

**February 1979**



# SASH



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## Dedication...

**I**N pride and humbleness we declare our devotion to the land of South Africa, we dedicate ourselves to the service of our country. We pledge ourselves to uphold the ideals of mutual trust and forbearance, of sanctity of word, of courage for the future, and of peace and justice for all persons and peoples. We pledge ourselves to resist any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us, and that history and our children will defend us.

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

## Toewydingsrede...

**M**ET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land. Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf van onderlinge vertroue en verdraagsaamheid, van die onskendbaarheid van beloftes, van moed vir die toekoms, van vrede en regverdigheid teenoor alle persone en rasse. Ons beloop plegtig om ons te verset teen enige vermindering hiervan, oortuig dat hierdie plig ons opgelê is en dat die geskiedenis en ons kinders ons sal regverdig.

Mag God ons help, op Wie se krag ons ons verlaat.



# The Black Sash Die Swart Serp

**T**HE Information scandal has blown up and burst. The Erasmus Commission has brought out its report. Dr Mulder has reluctantly resigned as a Cabinet Minister, although at the time of writing he has not yet resigned as MP. To crown it all, the Commission gave the public an alarming glimpse of the extraordinary influence wielded by General van den Bergh over the supposedly immovable Mr Vorster. As the report states: 'He saw himself as the power behind the throne; through the person of Mr Vorster, he tried to manipulate events in the direction that he wanted them to go...'

The report exonerates Mr Vorster and Mr Botha. On the basis of the evidence contained in it other people may conclude differently.

There were individuals who stood out by their refusal to meekly accept Dr Mulder's dictate that the end — the so-called defence of South Africa against its enemies — justified the means. General Magnus Malan, head of the Defence Force, refused to 'have my Department used as an excuse or explanation for State expenditure which in no way could be linked with us' and regarded the 'procedure as unethical and irregular'. (RDM, 6/13/1978). Some civil servants were sickened by what was happening, and one, Mr Waldeck, has paid for his principles with early retirement. The national press showed great courage, particularly the 'Sunday Express' and the 'Rand Daily Mail'. To its credit the Afrikaans press was appalled and refused to be muzzled, unlike the SABC. 'Die Beeld' justified its decision to publish the statement asking: 'Do we want a Pravda press?'

And yet what has changed basically?

Having given evidence to the Commission, Dr Eschel Rhodie was allowed to leave the country with amazing ease, and his whereabouts are apparently still unknown. The Commission will not release the evidence given before it because 'persons involved in the irregularities have refused to return to South Africa'. General van den Bergh has not yet been charged with his public disparagement of some of the Commission's findings, yet SAAN, the editor and deputy financial editor of the 'Rand Daily Mail' were charged within 48 hours for allegedly anticipating the Commission's findings.

And the secret powers of Government remain. People are still being taken into 'preventive detention' or banned. Some have been incarcerated in these forms of silence for over a year. People

are still being given 72 hours to leave a 'prescribed area' and are still being deprived of their South African citizenship without consultation and against their will. The future of Crossroads remains as precarious as ever. Freedom of speech in this country looks ever more threatened after Mr Botha's ominous threats of retaliation against the press made in early November.

Most important, the power of men in high places to wield extra-legal power in the alleged national interest remains unchanged.

For many of us in the Black Sash the whole Information affair was squalid, but scarcely surprising. The past 30 years of Nationalist rule have seen the wholesale substitution of the Rule by Law by rules by law. What appears to count, if you are the Government, is not actions and the responsibility for those rules, but unfavourable criticism and the revelation of unpalatable facts.



*Leslie Hermer taking her turn in the Johannesburg Black Sash stand*

# Doing more by doing less

Leon Louw

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*Mr Louw is the executive director of the (SA) Free Market Foundation*

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**I** LIKE Communists. Do you know why? Because the Government doesn't like them!

Thus does Styles in 'Siswe Bansi is dead' symbolise the many blacks (and whites) who dislike free enterprise because the Government says it likes it.

Now pure free enterprise, or rather the free market, is simply liberty: a system in which there is no government ownership or interference with volitional human action. That is, individuals may do as they please except initiate force or fraud against anyone else or their property. This distinguishes free markets from all other systems which have in common the imposition of governmental will by force. In a totally free (market) society governments may not do to people what the latter may not do to each other under the common law.

The primary free market argument is moral, not economic liberty. The fact that it also produces and distributes wealth more abundantly and equitably than any other system is a fortunate bonus.

How does this apply to South Africa? We have a 'mixed system' (as do all countries, even Communist ones) in which there is, to some extent, virtually every intervention in the book. There are over 4 000 Acts on the Statute Book, 56 applying specifically to blacks and most containing economic interventions. (The average person knows 40 000 words in his or her mother tongue.)

Most of the evils attributed to free enterprise are either false or the results of intervention. A free market would solve these evils, and most other major problems.

## Economic problems

'Freedom is not worth having unless it connotes the right to err.' Mahatma Ghandi.

*The theory: voluntarism*

In a free society all human actions and interactions are mutually volitional and all mutually volitional actions are lawful.

As a fact of life all voluntary actions are aimed at exchanging existing situations for preferred situations. These actions constitute millions of 'signals' to 'the market' of individual values. The signals have an unpredictable ripple effect upon the values and actions of others. It is like a bell: if you strike it in one place

it rings all over. Thus people are led 'as if by an invisible hand', as Adam Smith put it, to a spontaneous order which always tends towards maximising the satisfaction of everyone's values — except of course those of megalomaniacs and demagogues.

All the planners with all the computers could clearly never monitor or respond to the 'signals' as do individuals transacting freely with each other. Accordingly intervention cannot improve the social framework.

## Profit

In a free market there are no losers, except by mistake, fraud or force. If people do not profit (in their own terms) they do not trade. When you buy a widget for five Rand you do so only because you prefer it to the five Rand and anything else you could have bought. The seller feels the other way around. Furthermore, the greater the seller's profit, the greater has been the subjective value of whatever he has supplied.

## Unemployment

These simple principles apply to all economics, including unemployment. Every unemployed worker's services are worth something, say X, and there is always someone seeking a profit by employing him or her at X minus Y. Why then unemployment? Because of interventions such as decentralisation laws which cause certain industries to use machines and not people, minimum wage laws (which prohibit workers, usually the more destitute, from getting jobs at below, say, Z), job reservation, influx control (which keeps job-seekers away from labour-shortage areas) and so on.

Free competition drives wages up and profits down. In general excessive intervention, bureaucracy and taxes prevent, as even Karl Marx conceded, long-term stability and wealth from developing on a scale beyond all former comprehension.

## Social problems

*'Charity should come from the donor's heart, not the do-gooder's gun.'*

There is no such thing as a free lunch. Governments cannot provide anything: they can only rob Peter to pay Paul. That is welfare statism. Capitalism is not anti-welfare. On the contrary, only it can produce enough for the needy. All



it stands for is volition. If you cannot persuade me to support Cripple Care instead of the Hermit Crab Campaign, so be it. Free people choose their own causes. If you condone the Robin Hood principle then you concede to whomever has power the right to prescribe your priorities.

### Discrimination

Economics is colour-blind. When you buy woblets you do not first ask the race, gender, religion or age of the person who made them.

If an employer pays less to brunettes than to blondes for the same output, or refuses to employ them even if they undercut blondes, competitors will simply entice brunettes away and out-compete the initial employer.

Discrimination pays only if laws support it.

In a free market freedom of association and contract permits people to discriminate if they choose. You may deal only with brunettes and teenagers if you prefer — but you must pay for it and you cannot force others to do likewise.

Equal pay laws are immoral, counter-productive and a subtle insult to the discriminated-against group, which is deprived of its main weapon, the right to undercut. Such laws in the US have led to 'Uncle Sam's Apartheid' in which 50 per cent of Negro youth have by now been disemployed.

### Housing

Building laws prohibit the provision of cheap private housing. In a free market people may build, buy and rent cheap accommodation of their choice. In places like Kenya housing problems have been solved by leaving the housing to the market.

Virtually all black grievances refer to interventions in the market, such as home ownership, transport, the lack of free collective bargaining, influx control, group areas, etc.

All we need do to electrify Soweto and provide adequate jobs, cheap housing or transport for blacks is to free the market in these areas.

### Political problems

Can the free market solve political problems?

Yes. The principal political issue in the world today concerns who shall wield the enormous powers assumed by governments. In a free market where there is minimal government, limited to protecting individuals from the violation of their common law rights, it makes little difference who votes. Whether there are homelands or a unitary state matters not in a free society, for if the country's constitution entrenches freedom effectively then people would not be concerned about who is in government. An unjust law remains unjust whether it has been passed in a democracy or a dictatorship.

### Conclusion

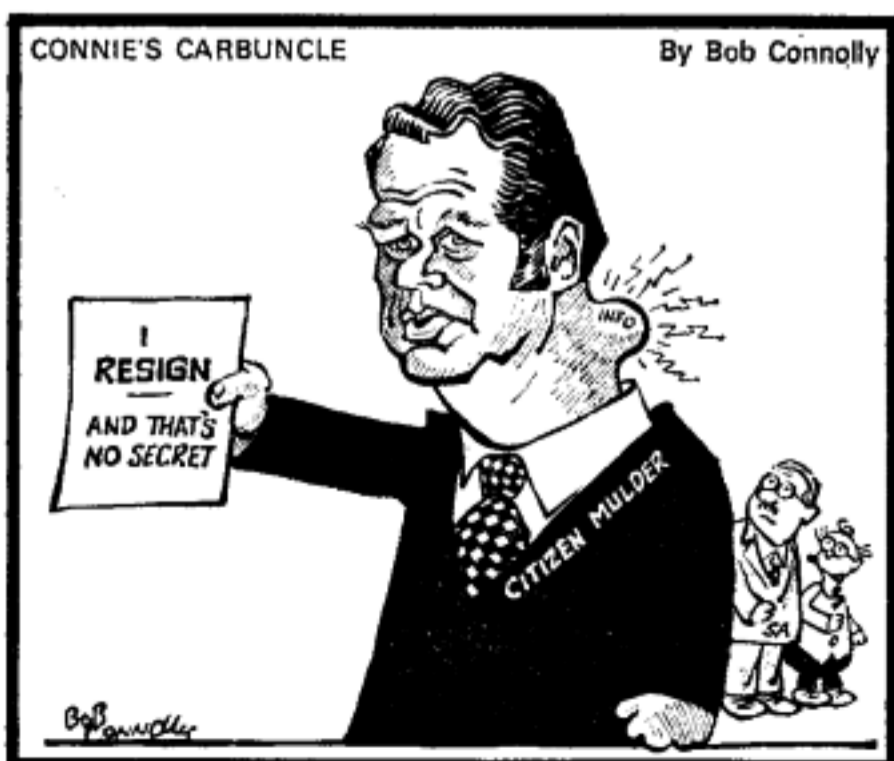
Some might say that a pure free market is too 'radical' and perhaps we should settle for a mixed but freer system. If so, the following problems must be recognised:

- a mixed system values something besides freedom, such as power
- all interventions are against some people in favour of others
- all interventions create distortions, which call for more interventions
- in the absence of an underlying economic principle society declines into 'gang warfare' for special favours.

In conclusion we might remember Benjamin Tucker's dialogue:

*King:* I require a prudent and capable man to manage the State affairs of my kingdom.

*Minister:* The criterion, O Sire?, of a wise and capable man is that he will not meddle with such matters.



**H**EAR this heartfelt cry from General Hendrik van den Bergh, former boss of BOSS, at his Press conference yesterday:

'I was not aware of any evidence which had been given beforehand. I was not aware that anyone had slandered me. I did not have the opportunity to be present for the testimony of anyone.'

'I did not have the opportunity to place anyone under cross-examination. I did not have the opportunity to appoint a legal representative who could place a person under cross-examination concerning me.'

The hearts of thousands of South African men and women, banned or detained over the years without charges or trial and without legal representation, will bleed for him.

THE STAR, 8/12/78

# Mdukutshani — a homeland

**Sheena Duncan**

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*In this article Mrs Duncan, director of the Johannesburg Advice Office, describes her visit to Mdukutshani*

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**M**DUKUTSHANI is a farm run by the Church Agricultural Project on so-called white land opposite and next to rural Kwa-Zulu. CAP used to operate in the Maria Ratchitz area but the notorious removals of 1968 to Limehill meant that new land had to be found if the Project was to fulfil its purpose.

The driving force which established the Project and which keeps it going and growing is Neil Alcock, whose burning enthusiasm is sometimes uncomfortable and always challenging and inspiring.

Mdukutshani lies along the Tugela river somewhere between Tugela Ferry and Weenen on the edge of the Msinga Reserve. Thembi Khumalo and I rode through the beautiful uplands of the Free State and Natal, passing farms and factories where machines work instead of men, then slid downhill into the heat to cross the broad brown river. To and from this river trudge women with plastic pails to draw the day's water. To fetch this one precious bucketful some will have spent almost as many hours as it has taken us to travel from Johannesburg, and this must be done and endured every day. What is left of time and energy for anything else?

In contrast to the emptiness of 'white' South Africa where a man is divided from his neighbours across his far-stretching acres, here there are people everywhere — people and goats.

At Mdukutshani the people who work on the farm, both black and white, live in scattered houses just like those of their neighbours in Kwa-Zulu. All of them, both black and white, earn no more than R30 per month. The river is bath and laundry and source of all household water. A water wheel made out of old motor car parts which normally pumps the water up the cliffside was temporarily out of order while we were there, so the farm people were once more carrying it up in buckets.

We city people for whom water gushes clean and cold from taps should give thanks constantly. There water is the subject of daily conversation. Muddy and lukewarm it means everything, and without it nothing can be accomplished.

Neil believes that there is always enough water, whether people live near a river, in the hills or on the flat dry plains, but that they must learn how to collect and store it. He and the people have cut furrows along the contours of the hills

to collect and channel the rain as it runs wastefully down the slopes. One woman showed us her husband's new small dam built in front of his house which this year will fill with rain water from the road. He plans to breed fish so his family will have food and he will be able to sell to those of his neighbours who can afford to buy. This same man, in his small garden, has flourishing rows of vegetables and a cow which provides milk and cottage cheese and precious manure for the crops.

Mdukutshani is the archetype of all those hundreds of other places in South Africa's so-called homelands where there is absolute poverty, hunger, disorder and, human misery on a massive scale. Across the river there are the huddles of huts, closely packed, belonging to those who were 'black spots' and were resettled into the homeland off the land they had used for generations. Each family is allowed to occupy one half acre. They were forced to sell their cattle (when other men made fortunes from buying and selling them again on the 'white' open market) and were dumped with no plans made for the future of their communities. There they are, with nothing to do but stare across the water at the farmland they used to use, richly grassed and treed, and now unused, owned by some white absentee landlord who no doubt sits in the Durban Club speaking of 'my farm' — his dream for his retirement.

Here there is anarchy. The new resentments between those who were recently dumped and those who have always lived here compound all the old resentments rooted in almost forgotten tribal disputes. The traditional authority structures have been destroyed and have not been replaced by any other effective authority. Men receive death threats and are killed, but their murderers are seldom brought to trial. The 'Haves' here are the criminals. Crime is big business. There is said to be a gun factory in a cave in the hills and gun-running is profitable. Stock theft, dagga farming, processing and marketing makes fortunes for the few. Corruption is part of everyday living. Christmas each year is when the war happens.

The many endure and may or may not survive. Good and evil mean nothing. To be good is to be strong and wicked and to live.

Justice and authority lie out of reach, a long, long journey away, at Tugela Ferry or Weenen.



We met old women who make this journey perhaps each year, perhaps more often, to apply for pensions. They showed us carefully preserved pieces of paper with meaningless date stamps 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976. They are never told anything besides 'Come back another day' but they treasure these pieces of paper. One day a miracle might happen and the pension might come. We were told of those who do have pensions who at the two-monthly payout are made to put their thumb print on the receipt for the money before the cash is handed to them and who, when they complain that the money is short, are told 'You have signed for it'.

We heard of the woman whose child was born without arms and legs. He is now two years old and becoming too heavy for her to carry all the time on her back, and of the woman whose 17-year-old son was taken on a lorry to work at a sawmill where his fingers were chopped off in a machine. He was not paid anything, as he has been told that there is no Workmen's Compensation. We saw the lorries laden with children collected at the roadside to work on the farms.

We saw the stark contrast between white South Africa's richly treed and grassed, sparsely populated land and the over-grazed, unwooded, eroded and crowded land of Kwa Zulu. Trees and shrubs have been cut down and burned, otherwise how is a person to boil a pot of water? The problem of fuel is a major headache. To buy it requires cash which few have, so they use whatever is combustible and lies to hand. The thorn trees, so valuable for fixing nitrogen in the soil and an essential factor in the ecology of the area, are destroyed as is all the other bush. When that is finished the grass is used and in the end nothing is left to hold the soil and prevent its headlong rush to sea with the river. Neil spoke of women feeding blade after blade of dry grass onto a tiny flickering fire under a pot which will never boil and never cook the meal put into it.

To this are now being shovelled the urban unemployed. Perhaps endurance was possible when my husband, my son, my father, my cousin, my brother was working in Johannesburg and the money he sent each month was there to share. Now he has lost his job and they have ordered him to come home. They say he will be arrested if goes to find a new job and that he must wait at home until the Bantu Commissioner sends him a job. The Commissioner now sends no one away to work and the men are here, shamed and despairing. They are not allowed to go away to find work, and there is no work here.

In this situation lives Neil and his wife Criena, his young sons, his sister-in-law, Kathy, Norman and Clare and others whom we did not meet. His vision restores to men their pride and their ability to feed and support their families. Neil's view of man and the land, South Africa and the world, is an holistic one. He knows and has shown and is teaching that a man can live a full, pro-

ductive life and feed himself and his family on half an acre of land and be beholden to no one. In doing so, he can rehabilitate the land and break out of the environmentally destructive spiral of fertiliser, pests, insecticides, more pests, poorer soil and more fertiliser.

On the other side of the valley we can see, among the closely built houses of the resettled people, the green of their gardens. They are allowed to keep one cow or goat if it does not graze on the communal lands. This one beast for those who can manage to buy it, together with water from the new furrows on the hillside above and the mixed vegetables grown in the garden with, perhaps, a couple of hens completes the cycle which restores the land to productivity and provides good and proper food for a family with enough over to sell.

CAP finds that it costs R260 for a man to become a true crofter like this, the first essential requirement being wire for a fence to keep out wandering goats. As well as money, of course, it demands time, understanding, patience and an ability to use the inevitable failures as part of the learning process.

There is a school on the farm with a refreshingly different approach to education for living. It has had to work through the bureaucratic hassles which hamper all constructive thought and action in South Africa. There is also a handcrafts centre where women learn to make saleable articles from local materials which are sold on the open market and where they relearn forgotten crafts. All the time people are learning the means of survival and of self-sufficiency.

During the last week of every month Neil runs his 'barefoot university' courses at Mdukutshani where he welcomes students from anywhere, provided they can understand Zulu which is the medium of instruction. The course is run on a monthly basis rather than in a more concentrated time span so that the students are led through the seasonal cycle.

There are a multitude of problems experienced by people in the area. Apart from the inability of the old and disabled to obtain the pensions which are their statutory right, there are all sorts of troubles connected with Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation, the exploitation of labour, particularly that of children, the need for legal assistance in both civil and criminal matters and a desperate need for free medical attention. We were told that Church-run clinics insist on payment as does the hospital at Tugela Ferry. Most people have literally no money to pay for a visit to a clinic or a doctor and so have to do without any medical help.

One cannot imagine what conditions must be like in all those hundreds of other similar areas where there is no presence like that of CAP. Thembi has noticed a marked difference in the attitudes of people in this area from those in another part of Kwa-Zulu which she visited ear-

lier. There people were so oppressed and depressed that there was seemingly no spark on which to build. Here there is spirit and hope and determination, however new and untested, because people can see the way up and out.

There is also considerable anger and resentment. Neil believes that it is absolutely essen-

tial that white South Africans be made to understand the inevitable and terrible white fate if we continue to sleep. He believes that this is the only way to overcome white resistance to knowing the truth, that whites will continue to close their eyes and ears if the stress continues to be put only on the everyday tragedy of Black existence.

## The Soweto eleven

**T**HE Soweto 11 are on trial for sedition, a common law crime, but with terrorism as an alternative. They are presently being tried at Kempton Park, a fact which reflects the Government's habit of holding contentious political trials in out-of-the-way places.

Jill Wentzel, wife of Ernie, the senior defence advocate, had been so taken with the force of these youngsters' personalities, that she offered to introduce me to them. I agreed, a trifle apprehensively lest they should suspect patronage which I didn't feel. Such are the inner knots which one tends to make for oneself in this bizarre country.

Thus it was that I found myself in a courtroom at Kempton Park one Friday morning early in November. The room was clean and modern with desks and benches of clear, light wood. The spectators' benches were crowded with parents and relatives of the accused. There were several uniformed and plain-clothes policemen. I felt deep unease when I saw more than one of the former playing with the machine-guns slung over their shoulders — these in addition to the revolvers they carry routinely. It made the situation scarcely less threatening to be told that initially they had had dogs at the court as well.

Just before 10.00 the 11, whose ages range from 19 to 23, came into the dock. They looked fit, slim, shingly clean, almost unreally like the sort of advertisement in 'Post' which projects a sophisticated, affluent image of black youth. Some wore track suits with stripes of white, enhancing the basic maroon or navy. Bongie, the only girl, wore a mohair jersey over a pleated skirt, made even more elegant by an ivory pendant. Some of them had wanted to wear Afro clothes, but their parents had forbidden it. Such is the cohesion of their family life that they had simply obeyed.

They exuded, collectively and individually, a feeling of youth, but a curiously mature, highly disciplined youth. They all carried thick files, in which they made notes as witnesses gave evidence. They missed nothing: as each witness entered they exchanged whispered queries, comments, sometimes merely a raised eyebrow. The combination of high intelligence, drive, sensitivity and toughness impressed itself on me again and again as I watched their successive changes of expression during the proceedings: scepticism,

potential dislike, humour and impassivity.

At tea-break the policeman in charge, George, stood near the dock, but did nothing to prevent contact between the children and their parents and friends. The other police stood close enough to the dock to hear what was said but were not obtrusive.

The tremendous affection between parents and children was manifest. Little Montsitsi, slightly built, with gold-rimmed glasses, listened to his father respectfully and lovingly. The 'Chief' cuddled his eight month old niece with the exclamation 'You're so *ugly!*', and then handed her round for all to dandle. Another young man talked fluently to his plump little girlfriend, and although they never touched their physical longing was painfully visible.

We were not ignored. Some of the 11 came up to greet us, obviously delighted to see bubbly Jill. In conversation my initial impression of alertness and high intelligence was confirmed. The youngsters are hungry for books on philosophy, psychology and education. One is impatient for Plato's 'Republic'. They relish dispute on anything. Jill had to acknowledge herself out of her depth when they wanted to discuss the drifting of continents. They are understandably cagey about their personal philosophies, which probably vary enormously. For instance, the Special Branch have confiscated from Bongie Bibles, prayer-books and religious tracts.

They were curiously reticent about the torture many of them have suffered at police hands, accepting it as something to be expected. Little Montsisi was smilingly unsurprised when Ernie told him what the hospital records had revealed about the 'extensive bruising' (to use a newspaper euphemism) he had undergone. Another young man said that when he was held under Section 6 he learnt that 'that's when you really get courage; it's the only thing left to do. All you can do is meditate'.

Whatever the ultimate verdict — and the presiding judge gives the impression of having painstaking patience — it is a tragedy that our country does not use people like these to their full potential. To make them second-class citizens, to destine them for citizenship of a homeland or to drive them to militancy is our scandal and our sorrow.

**Janet Sahli**



# Interview with ...

## Neil Alcock

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*For the background to Neil's work see the preceding article by Sheena Duncan. This press conference was held at the Johannesburg Institute of Race Relations on December 13, 1978*

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NEIL: There is no separation between the urban and the rural areas, and we are not talking simply about a 'rural crisis'. People once urban were endorsed out to the rural areas and are now starving. The situation is urgent because we are facing starvation in South Africa. Agriculturally we are insolvent. Our agricultural debt this year rose to R3 250 million. It is so high that unless we pull out of it, it can't go any higher. A four per cent rise in the price of fertiliser is planned for the New Year. All of us will have to cut down, and Africans particularly will have to cut down on what they eat. In my area TB and malnutrition are going sky-high. One family, for instance, consisting of man, wife and 10 children, has rampant TB. At tremendous expense to the taxpayer they will be cured at the local hospital. Within a few months, because of malnutrition, they will be back at the hospital again.

There are also tremendous environmental problems. Areas like mine — and Msinga is not just an isolated area — have only six per cent (four inches) of the original topsoil left. South Africa is known worldwide as a country where soil erosion is out of control. Nutrients are being washed into the sea. In the last 60 to 70 years chemical fertilisers have been destroying our soils by harming the microflora within them. We are now living on the carcase of the microflora.

My aim is to make the South African public aware of how bad the situation is. My wish from this meeting would be for it to lead to a co-ordinating body to do something about the problem. I see many welfare and development organisations trying to do a job in South Africa, but unfortunately most are city-based where some even overlap, but the rural areas are left out.

We must avoid bloodshed and starvation, not push people into a situation where they have to fight each other and us, the wealthy. In Msinga there is a lot of faction fighting because of hunger and congestion. The faction-fighting started when the congested areas were developed. People didn't fight before. People came from places where they had land and ample livestock. There is now no migrant labour they can depend on for money and no pension fund. There are many unemployed able-bodied men.

QUESTION: Could you tell us something about the Economic Corporation's development in your area?

NEIL: Tugela Estates was big enough to feed Kwa-Zulu and had a contract with the Zulu government. The manager planted a huge crop of maize. There were 22 000 people sitting on the fence. Just when the crop was ready to be reaped it was discovered that these people had picked it, politely leaving four rows of mealies in front of the manager's house; The response was typically South African: the land was sold to the BIC which decided to beat the Africans by turning it into an industrial estate. Now cotton and tobacco, not food, are grown there. To sell the cotton at a profit it has to be exported to Swaziland for processing.

QUESTION: What would your solution to the problem have been?

NEIL: Exactly the same as the original idea, which would have divided up the land into smallholdings for the 22 000 people. Unfortunately the people were too hurt and resentful about having been moved and were unused to farming small irrigated pieces of land. They refused to take up the plots.

At Msinga we are trying to educate people that 'small is beautiful'. I thought of starting a centralised dairy. The greatest expense there would have been distribution. But once I had got smallholdings going, one man had so much lucerne that he asked for a cow. Then he had so much milk that he was able to sell the surplus. There are no distribution problems or costs because people take the milk away in their own cans.

Many of our problems are due to our love of machines. People become unwanted units of labour. We are importing machines from America, Japan and Germany and throwing people out of work. Mr Cellie, chairman of the South African Agricultural Union, constantly complains that we are over-mechanised. The only thing farmers can save on is labour.

At Msinga we have proved that we can establish a family for as little as R300. Each person works as an individual, but some things are done co-operatively.

QUESTION: I am shattered at the thought of our having to return to a subsistence economy.

NEIL: A subsistence economy is not horrifying. Some of the more advanced countries are giving thought to using waste lots. Some degree of subsistence economy benefits all of us and helps the national economy.

QUESTION: Shouldn't one distinguish between farming on a large scale to feed cities and small scale farming?

NEIL: Not necessarily. Russia eliminated small peasant holdings to make way for collectivisation. Vast fields were created, only to be destroyed by the winds. The first five-year plan was a failure. If the peasants were allowed to revert to their traditional small plots Russia wouldn't need to import wheat from the US.

QUESTION: Isn't the task too great to be tackled by 'small fry' like ourselves? Don't we need huge relief plans and educational programmes?

NEIL: Governments are made up of us tiny little people. They are often as ignorant as ourselves, and we individuals must inform them of alternatives. This Government is very concerned about the food problem, but the trouble is that people in development want to spend millions. As I said before, it's not necessary to spend millions, which the country hasn't got anyway. R300 is enough to establish a family on half an acre. We have created a Trust with our own peasant land bank which gives people an interest-free loan for three months. This covers expenses like food, tools, seed and fencing netting for keeping out goats. During this period the people are digging water furrows co-operatively. They are willing to do this without being paid because they know they are doing it for themselves.

We also run an educational course in intermediate technology to which each community or co-operative sends selected leaders. They come for one week per month for intensive training 'on site' as it were. The 'teachers' go back to their communities as leaders, and must continue to pull their weight there. Their training doesn't entitle them to be parasites.

QUESTION: Does this small-scale farming cater for expenses like blankets?

NEIL: We can't expect a person to be totally self-supporting immediately. The arrangement I have described takes them half-way. Many will look for jobs to add to the general income. All I want is to provide a basis from which it can, ultimately, be possible for them to be self-sufficient. Bees provide honey and ultimately sugar; hens provide eggs; a pond will give fish,

fed from the overflow from the digester; a cow gives milk, cheese and butter.

There is also a sort of circulation of cash. One man sells pawpaw seedlings from his pawpaw tree so that other people can grow pawpaw trees. Our whole idea is to go back to the concept of the small village community with the farmer selling direct to the consumer and thus avoiding the expense of marketing.

QUESTION: Is it possible to restore the topsoil?

NEIL: Yes, it is. Erosion has covered the whole of South Africa. Nature does not distinguish between 'black' and 'white' areas. The black man is *not* the only person destroying the land. We are murdering it with chemical fertiliser. International authorities have said that we are nearer the brink of destruction than we know.

But it can be put right. We can try to recycle what we've got. Animal and human nightsoil recycles nutrients back into the soil. This is why our aim at Msinga will be a methane gas digester at every kraal.

QUESTION: Does the digester eliminate the danger of diseases like typhoid?

NEIL: It is almost certainly safe, as the majority of disease-carrying factors are eliminated. It is safer, anyway, than disposal behind a bush.

QUESTION: How can we get all this through to the politicians? Have you approached the Minister of Agriculture?

NEIL: I have tried, but in Pretoria there are highly-qualified planners. They won't listen to a nobody from the sticks like me. Also 'missionaries' frighten politicians.

The Government is made up of people ignorant of agriculture like lawyers and politicians. They don't have the holistic qualities needed. I have no doubt that if you people helped me form a pressure group to present other people with basic backroom facts and if, armed with some popular backing, we presented the facts and an alternative policy to the Minister of Agriculture he would be deeply interested.

The plans drawn up in Pretoria all demand thousands and millions of Rands which we haven't got, but the Msinga-type plan would cost very little. We in South Africa have limited options, and we need a group of ordinary people to spell out those options.

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• *Editor's note: Neil was to be disappointed. No such pilot group was to be formed at the meeting. This may have been due to the fact that none of the business people and none of the Progreds, who had been invited, came.*

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A delegate to the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK) General Synod expressed concern yesterday over people who had died in detention... only to evoke cries of 'Staan af' (Stand down).

RAND DAILY MAIL, 18/10/78



# Give us another day

Joan Grover

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*Mrs Grover is vice-chairman of Cape Western. She has been deeply involved in the situation at Crossroads*

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'JUST another day for squatters' read the CAPE TIMES headline of December 25, 1978, referring to Christmas at Crossroads. Those of us who have been closely involved with the Crossroads community were thankful to know that there *was* in fact another day for the families living there and to know that they would be able to worship together as Christian families everywhere were doing.

National and international attention has been focused on Crossroads since the notorious raids of September 1978, but the problems of the people there are not new to the Athlone Advice Office. Hundreds of residents have visited the office, been interviewed, advised and helped wherever possible. Legal aid has been provided for those people charged under Influx Control or Illegal Squatting legislation. Workers and interpreters have attended courts and kept accurate records of day-to-day proceedings.

After two big raids on the camp during September, workers battled to compile accurate lists of those arrested in order to arrange for their defence. This proved to be an enormous task: approximately 900 people were arrested, the names had to be listed in alphabetical order, many people reported missing were reported more than once by anxious friends and relatives. Some- and this made the lists longer than ever. However, they were completed and delivered to the courts on the days following the raids, when every effort was made by the attorneys to defend the large number of people appearing in court.

During the last few months the Advice Office has visited Crossroads regularly and workers have counselled a steady stream of residents on each occasion. This was done at the request of the residents themselves, who found the journey to Mowbray to be expensive and time-consuming. It was soon known that the office was operating in the area, and any Sash member visiting the camp at any time was liable to be asked for advice. The milkman in his white coat, delivering milk to the Crossroads houses, stopped his bicycle and handed a much worn passbook through my car window. 'The Advice Office will be here on Friday', I said, and off he went.

From the Advice Office, representations have been made to the authorities of the Departments of Plural Relations and of Justice. Letters to the English and Afrikaans press have been written by many Sash members, to create an aware-

ness in the minds of readers concerning the difficulties and problems facing this law-abiding community.

Often Advice Office cases go on for months, reaching no successful conclusion, but, encouragingly, some end like this one, reported in THE CAPE TIMES of December 28, 1978.

'A Supreme Court judge condemned the way in which a 14-year-old Crossroads youth was convicted and sentenced in the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's court in Langa, in September, on an alleged pass offence.

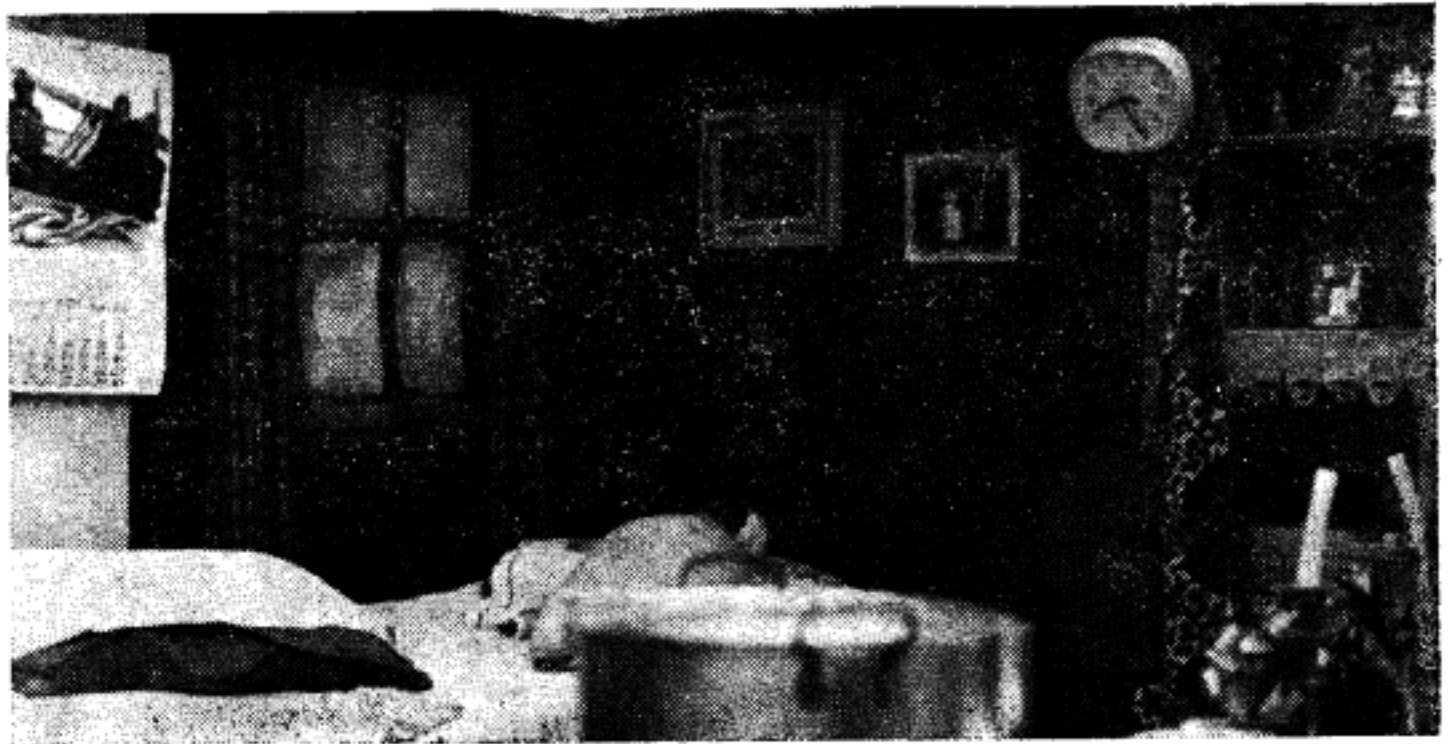
'Mr Justice P. Schock ordered that the conviction and sentence be set aside and the youth's fine be repaid . . . it was clear that the youth had been denied a fair trial.'

Much that has been done to play a supportive role in the Crossroads situation has been done in collaboration with other organisations and individuals, and, of course, always in consultation with, and at the request of, the Crossroads people themselves.

We have accepted invitations sent to all Capetonians to special church services, we have attended the prayer vigil held in one of the local churches, and joyously celebrated with the men, women and children at the opening of the two schools, Nxolo (meaning 'Peace') and Sizamile (meaning 'We have tried').

When it was reported that as part of the harassment by Police and BAAB officials, women were being arrested when fetching water from one of the eight taps serving the camp, it was decided that these taps should be watched as much as possible. Individuals spent hours in their cars, watching and waiting, and the women fetching water waved and smiled, feeling perhaps a certain sense of security while we were there. It is interesting to note that we witnessed no arrests, and after a while this particular form of harassment stopped. However, members did see arrests being made at bus stops, and to avoid people being 'picked up' on their way to hospitals, clinics, etc., lifts were given whenever possible.

Transport has been arranged on other occasions. The school choirs performing in surrounding towns needed to get there. The players performing in the Crossroads play at The Space theatre in November were taken to Cape Town. On many occasions people were taken backwards and forwards to court, and sometimes to prisons to look for missing relatives.



*Black Sash facsimile of Crossroads interior, displayed at Progfed fête, Johannesburg*

Members helped to staff the Crossroads photographic and pictorial exhibition, which was on show at various large shopping centres around the Peninsula for some weeks during the spring. Signatures for the 'Save Crossroads' petition (signed by over 35 000 people in the Western Cape) were also needed, and hours were spent collecting these.

Calls for help have been varied and unexpected. We have not known what to 'expect next'. During the second big raid on September 14, we had an urgent request from the women of Crossroads. 'Please bring us soup, we have been up all night', they said.

They *had* been up all night, the children particularly were tired and hungry, and another raid was feared. 'They may come again,' they said, dazed and shocked after a night of terror. So we took them soup in containers — all sizes and shapes, buckets, Tupperware, and anything we could muster in such a short time. So together with the women, the mothers and wives of Crossroads we heard ourselves saying, 'Children first, and only one contained for each family please'. This was no mere 'do-gooders' handout, we had attempted to respond to a call from people in need.

Perhaps the importance of our involvement has actually been human contact made with ordinary men, women and children, whom we have

got to know as people, as fellow South Africans. We have often felt frustrated at not being able to do more, and on many occasions not knowing what to do. I felt like this on returning from yet another meeting. I had some shopping to do and went to a nearby supermarket. Inside I was greeted by Mr M., smiling broadly. 'My wife is also here,' he said, 'she would like to greet you, and the children, see, there they are at the counter'. Yes, there we were, a Crossroads family and a Sash member, linked in a bond quite outside the experience of the other Friday afternoon shoppers.

Often the simple act of giving a lift to someone has meant a deeper involvement, a deeper awareness. Many of us have felt that we have learnt a great deal: how to handle a hospital situation, how to apply for a pass extension in special circumstances, how to apply for a maintenance order, where to go and what to do and whom to see. We have made it our job to learn *our* rights too, and the member who 'helplessly' witnessed the separation of a three-week-old breast-fed baby from its mother outside a court, will not refrain from taking necessary action when faced with a similar situation in future.

What is the future for the people of Crossroads and what does the New Year hold for them?

Only time will tell.

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'We know how to protect whites. We are not interested in black people.'

*Mr Arrie Paulus, chief secretary of the SA Mineworker's Union*

Mr Willem Botha died of a bullet wound in the head in a Sasolburg police cell, but the police couldn't be blamed, a magistrate ruled yesterday.

RAND DAILY MAIL, 11/7/78



# The micro-economics of squatter settlements

M. G. Whisson

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*Professor Whisson, professor of anthropology at Rhodes University, gave this address to Albany Black Sash on October 5, 1978*

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**O**F the past I want to say just one thing, because it sets the scene for the future. It is that the evidence suggests that the blitz on the peri-urban shanties is not a mindless display of bureaucratic beastliness, but wholly consistent with the premises on which Cape Society is governed and has been governed since the slaves were liberated. The premises are these — that the economic and political interests of all whites shall be paramount; that 'coloured' people will be allocated such resources as they need to make the most economical and effective contribution to the welfare of the whites; that blacks will be accommodated only insofar as they are necessary to fill the gaps left by inadequate numbers or quality of 'coloured' labour.

Evidence for those premises is provided dramatically in the field of housing and unemployment relief measures. When the white 'bywoners' invaded Cape Town after the 1914-1918 war and the depression struck, the state responded by producing an emergency system of public works to employ those who could not even be accommodated by the railways. The generous public of Cape Town, inspired by Bishop Lavis, enabled Epping and Thornton to be built to accommodate the needy whites. Thus was the poor white problem solved. After 1945 it was the poor brown problem that impinged on the consciences, health fears and aesthetic sensibilities of the city fathers, so they built housing schemes across the Cape flats for the people in overcrowded District Six and in the shanties. With the completion of Group Areas proclamations and removals, at least 120 000 'coloured' people will have been compelled to leave their homes to join their fellows on the flats. Choice areas of Mowbray, Rondebosch, Newlands, Claremont and Wynberg have been bleached of their old residents, Chelseafied and made available to smart young whites.

Blacks were merely tolerated and since 1966 no new homes have been built to accommodate even the natural increase by a population whose roots in Cape Town go back well over a century. What hope then for new arrivals like women coming to find their migrant menfolk? No hope at all, and with the recession and rising unemployment among 'coloured' people in Cape Town the

natural and predictable response of the Government has been to export unemployment by driving out the blacks. The fact that 80 per cent of the black men in Crossroads are employed in Cape Town is irrelevant to the logic — 5 000 black workers sent away means 5 000 less unemployed coloured men. If there is a last minute suspension of sentence on Crossroads then it will be because of the economic needs of Cape Town business and not because of any compassion on the part of the authorities. So Crossroads will go, and we can expect 20 000 more mouths in the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and Transkei within the next year or so. What then?

I want to suggest to you a very simple economic or ecological model of how a community such as Crossroads, Fingo Village, Glenmore or Bridges Farm operates. If we can clear our minds with the aid of such a model, then we may be able to find ways in which we can help communities dumped far from the cities, and not exhaust ourselves and our reserves in emotional responses.

We assume that the community is a bounded group, usually with a physically identifiable boundary. Within that social and physical boundary there are resources. There may be space to grow crops. How can output be maximised and secured? At Glenmore there may be small holdings and garden space. Can we advise people on what to grow and how to grow it to their greatest benefit? There may be minerals or workable clays. Then people will bring some capital resources, sewing machines for examples. They will also bring their strength, skills, knowledge and experience.

These are resources available for use in the community, and my information is that the range of resources in Fingo Village is more substantial than the passing eye will see.

But they are totally inadequate for survival in a complex society like ours and the survival of the community will depend on the level of economic activity around the community or, in terms of my model, on the flow of resources into and out of the community.

The greater the flow and the greater the level of economic activity the better for the people. The most useful contribution that anyone can make is to increase the flow either by pumping in resources or by demanding the paid services

of the people to enable them to suck in the resources they need for themselves.

Let us look at the list:

- **Social resources:** Health and education. Are the resettlement areas going to be equipped before the people come or only after they have come? What is the most effective means of urging the authorities to make proper preparations in advance for schools, clinics and shops?

- **Raw materials:** What are the skills of the people that can be utilised in production? The goods produced may be for home consumption, like jerseys or other clothes, thus limiting the outflow of resources in that direction. But more important, is production for the market? Do we know what low skill, labour intensive manufactures are possible?

Wages may be horrifyingly low from such work, but unless there is some income there is no food. Minimum wage legislation in a situation of chronic unemployment and under-employment creates more problems than it solves.

- **Receipts from the sale of manufactured goods** depend largely on good marketing. This is a highly skilled game but the skills are available to be trapped.

- **Family income:** Wages from work outside the community and migrants' remittances are crucial to the survival of the community. The family income of a migrant worker and his family in the Ciskei is about the same as that of a migrant with his family in a Crossroads shack, but the expenditure patterns of necessity differ and there lies the rub.

What this means is that the local employment need not be as well paid as migrant wages to achieve equivalent levels of communal welfare.

Charity depends very largely on visibility, as does protest. It is harder to work up enthusiasm for a place far away than it is for the immediate needs of those around. Charity is an unreliable source of income, but it is not insignificant especially when used as a pump priming donation to facilitate income generating activity.

- **Capital** costs money but it is basic to productive industry. It is a scarce resource to be mixed with as much labour as possible where labour is plentiful. It may be more economical to hand-dig irrigation ditches than to machine-dig them in terms of the flow of resources so generated. People, like horses, have to eat whether they work or not. Machinery can be dispensed with

and does not use fuel when at rest. The costing in terms of economic welfare is not complex but neither is it obvious to major construction firms concerned with maximum utilisation of their plant and with their own profits.

- **Illegal income** is hard to assess, but certainly easier to come by in towns than in distant dumping grounds.

Finally people need food, clothes and materials for shelter.

If we compare, say, Crossroads with a rural settlement like Glenmore we can see at once how much greater is the potential lack of economic activity in Crossroads. A Red Cross hospital is near by; there is a market of about a million people within 20 miles — a market for products and for labour; there are welfare organisations and wealthy patrons to provide a charitable input. Capital can be attracted even at a commercial level despite the competition. The scope for illegal activities — begging, gambling, shebeening, prostitution and theft — are much greater (and, note, some of these 'illegal' activities do not produce victims other than willing and eager ones!). Food and clothes are probably cheaper. Only shelter materials cost more in a shanty area, but this is offset by lower rent payments.

On the outflow side, transport costs are a major problem for migrants, as are fines and time wasted in jail for shanty dwellers.

All in all then, the economic loss suffered by a move from Crossroads to Bridges will be substantial as will a move from Fingo Village to Glenmore.

Finally, a word about 'the informal sector' This refers to business activity carried on within the community without legal recognition. It may generate income from outside like bottle-collecting for sale and re-cycling, and may enhance the value of materials through a manufacturing process — like baking cakes for sale in the community. It is important for morale and important as a means whereby income can be redistributed within the community, wages from outside being spent inside and passed around before flowing out for essential food and raw materials.

It has a romantic image and is evidence of both entrepreneurial potential and an indomitable spirit to survive, but its real economic contribution in our situation is small relative to community needs.

These are the sort of areas where we might apply pressure, inject resources and make enquiries about available resources and potential.

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'Mr Oosthuizen (senior hostel superintendent) said there were 20 bathrooms and 17 had hot and cold running water. "And we are doing our best to fix the remaining three." A worker, who said his job was cleaning the bathrooms, told me: "Only three bathrooms have hot water".

I saw eight naked men in the open washing from sinks on an outside wall of one of the bathrooms. The men claimed they did not use the bathrooms because the shower pipes did not have spray fittings.'

*Report on a visit by SUNDAY EXPRESS journalists to Dube Hostel*



# The grand design in practice

Joyce Harris

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*An extract from an address by Mrs Harris to Cape Western Region on May 2, 1978, for the launching of Barbara Waite's map*

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**L**ET us look at the map itself. It doesn't take much more than a glance to begin to understand that the Government embarked on nothing more nor less than a giant redistribution of the population and a major plastic surgery operation on the entire face of South Africa.

It isn't as though it was such an ugly face. It may not have been beautiful, but it was certainly interesting. There appears to have been total disregard for the actual people involved and what they would have to endure. Such a plan could only be conceived in terms of human beings and human habitations stripped of their humanity and reduced to statistics.

Bophutatswana is in seven separate pieces which, we are told, the Government intends reducing to six; Lebowa is in eight pieces, which the Government intends reducing to six! Vendlan is in three pieces; Gazankulu is in four pieces which will be reduced to three; Swazi is in four which will be reduced to one; Kwazulu seems to consist of something like 20 pieces which will be reduced to ten; Transkei consists of three pieces; Basuto Qwa Qwa consists of one tiny piece; and the Ciskei, which looks like nine pieces, is to be reduced to one.

Note, too, the pure white condition of the western side of the map. The Cape Midlands, or the Coloured Labour preference area, is between the Eiselen Line of 1953 (Kimberley, Colesburg, Humansdorp) in the west and the Kat Fish Line (Aliwal North, Sterkstroom, Fish River) in the east. The original plan was to move all the Africans who were living west of the Eiselen Line eastwards, but later it was decided to draw a line much further to the east, the Kat Fish Line, which meant that the African inhabitants of Middelburg, Burgersdorp, Cradock and many other towns were, and are, still to be resettled in the Ciskei and Transkei.

Will this western area be the site for Dr Connie Mulder's white homeland, I wonder, or will this be an escape hatch, if and when things get too hot in the vicinity of the homelands in the eastern areas? However, the white strip up the centre allows the whites to retain the Witwatersrand and the wealthy, industrialised Johannesburg, Pretoria, Vereeniging complex.

The Black areas are largely clustered in a semi-circle, presumably to act as buffer states between white South Africa and her black, or potentially

black neighbours. However, with the cutting of diplomatic ties with South Africa by the Transkei one may well be forgiven for wondering whether these will indeed be buffer states or whether they will be open doors.

## The human cost

Now I should like to tell you a little about Black Sash involvement in the whole policy of removals and something of the history of removals.

For obvious reasons it was never Government policy to publicise removals. The earliest date I can discover in our files is 1963. This was the year that SADA was established, in the Ciskei near Queenstown, to re-settle displaced persons and pensioners, disabled people, those ejected from white farms and those endorsed out of urban areas.

As late as January 20, 1968, the Daily Dispatch said that SADA was 'rotten with TB... dead bodies were left in houses until they could be disposed of... there were no ambulances... no inspection of meat... no provision for pauper burials'

Conditions have, no doubt, improved in SADA since that time, but it is necessary to remember that these were the conditions under which the first and all too many subsequent removals were permitted to take place. The places to which people were moved were all artificial townships, created for derelict people, and very often were not created at all before the people were moved there.

In the same year of 1963, 1 600 people were moved from Besterspruit, a black spot near Vryheid, to Mondlo, where basic amenities such as sanitary facilities, were absent. It was bare veld, with pegs marking sites. Families were dumped with their few belongings to make a home — water came by cart and there was no milk or meat, no fuel, no building sand, no stones, no school, no work and there was an outbreak of typhoid and diphtheria.

In 1963 the Bantu Laws Amendment Act was passed which allowed for the creation of labour bureaux in the homelands through which all labour in the homelands would be funnelled, and for the perpetuation of the migrant labour system. When this Act is seen in relation to the vast removal schemes which were at that time gathering momentum, it all begins to make a crazy kind of

sense — at least in the eyes of the Government ... huge labour reserves to feed the hungry white industrial complex while absolving the whites of responsibility of providing facilities and rights for their workers, who would return to their families at the end of their annual contracts there to live, or starve comfortably out of sight. While the Act was being debated the Black Sash presented a memorandum to and had an interview with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. We were one of a number of organisations which registered their protest.

All to no avail, however, as the removals continued unabated. In 1964 we published a paper on the evils of migrant labour, and in 1966 our Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Influx Control, which has since been updated and re-issued. It is now out of print but will again be up-dated. These publications were an attempt to inform and alert the public to what was being done to the African people.

But nothing helped.

It was at this time that we began to hear the names Ilinge, Witzieshoek, De Hoop, where mainly women and children were housed in iron shacks or two or four-roomed wood or concrete structures — some of these 'towns' with food-stores, clinics, doctors, schools, others not.

We heard of the removals of black spots from the Catholic Missions of Maria Ratschitz, Boschoek, Meran and others — 16 in all — and of the beginnings of the notorious Limehill. The removals were speeded up and the Government was empowered to expropriate the land if the tribe resisted and then to prosecute for illegal occupation, despite the fact that African ownership of many of the black spots could be traced back for many years.

The people had been wage-earners in nearby towns, but Limehill and Uitval provided no employment. They lost their livestock and incurred increased transport costs to get to whatever work might have been available. The people of Limehill were given only tents to live in, and it took a year before the tent town finally disappeared. The water supply and sewage disposal were inadequate and resulted in much illness.

The Star of March 22, 1978, reported Sabra as saying in response to Black Sash publicity regarding the map that, 'It seems wrong to talk about "removing" or "uprooting" families, thus creating the impression that millions of people are moved about arbitrarily against their will... The bulk of the movement takes place normally according to economic and urban development trends... People move from rural to urban areas and they move from one place to the next to advance themselves'. One may well be forgiven for wondering where Sabra was when, for instance, the black spots of Natal were liquidated.

In 1968 under the Group Areas Act 75 000 Indians in the Transvaal were removed to Benoni,

Lenasia and Laudium, causing untold hardship. In Simonstown the removals began of approximately 5 000 coloured people from their homes of half a century, in some instances. First they were forbidden the use of the beaches, followed by a loss of their livelihood as fishermen, dockworkers, artisans. For years prior to this, fears of removal had stopped all development, the overcrowding was gross, and the Government could with some justification introduce its rationale of 'urban renewal' — a ploy it has consistently used in many of its group area removals — proclaim a group area... freeze development... frighten the people... wait... wait... wait. And what do you get but a demoralised community living in overcrowded and rundown conditions?

1968 was the year the Black Sash instigated a nation-wide campaign against removals, seeking the co-operation of other organisations, and forming Citizens' Action Committees all over the country. There were sticker campaigns, poster campaigns, cavalcades, stands, culminating in a petition to the State President signed by 2 820 people, which was presented to Parliament by Mrs Helen Suzman.

The Government took not the slightest notice. In 1969 Minister M. C. Botha said that the resettlement areas were not meant to be areas of employment, but to supply points for migratory labour.

In 1972 the Black Sash organised a campaign against the whole system of migrant labour, and Mrs Jean Sinclair joined the pilgrimage from Grahamstown to Cape Town, arranged by clergy of various denominations, to communicate the facts of migrant labour. She marched part of the way with them.

As part of its campaign against migrant labour, the Black Sash organised the Citizens Hostel Action Committee to fight against the demolition of family housing in Alexandra and the building of a soulless city of single-sex hostels to house so-called 'single' migrant workers throughout their working lives, while their wives and children subsist in the homelands.

But demolitions and removals continued unabated. The latest available removal figures for Alexandra are 24 families, 1 475 adult males, 35 adult females and 126 children removed during 1977 and January, 1978. Of these 1 442 males were moved to City Deep Hostel; the 24 families were moved to Soweto; two males were removed to Lesotho, 12 to Gazankulu and 15 to Lebowa. (Minister of Plural Development Hansard No 8, March 23—31, 1978.)

In that same year of 1972 the Reverend David Russell, who has since been banned, lived in the notorious settlement of Dimbaza in the Ciskei on R5 per month, which was the government handout to totally indigent people. He then lived for a month on the Government rations, an alternative to the cash handout. These provided ap-



proximately 66 grammes of protein per day and no vitamins. At that time 3 000 adults and 1 900 children were living on these rations.

During all this period David Russell carried on a regular correspondence with Minister M. C. Botha writing graphically descriptive letters. Since then improvements have apparently been made in Dimbaza and there are fair educational facilities, a shop, a clinic and a bus service.

It may appear carping continually to emphasize the miseries of the early removals, particularly in view of the fact that certain improvements have been made from time to time, but before we allow ourselves to become too euphoric as a result of the Government's insistence on its good intentions, let us take a look at what has happened in Limehill since 1968. Father Cosmos Desmond, who witnessed the early beginnings of Limehill, revisited it. In a working paper on the longer-term effects of African resettlement prepared as part of a research project by the University of Natal and written in January 1978 — this year — he makes some startling statements.

‘There is very little improvement at Limehill . . . there is a general air of dilapidation, desolation and isolation about the place . . . Water is obtained from taps in the “streets” . . . one tap to serve 35 families . . . almost 20 per cent of the children born at Limehill have not survived until the survey date . . . The mortality rate is excessively high . . . with a low total number of births . . . Unemployment in Limehill, particularly among women, is considerably higher than the national average . . . The vast majority described life at Limehill as a “place of suffering”, “a land of sorrows”, a bad and difficult place to live in . . . This survey shows that the long term effects of the Nationalist government's resettlement policy are no less dehumanising and demoralising than the initial suffering and hardship inflicted when people are uprooted from their established homes and dumped in the barren veld.’

I have dealt only with a few areas. There are so many others, like Klipgat, Stinkwater, and the

‘If the law is not strong enough for the Press, Parliament will have a look at it.’

*Prime Minister Mr P W Botha*

‘It is absurd, but true, that there are many people who blame the Press in general for the whole Information affair.’

*Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of DIE TRANSVALER*

‘Mr Kruger said South Africa had paid dearly over the years for its adherence to democratic norms.’

*THE STAR, 13/5/78*

*The Black Sash, February 1979*



*Acknowledgements to CAPE ARGUS*

squatter camp at Winterveld near Pretoria, to mention a few. The whole subject of removals is far too vast for one paper.

However, if all the removal figures are added together just over 2 115 000 people have been removed, all but 7 000 of them black. Still to be moved are 1 727 000 people, all but 1 600 of them are black.

These figures do not include people who are continually being deported from the ‘white’ areas in terms of the pass laws.

Now we can look back at the map with different eyes, and see how our country has been carved up, at such a cost in human suffering and with only negative returns financially, economically, socially, politically and from the much vaunted point of view of the security of the state. The removals will probably continue unabated and nothing will divert the Government from its chosen path.

Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants. It is the creed of slaves.

*William Pitt*

‘Isn't this really the essential lesson in the whole business — that when you cast aside the tried and tested mechanism of democratic control in the name of ‘State security’, you invite abuses far worse than anything that might be threatening the State.

Create a BOSS with unlimited secret powers, and you will create a Frankenstein that will abuse those powers . . .’

*RAND DAILY MAIL editorial*

# Black opposition: a historical perspective

Tom Lodge

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*This is the second part of Mr Lodge's paper delivered to the AGM of the Johannesburg Black Sash in April, 1978*

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**I**N the first part of this article (SASH, November 1978) we examined the current of separatist consciousness that runs through the history of the nationalist movement. During the period we are concerned with, that is from the beginnings of African political organisation to the Sharpeville shootings, separatism was never the dominant tendency in African politics.

We are now going to turn to the strategies that arose out of integrationist perspectives. *Firstly* the defensive reaction of an African petit bourgeoisie will be examined: this was a group who had won a sufficient stake within the existing system to identify themselves with certain tenets of liberal ideology. The period witnessed the slow withering of opportunities for petit bourgeois advancement and by the final decade political leaders drawn from this class had been thrown back to attempting to mobilise African workers and slowly identifying their interests with the workers' cause. But this process was a gradual one: the existence of a propertied professional class in the African community in command of the national movement meant that for many years the ANC would be engaged in a struggle for acceptance rather than for power. *Secondly* we are going to look at the workers' struggle. It took nearly thirty years of effort to attempt to create a non-racial working class solidarity before it became clear to labour leaders that the interests of white and black workers were opposed. That it took such a time is important. It meant that up until the outbreak of the Second World War black working class organisations and their political allies were influenced by men who were committed to a certain vision of a common society. It was not altogether naive: there were times such as in the 1930s when poor whites, squeezed off the land by capitalist farming, were placed in industrial situations where the degree of their exploitation was objectively similar to that of blacks. The history of non-racial trade unions, especially among women clothing and textile workers during the 1930s, bears testimony to a perceived unity of interest among black and white members of the working class.

## ANC constitutionalism

The early history of organised African protest was dominated by, to use the words of John Dube, first president of the ANC, a 'hopeful reliance on the sense of common justice and the love of freedom, so innate in the British character'. The 1919 constitution of the ANC defined its inten-

tion to remove discriminatory legislation by constitutional means. At this stage the ANC did not view itself as a liberation movement: its rôle was intended to be a consultative one, its struggle to be for European acceptance of Africans, not for power. Its favoured methods were to be the deputation, the petition and the memorandum.

Five years before the formation of the ANC a delegation of African leaders had gone to London to plead for British intervention over the South Africa Act, which not only did not extend the non-racial Cape franchise to the other three provinces, but also prohibited blacks from sitting in parliament. The delegation was accompanied by the liberal lawyer, W. P. Schreiner, and it succeeded in obtaining an interview with the Colonial Secretary. However the British Liberal government had no real intention of interfering in South Africa beyond keeping the High Commission Territories out of the Union and so the delegation was to be disappointed. For British politicians, the major issue was white unity in South Africa. Sir Alfred Milner, High Commissioner for South Africa had written in 1897:

I personally could win over the Dutch in the (Cape) Colony and indeed in all of South African Dominions in my term of office... without offending the British. You only have to sacrifice the 'nigger' absolutely, and the game is easy.

Milner, to his credit, put the word nigger between inverted commas, but the note defined in brutal terms the rationale of post-war Imperial policy on South Africa.

The second major attack on African rights was in 1913 with the passage of the Land Act which limited African landownership to 7,3 per cent of the land and imposed on blacks who remained on white property a requirement to work ninety days a year for the landowner. People were offered the choice of returning to the reserves, becoming labour tenants or seeking employment in the mines or in the towns. Congress was to oppose the act on two points: first the area set aside for African use was grossly inadequate, and second, the principle of land segregation was objectionable. However, its reaction was tempered by moderation and caution. After a deputation to Cape Town had failed to persuade the Minister of Native Affairs to withdraw his sponsorship from the bill, Congress looked once



again to Britain for help. In 1914 a five-man deputation sailed for Britain where the Colonial Secretary bluntly informed it that the Land Act was an internal South African affair and did not concern his government.

A further snub for Congress leaders came with the outbreak of the First World War. It was agreed by a Congress conference that all criticism of authority would be suspended, and Walter Rubusana, vice-president, offered to raise five thousand soldiers to fight the Germans in South West Africa. Smuts replied curtly that the war was a white man's affair, natives were not to be recruited. As it happened, ten thousand blacks were to be enlisted in non-combatant roles and 815 were to be killed.

During the war a fresh attempt was made to segregate blacks from whites with the 1917 Native Administration Bill. This proposed a separate set of institutions for African legal, administrative and legislative affairs as well as the eventual replacement of the Cape franchise. The bill did not get past a second reading, but it led the ANC to demand an extension of parliamentary representation as the only measure which would safeguard African interests.

To this end a third deputation was sent to Europe in 1919. However all the delegation was to achieve was a vague promise from Lloyd George that he would forward their views to General Smuts (who was well acquainted with them already).

For the next twenty years, though all hope of British intervention had been given up, ANC policy was still to gear itself to the limitations of the constitutional framework. So, for example, in 1921 a Native Affairs Act provided for local councils to be established on the basis of the land distribution defined in the 1913 Act. An ANC conference in 1923 resolved to assist the government in shaping native policy, and to cooperate fully with the implementation of the Native Affairs Act, urging the early establishment of Native Councils.

Similarly the Areas Act of 1923 which legalised urban residential segregation throughout South Africa and forbade black freehold tenure in urban areas, offered some chance of African representation through the location advisory boards. Because of this addition to the existing consultative machinery the ANC leaders declared themselves in favour of urban residential segregation and were prepared to negotiate on that basis.

And even the 1936 Hertzog legislation, which consolidated the 1913 land provision and abolished the black Cape franchise, did not provoke a break in the constitutional behaviour of the African political leaders. The immediate response to the bills when they were published in 1935 was the formation of a convention 'of chiefs, leaders and representatives of all shades of political thought' including the ANC. The All African Convention was to base its opposition to the

bills on the principles of Cape liberalism: it accepted that a 'civilisation test' was a fair basis for African constitutional advancement. Its opposition was limited to a 'day of prayer' and the despatch of the routine ineffective delegation, this time to Hertzog.

Once the legislation was passed the ANC tried to take advantage of what limited political channels it did offer for African representation. Its members were to participate in the impotent Native Representative Council until 1946 when finally even the most conservative African leaders were disenchanted with the 'toy telephone' Congress gave its full support to parliamentary native representation, nominating its own candidates.

It was not until 1945, when the ANC published its Bill of Rights, based on the Atlantic Charter, that a demand for universal suffrage was made by the organisation, and only in 1949 that the ANC Programme of Action rejected the old methods of petition, deputation and representation and actually challenged the concept of white leadership.

The ANC's constitutionalism was, firstly, a result of the Cape franchise: limited as this was, it did at times assume a political significance. There had been occasions in the 1920s when Afrikaner Nationalists had wooed the black vote: for example, in 1921 ngvewkkzodneicmfwgrammed this message to an African assembly at Queenstown:

No race has shown greater love for South Africa than the natives. Therein, he, the native, assuredly is a pattern of true patriotism and is entitled to take his place side by side with the Nationalists in the common political arena.

The existence of some outlets for political activity in the Cape was to reinforce a belief in an essentially benevolent British concern: the African elite had viewed the Anglo-Boer war as a struggle to extend non-racial justice to the other provinces of South Africa.

The second factor was the background of these men. The founders of the ANC were not by nature socially radical; they were ministers, teachers, doctors — people who had, despite all difficulties, achieved a measure of professional status and wealth. Most were mission school educated, many received their higher education abroad: initial discussions before the foundation of Congress were started by lawyers all of whom had been called to the London Bar. ANC leaders were to continue to be drawn from this class. Quite apart from their position within the black community these were people who were able to have contact with Europeans on a basis of relative equality. Dr Moroka, ANC President in the early 1950s, had Afrikaners as patients in his Free State medical practice. In 1921 contact between middle class Africans and liberal Europeans was institutionalised with the creation of Joint Councils.

All these things helped to condition a belief in the efficacy of evolutionary processes, the virtues of education and a stress on an ideal of a common society. These were men who, for all their idealism, had something to lose. To criticise them for not being revolutionaries is to misunderstand their position.

Perhaps the dilemma and the tragedy of this African middle class was that often they were interpreters: intermediaries between black and white. Sol T. Plaatje, ANC secretary in 1917, for example, had served in the South African War as Baden Powell's interpreter at the siege of Mafeking. Conscious and proud of his Barolong ancestry, his loyalties, as expressed in the diary he kept during the siege, were to the British Empire standing, as he understood it, for a greater degree of social justice than the Afrikaner army encircling the town. The hopes of such interpreters were based on a delusion. As Lutuli was to point out, thirty years after Plaatje's death, dialogue between African leadership and white authority was pointless for they lacked a common language.

### **Proletarian opposition**

The history of the ANC between the wars is largely the story of the defence of an embattled African middle class. But simultaneously there was occurring also the formation of a fully urbanised African proletariat. The First World War had seen the replacement of semi-skilled whites with black industrial workers. After the war, due to falling productivity in the reserves, overpopulation and increased taxation, blacks were forced into wage-labour. The farmworker population was to double and there was a massive influx into towns. In the 1920s the African labour market was dominated by the mining sector. Because of the migrant labour system which subsidised the reproduction of the labour force the Chamber of Mines was able to keep wages very low. It was in this period that competition between white and black labour came to a head with the 1922 Rand Revolt. The revolt was the reaction of a white working class to the Chamber of Mines' attempt to counter-effect the rise in production costs and falling gold prices with an attempt to replace comparatively highly paid white labour with cheap African workers.

The formation of black working class organisations dates from this post First World War period. In the 1920s there developed the most massive African organisation that has existed up to the revival of Inkatha — the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union. The history of this movement and that of the Communist Party of South Africa was as important as that of the ANC in determining the course of black opposition.

### **CPSA**

Let us look at the origins of the Communist Party first. Out of the first two decades of the

twentieth century there had developed a small radical group of white labour leaders. White workers were mainly recent immigrants, many with experience in their countries of origin of militant trade unionism. However, most workers were to react adversely to contemporary socialist or marxist strategies. This was scarcely surprising in a society where colour, rather than relationship to means of production, appeared to be the crucial factor in deciding questions of status, wealth and power. Heroic as white trade union action could sometimes be, it was not essentially revolutionary: it was a struggle for power within the existing hierarchy, not an attempt to overthrow it. These two trends within the white labour movement were to be expressed through two organisations: the increasingly racist Labour Party which was founded in 1910, and the International Socialist League. In 1921 the ISL applied to the newly formed Comintern for membership and became the Communist Party of South Africa. The CPSA was never a racist organisation, but from the outset there was a failure of imagination among its leaders. Racial discrimination was to be combatted — not because it was inherently dehumanising — but because it retarded the growth of an inter-racial class solidarity. The preoccupation with what was held to be the objective unity of interest between black and white workers had two consequences. First, there was mistrust and reluctance to fully co-operate with any expression of African Nationalist consciousness. Second, radical socialists were to devote considerable energy to trying to create some feeling of solidarity between black and white workers: an example of this was S. P. Bunting's leaflet issued during the 1920 black miners' strike calling on white workers not to blackleg:

White workers! On which side are you?  
When the Native workers are on strike we are all thrown idle. Thus they prove that all sections of Labour are interdependent; white and black solidarity will win!

Ironically it was the African working class and not the white which was to provide a response to this call for inter-racial class action. In the 1913 white miners' strike, African miners were to come out after calls by labour leaders: at Kleinfontein mine production was completely halted by an almost total walk-out by black miners. Needless to say, such gestures were not reciprocated: in 1915 striking Africans were to receive no support from their white fellow workers.

Yet it is easy to sympathise with the white radicals' desire to encourage a united black and white class front for the 1920s were to witness two parallel reactions to economic exploitation: the uprising of a section of the white working class increasingly composed of Afrikaners forced into the cities by agricultural depression, and a wave of black strikes from which there grew a labour movement of a quarter of a million men.



The early African strikes were weak isolated affairs. In 1918 there was the 'bucket boys' action in which Johannesburg sanitary workers refused to remove any more sewage until they were paid another 6d a day. The 150 strikers were arrested and sentenced to two months' imprisonment under the Masters and Servants Act. While serving their sentence they were forced back to work under an armed guard. The court ordered that those who refused should be flogged. Two years later there was a strike involving 40 000 miners. Here again the isolation of the strikers was to be their undoing. The compound system was to demonstrate its real nature: each compound was surrounded and the men within were told that their comrades had betrayed them and returned to work. Even so some had to be driven into the mines with police bayonets, and in one mine, Village Deep, the police were unable to enter until they had shot six miners.

## ICU

It was in these conditions of isolated but increasingly fierce black working class resistance that the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union was founded in 1919. The ICU was started in Cape Town by Clements Kadalie, a Nyasalander, who worked in the mines before becoming a docker in Cape Town. The ICU's origins lay in a dock strike for higher wages and a ban on food exports (it was a time of famine in rural parts of South Africa). The strike failed, largely because of lack of support from white dockworkers but nevertheless the extraordinarily rapid growth of the ICU in the years that followed is an indication of how receptive black workers could be to organisation and how eager they were for leadership.

The ICU swiftly spread all over the country. Its membership was to exceed 200 000 in 1928. Yet massive as it was, the ICU was to undertake no strike action after the initial dock strike that marked its formation. It seemed to suffer from a strange paralysis: the strength was ostensibly there, but there was a reluctance among its leaders for confrontation. Rather than providing a cutting edge to the frustration and desperation of black workers, the ICU was to dissipate their strength.

What were the reasons for this?

- First, and most important, there were the structural features of the organisation. It grew far too swiftly to evolve an efficient bureaucracy. Then, despite its claims, it was not an industrial organisation: it was a heterogeneous workers' union and its influence even spread to rural communities for which it could achieve little.

- A second factor involved the response from sections of the white community. The Joint Council movement, the Bantu Men's Social Centre, the welfare organisation, were all elements in a general liberal response to African social distress

in the 1920s. This was often highly motivated. Liberals were not in a cynical conspiracy to betray blacks, but such people were hardly suitable allies for a militant trade union movement. Their concern was genuinely humanitarian but also rested on certain political assumptions, one of which was the undesirability of confrontation. A good example is provided by an incident in the career of the missionary Ray Philips. In his biography he relates how he defused a miners' riot by showing Charlie Chaplin films. Philips probably saved a few lives that day but neither he nor other liberals of that time were to forcefully urge mine-owners to abolish the compound system and replace it with something better. Joint Council leaders had considerable influence on Kadalie and helped to persuade him that what the ICU needed was some measure of institutional respectability — such as affiliation to the International Federation of Trades Unions — to strengthen its hand with employers. And much of Kadalie's energies as a trade union leader were geared to attempts to gain this sort of acceptance: there was the pathetic occasion in 1927 when Kadalie pleaded unsuccessfully with the Mayor of Durban to come and open their annual congress.

- Third, Kadalie's reformism should also be seen in the light of his relationship with Communist Party leaders. There was until 1925 an essential conflict between ICU and Communist Party policy which kept the two movements apart. The conflict was over the question of the white working class. S. P. Bunting went so far as to claim that the repeal of colour bar regulations in the mines would 'not benefit the native worker, rather the reverse' for it would depress skilled wages and do nothing to raise unskilled pay. ICU attacks on white labour policies during 1923 and 1924 were not reciprocated by CPSA leaders. All this was to provide ground for the feeling that the Communist Party was a white man's party. On their side the communists were becoming increasingly exasperated with the ICU leadership.

There was, therefore, considerable tension, and the break came at the 1926 Congress when communists were expelled. With them the ICU lost the more radical element in its leadership. The responsibility should not simply be attributed to Kadalie or his liberal friends, but also to the Communists with their schizophrenic attitude to white workers.

- The fourth explanation for the failure of the ICU can be sought in the character of Kadalie himself. Kadalie was no coward. He was a powerful orator and in many respects a gifted leader, but an unstable and confused personality. In three years he had become a major political leader in the country, but the power that was represented by the social force behind him was potentially revolutionary: to have fully mobilised it would have brought the movement into stark conflict with the state. Perhaps Kadalie realised

this; in any case he was ready to be influenced by those who told him that he would not have to exercise the potential power he presented. It was this uncertainty about its function that was to be the downfall of the ICU and by 1929 membership was falling away.

Had the ICU achieved anything?

Arguably it may have contributed to increasing black working class consciousness. In a sense it also functioned as a political party and so perhaps heightened mass political awareness at a time when the ANC did not seek to mobilise a mass base. At times there was some antagonism between ICU and ANC leaders. Nevertheless, it may also be contended that it reinforced tendencies that Congress represented. Like the ANC, the ICU was a force for integration rather than racial separatism.

Despite its impact at the time, the ICU's legacy was a disappointing one. Its failure, its inadequacies as an organisation were to provoke a feeling of apathy and disillusion in the black workforce. Its squandering of their hope and energy was to make future efforts to mobilise the masses more difficult.

But the ICU was not the only organisation to be guilty of a failure of consistent leadership. The Communist Party from 1928 to 1937 suffered a period of internal crisis which detracted considerably from its ability to exploit African social unrest during the 1930s.

In part one of this article it was related how, in 1928, the CPSA adopted its 'native republic' slogan which reversed its previous equivocal attitude to the white working class. The removal of racial discrimination was now perceived as an essential pre-condition for any advance to a classless society. It was to take priority over any work within the white labour movement.

To this end, as we have seen, the CPSA began to work with such ANC leaders as Josiah Gumede. However, the Comintern was highly critical of this association: the ANC, it said, was dominated by an embryonic 'native bourgeoisie'. Comintern reaction was to despatch to South

Africa two British Communist Party officials, Douglas and Molly Wolton. Douglas Wolton took over the position of party secretary from S. P. Bunting and then begun an orgy of expulsions and purges in which most of the party's experienced trade unionists were forced out. Comintern in its wisdom supported this action, labelling Bunting and his colleagues 'chauvinist agents of imperialism'.

A second turn in party policy developed in 1933-35 when the accession of Hitler to power caused Comintern to call upon its sections to form united fronts with social democrats and liberal groupings opposed to fascism. This was to involve a sharp reverse in CPSA policy: white communists turned once again to white labour to build an all-white popular front against fascism. The resulting disenchantment with all these convolutions was evidenced in the dramatic drop in party membership: from 1 750 in 1928 (of whom 1 600 were black) to 280 in 1940.

The pity of it was that the 1930s, like the decade before in the case of the ICU, offered substantial opportunities for a well-organised African labour movement. The depression was followed by a rapid expansion of the manufacturing sector as South Africa came off the Gold Standard. The black urban population doubled. A workforce was employed in increasingly sophisticated industry and now, because manufacturing did not prefer migrant labour or a compound system, it was considerably easier to organise. Despite their internecine conflicts, the communists were able to achieve some remarkable results. During the early 1930s, 'native republic' notwithstanding, Afrikaner unemployed marched alongside blacks calling for bread, work and wages. While on the whole white workers evoked sympathy from the authorities whereas blacks were beaten up, there were occasions when genuine working class solidarity was shown. One such was a Christmas Eve march to collect food for the unemployed: Afrikaners insisted that the food should be shared equally 'for they also came with us'. But in general the 1930s were wasted years.

*Part III follows next issue.*

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David Ngubeni of Soweto, also 13, sells newspapers from Wednesday to Saturday. He says he is collected at 4 am and is taken home at 8 pm. He is paid 5c for each newspaper he sells. He takes home about R6 a week.

He left school in Form 1 as his parents were too old to work. 'I pay the rent and buy some food. I hope to find another job where I can earn more money.'

Mr Ronnie Webb, president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, has looked at the problem and feels it would be difficult to find a solution.

'Do you push for child labour to be abolished and deprive them of their sole source of income or do you accept it as a fact of life?'

Mrs Ina Pelman, regional secretary of the South African Institute of Race Relations, says the little they earn is better than nothing.

*From a report in THE STAR, 6/11/78*



# Advice Office reports

## ATHLONE

June — July 1978

**A**TTEENDANCE records show a bit of a lull, not unfortunately reflecting a drop in the number of people charged with statutory offences under the pass laws, nor a major black family house-building project which would improve future prospects for thousands. On the contrary, the new Bantu Commissioner's Court at Langa, with two spacious court-rooms and plenty of cell-space for awaiting prisoners, opened its jaws in mid-June. This takes the place of the cramped and grimy wooden structure in front of the administrative complex, where so many people lost their freedom or their money in ever-growing numbers and with heavier fines over the past twenty-odd years. The new Court was deemed an urgent necessity more because of crowded conditions and future expectations of still more arrests than because of the dilapidation of the old. One court room is for young men, legally in the area but apparently out of work and not registered as work-seekers, charged under the section of the Act which suggests that they are 'idle and undesirable', Sec. 29, Urban Areas Act.

About eighty appeals for attorneys to appear in Court on behalf of people arrested under the Pass Laws were received by the Advice Office during June and July. During the second week of June, BAAB inspectors launched a major programme of arresting Crossroads people near their bus stops or at the water-points where the women fill their buckets. On June 6, 34 names were sent to us with an urgent request for legal representation. Only 12 of these names featured on the court roster next day, and maximum fines were imposed (R50 or 50 days, plus another R5 or 10 days if no travel document or reference book was produced). This pattern continued and in all only some 26 of the names referred to us actually appeared recognisably on the court roll, and were then represented with pleas in mitigation. Usually the maximum fine was imposed but a few people got off with suspended sentences and in four cases the charges were dropped.

### • Case

On July 25, police from Killarney arrested a man in the bush near his shack among the sand-dunes of Table View. His name, N. W. Landu, was reported to us with an appeal for help and an attorney duly contacted the Court, only to be told that no such name was on the list. Strenuous attempts to trace him were unsuccessful until the following day when his wife, carrying a coughing and crying infant, begged us to con-

tinue the search. After many telephone calls, a man listed as 'Ludu' was acknowledged to have been admitted to Pollsmoor prison from Langa Court the previous afternoon. This was the man. His name had been wrongly copied from his Travel Document (where it is clearly legible) by some clerk at Langa Court and as 'Ludu' he was tried, sentenced and gaoled. He was finally redeemed from Pollsmoor by a well-wisher sent with the balance of the fine by a representative of the Cardinal (this help is not normally available and is totally outside the scope of Advice Office work). Great difficulty was experienced in finding him in prison because he could not hear his wrong name being called among the general clamour of the cell. The prison officials explained that although there had to be some man corresponding to the name Ludu inside, it was up to him to come forward when called. To them, he was any one among a sea of unknown faces and apparently the roll-call is only taken once a month. Finally an attorney asked the Colonel in charge of Pollsmoor to insist that he be called under his real name until found and this was done. Emerging into the fading light (the whole afternoon had passed in the quest) he apologised for his bare feet and described how he had been caught by a police dog, having instinctively fled when it approached.

A hospital dressing attested that the dog's teeth had penetrated his thigh. It had pulled him down. He had lost one good shoe in the flight and discarded the other in disgust at the police station. At least, he said, the prison provides enough blankets at night, he only felt very cold in the day-time. 'The police carried revolvers and set their dog on me, I had nothing but my hands. They arrested me and for what? I had not hurt anyone, nor stolen, I had not even been drinking. I was just trying to work to look after my family, especially the sick baby. He is taken regularly to hospital by my wife.'

*Transkei's* unilateral breaking-off of diplomatic relations with RSA seems to be proving counter-productive for Transkeians in the Peninsula (remembering that for very many, Transkeian citizenship was forced on them against their wishes). A date stamped in a Travel Document by police or BAAB officials gives the holder two weeks' lawful presence in the Republic, but proper 'visiting' permits are not readily granted, let alone extended, and all the provisions of the Transkei citizenship and Status Acts of 1976 are brought to bear on people seeking to establish residence in the area. Occupancy of township houses will not be granted to anyone who has not already accepted homeland citizenship and this in turn can be used in the future to disqualify descendants.

The CBAC has specified his Department's unwillingness to allow wives from outside the area to join their husbands even if the husbands have lodgings in family accommodation. Only men who are left as occupiers of houses when their wives die or are separated from them by divorce are considered eligible for bringing in new wives to join them from rural or other areas. One is aware of divorced wives sometimes being put out with children, and searching frantically for lodgings while a new wife replaces them in the house. Wives who enter the area on 'visits' wanting to join husbands who have lodgings in family accommodation, as distinct from compulsory rent in the single quarters, have very little hope of gaining recognition in the shape of a permanent legal home in the area. This state of affairs cannot and will not be accepted. Some firms are helping by providing family houses for their employees at their own expense, although ownership of the houses remains with BAAB. This positive ray of hope is greatly to be welcomed and encouraged.

**R. N. Robb**  
**B. D. Versfeld**

## **JOHANNESBURG**

February — August 1978

**T**HE unemployment crisis has brought hundreds of people to the Advice Office during the past months. One aspect of unemployment which has not been properly considered is the extent of the crisis in rural areas and in the Homelands. People who live in the prescribed areas are at last becoming aware of how urban black people are affected, but influx control and the Labour Regulations ensure that the extent and effects of national unemployment remain hidden and of no concern to white South Africans.

Recruitment of labour from the homelands is now severely restricted and people who have no Section 10 rights have little hope of being allowed to register in jobs they have found. Those borderline cases where people have been in the area for many years in unregistered employment and might previously have been registered after special application to the Regional Labour Commissioner are now impossible of resolution. Such applications are now generally refused on the grounds that 'there are too many people who were born here in town'. This exposes the whole underlying fraudulent nature of the influx control policy. It enables the South African Government to shed all responsibility for unemployed people who are not in 'white' urban areas by pretending that they do not exist and are not part of the South African population.

Unemployed people who live in homelands and in impoverished rural areas are in a far worse condition than those in urban areas. They have

little hope of earning a livelihood in the informal sector because the communities in which they live have no purchasing power. Increasing numbers live in closer settlements in the homelands where they have no land and are not allowed to keep livestock. Unemployment Insurance Fund benefits, pensions and welfare assistance are almost impossible to obtain and many complain of unsympathetic and obstructive treatment meted out to them by Commissioners of the Plural Relations Department. They are not allowed to leave the area where they live to look for work and if they do so illegally and find a job they cannot be registered. With the greatly increased penalties imposed on employers for employing unregistered workers and the fact that such employers must go to Court if charged and can no longer pay Admission of Guilt fines, people without permits are finding it impossible to obtain any kind of work at all.

MR N. M. comes from Nqutu in Natal where he has a wife and two children. He was employed in a factory in Johannesburg for five years on annual contracts. He was retrenched when his last contract expired in November 1977. His employers did not give him his Unemployment Insurance Contributor's Record Card, and so he could not receive benefits. By law he had to return to Nqutu when he was discharged but he found that no recruiting was being done there. In desperation he came back to Johannesburg and found himself a job but was refused registration.

MR J. M. comes from Tugela Ferry and was laid off in 1975. He has been unemployed ever since but his old employers have offered him his old job back. Registration is refused and the Labour Officer tells him that only domestic workers and gardeners from outside the area can be admitted on contract because over 20 000 Johannesburg men are waiting to be placed in employment.

L. T. is a young man who came to Johannesburg from Philipolis in 1970 to train as an electrician. His uncle was supporting him but has since died and there is no more money for fees. He must work in the non-prescribed areas only, which his training but cannot register in Johannesburg and there is no work in Philipolis.

### **• Farm labour only**

We have seen several men from 'white' rural areas who have been refused registration in jobs they have found because their reference books are stamped 'FARM LABOUR ONLY'.

MR D. M. has lost his job and his house and all hope. His Reference Book is stamped that he may do farm labour only. He was registered in his employment on a chicken farm just outside Vereeniging. He was paid R10 per week. His employer provided a house for him at Sebokeng



but he had to pay the monthly rental of R13,75. He asked his employer for more money and was immediately discharged, and had to leave the house. His wife, children, aged father and himself have nowhere to live and, as he is only allowed to work on farms, has no prospects for security for his family. He is Xhosa and since independence of Transkei is now an alien in South Africa. The only place he can legally expect to have a house is in Transkei but his family have been in the Transvaal for at least three generations and utterly reject this as a solution.

### • Separation of families

Unemployment is causing the separation of families on an unprecedented scale.

MRS C. M. who is legally employed in Johannesburg has been living with her husband in Alexandra. They were refused resettlement to family accommodation because Mr M. was registered on annual contracts and was ordered to move to the Mapetla Hostel while his wife was told to move into the Women's Hostel. They were looking for a room in Soweto where they could live together on a Lodger's permit when Mr M. lost his job. He now has to go back to Moretele where he must register as a workseeker and wait to be recruited for new employment. He has little hope that he will be offered any employment and even less that he will be 'lucky' enough to be offered a job in Johannesburg so that he can be with his wife. He has no control over where he will work.

### • Pensions

The poverty caused by unemployment has greatly increased the number of people trying desperately to find some source of financial support. Old people who have never applied for pensions before because they could not cope with the delays and obstructions entailed in making application and because their families were supporting them, are now making applications because the family breadwinner is unemployed. They come to us because of the enormous difficulties they experience. We have the impression that the Department of Plural Relations tries to avoid paying pensions wherever possible and to delay applications in order to reduce costs.

MR W. M. lives lawfully in Johannesburg. He is 71 years old and has been trying to get a pension since 1975. There is a query about his citizenship so he has a Temporary Identification Certificate while he waits for a Reference Book to be issued to him. The Commissioner refuses to accept his application for a pension until he has a Reference Book in spite of the fact that he is the registered tenant of his house in Soweto and is entitled to a pension whatever his citizenship.

MR K. J. M. was in receipt of a pension in Johannesburg but decided to retire to Lebowa because his relatives did not want him to remain with them. His pension was cancelled and he was told to reapply in Lebowa. Through bureaucratic bungling and administrative delays he was not paid any pension for a full twelve months. When the pension was eventually re-instated he was not given any back payments for the period during which he received nothing.

### • Unemployment insurance

The administration of the Unemployment Insurance Fund in the homelands and rural areas continues to be a cause for concern although there has been a marked improvement in urban areas. We get constant complaints from men and women that their applications for benefits are never accepted. They say the blue card is 'no use' outside the towns.

MR J. N. B. is typical of these cases. He was working on contract in Johannesburg and cannot claim benefits here because he cannot register here as a workseeker. The Commissioner at Tugela Ferry just refused to accept his application.

### • Foreigners

Black people who are not South Africans are suffering more than any other single group. They have no legal rights in terms of Section 10 and have no redress if they are refused registration and are ordered to leave. Some of these men and women have spent their whole working lives in South Africa and have contributed their labour to our economy. If they had been white they would long ago have become naturalised South African citizens but because they are black they are expendable when the going gets tough.

MR M. has been working in Johannesburg for 38 years. He came here from Mozambique in 1940 when he was only 15 years old. He was retrenched in March 1977 but now he has a new job. He was refused registration and is ordered to seek work in the non-prescribed areas only which means farm labour. His wife and six children are legally resident in Johannesburg.

MR P. K. V. is a Malawian who has been in Boksburg since 1936. He has a South African wife and his children were born in Boksburg. He lost his job because he was ill and when he found a new job was refused registration and was ordered to return to Malawi. In all these years he has only gone back there twice on holidays of one month's duration.

**Sheena Duncan**

## BOOK CORNER

### HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN LEGAL ORDER, John Dugard

This book is one of the most interesting I have read for a long time. It is exciting because of its comprehensiveness, cogency and scrupulous fairness, and it was hard to put down.

John Dugard, Professor of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand, examines the legal order which gives legal and institutional form to the policy of apartheid. His approach is historical and comparative, and he continually evaluates the South African position in the light of British and American law and thinking. He never makes a statement which he does not back by example, and the foot-notes at the bottom of each page bear this out.

Part I describes how Parliament has come to be the supreme institution in South Africa, its power above that of the judiciary, and how the Rule of Law, which has virtually disappeared, is now erroneously equated by whites with rule *by* law whose purpose is to maintain the *status quo*.

Part II looks at the loss of human rights under the law of apartheid and the concomitant disappearance of what are generally regarded as basic democratic freedoms: the freedom of person and its many corollaries and the freedoms of speech, association and assembly. This part made salutary reading for one who imagined that, having worked in the Black Sash Advice Office, she knew something about the extent of discriminatory legislation in this country. Professor Dugard illuminates every cranny, and allows the legislation to speak for its sickening self. Particularly revealing is his observation that the official opposition retains its freedom of expression at the Government's discretion. In terms of the Internal Security Act the Government could prosecute a political party which furthers an object similar to one of the ANC or PAC. In fact the abolition of certain discriminatory legislation which is endorsed by the Profseds, such as the abolition of the pass laws, was one of the objects of the ANC. To date there has been no such prosecution and Professor Dugard hopes there will never be, but the possibility of it exists.

Part III looks at political trials in South Africa. These are a part of our way of life, 'legal fictions' to the contrary notwithstanding. Professor Dugard is illuminating on how they serve to authenticate Government action in the eyes of the public in a way in which extra-judicial action, like banning, does not. He explains how the authentication process has been undermined by such factors as the increase in mandatory minimum sentences, the inapplicability of the principle of double jeopardy to charges under the 'Sabotage' and 'Terrorism Acts, the compelling of witnesses to give 'evidence for the prosecution and the new system of pre-trial procedure, sometimes known as the 'drastic process'. He explains and illustrates all these terms so that they are made wonderfully clear to the non-lawyer. He is particularly interesting on the disturbing resemblances between the 'drastic process' and the Dutch inquisitorial Code of 1570. Such legislation is alarmingly regressive, all the more so in comparison with, say modern American legislation.

Part IV, which makes up nearly a quarter of the book, is perhaps the most innovative and the most constructive. It studies the judicial process and human rights. The judiciary's reputation for independence and political neutrality was built up during the early 1950's when it took a firm stand against both the legislative and the executive. This reputation is no longer undisputed. Professor Dugard freely admits that this is partly due to the Government's reconstitution of the Appellate in the mid-1950's and to the fact that judges known to have been opposed to the Government before their appointment are seldom given political cases to judge. With wry fairness he adds: 'This may have been pure coincidence, but it is a matter that has not gone unnoticed'.

Moreover the positivist tradition of South African law can be blamed. Positivism holds that the law as it is must be considered divorced from the law as it ideally ought to be. Professor Dugard explains with a compassion and understanding typical of him that judges have often preferred the positivist approach because 'it is... comforting for the judge opposed to the laws he is required to enforce to seek refuge in the knowledge that his rôle is purely declaratory and mechanical'.

However positivism does not invariably govern judicial behaviour. Judges *have* made critical comment on politically colourless legislation which has resulted in desirable reforms, and Professor Dugard believes that this attitude could profitably be extended to statutes affecting civil liberties. By means of specific examples, he shows that in the interpretation of security laws, judges have generally — although not invariably — been pro-executive rather than pro-individual and such a decision was the definition of 'gathering' in *S. v. Wood*: it was ruled that any meeting of a banned person and one other constituted an unlawful gathering. He does not claim that judges could have changed legislation, nor are they responsible for the system of apartheid. He does believe, however, that



they could have ameliorated and softened such legislation had they made a different choice, but one equally valid from the legal viewpoint.

The points I have mentioned are merely a few plums pulled out of an exceptionally rich pudding. As well as being constantly fascinating, the whole work is characterised by moderation, fairness and understanding and is lightened by touches of irony and wry humour. Professor Dugard is never snide.

The writing is limpid and beautifully logical. Jargon — legal or otherwise — is refreshingly absent, and the author has a happy instinct for the right word.

The critics quoted in the blurb do the book an injustice. It is not of great interest only to legal scholars and students of South African affairs. It is imperative reading for anyone — lawyer or not — wanting a coherent and unemotional picture of the South African legal order.

*Princeton University Press, hard cover, R17,95*

## SOWETO — BLACK REVOLT, WHITE REACTION, John Kane-Berman

This is an exceptionally vivid account of Soweto and the events preceding and following June 1976. The author's aim is to elucidate the coherent purpose behind the system of apartheid, which makes of black daily life 'a Pilgrim's Progress through a world invented by Kafka'.

The reader is made to see how blacks interpreted events, and accounts given in the 'white' press, even the English press, are frequently readjusted and counterbalanced. One is directly confronted with black bitterness and black anger. One telling placard protesting against Dr Kissinger's visit to South Africa in 1976 read: 'Kissinger, your visit to Azania is bullshit. Even animals are angry'.

One of the best chapters in the book is chapter 5 which searchingly and movingly conveys the taste and texture of life in Soweto. In other chapters Mr Kane-Berman is not afraid to analyse such sensitive subjects as the motives behind the burning of libraries and clinics. He is particularly interesting on the poor record of the South African business community in rectifying the situation, despite its protestations and material gestures of concern.

This is a vigorously written book which should not be missed. It forces even the 'liberal' to recognise the futility of merely tinkering with and speechifying about change. At our peril do we hide behind an unwillingness to face unpleasant but fundamental facts, an unwillingness based on 'the fear that any real attempt to respond constructively to the totality of black demands for change would involve great material sacrifices'.

**J. S.**

*Ravan Press, soft cover, R8,50*

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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Perhaps this poem should have been called 'Ag shame!'. I wrote it in mild amusement because Sash is so often accused of Northern Suburbery or else told to get out of things it doesn't understand and get back to its kitchen.

**Eleanor Anderson**

### small talk

**(on the impossibility of pleasing everyone)**

*Each day I took a cheering pot of soup  
And fed it some hungry kids  
Who seemed to like the stuff.*

*Then someone said, 'But don't you see  
That tiny, single schemes like this  
Are nothing like enough?'*

*And so I sought the company of those who strive  
to sooth,  
As best they can, the road for those  
Who find the laws too rough.  
Till someone told us, 'When a nation's heart  
grows cold  
No strivings of a group like this  
Can ever be enough.'*

*Oh well. Ah well. I guess I'll take my pot of soup  
And feed it to some hungry kids  
Who seem to like the stuff.*

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All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by J. Sahli, of 56 Victory House, 34 Harrison Street, Johannesburg 2001. Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the Rand Daily Mail.

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