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THE BLACK SASH

DEMOCRACY



LEGISLATION

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JUSTICE

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ONE FACET OF POLITICAL DISCUSSION

in South Africa has become increasingly obvious during the last year. This is the assumption by most white South Africans that it is no longer possible to argue the merits of Separate Development as a policy. The assumption that apartheid is permanent and irrevocable, and that there is now no other possible solution to our problem is widespread. It is assumed that dialogue can only be on the extent of future partition, the sincerity of the government and the morality or efficiency of the methods used in carrying out these stated ends. This is not so. A positive policy of integration offering justice to all South Africans is perfectly practical and can be advocated and defended on entirely rational grounds.

It seems that the average white South African has been brainwashed by constant propaganda into believing that we have gone too far along the path of separate development ever to return. In fact, South Africa has barely begun on the course laid down in the Tomlinson report and it is open to doubt whether there is any real sincerity of intention on the government's part to implement this report.

It seems that the "separation" is only intended to ensure that no African has any rights in any "white" area, but at the same time to make sure that African labour is readily available for the needs of "white" industry. "Development" in the African areas proceeds at a snail's pace. There is no evidence of any true intent to make these areas self-supporting and only a minimum of window dressing has been done.

It has been announced that "Apartheid" is to be taught in schools as part of the history curriculum. Apartheid is another name for separate development and is the contemporary policy of a political party; it should find no place in school curricula. It is quite impossible to teach such a policy dispassionately in our present situation and time has not yet given us the necessary perspective to judge its success, or failure, or effect. It is, in fact, not history! There can be no testing of historical truth in the teaching of present political situations. At best, there can be intelligent speculation and argument, at worst, a shocking misuse of our educational system which becomes a vehicle for Nationalist party propaganda.

We are appalled at the prospect of further indoctrination of our children. It is even more appalling that this latest erosion of the freedom of thought will be accepted without question by the great majority of white South Africans.

EEN ASPEK van die politieke besprekings in Suid-Afrika het in die afgelope jaar steeds duideliker geword. Dit is die veronderstelling, onder die meeste blanke Suid-Afrikaners, dat dit nie langer moontlik is om te argumenteer oor die meriete van aparte ontwikkeling as staatsbeleid nie. Dit word algemeen aangeneem dat apartheid blywend en onherroeplik is, en dat geen ander oplossing van ons probleme nog kan bestaan nie. Dit word aanvaar dat daar alleen nog besprekings kan gehou word oor die mate van toekomstige verdeling, oor die opregtheid van die regering en oor die sedelikheid of die doeltreffendheid van die wyse waarop die verklaarde doeleindes uitgevoer word. Dit is nie die geval nie. 'n Positiewe integrasie-beleid wat alle Suid-Afrikaners hul regte aanbied bly prakties uitvoerbaar en kan volgens grondige redes voorgestaan en verdedig word.

Afsonderlike ontwikkeling is nou nie en sal ook nooit uitvoerbaar wees nie. Suid-Afrika se ekonomie is geïntegreer en sal so bly. Die regering probeer hulself en die publiek in die waan te bring dat "afsondering" bestaan, maar die waan bestaan slegs op papier. Ons gemeenskap bestaan uit één geheel wat alleen kan voortbestaan met hulp van die bydrae van al ons mense.

Dit sou blyk dat die gewone blanke Suid-Afrikaner so beïnvloed is deur gedurige propaganda dat hy glo dat ons te ver gevorder het langs die pad van afsonderlike ontwikkeling om ooit te kan terugkeer. Die feit is dat Suid-Afrika skaars die eerste trede op die pad geneem het, wat in die Tomlinson verslag aanbeveel is. Die twyfelagtig of dit die regering erns is om die aanbevelings in hierdie verslag uit te voer.

Dit sou blyk dat die „afsondering” slegs die doel voor oë het om te verseker dat geen Bantoe enige regte in enige „blanke” gebied sal hê nie, maar tegelykertyd seker te maak dat Bantoe arbeid altyd beskikbaar sal wees vir die behoeftes van „blanke” industrie. „Ontwikkeling” in die Bantoe gebiede vind plaas met die spoed van 'n skilpad. Daar is geen teken van 'n ware voorneme om hierdie gebiede ekonomies onafhanklik te maak nie en slegs die mins moontlike is dusver gedoen net vir reklame.

Dis onlangs aangekondig dat „Apartheid” deel sal uitmaak van die geskiedenisleerplan in ons skole. Apartheid is 'n ander naam vir afsonderlike ontwikkeling en is die huidige beleid van één politieke party; dit verdien geen plaas in die skool leerplan nie. Dis onmoontlik om so'n beleid sonder emosie te bespreek in huidige omstandighede; die tyd het ons nog nie die nodige

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ALLISTER *in* WONDERLAND

By ALLISTER SPARKS

A Talk given by Mr. Sparks to the Black Sash in Johannesburg

(Mr. Sparks is an assistant editor of the Rand Daily Mail and an experienced commentator on African politics)

BEING A NEWSPAPERMAN I am headline conscious, so have been casting about in my mind for a suitable title for this talk. Finally I hit upon the thought that it should be called . . . "Allister in Wonderland".

This is most appropriate, for a journey into the Bantustans is really a journey into a fantasy world — a world that exists only in the imagination. And I can assure you that the kind of discussion that took place around the bar on this train each night — involving City Councillors from Johannesburg, Pretoria, Vanderbijlpark, members of the Department of Bantu Administration, a couple of liberal newspapermen and one good lady from the Black Sash, plus a few businessmen trying very hard to be businesslike in that company — well, I can assure you that this nightly gathering was not far removed from a Mad Hatter's Tea Party.

Then again, this entire concept of Bantustans and separate development rather reminds me of the Cheshire Cat. It is there; you can see it; it has a voice. But if you try to engage it in conversation; if you start examining it and asking questions . . . why then, you find that it starts to go hazy and disappears — until in the end nothing is left but its grin.

So this evening I am going to take you with me into this wonderland. We shall begin with this substantial—even elaborate—philosophy of separate development. We shall then go through these Bantustans, asking questions and looking at the vital statistics as we go along. And at the end, when nothing is left of the whole great vision, I shall leave you to judge the quality of the grin — whether it is enigmatic like the Mona Lisa, or cynical, or just plain sickly.

But we must be fair. We must try to be as objective as possible in making our assessment of what this Bantustan policy amounts to — what progress there has been and what potentialities there are. I am not here to be destructive; it is not that I have always opposed the Nats and cannot now admit that they may have something. Look, I am a White South African and if separate development really is going to work I shall be delighted because I enjoy the privileges it gives me. Why should I be stirred by the slogan, "White man arise, you have nothing

to lose but a fancy way of life"? I was born here, as were both my parents and their parents as well; I have in my bones all the generations of prejudice that every South African is heir to — I am under no illusions about how difficult integration would be.

But this above all — I want security, for myself and for my children. If separate development is not going to work then I must find that out now. It is no good enjoying all the privileges of being White today, and then using separate development as a kind of tranquilising drug to stop me worrying about what tomorrow may bring. A shot of political LSD, as it were, that sends me on a trip into the wonderland of Oom Daan de Wet Nel. No, that is no good: if separate development is not going to work then I must face up to the alternative — however difficult and unpleasant that may be.

Right away let me make one thing clear: I accept that, in theory, separate development does represent a possible solution in a situation where people of widely divergent cultural backgrounds have to live in one country. But if the country is to be divided up between the various racial groups, then it must be fairly divided. And if they are to develop towards a separate freedom, then it must be a genuine freedom. These two conditions are essential; without them the whole thing becomes a humbug, which can only aggra-

vate rather than alleviate the tension between White and non-White.

But if these conditions are present, then it does represent a solution. Perhaps not the best solution: in a sense a separation of the races represents a shrinking of the human spirit, a refusal to meet the great human challenge of the second half of the twentieth century; it should really be a last-resort solution, to be used only when bolder and more inspiring efforts to bring about harmonious co-existence have failed.

Nevertheless, it IS a solution — in theory.

But what of it in practice? This is the crux of the matter. The Nationalist Government has been in power for twenty years; it is fourteen years since the Tomlinson Commission published its exhaustive blueprint for separate development; and a full decade since Dr. Verwoerd proclaimed as official policy the idea of independent Bantustans. It is time to look for results. If the policy is real and not a rainbow, there should be something to show by now.

I was in standard seven when the National Party came to power. I was a cub reporter when Professor Tomlinson was writing his report. Now I am approaching middle age and I am an Assistant Editor. I think I am entitled to ask for results. I cannot follow slogans for ever.

So let us look now for these results . . .

The first thing I discovered about the Bantustans is that, with the exception of the Transkei, they do not exist — self-governing or otherwise (actually discovered is the wrong word because I knew it all along, but when you see a thing in real life the impact is so much greater).

These homelands of which we hear so much are a host of tiny spots, some no bigger than a few square miles of mission land, scattered like a rash across the face of Africa. Professor Tomlinson counted 264 fourteen years ago and warned that unless they were consolidated the whole separate development plan would become meaningless. In fact consolidation on this scale is a non-starter. Any attempt to move the thousands upon thousands of people involved, the most conservative and immovable in the country, would not only prove prohibitively expensive but would also arouse massive public wrath. As Mr. Vosloo made plain enough to the perturbed men of Sabra a few months ago, the Government has no intention of even attempting to tackle it. It will move Africans — oh yes — when this happens to suit the convenience of Whites, and to give the impression that something is being done. But can you imagine a Limehill for Whites? That will be the day. Yet unless Whites are shifted, and in very large numbers indeed, the homelands can never be consolidated. They will remain fragmented areas, like pieces of shattered crockery.

Now what does this look like in real life, as it were? Take the Ciskei. It is the smallest of all the Bantustans, and even if it could be consoli-

dated and raised to independence it could aspire to nothing greater than to be a kind of African Luxembourg. Yet even this little-bitty thing is broken up into 20 fragments scattered from the Free State border to a few isolated bits west of Port Elizabeth. In between are White towns like Alice and Fort Beaufort and Queenstown and King Williamstown, and a whole lot of pretty prosperous White farms. As we were driven through in railway buses none of us was ever sure whether we were inside or outside the much-discussed "Bantu area." There are white spots inside the Black spots and Black spots inside the White spots. Sometimes it was Bantustan on the left of the road, and South Africa on the right; sometimes the other way around; and sometimes the boundary was a farmer's fence. But most times we didn't know where it was — and if you were naughty enough to pop the question as you were bowling along the road from one scheduled stop to the next, you discovered that the Government officials showing us round didn't know either.

In the Northern Transvaal the situation became even more complicated. I had always imagined Vendaland to be something like the Transkei, the only other Bantustan to have geographic coherence. Well, there is a good compact blob of "Bantu area" all right, but I discovered when I got there that it was not all Vendaland. There are bits of Shangaan and North Sotho Bantustan stuck in the middle of it, and there are bits of Venda land in Shangaan and North Sotho territory. This on top of the broken-china effect which you have in the Ciskei, that has thrown white splinters into black areas and black splinters into white areas.

I asked for a map. Everybody asked for a map. It produced quite a lot of embarrassment because nobody wanted to give us a map. We complained that we couldn't make head or tail out of what we were being shown unless we could see the whole complex on some kind of map. I suppose I complained most loudly of all. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner drew me aside, apologised, and explained that they didn't want to give us a map because some damn Pressman might get hold of it and make propaganda overseas. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Northern Transvaal was more accommodating: he produced a map. When I saw it I was quite genuinely astonished at the tribal mix-up. I asked him how it would be possible to sort them all out in consolidated areas. "You can't", was his answer. But then I asked him: "What can they possibly mean politically, as independent states, if they are not to be consolidated?"

"That's for them to worry about," he said, pointing in the direction of Pretoria. He was a civil servant — and a good one — doing the best he could on the spot.

But for the purpose of this discussion let us make an assumption — a very big assumption —

but let us make it anyway. Let us assume that full and complete consolidation of the Bantustans IS possible. Let us do more: let us not only assume that it is possible, let us assume that it has been accomplished.

This brings us back once again to Professor Tomlinson and his report. There are at present a total of 4,133,000 Africans living in the reserves. Tomlinson calculated, that, with an energetic development programme, these areas would be able to accommodate 9 million people by the turn of the century. In order to do this, he said, 50,000 new jobs would have to be opened up inside the Bantustans each year between 1954 and the year 2000. Of those 50,000 new jobs, 20,000 would have to be in secondary industry — this industrial activity would generate sufficient tertiary activity to provide the other 30,000 jobs.

20,000 industrial jobs, each year, until the year 2000. Let us look now, fourteen years later, at how many there are. The Transkei, as I have said, is really the only Bantustan; it is the only one where there has been any industrial development at all. It has been in existence in a more or less coherent state, and even with some degree of autonomy, since 1882. It has had partial self-government for 4½ years. It is the showpiece of separate development. I have here the report of the Transkei Department of the Interior for last year. The total number of industrial jobs for Africans in existence throughout the Transkei in all that time — including the building industry — 1,700.

There are no industries at all in the Ciskei. On our tours we saw a cane furniture factory at Hammanskraal, north of Pretoria. Throughout the rest of our journey through the northern and eastern Transvaal we neither saw nor heard of another industry. We did not go to Natal, so I cannot tell you what the situation is there — but I would be surprised if it were significantly different.

Of course the government contends that its policy is to help establish industries not so much inside the Bantustans as on their borders, inside the white areas. Of the effects of this on the prospects for genuine independence I shall say nothing. At the moment I am concerned with statistics. The border industries programme has been under way since 1960. In more than seven years it has opened up a total of 44,600 new jobs for Africans — that includes such large and questionable additions as Rosslyn, which is really an extension of Pretoria's industrial complex sited near a tiny spot of Bantu land — a far flung fragment of the Tswana Bantustan, most of which adjoins Botswana — and the Pine-town complex near Durban. It also includes the Phalaborwa copper development. But even with these additions the total of 44,600 jobs in seven years falls far short of Tomlinson's demand for 20,000 jobs each year. And remember, he wanted them inside the Bantustans, and these jobs

are outside. What is more they have been opened up at a total cost of R220 million — which works out at an average of R5 million per job.

Looking at these figures, if Tomlinson's development programme is to be met than R100 million should be spent each year on industrial development ALONE in the Bantustans. Yet in the last budget the Government voted a total of only R38 million for ALL Bantustan development — a figure which, it is worth noting, is a good deal less than we spent on munitions.

Now the Government's answer to this one is that agriculture must be developed before industry can be. As the Honourable Hans Abraham puts it with such eloquence, he says: "Man, if you put an industry where nothing happens you will have a happening." O.K., he has a point, of sorts. The problem is that it is inordinately difficult to reform African agricultural methods. Tribal tradition, the whole structure of African society with its emphasis on the extended family and its investment in personal relations, is something which grew out of the necessities and uncertainties of a subsistence economy. And so the whole of tribal philosophy, from the *lobola* or bride price to the duties of wives and children, is intimately interwoven with the tribe's land and its animals and its methods of farming. If you are going to introduce the fencing of land and the culling of cattle and the rotation of crops, then you are going to run into the full resistance of tribal tradition. Fair enough if you are prepared to break down that tradition — it might be the quickest way of hauling Africans en masse into the twentieth century. But when for political reasons you are simultaneously trying to resurrect and prop up tribal traditionalism, then you have an awful conflict.

Now those of you here who have anything to do with factories know very well that the African is a pretty good factory operative. He may be a lousy farmer, but he is an efficient factory operative. He is quick to learn and he is competent — and for the simple reason that on the factory floor there are no problems of tribal traditionalism that have to be overcome before he can learn to do the job well. At the Letaba Citrus Estates in the eastern Transvaal (which now rates as a border industry) there is a fruit juice cannery and a box-making plant. Here Africans can be seen side by side in their capacities as farmers and factory operatives. The manager of the estates said he was amazed at the difference — and he was quite at a loss to understand it.

But there it is, a difference of the first importance. If the Bantustans are to be hauled up fast, then either tribal traditionalism must be smashed or the development must be primarily industrial. At the moment it is neither, and the result is utter stagnation.

Before leaving this subject, let us look at some specific instances of agricultural development.

At Qamata, in Kaiser Matanzima's Emigrant Tembuland region of the Transkei, is the biggest single Bantustan development undertaking of all.

It is an elaborate irrigation project involving a large dam — bigger than the Hartebeestpoort Dam — a diversion weir, a tunnel, a number of subsidiary dams and an extensive system of concrete canals. When the scheme is completed 2,356 African farmers will be settled on 1½ morgen plots each with a potential yield of R450 a year.

In other words it is costing R3,000 to give each man an income potential of R37.50 a month (that is in the unlikely event of his turning out to be an efficient farmer). He could earn half as much merely by investing the money in a building society. In fact he would probably do a whole lot better, since he is bound to turn out to be an inefficient farmer.

In the Ciskei, near Keiskammahock, is the Gxulu Irrigation Scheme. It is not as costly as the Qamata scheme, but it too is a monument to the hopelessness of the overall task. It has taken eight years to establish the scheme, and now it gives 80 farmers an average income of R215 a year. The Government is particularly proud of this achievement: it has surveyed the whole of the Ciskei and earmarked spots where similar irrigation projects can be undertaken. Altogether it has plans that will eventually place 0.1 per cent of the total area of the Ciskei under irrigation. And as I have already said, there is not a single factory in the Ciskei. In the Northern and Eastern Transvaal the pattern is exactly the same — irrigation projects to place farmers on 1½ morgen plots where they can earn (in this instance) R120 a year. That and no factories. With the exception of the Transkei and part of Vendaland these are not high rainfall regions — but the development has to be agricultural, and it has to be intensive agriculture. It is like trying to turn dust bowls into Denmarks.

SEE NOW HOW THE CHESHIRE CAT'S FACE IS BEGINNING TO GO A LITTLE HAZY?

But we are in generous mood — you have to be to get along with all those Pretoria City Councillors around the bar — so let us make another assumption for the sake of the discussion. And this time it is a very large assumption indeed. We have already assumed that consolidation has been accomplished, now let us assume that Professor Tomlinson's rate of development is being achieved . . . that those 50,000 jobs a year will somehow be opened up before the turn of the century, and that the Bantustans will by then be able to accommodate 9,000,000 Africans.

At the moment, as I have said, these areas hold an estimated 4,133,000 people. Tomlinson reckoned his programme would push it up to



9,000,000 by the year 2,000. Fine. Now let us look at the population projection for the year 2000. The figures I am going to quote are those of the Bureau of Census and Statistics, published only a few months ago.

Total African population then 28,000,000.

7,000,000 Whites.

6,000,000 Coloureds.

1,500,000 Asians.

Subtract the 9,000,000 Africans in the Bantustans and what are you left with:

7,000,000 Whites and 26½ million non-Whites — almost exactly the same as our present ratio of four-to-one.

After all the agony and expense, after half a century of effort, and even after making these very large and improbable assumptions in our discussion here, we have achieved . . . precisely nothing.

Back in wonderland (or is it Through the Looking Glass this time) we will have joined the Red Queen in running faster and faster while staying in the same place.

But, since we are being generous, we might as well go the whole hog, let us make the supreme concession. Let us assume that the Bantustans can somehow, by some miracle, be developed to the point where they are able to accommodate so many Africans that we can look forward to the day when there will be a majority of Whites in what is fondly called "White" South Africa. A tremendous assumption, you'll agree. Yet even when it is made, even then the policy does not become workable. Because our economy requires that the Africans must come to the cities in increasing numbers. There are acute manpower shortages as it is and no amount of im-

migration or Botha babies can fill all the new jobs that are opening up each year.

So that even if the Bantustans could accommodate all these non-Whites, we could not afford to let them do so.

AND IF YOU LOOK, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, YOU WILL SEE THAT THE CAT HAS DISAPPEARED.

We have found that at every stage the thing is unworkable. We have made every concession and it still won't work. You ask me: What is separate development? And I say to you that it is an anthology of impossibilities.

Yes, the cat has disappeared, but the smile is still there. When you open your newspapers tomorrow morning, and read the parliamentary page, you will find the controllers of your destinies and my destiny extolling the virtues of this policy. You will find them wallowing in self-satisfaction; the world, they will cry, is coming around to our way of thinking, it is coming to realise that South Africa was right all along; look we are back in the Olympic Games; look Malawi has sent a diplomat here; look Alec Douglas-Home thinks we are not so bad. You will find them holding out separate development, not only as a solution to our problem of group relations, but as a philosophy which they are now commending to the attention of the whole world. We are saving the world: the pariah has become the saviour.

I tell you, its not a policy its a drug. There is not one of them that will try to meet the argument that I have presented here. They would sooner run a mile. I know: I tried night after night on that train to get someone to answer me, to explain just how the damn thing was going to work in the face of the facts we had all seen and the figures we all knew existed. But no one would. Not one. You must have faith, they would say — as if I can get to heaven on the strength of someone else's faith. You must accept our goodwill, they would say — and increasingly I doubt even that. Or finally: "What is your alternative? Integration! Never." But I can say there is no alternative. If there are two courses before you and the one is found to be impossible, then there is no longer a choice between alternatives — and neither faith nor goodwill nor determination can change that fact.

Integration is not only the course we must follow, it is the course we ARE following. Every day we become more integrated economically, and in the end we will have to adjust our politics to meet that reality. But while we are taking drugs we are unable to perceive that simple truth: we simply churn on in a stupor, sending a thousand people to jail every day under the pass laws; smashing up families; evicting people; endorsing people out; banning people; banishing people; inflicting untold human misery and brutalising ourselves in the process. For South Africans are losing their capacity for

feeling human compassion. We can inflict suffering and feel nothing. We can uproot people and send them to the squalor of Limehill — and then sneer at the priests who try to help them. We can disfranchise the Coloured people — and then laugh at the White politicians who will be deprived of their votes. There is only one kind of human species for whom we are capable of feeling pity — and that is ourselves.

I say to you tonight: Thank God for the brave women of the Black Sash. At least they are still able to feel compassion for those who are made to suffer. And while we wait for South Africa to recover its senses and see the obvious, such work as is done in the Black Sash advice bureaux here and in Cape Town is the most noble that can be done. I would like to see it done by others as well, and in other fields.

Breakfast quip



"One of the beautiful things about separate development is that Whites are not forced to move to new homelands!"

Continued from Page 1.

perspektief verleen om te oordeel oor die sukses, die mislukking of die gevolge van so'n beleid nie. Dit is nog geen geskiedenis nie! Onderrig gee oor teenwoordige politieke toestand kan nie getoets word volgens geskiedkundige waarhede nie. Op sy allerbeste beteken dit intelligente beskouing en argument en op sy ergste skandelijke misbruik van ons opvoedkundige stelsel, wat sodoende 'n middel word vir propaganda van die Nasionale Party.

Ons is diep ontstel oor hierdie verdere indoktrinering van ons kinders. Wat nog meer ontsetend is, is dat hierdie afbreuk van gedagtevrheid deur die grote meerderheid van blanke Suid-Afrikaners sonder meer sal word aangeneem.

Border Industries

By JACQUELINE BECK

This paper was presented to the National Conference of the Black Sash in October 1967

ON 2nd JUNE 1960 Dr. Verwoerd announced that a permanent committee for the location of industry and the development of border areas would be appointed. He defined "border areas" as "those localities or regions near the Bantu areas, in which industrial development takes place through European initiative and control, but which are so situated that the Bantu workers can maintain their homes and family life in the Bantu areas and move readily to their places of employment".

In the event this definition has been considerably extended. Now border industries don't have to be anywhere near the so-called homelands and they don't have to employ Africans. By the end of 1965 the Government had decided that border area benefits should be extended to the George and Knysna districts, and the Uppington and Heilbron areas for the employment of Coloured people and to Maritzburg, Verulam, Tongaat and Stanger for the employment of Indians. And as to proximity to "homelands", border industries can be established anywhere within 30 miles of such areas. The concept "homeland" has also acquired surprising elasticity. Thus textile mills at Harrismith are a border industry by virtue of their proximity to Witzieshoek where all of 11,000 Africans live. Now Bloemfontein businessmen are keen to have their city declared a border area. It is, after all, not much further from Thaba 'Nchu where nearly 40,000 Africans live. And there is of course the claim, dismissed with contumely by the Government, that Johannesburg's proximity to Soweto, where half a million Africans live, gives it every qualification to be a border area.

The 30 mile distance allowed from home to industry certainly weakens the force of Mr. Blaar Coetzee's dictum that "these Bantu labourers (in border industries) are happy — they sleep with their families every night". For "every night" substitute "some weekends".

But to return to the original concept put forward by Dr. Verwoerd. Repeated assurances were given that the border industry scheme would be completely voluntary. "No compulsory measures will be applied to force intending industrialists to establish themselves in border areas", said Dr. Verwoerd when he announced details of the scheme in September 1960. In November of that year Dr. S. P. du Toit Viljoen, then Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trade, told the Federated Chamber of Industries — "I can assure you that no factories will be forced to move".

In November 1963 Dr. Viljoen, now Chairman of the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry, was still assuring the Federated Chamber of Industries that "no resort to mandatory measures, such as licensing, is contemplated".

No compulsion. In order to encourage industrialists to set up factories in border areas, inducements were to be offered — the provision of basic services such as water, power and transport and *lower wages*, anything from 20 per cent to 50 per cent lower.

These inducements were not effective so more and more were offered — tax concessions, provision of complete factories at low rentals, concessions on railway rates, establishment of fully planned industrial townships, assistance in provision of housing for white personnel (housing for African workers being already the responsibility of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development), facilities for mortgage loans and so on.

Still the vast majority of industrialists preferred to be guided by sound business principles rather than by ideological obsessions about turning back the "black tide" by 1978. So in 1967 the assurances of 1960-65 were swept aside by the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act.

The achievements under the voluntary scheme were indeed small. During the period 1960-66 border industries gave employment to some 57,000 persons of whom about 44,000 were Africans. South Africa's estimated total labour force in 1965 was 4,750,000 of which nearly 3,500,000 were Africans. This puts border industry employment at less than 1 per cent of the total employment.

The employment of these 57,000 persons (of whom 44,000 are Africans) in border industries involved a total direct investment of an estimated R220-million plus a Government investment of a further R106-million. The cost per worker was

therefore over R5,700. Estimates by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce (Commercial Opinion — March, 1967) show an investment in industry of R940 per worker (white and non-white) during the period 1956-63. A 1961 estimate by a group of international economists of the cost of establishing industries in underdeveloped areas amounted to R1,430 per worker. Obviously our border industries, though they are allowed to employ "cheap" labour at low wages, are not cheap.

Why then border industries? Who benefits? Not the African worker who earns from R6 to R14 a week in these industries but could earn R18 to R33 a week if he was allowed to go to the established industrial areas where there is work for him. And not the worker in the established areas who works under the constant threat of having his wages depressed or of losing his employment opportunities to the border areas — a threat enormously increased by the passing of the Planning Act.

The cost of creating employment in border industries as compared with established industries does not suggest that the former are advantageous to industrialists. The tax concessions and other inducements provided by the Government to encourage border industries have to be paid for and as always, by the taxpayer.

Governments have a knack of referring to "government sources" and "government funds" as though they provide these monies from their own pockets. But as it is in fact the taxpayers who provide these funds they, the taxpayers, are surely entitled to ask what their money is to be spent on and why.

That it is not being spent on the development of the Bantustans is painfully clear. The border industries remain on the white side of the border, under "European initiative and control". It is significant that during the past year or two we have heard less and less about the development of Bantustans and more and more about making the "white" areas whiter. The 5 per cent annual cut-back on African employment in these "white" areas is now the great goal and the Tomlinson Commission Report has gone to that limbo where governmental promises and assurances so often go.

In 1960 the assurance was that the border areas were to be developed "on economic grounds and not purely for the sake of an ideology."

Some reference to the economics of border industries has already been made in this paper. Add to it the Chamber of Commerce estimate that to achieve an annual displacement of 5 per cent of 1.5 million African industrial and commercial workers would require an annual increase in the present rate of capital investment of more than R75 million. To achieve the Economic Development Programme target of a 5½

per cent annual growth rate as well would require a capital investment of about R100 million per year. Bear in mind that this estimate is based on a capital investment cost of R940 per worker, whereas the actual cost per worker in border industries has been R5,700. What a price to pay for apartheid. And when the price has been paid there will still not be apartheid or even "separate development", but still an integrated economy with Black labour under "European initiative and control". The only change will be that we will no longer be "mixed and rich", we will be "mixed and poor."

Classroom of the Future? by Bob Connolly



"Within ten years the public will insist that any person in South Africa who dares to say anything in conflict with separate development, or in conflict with the maintenance of the colour line, should be subjected to criminal proceedings."

Mr. M. J. van den Berg in Parliament.

Mr. Coertze made it clear that the move was voluntary and not compulsory. If the Africans did not wish to board the truck they did not have to do so. The squatters would however find themselves open to prosecution if they did not.

The Star, 29 January, 1968.

BLACK SPOTS ARE PEOPLE

By SHEENA DUNCAN

BLACK SPOTS are communities of African people who happen to live in the "wrong" place. Wrong in this case being an area scheduled for occupation by whites.

In 1960 a report of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development stated that there was a total of 469 black spots in the four provinces of South Africa involving 181,758 morgen of land in black spots together with a further 546,779 morgen of additional areas to be cleared consisting of smaller and badly situated Bantu Reserves and parts that jutted out into white farming areas, making a total of 728,537 morgen. By the end of 1963 91,926 morgen had been cleared. 51,123 people had been moved. Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, deputy chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission predicted that all South Africa's black spots would be cleared by 1970. (Survey of Race Relations 1965.)

* Figures for the number of people moved so far are not easily discoverable but it is clear that tens of thousands have been, or will be, moved both in rural areas and in the towns.

Settled communities all over South Africa are being uprooted and arbitrarily moved, sometimes many miles away, sometimes a short distance, like so many pawns on a chessboard.

These operations are not always reported in the press because sometimes they take place in remote areas and only the Department and the people concerned know about them but sometimes the facts become known. In January 1968 the attention of the public was drawn to the proposed removal of over 12,000 people from farms and mission stations in the Klip River-Dundee area of Natal to the 'Msinga Reserve. Twelve African-owned or tenanted farms and five white-owned mission stations were involved. The people on the Roman Catholic mission farm, Maria Ratschitz, were to be the first to be moved but an inter-Church committee was formed late in 1967 to appeal against the removals and the hardship which would be caused by them and instead a

Footnote.

* Mr. M. C. Botha, the Minister of Bantu Administration, said that every one of the approximately 21,813 Africans removed from "Black spots" between 1963 and 1967 had moved voluntarily.

He said that at the end of 1967, 276 "Black spots" remained adding: "This figure does not include those Bantu areas which are regarded as being so situated that they should be removed". The number of people in these 276 areas had not yet been determined.

start was made on the African-owned farm, Meran on Monday, 29 January. 2,000 people lived on this farm.

The report of the Department of Bantu Administration mentioned above, says that African plot holders who are moved receive compensation made up of the market value of their land, the value of any improvements and an additional sum amounting to twenty per cent of the total. There have been no reports as yet of the sums actually paid to individuals from Meran; it appears compensation is only paid after the move.

The report goes on to say that those who owned less than 20 morgen can buy a plot in a Bantu area. The plots in Limehill are 50 yards by 50 yards. These are pegged out in advance of the arrival of the new residents and each family is allotted one stand. These people have been farming. They have had to sell their cattle and may only take fowls with them. Willy-nilly they are to become town dwellers. (It has been officially stated that there is not enough room in the homelands for all removed Africans to be accommodated on an agricultural basis.) They have left their crops standing at home but the Bantu Commissioner says they will be allowed to harvest when the crops ripen.

According to the report those who owned more than 20 morgen can buy farming land. All may take usable material (doors, window-frames etc.) from the improvements they have effected and they are given free transport.

On Friday, 26 January the children of Meran were sent home from school with a message to tell their parents that they should be ready to leave on Monday, and that they should attend a meeting called by the Bantu commissioner near the Lyell-Merane school on Saturday. The press reported that the commissioner failed to turn up but sent a local business man to tell them to be ready to move on Monday.

On that Monday morning lorries arrived to begin taking the people and their possessions and such "usable material" from their houses as they had been able to dismantle. After the lorries left on their first journey work was begun on demolishing these houses. 21 miles away at Limehill the lorries were unloaded. It was blazing hot. One family found some shade huddled together under their table. Tents had been provided but were not erected. Archbishop Hurley,

priests and Black Sash women who had come to see conditions for themselves helped to put up the tents. It rained that night.

There is a bore-hole delivering 2,000 gallons of water a day; but pipes from the bore-hole were still being laid. Meanwhile the people were being brought in; they were arriving needing water to quench their thirst, to cook, to wash. Water was distributed in tins; a priest on the spot said that the Inter-Church Aid committee had to provide water late on Monday night because "some of the water which had been distributed was not clean — I saw it. It had some sort of worm in it."

Mealie meal was provided free of charge by the Department. A relief centre was set up by the Aid committee to supply food and other necessities. The committee also tried to organise some kind of medical service.

A school is in the process of being built. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Natal, Mr. T. F. Coertze, is reported in the Natal Mercury to have said that nine schools would eventually be built in the new areas to cater for the children involved in the move but pupils would

Mr. Coertze said that the removal would not affect African servants or registered labour tenants on European-owned properties or mission farms.

Press report.

continue to attend their present schools until the new ones could be provided — 21 miles away? Another official said school would start immediately in tents.

By Wednesday some families had started to build huts, others found it more difficult to manage. Many of the men are away working in "white" towns as contract labourers. Other men and women have been going to work nearby. These are concerned about transport over the twenty miles now lying between them and their places of employment.

Mr. Coertze said that the removals from this area would take from five to seven months. It would be facile to hope that by the time the last of the 12,000 people are moved a fully organised township would be ready for them with schools, clinics, roads, water, proper drainage, transport and employment outlets near at hand. In an article in the Rand Daily Mail (Saturday, 27 January, 1968) Jill Chisholm reports that at Osizweni, a township 15 miles from Newcastle the first people arrived almost four years ago. There are now approximately 2,000 families living there. The first school was opened in 1965, there

are now two schools, one general dealer's shop, one cafe, no clinics, little nearby employment. Water is piped to taps (at scattered points, not in the houses) but the supply is not adequate and supplementary supplies have to be brought on trucks and distributed. In the November issue of this magazine conditions in some of the re-settlement villages have been described. It does not appear that much thought is given to the future welfare of displaced persons once they have been tidied out of the way.

A newspaper headline "Advance guard of 270 leave in cheerful mood" has been contradicted in several eye witness accounts by people on the spot. In a letter to the Natal Mercury, Archbishop Hurley reports a conversation with one householder. "Someone remarked that according to the Department the people were going willingly. His reply was to the effect that going was like dying. There was nothing you could do about it — except pray." Perhaps it is necessary for white South Africa to believe that people, forced to leave their homes, in many cases their birthplace, to leave their crops, and cattle, their way of life, for a bleak piece of South Africa's soil, do so "in cheerful mood."

World's Largest Divot

by Bob Connolly



"Let the people judge if the Roman Catholic Church is trying to usurp the functions of my department."

Mr. Coertze, Chief Bantu Commissioner of Natal.

Meran

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

By DOREEN PATRICK

Mrs. Patrick is secretary to the Natal Coastal Region of the Black Sash

“I want to say to the world: You can push people around, you can fight them and you can insult them. They will take all this to a certain point, but you must not try to take a man’s home away from him. You must not even think that you will go unpunished if you estrange a man’s fatherland from him.”

The Prime Minister at Windhoek.

Monday 29 January, 1968 was just an ordinary day for most people. It was not, however, for eight families in Natal.

These people were the first of many to be removed from their home to their new homelands; in fact the start of the removals of the Black Spots in the Dundee—Klip River area.

Mary Grice and myself had the honour to travel in Archbishop Hurley’s car to witness the removal. Knowing it was an all day excursion we naturally prepared a picnic.

We arrived at 12.30 p.m. The heat was quite beyond belief. The first car we saw was driven by a local farmer, a senator. We knew he was interested in this removal scheme and had just returned from being taken around the area by the local Bantu commissioner. He was pleased to tell us that he thought all as being done in a most humane manner and was well under control. Water was available, plenty of labour, in fact, eventually they would be better off than they were before. We bade our farewells with a few misgivings about this report but hoping that we would find ourselves in agreement with him.

We drove the next eight miles and arrived to find three or four cars parked. Around the cars were the Franciscan fathers from the local mission station. Here we now saw the true picture. Dismantled homes, dejected and bewildered people; worried wives, almost in tears as their husbands would not know where they had gone — twenty miles is a long way to walk to see if your family are well settled in a new home.

Everyone we spoke to had the same sad question. What are we going to do? From this scene of misery we then drove in convoy with the other cars to the new homeland. We had as an escort a caterpillar tractor making the road. I dread to think of this “road” when it rains.

It was now 2.30 p.m. — no lunch — how could we when we were amongst such hardship? No house in sight, no trees, no water, it was beyond belief. As we got out of the cars we saw a bundle of tents which had been dumped in a pile; there was no labour force as we had been told there would be. Three families were already in their new surroundings — a 50 yard by 50 yards plot for each family, sitting with all their worldly possessions around them — one family with a bedroom suite with inner spring mattresses. They had been in this trance-like state since 11.30 a.m. Headed by Archbishop Hurley we started erecting the tents. Within half an hour two tents were up. Ghost town was now looking like an endurance test under canvas. Dogs, cats, children all looking for relief and just a little water to drink.

The people were now beginning to wonder where and how they were going to eat; no wood,

no water. Two bags of mealie meal had been dumped but how do you cook it? The fathers assured us that an Inter-Church committee had set up an emergency food kitchen to send in supplies. I understand that water was brought in later that evening.

About 3.30 p.m. the local authorities arrived in full force to finish erecting the tents. One wonders if they would have come if we had not been in the area.

We left at 4 p.m. to drive the 180 miles back to Durban. About 5 p.m. we stopped to have our picnic. Words fail to describe the effect this day had on us: What right had we even to think of food and drink when fellow South Africans did not know where and how the next meal was coming from.

“and it seems to me only fair when people are moved they must do something about providing some accommodation for themselves”.

Mr. Coertze.



**"In a democracy dissent is an act of faith,
and criticism an act of patriotism; —"**

*Dr. E. G. Malherbe quoted Senator J. William Fulbright in his
Presidential address to the Institute of Race Relations*

ON WEDNESDAY 7th February the Black Sash held an all night vigil in protest against the uprooting of settled communities, against the conditions at Limehill in Natal and in sympathy with all the people who have suffered in this way. We stood all through the night from half past four until nine o'clock the next morning. Many students stood with us and some members of the public. There were never less than twenty four people there and at times, especially after the protest meeting addressed by Archbishop Hurley, there were well over one hundred. The thousands of people who passed, enclosed in their motor cars, on their way to their secure homes reacted in different ways. A few, a very few, showed support but most drove past with eyes averted. Perhaps their shame was causing them some discomfort. Then again there were those who showed their anger at having to think for a moment of the suffering caused in their name, with a variety of rude gestures, sneers, facial contortions and trite insults. We were greatly supported through the night hours by those who stayed with us, a group of students, a Professor from Wits., and a man who came all night with large jars of hot coffee and returned again in the morning with a hot breakfast to put new life into us for the last hours.

One of our members, seventy nine years old, stood all night. Her courage and faith symbolises the reasons why the Black Sash will continue to protest against injustice.

Introduction to the Labour Position in the Western Cape

A SHORT HISTORICAL SURVEY

A paper presented to National Conference by the Cape Western Region

Before the War (World War II) the labour force in the Western Cape was overwhelmingly Coloured and White. The African worker represented a small minority of limited economic significance, in the sense that it was in only a handful of occupations, involving heavy manual labour, e.g., handling ship's cargoes at the Cape Town Docks — that Africans were employed in any numbers. From about the turn of the Century there had been a small more-or-less stable community of plus/minus 12,000 African workers, housed originally at Ndabeni, and later at Langa, and also at Simonstown. There was but little African *migrant* labour for the first third of the present century.

During this period Coloured workers made up the major element in the labour force. Thus:

- (a) The skilled work — e.g., in the building trades, furniture manufacture, etc., — the traditional artisan of the Cape was a Coloured — not a white man. (Malays of course included). Only during the late twenties and the thirties did the European artisan become significant, mostly in newer trades, such as engineering.
- (b) With the growth of mechanised factory industry, the new class of operatives were overwhelmingly Coloured — and in some industries, such as garment-making very largely female.
- (c) Unskilled labour in general was also Coloured with the exception of certain occupations involving heavy manual labour (see above): these employed some Africans. On the farms particularly the labourers were well nigh exclusively Coloured.

It was with the outbreak of War, at the end of the nineteen-thirties, that the African migrant worker made his appearance in large numbers. And the reason was obvious. Starting with the very large construction programmes involved in the rapid extension of Cape Town Docks and the installation of defence works, and continued by the rapid industrialisation of the Cape Peninsula and such areas as Paarl, Worcester — initiated also by War conditions — the demand for labour rapidly outstripped the capacity of the

Coloured and White population to supply. As early as 1941 a Native Affairs Departmental report, written by the local urban areas inspector (named Caldwell) stated:

“In the Cape Peninsula the Native now forms part of the economic life of the community, and he has come to stay.”

This proved no idle estimate. Indeed after the War the demand for African labour continued to expand — not unnaturally. It is from about this time that African began to be employed on a large scale on Western Province farms. And the numbers employed in Cape Town and the “Boland” towns continued to mount. The local authorities of places like Paarl, Stellenbosch and Worcester, for the first time recognised the necessity of establishing and building African townships, African housing in the Cape Peninsula expanded considerably.

There is no evidence that the large-scale African influx into Western Cape during the War and post-War years was an undue influx, judged in terms of employment demand. It did exceed housing facilities, especially for family accommodation, resulting in the growth of “shanty towns”, “sakkedorpe” etc. But this is a familiar phenomenon of rapid urbanisation resulting from industrial expansion. And at first the Government and the local authorities began to cope with it along familiar lines, namely by the provision of low-cost state-subsidised housing schemes. From about the time that Dr. Verwoerd became Minister of Native Affairs, however,

the policy began changing in the direction of limiting accommodation to single men — i.e., not accompanied by their wives and children — and excluding women from the area to an increasing extent. This policy has been carried to the point that it has become clear that African labour in the Western Cape is to be limited to male migrant workers: women and children not only to be altogether excluded from entry, but those that are here to be regularly 'screened' and endorsed out the minute they are found not to qualify for permanent residence for reasons given in my paper on African Women in Urban areas.

The history of employment makes it clear that in no foreseeable future circumstances can the labour needs of the area be met by reliance on the Coloured and White population, unaugmented by Africans. The very high degree of Coloured and White urbanisation has left a great gap in agricultural labour resources that can be filled only by Africans. Again the continuing expansion of Urban industry which must further expand in the future if current living standards are even to be maintained, let alone improved — makes reliance on African labour a permanent essential. This current policy necessarily involves permanent dependence on a virtually all male African labour force, permanently living and working 600 miles or more from their wives and children in undeveloped and overcrowded rural areas (the homelands). There is no record of even chattel slavery anywhere having produced so impossible a social situation the ultimate potentialities of which for every imaginable kind of evil can but shock the conscience and strike terror into the heart of any responsible South African. Such a zoological experiment with human beings is historically unprecedented, but its ultimate catastrophic consequences are guaranteed by the very nature of man.

In the whole Cape Province today there is a labour force of 920,775, nearly a million Africans — more than half of them — 535,593 — engaged in agriculture. Of this number there are 131,414 so-called single migrant workers in the Western Cape and 25,039 African families. In spite of the stringent application of Influx Control the number of Africans in greater Cape Town has risen from plus/minus 66,000 in 1960 to 99,000 in 1966. 29,526 contract workers—(no women) came into Western Cape in 1965. 40,000 of these constitute the male labour force of greater Cape Town, and there are about 3,000 African Women in domestic service. These men are almost entirely employed as unskilled, heavy labourers, in the Railways, Docks, the building industry, domestic service and as delivery men, particularly milk men. Of the 40,000 men, plus/minus 27,000 are single migrant workers living under "bachelor" conditions with their wives and families 600 miles away. Women are arrested if they are found in the bachelor quar-

ters and the men are arrested if they spend the night with their girl friends who are often their wives. Only 9,462 of the men are living with their wives and families. Those who are domestic servants in Hotels or private houses are also mainly living without their families.

In September 1966, the Government, because of an acute housing shortage, placed a total ban on the recruitment of contract African labour for work in the Western Cape. Shortly thereafter, employers were told that not only must they limit their quota of African labour to the number of employees (plus registered vacancies) as at the 31st August 1966, but also, that, unless they were prepared to take steps to cut down this quota by 5% each year, legislation would be enacted to force them to do so.

Cape Town Strangled

Soon after this Cape Town found itself being strangled by an artificial shortage of labour. The papers were full of headlines. 'South African Labour Dilemma'; 'Bantu Labour Curb Hits the Cape'; 'Many Bantu Not Replaceable by Coloured Labour'. In November the Cape Times quoted Mr. M. M. Earle, President of 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 Coloured people are not procurable. Local brickworks, for example, have already closed down some of the kilns while another large industrial organisation is faced with a labour shortage of 35 or 40% — by June 1967, unless the position is materially relieved.

Far from relieving what had been hoped was a temporary necessity, the Department of Bantu Administration announced, in January 1967, that in future no employer would ever be allowed to employ more Africans including registered vacancies than he did on the 31st August, 1966. Employers who, at that date, did not employ any Africans would in future not be allowed to employ any without first obtaining special permission from the Minister of Bantu Affairs. Furthermore, the Department announced that a number of specified jobs would be "verbotten" to all "unqualified" Africans. To be "qualified" an African must either have been born in the area and lived there continuously ever since, or he

must have worked at least ten years for one employer (or fifteen years for several employers) during this time (and subsequently) the African must not have worked, even for a short time, in another area. Nor may he have been convicted of an offence leading to a fine of R100 or six months imprisonment or more. To qualify it is not enough for the African to prove that he fulfils all the requirements. He must have registered with the authorities, his first arrival in Cape Town, otherwise his continuous residence will not have been legal. Thus as from January, all those who are not "qualified" for permanent residence in the Western Cape may no longer hold jobs as vehicle drivers, floor sweepers, cleaners, domestic servants, gardeners, newspaper vendors, ice cream sellers, grooms, stable-boys, delivery men (including milkmen), petrol pump attendants, clerks, packers, and time keepers. The effect of this decree is that "unqualified" Africans at present employed in one of the above categories will not be allowed to change from one employer to another without forfeiting their right to remain in the Western Cape.

Position of Coloured People

One reason given by the authorities for refusing to allow Africans to seek work in the Western Cape is that this is the natural home of the Coloured people and that Africans have been "taking the bread out of their mouths". Yet according to the official figures (Hansard 1967) the numbers of Coloured people registered as unemployed in the Western Cape were 881 skilled and 629 unskilled in 1964, and 74 skilled plus 379 unskilled in 1965. There is apparently very little unemployment of Coloured people who want to work although it is widely alleged that there are a great many "would-not-works" as well as a large number of unemployables.

The purpose of the "Coloured Cadets" Act, passed last session would appear to be to get Coloured people to fill the places left by Africans who are no longer allowed to work in the Western Cape. All Coloured youths between the ages of 18 and 24 must register even if they are already employed or still at school, university or training college. The Minister may exempt them from compulsory training but he is under no obligation to do so. Training colleges for Coloured young men are long overdue, but it is doubtful if the proposed training centres will be anything other than labour camps used to fill the gaps caused by the present policy of reducing the African population in the Western Cape.

At a private Conference of employers of Coloured Labour the delegates reported (a) the scarcity of Coloured labour (b) the unsuitability of Coloured labour for certain types of work, particularly in the docks (c) the shortage of White foremen and women and the need to employ Coloured

men and women as such. Not one delegate thought that the Western Cape could do without African labour or even afford to have it limited, let alone cut down. Incidentally, I found it quite fascinating that 40 leading industrialists were prepared to spend the whole day discussing Coloured labour, how to improve wages, work conditions, housing and transport etc. The final decision which was unanimous, was that compulsory education of the Coloured people was the first essential, since habits of regular attendance, cleanliness, and discipline could not be acquired by people who never went to school at all or left at the end of Standard II, before reaching the age where such discipline is enforced. 51% of Coloured children who entered school in 1951 left at the end of Standard II and only 2% reached Matric, let alone passed it. I also attended a Multiracial Church Conference on Poverty at which 150 delegates worked in 12 separate study groups. Towards the end of the Conference all came to the conclusion that the first essential in order to combat poverty was compulsory education for all races. The industrialists reported attempts to train employees which were foiled by the low standard of education of the trainees. It is quite obvious that until such compulsory education of all Coloured children is introduced, followed by training schools the numbers of Coloured people available for employment will not be great enough to supply present needs and there is no likelihood of their being able or willing to replace Africans performing heavy unskilled labour in inclement weather.

Continued from page 24.

Kei Road Ladies' Church Work Association and Kei Road Womens' Association.

The Black Sash Branch in East London could ill afford to lose her.

MARGARET WILLSON ORPEN was born in Manchester in 1900 and died suddenly on July 12th, 1967 in East London. She was vitally interested in Black Sash and kindred organisations. Her brain was an asset to the Border Sash Committee on which she served. She was a student of Mathematics, giving many hours of her life to coaching students. She was President of the Business and Professional Womens' Club in East London for two years and previously, when living in Johannesburg was Convener for South African International Affairs. She was also an enthusiastic member and late president of the East London Ex-service Womens' Association. She was an inexhaustible mine of general knowledge, a voracious reader, a music-lover and another member the Black Sash Branch in East London could ill afford to lose.

LANGA

By MARY BIRT

(This paper was presented to National Conference)

I AM AWARE of the dangers mentioned by Mrs. Cluver yesterday that some people might get the idea that a few more amenities and another ablution block here and there is all that it necessary concerning living conditions of migrant workers. On the other hand a few details of their actual living conditions has stunned some of our members to a greater concern. We feel that such concern can be increased throughout the country by similar investigations.

The following facts were collected last Friday afternoon but the reason why we knew what to ask and where to go when in the Township is that we have been investigating these conditions on many previous visits and had a good number of the facts already. Otherwise the Superintendent might have confined our tour to the beautiful swimming bath, the Churches, Schools, Clinic, Community Centre and the three white liquor stores, of which he is inordinately proud, and the house of one of the most respected and delightful old Grandfathers who has been given two houses in which to enjoy his declining years with his children and grandchildren.

In Langa there are four different types of dwelling for migrant workers. The best are called the Flats and are well constructed 3 storey brick blocks of rooms, each of which is shared by 2 men. Each man pays R3.25 a month. The idea was that senior men on each floor would help the caretakers to keep the buildings fit for decent living. Through lack of proper supervision much damage has been done to the building, but what is even worse, the recreational rooms, the committee rooms and the store rooms have all been turned into dormitories in some cases with hardly 18" between the beds, and on the ground level having 60 men to one lavatory, 1 urinal and 2 wash basins. As the supervision decreased the vandalism increased and now there is no resident caretaker. One responsible man who spoke to me said that he had to try to keep the peace between the 30 men in the storeroom next to his room and the 30 men on the other side of his room who came at each other with weapons. The people of the Townships look upon migrants as a different class, they fear them, and do not accept them as full residents and so they are left to fight and drink their way through the weekends.

The next variety of dwelling is for 16 men per brick construction with 2 or 3 men to a room and one communal room equipped with a concrete table and concrete benches on a concrete floor.

The Superintendent said that this "furniture", had been destroyed on occasions! The filth around

these zones, as they are called, is appalling. 13,600 men live in the Zones. Most of the women who enter any of the Bachelor Quarters are prostitutes, a great number of whom come from the neighbouring Coloured Township of Bonteheuwel.

Another form of housing for migrants is known as the Barracks where 24 men live in what looks like a cave with two-decker bunks round the blackened walls. What windows there are, are firmly shut against thieves as well as the weather, and their belongings and clothes are festooned from the rafters or nails on the walls and the cooking utensils lie about in the middle of the floor.

When the Superintendent tells me "they like to live this way and they like to save the money", I am not reassured. I just cannot accept that any system should suggest, let alone demand that people should live like this because there is nothing better.

But there is something even worse. Since the Western Cape was told in August 1966 that there is to be a withdrawal of 5% in the African working force annually, until there are no more Africans there at all, firms have been very anxious to keep the African labour they have and have been learning new ways of acquiring more.

The City Administration has no money to house newcomers, in fact, it is severely strained in housing those men who used to live on the job but are no longer allowed to do so.

However Africans working in the Cape Town municipality may only live in Langa or Guguletu, so ground has been made available to firms in Langa on which these firms, at their own expense, have constructed sheds that look like miniature hangars and are equipped with something for men to sleep on — be it a single iron bed or in some cases double decker bunks with no safeguard against falling off for the top occupant. If he comes off he lands on the cement. There is nothing else in the shed. The ablution block is far away so many of those who live there don't get that far in bad weather. In one of these sets of huts we found that for 120 men there were 6 bucket lavatories.

The Railways are building their own sheds for 1,000 more labourers on land just outside the fence of Langa. No doubt the fence can be adjusted when necessary. The Railways already employ 4,000 migrants who live in Langa.

A stevedoring company has taken over sheds built by an oil company when their building project near Cape Town was completed. These sheds

house 400 men at a maximum but have so far only 320 men in them. There are 12 lavatories and 12 showers available for them.

The excuse that the Administration gives for all this is firstly lack of money. The other major excuse is equally real and that is that unless they allow such a state of affairs the men will not be allowed to work in Cape Town and will be denied the wages that are better than they would find under maybe easier living conditions nearer the Transkei, and the men want the money.

Any complaint will only come into open conflict with the Bantu Affairs authorities and all the men will lose their jobs and any further hopes of migrant contracts in Cape Town. It seems to be a period of make or break as far as the labour requirements of the Western Cape are concerned and so our "seeking to co-operate with local authorities to improve the living conditions of migrant labourers" is going to be very difficult.

Perhaps the definition Dr. Oscar Wolheim gave at a Conference on Poverty in June 1967 on what constitutes a slum will be a help to those who have to try to implement this resolution if it is passed. He said that if the following four conditions are not met in a household dwelling you have the conditions of a slum before people ever move into it:—

- (1) that father and mother should have privacy at night — internal doors.
- (2) that growing boys and girls should have separate sleeping quarters, with doors.

- (3) that the different functions of life should take part in separate rooms.
- (4) that it is not difficult or impossible to keep yourselves and your premises clean.

According to this definition Cape Town City Council is the biggest owner and constructor of slum property in the city! and yet the City may only build houses according to the pattern laid down by the Government. Group areas has caused havoc in the already harrassed position in the City's Housing Department. In regard to Coloured Housing over 20,000 families await houses and that does not take into consideration the newly wed couples who start married life in a single room in the home of the parents of one of them and will be lucky if they get a home of their own by the time they have three children. To alleviate the distress of the Coloured people, the City is able to build between 1,500 and 2,000 new match boxes a year. There are a few schemes for home ownership, in one case daintily arranged around the perimeter of a sub-economic block. It improves the view from the National road.

Administration Officials and one local member of Parliament with whom I am in correspondence are overwhelmed by the facts on paper and they are formidable, but through the years we have all lost sight of what is necessary for a human being to have in order to remain human. It seems that we must enquire into and make known the facts so that the crippling conditions imposed on the migrant workers be improved.

DICTIONARY

By JOYCE HARRIS

THIS DICTIONARY is intended to provide a brief, quick, easy source of reference for those who wish to interpret and understand statements by representatives of the Government. Its purpose is to introduce some clarity into the welter of confusion that prevails because of a breakdown in the essential lines of communication. When words are deprived of their generally recognised meaning it is imperative that they be re-defined.

FIRST INSTALMENT

Abolition, as in "abolition of passes": Introduction of reference books which it is compulsory for African men and women to carry at all times.

Apartheid: archaic, no longer traditional, see Separate development.

Border, as in "Border Industries": a dividing line which itself may have a width of 40 or more miles, a demarcation made valid by simple proclamation, not to be confused with recognised, geographical boundaries.

Decentralisation: proclamation of existing industrial areas as "border industries."

Development, as in "Separate development"; restriction to inadequate homelands, restriction of labour market, restriction of avenues of employment, restriction to special prescribed school syllabi.

Education as in "Bantu education": tuition to ensure that Africans know their place in life.

Extension, as in "Extension of Universities": removal of rights of non-whites to attend open universities.

Equal, as in "separate but equal": disproportionate land apportionment, disproportionate allotment of national income, disproportionate educational facilities, disproportionate taxation, disproportionate civic facilities.

Fraud: That which is perpetrated on a gullible public by a brilliant and calculated abuse of the written and spoken word.

Humanism: always qualified as sickly, unhealthy quality of being human, unhealthy devotion to human interests, unhealthy concern with the welfare of the human race, unhealthy facet of Western civilisation — see "liberalism."

To be continued.

Communication and Persuasion

By BARBARA WILKS

Mrs. Wilks is Chairman of the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash

BECAUSE MENTAL ATTITUDES are learned they are not immutable. But they *do* have a built-in resistance to change. They are formed or learned in relation to an identifiable referent, such as a person, group, object, institution, issue or event. They can be designated as pro or anti. Those people who have highly organised attitudes tend to have what is called firm ego structures. A person of a firm ego structure is far more difficult to communicate with or persuade than one who has a low self-esteem. I think it is true to say that the Nationalist Party by and large is composed of men and women of firm ego structures. Further, the strongly-held and very stable beliefs of the Dutch Reformed Church tend to maintain and increase these firm ego structures.

People in general are able to bring their perceptions into agreement with their previously existing attitudes because this is far more easily done than it is to adapt their attitudes to agree with a variety of perceptions, sometimes of a conflicting nature. People remember better any facts and information which are in accordance with their beliefs and attitudes, than those items which contradict them. People tend to withdraw themselves even in a *physical* sense from exposure to perceptions which are contradictory to their attitudes.

Dr. Verwey of the N.I.P.R. says: "One further factor helps to ensure that attitudes will remain intact, namely the nature of the social supports which give the attitude its meaning and significance. In discussing the formation of attitudes it has been shown that these come about as a result of the needs of the individual, and in response to the demands of, as well as the perceptions derived from, the environment in which the individual finds himself. In a general sense it may be said that the members of any cultural group will tend to have beliefs and attitudes which are roughly similar in kind and content, although they would vary a great deal in strength. Such attitudes will be preserved partly because the social setting within which they occur supports not only their formation, but also their continuation . . .

The specific need which the attitude serves must be diagnosed. Those who wish to change an attitude frequently believe erroneously that undesirable attitudes are merely the result of obstinacy, or poor training. Another mistake

made is to assume that there is one universal need, which holds equally for all people — e.g. that racial prejudice is the result of economic insecurity. Furthermore, it is more meaningful and practically helpful to interpret an attitude in terms of the immediate, existing psychological field rather than to account for it in terms of historical events — e.g. that the person who has anti-religious attitudes had been forced too much as a child to attend church, or to conform to strict religious precepts.

The content, as well as the nature of the social supports of the attitude must be correctly understood before it can be successfully changed."

Four ways of changing attitudes are suggested by Dr. Verwey. First — lecture methods. But it has been stressed most strongly by the Yale Communication Research Programme team that the communication has a greater effect in producing a change of attitude when its source i.e. the communicator is regarded by subjects as trustworthy and reliable, than when the source is not so regarded. The same applies to the communicator. That proviso is, to my mind, one of the major obstacles in our way when we attempt to hold lectures. Further, it must be remembered that if a communication runs counter to the norms of a group, those persons who value their group membership most highly will be least influenced by the communication.

Mass media of communication is next suggested as a technique for changing attitudes. However, the communication media of radio, magazines, the cinema and in some areas, newspaper are all closed to us.

Thirdly, contacts between groups of differing opinions. Under specific conditions Dr. Verwey says that contact between such groups could perhaps lead to a reduction of prejudice and disagreement. However the majority of studies in this area would seem to indicate that to bring groups into contact is not an effective technique for bringing about changes. (I personally find myself in disagreement with this premise. Surely the best way to know the workings of other groups' minds is to get to know them.) However Dr. Verwey says that co-operation and change of attitude will probably follow only if there is a realisation on both sides that a common goal could not be attained by one group alone. Our goal is very different from the Nationalist one, and of course they are convinced that their me-

thods alone, can secure a peaceful future for this country.

The fourth suggestion — that of group decisions — cannot, I feel be entertained by ourselves. Apparently this procedure has been very effective in changing attitudes to working overtime, change in work procedures and so on, but in the climate of this country such a course is surely impracticable as yet.

Fear is, of course, one of the most potent of motivating appeals, and, together with love and hate, arouses the strongest emotions. There is argument however among the experts as to whether communications containing "emotional" appeals are more effective than communications which rely on "rational" argument. But I think that in this country fear-arousing appeals are, technically speaking, enormously successful. The "swart gevaar" threat never seems to lose its impact, nor do the everlasting diatribes about how South Africa is beset by enemies, terrorists and so forth, and how we must all be prepared to know and face up to our foes etc. (very similar, of course, to the drumming-up type of propaganda pursued by the Communist countries). It is a matter of some surprise to me that people here can happily swallow such remarks day after day, that a state of "subdued tension" can be maintained. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the average White South African has, alas, thought little about the problems which beset us, and so is much more susceptible to "scare" appeals and emotionally loaded messages than those who have greater prior familiarity with the issues.

What can we do about this motivating appeal? It is suggested that in order for opinion changes to result from a verbal or written communication it is probably not sufficient merely to attend to the specific meanings conveyed by the content. Somehow the implications must be thought over and interpreted in relation to one's own goals, values and potential behaviour. It seems quite possible that an "emotional" appeal could have the effect of increasing the incentive to try out new ideas, or to consider the implications of what is being said. Hence such an appeal may sometimes influence the way in which the content is understood and interpreted. Although attention and comprehension may be affected to some degree, the experts think it likely that the effectiveness of an emotional appeal would usually involve increasing the audience's motivation to accept the conclusion.

I think most of us in the Black Sash dislike appealing to the emotions. Our image is perhaps rather that of arid intellectualism. However I must confess that frequently I have found our statements pious, and long-winded. May I suggest that we bear the comments of experts in mind and, even though we may feel we are lowering our own standards, that we try to come down

a little from our intellectual ivory tower and mingle mentally with the plebs a bit more? We want to change opinion, and the opinion we want to change is that of Mr. and Mrs. Average White South African, who probably buys Women's Realm and beat group LPs, not Optima and Amadeus quartet LPs.

Our main task is devoted to counter propaganda. The experts say that a convincing one-sided argument presenting only positive arguments will tend to sway many members of the audience farther in the direction advocated by the communicator. Subsequently however these persons hear the opposite point of view, also supported by cogent-sounding arguments. Their opinions now tend to be swayed back in the negative direction, especially if the new arguments appear to offset the previous positive arguments. However if the initial communication is, instead, a two-sided one, it will already have taken into account both the positive and negative arguments and still have reached the positive conclusion. When the listener is then subsequently exposed to the presentation of negative arguments in the counter-propaganda, he is less likely to be influenced in the negative direction. He is already familiar with the opposing point of view and has been led to the positive conclusion in a context where the negative arguments were in evidence. In effect, he has thus been given an advance basis for ignoring or discounting the negative arguments, and thus "inculcated" will tend to retain the positive conclusion.

Although I have reservations about all this — so much depends, I think, on the intelligence of the audience — this method might be worth trying. Fears of black domination, black misrule, a Congo in South Africa, a truly bloody war of liberation are very real in all circles of White society. I would suggest that we do more in the way of publicly discussing and analysing these fears.

There is just one other point I would like to make. Necessarily the Black Sash always seems to be saying No. . . but constantly saying No does, I think, harm our image. I think we must try, while rightly blasting an abominable bill, to work in somehow what it is that WE want, what WE would approve of, what WE are aiming at. Our aims and objects are regrettably vague and shadowy to the man in the street, and I feel we should seize every opportunity — of which we have many — of hammering home to the public exactly what we are working for. A poster we in the Cape used during the Coloured Cadets Training Bill stand is an example of what I mean. It read: "Compulsory education and equal opportunity: Yes" "Forced labour and summary arrest: NO."

I liked that poster very much — it is positive, a statement of what we believe in, what we hope for. I would like to see more of that type — when it is possible — in future.

Bantu Education in Action

A fact paper presented to National Conference by MRS. JOY ROBERTS
of Natal Midlands Region

EARLY IN AUGUST, when opening four African schools at Cradock, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. Blaar Coetzee, made two statements. He said

- (a) that South Africa was doing as much for African education as the African could absorb, and
- (b) that if the Government did more for African education than it was doing at present, this would be a waste of time and energy.

The Minister's statement drew immediate comment from a number of educationists and others who have studied Bantu Education. Their remarks, and a little research, reveal the following two important facts:

Per Capita expenditure on education:

In 1963-64 the per capita expenditure per African child was R13.37, about one-tenth of what is spent on the education of each White child (the first figure was provided by the Minister of Bantu Education himself, in a letter to the S.A. Institute of Race Relations). The 1967-68 Bantu Education and Transvaal Provincial Budgets revealed (according to figures published in the Rand Daily Mail on August 9th) that during this budgetary year, in the Transvaal alone, three times as much will be spent on the education of 400,000 White children as will be spent in the whole of the Republic on the education of 2,000,000 African children.

Salary Scales:

Recently published Bantu Education salary scales provide for teachers with a Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate to start at R28.00 per month, and to earn, after 12 years, R70.00 per month. A University graduate with a teaching diploma starts at R75.00 a month and, nearly twenty years later, can reach a scale of R180 per month. This is the scale on which a White teacher, with the same qualification, starts in the Natal Education Department. An African with his doctorate and a teaching diploma starts at R115 per month and ends at R210. His White counterpart starts at R220 and ends at R362.

The Position at Edendale:

The above figures give some indication of two general areas in the whole Bantu Education system where there is scope for great financial improvement. In order to show how Bantu Education is working in a particular community, an investigation has been made into the situation in the area controlled by the Edendale School Board, near Pietermaritzburg, and the adjoining Imbali Municipal Township.

Edendale, where most of the schools with which we are concerned are situated, is a 'released' area, i.e. one in which Africans may buy freehold; it covers 16 square miles, has a population in excess of 35,000, and is served by nine schools, all controlled by the Edendale School Board. This Board also controls a school at Hollingwood and one at Ockert's Kraal. These, too, were previously areas in which Africans bought in freehold, but both have now been declared White and African families are being moved from them, many to Imbali, the Pietermaritzburg Municipality's new township. Imbali was opened in 1966 and its population consists largely of people previously resident in such places as Ockert's Kraal and Hollingwood, and in Edendale itself, which it adjoins. In the table which follows, the figures for Imbali school (1,206 pupils and 12 subsidised teaching posts) have been included with those for the Edendale School Board schools for 1967. The reason is between 1965 and 1967 figures for the Edendale School Board schools show a decline which was almost certainly due to movement of children from the areas served by these schools and into Imbali.

The following, then, are some figures relating to the Edendale Board's eleven schools for 1960 and 1965 and for these, plus Imbali, for 1967.

	1960	1965	1967
Total number of pupils	5,362	8,473	9,147
Number of teachers subsidised by Department	114	114	128
Number of teachers paid by School Board	2	14	18
A pupil/teacher ratio of over	46	66	62
Pupil/teacher ratio per subsidised teacher	48.5	74.3	71.4

There has been a sharp deterioration in the pupil/teacher ratio since 1960, although there was a slight improvement, as the result of the new posts at Imbali, between 1965 and 1967.

The Imbali school has been built since 1965. The only new school to be built between 1960 and 1965 was the Edendale Secondary School, the only secondary school in the area. This school goes up to J.C. and has approximately 580 pupils. There is no High School in Edendale, nor anywhere else in the whole Pietermaritzburg area, although the Edendale Vocational School provides technical training in a number of fields for boys from throughout Natal. This school falls directly under the Department and is not controlled by the School Board.

Teachers' Qualifications:

Academic and Teaching qualifications of the Edendale Board's teachers are not high. Out of 146 teachers, only five have degrees and only three of these have passed their U.E.D. A further nine teachers have a Matric certificate, forty-three have J.C. or higher, but have not passed Matric. Seventy-seven have not passed their J.C. Seven of the 134 teachers have teaching qualifications above the Higher Primary level. Of the remainder, 59 have the very lowest qualification required. The Imbali School only goes up to Standard II so it is unlikely that teachers there have higher qualifications than those under the Edendale Board.

Finance:

The table above reveals that, in 1967, 18 out of 128 of its teachers were paid by the School Board out of funds raised by it. In order to meet these expenses and others (building fund, school maintenance fund, etc.) children falling under the Edendale School Board are required to pay certain sums to their schools in January and July. The amount varies from school to school. The highest total annual payment is R4.25 required by the Edendale Secondary School. Pupils at Caluza Higher Primary must pay a total of R2.75 per annum, while the least required is 65c per annum for children in their first years of school at Hollingwood and Ockert's Kraal. Schools providing school meals make additional charges for these. Plessislaer and Esinathing schools hire extra premises for classrooms and the School Board must find the rent for these.

Individual children bear the main financial burden of providing their own books (exercise and text). In late 1965, the Natal Region of the Institute of Race Relations (N.R. 123/1965) estimated that this would cost a child in Standard I R2.00 per annum, rising to R10.50 in his J.C. year.

As already stated, there is no school in the Pietermaritzburg area at which a child may take Matric. In fact, every school in Natal which offers Matric is a boarding school. There are no Matric day schools. The S.A. Institute of Race Relations estimated that the two-year Matric course cost a child's parents R187.00 in 1965.*

Conclusions:

In addition to the 9,147 children who were at school in the Edendale School Board area and at Imbali in mid-1967, there were an unknown number of children who did not attend school at all. It is also a complaint of the School Board that there is a steady decline in the numbers at school between the beginning and end of the school year. Free compulsory education is obviously the only answer to these two problems. Other serious shortcomings revealed by the above survey are:

1. There are not nearly enough teachers. In White schools the pupil/teacher ratio is 23, at Edendale for a subsidised teacher it is 3 times this number. Until the teaching profession is made more attractive, through higher pay and better conditions of service, it is unlikely that the position will improve.
2. In general the qualifications of teachers are far too low.
3. Buildings are inadequate. Apart from overcrowding in particular class-rooms, schools which have to hire church halls obviously need more class-rooms.
4. It is disgraceful that the Pietermaritzburg area has no high schools. A high school catering for day scholars as well as boarders should be an urgent priority at Edendale. The twisted ideological arguments which consign all High Schools to "homelands" do not apply to Edendale, which is a released area.

If the situation at Edendale is typical of the Republic as a whole, then it is obvious that Mr. Blaar Coetzee's Department is doing a great deal less for African education than "the African could absorb", and that there is a great deal more that it could do without wasting either time or energy. Mr. Coetzee will only have something to be proud of when he has provided good, free and compulsory education for all the children for whom he is responsible. His first step should be to accept this as his target and to abandon at once the curious idea that while it is ethnically all right for White children to get free schooling and text books, it is ethnically all wrong for Black children to do so.

* There is now a Matric day school at Umhlazi.

Wages of Indians in Natal

A paper presented to National Conference by MRS. DOREEN PATRICK
of the Natal Coastal Region

THERE ARE very few figures available of wages paid to Indians in Natal, but some general statistics about their living conditions and a few detailed salary scales will be given below.

The Indians in Natal, as a people, are changing rapidly — in their way of life, their needs, their desires and their type of employment. The multiple family system, that has been their traditional way of life, is giving way to the single family system. But this is not happening as rapidly as many would like, for such reasons as economic necessity and lack of accommodation. The mean size of an Indian single family is 5.8 people, while that of a multiple family is 8.8. The type of housing being provided is helping to increase the number of single-family households; and so is their contact with the western way of life.

The Indians in Natal are a very youthful group. In 1960 almost 90 per cent of them were under the age of 45. They are also increasing very rapidly, their rate of growth having been 3 per cent per annum since 1951. The biological maximum is considered to be 3.5 per cent. They are fast becoming urbanised, though only the comparatively small proportion of 25 per cent is actively able or prepared to work, whereas 40 per cent of all Whites are economically active. This is largely due to the small number of Indian women who work. Unemployment among Indians has dropped very much since 1960 when the rate was 22.7 per cent. Now it is 7.1 per cent compared with the normal rate of three to four per cent.

In 1963 the Department of Economics at the University of Natal in Durban estimated that 63 per cent of a sample taken lived below the poverty datum line of R73 per month; and 28.3 per cent lived barely above it. Only 6.6 per cent were moderately comfortable, and 1.4 per cent were well off. In 1966 Mr. G. G. Maasdorp estimated that just over 50 per cent lived below the poverty datum line, and this improvement is thought to be the result of less unemployment among Indians. According to his calculations the mean monthly household income is R95.78, and the mean monthly household expenditure is R94.27; but the median monthly household income was only R77.30 and this coincides almost exactly with the poverty datum line.

Other general figures are given in a survey of Indian housing conducted by the Department of Economics at the University in 1966, where it was estimated that 71 per cent of those desiring Council houses had household incomes of less

than R90 per month, but 3.9 per cent received incomes of over R180 per month. The sub-economic housing aspirants were the worst off. Two-thirds of them had less than R50 per month, and 89.5 per cent had less than R90 per month. The sub-economic limit of income per household was raised to R60 per month and this took in almost all those wanting such housing. Of the aspirants to economic housing 70 per cent received less than R90 per month.

The survey also gave the breakdown of those occupying Council houses:

Sub-economic	15.2 per cent
Economic	73.1 per cent
Loans to individuals	11.6 per cent

Those in the loans-to-individuals scheme would be the relatively well off. And just as an interesting point: the Indians do not at all approve of the Council's scheme for auctioning land as it leads to exploitation and high prices, there being far too many buyers for too little land.

The only detailed figures for wages that we have been able to obtain are those for Indian municipal employees and for doctors. The Durban City Council has just adopted new salary scales for their Indian employees. Graded staff, of whom they employ 339, were paid between R43 and R220 per month. These two figures went up in August this year to R48 and R244. In August 1968 they will rise to R50 and R254, and in August 1969 to R52 and R264 per month.

The wages of unskilled employees, of whom there were 1,540, rose in August 1967 from R36.10 to R39.87 per month. In August 1969 they will rise again to R44.20. Certain unskilled employees get an allowance of R2.17 per month, and all get R1.00 per month after five years service. The payment of a holiday bonus of R20 with certain limitations (unspecified) was also agreed.

The conclusions reached in compiling these various surveys seem to have been that the Indians are going forward rapidly, that the younger generation is better educated, and that their group is being employed more and more in skilled and semi-skilled employment. Their economic position is improving though many still live close to the poverty datum line. The main development recently has been their increased dependence on commerce and industry, and the relative decline in the importance of agriculture. The

purchasing power of Natal Indians in 1965 was nine per cent of the Natal total, and this amounted to about R65-million, of which about R40-million came from the Durban-Pinetown area.

There seems to be a great need for more training facilities for those going into commerce and industry, for more help from the Industrial Development Corporation or the Indian Investment Corporation if it is established; and for the same in agriculture which could play a great part in producing vegetables for the Durban area, if helped by capital and know-how.

Conclusion

It is known that the Natal Indian is becoming more westernised. Ninety-eight per cent are able to converse in English. Language is therefore not a problem in training them. The Indian is education conscious. In 1965

14,950 passed Standard 8
7,100 matriculated.

Approximately 1,200 graduated and 2,500 received diplomas in their particular courses. In 1966 1,661 enrolled at our universities. With the po-

pulation increasing rapidly this will mean a better educated and skilled labour force.

This field is not fully exploited. Why? The legal barrier is not entirely the cause. Job reservation affects Indians little. The restrictions preventing their movement within the Province and group areas legislation are factors. The former precludes the worker from seeking the best market for his labour, while the latter restricts him from finding the most economic location for his business.

In the Durban area particularly business expansion by the Indian does not occur because of their uncertain future. These factors are of the utmost importance, but it is customary rather than statutory restrictions that prevent the full realisation of the economic potentials of the Indian community. The attitudes of European employers and employees are restricting the rate of economic growth in Natal to a level far below the potential. The Indian labour force is not being fully exploited. Shortage of skilled labour is bound to restrict. In Natal we have this under-utilised potential skilled labour force. How long can Prejudice be yet another unjust law.

Johannesburg Advice Office

Annual Report November 1966 to October 1967

Total number of cases	557
Total number of interviews	982
Total number of cases successfully closed	18
Total number of cases unsuccessfully closed	4

ANALYSIS

Permits	146
Endorsements out	57
Reference books	38
Housing	8
Miscellaneous	25
Foreign Africans	6
Sent elsewhere	8

The number of cases coming to the Advice Office remains steady. The analysis of this year's figures reflects that the great majority of cases are concerned with permits, and comparatively few with endorsements out, but it must be emphasised that a number of cases classified as permits, reference books, foreign Africans and housing are subsequently endorsed out.

The number of cases successfully concluded is depressingly low and is inaccurate as a number of people do not return to the office to report the outcome of their appeals.

It has been obvious during these last twelve months that the regulations are being more rigidly enforced. One of the most distressing aspects

of present day policy is the endorsement out of teenagers, children of parents qualified to be in Johannesburg. If these parents send their children away to the country to stay with grandparents and/or to go to school there, they are deemed to have broken their domicile unless they can prove that they were bona fide scholars in the country area. When the children return home to live, the parents find that the children's names have been removed from the family housing permit. Their names can only be included again if the parents can produce the proof that they were at school in the country and that they returned home for the school holidays.

When the 16 year olds who have broken their domicile, apply for their reference books in Johannesburg they are refused the issue of a book and are told that they must apply in the country area where they were staying. (Many of them find when they do go back they are not entitled to be in that area either and their book will not be given to them.) If they are given their books in the country area, they are entitled to come back to live at home until they are 18 and they are then endorsed out of Johannesburg. Between the ages of 16 and 18 they cannot be registered in urban employment.

Another directive put into force this year is that children living at home cannot be accepted

at a local school until they have obtained a permit from influx control proving that they are legal residents in the township.

The embargo on the entry of women into Johannesburg still obtains and many women who cannot provide the proof of the period of their residence here, (since March 1959) are being endorsed out.

Old age pensioners suddenly find that their pensions have been withdrawn. Before they can get their pensions back they are told to leave Johannesburg and go back to the place where they were born. When they comply with this instruction some find that the authorities refuse permission for them to live there.

Wives are being endorsed out because they cannot prove that they entered the area lawfully. Those who were born here but broke their domicile when at school in the country, are in the same predicament as the teenage boys. They are lawfully here as long as they are the unmarried daughters of men qualified to be in the area, but when they get married it seems that the break when they were sent to school and to live in the country disqualifies them.

Men who are in Johannesburg in terms of Section 10 (1) (d) can never rent a house. If they are married to women who qualify in their own right to remain in the area they have to apply for a lodger's permit to reside in the house of another family. This is the only way they can live together.

Foreign Africans, now including those born in Lesotho and Botswana, are being endorsed out in ever increasing numbers. Many of them have been here from infancy and do not consider themselves nationals of these two countries. As yet there is no diplomatic representative from either Botswana or Lesotho in the Republic, thus those people who did not take out their passports when they should have done so, have to go to Botswana or Lesotho to get one. Swazi's, too, are now foreigners in South Africa, but the British Government is still responsible for them.

Some of the people whose parents were born in what were the Protectorates find that they are registered in their reference books as having been born there as well, when in fact they were born in the Republic. It is a complicated process to prove this fact and have the appropriate alteration made in their books. Foreign women who are widowed or deserted have to return home when they lose their husbands.

One is forced to conclude that the laws of the country are turning more and more of our citizens into "displaced persons". With the need for an ever increasing number of workers in the urban areas and with the government insistence on migratory labour, no African can count on any sense of permanence in the place where he works, no stability for his family life and no security for his old age.

In conclusion I would like to thank Mrs. Kirk and Mrs. Radale for their untiring work in assisting the voluntary workers in the office. I never cease to be astounded by their fantastic memories. They remember the names and the details of every case who comes for help.

Mrs. Martin has relieved Mrs. Kirk for two months when Mrs. Kirk went overseas. She has been wonderful and we are most grateful to her.

To all our voluntary workers I give my sincere thanks for continuing to give their time and energy to doing this heart rending and distressing work.

OBITUARY

The Border Region of Black Sash deeply regrets to report the death of four valued members during the course of the year:

MARION SMITH (neè Armstrong) was born in Cheshire in 1879. She came to South Africa in 1923 and lived on an isolated mission station on the borders of Basutoland where, undaunted by extremely hard and primitive conditions her spirit of compassion for the underdog was further developed and nurtured. In England she had campaigned for votes for women.

When the Black Sash Movement started it was natural that she should join and become a keen member. She died in East London on December 30th, 1966, in her 87th year and is mourned by many who loved and admired her.

IRENE ESTELLE GARCIA died on March 17th, 1967. With her passing the East London Branch of Black Sash lost a very loyal supporter. Her indifferent health prevented her from taking a very active part, but she made up for this by her fearless campaign against injustices of any kind by constant contributions to the press.

Until a few months before her death Miss Garcia served as a member of the local Executive Committee. Her gentle character, her ladylike qualities and keen sense of humour endeared her to all who knew her.

MAY LANGFORD JOHNSTON joined the Black Sash in 1957, when a branch was formed at Kei Road. She became the first Chairman of the Branch, a post which she held until poor health forced her to give up the honour to her daughter, and she became Vice-Chairman. She remained a keen member of the Region after the Branch disbanded in 1963 and when she retired to East London with her husband at the end of 1965 she again attended meetings regularly. A meeting held the day before she died suddenly on May 7th, 1967, was to have been held at her home.

.....She was an active member of the Kingwilliamstown Branch of the National Council of Women and was several times president of both the

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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 S. Duncan, of 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the Rand Daily Mail.

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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 vertrouwe 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.