO president Henry Isaacs, a UWC graduate and law student, spoke at the University of Cape Town and denounced the conditions at the black universities and called for more black lecturers. It was reported that Isaacs declared that "only Blacks themselves could preserve their culture, and culture was a necessary function of the university." At that time students at UWC were not allowed to hold meetings without the consent of university officials, could not join "unapproved groups," and could not invite their own speakers to campus. 38

Henry Isaacs was expelled from the university for making these remarks, and security police raided the homes of UWC students and arrested 11 students who were SASO members. Students marched on the nearby Caledon Square police station, and after several hours the SASO members were released. UWC students launched a boycott of classes, which led to the closing of the university; and they formulated a long list of grievances. They decried the absence of black professors, racist attitudes and behavior toward the students by white professors and staff, discrepancies in the salaries between white and black staff members, poor housing conditions, and oppressive rules and regulations, such as the refusal to allow the SRC to choose its own speakers. The student unrest continued into July 1973 when Henry Isaacs was officially "banned" by Afrikaner government officials and prevented from meeting with large groups of people and speaking in public. 39

After the university was reopened, Bantu Education Minister M. C. Botha appointed a commission to investigate the disturbances at UWC, and the Van Wyk Commission released its report in March 1974. It was reported that there was great dissatisfaction among the Coloured people in general over "the attitudes, practices, and laws which differentiated between whites and Coloured" and the fact that conservative whites controlled UWC. However, the commissioners blamed all the disturbances and unrest on SASO members "who provoked confrontations that led to the closure of the university. The students were ignorant of SASO's real intentions." The expulsion and banning of Henry Isaacs and other SASO members was necessary because it was clear that they "were going ahead with plans to cause more unrest on campus, to influence the staff association [Black Administrators and Staff Association—BASA], and to organize boycotts aimed at closing the university."
With regard to the hiring of Coloured faculty and staff, the commission recommended that "replacement of whites by Coloured persons should take place on a voluntary basis."\textsuperscript{40}

The government's attacks on SASO, including the "banning" of its officers, continued and in November 1974 and January and February 1975, 13 members of SASO and the Black People's Convention (BPC) were arrested and held on Robben Island Prison for five months, where it was reported that they were subjected to brutal assaults by prison officials. While three detainees were eventually discharged, the so-called "SASO Nine" went on trial in Pretoria in May 1975. Unlike members of ANC, the SASO Nine were not accused of "acts of terrorism," but according to state prosecutor Cecil Rees, "the accused conspired to commit acts to bring revolutionary change in South Africa and were involved in a course of preparation which aimed at recruiting blacks to form a black power bloc hostile to whites." In what was at that time the longest trial in South African history (136 days), the SASO Nine were found guilty in December 1975, and sentenced to 5 or 6 years in prison on Robben Island.\textsuperscript{41}

**CONCLUSION**

This examination of the strategies and objectives of black student protests at historically black public universities in the U.S. and South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s reveals several patterns. Black student activism either on campus or in the larger society should be viewed within the context of the larger black freedom struggles taking place in the United States and South Africa during those decades. In the case of state-controlled colleges and universities, such as Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and the University of the North and the University of the Western Cape in South Africa, state authorities demanded that students who participated in protests and demonstrations be severely disciplined or expelled from the university. When university officials acted on those state-imposed regulations, these expulsions triggered protests, marches, boycotts of classes, and other demonstrations that led to the closing of the universities.

Black students in the U.S. and South Africa were willing to sacrifice their education and withdraw from the university altogether when their demands were not met and changes and improvements were not forthcoming. In many instances these students never returned to the university, or did not return until years later, but often became full-time political organizers, committing their lives and futures to the larger black freedom struggle.\textsuperscript{42} Black student activism on campus thus served as the training ground for participation in the larger freedom struggles. Moreover, the protests and expulsions at Southern University led to the Supreme Court decision in *Gardner v. Louisiana*, which ruled that students who were arrested in nonviolent protests could not be expelled from the university. And in the late 1960s student protests, marches, and boycotts led to the establishment of Black Studies programs at colleges and universities throughout the United States.\textsuperscript{43} At the University of the North and the University of the Western Cape, student protests hastened the eventual "Africanization of the university," which was acknowledged as a legitimate demand in the reports issued following the investigations of the student revolts.

Whereas in South Africa black student activism continued in the 1980s and 1990s, there was a significant decrease in black and white student activism in the U.S. after 1972. Many black and white students in the U.S. participated in the South African "divestment
patterns of student activism

campaigns" and the "Free South Africa" movement, and organized protests to obtain Chicano Studies, Gay and Lesbian Studies, and Multicultural courses and programs at U.S. colleges and universities in the 1980s and 1990s. However, these activities were not as pervasive on college campuses as the earlier civil rights, antiwar, and student rights campaigns that came to define American higher education in the 1960s.\textsuperscript{44} And in South Africa in the 1980s and 1990s, the "black consciousness" movement gave way to "non-racial coalitions" open to progressive blacks and whites committed to overthrowing the apartheid regime.\textsuperscript{45} After the banning of SASO and the leaders of the Black Consciousness movement, progressive whites, black Africans, Indians, and Coloureds came together in 1983 to form the United Democratic Front, and embraced the African National Congress's 1955 "Freedom Charter," which, according to Nelson Mandela, called for "the abolition of racial discrimination and the achievement of equal rights for all. It welcomes all who embrace freedom to participate in the making of a democratic, non-racial South Africa."\textsuperscript{46} The alliance between the African National Congress and United Democratic Front gained the allegiance of progressive South African students—black and white—in the successful campaign to overthrow the apartheid regime in South Africa.\textsuperscript{47} However, in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States and South Africa at historically black public universities, black student activism was tied to the larger black freedom struggles whose aims were an end to racial inequalities and legalized segregation in both societies—on and off campus.

NOTES


\textsuperscript{2} Gail Gerhart, Black Power in South Africa (Berkeley, CA, 1978), 270.


\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., 90 & 105.

\textsuperscript{6} For information on the "Kill the NAACP" campaign in southern states in the late 1950s, see ibid., 48 & 91; and Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement.


\textsuperscript{8} For accounts of the civil rights protests in Tallahassee, FL, see Collier-Thomas and Franklin, My Soul Is a Witness, 45, 55, 58, 62, 79, 85, & 95.

\textsuperscript{9} For an examination of the role of black students at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg in the civil rights protests in that local community, see William Hine, "Civil Rights and Campus Wrongs: South Carolina State College Students' Protests, 1955–1968," South Carolina Historical Magazine 4 (October 1996): 310–33.

\textsuperscript{10} Carson, In Struggle, 11.

\textsuperscript{11} Baton Rouge State Times, 16 March 1960.

\textsuperscript{12} For accounts of the responses of the Southern University administration to the student sit-ins, see Martin L. Harvey, Dean of Students, to Parents of Southern University Students, Memorandum, 31 March 1960; "Statement by the President," Felton Clark, 2 April 1960, in Felton Clark Papers, Southern University Archives (SUA).

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.; see also Felton Clark, "To All Alumni and Friends," 8 April 1960, Felton Clark Papers, SUA.


Whereas Fairclough mentioned *Garner v. Louisiana* outside the context of the 1960 Southern University student demonstrations (p. 280), in the pamphlet issued as part of the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the 1960 student sit-in, the Supreme Court decision was highlighted as one of the protesters' most significant achievements. See *They Refused to Be Refused: The 25th Anniversary of Student Protest at Southern University*, Program of Activities (Baton Rouge, Southern University, 22 February 1985), Felton Clark Papers, SUA.


The protests at Southern University's two branches were covered in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 3, 7, 10 April 1969; and 10, 13, 15, 20, 21 May 1969. See also Raphael Cassimere, "Crisis in Public Higher Education in Louisiana," *Integrated Education* 13 (September 1975): 10–14.


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Sinclair, "Equal in All Places," 365–66. Southern University instituted courses in Black Studies, formed a Black Studies program at the Baton Rouge campus, and established the Center for African and American Studies at the New Orleans campus. These programs continue to the present day.


Ajayi et al. in *The African Experience with Higher Education* (71) pointed out that "out of about 5,000 students in Cape Town in 1959 on the eve of the enforcement of Bantu higher education, there were 462 Coloured, 133 Asians, and only 39 Africans; out of little over 5,000 at Witwatersrand (Wits) there were 193 Asians, 74 Africans, and only 30 Coloured."

Ibid., 70–73. Ethnic universities that came into existence after 1960 included University of Venda, University of the Transkei, University of Qwa Qwa, University of Bophuthatswana (Bop), and the Medical University of University of South Africa (MEDUNSA).


I have begun to collect newspaper accounts and other materials on the impact of the Black Power Movement on the United States and other parts of the world. There have also begun to appear some works on the influence of Black Power groups on U.S. culture and society; see Rod Bush, *We Are Not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle in the American Century* (New York, 1999); Komoloi Woodward, *A Nation Within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) and Black Power Politics* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1999); and Peniel Joseph, ed., "Introduction to Black Power Studies: Special Issue of The Black Scholar," *Black Scholar* 31 (Fall/Winter 2001): 2–67.
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37*Rand Daily Mail* (Johannesburg, South Africa), 19 October 1974. Statement by M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Education, 10 February 1976, "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Matters Relating to the University of the North." The report noted "the Africanization of the controlling bodies as well as posts . . . is no new concept, but a logical result of government policy." Mayibuye Archives, UWC.

38Reports on the unrest among students at UWC are found in *Rand Daily Mail*, 24, 26 May, 21 July 1973; *Cape Town Herald* (South Africa), 26, 29 May, 8 August 1973; *Cape Town Argus* 28, 29 May 1973; Newspaper Clipping Collection, MA-UWC.

39The UWC students' list of grievances was reprinted in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 July 1973.

40The findings of the Van Wyk Commission were published in *Cape Town Argus*, 1 March 1974; *Cape Times*, 1 March 1974; Newspaper Clippings Collection, MA-UWC. See also Nkomo, *Student Culture and Activism*, 167.

41Many newspaper accounts of the arrest and trial of the "SASO Nine" are found in the Newspaper Clipping Collection at MA-UWC. See *Daily Dispatch*, 22 May, 5 & 10 July, 8 & 12 August 1975; 19 December 1975. See also Fatton, *Black Consciousness in South Africa*, 121–24.

42This was definitely the case for the students who formed SNCC in the early 1960s. They became full-time civil rights organizers. See Carson *In Struggle*, 19–31, passim.


47For an examination of the role of Coloured students at the University of the Western Cape in the educational changes that took place in South Africa in the 1980s and 1990s, see Gregory M. Anderson, *Building a People's University in South Africa: Race, Compensatory Education, and the Limits of Democratic Action* (New York, 2002).