

# REVIEW 1967-1968

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*This address was presented by Mrs. Wilks to the Annual General Meeting of the Cape Western Region in Cape Town last year.*

**T**HE most far-reaching and restrictive legislation passed during the year under review was, of course, the Political Interference Bill, and its two hand-maidens, The Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill, and The Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Bill.

At the next General Election in 1971 all Coloured South Africans over the age of 21 will be entitled to vote — not for the sovereign House of Assembly, but for their own, their very own Kleurlingsraad. But, whatever may be said to the contrary, this can never be more than an imitation of a Provincial Council. No proposed law may be introduced there except with the approval of the Minister of Coloured Affairs.

Mr. Marais Viljoen, Minister of Coloured Affairs, assured us that Coloured South Africans will be granted not only a political say for the first time, but administrative responsibilities on an unprecedented scale. But it is interesting to recall what Mr. Strijdom said in April 1955, when defining his Coloured policy. "The only way the Europeans can maintain supremacy," he declared, "is by domination . . . and the only way they can maintain domination is by withholding the vote from the non-Europeans . . . The Government of the country is in the hands of the White man as the result of the franchise laws, and for that reason the White man is baas in South Africa."

Which then is the voice of truth? The roar of the Lion of the North — or the honeyed words of Mr. Marais Viljoen?

## Dissolution of the Liberal Party

Multi-racial membership of political parties is now prohibited, although this is important to remember — a mixed audience can still attend a political meeting provided the greater majority — what a gorgeous expression! — is of the same pigmentation as the speaker. This prohibition has led to the dissolution of the Liberal Party, which we record with deep sorrow. The Progressive Party has had — alas — to abolish its multi-racial character.

As Mr. Shaw pointed out, we have here a totalitarian development. Separate development can only be opposed in terms of separate development, and within the ideological framework of separate development.

The report of the Muller Commission of Enquiry last year contained 47 memoranda, more than two-thirds of which pleaded for the retention of Coloured representation in Parliament. The only purpose — as I see it, and of course not an intended one — this Commission's report has served is that it has crystallised, has caught as it were, as a fly in amber South African opposition attitudes in the year of grace 1967. It will be a fascinating vademecum for historians of the future.

## Amenities for decent living

We in the Cape are all naturally very concerned about the high increase of stabbings, particularly in the Coloured townships. It is interesting to note that in the new townships now being created in Glasgow, in a slum-clearance drive, where the civic authorities have made the mistake of not providing adequate recreational facilities the weekend stabbings have risen alarmingly. Public opinion must at least endeavour to influence the authorities to ensure that next time a community is uprooted amenities for decent living are provided before people are injected into such places. But meanwhile the principle remains totally wrong, and we must continue to oppose it.

The cancellation of the M.C.C. tour has naturally rocked all sportslovers. Granted the M.C.C. botched the business of Mr. D'Oliviera right from the beginning, but what a chance the Government has missed of showing that it is composed of men, not sulky schoolboys.

You may remember that in my last year's speech I drew your attention to Mr. M. C. Botha's statement to the Senate, in which he said that "The presence of the Bantu in White urban areas is for a limited purpose and of a casual nature", — and to the horror that this statement aroused in all of us. No legislation was, mercifully, introduced last year —

perhaps the Government had enough on its hands killing off, as it were, the Coloured voter. But last month Mr. F. Conradie, M.P.C. commented on the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Dr. P. Koornhof's recent indication that Section 10(1) of the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 was to be reviewed.

There are in the Western Cape some 25,000 African families. If the dearly-won right of these men to have their wives and children living with them — a normal procedure in Western civilised countries — is removed what will happen to the dependants? Where will they go? Under what conditions will they — many of them highly urbanised and sophisticated — live? What will happen to their children? Above all, consider the damage to the moral fabric of the family, and the very natural bitterness and frustration such an action must surely engender.

#### Population clearance

We read in the old Testament that all human beings yearn to sit under their vines and under their fig trees with none to make them afraid. Under the Group Areas Act it is estimated that over 120,000 Coloured people in the Cape Peninsula (that is, a quarter of the Coloured population here) either have, or will have to, leave their homes. Woodstock is the latest victim. When Simon's Town was declared White there were over 800 Coloured families, many of whom had roots going back nearly 200 years. Slum clearance

is one thing, and a very good thing too; population clearance is quite another.

And here I would like to pay tribute to the magnificent work done — as private individuals — by Mrs. Willis and others in the Christian Churches Advice Office in Simon's Town, and to applaud Mrs. Willis for producing that admirably clear and informative pamphlet for those affected by Group Areas proclamations.

Under Influx Control over 175,000 men and 47,000 women were endorsed out of urban areas from January 1959 to December 1965. (The Minister of Bantu Affairs significantly, refused to give numbers of endorsements out since that date). These people have been sent either to what the Government politely calls their "homelands" — which many of them have never even seen, or to what the Government euphemistically calls "resettlement villages." (In these resettlement villages, you will remember, as well as Africans who have been endorsed out and have no tribal connections at all to which to return, Africans who have been evicted from farms, or are pensioners or are unable to obtain a livelihood in White areas, must also live.) It is estimated that by the end of September last year over 203,500 Africans from White urban areas had been settled in centres in their homelands.

An emergency camp at Weenen was singled out for a special attention in a Government Gazette in February. All sorts of regulations

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### WEEP!

Weep for the rape of justice in our land;  
Weep unashamed.  
Weep for the dead Honour of the State's High Place  
And mourn its passing.  
Now, in the twilight, watch the corpse, flag-shrouded,  
Borne by a shameful process to the grave.  
Watch while our dreams are with that corpse interred.

Yet remain firm.  
If all else dies let hope remain.  
Hope, that in the limbo where it rests  
It rests indeed and does not wholly die.  
Hope that the resurrection day will come  
And Honour, re-incarnate, will appear  
To grace again the State's High Place.

Then will our dreams have dreamers' eyes again  
And then no more need black-sashed women  
Silently rebuke black-hearted men.

Anon.

were laid down, and it really sounded as if it were going to be an Ideal Home for Africans. The May issue of the Black Sash described graphically what exactly is — and is not going on there.

Mrs. Cluver at last year's National Conference presented us with a moving account of the resettlement villages. We like to think that it is owing to the publicity given to Sada that conditions have improved, and we must continue to stir up public opinion wherever we can to see that when these unfortunate people are removed preparations have, at the very least, been made for them, and that they are not just cast down upon bare and unwelcoming earth — although I must reiterate, we are totally opposed to the removal of anyone anywhere!

### **Black Spots**

The Government continues with its policy of clearing "black spots". The Limehill scandal earlier this year must still be fresh in our minds. Archbishop Hurley and his committee deserve our warmest thanks for the magnificent task they did in publicising and ameliorating the appalling conditions which obtained at the time of that removal.

By the end of last year at least 75,000 people had been removed from Black Spot areas — of which there are 383 in the country, comprising some 700,000 morgen — and at least 9,000 are being moved in Natal alone in the course of this year.

When some 400 African families, who had previously sold their own plots near Eersterus, moved to a place called Stinkwater they were dumped, so Father Nye has said, in the middle of the winter on the open veld without any of the bare necessities of life, where there was only one borehole, a muddy river used by cows, no shops, no school, no sanitary accommodation and only tents to live in — on loan for three months until the women and the old men, unable to work in town, were able to put their bits and pieces of old iron and poles together to make some sort of shelter against the biting cold.

And yet Mr. Froneman, then Deputy Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, claimed in May 1968 that black spot removals were performed fairly and that no one was forcibly removed. (In parenthesis, what about those Western Tswana tribesmen who left their land given them by President Kruger only after charges were laid against them? What about the chieftainess of a Bapedi tribe who served a jail sentence of 60 days in 1964 for refusing

to surrender the title deeds of the tribal farm?) Mr. Froneman further said that equity and reasonableness were the very touchstones of the whole operation. Bantu who were removed, apart from compensation, also enjoyed concessions and advantages such as the supply of sufficient water, a tent or prefabricated house free of charge until a new home was created, raw materials for the new home, three days free rations, sufficient sanitary conveniences and clinics. Above all, technicians of the Bantu Trust planned and laid out the new townships and the new farms before any removals were made. Well well!!

And here it seems appropriate to congratulate all of you who worked so very hard, as individuals for the Citizens' Action Committee, in arousing public awareness of the nature and manner of these unnecessary and disgraceful removals.

This year has seen the establishment of labour bureaux in the seats of Bantu authorities, the regulations which were so ably summarised by Mrs. Sinclair recently.

### **Comprehensive migrant labour**

The clock is indeed being put back. The African labour pattern is being re-designed with only one objective; the enforcement of a comprehensive migrant labour system. The Government will thus, of course, eventually claim that all Africans outside the homelands are indeed mere temporary sojourners, and that separate development has become a reality.

What all this will mean in terms of human suffering and family disruption is all too clear — and also its costs in terms of industrial productivity, and efficiency. It is obvious to anyone who thinks realistically, not even compassionately, that South Africa's peace and prosperity can only be secured by the creation of a stable, property-owning, urbanised labour force.

The average annual income per capita in the Homelands remains static at R53 per annum, half of which comes from migrants working in White areas, according to the Financial Mail. It further states that in all the homelands only 2.3% of the Bantu Investment Corporation's outlay of R6.1 million was for manufacturing enterprises. The Xhosa Development Company has used only a small portion of its initial capital of R1 million. The Vulindela Furniture factory at Umtata employs only 180 Africans, making over-expensive prefabricated houses, and crude tables, chairs and school equipment. The Transkei

Hillmond Weaving Factory has gone downhill since it was moved from Brakpan.

Few Border industries have, as I see it, appeared on the border — although many of them have appeared far from a normal person's idea of the border. If Bantustans are ever to become a meaningful concept they cannot for ever be denied the same favourable conditions which have built White South Africa.

#### Cheap black migrant labour

But is it the Government's honest intention to make the Bantustans meaningful and viable concepts? Mr. M. C. Botha has said that the crux of the Government's Bantustan policy is to anchor the "Bantu" in their homelands "traditionally, spiritually, and politically". Note — nothing is said about anchoring the African economically in his homeland. Why is this? Can it be because the Government is really more interested in securing, in White South Africa, a constant flow of cheap Black migrant labour, than in seriously building up the Bantustans? Because if it did do the latter African labourers would obviously wish to stay as near home as possible rather than work under highly undesirable conditions, many hundreds of miles away.

A propos of this, Mr. Blaar Coetzee said in the House in February that the Government had not yet succeeded in reversing the flow of African workers, but it would succeed — if not by 1978, then by 1998. What has happened to King Canute, and why has he postponed this annus mirabilis for another 20 years?

#### Soweto families living below the P.D.L.

Well over half of African families living in Soweto fell short, last year, of their absolute minimum needs by some R13 a month. The absolute minimum monthly expenditure — the poverty datum line — for a Soweto family of five was set at R53.32 a month. But that does not allow one cent for anything which lifts life out of a grey struggle for existence. The effective minimum level is a fairer basis, as it includes minimum sociological necessities — and the effective minimum level for Soweto was calculated to be over R20 a month more than the P.D.L. The Financial Mail states that average wages for African workers in all industries were, last year, still below the 1966 P.D.L. of R14.89 a month (despite the improvement in real living standards).

#### The cost of separate development

The implementation of separate develop-

ment has, according to Mr. L. E. D. Winchester, M.P. cost about R3,000 million in the 20 years of its existence. Why cannot this money be diverted from this sterile occupation to the more fruitful one — in all respects — of a sharply increased minimum wage structure?

Twenty years ago the Declaration of Human Rights was accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations and signed by all member nations, with the exceptions of—Russia and her satellites, Saudi Arabia and what was then the Union of South Africa. But how could the Government, in all honesty, sign this declaration? For the articles guarantee, inter alia, that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family home or correspondence, that everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the border of his country, that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property, that everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his country directly or through freely-chosen representatives, that everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country, that everyone has the right of free choice of employment, the right to free elementary and compulsory education — in fact, the right to decent, honourable, upright living, a right which civilised Western countries have striven, or are striving, to create within their own borders.

#### The Message

We must all have been encouraged to read the forthright denunciation of apartheid issued last month by the South African Council of Churches, in which apartheid was found to be "truly hostile" to Christianity. The Presbyterian Church has also asked the Dutch Reformed Church to take part in a joint protest to the Government over migrant labour. Our Prime Minister has counter-attacked by urging certain members of the clergy not to use their pulpits for preaching politics, and has said that the policy of separate development fully complies with the requirements of Christianity and morality.

I am obviously no theologian, and I do not believe any layman is qualified to interpret the requirements of Christianity. However I do naturally accept the interpretation of the Church's function as defined by a former Archbishop of Cape Town. He stated that the Church, in fulfilment of its task of establishing the kingdom of God, is concerned with the total wellbeing of man, body, soul

and spirit, and that the Church interfered in politics only when politics stepped up to the pulpit. Therefore it must surely only be right that the Council has issued this statement and has given many of us a lead which we have been hoping for.

We were saddened by the death this year of Professor Z. K. Matthews, a man of outstanding ability and personality, a natural leader who served his people and his country with warmth, understanding, and complete integrity, both in the world of learning and in that of politics.

#### Student revolt

1968 has been the year of student revolt, in my opinion sometimes undisciplined, uncontrolled, and ill-defined. However every university must have the right to say who shall teach in it, and the students of U.C.T., Wits, and Rhodes are to be congratulated on their dignified, well-conducted and purposeful sit-in. Academic freedom is very precious to all of us.

White people in South Africa are overfond of diminishing the distances—and the variety of peoples — of this vast Continent. Far too often they say: Look what's happened in the Congo — Nigeria — Ghana — and tar the Black South African with the same brush as if these countries were just beyond the garden fence and all Africa inhabited by exactly the same people. No divergence of national characteristics if you are Black! But Johannesburg to Leopoldville, as the crow flies, is about 100 miles further than London to Moscow, and the equivalent distance from Johannesburg to Lagos would, if you went due east from London take you over the Ural mountains, into Siberia and Asia. We would not consider it a valid argument if an African held against the English the Russian's recent brutal action in Czechoslovakia. But, in this context, why shouldn't he? After all the Russians and the English are both White. And if he took a sweeping view of the history of Europe what would he see? Nation warring continually against nation, six million Jews recently done to death in a hideous barbaric manner, men spending time, money and ingenuity in inventing horrifying weapons with which to kill other men.

Can the White people, in all honesty, maintain this holier-than-thou attitude if they reflect on their own bloodstained record?

And the White man brought a virus to Africa south of the Sahara, a virus which,

though it did not affect Southern Africa has had, I submit, a fatally disruptive effect on the development of, and White attitude towards, the whole Continent.

The slave trade existed for very nearly 400 years. During that long time it is estimated that about 50 million human beings were shipped from the bulge of Africa to Angola — and remember Arab slavers were busy, though to a lesser degree, on the East coast. This trade debased primarily, of course, the enslaved, but the slavers and those who supplied — sometimes against their will — black ivory also became in their turn debased and



brutalised . . . There was born in the White man, as he handled his human cargo, the irrational and totally unfounded belief that he was, ipso facto, superior to the Black man — a belief which previously did not exist, a belief which is the torment and distraction of the twentieth century.

Fine ancient kingdoms, such as Ashanti and the Congo (which then lay just to the north of Angola) were disrupted and debauched by the continual cry for more victims. Chaos, confusion and corruption followed in the wake of the White slavers who gave guns, and later gin, in exchange. Tribes fled in fear further and further into the interior to avoid the deadly slave-raiding parties. It was denied to