

THE BLACK SASH

- Problems of Government in African States
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DIE SWART SERP

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The Black Sash



Die Swart Serp

By announcing expedient concessions in sport and by meeting African representatives from other countries the Prime Minister is attempting to project a new image of South Africa's "granite apartheid". South Africans should not be lulled into optimism by these concessions. There is only one way to improve South Africa's image and that is by renouncing its unacceptable racial policies.

Parliament is in session and we look in vain for any softening of the position within South Africa. The latest disgraceful legislation is the race classification bill (The Population Registration Amendment Bill) which lays down new and almost unbelievable conditions for determining whether a man is to be considered white, one of seven classes of coloured, or African. People outside South Africa must wonder why it could possibly matter but here it is vital. To be declared Coloured means loss of voting rights, loss of privilege, segregation into coloured housing areas, even inability to attend cinemas, theatres, sporting fixtures and to swim from beaches set aside for whites only. Employment opportunities are less, wages are lower, there is no general compulsory education and few hopes of higher education. There is, of course, to be compulsory employment training for coloured youths but this spurious measure we have already condemned in a memorandum. So the cry of government members in parliament that reclassification of white people to the coloured groups and of coloured people to the African group means no loss of status is indeed hollow.

Amongst other provisions the bill states that in determining a person's race "his habits, education, speech and deportment, and demeanour in general shall be taken into account." As one opposition member put it — "Can you determine a man's race by the way he walks or talks; is he less likely to be coloured if he has a university degree?"

In the past there were a number of people who, because of appearance or social acceptance, were able to join the privileged white group with all its attendant advantages. This is no longer the case. Descent is the determining factor. A coloured antecedent is enough to ensure that a man and his descendants are less privileged for ever. Likewise a coloured person who marries an African finds that his children are classified as Africans, made subject to the pass laws and suffering even greater racial discrimination than do the Coloureds.

Some of the phrases used in the debate would appear to have been written by Edward Lear

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Deur die doelmatige aanwending van sport konsessies, en ontmoetings met verteenwoordigers van ander Afrika lande, probeer die Eerste Minister 'n nuwe beeld skep van Suid-Afrika se „graniet apartheid". Suid-Afrikaners moet egter waak teen enige valse optimisme oor die uitwerking van die konsessies. Daar is net een metode om Suid-Afrika se beeld te verbeter en dit is om afstand te doen van sy onaanneemlike rassebeleid.

Die parlement sit tans, en ons soek tevergeefs vir enige tekens van verandering in die posisie in Suid-Afrika. Die jongste skandelige wetsontwerp is die Populasie Registrasie Amendement, met sy ongelooflike voorstelle vir die vasstelling van 'n man as blanke, of een van sewe kleurling groepe, of as Bantoe. Mense buite Suid-Afrika wonder seker watter saak dit nou kan maak, maar hier is dit lewens belangrik.

Om as kleurling geklassifiseer te wees beteken verlies van stem regte, verlies van voorregte, segregasie na kleurling woonbuurtes, selfs verbod op bywoning van bioskope, teaters, sportgeleenthede, of om te swem van strande wat vir blankes afgesonder is. Werkgeleenthede is minder, lone laër, daar is geen algemene verpligte opvoeding nie, en skraal hoop vir 'n hoër skool opvoeding. Daar gaan wel verpligte opleiding vir kleurling seuns wees, maar hierdie maatreef bied geen egte oplossing nie, en is reeds deur ons in 'n memorandum ontleed en veroordeel. Dus die bewerings van Regerings lede in die parlement dat herklassifikasie van blanke persone na die kleurling groep, en van kleurling na die Bantoe groep geen verlies van status meebring nie, is totaal ongegrond.

Hierdie wetsontwerp bepaal o.a. dat in die beslissing van 'n persoon se ras, sy „gewoontes, opvoeding, spraak, voorkome en gedrag in die algemeen in ag geneem word." Soos 'n opposisie lid dit gestel het, „kan 'n persoon se ras vasgestel word volgens die manier waarop hy loop of praat — is dit minder waarskynlik dat hy kleurling is as hy 'n Universiteits graad het?"

In die verlede kon 'n aantal persone op grond van voorkome en die sosiale kring wat hy in beweeg, aansluit by die blanke groep met sy menigvuldige voordele. Dit kan nou nie meer geskied nie. Afkoms is nou die beslissende faktor. Eën kleurling voorouer sal verseker dat al sy afstammelinge vir ewig minder bevoorreg sal wees. 'n Kleurling wat met 'n Bantoe trou sal dus ook vind dat al sy kinders as Bantoe geklassifiseer word, en moet ly onder die paswette, en nog meer diskriminasie dan selfs die kleurlinge ondervind.

Dit lyk amper asof sommige van die argumente in die debat deur Edward Lear geskryf was, en

● Vervolg op bladsy 18



Problems of Government in African States

By PROFESSOR JOHN BLACKING

* This is a revised version of a paper given at the Annual Council meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations at Port Elizabeth, in January, 1967, and to the Black Sash in Johannesburg, in April 1967.

THERE ARE GOOD REASONS for discussing problems of government in the whole of the African Continent, rather than in a selected area. If we were concerned solely with the problems of economic development, it might be better to divide the continent into geographical regions, or into areas of influence of the franc, the pound, and the dollar. There is even a case for dividing Africa politically into French-, English-, and Arabic-speaking areas. But we cannot really understand any region of Africa without reference to a number of factors, which are peculiar to the African continent and are to a greater or lesser degree parts of the environmental, historical, economic and political heritage of every country in Africa.

For example, Ivory Coast is a franc-based, French-speaking state, flanked by Liberia, Guinea, Mali, Upper Volta, and Ghana. In appearance and standards of living, it has much in common with Ghana, but its strongest economic ties are with France, with the countries of the Conseil de l'Entente (Upper Volta, Niger and Dahomey), and with the Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache, whose members extend geographically from Mauritania to Madagascar and Chad to Congo. About one-fourth of its population is made up of immigrants from Upper Volta, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey and Nigeria, and through the influence of Islam it has ties with the Arab world. In political outlook, it has followed what Coleman and Rosberg call the 'Pragmatic-Pluralistic pattern' in contrast to the 'Revolutionary-Centralizing trend' of its 3 neighbours, Guinea, Mali, and Ghana, although it is also a one-party state and has for long been associated with Guinea and Mali through common interest in the R.D.A. It is pro-Western, rather than Pro-Asian or pro-Arab, and it has adopted a policy of growth which has been called 'state capitalism'. Ivory Coast is therefore not just another of the underdeveloped countries of the world which happens to be in West Africa: it is a country whose problems of development and government are peculiarly African and must be seen in the context of the whole continent of Africa. The Pan-African concept has become a political ideal, even though it is still far from being a reality. African states know that their strength lies in greater co-operation amongst themselves, especially in the economic field, though there are few that want the sort of union

advocated by Kwame Nkrumah. Pan-Africanism is not a gimmick, but an idea born of a growing appreciation of the historical unity of the continent of Africa, an idea which even Cecil Rhodes envisaged in his dream of a map that would be pink from Cape to Cairo. In 1944, the Cape Times published a map called "Pan-Africa", with a statement by General Smuts:

"Maps no longer demarcate the separation of states but emphasize their essential unity. Our common task in Africa today is to develop the heritage handed down to us by many men and many nations. This continent rich in untapped wealth, must be used for the common good if real progress is to be achieved. We can thus make Africa the continent of the future." (italics mine)

The extremities of Africa have been drawn together by a variety of processes: the regular stream of trans-Saharan trade united north and west Africa for centuries until the growth of coastal trade and slaving shifted the direction of traffic; the advance of Arab traders and Islam spread elements of cultural unity to places as far afield as Somalia, Libya, Morocco, Senegal, Northern Nigeria, Uganda, Tanzania and Malawi; the colonization of the British and the French brought together vast tracts of Africa by imposing common languages and systems of education, communication, administration and commerce, and most recently, the emergence on the international scene of thirty-five African states within a decade has stimulated a new continental consciousness, and a common desire for rapid social and economic development and the enhancement

of national power and dignity. As if to confirm the emergence of the Pan-African spirit, even the True Whig Party of Liberia awoke from eighty years of complacent oligarchy, the Americo-Liberian class began to turn its attention towards Liberia's African neighbours, and President Tubman formally proposed a community of independent African States at the Sanniquellie Conference of 1959. We in South Africa could well follow this example: our future lies in Africa, and if we do not abandon our nostalgia for a way of life that now exists only in the backward parts of Europe and North America, we may well become as ridiculous as was Liberia in the thirties.

While recognizing the special characteristics of the whole continent of Africa, we must never forget that each African state and its problems are unique. There may appear to be certain similarities between events during the last year in Uganda and Lesotho, even to the extent of the political roles of Catholic and Protestant factions; but if the two situations are studied carefully in context, it is clear that President Obote's masterly handling of the Ugandan crisis and Chief Jonathan's recent performance in Lesotho are very different in causation, motivation, and implication for the future. Comparisons may illuminate a social situation, but they neither explain it nor provide a ready-made solution to its problems. Knowledge and experience of a number of similar situations are merely guides to the analysis of one particular situation in its own context. I shall outline some of the phenomena that are peculiar to the continent of Africa, and some of the chief problems of government in African states: this may serve as a guide with which to approach the analysis of specific problems of government in any one state.

Obviously Africa is unique by virtue of its geography alone. It is not well endowed for the crucial early stages of pre-industrial development, as was much of Asia. Only the countries to its north and south have a mediterranean climate; much of its land is inhospitable, its soil is often poor, communications are generally difficult, and both effective agricultural development and the extraction of its underground wealth require heavy capital expenditure. Because of sharp drops to the sea, many rivers are not fully navigable, and the interior remained largely isolated until railway lines, and more recently air strips, were built. Twelve states out of thirty-nine have no coastline, and four have insufficient access, so that for them the goodwill of neighbours is essential. In comparison, out of twenty-four Asian and eleven South American states, only four and two respectively have no coastline.

All the states of Africa are underdeveloped and have a predominantly peasant population, and all, including South Africa, depend for their progress on a steady supply of local labour and massive importation of capital, skills, and equipment from the U.S.A., Britain, and other devel-

oped countries. In this respect, they are like other underdeveloped countries of the world, but there the comparison ends. As President Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast has said: "Our sole link with the Asians is underdevelopment, and what differentiates us profoundly is that they suffer from over-population and we from under-population". Gabon is typical of many African states whose productivity could be enormously increased if its population were doubled or trebled; while Uganda is one of the few whose population is at present well adjusted to its area and resources. Africa's population is also unevenly distributed: for instance, sixty per cent of Tanzania is unoccupied and seventy per cent of its population lives in ten per cent of the territory, and populations have too often grown in the areas that are already overpopulated. Africa's peoples have on the whole had a uniformly low standard of living, without the extremes of wealth and poverty encountered in Asia.

Since the era of the Greek and Roman Empires, and probably before that, Africa has had the misfortune of being a pool for the labour and raw materials which were needed to carry out the basic development of non-African communities in other continents and even in Africa itself. The Portuguese depended on African labour for the development of Brazil, and the slave trade played a crucial part in laying the foundations for the economic take-off of both the United States and Britain. Less is known of the activity of Arabs and Asians, but there is little evidence of any development in Africa comparable to what they did in their home countries. Until the period of serious colonization, contact with Europeans and Asians was largely to the detriment of the people of Africa: societies were turned against each other, plundered, decimated, broken; human relations were disrupted by the wholesale introduction of guns and liquor, and disease and misery spread rapidly by the devastation of the land and the disorganisation of its cultivators. The benefits of foreign contacts were tragically outweighed by the disadvantages: the introduction of hardy food crops has been of inestimable value to Africa, and the spread of Islam probably gave north and west Africa a flying start; but the upheaval precipitated centuries of political instability, or alternatively the formation of reactionary feudal societies such as those in Northern Nigeria which, though much appreciated by British administrators, have been a serious barrier to modern progress.

Another unique feature of Africa with which its rulers must contend, is its phenomenal cultural diversity. This may have been imposed naturally by the environment of thick tropical forests, deserts, and harsh savannah country, but an equally significant cultural factor has been the destruction of social security during periods of exploitation and conquest. Groups tend to react to change by cultivating their differences and developing their separateness, and this is par-

ticularly common in societies dominated by the rugged individualism of peasant producers. Africa's peoples have been divided by more linguistic and cultural divisions than are found in any other area of the world, except the highlands of New Guinea and the jungles of the Amazon, but they have shown a remarkable ability to modernize without losing their vigour. Most of the states of Africa are multi-cultural, and cannot be compared to the nation-states of Europe which emerged on the basis of common languages, cultures, and historical experience. Moreover, none of them became independent as a result of outright military conquest. Most of Africa's rulers accept the multi-cultural legacy and are trying to create new, truly national cultures which transcend the old divisions. This is one reason why the multi-cultural states of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are of great interest to Africans as experiments in nation-building. Because the U.S.S.R. is not very much smaller than Africa in area and population, and has a vast community of peasants, its existence holds out hope for the creation of a Pan-African federation.

Africa has the distinction of being the most recent great land area to be penetrated effectively by Western civilization, and in particular by Protestant, rather than Catholic, Europe. The last phase in the development of modern African nations and in the emergence of the Pan-African concept, began in the first half of the nineteenth century, with the creation of the Zulu nation, the foundation of Liberia in 1822, the Niger expedition of Laird and Lander in 1832, the conquest of Algeria by General Bugeaud, and the establishment of Christian missions in the west and the south, and later in the east, of Africa. After this came a hundred years of colonialism, which decided the pattern and much of the future of modern Africa. Although the colonial powers brought together diverse societies under one government and thereby created new and larger units, Africa has three times as many states as South America, allowing for their respective areas and populations.

Africa therefore has another distinction of having fewer people per state than any other continent. Europe also has many states in a small land area, but although on the average European states are nearly a quarter the size of African states, they have nearly three times the population. Thus in the United Nations, Botswana is fifty-five times as big as Gambia, but less than a fifth the size of India; Botswana has almost twice the population of Gambia, but one five-hundredth of the population of India: all three countries have one vote in the Assembly. African states have been quick to seize on the political and economic advantages of a multiplicity of voices publicly expressing the same views and asking for the same sort of aid and investments, but they are acutely aware of the expense of maintaining delegations, and of the frustrations of lacking the military and economic power

to carry out their intentions. The annual budget of even the relatively prosperous state of Uganda, with a population of over seven million, is less than that of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, with a student body of only 25,000. Even South Africa is not as rich as General Motors. African States have therefore had to develop new ways of acquiring international power.

African governments have inherited a legacy which is enough to daunt the most resourceful and energetic nation, and did in fact defeat the colonial powers. Even South Africa, with all its advantages of climate, capital investment, skilled personnel, and legislation to mobilize and control labour, has been able to develop only a tiny fraction of its land and peoples to anything like their full potential. The legacy comprises three sets of problems: environmental, cultural, and historical or colonial. But they cannot be considered separately.

In most African states, governments have to tame rugged land with a shortage of capital and machinery, and of skilled and even unskilled manpower; in addition, they have to mobilize, train, and create a nation out of a largely apathetic and self-contained peasant population; and thirdly, they have to cope with 'artificial' economic and social structures that were created to be of far greater benefit to the imperial countries than to their dependencies. Each set of problems impinges on the other. Development of natural resources depends on getting enough capital and suitably trained manpower, which in turn depends on the policy decisions that governments make about taxation, foreign investment, educational priorities, and relations with other states. The forms that such government decisions take will inevitably be affected by the patterns of development, government, and international relations bequeathed by colonial powers, as well as by the degree of modernization and national integration achieved by the local population.

There are a few basic differences between French and British colonial rule, which have affected patterns of government in several African states. For instance, the French adopted a policy of assimilation and centralized administration, and made French the language of administration. Africans were sitting in the French Assembly and holding French ministerial posts long before their countries achieved independence. The British practised indirect rule, used the local languages for administration, and tended to encourage the development of traditional systems. Until after the 1939-45 war, the British spent much more time than the French on development, and in particular they spent it on hospitals and schools, while the French concentrated on ports and railways. Now the French are giving far more aid than the British to their former colonies.

Both the French and British regimes geared education to the colonial set-up: there was a

tendency to boost literary education and decri manual work, and to train lawyers and literary critics rather than doctors, engineers, scientists and agricultural experts. In most states, there is still only a very small proportion of the population employed in managerial, technical, craftsman and supervisory grades, which are essential elements for productive efficiency and growth. Worse still, when independence came a large proportion of the skilled men available was swallowed up into political and senior administrative posts. Critical decisions have to be made about education and manpower, and a balance has to be struck between primary, secondary, technical and university education. Most states allocate between 10 and 15 per cent of their budget to education, whilst Nigeria decided to spend as much as 40 per cent. In 1966 South Africa and Sudan spent respectively 3.9 and 6.4 per cent on education and 14.8 and 14.1 per cent on defence. Liberia spends 6 per cent on education and 10 per cent on foreign delegations.* Universal primary education is an aim in most states, but it can be a mixed blessing and a political risk unless there is adequate employment or room in secondary schools to take up its products. In order to spend money profitably and equitably on the primary phases of education, Guinea decided early against creating a University, which would have been an effective prestige symbol, and has risked sending its students overseas for higher education.

The economies of most African states have been precariously dependent on the extraction of one or two minerals, or on the quasi-monoculture of cotton, cocoa, peanuts, palm oil, or some other product whose value depends on fluctuating world prices. The economies were predominantly agrarian, and industries were largely devoted to processing raw materials. Each unit was a part of the economy of a colonial power, and as such was designed to provide a few raw materials and

* Some figures for the percentage of national budgets devoted to education, health & defence in 1964 were:—

	<i>Education</i>	<i>Health</i>	<i>Defence</i>
Ghana	17.6	5.5	6.6
Kenya	13.3	4.9	2.2
South Africa	4.9	3.1	10.4
Sudan	6.1	4.6	9.8
Tanzania	18.3	7.7	15.3
Togo	13.8	11.3	12.6
Uganda	13.9	7.4	4.1
U.A.R.	12.7	4.6	24.3

Figures for 1966 show a tendency of some to spend more on defence and less on education:—

	<i>Education</i>	<i>Defence</i>
South Africa	3.9	14.8
Sudan	6.4	14.1
Tanzania	14.5	15.7
Uganda	10.3	10.2

to be a market for manufactured goods. The chief problem for governments is to diversify these economies and to spread development to areas which the colonial regimes ignored. Interstate co-operation is also necessary, to avoid reduplication of expensive industries and luxury enterprises.

The unevenness of African development, which was largely due to the economic objectives of colonialism, has led to serious problems of community development. The chain of events which led to the inauguration of the Uganda Protectorate and to the establishment there of coffee and cotton as cash crops, also led to the construction of the railway from Mombasa, through Kikuyu and Luo country, to Kampala, and to the foundation of Nairobi as a railhead camp and stores depot in 1899, and to the development of Kikuyu land by white settlers. Thus the Ganda, the Kikuyu, and the Luo were nearer the centres of modernization than other peoples, and in spite of all the disadvantages of the colonial regime they were given a flying start, which makes it all the more difficult for them to share their windfall with those who did less well out of the colonial economy.

The urban centres and lines of communication that have already been partly developed naturally attract further investment, and as things are at present South Africa is the only country whose government is able to dictate terms and direct capital to less immediately profitable areas — and even the South African government is not being as firm as it could be for the good of the country. Quite apart from doing what is necessary for balanced economic development, it is very much in the political interests of governments to show that all sections of the community will benefit from their schemes. There is inevitably a tendency for national politics to be used preferentially for the development of a section of the community, which thereby takes the lead and gets other benefits in education, commerce, and industry. National leaders and mass parties may have initially gained power by rallying groups on a communal basis, or identifying with traditional elements, but they cannot afford to continue on this basis. In Tanzania, President Nyerere is the son of a chief, but TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) is a very efficient national party, and communal politics do not figure in its activities. In Guinea, Sekou Touré gained much support by virtue of being a lineal descendant of Chief Samory, whom the French displaced in the late nineteenth century, but he came to power via trade unions, and the single party rule of the PDG (Parti Démocratique de Guinée) is socialistic and traditional chiefs have been abolished.

African governments have to direct their political programmes towards specific technical problems of national development and can ill afford to attend preferentially to the welfare of factions

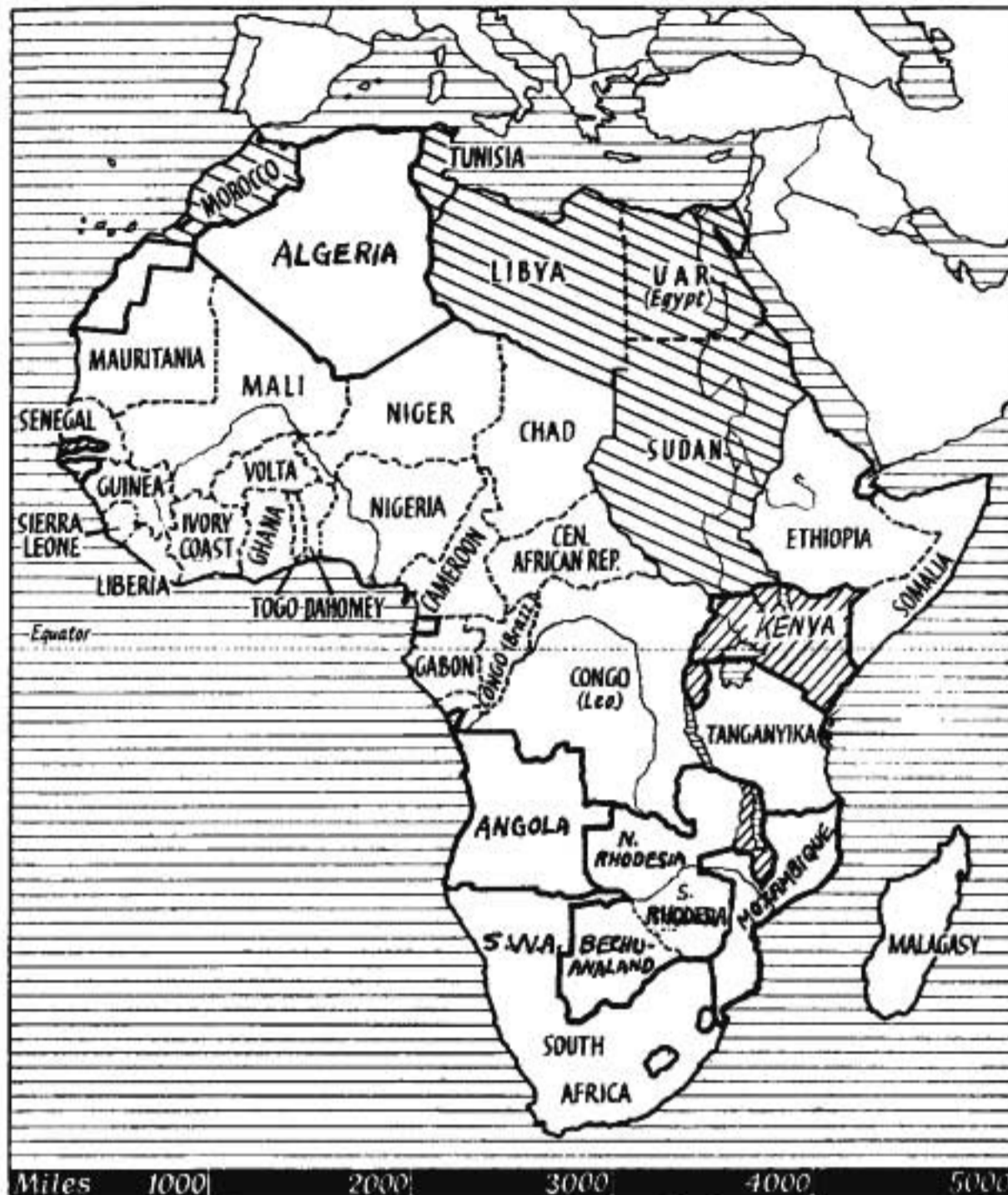
or sections of their population. Sometimes, in the task of achieving national integration and full participation in economic development they may have to risk displeasing the very group that brought them to power. For instance, in Uganda it was the alliance with the royalist Kabaka Yekka party that brought the nationally-minded UPC (Uganda People's Congress) to power at the time of independence. But early in 1966, when it looked as if a faction of KY and UPC members would destroy the dominance of the more radical, nationally-minded UPC wing, the UPC had to consolidate its forces at the risk of alienating its KY support. Premier Obote's swift and decisive political action encouraged waverers to swing to the support of the UPC, and subsequent amendments to the constitution consolidated the power of the central government. The Kingdom of Buganda had been the main obstacle to this, but Buganda was sufficiently unpopular with some of the other kingdoms, such as Bunyoro, that the UPC was able to 'divide and rule'.

Even when a degree of national integration has been achieved, it is often difficult to know where power really lies, and what section of the community may suddenly erupt. In Kenya at the time of independence, the membership of KANU (Kenya African National Union) was predominantly Kikuyu and Luo, and it stood for a strong central government. Moreover, as I have said, the Kikuyu and the Luo had by accident become the inheritors of commercial development in urban areas, notably Nairobi, the seat of government. The opposition party, KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union), represented the smaller tribes and not surprisingly favoured regional control. Ultimately, in the interests of national unity, KADU was graciously dissolved in November 1964 by its leader, Ronald Ngala, who was rewarded with a cabinet post in May 1966. There was a further shift of power, when the left-wing KPU (Kenya People's Union), a splinter party of the Luo leader Oginga Odinga, was heavily defeated in June 1966 and certain left-wing members were banned. In September, Rembrandt Tobacco Company, under cover of Rothman's of Pall Mall, skilfully bought out Vice-President Murumbi, who was replaced by Daniel Arap Moi, an able politician who comes from Nakuru. He is hopefully said to represent the interests of the smaller tribes, and in particular the agriculturally oriented section of the community. However, it would be naive to think that Kenya's political future depends simply on the unification of communal elements, which President Kenyatta has apparently accomplished with great skill. Future power could lie with adherents of a particular policy, or with organisations that transcend both tribe *and* party, such as youth movements or the trade unions, through which Tom Mboya originally came to the fore. As a result of increasing modernization, new extra-party bureaucratic and technical groups could

begin to press for political power, and they might well find the administration of the ruling party weakened because its ablest men are involved in the business of government. (This has *not* happened in the one-party states of the USSR and Eastern European countries, however). Trouble on the border between Kenya and Somalia could indirectly lead to numerical growth and greater influence of the military in the political field. Military cliques have played an increasing role in African politics, though more often to seek relief for specific grievances, rather than political power. Even Tanzania's strong governing party (TANU) "was helpless in the face of a few hundred disgruntled soldiers striking for higher pay and accelerated promotion" early in 1964 (James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg Jr. (ed), *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*, University of California Press, 1964, p.677). New power groups could even emerge within Kenya's rural co-operatives, which have not been as successful as they have been in some French-speaking territories.

The future role of the predominantly peasant population of Africa is still an unknown quantity. Hitherto, they have been coaxed to the polls by the party that speaks their language, has the best organised transport, or is able to make some immediately intelligible appeal on the basis of a local issue. It is difficult to estimate how deep-rooted is their support of any regime. For centuries they have accepted oppression and protection, and the comings and goings of ruling dynasties, with indifference and patience. Only under very special circumstances, such as in Ruanda, have African peasants risen unanimously and conclusively against a regime. Peasants are relatively independent of other producers and of the market, and in many parts of Africa the system of land tenure is not feudal and chiefs are not landlords: as long as a family stays in the same area, the family farm is passed down from generation to generation, and it therefore remains a stable source of occupation and income. When peasants are encouraged to improve their land, they are often afraid that its better appearance will hasten its confiscation.

The most urgent priorities in Africa today are reforms of systems of land tenure, the full incorporation of peasants in modernization and development through the effective dissemination of new economic opportunities and values, and the urgent animation of the countryside in town-centred economies. The problem has been well worked out by René Dumont in *L'Afrique noire est mal partie* (Paris, 1962), and I will not discuss it further except to say that it is essentially a political problem: it requires a revolutionary outlook on modern values, and it is made all the more difficult by the fact that there has been a shocking lack of attention to agricultural development in many African universities. This is very short-sighted, because "an agrarian revolution must both precede and accompany an industrial



revolution". The main conclusion of Professor A. Lewis's report on *Industrialization in the Gold Coast* (Accra, 1953) was:—

"The most certain way to promote industrialization in the Gold Coast is to lay the foundation it requires by taking vigorous measures to raise food production per person engaged in agriculture. This is the surest way of producing the large and ever-increasing demand for manufactures without which there can be little industrialization."

Guy Hunter has commented on this (Guy Hunter, *The New Societies of Tropical Africa*, OUP, 1962, p. 69):—

"If there is to be an African personality in the modern world, a great part of it must be rooted in the land, round which both cult and community have been built, which is woven into every institution, which lies deep in the texture of language, and moves the heart and energies of every African more surely than any other

vision. Co-operative cultivation, common effort in clearing, in harvesting, in house building, in herding cattle all go back to ancient and still lively patterns of African life. If there is a place in the world in which 'human investment' can be harnessed to cut shorter the road into the modern world, it is to be found in the villages of Africa."

The growth of towns and the development of industries are, of course, essential features of modernization in any society, but I think it is high time that we questioned the assumption that urban life is synonymous with a modern outlook. It is not so in industrial Britain, and I can see no reason why it must be so in Africa. Many African cities are cluttered up with old-fashioned people who merely put on the trappings of modernity, while there are thousands of really modern people who have been brought up in the country. A modern outlook can only be acquired by association with other modern people and interestingly enough there are many Africans

whose close personal contact with seemingly stuffy missionaries in rural areas has helped them to become more modern than their urban contemporaries, whose contact with modern people has been very superficial. There is therefore hope that country areas will be regarded as places of modernization fit for modern people, as much as the towns.

There is another unfortunate colonial legacy which hampers the development of a truly modern outlook. Inflated wages and a life of luxury were introduced by, and for the benefit of, European settlers and businessmen. A pattern of living standards was set far above the average in Europe, let alone what can be rapidly attained in Africa, and it is unfortunately being maintained by the numerous expatriate businessmen, teachers and technical experts, who often do useful work, but at a price. It should not be forgotten that it was the poorest and least ostentatious of all expatriates who laid the *real* foundations of modern African: I refer not to early traders and administrators, but to the missionaries, who brought printing and education, without which no modern society could come into being.

The prevalent pattern of luxurious living adds to the difficulties that face the men who have taken on the mantle of government. The lives of colonial administrators were usually comfortable, though never luxurious, and they were assured of employment and a pension, whereas the salaries of their successors depend on the votes of their constituents. Under such circumstances it is hard for public servants to be entirely impartial and incorruptible and for a man to resist a chance to consolidate his position, or at least assure himself of an income should he fall from power. Even the incorruptible colonial administrators rarely hesitated to show favour to certain sections of the population. The source of their power lay in the forces they could command from the mother country, such as a gunboat, an infantry battalion, and access to or refusal of money. Their successors assumed their positions, but not their powers. Most African states lack an effective army or police force, and even if such forces exist, there is no guarantee that they will take orders from the civil power. If party support or legislation cannot ensure adequate power, at least wealth offers an alternative means. It becomes especially attractive when there is a class of people who are both rich and show it. Why should the new rulers be less impressive than expatriate residents and many of their own subjects? In assessing the quality of government in African states, we must remember that when there are rumours or established cases of corruption, they have often been precipitated by a representative of one of the 'advanced' nations, who has wanted import permits, TV rights, a cotton monopoly, a favoured factory site, buying preferences, or political influence. To my mind, the remarkable thing about

tropical African states is not that there is corruption, but that there is so little corruption, and that it is often criticized openly and even successfully rooted out.

Finally, before considering briefly what some African governments are doing about their problems, we must not forget the tremendous psychological difficulties that all governing parties faced after independence. The excitement of revolutionary political controversy faded into the humdrum problems of development, and 'the government', which as colonial government had for long been an object of abuse, had to become praiseworthy. Many governing parties were poorly organized and faction-ridden, so that the single party was by no means as effective as it might seem. However, the fact that independence was successfully achieved has created confidence in the judgement of certain quasi-charismatic leaders, especially the older men, and people are still prepared to accept what Houphouët-Boigny or Mzee Kenyatta ask them to do. Similarly, by truculence towards the West, and systematic non-alignment, a younger man like Sekou Touré has gained prestige and authority, as has Julius Nyerere by his cultivation of African values and his exposition of African Socialism.

Problems of government in Africa are primarily problems of development, but the success or failure of development plans depends very much on purely political decisions. If rulers see government as a problem of power, and tend to perpetuate the colonial solution of bureaucratic authoritarianism, making no distinction between politics and administration, it is because they feel that they need the maximum power to make free decisions and to carry out programmes for rapid development. Power is needed both to mobilize the local population and to attract the interest of other states for the sake of investment and development. Because of Africa's unique position in the world today, the methods of African governments are sometimes surprising, and may even seem to be diametrically opposed to their avowed aim of development. For instance, African states could gain much by co-operation with South Africa, especially in the field of education: as it is, many African leaders were trained at Fort Hare. But they prefer to pursue a campaign against South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, because they consider it necessary for their own future welfare. It is not a ploy to divert the attention of their own people from troubles at home, nor is it an attempt to lay hands on Southern Africa's resources and wealth. If African states can persuade the powerful nations that certain human values really are more important to man than material comfort, and if these powerful nations then show themselves prepared to act in support of those values rather than solely in the interest of profits in commerce and industry, there is a real hope that a new era may dawn in the social and economic development of Africa in particular, and

of the world in general, in which economies are organized to meet human needs rather than to reap profits.

To many African states, Southern Africa seems to provide a test case for the kind of relationship that the rich nations propose to have with the poor nations, and this is why the outcome is so important for their future development. If the Americans and the British could show that they are prepared to sacrifice commercial interests for moral principles in Southern Africa, they might do the same in other parts of Africa. They might then, for example, finance the building of factories in rural areas not because it is likely to be immediately profitable, but because it is necessary for the welfare of a depressed population. The constant refusal of African politicians to compromise on moral issues may lead temporarily to a decrease in the flow of aid and foreign capital. But many believe that in the long run the rich nations will feel the pinch, and that they will realize that neither paternalism, nor provisional technical aid, nor conditional foreign capital are a substitute for world economic planning, in which the economic surplus of the rich nations will be used for the *development* of the poor nations, and not primarily for investment in them. They want to show people that it is not Britain and the U.S.A., but individual British and American businessmen, that gain by trading with South Africa and Rhodesia, and that the *nations* of Britain and the U.S.A. might gain more by a different policy.

In discussions of development in African states, great importance is often attached to political stability, and a significant relationship between political systems and economic development seems to be assumed. What is too often forgotten is the astonishing political *instability* that has accompanied the economic growth of many European countries. Besides, in Africa there are countries in strategic positions which stand to get more in the way of aid and investment if they are a little unpredictable, and even unstable, politically.

In Africa, the political community is not yet synonymous with the economic community, as it tended to be under imperial or traditional tribal rule. The tribal system was essentially a technique of organizing the economic life of communities. Very often rulers did not share the same cultural tradition as their subjects, and if they stressed the value of those traditions it was done primarily to win support. Although people aligned themselves with rulers and factions for reasons of economic security, it was the political decisions that settled the courses that economies took. Similarly, the future of African states depends on sound economic planning, but it is the *political* decisions which determine the success or failure of these plans in the long run. We know what industries, hydro-electric projects, and other developments could and should be carried out in Lesotho. But how is the money to

be raised and how are schemes to be carried out and by whom? Will local men be trained to do most of the skilled work before a project is begun, or will the project be rushed through with the expensive assistance of expatriates, who will take money out of the country? Which private sources, or international funds will be tapped for what project? What will be the effect of such projects? Will they make the country stronger and more truly independent, or will they simply entrench Lesotho as a satellite of South Africa and improve the standard of living of only a small section of the community? These are the crucial decisions which affect the future of a country, and they are political decisions which governments ought to be free to make. They must be made in the best interests of the spiritual, as well as the material, well-being of a people. Aid and investment are of little value unless they can increase the dignity of a nation and its function in international affairs, as well as its material comfort. If some history seems to be determined by economic factors, and political action is related to economic growth, it is only because people abdicate their right to make free decisions. In the modern world, no state is economically independent of others, but every state has a chance to make an original contribution to the history of mankind by overcoming its economic disadvantages with vigorous political action.

The major problem of governments in African states is therefore to mobilize their *human* resources, in order to improve the appearance of the continent, raise standards of living, and to add a new dimension to the history of man. The world situation is such that no unit smaller than a state is likely to achieve much in Africa, and the co-operation of groups of states, or even of the whole continent, will achieve much more. There are the obvious technical problems of finding capital from home and abroad; developing the skills, energy and initiative without which capital cannot be made productive; and deciding rightly on priorities between industry and agriculture and as between infrastructure and productive investment. Attempts to solve these problems will be of little avail until African peasants really begin to move in the same direction as their governments, and both know more or less where they are going. The 'vertical' integration of elite and mass is a more real and pressing problem than the 'horizontal' integration of linguistic and cultural groups. African governments have opted for a high degree of state planning, and for a curtailment of certain individual freedoms, but few have produced original forms of government that incorporate the peasantry effectively in the process of modernization, and not many have pursued as vigorously as Guinea, Mali and Tanzania a policy of eradicating oligarchy and paternalism.

Most African governments have carried on in the colonial tradition. They have adopted the

colonial techniques of patronage, especially in the allocation of educational opportunities; of persuasion, conversion, and the integration of non-party associations; of electoral and constitutional changes, and even deportation, banning, and imprisonment.

If African states are to make a mark on the world, they must either beat the existing great powers at their own game, or they must start a new game. Not during the next fifty years at least has any any country in Africa a hope of equalling the United States, Russia, Great Britain, Germany, Japan or France in economic development and material prosperity. South Africa may be the richest and most overtly stable country in Africa, but I see little merit in its apparent aim of being a rather inferior carbon copy of the United States, or Germany, or Britain, especially as this achievement depends on the worship of materialism and the denial of Christian values. Tanzania, on the other hand, is one of the poorest countries in Africa, but it has the distinction of striking out in a new direction, and may ultimately make a greater mark on the world: it is a nation that stands for indigenous cultural achievement, non-sectionalism, non-communalism, non-racialism, and a new kind of democracy. The traditional African technique of talking until unanimous agreement is reached, rather than forcing so-called majority decisions, may be one which the world needs to adopt. President Nyerere has argued with conviction that the traditional type of African one-party democracy is freer than the organized two-party system of the West: he has even said, "How can you have a democracy *with* a two-party system?" He maintains that in states with one truly representative national party, voters stand to get better government, by choosing the individual instead of the party label. Furthermore, all points of view are fully and freely discussed at local party meetings, and by the National Executive. In Parliament, the party line must be followed, and there should be no unnecessary discussion, so that accepted legislation may be carried through as quickly and efficiently as possible. Even so, debates in many African parliaments exhibit a wide range of discussion and criticism, in spite of the contrary impression that is given in news reports.

There is, of course, a real danger that democratic one-party systems can become authoritarian, particularly in view of the colonial legacy. The distinguished Ghanaian, Robert Gardiner, was one of the first to underscore the authoritarian side of African political development, the interest in power for its own sake, and he stressed that there must be room for differences of opinion and a recognition of the idea of an 'adversary in good faith'. But he also suggested that the mechanics of government should not be emphasized to the exclusion of the purposes of government. The aims of opposition parties are generally considered questionable. For instance

many opposition groups were members of the pre-independence establishment, whose noses were put out of joint when the colonial government nurtured the revolutionary parties with mass following, and gave them an aura of legitimacy at the time of independence. The shortage of trained men had tended to create an elite, and that elitism has furthered the one-party tendency, because "it carries the implicit presumption that the governing group possesses a monopoly of wisdom and legitimacy. It follows, therefore, that in their view an opposition group recruited from the same social strata as the elite is either frivolous and irrelevant, or dangerously subversive because its members seek only power" (Coleman and Rosberg, *op.cit.*, p.662).

The struggle between opposition and government may also reflect outside interference in a country's affairs, and therefore have little to do with the welfare of the state. The present purpose of government in Africa is to achieve the ends of rural animation, the gradual industrialization of agriculture, and the raising of the standard of living of millions of peasants. One-party states, pan-African collaboration, and a policy of non-alignment are seen as means to this end. The crushing problem is poverty, and the sad fact is that the important economic decisions are not yet being taken in Africa. If careful and honest investigations were made, I think it would be found that the apparent political instability and the rise and fall of individuals and factions in some African states, are by no means due solely to the inadequacy of local politicians and administrators, nor even to the desperate shortage of skilled personnel. African states are too often at the mercy of political and economic forces in Europe, America and Asia in general, and politically biased advisers and investors or unscrupulous entrepreneurs in particular. African governments do not expect aid and capital investment without strings, but they prefer the stringent technical conditions attached to loans from international lending institutions, such as the World Bank, to the political and economic commitment of government-to-government finance. Several delegates at a recent conference on development in Nairobi even considered foreign private investment to be better than public investment, provided it can be controlled and directed.

There can be no single or approved solution for the mechanics of government to be chosen for the purposes of development and the attainment of national dignity in Africa. In spite of the tight and effective organization of the PDG, Guinea has not developed as rapidly as some other countries, while Tunisia, with the comparably effective organization, of Neo-Destour socialism, has done well. Similarly, states with looser organizations have developed both rapidly and slowly. Even if the Gross Domestic Product can be taken as a reliable index of growth, it does not fluctuate significantly with the course of political

events, with the possible single exception of the Congolese Republic, and in Asia the radically different systems of government in India and Pakistan have not produced any appreciable difference in the Gross Domestic Product per head of total population in those countries.

The term that is often used to describe the policy of most African governments is African Socialism, though each nation interprets its major tents according to its own needs. African Socialism is pragmatic: it rejects the Russian emphasis on class war, which it finds irrelevant in Africa; it rejects the Peking doctrine of the armed revolution; and it approves of the one-party state, which is opposed by democratic socialists. It asserts and assures the political personality of Africa, the cultural autonomy of each nation, a new concept of socio-economic development, and the propagation of African spiritual values. By adhering to the doctrines of African Socialism, African states are in a stronger position to maintain their policies of non-alignment, which protects their independence; single party rule, which is designed to hasten national integration; and Pan-Africanism, which insures against inter-African disputes and strengthens each state in its struggle for identity and purpose.

President Nyerere has warned Africans of the dangers of "the second scramble for Africa".^o He laments that even the socialist countries have joined the capitalist countries in using their

^o See Julius Nyerere, "The Second Scramble" and "Democracy and the Party System", reprinted in Rupert Emerson and Martin Kilson (ed.), *The Political Awakening of Africa*, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1965, pp. 162-165 and 122-128.

wealth for power and prestige, rather than the eradication of poverty, and that one millionaire will spend millions on destroying another. He argues that the pattern of imperialism has changed, and instead of one imperialist power fighting against another, Africans will be turned against Africans. The big powers are attempting by means of slogans to divide and rule Africa and to thwart African collaboration: talk of creating larger units is dismissed as 'artificial', although African colonial boundaries could hardly be more artificial; attempts to deal with tribalism are labelled 'dictatorship'; and moves for unity are 'communist' or 'imperialist' plots, depending on the affiliations of the power-hungry accuser. African nations must stand together and resist the destruction of their value systems and their hopes for a better standard of living. "African nationalism is meaningless, is anachronistic, and is dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism."

Years of dependence have brought to the people of Africa a hesitation to take responsibility, and the presence of rich, powerful, materialistic countries in the world can dull the spiritual drive of people and blunt the instruments and purposes of government in poorer countries. If decisions are made about Africa's future in London and Washington, African states are no more free than if they were made in Moscow or Peking. African states have to become masters of their own destinies, and the surest way to achieve both true political independence and ultimately the economic viability that entrenches it, is for them to commit themselves firmly to the Pan-African ideal and to reject any individual short-term economic gains which involve compromise of aims, or alignment at the expense of another African nation.

Separate but Equal

I WAS SITTING on my doorstep this afternoon, watching from a distance the official opening of a new Municipal Swimming Pool. The whole enormity of the crime and evil of apartheid with its hypocritical references to equal facilities hit me like a ton of bricks. We are close enough to have watched the whole thing being built. The Africans dug the pool, put in the filtration plant, grew the grass and got drunk on the site on Fridays for want of something better to do; today the same Africans put up the bunting, carried the wire for the loudspeakers, carried the tables and chairs for the distinguished guests and swept the concrete. And at the given time, who jumped in in their privileged hundreds? All the little white bodies, and the Africans stood and watched, now on the other side of the fence of course, and smiled. It's really those smiles which break my heart most of all — they only have to smile and everyone says what wonderful natures they have — a

happy contented lot whose jaws are probably aching with the strain.

As I went indoors and ran the bath for my children another aspect of 'equal facilities' came to mind. A friend of mine remarked recently that he didn't really mind filling his own bath at night with a hose through the window from the tap outside, and then waiting an hour and a half for the immersion heater to warm it up sufficiently — that he was used to — but what did annoy him was having to empty the bath afterwards, bucket by bucket, by which time the point of the operation was somewhat lost. The same good-natured smile?

If, in this day and age, a humble bath-plug becomes a privilege rather than a right then I am sick and ashamed of my race classification. We could do well perhaps to remember that the U.S. Supreme Court, in 1954 handed down a judgement which said that separate but equal facilities had proved inherently unequal. V.L.

Effects of Migratory Labour

Report of the committee on Social Responsibility

DIOCESE OF CAPE TOWN

I. Preamble

1.1.) The terms of reference to the members of the Committee of Social Responsibility reads as follows:—

“That Synod asks the Archbishop to consider the appointment of a Committee to investigate ways and means of enabling families to live together in the areas in which they work.”

1.2.) By migratory labour is meant the system whereby men working in towns are prevented by law and policy from having their families with them or settling at their place of work.

1.3.) The Committee believes that under present legislation the Church can do little or nothing which will in fact give separated families the right to live together in the area in which the husband works.

1.4.) The legislation which results in the break-up of family life is immoral, unjust, and indefensible in the light of Christ's teachings. The Committee believes therefore that the Church has a responsibility to point out the evils inherent in present legislation, to state what it considers the rights of the individual to be in this respect, and to make known the facts of the matter with a view to creating a climate of public opinion which will insist on legislative measures to remove these evils in our society.

1.5.) This report is accordingly presented in the following manner:—

Section 2.) **The responsibility of the Church** for family life and for the rights of the individual.

Section 3.) **An outline of the legislation** which denies the above rights illustrated by case histories.

Section 4.) **Recommendations** for making known the facts of the matter.

Section 5.) **Conclusions.**

2. The responsibility of the Church

2.1.) Introduction:

The family is the most basic and fundamental unit of any society and to Christians it is something sacred.

In particular, the Church has always taught that marriage is the closest of all bonds — “For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife: and they two shall be one flesh.”

2.2.) The Church has a moral obligation to insist:—

(a) That a man should have the legal right to have his wife and family living with him at or near his normal place of work.

(b) That it is the duty of the State to assist financially and ensure that adequate accommodation for families can be made available by local authorities or employers wherever it is beyond the means of the individual to provide adequate accommodation for himself and his family.

At the present time, a man who has worked for 15 years in one area or for 10 years for one employer may be permitted (although he has no right to demand) to have his wife and family live with him if there is accommodation available. In fact he is generally refused this permission on the grounds that there is no suitable accommodation. Employers are usually prevented from providing such accommodation and local authorities in the Western Cape are circumscribed.

(d) That the children of parents living in town should have the right to join their families. Under present legislation, the children of parents qualified to reside in the Western Cape may lose their right to rejoin

their parents if they are sent to school in the Transkei or elsewhere.

- (d) That African residents in an urban area should be entitled to have kinsfolk who are dependent on them (e.g. an elderly grandmother, disabled brother, etc., to live with them).
- (e) That men and women should have the right to seek employment and sell their labour to the best advantage. Women are very often the breadwinners in African families since the life expectation of a man is lower than of a woman and the proportion of widows is exceptionally high. (A survey made in 1948-50 in Keiskamahoeek showed that in 40% of the homesteads the head was a woman).

2.3.) It is a cause for deep concern that with the recent extension of the system of contract labour the situation is steadily becoming worse instead of better. The development of a settled urban African population enjoying a normal family life has been deliberately reversed and the proportion of migrants is increasing. In November 1965, the Senior Assistant Director of the Bantu Administration in the Cape Town Municipality stated that "almost 40,000 out of the total of 87,000 natives in Cape Town are now migratory workers who come to the city under contract to a particular employer for a specified period."

(Cape Argus, 18th November, 1965)

The Church condemns the system of migratory labour and particularly the present increase due to legislation.

No African entering the Western Cape as a contract labourer can ever qualify to have his wife and family live with him. The figures presented recently to the N.G.K. Synod in Cape Town indicate that experts predict the total migratory labour force will grow from 533,000 in 1965 to 1,013,000 by 1990.

Not only is contract labour economically inefficient and therefore inclined to perpetuate poverty, but it also breeds irresponsibility. Neither employer nor employee is encouraged to develop a sense of moral obligation towards the other. Furthermore the system of contract labour tends to prevent the attainment and development of skills thus frustrating a man's efforts towards greater fulfilment and satisfaction in his work.

3. Outline of Legislation which denies Africans the right to live together in the area in which the husband works.

3.1.) No African may go to an Urban Area in the Western Cape in search of work. He must obtain permission from a Labour Bureau to go to a specific employer on a fixed time contract and become what is known as a Contract or Migratory Labourer. (Section 9 (o) of Act 42 of 1964). He cannot therefore take his family with him to the Urban Area or send for them later to join him at his place of work, nor can he ever qualify to do this under Section 47 of Act 42 of 1964. His family will have to remain in his home area and he will either have to be content to see them for a few weeks each year for the rest of his life, or, in order to have longer spells at home he must remain unemployed for a time and then seek a new job.

3.2.) Section 10 (1) of the Urban Areas Act states that: "No Bantu may remain for more than 72 hours in a prescribed area unless he can produce proof in the manner prescribed that:—

- (b) He has since birth resided continuously in such area;
- (b) he has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period not less than fifteen years, and has thereafter continued to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding one hundred rand or to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months; or
- (c) such Bantu is the wife, unmarried daughter or son under the age (18 years) at which he would become liable for payment of general tax under the Native Taxation and Development Act, 1925 (Act No. 41 of 1925), of any Bantu mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of this sub-section and after lawful entry into such prescribed area ordinarily resides with that Bantu in such area; or
- (d) in the case of any other Bantu, permission so to remain has been granted by an officer appointed to manage a labour bureau in terms of the provisions of paragraph (a) of sub-section (6) of section 21 of the Na-

tive Labour Regulation Act (Act 15 of 1911) due regard being had to the availability of accommodation in a Bantu residential area."

(Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act (Act 25 of 1945) as amended by (Section 41 (a) of Act 42 of 1964).

This means that an African man, woman or child who wishes to visit an urban area for more than 72 hours, must obtain prior permission which will only be given if there is available accommodation. This permission must be obtained before leaving the home area, not on arrival and may take weeks to arrange.

- 3.3.) If a man who was born in an area and has lived there continuously wishes to marry a woman from elsewhere he has to apply for permission for her to enter the area in order to marry her. This may be granted but permission for the bride to remain is usually refused on the grounds that there is no suitable accommodation available.

The following case illustrates this:

A.B. was born in Cape Town in 1947 and lived with her parents until 1957 when she went to school at Graaf Reinet and lived with an aunt. In 1964 when she left school and was 17 years old, she returned to live with her mother at Nyanga East.

According to the Divisional Council authorities she entered Nyanga East illegally and was marked in illegally by an employee of the Divisional Council who has since been arrested. She was endorsed out on 16th February but did not leave the area and married Q. in the Dutch Mission Church on 13th August 1965.

Q. is qualified under Section 10 (1) (a) of the Urban Areas Act to remain in Cape Town as he was born in Athlone in 1937 and has lived and worked in the area ever since. When he reported his marriage he was told he could no longer live in his parents' house in Nyanga East (his name was crossed off his parents' rent card) — but must ask Langa to house him and his wife as he works in the City Council area. A.B. was again told to leave Nyanga East.

They then appealed to Langa officials who were unable to give him a house as there is a long waiting list. An appeal was made to the Divisional Council which investigated the case and ruled that she entered the area illegally and she could not remain. It appears that this couple will never be able to live together in Cape Town. Q's family live in Nyanga East therefore he has no country home to which to send his wife.

A.B. has since been arrested for being illegally in the Cape Town area and as her book is out of order she may be re-arrested at any moment. Her husband can no longer live with his parents as he was only permitted to do so while he remained unmarried.

- 3.4.) If a married man has qualified under Section 10 (1) (b) of the Urban Areas Act by working ten years with one employer or fifteen years continuously in the area and applies to have his wife join him now that he is qualified he is told that there is no suitable accommodation and that she has not "ordinarily resided" with him (Section 47 (c) Act 12 of 1964). If he takes unpaid leave and goes home for a few months to see her he may lose his qualification and has to return to the urban area as a migrant labourer on contract.

C.D. worked in Cape Town from 1941 to October 1964 with short breaks to visit his wife and children in the King Williams Town District. At the end of October 1964 he was granted leave by the Cafe owner for whom he worked and proceeded to King Williams Town. He returned to Cape Town on 15th March 1965. He reported to the Registering Officer and was issued with a "yellow card" and a stamp in his book permitting him to return to work at the cafe. The cafe owner refused to re-employ him so he returned home and obtained a contract job. Up to October, 1964 he was a qualified man. Had he returned to Cape Town before 1st January, 1965 before Bantu Laws Amendment Act (1964) came into force he would have been allowed to seek other work, but in terms of the new act he was only allowed to return to Cape Town to work for his former employer. As this employer would not take him back he was told to return home. With the help of an attorney he lodged an appeal to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in April 1965. Six months later he was notified that his appeal had failed and he must return to his home district, register as a work-seeker and then endeavour to obtain a contract in Cape Town.

- 3.5.) A man who has not yet worked 10 years for one employer or resided continuously for 15 years in the area is not legally entitled to have his wife with him at his place of work, whether or not there is available accommodation.

- 3.6.) The child of a man who qualifies under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act who has entered the area law-

fully or been born there and ordinarily resided with the father may remain in the area. But if this child goes away to boarding school he must apply for permission to return home for holidays, and at the end of his schooling permission to return to his parents permanently is frequently refused. The following cases illustrate this:

E.F. was born in Whittlesea in 1942. She went to school in Whittlesea and after her mother came to Cape Town she lived with her grandmother, coming to Cape Town for school holidays. Her father has worked for the same firm for 25 years and he and his wife rent a brick house at Guguletu. She is listed on their rent card and when she returned each year she reported at the Registration Office. In April 1963, when she returned from school she was given permission to reside with her parents until June 1963 in order to look after her mother who was ill. Early in August 1965 she was told to prepare to leave the area by the middle of the month. She appealed at Langa but was told to go "home." Her father then appealed to the Department of Bantu Affairs. He was told that she came to care for her mother, not to work. She was given six months extension and told that after this they did not want to see her again, and that she must go "home". Although both her parents lived in Cape Town she is required to go to her grandmother in the country.

G.H. was born in Elsies River in 1946 and was baptised at Nqamakwe as a small boy. He lived in Elsies River with his parents until he passed Standard I. He was then sent to Idutywa to live with his grandmother and to attend school there. His parents remained in Cape Town and have their own house in Guguletu, being qualified persons. His father has worked for S.A.R. and H. for 11 years. His brothers and sisters all reside with the parents. Early this year his grandmother died and as he had passed Standard 6 and had no other relatives to live with in the Transkei he returned to his parents. He has been informed that he cannot stay. He should have applied to his local magistrate for permission to proceed to his parents in Cape Town. He can now either return to the country and try to get a contract job through the local magistrate, or appeal to the Department of Bantu Affairs for permission to stay. Such an appeal is rarely successful.

- 3.7.) Africans resident in an urban area are not allowed to have relatives who are

disabled or otherwise dependent on them to live with them.

J.K. was born in Barkly East in 1918. He is completely disabled and quite unable to work or even to look after himself. He was looked after by a sister there and had a disability grant, but in 1962 the sister died and his younger sister who has a brick house in Guguletu agreed to look after him. His pension was transferred to the Bantu Affairs Department in Cape Town but they sent it back again as they do not wish him to be permanently established in Cape Town. Permission for him to remain with his sister was constantly refused and he was finally arbitrarily "re-settled" with a cousin in Springs with whom he had lived earlier a short time and where he was very unhappy.

- 3.8.) When a man who is a permanent resident of one of the Townships dies, his wife is often told a few days later that she will have to leave her house, and, worse still, the township, because her permission under Section 10 (1) (c) to be there depended on her husband's right to live there and he is now dead. Not only has she lost her husband and the family breadwinner, but at a stroke she has lost her home and the right to work to support her children, and they have to leave school and home to go to a "home" in the Transkei which they may never have seen and where neither they nor their mother will be able to earn a living.

L.M. came to Cape Town from Cala in December 1950, a year after she had married P. He had been in Cape Town for some years. She stayed with him until 1953 and then returned to Cala until 1959 when she came back to Cape Town. They lived in Guguletu in a brick house with their eight children. In January 1965, P. died. Mrs. L.M. does charring to support her family and her rent of R8.05 per month is paid up to date. On 26th May, 1965 she went to the Registering Officer to have her new reference book stamped. She had lost her book. Her book was stamped "Preparing to leave for Cala by 14.10.65." She was warned that she could not remain in her house.

She had the right to remain in Cape Town while her husband was alive, in terms of Section 10 (1) (c) of the Urban Areas Act. Now that he is dead she has lost the right and is required to return to Cala, where she has no relatives, and where she will be unable to earn a living.

3.9.) A wife who has the right to live with her husband in an urban area may lose this right if she leaves the area for any length of time. If for example, she goes to nurse a dying mother in the country her husband may be required to move to bachelor quarters and when she returns she may be endorsed out.

R.S. was born in Butterworth in 1921. She came to Cape Town in 1945 to join her husband who had been there since 1941. In November 1962 she went to Butterworth because her mother was ill. In March 1963 she returned to Cape Town with permission from the Employment Officer at Butterworth and from the Influx Control Officer at Langa. Her husband had been ill but as he seemed better she only stayed a week and then returned to nurse her mother — she did not report her arrival at Langa as her stay was so brief.

Her mother died in December 1963 and after settling her affairs she returned to her husband in Cape Town in July 1964. She reported to Langa and was told to prepare to leave the area by 8th August, 1964.

After representations had been made she was finally granted an exemption permit and her husband's name was placed on the waiting list for a house.

3.10.) There are, for example, approximately 19,000 "bachelors" living at Langa alone of whom 68% are married men living away from their wives, which means that somewhere in the country there are nearly 13,000 families living without a father. This pattern is repeated throughout the country. Not all the migrants support their families.

Mrs. T.V. came to Cape Town with five children in May 1961 to look for her husband who had ceased to support her. He qualified to remain in Cape Town but as she had not "ordinarily resided" with him during the ten years of their marriage, he will never be allowed to have his wife with him in Cape Town. She must return to Butterworth.

4. Recommendations for making known the facts of the matter

4.1.) There is a tremendous need for all Christians to take up the problems of Africans with whom they come into contact and so become involved in their family difficulties, thereby learning at first hand their fears and frustrations, and sharing their troubles and endeavouring to solve them. It is the duty of the Church to encourage her members to do this.

4.2.) The Church should embark on a sustained educational programme through the organisation of talks, the circulation of

tape recordings, and publications. There is a need for church members to be fully cognizant with the facts.

4.3.) The Church should urge its members to make the problems of African family life the subject of regular prayer. Prayer cards have been printed and further quantities could easily be made available.

4.4.) An information service is suggested whereby clergy in the African reserves could tell Christians in the towns what happens to individual Africans or their families when they are endorsed out of the towns. Without such information it is too easy to wash one's hands of the matter once the individual concerned has left the town.

4.5.) The Church should send a deputation to the Bantu Affairs Department to point out the evils resulting from migratory labour and influx control regulations. Such representations should be backed by case records of disruption in family life due to migratory labour.

4.6.) Attention is drawn to the methods of propagating information to the Church and community which were outlined in the Interim Report submitted to your Grace in October 1965. They can be summarised as follows:

- (i) A school for clergy to be organised.
- (ii) Production of "fact sheets" for parish magazines and sermon material.
- (iii) A travelling exhibition.
- (iv) Practical field-work.
- (v) List of organisations able to give advice and help.

5. Conclusions

5.1.) The Committee draws attention to the fact that since people of all races co-operate in agricultural and industrial productions, it is not possible to maintain both territorial separation of different colour groups and united families. There is scriptural warrant for cherishing family life but none requiring the separation of people of different races. The choice lies between following Christ's teaching: "Whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder", and making race the most important criterion.

5.2.) The Committee is greatly encouraged by the Resolutions regarding the Social Responsibility of the Church which were passed in 1965 by the Provincial Synod of our Church, and by the recent evidence of parallel thinking by the Dutch Reformed Church. We would welcome co-operation between the Church of the Province and other denominations on this matter.

An Experiment in Christian Living

By THE REVEREND ROBERT ROBERTSON

Five years ago, at my suggestion, the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa inaugurated a pilot multi-racial congregation in East London with the object of testing the possibilities and discovering the difficulties of totally integrated church life.

My purpose in proposing this arose from the difficulty experienced in achieving any kind of permanent acceptance of non-European Christians in congregations which, through design or by chance, have become exclusively European. Though technically any non-White Presbyterian is entitled to attend, join and take part in all the activities of any of our European congregations the number of instances where this actually happens in South Africa is infinitesimally small, if not nil. It is so not because of language, culture or distance, but because of the pressure of the so-called "South African way of life"—which I would rather describe as a "way of death."

To break through this artificial barrier in the church one could of course try to force the issue in a particular congregation; but I doubt if one would find non-European Christians, with all their courtesy and unwillingness to cause offence to other people, who would be the guinea pigs in what would almost certainly result in a rumpus. Nor would the result achieved be the kind of reconciliation for which Christians strive. So we felt that the best way would be to run a pilot scheme which would demonstrate in practical terms that the races can worship together and share congregational life. Our aim is not to propose total integration for any church, but to encourage a natural openness and acceptance of folk of any race who can share in and benefit from participation in the congregation concerned.

The North End Presbyterian Church, as it is called, now has about 50 members and associate members of whom half are European, about thirty per cent Africans and the remainder Coloured. Services are conducted in English though we use a specially prepared tri-lingual hymn book. Women's Association and Youth Fellowship each have about 20 members and the Sunday School enrolled over 70 children this year. Each of these organisations is equally representative of the various races of our city. In addition members visit one another's homes each fortnight for home services.

For five years we have engaged in all the normal activities of Presbyterian congregations without notable difficulty and have had in addition the enrichment of each other's fellowship and the ministry of preachers of all races. So we consider that the pilot scheme has fulfilled

its main purpose, though it is not yet self-supporting as a congregation.

At one stage we were involved in negotiations with two other Presbyterian congregations in East London, one a congregation of Coloured folk and the other of Europeans. Our hope was that they would agree to amalgamate with us in a kind of federal arrangement. On the Coloured side the proposal succeeded and it failed by only one vote when first considered by the European congregation. Thereafter, however, reaction set in and it was heavily defeated in a second vote on the European side. We have gone ahead in joining up with the Coloured congregation in what we hope may also provide an example of the linking up of two congregations across racial divisions.

People ask me how we manage to operate under South African laws. There is no prohibition on the races worshipping together in any place, except in a proclaimed African area where other races require permits to enter and seldom get them. A congregation like ours could operate in any church in this city. The main reason why we chose the North End is for its centrality and already mixed racial character. No one feels on strange ground coming there.

One area where the laws of the country hinder us is that we cannot yet get permission for non-Africans to attend home services in Duncan Village, East London's African township.

Other points at which the law could affect us are: (1) If we were to hold services *mainly* for Africans then in terms of a 1937 enactment we would require ministerial permission. (2) The Minister of Bantu Affairs could issue a notice, provided he had the concurrence of the City Council, in terms of the so-called "Church Clause" that the attendance of Africans at our services must cease. (3) If we started to teach academic subjects in Sunday School we would require registration under the Bantu Education Act. (4) If we run public entertainment open to all races we require a permit.

Meeting together in a congregation like this has brought more forcibly to our notice the need to think out what Christianity means in other areas of life than simply the "Church" sphere. People of different races getting together and belonging as Christians is easy enough in church, but what about employment and business, what about civic affairs, what about politics?

A single lady, a member of our congregation, has domestic employment which affords her a room to live in (but no food) and a wage of R4.00 per month. There are probably a few little ex-

tras in the way of clothing, etc. but her cash income is R4.00 per month. Of this she has been contributing 10c. per week (43c. per month) to church funds on a purely voluntary basis. She could contribute one cent if she wished and remain a member. At the end of last year a single sentence in our monthly news-letter conveyed the suggestion that as costs were rising (sometimes salaries too!), and this rise in costs affected the church also, members might consider a slight increase in their giving. In response she put hers up to 15c. per week (65c. per month) ie. 18 per cent of her miserable cash income. Now I receive a free house and R128 per month. (I could have R158 if I wanted it) and this gets printed every quarter in our news-letter. It makes me think that I might be a more generous giver, but it also makes me think hard what Christians can do now to start closing the gap of their ridiculous disparity in wages before waiting until the whole wage structure throughout the country is changed.

In the realm of politics, a preoccupation for every South African, we have found ourselves, if anything, much less concerned to discuss political matters than we expected, though we have never tried to dodge or suppress political discussion. While none of us is quite happy with apartheid I think we all realise that our congregation's existence is not intended as a protest against a political system. It is in obedience to Christ's command that we love one another that we gather, and as we put that love into effect we believe that out of it will grow a better understanding of how to act in the political as well as other fields where the races find themselves in tension, mutually estranged or unjustly treated.

As far as I know this is the only congregation of its specific kind in the country though I would be very glad to learn of the existence of others.

● Continued from page 1

and it seems incredible that they were meant to be taken seriously. A Minister of State spoke of "full-blooded non-whites"; this bill would put an end to "creeping integration"; "It has become evident" he said "that there are people who are evidently satisfied to make no distinction between white and non-white."

The Minister stated that this bill was introduced to "close the loopholes in the law" which had resulted in successful applications for reclassification. Here is another blatant example of how, when the demands of justice do not accord with the policies of the Nationalist government, then the remedy is easy — change the law.



One must not forget that in numerous churches, particularly in the Cape, the races worship and take communion together, as they have done for centuries, in what is in fact the *more* traditional South African way of life, and they do so in far greater numbers than in our case. However I understand that their meeting is not nearly so frequent or definite when it comes to the organisation of congregational life or social activities together.

Our services are held at 10 Park Street at 7 p.m. on Sundays and any interested persons in East London, or passing through, are welcome to join us.

● Vervolg van bladsy 1

dis ongelooflik dat mens veronderstel word om hulle ernstig op te neem. 'n Kabinets Minister het gepraat van „volbloed nie-blankes“; en die wetsontwerp sal 'n ent maak aan „sluipende integrasie.“ Hy het bygevoeg dat „daar mense is wat tevrede is om geen verskil te maak tussen blank en nie-blank nie.“

Die Minister het gesê die wetsontwerp word ingedien met die doel om skuiwergate in die wet, wat tot suksesvolle herklassifikasie gelei het, toe te stop. Hier is nog 'n flagrante voorbeeld van hoe, as regmagtige versoeke nie strook met Nasionale Party beleid nie, die oplossing so maklik is — verander net die wette!

Tranquillizers — Use With Caution

By DR. ELLEN HELLMAN

*Keep apartheid blues at bay,
Have your BaNtu always handy.
BaNtu keeps your pecker up,
Tells you all is fine and dandy.*

Many years ago I chanced across this poetic gem, and have faithfully followed its injunction ever since. *BaNtu* is indeed the morale-booster the anonymous bard claims. Published by the Department of Information, glossy and attractive in appearance, well laid out with many fine blocks, it has the additional advantage of being free. As its succinct title implies, it concerns itself with the Bantu, keeps its pulse on a host of Bantu affairs within the homelands and outside. The only subject which I cannot recall receiving its due measure of attention is that of Bantu workers on White farms — apart of course from disagreeable subjects like pass laws and influx control. *BaNtu* is an exuberant publication, a glowing account of Bantu progress and the remarkable success attending the application of the official policy of separate development.

I, being so urban-centred that I can barely distinguish a pumpkin from a water-melon, particularly like the articles dealing with agricultural progress in the homelands, the reports of meetings of Regional Authorities suitably adorned with photos of the dignitaries present, White and Black, all appropriately solemn and impressive. It's all so immensely reassuring — the new crops, like fibre, being developed, the new irrigation schemes, the new buildings for new tribal and regional authorities. Mr. Blaar Coetzee, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, made the inaugural speech at the sixth session of the Tswana Regional Authority at Mafeking. "He also assured the Tswana", says the January issue of *BaNtu* "that they had the full support of the government on the path of separate development they had taken". I wondered, when I read this, if the Tswana were very surprised at this full measure of government support for their decision to follow the path of self-development. I felt that while possibly they might not be surprised, they would undoubtedly be re-assured. Just as I am when I read *BaNtu*.

Unfortunately I find that the closer *BaNtu* moves to subjects with which I have some familiarity, the more likely is this happy tranquility of mind to be disturbed. Its treatment of Alexandra Township is a case in point.

"The New Alexandra . . . light, air, space" is the one-inch large heading across two pages in last year's May issue. There's an enticing reproduction of an architect's drawing of "the new flat dwellings to be erected in Alexandra" with a happily jiving Bantu couple in front — no

doubt, one would think, future occupants of one of these new "flats". This impression is strengthened by a large photo of squalid slum dwellings which "are being demolished to make way for modern flat buildings". There are pictures of the Health Centre and University Clinic where "thousands of mothers and babies are treated yearly", of some of the "thousands of food parcels sent every week to convalescent tuberculosis patients and families" and so on.

The history of Alexandra, as is well known, is one of close on a half-century of neglect. Johannesburg, on whose doorstep Alexandra sat, was not prepared to be saddled with it, neither was the Province. From its beginning in 1912 Alexandra was the rejected claimant for provincial care until 1958, when the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board took over this congested square mile of more than 100,000 inhabitants and brought at long last hope of planned progress and rehabilitation. True, it meant that the population would have to be reduced to about 30,000 but this seemed inevitable in terms of the slum-clearance programme the Board proposed.

BaNtu's story of "The New Alexandra" rightly enough emphasises the results of the years of neglect — the growth of slums, lack of services, crime. It then says, "The reconstruction of this township area is one of the most remarkable renovation schemes ever executed in South Africa — so far-reaching, in fact, that the differences between the Alexandra of today and the Alexandra of tomorrow will be comparable to the difference between light and darkness, day and night . . ." Fine stuff this . . . buoyantly hopeful. But what is this remarkable renova-

tion scheme? When you read on, you will find a sentence tucked away in all this fine talk telling you that "it was decided to rebuild Alexandra as a residential area for single Bantu who work in the proximity."

In fact, what is to happen is that the whole of Alexandra is to be evacuated, that all families are to be moved elsewhere, that property-owners (Alexandra was a freehold township) will lose their freehold rights, and that in place of the existing family settlement, and that first proposed by the Board, there will be put up 12 hostels accommodating 2,500 persons each, ten for single Bantu men and two for single Bantu women. The projected "gigantic" soccer stadium, 22 soccer fields, 20 tennis courts, three swimming baths, the golf course, the recreation halls, libraries and clinics about which *BaNtu* waxes positively lyrical are going to serve 30,000 "single" Bantu.

The T.B. Settlement which was established there has had to close down. All other existing institutions — schools, churches, welfare centre, clinic — know they are living on borrowed time. For how long they know not, nor do they know what then. The families will be scattered in the process of resettlement, the bonds of community broken. It is, in truth, a most "remarkable renovation scheme".

Among my favourite articles, are those relating individual success stories, the achievements of artists, of manufacturers, businessmen. In January and February of this year *BaNtu* tells of Mr. Pooe's supermarket in Soweto which has become too small and will soon be enlarged and of Mr. Ephraim Tshabalala's fantastic success. Mr. Tshabalala, "Bantu millionaire of Soweto" is the "owner of a chain of butcheries, restaurants, and dry-cleaning establishments, owner also of one of the biggest garage businesses in the country". These are fine human interest stories. Both men started from humble beginnings, came up the hard way by dint of great effort, initiative and perseverance, and both men play important roles within the community.

So what's the flaw? The flaw is that the impression is given that careers of this nature are open to any Bantu of the requisite ability. But this simply is not true. The truth is that a circular minute issued to local authorities by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development in 1963 laid down that trading by Bantu in white areas (and please note that anything outside the Bantu Reserves are technically white areas, even if, as in Soweto, a half million Bantu live there) "is not an inherent primary opportunity for them", that trading by Bantu should be confined to daily essential domestic commodities, that no new licences for dry cleaners, garages and petrol filling stations should be given, that traders must in future be restricted to one trading stand each in the urban area, and that under no circumstances should traders in future be allowed to erect their own buildings.

The purpose of this directive is to ensure that Bantu businessmen will establish themselves in the Bantu homelands and more particularly in the new towns being developed in the homelands; and therefore, the imposition of these onerous restrictions on Bantu traders in existing Bantu townships where the most favourable opportunities are found and where the subjects of *BaNtu's* eulogies made their own way.

Predictably enough, Bantu education and its enormous expansion find favoured mention in *BaNtu*. The figures are dizzying — more than 9,000 Bantu schools and 30,000 Bantu teachers, new schools being added at the rate of practically one a day throughout the year, school attendance increasing by 125,000 per year. It seems almost dastardly to recall (for *BaNtu* doesn't make a feature of this) that with all this spectacular progress, secondary and high school enrolment still stands at not quite 3½ per cent of the total and that last year, which happened to be a year when matric. results were better than usual, the total number of Bantu pupils in the Republic (but excluding the Transkei) who passed matric. at the university entrance level was 411 and that of them 109 passed in mathematics. An educational system that produces, out of a total enrolment of some 1½ million, this small number of university entrance passes needs some measure of explanation in addition to the praise bestowed on it.

It's exhilarating to read that "four out of every five Bantu in South Africa between the ages of seven and 21 are literate" till you stop with a start in the realisation that this percentage is obtained by the simple process of equating school attendance with literacy. Because 81 per cent of all Bantu children of school-going age of seven to 14 years are at school, therefore four-fifths are literate, Q.E.D. But it is far from being as simple as all that. Reference to the figures shows that in 1965, nearly three-quarters of all Bantu school-children were in the lower primary schools which go to Standard 2 only (1,184,852: 71.58 per cent) and that of them only 193,678, that is 11.7 per cent of total enrolment, were actually in Std. 2. This shows a large drop-out rate, many children not reaching even Std. 2. To regard the children who passed Std. 2 as literate is questionable, for it has been widely observed that this literacy is a very tenuous thing indeed and that the tendency to relapse into illiteracy is ever present unless these new literates are sustained and nurtured by follow-up work. To regard children who drop out earlier as literate is unwarranted.

A very noticeable feature in this January 1967 *BaNtu* article on Bantu Education is the ideological contradiction which rends it. One can see whence this contradiction derives. On the one hand *BaNtu*, widely circulated and one of our shop-windows into the world, wants to express its legitimate pride in the immense educa-

tional advance that has been made and to describe in purely educational terms what is being accomplished. So its pictures are of the buildings of Fort Hare University College — the caption reading, "The academic standard is exactly the same as that of White universities" — of students being "capped", of students at work in a well equipped chemistry lab., of students in the library, of pupils in class, of children at a creche absorbed in play with modern "constructive toys". All this bears out the claim that "The South African Bantu peoples have moved out of the shadow of ignorance, illiteracy, and the belief in black magic and witchcraft which have too long plagued them into the light of knowledge and Christian civilisation".

But to leave it at this will obviously never do. This is development but not separate development. Hence, on the other hand, *BaNtu* has to stress separateness, to justify Bantu Education as a separate thing, different from education as such. "No Bantu people", it says, "wish to be recast in a White, European mould. South African Bantu have a natural pride in things that are uniquely African, yet for the best part of a century before 1954 White South Africa, chiefly in the form of missionaries and church missions, had made the mistake (genuinely and without cunning forethought) of persuading the Bantu to reject their own culture in favour of European standards of thought and behaviour . . . With the introduction of the Bantu Education Act, attempts at Westernising individuals made way for a concerted process of educating South Africa's Bantu peoples as entities."

This verbiage, I submit, is part plain nonsense and for the rest untrue. It is nonsense to suggest that with the introduction of the Bantu Education Act in 1954, efforts to westernise the

Disappear Trick

By Bob Connolly



Bantu ceased. The whole formal educational structure in South Africa is a western institution. It was so before 1954 and it is so now, although a good case could be made out for demonstrating its diminished effectiveness under the new dispensation. One of the reasons for the profound mistrust the Bantu evinced of Bantu Education was their suspicion that the principles which had hitherto guided their educationists would not be adhered to, and one of the reasons for their lesser antagonism today is the fact that Bantu Education has not changed the system as much as they had feared. How unwelcome the main change introduced by the Act was, namely instruction through the medium of the mother-tongue to Standard 6, the Transkei demonstrated by reverting as soon as control was transferred to it to the pre-1954 system of gradually substituting English as the medium of instruction from Standard 3 onwards.

Practically every influence to which the Bantu are subject in South Africa (with the obvious exception of governmental attempts to halt inevitable development by, for instance, bolstering the power of hereditary chiefs) is westernising them. The economy is western, employment and the skills and imperatives that go with it are western. Christianity is a powerful westernising force affecting not only belief and ritual, but marriage, family life, initiation. Furthermore, while it may be true that no Bantu wishes to be recast in a White, European mould — whatever this may mean — it is not true to imply, as is obviously intended, that the Bantu reject western culture. South African Bantu have consistently shown and explicitly expressed their desire to enter upon the full heritage of western civilisation.

I shall continue to keep my own copy of *BaNtu* handy because of the fund of useful information it provides, for the moral-uplift it gives by focussing only on the sunny side of the street, and above all for its continuing testimony to the steady advance of westernisation or modernisation — the term is immaterial — of the Bantu. In this it certainly forms an agreeable antidote to the speeches of many Nationalist M.P.'s insisting on "autogenous education" and "national" Bantu cultures inherently different not only in peripheral nuances but in their basic nature from the general western institutional framework within which all the peoples of South Africa have their being.

Helpful Hint

Mrs. M. C. Botha, wife of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, was applauded by mothers here yesterday when she announced that after her husband had joined the A.T.K.V. the family had grown from two to six children.

News report from The Star.

What it feels like to be Banned

By A BLACK SASHER

TWO SECURITY BRANCH men came to her house one day, and presented her with a new Banning Order, two pages of it. She had been free for nearly two years, and the previous Ban was very mild in comparison to this one. They left her, but she did not notice their going, she was reading the hateful document, and the words, repeated over and over again, "you may not . . ." gave her a sinking feeling and one of despondency.

She slept little that night, and next morning thought she had better go up to the University and finish off an article she was preparing to do with statistics, and which she had found very interesting. But on the way there she suddenly remembered that "you may not . . ." and realised that she was not able to go to the University campus. Who would then fetch her papers, return the books she had borrowed, and could she perhaps find the same reference books in another library? of course she couldn't. She was to learn that the days of being free and independent were over, from now onwards she would be beholden to others, she would have to rely on their kindness, and goodwill. She could no longer do her work alone, but would continually be asking for help. This was the first door to close, but as the months went by, how many other doors were shut.

The next one to close was that of entry to Athlone, and the African Townships, for she may not enter any of these. It was her god-child's birthday, and the little girl had asked for red shoes, which she bought. But of course she was not allowed to go to the party, someone else had to take the child her red shoes, and explain as well as they could why she could not come herself. What about the school fees for Mary? She was so keen to continue her schooling in Guguletu, could she perhaps meet Mary's mother somewhere, and give her the money promised, where could she meet her, for it would not do for a Security man or a policeman to see her talking to a black face. And old Granny in Nyanga, so eagerly looking forward to a visit and the month's rent paid for her . . . who would do these things for her? It would be easier for a friend to take some magazines to a boarder ill at Rustenburg school, for she may not enter any educational institution either. Nor may she enter a factory area so the tea chest promised to someone packing up her books, would have to be bought by someone else. She went with them to show them the factory, and then waited on the other side of the road while they made her purchase. How silly that seemed, but who could tell who was watching, or who might report her. It was never worth breaking the ban for things like this.

Her old cousin at Muizenberg had a stroke, and how she would have liked to see her, and take her flowers, but Muizenberg was outside the Wynberg-Capetown area, so she could not go there. No more walks on any beaches, no more bathes, fortunately the Mountain to walk on, and this was indeed a treat for her and her dog. These two spent Christmas Day walking together, for she was not allowed to go to the family party. They had a big one, with relatives out from England and Zambia, fourteen adults and seven children. It must have been fun, they gave her a toast she heard, but as she thought of the many other families who had absent ones too, she felt lucky to have the sympathy of her family though she couldn't join them; and the mountain comforted her.

She has, of course, had to resign from all organisations, and she misses the stimulation of meetings. How she would have liked to hear Bobby Kennedy and Robert Birley. Reading their messages was not quite the same. She did read them with interest, but kept nothing like that in the house, which can be searched at any time. Harmless articles, but not safe to keep, they would have been removed if found. And the telephone, too, is tapped, so there is no privacy even in her own home. She used to say to a friend who came to see her, "come and look at my flowers", and there in the garden they could talk. She could see only one at a time, and this was difficult sometimes when more than one came in a car. They were good about waiting there, while only one at a time came inside. Such a pity she could never join her friends in town for a cup of coffee. No parties, no meals with friends out, no meals with friends even at home. She began to lose the art of conversation, she had no small talk and so many subjects were never mentioned. She became more and more of a recluse, and withdrawn.

It was sad not to see her sister off on an exciting trip, but there were others at the ship. She missed seeing Mr. and Mrs. A, on their way to Rhodesia, and only an hour at the docks before catching the train. She is not allowed at the Docks . . .

One of the worst aspects to her of this terrible ban, was the weekly reporting at the Wynberg police station. Every Monday morning for the next five years she had to report at this police station, sign a book to show that she was still there. Rain or shine, holiday or not, this hateful thing had to be done, and she dare not forget. Often the sergeant in charge had no idea why she was there nor what she had to do, and she had to

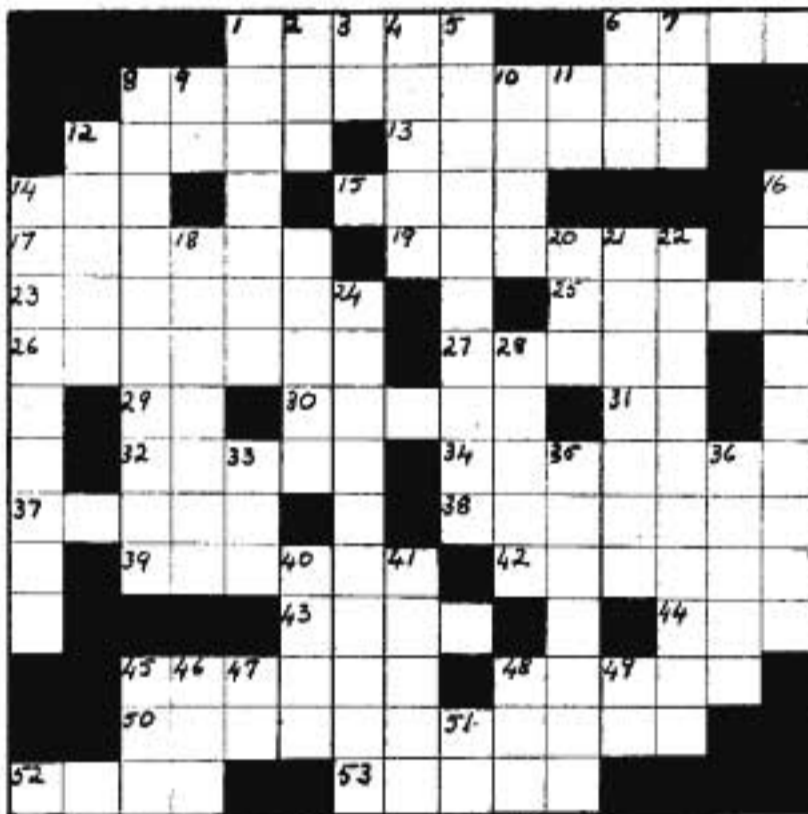
wait in humiliation while he went to find out. She used to go very early before people were up, but whenever she went it was most humiliating and hurtful. The anxiety hangs over her all week in case she forgets.

A banned person may not speak to any other listed or banned person. How was she to know who was listed and banned? Sometimes a name or two would appear in the paper, and one could buy the Government Gazette, and find out that way, but all could not buy papers, and all could not read. It was hard, very hard to pass by friends in the street, with only a sad smile. She began to wonder what was safe, who were her

friends, what was allowed and what was not, what was truth and what just rumour. She began to suspect people, to be afraid of she did not know what. This is no life, movements restricted, hands tied, even thoughts geared in one direction. She must get out, but is there work for her elsewhere? why should she go away? this is her country, and has been for fifty years, these are her friends, her family, her people. Must she leave it all, and be an exile? She has not really done any wrong, and yet is hounded and punished . . .

Yes, she will apply for an exit permit . . . she will leave this country . . .

CROSSWORD — By R.M.J.



Across:

1. Associated with Admiral Evans (5)
6. Wrap (4)
8. Light and shade (11)
12. Fissure (5)
13. This Pa dumps cinders (6)
14. Interjection of Victorian villain (3)
15. Live South African swamp (4)
17. So pour — but it won't hold water (6)
19. A gamble with the Crown (6)
23. Plainer sweetmeat (7)
25. Group with this for segregation (5)
26. Narrated (7)
27. In diagrams a country (5)
29. Closed circuit in South Africa (2)
30. For example — to address a black sheep (2, 3)
31. Not off (2)
32. Tidal wave (5)
34. Draw it with lipstick (3, 4)

37. Such a sight calls for apology (5)
38. South African Railways send out (3, 4)
39. Sign of a sly mob (6)
42. One teaspoonful every four hours (6)
43. Liar bird (4)
44. Definite article (3)
45. So then we tell the truth (6)
48. Scottish dish (5)
50. Under United Nations control (3, 8)
52. Not nuts! (4)
53. There are only two of these (5)

Down:

1. American cookie (7)
2. Batter with a sheep (3)
3. Alternatively (2)
4. Bear with an Australian accent (5)
5. Necessities of life (10)
6. Women's Rural Institute (3)
7. Decay (3)
8. The cast — starch with care! (10)
9. Singular laugh (2)
10. A la Dior (4)
11. Opposition raised (2)
12. Task (5)
14. A lap is par for the valuation (9)
16. The letter after S (3, 3, 3)
18. Oval (7)
20. Did have (3)
21. Golden birds (7)
22. Marinate Ed — and revive him? (10)
24. Fringed watering place (5, 5)
28. Water nymph (5)
33. P.T.? (3)
35. Belonging to the author of "Remembrance of Things Past" (7)
36. Short in Northern Summer (5)
40. Found in macabre dialogue (4)
41. About two pints (5)
45. Came with the Goths (3)
46. Not quite all alone (3)
47. Negative (2)
48. Best of the suit (3)
49. His Excellency (2)
51. Out of — the last one? (2)

● Solution on page 31

Value Your African Employee

By NOEL ROBB

(A talk given in Cape Town)

FOR YEARS the Black Sash has been trying to awaken the public to the hardships suffered by Africans under the Influx Control Laws, but this is the very first time we have had to warn White Employers that the time is coming, or has already come, when they too will suffer under these same laws. 'Liberty is Indivisible' and we privileged whites are now caught in the meshes of the fantastically difficult, intricate, cruel, Influx Control Regulations. In 1963 we warned employers how adversely affected they would be by the proposed Bantu Laws Amendment Bill — finally passed in 1964 and brought into effect from January last year. Six members of the Black Sash had an interview with the then Minister of Bantu Administration — Mr. de Wet Nel — in which we discussed the Bill in the greatest detail for nearly 3 hours. It is small consolation to see happening today so many of the things we forecast that day. We tried to interest employers in opposing the proposed new Bill — indeed the Minister invited the public to make representations concerning the Bill when it was tabled in 1963 — but they were convinced that they would get permits — blanket waivers etc. Now it is too late — Cape Town is being strangled by an artificial shortage of labour caused by the strict implementation of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964.

The papers are full of headlines:

"South African Labour Dilemma".

"Bantu Labour Curb hits the Cape."

"Many Bantu in Cape not Replaceable by Coloured Labour" all mixed up with:

Coetzee's Warning: "Depend less on Africans".

"Gradner Calls for More Hotels in City."

"Northern Areas Bantu Township?"

"Call to Speed Removal of Africans."

Farmers at Grabouw have formed a company to recruit African labourers from the Transkei and now the Government has placed a total ban on Recruitment of Contract Labour (African) since September 1st.

Is Cape Town going to allow itself to be strangled? More and more hotels are closing — firms are hampered by labour shortages — projects to build hotels and factories are abandoned because of the impossibility of being certain of getting the necessary labour. Last week the Cape Times quoted Mr. J. M. Earle, President of the Parow Chamber of Commerce and Industries as saying: "A very serious labour scarcity has developed in this area and during the past few years an increasing number of contract Africans have been admitted to the area to fill gaps where Coloured labour is not available. By August this year the influx had increased to such an extent that there were 26,000 single Bantu in Langa and only 20,000 beds. In Nyanga, where Parow obtains its labour, there are 6,000 Bantu and 3,000 beds. To reduce this serious overcrowding the Department of Bantu Administration stopped granting permits after September 1st. This has, however, created a serious situation in industries depending on Bantu labour and for which Coloureds are not procurable. Local brickworks, for example, have already had to close

down some the kilns while another large industrial organisation is faced with a labour shortage of 350—or 40%—by June, 1967, unless the position is materially relieved."

Meanwhile hundreds of Africans in the Transkei badly need work in order to feed their families. The drought has hit parts of the Transkei very seriously. The high percentage of deaths among African children under the age of 5 and the very low expectancy of life of the African — about 42 I am told — is a disgrace to the country.

The latest figures for incidence of T.B. among Africans in 1965 (Hansard 1966) is 55,972 of whom 11,726 are children up to 4 years compared with 1,260 whites of whom 239 are children up to 4 years; 9,068 coloured of whom 2,699 are children up to 4 years.

The excuse for refusing to allow Africans to seek work freely in the Western Cape is that this is the natural home of the Coloured people and that Africans have been taking away work from these people. The facts are that the official figures (Hansard 1966) for Coloured unemployed in the Western Cape are:

1964	1965	
81	74 Skilled
629	379 Unskilled

It is true to say that there is very little unemployment among Coloured people who want to work. There are a great many 'won't-works' and even more unemployable people and no amount of legislation will force an employer to employ these people. They would rather close down their businesses and start up again in another part of the country. And this is a tragedy for Cape Town.

How to obtain an employee

At the risk of boring those who know it only too well, I now want to detail exactly what a prospective employer has to do if he decides to take on more African labour. In most countries, if you wish to take on a new employee you advertise the vacant post, interview the applicants and choose the best available at the wage offered. In South Africa today you can do this if you wish to employ a White, Coloured or Asiatic but if you require African labour it is quite another story. No African male or female may come to the Cape in search of work nor can he or she come in answer to a request from a firm or individual who wishes to employ him — no African woman may come to this area for any reason except on a short visit and permission for this must be obtained from Cape Town as well as from her home district. Even if a woman from another area marries a man born in the area she is endorsed out. No more permission is being granted to women to join qualified husbands.

No, the African man who badly needs work in order to support his family must register in the local labour pool in his home district and try from there to get suitable work. Very often, not knowing the area or the conditions of employment there, he contracts to work for a wage and under conditions which he finds are very inferior to the average pertaining to the town to which he goes. But he cannot look for a better job — he must complete his contract, which is usually for one year and go home again then try all over again to get a more suitable, more congenial and better paid job.

But back to the employer. If you wish to employ an African male or female for any purpose whatsoever you must first apply to the Labour Department for a certificate stating that there is no Coloured person available for the job. This usually takes 14 days and is often only issued after several Coloured people have been sent to apply for the job and have been found unsuitable. Armed with this certificate you then apply to the local Labour Bureau — Langa if you live in the Municipal area — Nyanga if you live in the Divisional Council area — only to be told that there is no labour pool today and that they have a long-list of employers needing labour. If you take with you an African you have found for yourself whom you wish to employ, ten to one you will not be allowed to do so. Only Africans who qualify to live and work in the area may be recruited in this way. Either they must have been born in the area, lived there continuously ever since or they must have worked ten years for one employer or have worked and lived there continuously for 15 years, during which time and afterwards they must not have worked, even for a short time, in another area, or been convicted of an offence leading to a sentence of a fine of £50 or six months' imprisonment.

Please note the word area. The Municipal Area and the Divisional Council Area are two separate areas. If an African is born in the Municipal Area and works there for many years but then accepts a job in the Divisional Council Area, say Constantia, Belleville or Hout Bay, he will find when he applies to be allowed to accept work offered, that he has lost his right because he has worked in "another area" and is now no longer a qualified man and can be endorsed out. Again, if a man has lived and worked in Cape Town in one area for over 15 years but failed to register within 72 hours of June 24th, 1952 he does not qualify under Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act.

In August 1965 Justice Corbett gave a judgement to this effect in the case of HOUGHTON HLALANE and since then we have lost several cases in which this judgement has been invoked. No women registered before 1954 — most in 1955, therefore very few women in Cape Town qualify unless they were born there and have lived here ever since. The onus is on them to prove this. Mrs. Dlakulo, whose husband was found to be not a qualified man because, although he had written evidence that he had worked continuously in Cape Town since 1951, with permission, he had not registered within 72 hours of June 24th, 1952, was endorsed out in spite of the fact that they were legally married in 1961 and that she had lived continuously in Cape Town since 1959.

If there is nobody available in the Labour Pool and you cannot get permission to employ somebody of your own choice, you could, until September 1st, apply in quintuplicate to the local Labour Bureau for the number and type of workers needed, stating the exact conditions of employment, wage offered, etc. (and deposit R15 per employee to cover cost of train fare, rations etc. Most employers deduct this money plus return fare from the employee's meagre wages). This application has to be approved by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner at Observatory, who frequently turns down the request, particularly in the case of hotel staff and garage and office staff. Since March 31st, 1966, no new Africans may be employed by hotels without a permit — even local ones. However, if the application is approved, you then await the arrival of your batch of workers. There is no chance to choose the most suitable unless you go yourself or send somebody to the Transkei to do so. There is no chance for the African to choose his job or to bargain for better pay and conditions. A blind date on both sides in fact. These workers — contract workers — usually come down on a year's contract — renewable for one further year only, if notice is given well in advance of the termination of the contract. We have nearly 200 cases where the employer has broken his contract and dismissed the worker who has then had to return home to the Transkei. He is not allowed to accept other work offered. This is quite ille-

gal but the employer usually gets away with it. The employer then starts again and hopes for better luck next time. What an inefficient way to recruit labour — what a waste of time and money. What a waste to train an employee who leaves at the end of one year — or two at the most. How depressing and frustrating for the worker not to be able to improve his position, to be promoted, to find a better job — always an unskilled labourer — always a temporary worker with no incentive to work really hard.

Since September 1st no more Contract labourers have been recruited for Cape Town because already 26,000 so-called 'bachelors' inhabit 20,000 beds in Langa (see Cape Times report) and 6,000 inhabit 3,000 beds in Nyanga. Hence the suggestion by Mr. Malan, Secretary of the Divisional Council, that a new Township should be established in the vicinity of the Northern Municipality. He said that 296 married family units and 2,336 berths for single occupation are urgently needed in Nyanga alone.

So it can be seen that it pays to value your African employee since he is not easily replaceable and one of the surest ways of losing him is to make a mistake about granting him leave. Leave cannot be granted to contract workers other than statutory holidays. If he goes home on leave he will not be allowed to return. Other workers may be granted up to 6 months leave. The period must be written in his Reference book and he must not be signed off. Langa (or Nyanga) must be informed of the period of leave. He must not return one day late or he will be endorsed out. If he is granted more than 6 months leave he must be signed off and when he wishes to return he must be applied for on Form BA 403 as if he were a new contract worker. He will not be refused permission to return to his previous employer provided that he has not been away more than one year but he will now be a contract worker. He will have lost his right to live and work in the area permanently.

So I plead with you, if you employ a man who has lived and worked in Cape Town for many years, do see that he does not go on more than 6 months leave — don't sign him off and re-register him when he returns.

MR. NQWENISO was born in 1929. He first entered Cape Town in 1948 (No concrete evidence of being a qualified man) 1 year break in 1955.

On October 1st, 1965, he went home on six months leave with permission from his firm. He returned on 11th April, 1966, reported to Langa and returned to his previous employer. It was only when he went to Langa on 31st August 1966 to apply for his wife to visit him that he was told he was now a contract worker. Without his realising it his book had been stamped "12.4.66 service contract valid until 11.10.66". He had returned eleven days over his six months, unaware of the new regulation.

Mr. COKOVANA first entered Cape Town in 1954. This man was granted 11 months leave by his employer, which was endorsed in his book and dated 2nd September 1965. He returned to Cape Town with permission from Umtata dated 25.7.66. He reported to Langa on 11th August 1966 and was endorsed out. His employer appealed to Langa and the Department of Bantu Affairs on his behalf with no success. Mr. Cokovana has now been sent home by his former employer, who has filled in all the papers for him to come down on contract. Unfortunately it is now more than one year since he worked for this employer so he may well not be permitted to return.

Classic example of waste of time and money

MR. NTSHOBOLE came to Cape Town in 1948 from Encobo. He worked for a firm who gave him 8 months leave in December 1965. He returned 29.8.66 and was endorsed out because he had had more than 6 months leave. He returned to Encobo. The firm wired the magistrate there asking for him and wrote to Langa, guaranteeing him employment. The Magistrate at Encobo gave him permission to proceed to Cape Town in terms of Section 10(1) bis Urban Areas Act (Returning to previous employer within 12 months). B.A.D. sent him back to Encobo at Government expense with a letter to the Magistrate summarising the case. The employer has applied in quintuplicate for his worker and is still waiting for him.

Two successes due to Athlone Advice Office efforts

MR. MATOLO first entered the area in 1950 and had worked here continuously ever since, only leaving it for short periods of leave.

He was granted seven months leave late in 1965 and on returning within this period earlier this year he was refused permission to return to his job. Because the period of leave granted exceeded six months, he had lost the automatic right to return to his previous employer within one year — which right existed in 1965. His employers were most anxious to re-employ him and after enormous effort on their part the Bantu Affairs Department finally permitted him to return to his previous job because he was able to prove continuous residence in this area since 1950.

MR. THENI first entered Cape Town area in 1940 and has worked for the same employer ever since then, leaving the area for short periods of leave. On 14th September 1965 he was granted eight months leave and reported back on June 1st, 1966 — two weeks over his eight months. On reporting to the authorities he was endorsed out. While he was away new legislation had been enforced limiting leave to six months, and although he was qualified under Section 10(1)(b) he should have been applied for under a fresh contract. Permission to return would not have been refused because he had not been away for 12 months,

but he would have come back as a contract worker, and lost all his rights as a qualified man. Mr. Theni was therefore told by Bantu Affairs Department that he would have to go home and return on contract — if his firm still wished to re-employ him. He first approached us on 1st June 1966 and after 16 days involving telephone calls, many interviews and letters etc. and a great deal of help from his employer, he was allowed to return to his previous job and has not lost his precious qualification under Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act.

As regards domestic workers, male or female, they may be granted paid leave and on their return their books must be signed up to date (males). It is unnecessary to report that workers are going away on paid leave.

Up to now I have dealt with the employer and his difficulties but now I should like to explain what happens to your employees when you discharge them. They must report within 3 days to the local Registering Officer and if they do not qualify to remain permanently in the area under Section 10(1) (a) (b) or (c) of the Urban Areas Act, they will be endorsed out. They will not be allowed to seek work. They will not be allowed to accept work offered. Many women who are the sole breadwinners in the family and who have lived and worked in Cape Town for very many years have been endorsed out.

MRS. SONGISHE was discharged from her job on 17th November 1965 having worked there since 24th January 1960 and on reporting the fact to Langa Registration Office was given R10.81 repatriation money and told to go home. She stated that she had lived here continuously since 1945, was married by tribal custom in 1949 to her husband who is a qualified man with a shop in Guguletu. He, however, left her in 1957 and took another wife whom he married by civil rites.

Through an attorney she appealed to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner against her endorsement out on the grounds that she had lived in the area legally since 1945. She collected birth certificates of children born in Cape Town, Post Office Savings books containing evidence of deposits made in most of the years between 1947 and 1965, and a notification addressed to her by the District Registrar of Births requiring her to have a child vaccinated in November 1950. This appeal was not successful.

When she was later arrested and charged with being in the area illegally she was defended by an attorney who, with the aid of all these documents, was able to prove that she had resided legally in this area since 1950, and therefore qualifies under Section 10(1)(b) to remain here. She is now the proud possessor of a stamp to this effect in her reference book.

This case emphasises how important it is to produce documentary evidence in support of verbal evidence—in the end the case hinged on the

Uplifting

By Bob Connolly



production of the notice dated November 1950 requiring her child to be vaccinated.

Mrs. JARA first came to Cape Town in 1956 to join her husband in order to conceive. She worked for same employer (Mrs. D.) as he did and lived in. Took out Reference book in 1959 and employer was made to deposit repatriation money. Went to work for Mrs. S. 1.11.59 to 31.8.61 and while there divorced her husband. In 1961 went to work for Mrs. R. and by then had 7 children and was given temporary hutment. Left Mrs. R. on 30.9.66 because she moved to Constantia and Mrs. Jara thought she would lose her house if she worked in the Divisional Council area. Reported fact that she had left Mrs. R. on 30.9.66, and was immediately endorsed out. She supports 7 children — 3 boarding school, Transkei, one school here and 3 below school age and has very little hope of obtaining employment in the Transkei.

These women are sent back to the Transkei to the place from which they or their husbands originally came. There is no hope of earning a living there and very little hope of finding work in any other town. Many who have no home to which they can be sent land up in a "transit camp" like Sada. Sada is near Shiloh and about 14 miles from King Williams Town. There 2,685 people have been "re-settled" — 428 males over 18, 718 women and 1,485 children. There are 589 residential units made of corrugated iron — very cold in winter, very hot in summer. There are no trees, no fuel, very little chance of employment for men, no schools, although two are being built, no clinic, no doctor. 33 died in Sada during the first 6 months of this year, 2 of old age and 31 from different types of disease. So think twice before you discharge a female employee lest she be sent with her children to Sada, or a similar "transit camp" of which there are said to be 23.

There is another way in which you can help these unfortunate people. If you live in the Divisional Council area of Cape Town, say Constantia, please do not employ an African who qualifies to live and work in the Municipal Area. Yes, he may be able to get a transfer but when he leaves you, he will be endorsed out because he has now worked in another area, the Divisional Council area. Please be unselfish about this and do warn any African you know not to work in another area. If you have a large firm and employ Africans in one area please do not transfer them to another area. Although they have worked for one employer, you, throughout, they have not worked in one and on leaving your employ will have lost all their rights in the first area. (Ten years with one employer does not count unless the employment is in one area throughout.)

If two companies fuse or one takes over another, service with the first company is not counted when calculating the number of years worked for one employer.

Since January 1st, 1965, all African employees must be registered — even half-day chars or two-days-a-week gardeners. They will tell you they don't have to be registered but they do now. Not only is it illegal to employ an African without permission, both the employer and the employee being liable to a heavy fine, but it is very unkind to the African employee. Such a period of illegal employment will spoil his record — he will be considered to have been illegally in the area while so employed and if discovered may well be endorsed out. Remember that a permit to work is not necessarily issued to a person qualified to reside here.

Gradually, during the last two years, the African workers of Cape Town have changed from permanent workers, who, apart for a holiday of

three weeks every year or a few months every few years, have lived and worked here for very many years, to a vast force of Contract workers now said to be 131,414 in the Western Cape. The Labour Pool at Langa which used to stand at plus/minus 300 African males is quite empty and the supply of permanent workers is falling steadily.

So if you are one of the lucky employers who still have the permanent type of worker, please value him greatly and do all in your power to help him to retain the right to live and work in Cape Town. If he becomes ill or is injured while in your employ help him to receive compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act. Do not do what a certain Dairy did when one of their milkmen was beaten up and permanently disabled by skollies while on duty at night. This firm signed the man off and made not the slightest attempt to compensate him, help him to apply for a permanent disability grant or workman's compensation until workers at the Athlone Advice Office literally forced them to do so. Thousands of rands of money owed to Africans is never claimed — one woman is owed R693 but the B.A.D. is unable to trace the widow to whom it was awarded. This could be avoided if employers took more trouble in recording details of their employees — home address of next of kin etc. and not just 'John'.

In case it would appear that I am too critical of employers I should like to end by paying a tribute to the majority of employers who take a great deal of trouble with regard to their employees. We have been staggered by the time and trouble some employers have taken over one employee in trouble with the Pass Laws. No, the purpose of this talk is to warn employers to value their African employees as never before — to point out some ways of helping them to retain their right to work.

We believe that the Churches are as distressed as we are about the way in which influx control laws are affecting the family life of Africans.

In the Advice Offices run by the Black Sash we continually meet heartbreaking cases that make a mockery of the value we place on the stability of marriage whether performed by Christian rites or tribal law and custom.

Influx control legislation means that in many cases married couples are denied the basic right to live together. It has reached the stage where a young man should examine a girl's reference book before allowing himself to fall in love with her. If she comes from a country area they will not be able to set up a home in an urban area.

As will be seen from the enclosure a minister of religion can be placed in the dilemma when celebrating the sacrament of marriage, of knowing that the vows taken, in many cases cannot be fulfilled because the laws make it impossible for the couple to live together. In these cases the marriage ceremony becomes a meaningless ritual.

White South Africans are solely responsible for these laws. White South Africans are responsible for the evils which stem from this legislation. White South Africans alone have the power to change the law.

We ask the Christian Church in South Africa to take action to ensure that the laws of the Church are not violated by the laws of the country.

(A letter sent to leaders of the Christian Church in South Africa by the Black Sash)

WORKING TOGETHER

By DOROTHY HACKING AND NELL GREEN, O.B.E.

IT HAS NOT BEEN the general custom in South Africa for people of different races to mix socially, but before the Nationalists came to power there were many organisations in which people of all races worked together; these included universities, welfare bodies, political parties, discussion groups, conferences and churches. There was growing enthusiasm for helping each other and learning to understand each other. No doubt in the normal course of events, with the rise in the economic and educational standards of our non-European population, this co-operation and understanding would have increased in a perfectly natural way and probably have led to social mixing, wherever inclination and opportunity demanded it.

Since 1948 however the party in power has been dedicated to the implementation of apartheid and for nearly 20 years legislation has been deliberately aimed at destroying all contact between the races except through Government officials. As one contact after another has been blocked off, those South Africans prepared to make the effort to meet and work with their fellow citizens of different races have lost heart or been intimidated until it is almost true to say that Europeans and non-Europeans never meet except on a master-servant or employer-employee relationship. It is almost true, but not quite, for there are still people and organisations energetically working for racial understanding and co-operation and we believe the time has come for all people of goodwill to join in this important activity.

We list some of the organisations and groups involved in working together and would be interested to hear about others of whose existence we are ignorant.

The Institute of Race Relations, which has branches in most of the larger towns in South Africa and whose head office is in Johannesburg (Box 97) does magnificent work in collecting and correlating facts and statistics about all South Africans, helps educational projects and, as it has a multi-racial membership offers the opportunities for meeting fellow citizens in the course of interesting discussions, symposia and community service. Membership fees are R4.20 per annum for full members and R1 for associate members, and many publications are available on current topics.

The Black Sash, open to women only, runs Advice Offices in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban where voluntary helpers are given a chance to come face to face with the overwhelming difficulties non-Europeans meet in urban areas as a result of influx control laws. Anyone who has seen at close quarters the heart-break and frustration caused by the implementation of this policy of apartheid must agree that this cannot be allowed to go on. Occasionally the sympathetic advice and help solve some problem and the reward of seeing a family re-united and settled is worth much time and trouble. On a more lighthearted level the Johannesburg Black Sash runs a Saturday Club which meets once a month in a private house for discussion and occasionally for a party and here a pleasant relaxed atmosphere has developed where women can get to know each other. Membership fees of the Black Sash are R2 per annum and anyone wanting to join should contact the Black Sash office in her area.

The English Academy throughout South Africa is devoted to the ideal of increasing the use of and the quality of the English language whether this be in white schools or non-white schools, among Afrikaans speakers or English speakers. Here is a tremendous field where individuals working for a common ideal can meet naturally and easily and get to know each other. Details about membership may be got from English Academy of Southern Africa, Ballater House, corner of Stiemens and Melle Streets, Braamfontein, Johannesburg.

There are still organisations which work for and with non-white South Africans in the fields of nutrition and the distribution of food. **Kupugani** (Johannesburg office 407 Locarno House) which has branches throughout the country and **African School Feeding Scheme** (410 Management House, Stiemens Street, Braamfontein) deal with this aspect of co-operation. **African Self Help Association**, 212 Transvalia Building, Braamfontein, works in the field of general community development. You can offer help, not only financial help, but time and energy to promoting the aims of these organisations.

In the student world the **National Union of South African Students** has an open membership and has branches at all the English language universities as well as in Pretoria and Stellenbosch and is affiliated to some of the multi-racial Correspondence colleges.

The Works Camp Association operates holiday community development projects (address c/o P. Saffery, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg).

And, of course, there is no law whatsoever which stops you from inviting people of any colour to your home provided you do not offer an African guest an alcoholic drink there. If, there-

fore, in the course of your work you meet people whom you would like to get to know better there is no legal bar to your asking anyone to your home.

Opportunity within the Church

But potentially the most fruitful field in South Africa for constructive work across the colour line is within the Christian Church and it is here that there is an urgent need for more people who are ready to work along Christian lines for racial harmony and understanding. It is obvious that one does not join a church because it presents an opportunity to do certain work — the tides of conviction need to run much deeper than that, but there must be many people, some perhaps within the Black Sash, who are drawn to the Christian Church or who are already members of it but who have not realised its potential as a force for racial co-operation. This is not to say that other religions are remote from or are unconcerned with the ethical questions posed by our racial problems, but in multi-racial South Africa 94 per cent of the white, 91 per cent of the coloured, 7 per cent of the Asian and 67 per cent of the African population professes to be Christian, making a total of 72 per cent of the whole population, and what the Christian Church preaches and practises in the face of the attempted implementation of apartheid is therefore particularly important.

What do Christian Churches say about Apartheid? The three Dutch Reformed Churches and the Apostolic Church within South Africa conform with the ideology of apartheid and preach and practise segregation but the rest of the Christian Community, the Methodist, the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Lutheran, the Baptist and the Congregational Churches backed by their foundation churches overseas, are outspoken in their condemnation of an ideology which divides mankind according to the colour of its skin and which legislates accordingly.

Here are some of their more recent pronouncements on Race Relations:

METHODIST CONFERENCE 1960

"This Conference declares its conviction that it is the will of God for the Methodist Church that it should be one and undivided, trusting to the leading of God to bring this ideal to ultimate fruition. It believes that an increase, not a decrease, in the multi-racial co-operation is God's will and that throughout the organisations of the Church inter-racial contact should be promoted as freely as possible." In 1962, the Conference confirmed its previous resolutions to encourage consultation between leaders in all fields of thought and activity and in all racial groups, and to give its full and hearty support to any multi-racial Conference which might be called for the purpose of such consultations. In 1963, the Conference elected an African, the Rev. Seth Mokitimi, as President.

ANGLICAN 1955, Provincial Synod.

"That the Provincial Synod affirm its convictions that only on a Christian basis can the solution to the problems of our Multi-racial society be found in which due regard will be paid to the rightful aspirations of all individuals and racial groups."

In 1963 — After Anglican Bishops had made a statement condemning policies which deny fundamental rights to a Non-White Citizen and after the Bishop of Johannesburg had been warned to remember what had happened to Bishop Reeves, his predecessor — the following statement at the Synod of Bishops was issued.

"In these circumstances, it seems necessary to the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa now meeting in Synod in Bloemfontein, to reaffirm their unanimity in proclaiming their conviction that the Church must openly and fearlessly condemn all that it believes to be evil and false in the social, political or economic life of any nation and, whenever the claims of obedience to the State and God are in conflict, it is to God that our obedience must be given."

ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Bishops' Pastoral letters 1962.

"Since we are people of divided racial and national origins, it seems inevitable that human weakness will express itself in colour prejudice and in national misunderstandings. The fact of human frailty should not however, constitute an insurmountable barrier to the building up of mutual trust and co-operation, if we remain faithful to the moral principles which are the foundation of Christian tradition where Justice joins hands with Charity."

"As Christian people we dare not remain silent and impassive in the face of the injustices inflicted on members of the underprivileged racial groups. Colour must never be permitted to offer an excuse or a pretext for injustice. We must use every lawful means suggested by our Christian conscience in order to counteract and overcome injustices pressing down on underprivileged groups through the toleration of a starvation level of wages, of job reservation, of the evils which flow from compulsory migratory labour, particularly when the people who belong to these groups are denied the elementary right to organise in defence of their legitimate interests."

"Let there be no doubt among us that it is a Christian duty to use every lawful means to bring about a more equitable and harmonious relationship between all the different groups of people who together form our Southern African society."

LUTHERANS: The General Principle of the Church (excerpt).

"The Church is the Body of Christ and, as such, God's Kingdom of Grace on Earth. As

Christians we are all members of the same Body of Christ. Any form of segregation and all forms of discrimination based on race, colour or ethnic origin are contrary to the Will of God and to the Gospel."

PRESBYTERIAN: 1962.

Resolutions passed by the Assembly.

The Assembly 1; Strongly urges Ministers and Servers to increase and strengthen multi-racial contacts, not only for the purposes of worship, but also for discussion, mutual understanding and joint service.

The Assembly 2; instructs Presbyteries to organise ministerial retreats and conferences for office-bearers and youth on a multi-racial basis.

CONGREGATIONAL:

The Congregational Union has consistently condemned all legislation which discriminates on grounds of colour and in 1962 the Assembly stated:—

"The Congregational Union of South Africa believes that all law-abiding inhabitants of a country have the inalienable right to the freedom of association and domicile within its borders."

BAPTIST: 1960.

Executive of the Baptist Union and the South African Baptist Missionary Society expressed its convictions as follows:—

1. That every man is equally precious to God regardless of colour, race or cultural background.
2. That it is the obligation of all Christians to live together in love, and that fellowship in the Church knows no barriers, for all are one in Christ Jesus.
3. That it is possible for the various groups in one country to live together in harmony.
4. That law and order are the basis of a progressive society and that all laws should be equally administered. Lawlessness and violence undermine the structure of human society and are contrary to the teachings of Christ.
5. That all race groups should be adequately represented in the governing of the country in which they live."

The Christian Church in South Africa apart from the Dutch Reformed Church speaks out clearly and in theory presents a united front against apartheid, but to what extent does it put into practice what it preaches? We all know that the practice is disappointing for, as a Leader of the Anglican Church readily acknowledges, there is a great gulf between profession and practice in the matters of race relations in his Church and the leaders of other Churches would acknowledge that this applied to their churches as well.

Nobody can deny that the Christian Church has failed to establish a true Christian fellowship

between its different race groups. However, the challenge that Apartheid presents to Christian teaching has produced its own reaction in the strong statements from the Churches and in the inspiring examples set by the Rev. C. F. Beyers Naude, Professor Geyser and other prominent members of the Dutch Reformed Church who have sacrificed their careers for their beliefs. For those who want to further the work of racial reconciliation there is no lack of inspiration and plenty of opportunity can be found within the Christian Institute, the Christian Council and more specifically within Church organisations, where halls provide suitable meeting places, Church interests in the townships unite workers across the colour line, and where the Churches can be used to make inter-racial worship a reality.

The Christian Church is in a unique position to shape the future of multi-racial South Africa if it can measure up to the challenge. But the Church is the Christian Community. It is 72 per cent of the total population, just as much conditioned by fear and racial prejudice in spite of its professions, as any other part of our society. The responsibility for action rests on the individual Christian. If enough Churchmen (and only a small proportion of that 72 per cent is necessary) can shake themselves out of their apathy, respond to their real leaders and set about closing that lamentable gap between Christian profession and Christian practice, then the work of racial reconciliation can go forward in this country in spite of the formidable obstacles in its way.

Acknowledgement to: "The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa" by Lesley Cawood, for quotations and statistics.

Solution to Crossword

Across: 1. Broke; 6. Wrap; 8. Chiaroscuro; 12. Chasm; 13. Ashpit; 14. Aha; 15. Vlei; 17. Porous; 19. Anchor; 23. Praline; 25. Areas; 26. Recital; 27. India; 29. T.V.; 30. E.g. Baa; 31. On; 32. Eagre; 34. Lip line; 37. Sorry; 38. S.A.R. emit; 39. Symbol; 42. Dosage; 43. Rail; 44. The; 45. Honest; 48. Ashet; 50. U.N.O. directed; 52. Sane; 53. Sexes.

Down: 1. Biscuit; 2. Ram; 3. Or; 4. Koala; 5. Essentials; 6. W.R.I.; 7. Rot; 8. Characters; 9. Ha; 10. Chic; 11. Up; 12. Chore; 14. Appraisal; 16. Its the tee; 18. Olivary; 20. Had; 21. Orioles; 22. Reanimated; 24. Edged oasis, 28. Naiad; 33. Gym; 35. Proust's; 36. Night; 40. Bred; 41. Litre; 45. Hun; 46. One; 47. No; 48. Ace; 49. H.E.; 51. Ex.

The National Education Policy Act. 1967

By M. L. GRANT

THIS ACT CONFERS WIDE POWERS on the Minister of Education, Arts and Science, to determine, with the assistance of an Advisory Council appointed by himself, a national education policy. Education, as defined in the Act, means instruction for white pupils up to Standard Ten in institutions, other than private schools, maintained by a government or provincial authority. Schools are to have a "Christian character" and the education provided is to have a broad "national character". The medium of instruction is to be the mother tongue. This is the policy laid down, to be rigidly and compulsorily applied.

Uniformity throughout the country is to be observed in respect of compulsory education, school age and conditions of service of teachers; there will be co-ordination of syllabuses, courses and examination standards.

With some of the measures of uniformity and co-ordination laid down there can be no quarrel. Teachers have long called for uniformity of salaries and conditions of service as between the Provinces. Nor should there be any objection to an approximation of syllabuses, and standards of examination, though it is to be hoped that the maintenance of "such diversity as the circumstances may require", mentioned in this connection, will be interpreted as allowing of that initiative and experimentation which have hitherto been preserved under provincial control. It is the diminution of the power and authority of the Provinces over vital educational policy, set in motion by the National Education Council Act of 1962, and now accelerated by this Act, which is causing so much misgiving.

Though the concept of the policy enunciated is vague, the composition of the Council to advise the Minister is clearly set out. The National Advisory Education Council, the body called into being by the Minister and appointed by him, will consist of an Executive Committee of not more than five, of whom there will be a chairman and vice-chairman. These five will receive salaries and will come under civil service conditions as laid down specifically in the Act. In addition to the Executive, who are part of the Council and whose chairman will be chairman of the Council, the Minister will appoint not more than two members from each of the four Provinces and one from South West Africa, not more than two from the Department of Education, Arts and Science, and three other members. As an amendment to the original Bill, the Minister has decreed that "members of the Council shall be persons who have distinguished themselves in the field of education or who, in the opinion of the Minister, are otherwise specially qualified in some aspect of the work of the Council", and also, "the appointment of every member of the Council and the capacity in which he is appointed shall be notified in the Gazette".

There is no representative element in the Council and no guarantee that the advice of any of its members, or of the Administrators who are to be consulted at various levels, will be taken. This is evident from the terms of appointment of members of the Council, the length of whose tenure of office is determined by the Minister.

Provision is made for a Committee of educational Heads, who are the Superintendent General of Education of the Cape Province and the Directors of Education of the other provinces with the Secretary for Education, Arts and Science as Chairman. It will submit recommendations to the Minister and the Administrators as to the "manner in which the national education policy can be carried out on a co-ordinated basis", and shall advise them on other matters referred to it or which it desires to bring to their notice. This committee, too, would appear to have only advisory powers in relations to the Act.

A clause in the Bill which roused considerable opposition empowers the Minister to cause an inspection to be made of a school or other educational institution or office to ascertain whether the national education policy is being adequately carried out. The Act as finally passed retains this measure with some modification as to the personnel of the inspectors who are appointed, who may or may not be regular permanent inspectors in the education department of the Province concerned.

The power to be exercised by the Minister will have few checks. It is true that consideration is to be given to suggestions and recommendations of the officially recognised teachers' associations, but this promise has not prevented one large and influential body of teachers in the Cape Province, the South African Teachers' Association, from expressing its fear that there will be inadequate, if any, representation of the teaching profession on the Advisory Council. Nor should parents be lulled into easy acceptance by the promise that they will be given a place in the education system through parent-teacher associations, school committees and boards, a place which they have held for many years.

Reference has been made above to the lack of definition of the terms Christian and National in the context of the Act. The fear is very real that these twin aims will be translated into the Christian National Education policy publicised some twenty years ago. That policy was wholly unacceptable to a large number of people because of its narrow exclusiveness and educational obscurantism. Moreover the exclusion of non-white pupils from the scope of the Act may be seen as a clear indication that non-whites are not to be regarded as a part of the South African nation. The critics fear that what is to be inculcated in the nation's scholars is the doctrine of apartheid, which is the ideology of a section and not the ideal of the whole of the South African people.

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This Magazine, as the official organ of the Black Sash, carries authoritative articles on the activities of the Black Sash. The leading articles adhere broadly to the policies of the organization, which does not, however, necessarily endorse the opinions expressed by the contributors.

All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by J. Sinclair and S. Duncan, both of 37 Harvard Bldgs., Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

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Dedication . . .

IN 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 . . .

MET 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 beloof 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.