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THE BLACK SASH

DEMOCRACY



LEGISLATION

ADMINISTRATION

JUSTICE

DIE SWART SERP

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The Black Sash



Die Swart Serp

THE WORD, "PROTEST", has several definitions but those which have relevance to the principles and activities of the Black Sash, as found in the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, are:—

The verb: "To give formal expression to objection, or disapproval; to make a formal declaration AGAINST some proposal, decision, or action; to remonstrate".

The noun: "A formal declaration of dissent from, or of consent under certain conditions only to, some action or proceeding; a remonstrance".

THE need to protest was the motivating force which generated the Black Sash, and it is the motivating force which has kept it active, vital, alive during the past 13 years. True, its activities have extended beyond the field of pure protest into such areas as education, the dissemination of information, the establishment of Advice Offices, but it is undoubtedly the overwhelming desire to express dissent that has been the cohesive agent uniting women of different parties, political beliefs, religions, ages, interests in a determination not to allow the constant onslaughts on their yardstick of human values to pass unchallenged; and it is this yardstick of human values, this deep attachment to a moral code which finds the inhumanity of man to man intolerable, that all the women of the Black Sash have in common.

If the dignity of all men were acknowledged there would be no outraged sensibilities; if justice were seen to be done and the rule of law observed there would be no reason for protest; if all people were treated with fairness and none were pushed around the Black Sash would no longer need to exist, for it is from all these inroads into human rights and freedoms that its activities stem. No matter how people might feel constrained to act, or not to act, the fact that injustices and cruelties exist should never be lost sight of, nor the fact that the Black Sash, by its very nature, is committed to protest against them.

There are those who maintain that they do not believe in pure protest, and who feel that their energies are better spent in attempting to ameliorate the plight of the victims of injustice and inhumanity. They are fully entitled to their views, and their unceasing efforts to help these victims are praiseworthy, but they err in thinking that assistance is an alternative to protest for it is not. The one has nothing whatsoever to do with the other.

They share neither ends nor means.

Assistance is palliative — it seeks to soothe an ulcer which will remain and constantly recur unless the root cause is exposed and eradicated. Assistance is therapeutic, protest is preventive, and while therapeutic medicine serves a very necessary purpose it is preventive medicine which will eventually have the most beneficial effect. The Black Sash believes in protest rather than palliation. Palliation is aimed at superficial symptoms, protest at root causes. One is not necessarily exclusive of the others, but neither should they be confused with each other.

The value of palliation is immediately self-evident. The value of protest perhaps requires investigation. In a country such as South Africa, where the Government is all-powerful and where the dissenting voice is almost entirely ignored, it is understandable that people should doubt the efficacy of protest. It shows no immediate or obvious results. Protest can be likened to a voice crying out in the wilderness, unheeded and unheard. But while that voice is crying out there is always the chance that it might be heard, if it were stilled there would be no chance at all. It must surely be better to protest than not to protest — to cry out rather than to remain silent. If people feel that doing something achieves nothing they must surely concede that doing nothing will even more certainly achieve nothing.

But there is yet another aspect of pure protest, perhaps of even deeper significance than simply the need to do something rather than nothing, and that is the absolute necessity to express dissent. If there were no protest the Government would be perfectly justified in believing that everything it does has the full co-operation of all people. It would be entitled to interpret silence as consent for this reason alone and those who do not consent, those who object or disapprove, are

morally obligated to voice their dissent. The only way this is possible is through protest and protest and more protest. Opposition is an essential ingredient of democracy, opposition is dissent, dissent is protest. Protest is a perfectly legitimate activity, an instrument of good government which it is imperative that all who object should use. It is something which any democratic government

should appreciate for it is part of the voice of the people. That is its deepest motivation, that is its justification, and on that the case for protest rests.

The Black Sash was born out of protest, it has survived through protest, and it will continue to protest until it no longer sees cause to protest.

WHAT OLIVE SCHREINER MEANS TO ME

PROFESSOR D. B. MOLTENO Q.C.

Professor of Law at the University of Cape Town

TO EACH ONE OF US, I suppose, who has read anything of Olive Schreiner's writings and has any acquaintance with her life and ideas, she stands for something different. I, therefore, can only say what she stands for to me — and why.

FIRSTLY, to me, she represents all that was best in the sunny days of Cape Liberalism — by which I mean the spirit pervading Cape Colonial Society during a comparatively brief period of its life. That spirit is wellnigh extinct today. Olive Schreiner witnessed the beginning of its end.

Secondly, her writings catch the spirit — or so it seems to me — emanating from the physical surroundings of my own childhood — the illimitable plains, the stony koppies, the blue distances and the matchless sunrises and sunsets of the Great Karroo.

Thirdly, she represents to me a type of human being rare indeed among the sons and daughters of Man, a personality of a kind that appears on Earth probably only occasionally in the course of many generations. For did she not possess spiritual perceptions that equipped her with a far deeper insight into Man and Nature, a more ample glimpse of ultimate Truth, than we can ever understand, but yet are impelled instinctively to recognise? I sometimes think that Ghandi, possibly Lincoln also, were among such spiritual company as this.

And finally — and more personally — Olive Schreiner was an old friend of the large, but closely knit, family wherein I was brought up; she was an intimate of my own kith and kin of the past generation, who in boyhood were near and dear to me.

It is Olive Schreiner's work and views in the specific field of public affairs that have most deeply influenced me. No writer that

I know of has revealed more vividly the ideal of a truly multi-racial South Africa; has expressed more appreciatively the qualities of the several racial communities that inhabit our land; has warned more compellingly against the perils of inter-racial conflict.

In illustrating her appreciations for, and services to, her fellow South Africans, let me start with the Whites, and, more specifically, the Afrikaners. Passionately did she defend the integrity and independence of the Boer Republics against the threats of violence directed against them, from the Jameson Raid to the outbreak of War. During the War itself she remained their outspoken and courageous champion.

"I learnt," she wrote (*"Thoughts on South Africa"*) "to love the Boer; but more I learnt to admire him . . . There is a certain quiet but high-spirited indomitableness and an unlimited power of self-control which is characteristic of the average Boer man and above all of the average Boer woman which I have not met in an equal degree in any other race . . ."

Indeed Olive Schreiner's role in the darkest days of the history of the Afrikaner people has led one of her biographers, Vera Buchanan Gould, to comment:

"It is strange that Olive Schreiner was not regarded as their heroic champion by the Afrikaners. All that she sacrificed by championing their cause does not seem to have been realised . . ."

I think that the answer is obvious. Afri-

kaner nationalism, having received the gift of liberty bestowed by British liberalism — largely through the influence of such as Olive Schreiner — has become a noisy self-seeking cult of those Afrikaners who are intent on the dominance over all other racial communities, abjuring all liberals, from whose ideals they benefitted in the past, but which from their very nature, present obstacles to their perpetrating on others the similar — though far worse — outrages of which they made such clamorous and lachrymose complaint when perpetrated against themselves.

Also Olive Schreiner's spirit, comprehending in its sympathetic embrace the whole human family, is surely essentially alien to the spiritual isolationism, and consequent aridity, of Afrikaner nationalism. As Sir James Rose-Innes wrote in his *Memoirs*.

"I should call myself an Afrikaner, were it not for the tendency to confine that term to those whose ancestors landed here before the British occupation, and to such newer arrivals as are animated by 'the South African Spirit'. I have neither Voortrekker nor Huguenot blood in my veins, and 'the South African Spirit' as understood by those who extol it, implies a view on the Native question which I cannot share . . ."

Olive Schreiner lived most of her life in the heyday of British imperialism; her own country was a victim of that imperialism, in its most aggressive phase; she witnessed that country overrun by British troops, to the strains of "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do", "Soldiers of the Queen", and "Goodbye, Dollie Gray"; she heard her own brother, Cape Colonial Prime Minister at the outbreak of War, traduced as a rebel against his Sovereign. Yet, despite all this, and her own unswerving advocacy of the Boer cause, and her denunciation of Kitchener's concentration camps, and generally of the excesses of his soldiery, she remained, at heart, loyal to the true England, the genuine national character whereof she so deeply valued, and to whose people she essentially belonged, culturally and spiritually as well as by descent.

'to Prefer Justice to Self-interest!'

"Without any national prejudice", she wrote in *Thoughts on South Africa*, "may one not say that no people in the world ever possessed a section more determined to see things nakedly as they really are, and whe-

ther personally or nationally, to prefer justice to self-interest, than a section of our English people. Have there ever been statesmen in any land who have more fearlessly denounced injustice and oppression, not merely when exercised towards their own nation, but by it, than Burke and Chatham . . . ? If no nation has more misrepresented, neglected and persecuted its sons of light, no nation has had more of them to persecute."

And she, who had seen and denounced imperialism at its worst, still retained the sense of fairness and the soundness of judgment to appreciate it at its best. Hence her dedication of "Trooper Peter Halkett:"

"To a great good man, Sir George Grey, once Governor of the Cape Colony, who during his rule in South Africa, bound to himself the Dutchmen, Englishmen and Natives he governed, by an uncorruptible justice and broad humanity; and who is remembered among us today as representing the noblest attributes of Imperial Rule."

Indeed Olive Schreiner's writings are replete with examples of her own deep attachment to those basic values — tolerance, justice, devotion to personal liberty, the search for truth wherever it may lead — which, though of course universal in character, are, nevertheless, recognised attributes specifically of the British character at its best. And it was, no doubt, the natural attraction of those values for her, as well as her precocious intellect, that inspired and enabled Olive Schreiner to read and absorb such English philosophers and historians as Spencer, Mill, Buckle, Gibbon, when as yet little more than a child.

In regard, specifically, to the characteristic of tolerance, Olive Schreiner's unerring instinct drew the line strictly between genuine tolerance, which respects the sincerely held opinions of others, however deeply they might differ from hers, and mere weakness, that shrinks from denunciation of designed evil. The distinction is brilliantly portrayed in a letter of 25.5.96, contrasting Rhodes and her brother, Will Schreiner, then Cape Prime Minister:

"Rhodes with all his gifts of genius and insight — and, below the fascinating surface, the worms of falsehood and corruption creeping . . . As he betrayed Sivewright and has betrayed all men who trusted and loved him, so he will one day betray Will . . . Poor, noble old Will; I am bitterly opposed to him

on the Native Question now, but, if ever his intellect is enlightened (as it seems to me) and he takes another view, he will hold it honestly and sincerely”.

Nor would it be fair to attribute the contrast thus drawn to family affection and loyalty. Indeed, W. P. Schreiner did, in time, “take another view” and “hold it honestly and sincerely”. Let Sir James Rose-Innes, writing of Schreiner in his Memoirs, tell the tale:

“For the early crudity of his Native views he lived to make magnificent amends. When exactly he took the road to Damascus it is difficult to say; but somewhere on that journey a sudden light fell upon him in the brightness of which he walked thereafter all his days.”

Warm and all-embracing love

Which brings me to Olive Schreiner's attitude to her non-White compatriots and her approach to race relations generally. That approach was based not only on her great intellectual powers, and her unique gifts of intuition and perception, but also, as always with her, on warm and all-embracing love for her kind, however, alien to herself in blood, cultural development or social background.

“The South African Bantu (a race probably with a large admixture of Arab blood!) as distinct from the West Coast negro . . . has never been subjected to the dissolving and desocialising ordeal of slavery. We find him in the land of his growth with all the instincts of the free man intact; . . . with his social instincts almost abnormally developed and fully active . . . Every man and woman who has studied the Bantu . . . knows that the proudest of us may envy many of the social virtues which the Bantu displays. In our small, permanent and largely South African born, Asiatic population we have a section of people sober, industrious and intelligent, rich with those deep staying powers which have made many Asiatic peoples so persistent, and often dominant, in the past and present. Even in the most disorganised element of our population, often without definite race and social traditions, I believe that careful study will show it to compare favourably, and often most favourably, with analogous classes in Europe . . .”

Her rare prescience

The quotation is from “Closer Union,” originally published in the form of a lengthy

letter, dated 30-10.1908, to the “Transvaal Leader”, which appeared in that journal on 22.12.1908. It was thereafter published in England as a booklet, and had long been out of print when it was republished in Cape Town by the Constitutional Reform Association in 1960, the year of the half-centenary of Union. It is largely a plea for the adoption by the National Convention, then in session, of a federal, as opposed to a unified, constitution for South Africa, but is quoted here because it summarises Olive Schreiner's views on the race question. Those views are remarkable not for the appreciation they reflect of the qualities of non-White South Africans, as appears from the extract just quoted, but for the rare prescience with which the author predicted the inevitability, under twentieth century conditions, of inter-racial integration, both on a world scale and in South Africa in particular, which would render impossible, and ultimately fatal, policies based on apartheid and White baasskap. Thus:

“The problem of the twentieth century will not be a repetition of that of the nineteenth . . . The walls dividing continents are breaking down; everywhere European, Asiatic and African will interlard. The world on which the twenty-first century will open its eyes will be one widely different from that which the twentieth sees at its awaking. And the problem which this century will have to solve is the accomplishment of this interaction of distinct human varieties on the largest and most beneficent lines, making for development of humanity as a whole, and carried out in a manner consonant with modern ideals and modern social wants.”

It is passages such as this in her writings that sometimes give me the feeling that there is, in truth, a type of human being, however rarely found, that possesses gifts of insight into the unfolding future that cannot be accounted for merely by the power of the intellect. Of such, according to ancient tradition, were the Old Testament prophets. Of such, likewise, according to the belief of millions, were the founders of world religions. And, if such there be, Olive Schreiner was surely of their company.

A vision of things to be

One must remember she was writing in 1908 — from which a lesser span of time separated the emancipation of American Negro slaves than separates the time she was

writing from the present day. In 1908, moreover, vast tracts of the Continent of Africa had been comparatively recently discovered; and, save for the extreme north and south, and various strips of coastline, that Continent was as yet unawakened from primordial primitiveness. White domination of the Far East, moreover, appeared impregnable. Britain, especially, "held the glittering East in fee". It is almost as though Olive Schreiner had experienced a vision of "things to be" — national independence of Black, Brown and Yellow peoples; large scale non-White movement into formerly exclusive White territories, such as West Indian migration to Britain, or negro migration from the "Old South" of the U.S.A. to the industrial North; an incipient "Parliament of Man" in the form of the vast multi-racial U.N. Assembly.

"We in South Africa," she continued, "are one of the first peoples in the modern world, and under the new moral and material conditions of civilisation, to be brought face to face with this problem in its acutest form. On our power to solve it regally and heroically depends our greatness.

If it be possible for us out of our great complex body of humanity (its parts possibly remaining racially distinct for centuries) to raise up a free, intelligent, harmonious nation, each part acting with and for the benefit of the others, then we shall have played a part as great as that of any nation in the world's record. And as we today turn our eyes towards Greece or Rome or England for models in those things wherein they have excelled, nations in the future . . . will be compelled to turn their eyes towards us and follow our lead, saying 'Hers was the first and true solution of the problem'."

After more in this strain comes the terrible warning:

"But if we fail in this? — if, blinded by the gain of the moment, we see nothing in our dark man but a vast engine of labour; if to us he is not a man, but only a tool; . . . if, uninstructed in the highest forms of labour, without rights of citizenship, his own social organisation broken up, without our having guided him to participate in our own; if, unbound to us by gratitude and sympathy, and alien to us in blood and colour, we reduce this vast mass to the condition of a great seething, ignorant proletariat — then I would rather draw a veil over the future of this land."

While Olive Schreiner thus perceived so clearly the essential conditions for the ultimate viability of South African society — she was probably one of the first White South Africans to perceive them — she was far from being a facile optimist — and this despite her love for, and faith in, many of the qualities of the various peoples of the land of her birth. On the contrary, it is probably the truer estimate that her keen intellect and sensitive intuition induced in her a sad but realistic pessimism. More than a decade before she penned the lines I have just quoted, we find her writing to Merriman:

The far future of Africa

"It is the far future of Africa . . . which depresses me. I believe we are standing on the top of a long downward slope. We shall reach the bottom at last, probably amid the horrors of a war with our native races, then not the poor, savage but generous races whom we might have bound to ourselves by a little generosity and sympathy . . . but a fierce, half-educated much brutalized race, who will have their own. I see always that day . . . and it is with reference to it that I judge of many things in the present."

It was not for two generations that that unfortunate, but dread, social type, the tsotsi — product of urban areas laws, pass laws, "influx control", tax raids, liquor raids, neglect of civilized educational facilities and recreational amenities, calculated destruction of African family life, and denial by law of all hope and opportunity—was destined to make his appearance on the South African scene. But back in 1897, it is evident, Olive Schreiner perceived his outlines taking shape amidst the storm clouds of the future.

Perhaps I may be permitted to conclude by quoting my own tribute to Olive Schreiner in my Foreword to the 1960 edition of "Closer Union":

"The writings of Olive Schreiner have gained international celebrity, on account, I believe, not only of their matchless language but of the content of the message which they convey. That message, though addressed specifically to the peoples of South Africa, is based on values of universal validity. To her, the plural society of South Africa was a microcosm of a wider world society, and it is evident that this truth accounts for the world-wide interest in, and concern for, South African inter-racial affairs, which we are witnessing today."

THE U.C.T. SIT-IN

JAMES MOULDER

Mr. Moulder is President of the University Christian Movement, and a Minister of the Methodist Church. He was a lecturer in Philosophy at Rhodes University when he delivered this address to students there as part of the Arts and Science Week programme.

PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ASKING why there have been so many student protests in 1968. They want to know what students are advocating. Faced with such questions and insufficient information and expertise to make organised sense of all that is happening, I will make no attempt to supply these questions with general answers. Fortunately, better brains than mine are equally baffled and are producing far from final answers to such questions. As one of Oxford's outstanding historians said when he was asked what students are after:

"Who the hell knows? I can't answer it, for whatever I write tonight would probably be outdated tomorrow."

On the other hand, Prof. D. V. Cowen, who gave the 1968 Dr. E. G. Malherbe Academic Freedom Lecture — on "The rights and responsibilities of students in a modern University" — was somewhat more adventurous. He claimed that three significant elements stand out as the root causes of student unrest.

FIRSTLY, a widespread dissatisfaction and disenchantment with the state of society itself in all its dimensions.

Secondly, righteous indignation against dishonesty and inner contradiction.

Thirdly, an almost desperate search for values to live by, a yearning for a sense of direction and for belief in the worthwhileness of life.

If Prof. Cowen was analysing student protest on the international scene, then all three of his points probably stand. If he only had so-called 'white' South African students in mind, then I'm not so sure that he could substantiate his first point — the one about *widespread* dissatisfaction and disenchantment with the state of society in all its dimensions. I may be open to correction, but I sense very little by way of such dissatisfaction and disenchantment with the state of our society on, for example, the Rhodes campus. In fact, I am somewhat disenchanted and more than dissatisfied that Rhodes students seem to be more enthusiastic about putting out the security officer's torch than fanning the flame of academic freedom which UCT students are trying to keep alive. And while I appreciate the legitimate and widespread indignation against a disciplinary code which has as one of its basic principles that a Rhodes man and woman must at all times have both their feet on the ground, I wish

that the same people would become as indignant about the similarly archaic and paternalistic restrictions on contact between, say, Rhodes students and those of Fort Hare.

But be that as it may. Having put my cards on the table to the question of what I regard as some of the really important issues confronting both the Rhodes students and the Rhodes staff at the moment, let me return to Professor Cowen's second point — the one about righteous indignation against dishonesty and inner contradiction. This is the point in which I am interested and which I want to pursue for the rest of the time at my disposal. Furthermore I want to confine my attention to what has become known as 'the Mafeje case'; and I want to attempt the question.

"Why are some UCT students and staff members protesting?"

and answer some criticisms which have been directed against their sit-in.

Why are some UCT students and staff members protesting?

I am convinced that it is their righteous indignation against the inner contradiction in their Council's decision not to appoint Mr. Archie Mafeje to a Senior Lectureship in Social Anthropology which is the root cause of the UCT sit-in. They were tired of reaffirming academic freedom on holy days

and contributing to its demise on working days. They were tired of having their deeds contradict their words. They were tired of being reminded that the purpose of the annual T.B. Davie Memorial Lecture is:

“to keep before the University a reminder of the seriousness of its loss (of academic freedom), to keep alive its faith that the lost freedom will one day be restored, and to keep its members vigilant lest further inroads into its remaining freedoms should be made.”

And as they were tired, they sat down!

I will return to this point later. At this stage I simply want to underline Prof. Cowen's point about 'righteous indignation against dishonesty and inner contradiction'. I am convinced that one of the most serious problems confronting some South African universities, and student organizations like NUSAS and the UCM, is the Government's determination to prevent people from attempting to translate their verbal expressions of their convictions about university education and about human relations into deeds.

It ought to be obvious why people become angry when they cannot do what they want to do. It ought to be even more obvious why people become angry when they are prevented from acting on what, in the Western world at any rate, are regarded as the normal, civilized principles on which a university ought to be based and the normal, moral and Christian principles which ought to regulate one's relationships with and treatment of other people. But in case it is not obvious why people become angry in such circumstances; in case it is not obvious why they *ought* to become angry in such circumstances, let me try to explain.

Freedom of thought — that is, the freedom:

“to think candidly and intrepidly about the fundamental issues in the life of the individual and the community on the Greek principle that an unexamined life is no life for a man — ”.*

is meaningless unless it is accompanied by the freedom to act upon the convictions and conclusions at which one has arrived. Being free to think is no freedom at all unless there is also freedom to take appropriate action. Not only to be free to think, but to follow

(* Sir Walter Moberley

“Crisis in the University”)

whither the thoughts lead is the essence of freedom of thought.

It is this connection which ought to hold between freedom of thought and freedom of action which the Governments of the past 20 years have been systematically eroding. It is because this connection between freedom of thought and freedom of action has been eroded that members of the University of Cape Town have put both their feet and their bottoms down and decided that they have had enough of this dishonesty and inner contradiction between their words and their deeds. In other words: the students and staff at UCT have demonstrated that they are no longer prepared to accept the dictum that they may think as they please so long as they remain cowering on their knees. And they are right in so doing because not to match one's verbal expressions of one's convictions with the behaviour which is consistent with those convictions, undermines one's integrity and lays one open to the charge of hypocrisy.

This demand for consistency was well put by Prof. M. W. M. Pope, Professor of Classics at the University of Cape Town for the past 11 years, who resigned 6 weeks ago when he heard of the decision not to appoint Mr. Archie Mafeje to the staff because of Government pressure.

“The present situation at UCT is faintly absurd. On the one side you have a unilateral declaration of autonomy and academic freedom. On the other you have a Minister of Education manufacturing a ‘tradition’ for us of which we have no knowledge at all. It is laughable and totally unreal.”

Indeed, it is. But it is also dishonest and inconsistent. Thus part of the answer to the question why UCT students and staff members are protesting is simply this; they want to match their pronouncements on academic freedom with deeds. They want UCT to be what they believe a university ought to be — free to determine on academic grounds alone *who* shall teach and *who* may be taught.

But the students and staff members of UCT are protesting for at least one other reason. They are protesting because they have recognised that segregated universities are inferior universities.

Segregated universities are inferior universities. This was the conclusion the Appeal

Court of the United States came to in a 1954 judgement on the issue of segregation in education. The unanimous decision of the Court was that:

“In the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”

Segregated universities are inferior for at least three reasons:*

Firstly, it is difficult — in fact, it is impossible to provide ‘separate but equal’ library and laboratory facilities. It is also impossible to duplicate equally the interchange of overseas staff and lecturers. This particular lack is, of course, no great skin off the nose of a so-called ‘white’ university like Rhodes. But students at Fort Hare and elsewhere are deprived in this way. And our own facilities could be improved if money was not being wasted to give visible expression to the scatterbrained opinion that there is a divine correlation between people’s pigmentation and their grey-matter!

Secondly, segregated students are denied the freedom to seek learning from the teachers of their choice with the special qualifications they need and desire. Once again this is a liability which so-called ‘non-white’ students suffer under more obviously than so-called ‘white’ ones. But as the Mafeje case so clearly demonstrates, the shoe can — and in the future will probably increasingly — be on the other foot. To put it more bluntly: if Mr. Mafeje is not appointed to the Senior Lectureship in Social Anthropology at UCT then students who read that subject will be taught by some ‘white’ lecturer who is less qualified and capable than he is. And if that is not a good reason for protesting against Mr. Mafeje’s non-appointment then I don’t know what is!

Thirdly, receiving an education is more than simply acquiring enough information to scrape through an examination. The amount of text-book information one manages to acquire while at a university is probably the least important reason for being there. Much more important is what one learns about life and about other people; not in formal contexts, but only half-consciously and via a process of osmosis. Segregated students however suffer this kind of impoverishment through separation from people of other eth-

*Compare J. Hamilton Russell “*The University and Politics.*”

nic and cultural groups with whom they must learn to live together for the rest of their lives.

These three reasons together amount to the second reason why UCT students and staff members are protesting at the moment. They do not want UCT to become more segregated and therefore more inferior than it already is. What’s more, it is not only UCT’s status as a university which has been impoverished in this way. Both students and staff at Rhodes, and at every other segregated university in the world, are suffering a similar impoverishment of education.

This brings me to an end of my attempt to answer the question about the reasons UCT students and staff members are protesting. They have recognised that freedom of thought is meaningless unless it is accompanied by the freedom to act upon the convictions and conclusions at which one has arrived. They have recognised that segregated education is inferior education.

Replies to some critics

I now want to deal briefly with criticisms which have been levelled at the UCT sit-in.

Senator de Klerk has complained that they have opposed Government policy. For once Senator de Klerk is correct. But I fail to see what point, if any, he is trying to make. Before 1948, Senator de Klerk opposed Government policy. If the Nationalist Government were defeated at the next election, Senator de Klerk would no doubt once again oppose Government policy. So what’s all the fuss about?

The Prime Minister has complained that students should not meddle in politics but get on with their studies. I have two comments on his complaint:

Firstly, I want to remind him that it was a Nationalist Government which decided that 18 year olds are intelligent and responsible enough to have the vote. It was a Nationalist Government therefore that decided that student and other 18 year olds ought to meddle in politics. Once again I fail to see what all the fuss is about. As the Prime Minister knows from his own experience in the 1930’s and early 1940’s; one of the most respectable ways of participating in politics is to join a political party which is opposed to the government of the day. And as he also knows from personal experience, one of the other recognised ways of expressing one’s political convictions is to protest against what you re-

gard to be inconsistencies and injustice's in Government policy. Surely the Prime Minister is not so naive as to imagine that every student in the country is one of his supporters?

Secondly, I fail to see how it is possible *not* to meddle in politics. This point has recently been well made by Mr. J. Hamilton Russel in his highly to be recommended lecture — *The University and Politics*. I quote.

“How can anyone keep out of politics? Everything is politics. Everything that happens to man is the subject of political action. No-one should try to limit the scope of learning and enquiry. Politics, religion, science, apartheid, the Rule of Law, all must be examined and disputed, queried and questioned until the truth is found.

To be true to themselves members of universities should apply the same concept of reason and objectivity to their examination of all national issues. While maintaining an ardent spirit of protest against all that is unjust or politically immoral they should avoid emotional thinking or action. They should know, from the example of government action, that it is dangerous to think with blood.”

Implicit in both Senator de Klerk and the Prime Minister's complaints, is a criticism which a great many editors of English newspapers have raised against the UCT sit-in; namely, a questioning of the method used by the UCT students and staff in expressing their dissatisfaction. The implied argument in such complaints and questions is the claim that the only valid means of expressing one's political convictions is via the ballot-box. And the reason this argument is advanced is that those who advocate it are, quite rightly, afraid of hooliganism and violence. I share their fears. But let's get the record straight and keep it that way: the UCT students have neither behaved violently nor with vulgarity. As I said near the beginning of this argument: having become tired of not being able to act upon the convictions they hold, they simply sat down.

The only violent and provocative utterance so far made, came from the Prime Minister at Heilbron last Friday. And the only acts of hooliganism and violence have come from students who are opposed to the convictions which are held by those UCT students and staff members who are engaged in the sit-in. In other words; the violence and

vulgarity which is feared, is coming — not from the UCT students and staff — but from those opposed to their action.

What's more, the 20th century source of this dignified and non-violent way of protesting against injustice has a South African source. I am referring, of course, to the life and teaching of Mahatma Gandhi. All the detailed methods of civil disobedience which have since swept the world — from card-burning to oath-taking to marching — were first improvised in such localities as the Mosque in Durban or (as it was popularly called) the Jewish Theatre in Johannesburg, or in such rural stations as Volksrust.

This is not the time or the place to discuss Gandhi's method of non-violence. I simply want to point out that it is the same method of protest which the UCT students and staff are employing. And I want to quote one sentence from Erik H. Erikson's outstanding 1968 T. B. Davie Memorial Lecture on *Insight and Freedom*. He says:

“South Africa may have every reason to be as proud of this export, the Gandhian method, as it is proud of its gold and its diamonds; for whatever the long range political fate of militant non-violence may be the spirit of its origin has, I believe, added lasting insights to our search for truth.”

I must close. I do so with two quotations.

The first comes from Professor Julius Ebbinghaus, the Rector of Marburg University. This is what he said when that famous German University, closed down by Hitler, was eventually reopened in 1945:

“One fact remains unfortunately too true. The German universities failed, while there was still time, to oppose publicly with all their power the destruction of learning and of the democratic state. They failed to keep the beacon of freedom and justice burning through the night of tyranny so that it could be seen by the entire world.”

My second quotation comes from General Smuts. In 1934, while addressing the members of St. Andrews University, he mourned the fact that other countries, *unlike South Africa* had:

“Lost the sturdy independent-minded freedom-loving individual and replaced him by a servile, standardised, mass mentality.”

which he called:

“the greatest menace of our time.”

Still contrasting South Africa and Europe to the latter's disadvantage, he went on to say:

"Minorities are trampled down. Dissident views are not tolerated and are forcefully suppressed . . . intellectual freedom is disappearing with political freedom, freedom of conscience, of speech and of the Press, and that of teaching, is in extreme danger . . ."

He closed his address with an observation and two questions:

"The fight for human freedom is the supreme issue of the future . . . Are we going to leave the field free to those who threaten our fundamental human ideals and our heritage of the past? Or are we going to join in battle for the breaking of our bonds and the enlargement of our range of free choice and free action?"

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman: some students and staff members at UCT have answered these two questions. So must we.

STINKWATER

A JOURNALIST

THE CASE OF STINKWATER AND KLIPGAT, those appropriately named shanty towns north of Pretoria, where more than 400 African families were dumped in the heart of the coldest winter, shows once again the cold, inhuman attitude of the Government towards the African people.

For whatever reason they were uprooted, whether valid or not, the fact that they were forced to shiver in tents and lean-to shacks during the weeks of sub-zero temperatures was deplorable.

The Bantu Administration Department claims that the families are happier in the "closer settlement areas". Closer to what? One may well ask. Certainly not closer to the homes they loved and lived in for up to forty years, and in some cases longer.

Stinkwater was quite rightly branded as the "Limehill of the Transvaal", as living conditions in the dense bushveld are shocking. The B.A.D. made no effort to improve them — until press publicity on the affair had caused such acute embarrassment that they were forced to sink several boreholes. Otherwise they maintained contemptuous departmental silence.

Again the department had thought they could get away with uprooting the families without a word being said to the Press. Again they were wrong. When first mention was made of the removals, officials flew into a flurry. Pressmen were refused entry and no special permits were allowed. Then, when this was shown up, to their great embarrassment, the authorities laid on a visit to the "show-piece areas".

I spoke to families in the Stinkwater area, and almost without exception they said they would have preferred to have stayed where they were, near Eersterus. It was close to their work, close to the railway station, close to their friends, and most of all close to their hearts.

Officials of the B.A.D. claimed that the families were, without exception willing to move from the "absolute squalor". Proof of this was an African man who was handed a form giving him six days to leave home.

He was told that if he was not off the land within that time, his house would be bulldozed down with all his possessions inside.

What could the families do? Who could they turn to for protection? As one man said: "If I complained too much, they would have told me I was an illegal squatter. They would have forced me to go to a 'homeland' far from Pretoria, where I have never been."

The families were taken to Klipgat and Stinkwater in lorries. They were left in the veld with one tent per family, and told to build their own houses. They were told that the tents would be removed in three months.

Many said they could not afford to build their houses. They were forced to put together lean-to shacks from rusty corrugated iron sheets, cardboard and scraps of wood. Anything to keep the cold out.

Bus fares

One man said he spent nearly R12 a month on bus fares to and from work, nearly a third of his monthly wage. Most of the men were employed at Silverton, which is close to Eersterus. They now have to travel 35 to 40

miles to work by bus and then train.

These men rise at 3 a.m. to catch the early bus, and return from work at 9 p.m. A Coloured woman said that since their move to Klipgat, she hardly ever sees her husband. "He gets up too early in the morning. When he gets home he sleeps immediately," she said.

Very generously the department said that if the men found the travelling expenses too high, "They will be at liberty to stay in a hostel, either in Atteridgeville or Mamelodi". Home life and the need for a father for the children at home, was of no concern to the department.

Amenities

Let us consider what amenities were available in the area when the families were moved. No medical facilities in the area at all. The nearest clinic is at Boekenhoutfontein, about eight miles from Klipgat, and considerably further from Stinkwater.

No schools exist in the two areas, and the parents and children alike agree that it is too far to walk to Boekenhoutfontein. Shops — there is one general dealer who runs a roaring business in the old section of Klipgat. But, according to the residents, he charges what he likes because of the lack of competition. There is no shop near Stinkwater.

The people say it is cheaper to shop in Pretoria, and rather pay for the bus fares, than to shop at the store at Klipgat.

Problems arise there too, as the bus companies exploit the situation by charging 5c extra for each parcel carried on the bus. They cannot win. No wonder they shrug their shoulders and sit in the sun dispiritedly.

Worst of all are the lack of toilet facilities, water and lighting. At Klipgat alone, more than 2,000 people drew water from one hole — the only water in the area. When it rained, the run-off water rushed down the slopes into the water hole causing the area to be one large mud bath.

For days after the storm the people were without water. There is now a borehole, sunk after the hew and cry. But the Africans still prefer the fountain water and say the water in the tanks has a peculiar taste.

The water situation at Stinkwater is equally bad. Until recently the families were drawing their drinking water from a river where cattle drink. Little wonder some of the children suffer from chronic diarrhoea and other sicknesses.

The removal from Eersterus

Let us now consider the validity of the removal from Eersterus. Most of the families owned the land they lived on, but admittedly there were several "squatters" — come to the cities looking for work, chased off the farms where they were born — in fact refugees in their own country.

Where could they go? The B.A.D. had the answer — to Stinkwater, obviously.

The homes at Eersterus were bought out by a private concern. Quite rightly, the families were paid out for the land, but they too had nowhere to go. They were refused permission to enter the townships, and all applications to find housing was refused.

The business man who bought the land said he felt terribly responsible for the welfare of the Africans. He appealed to the non-European Affairs Department of the Pretoria City Council to find them homes in the township, but this too was met with contemptuous silence.

He began to put pressure on the City Council to have the families moved off the land, as he had building schemes planned for the area. The shortage of housing in the townships, the council said, made it impossible to find them homes.

The fact of the matter is that the City Council has not built a new house in the townships for two and a half years. The B.A.D. had issued their instructions that they would be removing "illegal Africans" from the townships and dumping them at Boekenhoutfontein.

The eviction notices were issued to the families, the lorries moved in and loaded up all their possessions. They were taken to the bushveld. They were given a choice — either Stinkwater or Klipgat. Tents were issued, one per family, and the instructions were given to "build your own houses".

The aim of the project was to clear the slum area at Eersterus, but the physical fact is that a slum grew up out of the veld at Stinkwater. Only a few houses are fenced in by hacked down thornbushes. But, for the most part, it is everyone's backyard. People live in each other's pockets.

Life is raw and very primitive in the dense thornbush. They are cut off from civilisation, and in many cases the menfolk only return at weekends.

Aid by the Churches

The churches hastened to aid soon after the news broke out of the removals. Funds were started, and blankets and warm clothing collected. Donations came in from generous people who felt compassion for the unfortunate families. Even lorry loads of building material were donated.

The B.A.D. stepped in, and refused to allow the churchmen into the area to distribute the donations. They announced that all the donations could be sent to the department who would themselves distribute the gifts.

Did they want to ease their troubled consciences by taking the credit from the Africans? Or did they have something to hide from the churchmen? Probably both.

As it turned out, the donations were delivered by the church — by their own methods. One priest was arrested in the area and questioned by the Security Police, before being released.

The Dean of Pretoria, the Very Rev. Mark Nye, said the spirit in which several people donated clothing and money was very gratifying. He said one woman, not particularly well dressed herself, had donated a winter coat saying: "I have two. I hope someone will enjoy this one's warmth".

Ethnic grouping

But, the removals from Eersterus is only part of the story. As if the misery caused by the upheaval, the cold suffered during the sub-zero temperatures, the return to a primitive life and the isolation was not enough, it is now learned that hundreds of families living in the Bantu Trust area surrounding Stinkwater and Klipgat, are to be removed to their "respective homelands."

The ethnic grouping bug has bitten the department, and the implementation of separating the tribal groups is starting. The families belonging to non-Tswana tribes are being hounded out as "squatters and illegal residents".

How, we may well ask, is the department going to distinguish which are Tswanas and which are not, when they have been intermarrying for several generations? The system is far too complex for the department to handle, and they know it. But they insist on giving weak replies claiming that the tribes themselves want to be separated.

Already the officials are making house-to-house visits to find out what tribes the fami-

lies belong to. Some tribes may have to move to a 'homeland' beyond Pietersburg, although they are employed in Pretoria.

As if to show that they are not completely inhuman, the department announced that the non-Tswana families moved to Stinkwater from Eersterus will not be moved again — "at this stage".

Pretoria is not the only city affected by the removals. Throughout the country Africans are being shunted around like pins in a map. Nearly every day brings a fresh example of some administrative affront to the African people's susceptibility.

Surely with the threat of terrorist infiltration, the Government should try to foster the loyalties of the African people.

The removal of the families from the slum areas may have been justified, but the method is certainly not. And this may be the very thing that is harmful to their loyalty to the South African cause.

And yet, an official of the B.A.D. can say: "We are all dedicated men, working for the welfare of the Bantu people. We have never, and will never, do anything to their detriment".

Most South Africans would disagree with him. The vast majority would be the Africans themselves. They should know.

FLAG RAISING

by Bob Connolly



AFRICAN RESETTLEMENT

R. M. JOHNSTON

(This paper was presented to the National Conference of the Black Sash in October, 1968)

ONE WOULD HAVE WISHED at this Conference to add to Mrs. Cluver's paper of last year a great deal of further information about resettlement villages, but it has not really been possible.

Earlier this year, we were approached by a newspaper reporter who wanted information from us, but what we had at that time had already been published and we suggested that the press should try to get into some of the villages and give us some information instead. They tried to get permits for various places which had been mentioned in reply to questions in the House, but were given a flat "no". We are, therefore, more or less dependent upon casual observers for such new information as we have, although Border Region have produced a very comprehensive report on Mngqesha which you have seen in the Magazine.

The first difficulty is to categorise the various resettlement schemes — some are "villages", some are "closer settlements" and some appear to be called only "new centres in the homelands". Possibly the time has come to treat these more or less as the same thing, because the only difference seems to be whether Government provides houses or not. Limehill, for instance, is not a resettlement village, in spite of the fact that it is a village and its only function seems to be the resettlement of Africans from another area. No houses were provided there. Mngqesha, on the other hand, is a "resettlement village" because housing was provided.

Centres in the Homelands

In answer to a question in the house this year by Mr. W. T. Webber, the minister gave a long list of "centres in the homelands" where houses have been built by the Department of Bantu Administration. There were thirty nine such centres, but on examination of the list, one finds that places like Kwa Makuta, Magabeni, and Umlazi near Durban, Ga Rankuwa and Mapopane near Pretoria, and Mdantsane, East London, have been included. Now these are obviously simply townships to house workers in these urban

areas and possibly, their families, but they have been strategically located in what are Bantu areas. There are others which appear to have been sited miles and miles from any area requiring labour and it is obvious from the list that these really are "centres in the homelands" where all the breadwinners have to be migratory workers.

The movement of populations has been going on at a tremendous rate. Although, through the advice offices, we are not in any doubt about the vast numbers of people who are being endorsed out of the urban areas, there also appears to have been resettlement of farm labour tenants and squatters on a vast scale. There were, at the end of 1966, 167,916 registered labour tenants on white farms. At the end of 1967 this figure had been reduced to 37,132 — a difference of over 130,000.

The Minister stated that 203,500 people from the white urban areas had been resettled in homeland centres. Here again we must remember these very big townships adjacent to white towns and take these into consideration as far as the so called "homelands" resettlement is concerned. None the less, the figure is very high indeed and when one considers the move from the white farming areas, the figure would appear to be astronomical.

The press, in Johannesburg anyway, gave a great deal of publicity to two new settlements, Stinkwater and Klipgat, to which a large number of people in the Pretoria area were moved. These people were living in very bad conditions, most of them squatters, very close to Pretoria and when the land was cleared for white ownership they were dumped into these two centres.

Early this month I had to pass through the Bushbuckridge area in the far eastern Transvaal. I could not find any of the "centres" mentioned in the parliamentary reply but there are several settlements which can be seen from the road where people appear to be living on small plots where no planting would be possible and there were the usual scenes at the bus-stops along the

road of the man of the family moving off with his luggage — obviously coming to the white towns to work. In this area I did see a number of women employed by sawmills and timber companies, whether this is general I do not know.

Elandsdoring

Elandsdoring, near Groblersdaal in the Eastern Transvaal has been visited and this is definitely a resettlement village with the usual small houses and large numbers of women, and children. It would appear that the men work in the Witbank area but so far we have no information about bus fares, etc., or whether they come home every night or only at weekends.

Batharos

Also mentioned on the list is one place near Kuruman about which we have no information but there was a report in the Johannesburg Press in September drawn up by the medical staff of the St. Michael's Mission Hospital at Batharos on the edge of the Kalahari. This report states that in 9,000 square miles of semi-desert live 60,000 Africans and thousands more are being resettled there every year. There is no indication of where these people are coming from, but apparently the poverty and malnutrition is appalling. The hospital can no longer cope with the influx of sick people, most of whom they say are suffering from "plain starvation". They have scurvy, kwashiorkor and pellagra as well as widespread sores caused by malnutrition; and tuberculosis "flourishes as never before". Patients who desperately need hospitalization cannot be admitted because of overcrowding.

There has also been a new kind of move carried out at Sibasa in the Northern Transvaal. Here we have had accounts from Africans working in Johannesburg and also from the Press. It would appear that the Venda and Tsonga people have been living together for many, many years; they have intermarried to a very great extent. The Government for some reason decided to separate the two peoples and they have been moved around — presumably using the ethnic grouping of the head of the family — to achieve this. The move is not a permanent one apparently, the people have been told not to build permanent houses as they may be moved again quite soon. It seems certain that some of the family breadwinners working on contracts in the

towns did not know of the move and did not even know where their families had gone to.

According to Hansard, 645 families were to be moved to the area between the Elands River and Pilanes Mountain. These people had been for over seventy years the owners of two farms, Elandsfontein and Palmietkuil but these were apparently in a white area and were bought by the Government in 1965, when the people were told they would have to move. The first people were moved in August 1966 and the move was so timed that they reaped no grain crops in 1966 nor, as a result of drought in the new area, in 1967. As far as can be ascertained from press reports, about 500 families did move, but a further 100 refused. Heads of these families (the numbers vary according to the different press reports but it seems to be between 80 and 90) have been tried and a large number of them fined R100.00 or 100 days for occupying land belonging to the Government.

There seems no question that information about all these places is going to be difficult to find. Such clues as we have are gleaned from the very occasional visit by reliable witnesses, from the press and from personal employees. Perhaps during the coming session it will be possible to find more members of Parliament who are prepared to ask questions in the house, but so much information is being withheld by the Ministers concerned that one wonders just how much fact will emerge.

GIFT WRAPPED

by Bob Connolly



REVIEW 1967-1968

BARBARA WILKS

Chairman of the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash

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

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

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

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

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

Dissolution of the Liberal Party

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

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

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

Amenities for decent living

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

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

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

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

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

Population clearance

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

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

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

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

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

WEEP!

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

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

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

Anon.

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

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

Black Spots

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Comprehensive migrant labour

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

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

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

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

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

Cheap black migrant labour

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

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

Soweto families living below the P.D.L.

Well over half of African families living in Soweto fell short, last year, of their absolute minimum needs by some R13 a month. The absolute minimum monthly expenditure — the poverty datum line — for a Soweto family of five was set at R53.32 a month. But that does not allow one cent for anything which lifts life out of a grey struggle for existence. The effective minimum level is a fairer basis, as it includes minimum sociological necessities — and the effective minimum level for Soweto was calculated to be over R20 a month more than the P.D.L. The Financial Mail states that average wages for African workers in all industries were, last year, still below the 1966 P.D.L. of R44.89 a month (despite the improvement in real living standards).

The cost of separate development

The implementation of separate develop-

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

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

The Message

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

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

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

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

Student revolt

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

the more gifted and stable peoples to provide a lead, as the Florentines did artistically, as England did politically, to so many countries in Europe. Benin bronzes became ever more debased as the slave trade spread its hideous tentacles, there was every discouragement for the interplay of thought and idea. And after slavery was abolished red rubber took its ghastly toll in the Congo. The White men's handiwork in Africa is nothing very much to be proud of.

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THE RESETTLEMENT OF INDIANS IN JOHANNESBURG

D. A. HILL and M. W. CLUVER

Mrs. Hill is National Treasurer and Mrs. Cluver National Vice-President of the Black Sash. This paper was presented to National Conference in Durban.

WHEN THE INDIANS first came to Johannesburg in the 1880's President Kruger had set aside the "Coolie Location" — the present Vrededorp and Pageview — in which they believed they would live in perpetuity.

There are to-day certain areas in the city where there are large numbers of Indian Traders: Vrededorp and Pageview, with its well known 14th Street, patronised by many white customers; West Market Street and its vicinity where there are big wholesalers of dry goods and small shops; Diagonal Street where the fruit and vegetable shops are all Indian owned. Fordsburg has numbers of Indian shops and many of the wealthier Indians have their homes here. There are also Indian shops and houses in many other areas.

It is the policy of the present government that all Johannesburg's Indian people must move to Lenasia 22 miles to the south west of the city hall. Many have already moved and about 20,000 remain waiting to hear their fate.

For the past ten years, Johannesburg Indians have fostered the hope that if Group Areas and residential segregation have to be imposed on them the government would agree to the establishment of an area for Indians within the present Municipal boundaries and they have been supported in this by the City Council. But the government has been adamant that Lenasia shall be the only township for Indians, and have asked the City Council of Johannesburg to incorporate Lenasia within its jurisdiction. They did not, however, explain why the chosen area should be so far away in the first place nor did they clarify the apparent contradiction of aiming on the one hand at "a full fledged local au-

thority" and on the other incorporation by the Johannesburg City Council.

In Lenasia the township control comes under the Peri Urban board — a white body. The residents may attend meetings of the board. A local committee of Lenasian Indians has an advisory function.

There are now approximately 35,000 people living in Lenasia.

Lenasia:

Lenasia is a bleak, flat area of country without trees and exposed to the cold south winds of winter. Lenz railway station is on the outskirts of Lenasia to the west. A weekly return ticket from Lenz to Johannesburg costs R2.00.

No comprehensive town plan was drawn up making provision for social amenities and services. The township is divided into four sections:

1. Township Area. About 300 houses where

land can be bought freehold and houses are owner built.

2. **Rainbow Valley.** Houses cost approximately R4,000.00 to build and can be bought on Hire Purchase over 25 years at R42.00 per month. In addition rates, taxes and water must be paid.
3. **Greyville.** Each house consists of two rooms plus a kitchen and a bathroom with sewerage. Electricity can be laid on by arrangement, and each house has a small plot of land. The rent is R12.00 per month.
4. **Thomsville.** Sub Economic Housing. Two room units, semi-detached, 8 or 4 in a group. Front room about 10' x 8', back one smaller. There are no ceilings, no stove, no chimney, no electricity and no running water in the house. Houses are arranged in rows with a 30 yard area between the backs of the houses where communal waterborn latrines (one per four units) and water taps (one per four units) are located. The rent per unit is R1.84 cents per month. Two units can be hired by one family, when a hole is knocked between the two back rooms. There are no bathrooms in the entire area. the streets are not tarred, and there are no street lights.

The majority of people in Lenasia live in this area.

Schooling:

The schools were prefabricated buildings when Lenasia started 13 years ago. No permanent structures have yet been built. There are two High and 3 Primary Schools designed to take roughly 500 children each but there are over 1000 children in each school. Schooling is not compulsory and many children have been turned away for lack of accommodation.

There are 50 children per class and two sessions per day to cope with the numbers. The schools were formerly under the Transvaal Education Department, but are now under the Department of Indian Affairs. Up to Standard VIII, all requirements and schooling are free. Above Standard VIII only set books are provided and other books must be paid for. The system of Rand for Rand contributions for improvements has been done away with for the Transvaal and any amenities must be provided by parents.

Because parents leave home so early for work, children frequently arrive at school

without breakfast. School feeding is not allowed.

The High School was amongst the first public buildings to be erected in Lenasia. As soon as it was completed Indian children were no longer allowed to attend High School in Johannesburg itself. Parents had the choice of moving to Lenasia or making their children travel 22 miles to and from school.

Primary schools in the Johannesburg area are being closed down towards the end of this year. Thousands of pupils will be attempting to enrol in the already full schools in Lenasia.

Medical Services:

Coronation hospital, roughly 18 miles away in Newclare, serves the township. This hospital runs a daily clinic in Lenasia from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. No service is provided for those ill in bed and unable to attend the clinic. The Coronation ambulance serves clinic patients only.

So great is the consciousness of the need for an ambulance to serve all in the township that Indians themselves have raised R5,000 and bought an ambulance. There are private nurses and doctors in the district.

The average size of a family is 7. A family clinic run by the Indian Social Welfare Association was opened six months ago and 700 people have attended it.

With no hospital at Lenz, and the realisation by the Indian Community of this necessity, the Indians themselves have collected R40,000 towards a maternity wing when and if the government builds a hospital at Lenasia.

Whenever pleas are made by the community for services the answer is that there is no money available. The Indians themselves are attempting to provide these services but there seems to be a reluctance on the part of the authorities to accept them.

Social Amenities:

There is a civic centre with one hall where young people can congregate, and one cinema. The only real recreation that people have is walking the streets and visiting. When the Olympic Committee visited South Africa an area was fenced in and stands put up for a sports field. No sports field has actually been laid out.

In the freehold area and in Rainbow Valley gardens have been and are being esta-

blished. This applies to a more limited extent in Greyville. In Thomsville a minute area in front of each unit can be enclosed and used but the majority of land is communal, bare veld -- mostly dust.

No African servants may be employed in the township. Raids are carried out to see that this is enforced.

Trading in Lenasia:

The shops are grouped at one end of the township near the Railway station -- at least a mile away from some of the houses.

The shops are not well supported by the population of Lenasia, most of whom find it easier to shop near their place of work. White people in the vicinity patronise some of the shops. There are few shops but a new block of about six shops is being constructed to accommodate the displaced businessmen of Johannesburg. No hawkers licences are issued. Garages look prosperous.

There are two factories in the area, a small one making candles, employs 20-30 people while another employs about 500 people making small tools for the mines. The area surrounding Lenasia, apart from a Military camp across the railway line, is open veld. There are no other opportunities for employ-

Indians still in Johannesburg:

Many Indians are still living in Johannesburg mainly in Pageview, Vrededorp and Fordsburg. These are mostly traders. There are 600 traders in Pageview alone and all are due for removal. The Pageview traders live in small villas in the vicinity but will be moved to Lenasia within the next three months. The residential move was scheduled to take place nine months ago into Greyville type houses. The traders, who are reasonably well off at present, refused to move to this type of house and houses are now being built in Rainbow Valley for them. There is tremendous uncertainty about when they will have to leave their trading sites. Pageview will become completely "white" in the near future. At the moment there are some empty shops in Fordsburg (the last area to be moved) which are available for Pageview traders.

Eventually there will be small shops available in the "Asiatic Bazaar" in Fordsburg. Provisional approval has been given for a loan of 12 million Rand to the City Council for the building of this complex of sixty shops,

a bazaar with 132 stands and a market with 102 stands all to be rented by Indians. All the present traders will have to be accommodated in the "bazaar" or will have to trade in Lenasia. This must mean a change in employment for many and economic ruin for many more.

Thomsville residents were living in slum conditions in back yards in Pageview, but their move to Thomsville has not improved their situation. The squalor of Thomsville has to be seen to be believed. We talked to one woman living there. She is better off than most, the family rents two units for R3.68 per month, the husband earns R19.00 per week and pays R9.00 per month for his railway ticket. He leaves home to work in Johannesburg at 5.30 a.m. and returns at 6 p.m. Their three children must play in the dusty and sordid back yard between the houses.

There are many good Indian owned houses in Pageview and Fordsburg and compensation is to be paid for them, but it is frequently only half what has been spent on the house.

Martindale:

Before removals started there was 1,750 licenced Indian dealers in Martindale. Most traders have been removed from this area and the few that remain are expecting daily notice that they must go. A few shops are being built for them in Lenasia, which is already over traded. A spokesman, worried out of his wits, could not see how they would make a living. His only suggestion was that Lenasia should become a trading area for customers of all races. There is no doubt that most of the traders will be ruined. This will have far-reaching consequences for all, as the Indian Social Welfare depends for its funds on the traders.

The consequences of the Group Areas proclamations for the Indian people of Johannesburg:

Means of Livelihood. Indians first came to live in Johannesburg in the 1880's. They settled down as small traders, hawkers, labourers, market gardeners and hotel workers.

They have become a prosperous community. There is no doubt that the credit they gave saved many an embarrassed white person

in time of drought and difficulty. They have contributed generously towards social welfare and relief to all races.

For many years they have paid rates and taxes in Johannesburg, but have no say in local government.

The Plight of the Traders.

Indian shops in Johannesburg are patronised by all races. In future traders will have the choice of trading in Lenasia, almost exclusively amongst their own people, or in the projected Asiatic bazaar for the tourist trade, or to find other means of employment. It was very evident to us that the traders still remaining in the Johannesburg area live with fear for the future and a dreadful feeling of insecurity.

They realise that the chances of being able to continue as traders and make a living are very small. Many of them are no longer young. They face a certain future of complete impoverishment. One trader we spoke to, a man of some influence among his people, was filled with a deep resignation, with no hope for the future — merely hoping to be allowed to trade where he was as long as possible before his order to move was served on him. It may be a question of months, or at most a few years.

It is estimated that three quarters of Indian Traders will no longer be able to trade when the removals are completed in five or six years. What will these people do? There are no facilities in the Transvaal for the technical training of Indians, so it appears that the only employment open to them will be unskilled labour.

Waiters:

Many Indians are employed as waiters in hotels and clubs, but are gradually being replaced by Africans, as employers find them inconvenient to employ because of the limitations imposed by hours, transport, and distance. Waiters themselves cannot cope with the cost of transport to Lenasia.

Labourers:

The cost of transport is here a serious difficulty. When these people are out of work they cannot afford cost of transport in order to find another job. They already live in slum conditions in Thomsville and have no hope of employment in or around Lenasia.

It is quite apparent that Lenasia will never be a self-supporting community, and will al-

ways depend on Johannesburg for a living for its people.

The standard of living of the Indian community must inevitably fall. Those who are buying houses, as in the Rainbow Valley Scheme, naturally face the future with trepidation as they fear they will not be able to continue their Hire Purchase payments. People will have to seek new ways of earning their living — in many cases not as lucrative as before.

Change in Social Patterns as a consequence of removals

For most Indians the father is the wage earner and entirely responsible for the upkeep and conduct of his family. In the old days the family lived, sometimes in squalor, above or behind the family business. This made for close family life and strong parental influence. This has been affected in two ways by the move to Lenasia.

Firstly the father is forced to leave home very early and come back late at night from his work, and consequently the children see very little of him. Secondly, what he earns is now not sufficient, with increased transport and other costs to keep his family, and the teenage children have to work. This makes them independent and undermines the father's influence, and as may be imagined, much unhappiness and dissension results.

Delinquency and illegitimacy have increased. The old pattern of arranged marriages is disappearing. These are perhaps inevitable changes, but they have come about too suddenly, largely owing to the new conditions under which the people are living.

The Influence of Isolation

The Indian Community of Lenasia faces a future of isolation in accordance with the dictates of separate development. They are removed from the mixed urban life which they enjoy. The educated section fear and hate this isolation because of the cutting off of wider horizons in their own lives and also for the consequences they foresee in the Indian community as a whole. There is likely to be an increase in sectionalism and inter racial quarrels.

We visited a wealthy Indian family, living in a beautiful house they had built for themselves at a cost of some R60,000.00. They were not happy, cut off from their contacts in Johannesburg, and were deeply resentful of

the fact that they had had no choice but had been forced to move to Lenasia. In common with many other Indians, living in Lenasia, these are cultivated people forced to live where there are no cultural facilities whatsoever. There is increasing emigration of teachers, lawyers and doctors to countries like

Canada. Educated people of this type fear the stultifying effect of Apartheid, and neighbouring Black States are willing to pay well for professional immigrants.

Apartheid is destroying a community which was making a real contribution to South Africa.

WORKMENS' COMPENSATION

BARBARA VERSFELD

Mrs. Versfeld is organiser of the Athlone Advice Office

ON FEBRUARY 20TH of this year, Mr. G. N. Oldfield M.P. Ombilo, asked the Minister of Labour a comprehensive question in the House of Assembly on the subject of unclaimed awards in terms of the Workmens' Compensation Act of 1941. Mr. Oldfield asked for information regarding the value of unclaimed awards and the number of untraced claimants in each of the different population groups. The Minister replied that the total sum of unclaimed moneys since 1943, including old cases under the previous Act, amounted to R1,365,131, representing less than 1% of the total awarded over the same period. He could not give precise information about the proportion of persons untraced in the different population groups, and assured Mr. Oldfield that all possible avenues of tracing claimants had been explored. In the case of "Bantu workmen, an arrangement was introduced in 1967 whereby advances were made by the larger employers in respect of temporary total disablement . . ." Bantu Affairs Commissioners and the Bantu Reference Bureau of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development supply information regarding the whereabouts of claimants, which is followed up by the Workmens' Compensation Office . . . Details of unclaimed benefits are also published regularly in the Government Gazette.

Fatal accidents

In the event of fatal accidents, the Minister explained, the dependents of workmen are entitled to the claims and Bantu Affairs Commissioners are responsible for arranging that the money goes where it should.

It is evident from this statement, recorded in Hansard No. 3 Paragraph 835, that the authorities do use the cumbersome official

channels available for tracing individual claimants. It is also evident that this system has many drawbacks, like all the processes of bureaucracy. Many workers, particularly Africans, never get to hear that there is compensation money awaiting them at all. A survey of the Government Gazettes shows that the proportion of African claimants is very high indeed. What would appear to be needed is more general information on the subject, and the chief responsibility for acquiring this information and for passing it on to all workmen as a matter of essential routine devolves upon employers, large-scale and small. Employers should realise the importance of informing *all* workmen of the existence of the Workmens' Compensation fund, and in the event of injury should ensure that claimants have a written note giving any available details, particularly the claim number when available. African claimants should be instructed to maintain contact with the Department of Bantu Affairs. No workman who has been injured at work should ever be discharged without clear instructions about claiming his compensation. Many of the bigger firms pay their injured workmen in advance, as the money takes about six months to come through. They are then entitled to reclaim this amount from the Compensation money before the balance is handed to the recipient. Awards for temporary disablement are handed out as lump sums, whereas for permanent disablement a regular fixed allowance must be fetched.

ADVICE OFFICE RECORDS

During the first three months of the year:

Firms circularised approx.	180
Number of workmen involved: over	200
Replies received:	54

Addresses supplied	16
Injured men paid by firm: over	10
Untraced — no addresses given	53
Deceased: (Dependents of 1 untraced)	4
Balance — no reply	
Traced directly through Advice Office	4

These 200 men were the African workmen whose names appeared in a series of three Government Gazettes Extraordinary, the third of which appeared on 24th January 1968. The heaviest toll of injury appears to be in the Stevedoring industry, which has a central office in charge of African labour and does not reply to us.

Vast majority untraced

It would seem that the vast majority (i.e. over 75%) of Africans listed in these Gazettes have remained untraced.

In April 1968, a new circular was prepared by the Advice Office, and sent to about twenty firms which had replied to our original query but had been unable to supply information. This new circular suggests that "fewer names might appear in the Gazettes if firms would as a matter of routine advise such workmen when discharged that they should keep in touch with the Department of Bantu Affairs, in order to claim their compensation money when it arrives . . . Records of forwarding addresses are moreover extremely important . . ."

This second circular called for no reply and none has been received so the reaction of firms cannot be gauged. A new Government Gazette Extraordinary appeared on July 12, and the Advice Office has just circularised those firms employing Africans whose names appear as having over R2 due to them. Over 30 of the original circulars have been sent out, and an Afrikaans version is being prepared for firms considered likely to prefer this medium.

Ignorance and misunderstanding

During May, the Advice Office was visited by two members of the editorial staff of "Post". Particular interest was shown in our efforts to trace workmen owed unclaimed Compensation money. An article in Post subsequently drew attention to this aspect of our work, and to the fact that large sums of money are lying idle because they have not been claimed through "ignorance, misunderstanding or lack of information". As a direct result of this article, the Advice Office received a spate of inquiries from people both Coloured and African, who thought

that they might well be among the untraced claimants. They were referred to the correct section of the Department of Labour or the Department of Bantu Affairs, and it was explained that Claims take about six months to come through from Pretoria. Names are published approximately once in three months in Government Gazettes when the money has been unclaimed for twelve months or more.

Later (18th August 1968) Post carried the story of ABEL SIBEKO who had been owed R1,716 since 1964. They said "we didn't find Mr. Sibeko. That was hardly surprising. He was killed instantly in the accident in 1964. But we did find his widow. And it didn't take us days — let alone years. It took exactly 30 minutes. A reporter telephoned the factory where Mr. Sibeko had worked and was given the name of his attorney. The attorney gave the address of Mrs. Sibeko. Post was delighted to find her, and shocked by the ease of doing it. Shocked too by her tale of four years of misery. She and six children have been surviving—living is hardly the word — on R10 a month since 1964. Because officialdom had not done its job."

This has made us realise how essential it is to obtain the maximum publicity for these long lists of Africans and others owed money under Workmens' Compensation by means of newspapers such as Post which are widely read by working people. We are most grateful for the help given to our cause by "Post".

The case of Nasipi Mteleki shows how easily claims can get mislaid through sheer lack of information. This man was a night-watchman for a firm at Vasco. In June 1967 he was assaulted while on duty, and stabbed severely in the leg. He has been unfit for work ever since, and is a case of temporary total disablement. He expects to be unfit for possibly another two years. His firm paid him for two months after the assault. Since then he has subsisted on the kind assistance of friends. He came to the office to enquire about his rights with regard to Compensation. An enquiry at Department of Bantu Affairs revealed that his claim had in fact come through during September of this year. When the firm has returned the form which has been posted to them, he will be able to collect his money, R240, after the amount already paid by the firm and refundable to them has been deducted.

SOME ASPECTS OF TRANSPORT AS IT AFFECTS THE DAILY WORKER

AS OBSERVED BY THE PLUMSTEAD-CONSTANTIA BRANCH
OF THE BLACK SASH

(NOTE: The African worker is not included in this survey)

AN AMERICAN SAID RECENTLY that South Africa was fortunate to have leap-frogged a century, and to have jumped from a pastoral to a jet-age way of life. In this way, she was able to draw on the experience of others, and to avoid the pitfalls encountered by them.

However this may be, South Africa is wrestling with the hydra-headed problem of this plunge into a highly technical society, and it is suggested that we examine one of these problems — transport — to see how it affects just one section of the population — the worker in the city.

By all means let us congratulate ourselves on the great strides taken in national transport, the excellent network of superb roads, the efficient and expanding internal air services, but let us also take a closer look at the daily transport of workers to and from their work. Is this transport a weak link in industrial development? Is the worker served well or ill?

LEGISLATION:

It is difficult to depart from the national tendency to think along the rigid lines of colour. It would be both agreeable and constructive to consider workers in terms of skill, or wage levels, or enterprise, instead of in terms of colour, but the hard fact is that the non-European remains largely the under-privileged worker, the legislated-against individual, and the lowest paid, with, as yet, little chance of escape from these disadvantages.

Laws and regulations limit the form his labour shall take, and control the areas in which he may live. Against this background of deterrent legislation he must first find work and then find transport to and from such work.

Modern town planning moves towards the unit, i.e., a housing scheme closely linked with schools, clinics, recreation facilities, shops and transport. Does ours? Consider recent legislation:

DISTRICT SIX:

The Non-European is to leave this area to live in dormitory suburbs which are now increasingly on the perimeter of the city. When the white-owned enterprises shall have been established in District Six, the non-European must crowd buses and trains and come long distances back to work in this very area. Those who are forced to live furthest away are those least able to pay heavy fares.

This is not slum clearance — or urban renewal. It is forced removal.

WOODSTOCK:

The nearest suburb to Cape Town has now

been proclaimed white and will see a repetition of the pattern. Non-white business and homes will go, and once again bigger fares and longer travelling hours will be incurred by those who wish to continue to work in the existing businesses and factories.

THE SUBURBAN RAILWAY LINE:

The natural clustering of the coloured worker close to the suburban railway line has been broken up. Take for instance, those who have lived all their lives in Diep River, and who, having been moved to the new area of Mannenberg, must pay increased fares to return to work in Diep River.

The Raapkraal community in the Westlake area is to move a considerable distance to Grassy Park, whose bus service is one of the most heavily taxed of all.

Slangkop in the Kommetjie area is to receive the Simon's Town community as well as people from Noordhoek and Sunnydale. As this area is absolutely new there is no adequate bus service. The fares, being economic are high.

Bus Apartheid. If ever this should be enforced, fares will rise, as has happened in Johannesburg. Already the few "Whites Only" buses in Cape Town charge 1c. more for fares.

BUDGETTING:

It is not easy to verify the average non-European income in Cape Town, but it can be pointed out that sub-economic housing is granted to families whose main breadwinner earns less than R60 per month.

The Johannesburg Municipality has published figures for 1967, and states that the minimum income on which an African family can have a barely reasonable living was R53.32 per month. The report states that an average of R3.75 per month was spent on transport, and that 68% of families earned less than this minimum income.

Coloured people in the main have a higher standard of living, but even so, transport costs are often disproportionately large.

TRANSPORT CONDITIONS:

In some suburbs, such as Athlone and Crawford, the workers are well served by buses, and have reasonable access to white areas where they can be profitably employed.

In other areas, such as Grassy Park and Lotus River, the conditions are chaotic, and even menacing during the peak hours. There you have the spectacle of hundreds of workers fighting to board transport that is hopelessly inadequate; of people leaving home before 6 a.m. to try and obtain a seat on a bus. There the elderly, the women and children are pushed aside by men who are desperate to get to work.

In defence of these men it must be recognised that many employers accept no excuse for a late arrival. If a man is late clocking in, he loses pay; if he is employed by the Municipality, a public body or a builder and misses the lorry conveying him to a job, his day's pay could be forfeited. Such people *must* get to work on time at all costs.

Between 6.30 and 8 a.m., at the bottom of Lake Road in Lotus River, crowds of workers and school children run up and down the road trying to board a bus. Many domestics walk miles rather than join in the desperate scramble.

The average bus holds 54 people (seated and standing) and overcrowding is punishable by law. With the available 36 buses, only 1,944 passengers can be conveyed from Grassy Park to Wynberg Station (which is a distributing and major rail intake point) between 6 and 8 a.m. These buses are full at the start, and workers along the route have little chance of a seat.

In the same period, only 1,658 people can be conveyed from Steenberg through the new housing estates to Retreat Station (another from Ottery to Wynberg Station, and for 918 major rail intake). There is room for 756 from Philippi to Claremont Station.

The five major intake points on the south-

ern suburbs railway line for the coloured worker are — Retreat, Wynberg, Claremont, Mowbray and Salt River.

An average peak-hour train can carry 800-900 passengers. The figure is elastic, as overcrowding occurs regularly, and scenes at Claremont, Wynberg and Mowbray Stations, and in the non-European coaches have to be seen to be believed. 27 trains leave Retreat Station before 8 a.m., which means that about 25,000 passengers of all races can be moved from Retreat to Cape Town on the suburban line during this period.

FARES:

This is where most workers are hardest hit. The fares are often out of all proportion to most wage packets. Far too many people have disjointed journeys; bus-train-bus, or change of bus, with the extra cents per journey this entails.

A minimum fare of 4c. must be paid for even the shortest journey by bus.

The railway season-ticket holder is privileged; his journey is unbroken; he can make an unlimited number of journeys on his ticket between his home station and Cape Town. He has, in effect therefore, free transport for shopping in all areas along his daily route, and even for his evening cinema show. The bus traveller is not so privileged, and must pay for every journey.

The gardener, who used to live in Diep River and who still wishes to work in that area, must now pay a daily fare of 32 cents from Mannenberg, where he is now forced to live. The girl who has proudly moved into the status job of nursing in, say, the Rondebosch/Pinelands area, and who has been moved from her Claremont home, must now pay 30 cents a day, six days a week, out of a wage packet of R40 per month, and must leave home well before 6 a.m. to be in time for her 7 o'clock shift duty. All hospitals provide accommodation for white nurses, but very few offer accommodation for non-Whites.

SIDE ISSUES:

Although not strictly pertinent to the subject under discussion, certain facts force themselves forward.

1. Gross overcrowding is occurring in the more fortunate suburbs, where the pressure on accommodation is so great that exploitation is taking place. Rooms are let at high

JOHANNESBURG ADVICE OFFICE

Extracts form the Annual Report

prices, and often no food is provided. Under investigation at the moment is the case of a coloured woman who lets one room 12' x 12' to four nurses, each paying R14 for the fourth share of the room and the right to make a cup of tea. In other words, the owner receives a rental of R56 for this one room. The girls will not lodge a complaint as they are desperate for accommodation. Such abuses negative the genuine attempts of the authorities to provide decent living conditions.

2. Thefts and assaults are all too common, especially in the case of girls. Because of the length of their journeys, and the overcrowding of the transport system, many are forced in the winter to travel in the dark hours, and gangs wait in the ill-lit townships, particularly on pay-day, to waylay and rob.

3. Shopping facilities in the new suburbs are often either non-existent or extremely poor, and the housewife must walk long distances, or pay a minimum fare of 4 cents to the nearest comprehensive shopping centre. Almost 100 small shops served the District Six community (and made a living). How many of the new housing schemes can offer these facilities?

TO SUM UP:

Bus services at peak hours are totally inadequate on most routes.

Bus fares are unrealistic.

Certain routes are badly served.

There are too few buses in the valley periods.

It must be remembered that the buses are run by private enterprise, and are therefore required to make money. No business man can be expected to run huge fleets of buses to absorb peak hour loads, and then to have them largely idle for most of the day.

It should also be recorded that, on the whole, the drivers and conductors are very civil to all passengers under very trying conditions, and are helpful in their dealings with the elderly and with the numerous parcels!

IT IS RECOMMENDED

That transport should be subsidised:

That season tickets should be introduced.

(This would form a control for services required).

That because of the problems brought to light by this brief and incomplete survey of one of our towns in the Republic, all Black Sash Regions should be asked to undertake surveys in their areas.

THE NUMBERS OF NEW CASES coming to the Advice Office this year has increased by 67 to 624. The total number of interviews increased from 982 to 1,128. 276 of these interviews were interviews only. No files were opened for them because, either the cases were hopeless and nothing could be done to help, or the problem fell outside the scope of the work of the Advice Office and the individual was advised to go to the appropriate agency for assistance, e.g., to a lawyer or a welfare agency.

Most notable increases occurred in the number of endorsements out of the area. There were 93 cases as compared with 32 last year.

Those who had no reference books increased by 18. Many of the cases concerned young people applying for a reference book for the first time. They were refused their books on the grounds that they could not prove that they were born and brought up in Johannesburg. Children who were born here, but were sent to a rural area to live with grandparents for a time, have had their names removed from their parent's housing permit in Johannesburg and thus have lost their right of domicile and cannot live at home with their parents after they are 18 years of age. Unmarried daughters may live with their parents provided that they can prove that they entered the area lawfully and that they ordinarily reside with their parents. Girls who have left home to stay in the country are in the same position as the teenage boys, but the advice office has had only one case of a teenage girl being endorsed out. However when they marry and are unable to prove lawful entry into the urban area then they are endorsed out.

NM. was born in Sophiatown in 1939, but she has no proof of this. Neither can she prove that she was at school there from 1946 to 1951. Although she was in employment from 1957 until 1961 and has references to prove this she was not registered by these employers. She was registered however, for the period 1965 to 1966.

She has two children for whom she has birth certificates, born in Johannesburg in

1961 and 1966, and she has a doctor's certificate stating that she was twice pregnant during the years 1962 to 1964 and that she was unfit for work at that time. Her sister who is a lawful resident of Diepkloof has sworn an affidavit to the effect that NM. has been living with her since 1966.

The Old Aged Home for whom she worked from 1965 to 1966 wishes to re-employ her, but she was endorsed out in April this year; she has appealed to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner against the decision to endorse her out and she awaits the result of her appeal.

M.S. is a twenty year old youth born in Sophiatown. His parents died when he was very young and he lived with various relatives in Johannesburg until he was sent to boarding school in Lichtenburg. He came home to his grandmother in Soweto to spend the school holidays with her. On leaving school he came back to Johannesburg to live with his uncle who had the boy's name listed on his housing permit. This uncle who is guardian had a disagreement with M.S. and had his name removed from the housing permit at the end of 1967. Since that time he has been unable to obtain a workseeker's permit and the firm who employed him were unable to register him. This year he has twice been arrested for not having the right documents to be in Johannesburg. Since coming out of prison in April he has been going back and forth to Municipal offices to try and legalise his position. Pending the outcome of the investigation into his case he may remain in the area.

A.T. He has evidence of his birth in Sophiatown in 1946 in the form of affidavits sworn to by two women who assisted at his birth. He attended two schools in Soweto and Meadowlands for the period 1958 to 1962. He is not on his mother's housing permit in Meadowlands.

In 1963 he became ill and was sent to Ficksburg for treatment by a witch doctor. In 1964 he recovered but stayed on in Ficksburg to look after an aged grandfather, until 1967 when his grandfather died.

In Febraury 1968 he came back to Johannesburg to live with his mother in Meadowlands. His father is dead. When A applied for his first reference book, this was refused and he was endorsed out. He gathered what proof he had of his right to be in the prescribed area of Johannesburg and he lodged an appeal against his endorsement out

SUSPICIOUS CHARACTER by Bob Connolly



"Wilful" Africans will be sent to rehabilitation centres or colonies — depending on circumstances.

Memorandum of the Department of Bantu Administration on the establishment of aid centres in urban areas.

of the area, with the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner said he could not help him since he did not have a reference book. He was advised by us to go to the Appeals Officer, Albert Street. The Appeals Officer sent him back to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, where he was given a temporary identification certificate and advised to see his Superintendent in Soweto to obtain proof of domicile there. As he was not on the permit he was unable to prove residence. He reported this to the appeals officer, Albert Street. He was advised to report to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Ficksburg, and we gave him a letter to the official setting out his case.

The Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Ficksburg was asked to investigate his case and advise us as to whether A could register as a workseeker in Ficksburg. Since his Tax Number is a Johannesburg one, it seems unlikely that he will be permitted to register as a workseeker in Ficksburg. The letter to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Ficksburg was written on 30th August, 1968, and to date no reply has been received as to the result of his investigations into this case.

MRS. M.B. was born in the Bridgman Memorial Hospital. Her parents at that time were living in Alexandra township. When she was three the family was resettled in Meadowlands and she has been living with them ever since. However her name was never placed on the housing permit. She was at school in Meadowlands from 1954 to 1957 only and she has never been in registered employment.

She is married to a man who has worked continuously in Johannesburg since 1953 in registered employment and has permission to live in the prescribed area of Johannesburg. They have three children, all born in Johannesburg, in 1963, 1965 and 1968.

She was endorsed out in August 1968 and told to leave the area within 72 hours. She cannot prove that she has lived in Johannesburg all her life and has a right to be here. She and her husband and their children are living illegally with her parents and she is trying to obtain as much proof as she can of her continuous residence here, so that she can appeal to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner against her endorsement out.

E.M. was born in Alexandra township in 1950. He has no birth certificate, but his father and a woman who was present at his birth have sworn affidavits testifying to the time and place of his birth. His mother died when he was very young. His father and he were resettled in Meadowlands in 1960 and there is proof of his living in the prescribed area of Johannesburg at that date. He also has proof of his schooling in Meadowlands from 1961-1967. He is on his father's housing permit, but is registered as being in the area for the purposes of schooling only.

When he applied for his reference book he was endorsed out as he was only allowed to be in the area while at school. He appealed against his endorsement out at the office of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, and the appeal was turned down in May this year. He then appealed to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner, taking all the relevant documents in support of his contention that he has always lived in the area. He was then told to find a job and to bring his prospective employer to the pass office with him. He found work and the employer gave him a note to give to the Registering Officer saying that he wished to employ E. M. but that he personally could not afford the time to go with E.M. to the Pass Office. Because of this registration was refused and the young

man was told to find an employer who would accompany him to the pass office to register him.

COMMENT

All the above cases illustrate how difficult it is for Africans, of whatever age or sex, to comply with the law — The right permit or permits determine the future of every child born in urban areas. It is incredible that a young person has to produce incontrovertible proof that he was born in the area; that his name is listed immediately after birth, on the father's housing permit and that his name is never removed from this permit; that he was at school in the area and keep certificates giving the dates of his schooling; that in fact he has to prove he has never left the area. If he cannot prove all this he will be refused the issue of the reference book in the area where he lives with his parents. The law says that every African must be in possession of a reference book from the age of 16. This refusal to issue reference books on application lays these young people open to arbitrary arrest for not having identity documents and many of them at this young age, are arrested and go to jail during the time they are making every effort to obtain a reference book and to furnish the proof that they belong in the prescribed area.

Young women too, when they marry run the risk of being separated from their husbands and being endorsed out with their babies if they cannot establish their proof of domicile.

This is sheer cruelty and is doing untold damage to the moral fibre of the African people. It cannot be justified on any grounds what-so-ever.

BANTU LABOUR REGULATIONS*

(Bantu Areas) 1968

On the 1st April, 1968 the new Bantu Regulations came into force.

These regulations must "depersonalise" the relations between the employer and the employee. The impermanence of the labour must inhibit the responsibility and the loyalty of both employer and employee. The unfortunate African becomes a unit of labour in a category of work, hired for one year by an unknown employer.

The cost of transport of the employee from

*See *The Black Sash*, May 1968.

his home to the place of employment and back to his home at the termination of the contract is the responsibility of the employer who may, however deduct the cost from the wages of the African. This is a tax on the employer and may be a hardship to the employee. In addition the employer has to pay the sum of R1 for every worker employed by him every year. This must surely be passed on to the consumer and will further aggravate the inflationary situation.

The service contract is for a period of a year and the African must return home for a month. Those employers who avail themselves of the "call in" card system will find it most inconvenient when their particular employees will be at home in a different month every year. To illustrate:-

A service contract is signed from 1st January to 31st December. The African returns home and the next contract will be from February 1st until January 31st and the African again has to return home for a month. The following year he will be away in March. An employer thus will not be able to depend on his trained and regular labour being at work during the busy period of the year and he will not be able regularly to allow leave for his labourers during the slack period of the year.

As the service contract is terminated every year there can be no obligation on the employer to pay holiday wages to his labour. Many Africans therefore may be unfortunate in that every thirteenth month they will be earning nothing.

It is a fair comment to say that the labour force cannot be efficient, stable or contented. For the African it is yet a further restriction on his freedom of movement. He is compelled to defer a portion of his wages to his dependents in the homeland. He can be compelled to pay his transport from and to his home once a year. From the balance of his wages he has to pay transport from his lodgings in the urban area to his place of work and in addition he must pay for his accommodation and food. Unless he is earning a pretty high wage he will have little left at the end of his contract.

It has come to our notice that some Africans have had to pay R1 to the tribal Chief before they can be employed and service contracts attested. We do not know whether this is lawful or not.

These regulations are harsh and restrictive for the African. He has no choice of the type of labour he will perform, nor can he have any say in the choice of employer or for how long he will work. If he breaks his contract for any reason he is obliged to return to his homeland to wait to be recruited again.

The employer too has lost his right to choose whom he wishes to work for him or to decide on the conditions of employment. He is bound by red tape and bureaucratic control which will cost the loss of many man hours of labour not to mention the irritation and frustration involved. And all this to satisfy the demands of the ideology of apartheid.

JOHN JONATHAN MY JOE

JOHN Johnathan my Jo, John,
 Syne first we pulled taegither,
 New 'Border' factories I've built,
 Far frae ma native heather.

John Johnathan, ye ken I love
 Your land o' milk an' honey,
 (An' the chance it gies a businessman
 O' makin' easy money!)

Your canny bra' new Bantu laws
 I ca' most enterprisin'
 (They gie a settled labour mart,
 And keep ma costs frae risin'.)

Ye've got the reet idea, ma mon,
 Tae hold y'r labour stable;
 (Remove the reet to strike an' ye've
 The best cards on the table!)

The plans o' ither feckless folk
 Would ca' for higher pay;
 Your best-laid plan for mice an' men
 Can *niver* gang agley!

The broken homes o' labour's pawns
 Maun cause me sma' distress:
 I could not love ye, John, so much
 Loved I not honour less!

MAC DE MERWE.

GROUP AREAS REMOVALS FROM SIMON'S TOWN

BARBARA D. WILLIS

Mrs. Willis is, among many other things, organiser of the Christian Churches' Advice Office in Simon's Town. This article is taken from a very comprehensive paper she presented to the Black Sash Conference in Durban.

THE KNOWN HISTORY OF THE CAPE goes back only 300 years, and for 250 of these Simon's Town had been a happily progressing town made up of all races who had achieved peaceful living by simply doing just that thing — by the combined efforts of all racial groups. Mutual respect was the secret of their natural success, combined with the fact that Simon's Town is geographically cut off from all other towns in the Cape Peninsula, and each section of its people was interdependent. Within living memory all races attended the same schools and sporting and social functions and they still share their Churches, and so the people have always had the golden opportunity, so rare in South Africa, of meeting each other on equal terms and not just on a master/servant basis. The inevitable result was a happy town, gay and friendly and colourful, and no legislation was needed to achieve this.

WHEN the first advertised proposal for Group Areas appeared in 1959, it was sufficiently shocking, but it did make provision for Coloured and Indian residential areas within the Municipality. In 1960 a second advertisement proposed zoning of a small area inadvertently omitted previously. Then a third and utterly drastic set of proposals was advertised about Christmas 1964, which excluded Indians altogether from the municipal area, named specific areas for Whites, but no specific area for any other group.

Within a couple of weeks of the first advertisement, at a Public Meeting, a Liaison Committee was formed. It consisted of appointed representatives from the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist Churches, the Mosque Trustees, Ratepayers Associations, the Chamber of Commerce, the Black Sash local branch, various sporting bodies and clubs, and all the non-white organisations — in fact, every organisation there was in the town. The Dutch Reformed Church did not have a Mission Church in Simon's Town so was not directly affected, but the dominee was sympathetic and helpful and gave us names of leaders of the Mission Churches in the Peninsula who would give us the benefit of their experiences in their areas.

Representations were sent in to the Group Areas Board by the Liaison Committee, its component bodies, and hundreds of individuals. The Liaison Committee collected signatures for a mammoth petition from the

people of the town and another from the shopkeepers, and correlated the evidence to be laid before the Public Enquiries of the Group Areas Board. Money was raised by a morning market and house to house collections in order to brief Counsel to put the case for the united townspeople and organisations.

Two Public Enquiries were held by the Group Areas Board in August 1959 and February 1965. Not one person at either enquiry — with more than a five-year interval between them — came forward to give evidence that he objected to his neighbours or traders. There was no objection from any section of the community or from any racial group against another, but overwhelming and uncontradicted evidence was given on oath that no Group Areas Proclamation was wanted or warranted in Simon's Town.

In spite of this evidence the guillotine fell on 1st September, 1967, and the whole municipal area of Simon's Town was declared a Group Area for Whites only. No provision was made within the Municipal area — and it is a very extensive area, with plenty of space for all the existing groups in the town and their expansion — for any other race group, and I believe that this is the only Municipality in the Republic to suffer such a fate.

With a deep sense of shock and bewilderment a public meeting was called to discuss the proclamation and see if any other action could be taken to save the town from com-

plete disruption, because more than half of its residents and more than half its traders were now disqualified people. At this meeting, overflowing into the street, a unanimous resolution was taken to send a deputation to the Minister of Planning asking him to reconsider the proclamation and allow the status quo to remain or, alternatively, to allow the non-Whites to remain in Simon's Town. The Liaison Committee was empowered to implement the resolution and it appointed a deputation of three affected persons to represent the Indian, Coloured and Moslem communities. A memorandum was drawn up by the Committee's Counsel and was submitted to the Minister, who refused to see the deputation. The Minister's Secretary replied that Simon's Town was proclaimed a White Group Area "after a thorough investigation by the Group Areas Board and careful consideration of the report submitted in this respect . . . and you have the assurance that due cognisance was taken of all the relevant facts and information supplied. Furthermore the Minister had made it his duty to carry out a personal inspection, in order to acquaint himself with local circumstances before proclamation of Simon's Town as a White group area. In the circumstances it is considered that no good purpose will be served by having further discussions on the matter and consequently your request that the group areas proclamation be reviewed and amended cannot be acceded to."

Churches' Advice Office

An Advice Office, sponsored by the Christian Churches, opened its doors for the first time on 20th April, 1968, the very week that the outdoor officers of the Department of Community Development moved into Simon's Town for what is termed a "Socio-Economic Survey". They came in Government cars and were promptly referred to throughout the town as the "G. G. Cars", and those affected became rather panic-stricken.

The first vital questions were "where" and "when" were removals to take place. It had taken us almost into April to find out where, and nobody knew when. The "when" is still most uncertain for the vast majority of the people. The Indians will have to go to Rylands on the Cape Flats, about 23 miles away, and the Coloured people to Slangkop Township, ten miles from Simon's Town Railway station and about 2 miles from Kommetje, over the mountains near the Atlantic coast of the Peninsula.

Slangkop

To get to Slangkop the only road is from Simon's Town to Fish Hoek and then on the Kommetje/Noordhoek road to the Township. Eventually we are told there will be a double carriageway built over the mountains from Slangkop to Glencairn Valley which will save time and mileage and, we sincerely hope, bus fares. The Township is situated in very pleasant surroundings on a portion of the old Imhoff's Gift Farm at the foot of the hills. The people are much distressed by the name Slangkop — meaning Snakehead — and, amongst themselves, those already resettled there refer to it as "Upper Fish Hoek".

On the plans for Slangkop provision is made for schools, an old age home, playgrounds, a cinema, shopping centre, a hall and churches but of course, none of these exist at present. Only a few houses are as yet ready and occupied and no flats are completed. Street lights are not yet functioning because they have run out of cable and the only telephone is in the Housing Supervisor's office which is closed at night. There are no halls, no library and no police station, and there is already some hooliganism there, and also a shebeen or two. The local M.P. has tried to get a police station or police post there but was told "the present policy is not to open new Police Stations in close proximity to existing Stations, but rather to increase man power and mobile patrols." He is, however, taking the matter further and also trying to get a public telephone and reduced bus fares.

We are told that the quality of the Slangkop houses is better than in any other Housing Scheme, and this we can believe. There are three groups for housing purposes, according to income. The sub-economic group comprises those earning up to R60.00 per month, the economic group those earning R61.00 to R180.00 per month and the self-help group who earn more than this. The latter are not provided with housing, but are expected to make their own arrangements.

The Act lays down that nobody may be moved until one year after the date of proclamation but the first families in Simon's Town were moved during the month before this date, having been notified of offers at the beginning of August. The first batch consisted of 40 families and the second of 33, all sub-economic group, and these were

resettled by the end of August. The majority were very poor and the Department of Community Development very kindly brought transport down and moved the very poor families, although the Act says they must pay for their own removals. A senior official helped, together with the Simon's Town Housing Supervisor, and worked late into the night riding on the lorries themselves — with cats, dogs and chickens getting a free ride too. Those with chickens were allowed to take them provided they killed one a week until all were consumed. By the end of October, the first 28 families in the economic group will be resettled.

Notice to move

The Act lays down that three months notice must be given to residents to move, but in actual fact they are being given a couple of weeks notice and then four days in which to sign the contract, and they must pay one month's rent in advance plus a 10 cent revenue stamp, and pay an electricity deposit of R6.00 if they want to use it. They have to sign a form stating whether they are prepared or not to accept the allocation offered, and that if they are not they will themselves "find alternative accommodation for their family and declare, further, that they do not hold the Department of Community Development or any other authority responsible for finding alternative accommodation, and they undertake to move from their present accommodation as soon as a removal notice has been served on them." If they do not accept the offer then the Department of Community Development can give them, at any time, the three months notice, laid down in the Act, to vacate. But as there is no alternative accommodation available anywhere else they must perforce take the offer or be out on the street. In 1967, there were 12,000 names on the waiting list for rented houses and 1,200 for Home-Ownership in Cape Town City Council Area.

Rents raised

At present there is a very meagre bus service from Slangkop to Simon's Town — three times a day each way. Leaving Slangkop at 6.45 and 7.40 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.; the first bus goes to Seaforth (beyond the Dockyard), the second to Jubilee Square in the centre of the town, and the third only to the bus depot at the foot of Red Hill — about a mile or more before reaching the centre of Simon's Town. The return buses from Simon's

Town depart at 7.15 a.m. from Seaforth, 3 p.m. from Jubilee Square and 5 p.m. from Seaforth.

The fares are "Economic", which makes them, for the present, quite exorbitant, and there is no reduction in price for weekly or monthly tickets.

On the 1st September, 1969, the wages of unskilled Coloured labourers in the Dockyard were raised from R48.00 to R55.00 per month. This rise does not even cover the daily bus fare of one adult in the family who works in Simon's Town, quite apart from any working wives or children travelling to school. The monthly bus fare is between R9.00 and R10.00 per month for one adult, and for those in the sub-economic group, that is more than the rent they have to pay even for the biggest house.

Bus Service

On top of all this, just six weeks after the first families had been resettled at Slangkop all rents were raised. The reason given was that "The rents at present in operation were based on Divisional Council's past experience in operating costs in other housing schemes, but as it has become clear at this early stage that the operating costs generally have increased, it has been deemed advisable to adjust the rents without delay whilst only a relatively few families are in occupation. One of the factors which has increased the rent is that the water consumption allowances have been doubled as the present allowance is inadequate."

There is no choice of housing when being resettled under the Group Areas Act. The people must take a flat or house of whatever size is offered, or fend for themselves, which is impossible. There is no accommodation at all for single persons — they must find somebody to give them lodging, unless, of course, they can afford to build for themselves.

Eventually, houses will be available for purchase and land will be for sale for people to build to their own plans. No details are yet available for the home-ownership scheme

Shops
As regards shops: Three were advertised for letting, together with flats over them, at a rental of R115.00 per month, to be ready approximately at the end of September, 1968. A butcher, a general dealer and a cafe/restaurant. The applicants had to fill in a most formidable questionnaire.

The vast majority of businessmen in Simon's Town OWN their shops with flats above, and some have done so for up to 50 years. How can they now start paying rent for the rest of their lives with no chance of buying? It is Government policy to give preferential allocation in Coloured Areas to Coloured persons who were required to relinquish their businesses in declared White areas. But those who own in Simon's Town cannot now will their shops or their property to their descendants because they are "Disqualified", and it appears that they will not be able to BUY shop premises in the resettlement areas.

Indian traders

For the Indian traders in the town the outlook is even more bleak. Their shops are often open for 18 hours a day to serve a seaport of men, frequently doing overtime in the dockyard, and who start work daily at 7 a.m. They are only able to perform this much-needed and much-appreciated service of such long hours because the family live on the premises and work in shifts. They may not move to Slangkop with their Non-White customers — and they have a great number of White customers too — and will eventually have to live at Rylands where they cannot all trade with each other. Even if they are allowed to carry on their businesses in Simon's Town, they cannot commute from that distance and keep open the usual 18 hours a day.

With the closing down of the African Location, Luyolo, in Simon's Town in 1965 and the enforced removal of between 1,600 to 1,700 Africans to Guguletu, all trade in the town suffered a severe blow because these people were good cash customers. Now, although only about 80 families have been moved out to Slangkop the trade is suffering a further decline, and all the traders, of whatever race, face a future losing more trade with every batch of removals for several years to come. One wonders how many will be able to tide over the very lean period ahead because none of them have ever made more than a modest living. There is no compensation laid down in any legislation for loss of trade due to the removal of whole communities, presumably because this has never occurred in any other town before, but the Minister of Planning assured the men who sought permission to take the deputation to him to re-consider the Group Areas proclama-

tion that "It has repeatedly been stated by the Government that no disqualified merchant will be deprived of his livelihood and that a trader who was in legal occupation on the date of the proclamation of a group area will be allowed to remain in such occupation until reasonable alternative trading facilities are available elsewhere. Likewise it has been indicated that places of worship will remain unaffected."

But of course the places of worship will suffer. The Mosque will be left derelict when all the Moslems have gone, and the Christian Churches will suffer severe setbacks. The present congregations of the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist Churches are about two-thirds non-White and one-third White. There are no churches yet in Slangkop and these will have to be built.

Schools

The present position with regard to the non-White schools in Simon's Town is fraught with anxiety and uncertainty for all those concerned — the churches, the teachers, the parents and some of the pupils. At present, the children who have been taught in English medium and have been removed to Slangkop are now being taught in Afrikaans medium. This is a struggle for them and detrimental to their work and against what the Churches, and, consequently, the teachers and parents were promised. One good thing is, that for education purposes, Slangkop falls under the Simon's Town district, because Simon's Town is one of the very few areas where non-White schooling is compulsory.

At present 1,257 pupils have to be catered for at Slangkop having been moved from perfectly good schools in Simon's Town. The Government School has both English and Afrikaans medium, and the Roman Catholic is English medium, the Moslem, Methodist and Glencairn are all Afrikaans medium, and the Anglican in Simon's Town is both English and Afrikaans medium, so that pupils taught in English medium are in a minority.

The only school near Slangkop is at Imhoff's Gift (Primary only) and it is bursting at the seams. Two classrooms are being used in Slangkop Township in a semi-detached housing unit with no inside walls. Three extra teachers have already been granted there.

There is no provision at Slangkop

for Church schools, and these will eventually be closed down in Simon's Town. We are told that there may be 16 pre-fabricated classrooms ready in January 1969 to take 40 children per class — primary only. All those attending secondary school will have to travel to Simon's Town for some time to come. Eventually primary schools and one High School will be built at Slangkop.

Gross overcrowding

Ever since the first proposal for Group Areas in 1959 no housing has been undertaken because of the uncertainty of which areas would be declared for which group and so the consequent overcrowding in the town has reached formidable and most unhealthy proportions. Now, since the proclamation, nobody may move into the town without a permit and nobody may change residence within the Municipality without permission, but families continue to grow apace, much quicker than houses can be built. There are 132 sub-economic flats in the town and the Town Clerk reckons that there are now about 150 sub-tenants in these 132 flats. We have put in strong pleas for the sub-tenants to be moved first to relieve the grossly overcrowded conditions, but the Inspector tells us that they will not be moved, probably until 1969, because the Municipality cannot lose rents on properties not yet paid for to the National Housing Commission. The Town Clerk has offered a list of tenants so that sub-tenants could be moved, but we have not been able to persuade the Inspector yet, and anyway there are not enough houses ready. It is a very serious health hazard, and there is also terrible overcrowding elsewhere too, but this is being dealt with, of necessity, slowly, because houses do not build quickly. We were able to get a move for one family who were sleeping 8 in a small room, father, mother and 6 year old in a single bed and five others in bunks, teen-age boys and girls having to share bunks. But this was only because one family resettled itself elsewhere, and the father applied, through the Advice Office, to be allowed to move into this vacant house in Simon's Town. There are even worse conditions than these in some households and one woman has been housed in the ironing room of the flats because there was literally nowhere else for her to go when a European bought the plot of land on which she had a shack, and there is nothing ready to accommodate her yet at Slangkop. Another house

of 4 small rooms, which includes the kitchen, has 25 children in it, 11 sleeping in the dining-room. Some of the families in this house have just been resettled, as a result of the Advice Office taking their case to the Inspector. One couple and six children are living in one room. Others are living in dilapidated Nissen Huts, which were the "bachelor" quarters of Luyolo Location, but the iron has rusted through, the children have constant eye infection from dirt and rust falling into their eyes and when it rains hard a river runs through the Huts. There are many more sad stories, particularly tragic because in 1959 there were no such overcrowdings; it has all occurred as a result of the Group Areas Act because the Municipality were unable to build for the growing population, and children have married and borne children, and parents have borne more children, until the accommodation is unbearable.

No applications for anyone living at present outside Simon's Town can be considered for Slangkop, not even from the very old families who have been forced out for lack of space, but many Naval personnel living in other areas will be housed at Slangkop, the Inspector tells us, to save the Navy transporting them. It seems that Slangkop will become a sort of dormitory suburb for dock-yard workers.

All must sell on a buyer's market with the Government having a pre-emptive right to buy every single property if it so wishes. What the people find hardest to bear in a world of hardship and uncertainty is their lack of choice of housing. Whatever size home they have been used to, whether it was a large house with large rooms, or a sardined sharing, unless they build they cannot decide on the number of rooms they will live in, nor whether they will live in a house or flat. They must either take what is offered as laid down in the Housing Code, which takes no account of human beings or their stratum of living, or be homeless.

Every single one of the disqualified families became, on the 1st September, 1967, a Reference No. on a card Index, to be moved at the stroke of a pen, nobody knows when or to what size and type of letting, nor do they know who their next door neighbour will be. They are just family units to be housed according to a Housing Code, and they cease to be individual human beings at all.

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All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by S. Duncan, of 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

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Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

MET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons geregtigheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land. Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf van onderlinge vertroue en verdraagsaamheid, van die onskendbaarheid van beloftes, van moed vir die toekoms, van vrede en regverdigheid teenoor alle persone en rasse. Ons belof 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.