

Vol. 13. No. 4  
February 1970  
Price: 30c

# SASH

**The Black Sash magazine**

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FEBRUARY 1970

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In a very interesting article in this issue of Sash Mr. Lawrence Morgan discusses the resettlement of the African population in Natal. Mr. Morgan has made a particular study of this field and the facts and figures he presents are invaluable.

Mr. Morgan speaks of our "pathological urge to translate everything into political attitudes" and the need for "perspective which will enable us to view Bantu resettlement . . . not merely as an exercise in Black or White logistics, but essentially as a problem of human ecology."

We are aware of the urgent need for sound economic planning, industrial decentralisation and rural renewal in South Africa and would welcome wholeheartedly planning which was based on the need to solve the modern problems of a rapidly industrialising society, but, it is our contention that the whole structure of South African social and economic planning is built on the political foundation of the Nationalist ideology of Apartheid and not on the 'problem of human ecology'. Removals and resettlements are being carried out primarily for the purpose of forcing African people out of 'white' areas into the homelands. 13 million Africans (and this figure is thought to be grossly underestimated) are supposed to occupy 13.7% of South Africa's land while 3½ million whites have the rest. Social and developmental factors are being ignored in favour of white political imperatives.

The homelands are already poverty stricken and almost without employment opportunities except for those few fortunate areas which happen to be sited near growing white towns. The situation is being aggravated by the *political* actions of the white government in forcing more and more people into economically hopeless areas. Natal is exceptionally fortunate in having such a close geographical connection between white and black areas but this does not apply in the other provinces.

Until economic planning is seen to be based on a concern for the future prosperity and wellbeing of people and not on "black and white logistics" we maintain that political action is of first importance. The Black Sash does not concede the Nationalist claim that the whole subject of separate development and its practical implementation has been removed from the sphere of South African politics.

In 'n baie interresante artikel in hierdie uitgawe van die Swart Serp, bespreek Mnr. Lawrence Morgan die hervestiging van die Bantoe bevolking in Natal.

Mnr. Morgan praat van ons „patologiese drang om alles in terme van politieke houdings te vertolk”, en die behoefte aan „perspektief wat ons in staat sal stel om Bantoe hervestiging . . . nie net te sien as swart of wit verhuisings nie, maar werk as die probleem van menslike gewoontes en aanpassings”.

Ons is bewus van die dringende behoefte aan gesonde ekonomiese beplanning, industriële desentralisasie, en landbou verbeterings, in Suid-Afrika, en sou heelhartig 'n plan verwelkom wat gebaseer is op die behoefte om moderne probleme van die samelewing, wat vinnig besig is om te industrialiseer, op te los, maar ons beweer, dat die hele struktuur van Suid-Afrikaanse sosiale en ekonomiese beplanning fondament van die Nasionale Party ideologie van apartheid, en nie erkenning gee aan menselike behoeftes nie. Verhuising en hervestiging word in die eerste plek uitgevoer met die doel oor Bantoes uit die blanke gebiede te dwing na die Bantoe tuislande. Dertien miljoene Bantoe (en die syfer word beskou as 'n growwe onderskatting) word veronderstel om 13.7% van die land se grond te besit terwyl 3½ miljoen blankes die res besit. Sosiale en ontwikkelings faktore word oor die hoof gesien ten gunste van wit politieke eise.

Die tuislande is reeds so arm met min werkgeleenthede, met uitsondering van 'n paar bevoorregte gebiede wat na aan „blanke” dorpsgebiede geleë is. Die posisie word net vererger deur die *politieke* stappe van die wit Regering, wat meer en meer mense dwing na dele wat ekonomies sonder hoop is.

In teenstelling met die ander provinsies is Natal in die besondere gelukkige posisie dat sy noue geografiese verbindings tussen wit en swart wyke het.

Tot sulke tyd dat dit duidelik word dat ons ekonomiese beplanning voort spruit uit besorgheid vir die welvaart en geluk van mense, en nie berus op swart en wit verhuisings en hervestigings nie, meen ons dat politieke aksie baie belangrik is. Die Swart Serp neem nie die Nasionale Party bewering, dat die die hele aangeleentheid van aparte ontwikkeling, en die praktiese uitvoering daarvan, nou buite die politieke staan, aan nie.

# SOUTH AFRICA, 2,000 A.D.

## An Exercise in Crystal Gazing

Dr. H. L. WATTS

*Dr. Watts is the director of the Institute for Social Research, Natal University, Durban. He gave this talk at the national conference of the Black Sash in October 1969.*

In the course of this talk I want to share with you some ideas, about the development of South Africa up to the year 2000. I must admit right at the outset that the topic is an extremely detailed, intricate, and wide-ranging one. Therefore I have deliberately selected only a limited number of aspects to consider. In essence these will all relate to what I have regarded as one of the crucial social processes occurring in South Africa at the present time. I have sub-titled the talk 'An Exercise in Crystal-Gazing', for from one point of view that is what scientific prediction is. All my guesses about the future are not just shots in the dark, but are based on a careful examination of current trends. At the same time, as a social scientist, I am nonetheless standing in the tradition of the seer and the crystal-gazer. Perhaps I have not got a crystal ball with me this afternoon, but from one point of view the computer and the electronic desk calculator are only sophisticated instruments used in an attempt to see into the darkness of the unknown. Therefore, for a while, I am going to wear the mantle of the seer and share with you some visions.

**A FIRST STEP** in trying to gauge the future development of South Africa is to take a long, hard look at where we are now. After all, the future is always a development from the present, and unless we have some understanding of the present our predictions about the future are likely to be very shaky indeed — particularly in my case as I cannot lay claim to the divine inspiration of a prophet!

If you were to look at South Africa at the present time I wonder what you would choose as the most important process at work. Different people would possibly think of different things. For me the process of urbanization and industrialization in South Africa is the most important element in the present situation. In order to understand why I am making this point, I think it is necessary to spend a short while looking at the position in regard to urbanization throughout the world generally.

Because urbanization is occurring throughout the world we, in this present generation, tend to rather overlook certain salient features. First and foremost it is a trend which from one point of view is unique in the history of man, and is transforming every aspect of his existence as a social animal. We can simply define the process of urbanization as a greater and greater *proportion* of people living in towns. As a process it has had a long history, and it can safely be said that some 5000 years ago true towns appeared in the Middle East. But — and this is a very im-

portant proviso — for most of human history, the rate of development of urbanization has been very slow. Secondly, for most of human history the size of urban areas has been small. To illustrate both these points, it is estimated that in the year 1800 only 3% of the total population of the world were living in towns of 5000 persons or more. A century later, by 1900, this figure has jumped to 13.6% or more than a four-fold increase. In 1960 the proportion of the world's population living in towns of 5000 people or more was estimated at 33%. Kingsley Davis, who is one of the world authorities on urbanization, and works at the University of California, has estimated that by the year 2000, 54.5% (or more than half) of the world's population will be in urban areas. Secondly, to quote a few examples, Rome in the classical era covered only about 5000 acres. Yet, the city was unusually large for those days. London in the 15th Century was a very large city with 45,000 people — to put it colloquially, by present-day standards, only 'peanuts'. While by the end of the 18th Century London had 800,000 people, the regional centres in England were small and seldom had over 50,000 inhabitants.

Urbanization today has taken a great leap — not only in the sense of more and more of the world's population living in urban areas, but also most significantly we are now seeing more and more people living in one particular area. In other words, urban areas are greatly

increasing in size, and we are witnessing the emergence now of the large-scale mass society. This mass society, which is to a considerable degree impersonal, is unique in the history of mankind. Again, to quote some figures, in 1950 it was estimated that only 16% of the world's population was living in cities of 100,000 persons or more. By the year 2000 Kingsley Davis estimates for the world as a whole the figure will be 39%. In 1960 again, New York had 14,000,000 people — it is estimated that next year it will still be the largest city in the world with 16,000,000.

### Three factors

This process of urbanization in fact, is being fed by three different factors — an increasing urbanization of the population in the sense that a greater and greater proportion of people are living in urban areas; secondly, a very rapid population growth in the world; and thirdly, an increasing concentration of population in larger and larger cities. In regard to the second factor, perhaps I should illustrate just how rapid this population growth is. Again we are dealing with a process which is unique in human history. It took the many thousands of years of man's existence on this planet prior to 1850 to produce a population of about 1,000,000,000 persons. Seventy-five years later — note just 75 years later — the 2,000,000,000 mark was reached, while the 3,000,000,000 mark was reached only 37 years later in 1962. At this rate if the trend continues — and one is inclined to say God forbid — the 4,000,000,000 mark will come up in 15 years, and after that the 5,000,000,000 mark in  $7\frac{1}{2}$  years, and so on. In other words, only within the last three centuries at the outside has the world's population taken a sudden jump. From this angle, the leap to the moon is nearly as large a leap as that which the number of men on this earth has taken within, from the point of view of geological time, the very very recent past.

### A giant leap

All these processes which I have been describing, which urbanization to a considerable extent sums up, are of course the result of major technological changes. Without very far-reaching changes in the means of production and distribution, all the processes I have been describing would not have been possible. In other words the agricultural and medical revolutions, and the industrial revolution — all of which are still continuing in our own

time — have been responsible for this picture which I have described as unique in human history. For many thousands of years man has been largely a rural animal, with a very, very slowly growing population. He has lived close to the soil, and he has been more controlled by the world around him than controlling it. Now man has made this sudden giant leap into astronomical numbers, into enormous conglomerations of human habitation, because of means of production, distribution and, of course, consumption which our ancestors would have regarded as either magic or the work of the devil.

What does all this mean for South Africa?

South Africa is showing these processes of a changing technology, population growth, urbanization and urban concentration. At the present time the trends are not as pronounced as in some parts of the world. Nonetheless, I believe these trends will have the major impact on South African society in the years ahead. Let me now proceed to develop this theme and to give you evidence as well as prognostications, and also share with you some hopes.

### The major impact

South Africa is showing these processes of a changing technology, population growth, urbanization and urban concentration. At the present time the trends are not as pronounced as in some parts of the world. Nonetheless, I believe these trends will have the major impact on South African society in the years ahead. Let me now proceed to develop this theme and to give you evidence as well as prognostications, and also share with you some hopes.

Our first overall census in South Africa was taken after the Anglo-Boer War in 1904. There were just over 5,000,000 souls at that time. I guess that a century ago in the 1860's the total population of South Africa was probably something of the order of half that number — say 2,500,000. Today a century later our total population is over the 16,000,000 mark. At the time of the 1960 census we had 3,000,000 Whites, 1,500,000 Coloureds, 500,000 Asiatics (who were nearly all Indians), and almost 11,000,000 Africans. Official estimates show that by the year 2000 South Africa may have as many as about 42,000,000 people. The jump from say  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 million people in the middle 19th Century to perhaps 42 million one and a half centuries later shows the degree of population growth — due to both migration, and,

of course, today, due to the rapidly dropping death rate producing an increasing excess of births over deaths.

At the 1960 Population Census there were ten cities with a total population of 100,000 or more each. These account for about one-quarter of the South African population. My estimate is that by the year 2000 perhaps one-third of our population, or some 14,000,000 will be living in these ten South African cities.

#### Detailed estimates

It is only for Durban that I have careful detailed estimates, made after considerable study. In 1960 Durban had very roughly 700,000 people living within the metropolitan area. Our estimate at the Institute for Social Research is that by the year 2000, Durban could have over 2½ million people. Making similar but rather more rapid estimates — and therefore possibly cruder estimates — I estimate that Johannesburg in the four decades from 1960 to the year 2000 may jump from just over one million to 2½ million people. Cape Town may increase from 800,000 to 2 million. Port Elizabeth, which has been growing very rapidly could develop from 300,000 people in 1960 to 1½ million in the year 2000 — although I rather suspect that the rate of growth for that city will slow down somewhat and we will see a slower development latterly. Taking the Witwatersrand-Pretoria complex as a whole, to use a nasty word, as a conurbation — the population could increase from 2 million in 1960 to 4 million in the year 2000.

I have figures for the percentage of the South African population living in urban areas from 1904 onwards. In that year just over half the Whites, and just over a third of the Indians were in rural areas. Today, not far short of nine-tenths of the Whites and Indians are in urban areas, and I estimate by the year 2000 less than 10% of each race will be in rural areas. Half the Coloureds in the year 1904 were living in urban areas. I estimate that four-fifths will be in urban areas at the turn of the century. When we come to the Africans, we have the most marked change of all. In the year 1904 an estimated one-eighth of the African population were in urban areas — no doubt as very temporary migrants. At the 1960 Census about one-third were in urban areas. The projection of the trend up to the year 2000 is a bit uncertain, because we are not sure to what extent government policy will be successful in attempting to turn Africans away from White

areas. Kingsley Davis, in a very recent study undertaken for a 'Focus on Cities' Conference held in 1968 at the University of Natal, has suggested that figures show that the rate of urbanization of the Africans in South Africa is rather slower than one would expect on the basis of other models, and that therefore government policy is working to an extent. However, if we do ever see true development of the homelands — and believe me, whatever one's political convictions may or may not be, these homelands need development desperately — then we will of course see the emergence of urban areas in the homelands as well as in the White areas of South Africa. I feel this is a logical pattern, and therefore it may be fair to project the existing African trend. If so, just under half of the Africans by the year 2000 will be living in urban areas. The jump from just over a tenth to about a half in urban areas in a century is a dramatic change, with very far-reaching irreversible social effects.

#### Need for homeland development

At this stage I would like to pause and underline again how great is the need for development in the homelands, and also in some of the similarly economically-depressed White rural areas of South Africa. This development is needed regardless of the political credo of whatever party happens to be in power at the moment. As has been pointed out for instance by Hobart Houghton, South Africa has a plural economy. There is, on the one hand, the wealthy developed, industrial urban civilization of the towns and cities; and on the other hand, the poverty-stricken and depressed subsistence economy of vast rural areas, mainly inhabited by the Africans. This poverty and underdevelopment is a tremendous challenge to our social conscience — and it is also a wonderful opportunity. While I am no economist I must sadly confess (on the basis of what I hear from those who are experts in this field) that our efforts at development are pitifully small in the face of the present need — and this despite the fact that the present government is doing more in this regard than any of its predecessors. As Lady Barbara Jackson has pointed out in an address she gave in Durban in June of last year, if we talk of separate development, let it be *development*. I contend that we are challenged, in the final analysis, to make this development not because of political expediency, not because of the need for a balanced economy in South Africa, however import-

ant, but because of the demands of common humanity. Whether of course such development is easily possible, and to what extent we can envisage development, are different matters, and I could talk to you about them until the small hours of the morning!

What are the implications of what I am saying? There are several important ones which I want to share with you.

#### Urban industrial economy

First and foremost, the emergence and continuing rapid development of an urban industrial economy in South Africa is pulling more and more people within the orbit of urban life and work, with all it implies. You have already heard how by the turn of the century very much the largest majority of Whites and Indians — nine-tenths — and also of Coloureds — four-fifths — are likely to live in urban areas. I think that this means for Whites by the year 2000 our rural heritage will be largely history, perhaps of vital interest only to the oldest people — alas for those who lay great store by our rural heritage! Some years ago I listened to a symposium on the Afrikaans programme of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. All the participants were, with one accord, bewailing the loss of the rural heritage of Afrikaners, and saying that this heritage must be clung to at all costs as it represented the spiritual strength and vitality of their people. Be that as it may, increasingly we will find that not only the English but also the Afrikaner will be an urban man, with urban thoughts and an industrial outlook. This likewise is increasingly true of the Coloureds and the Indians.

#### Experience of urban areas

When we come to look at the impact of urbanization on the African, we see a tremendous social change taking place. Today already, by means of the migratory labour system, nearly all adults in the African population have had some experience of urban areas, and there are those who have had no experience of rural areas. Recently I completed a study of African households in Johannesburg, Durban, Pretoria, and several smaller areas in South Africa. What struck me most forcibly was that while in the urban townships one was not dealing with a completely western population, one was dealing with an urban population — urban in terms of values and aspirations and outlooks — a population which in many instances had become urbanized only during the last twenty years or so. An African urban industrial

working class population confronted me and my colleagues during the survey. Increasingly the African will become an urban and an industrial population. I do not believe that by the year 2000 the African will be fully westernized — indeed I doubt whether that will ever be the case. But, he will have urban values and urban aspirations, and will want the type of things which only an urban society can give. This will be true equally of those living and working in the cities of today, as well as those who, as the result of border industries, will live in new urban areas on the fringe of the homelands. Industrial urbanization has smashed forever the fabric of tribal Bantu society. This process is irreversible. Economic development and urbanization will increasingly, in the years ahead, produce an urban African population with a brand of westernization which is already becoming evident. What is being produced is a composite of some traditional elements with many recognisably western, urban elements.

#### Rapid social change

Urbanization is a world-wide phenomenon, and throughout the world, in terms of certain basic characteristics, it casts men in a common mould. These characteristics are, among others, a desire for the economic goods produced by industry, and which can be afforded by those with an urban standard of living. The status symbols of an urban society are aspired to. Education, which is so important within urban areas, becomes a significant ladder for social climbing. Rapid social change resulting from tremendous technological development and invention is a hallmark of modern urban society. In South Africa urbanization will stamp all our peoples — white, yellow, brown, and black alike. Increasingly in the years ahead, in terms of characteristics and outlook, South Africans will be more urban than anything else, whatever their background.

As a result of the patterns I have been describing we will see, and indeed will require, occupational shifts within our society. Occupation determines much of an individual's life chances and life experiences. There will be, as there is already, a gradual but definite shift for all races into white-collar jobs. This process is a world-wide one associated with urban and industrial development and it will particularly affect the non-whites, (especially the Africans) who have the greatest leeway to make up in development. In 1936 the non-White population in the Republic was almost entirely manual-working. By 1960 a signifi-

cant proportion of all the non-White races were in white-collar jobs. But, to give you an idea of how great a room there is still for change, taking the South African population as a whole, in 1960 72% of all our people were unskilled manual workers, and only just over 1 in 8 were white-collar workers in either clerical and commercial work, or professional and managerial jobs. At the present time our economy appears to be about three-quarters of a century behind the U.S. pattern, and I believe that by the year 2000 we will be perhaps halfway towards the present United States pattern. This will have great impacts on the values, goals and aspirations of South Africa's people — they will be more and more cast in the mould of urban, and perhaps urban middleclass, values.

### Shift to middle-class positions

Because of our labour shortages, and South Africa's need to use every worker to the full, we will see amongst our non-Whites an increasing acceleration of the present trends of occupational diversification and the partial shift from working class to middle-class positions.

Urbanization will demand major improvements in our education for the population as a whole. I believe — and hope — that by the year 2000 our plural economy will be rapidly disappearing, and that we will achieve an ever-expanding urban industrial economy. There will be rising non-White standards of education and living associated with this change. Now somewhere between a third to two-thirds, and occasionally more, of urban Africans, Indians and Coloureds are in poverty. (The figures vary from town to town). Under conditions of rising education and a rising standard of living, we will see demands from the non-Whites for better housing, better suburbs, greater opportunities for development, and equal pay — after all if we talk of separate development, sooner or later we will be told this must imply equal development.

By the year 2000 we will have important problems to solve — problems associated with urbanization, and metropolitan growth, with which the western urban world is already all too familiar. Perhaps we in South Africa who are developing later and more slowly than the western world will have a chance to learn by the mistakes of others! Planning is increasingly being recognised in South Africa as important, and given the type of population and urban growth which I portrayed earlier

I believe that planning is going to be of fundamental importance. One of the elements of this planning is going to be the question of the optimum size of a city. How big should the city be? This is a hotly-debated topic which has not yet been solved, and I think that optimum size depends on the particular aim you have in mind. In other words there are optimum sizes for different purposes. Professor Spengler, in 1968 at our 'Focus on Cities' Conference in Durban, suggested a population of a quarter of a million was the optimum size for a city. This being so, then Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and probably Bloemfontein will by the turn of the century be well beyond the optimum size. Ought we to have a position where people of all races are ultimately prohibited from moving to a particular city, once it has reached optimum size? Should only those who are required to replace migrants moving out of a city be allowed in, provided they have skills which are needed for that city?

### Freedom of movement?

This idea of influx control is one which cuts right across the concept of freedom of movement as being one of the basic freedoms of mankind. Yet, I find myself wondering how long we can afford to have complete freedom of movement. To quote an extreme example, New York next year will have 16 million people. Maybe I am old-fashioned, but I shudder at the thought of having to live in a city of that tremendous size. From my perhaps very limited viewpoint, a city of 16 million is a monstrosity, and I think the advantages are more than outweighed by the many disadvantages. Yet, if the trend continues, by the year 2000 a city of 16 million will be relatively small. Furthermore, even today New York is only part of a large megalopolis made up of over 100 miles of Eastern Seaboard of America. Can we afford to allow this process to go on indefinitely, or must we ruthlessly limit city size in order to prevent conditions of living which we regard as being disastrous for mankind? Experiments with animals show that over a certain density of population, the animals cease to breed and the population declines. Man is an animal — will he too behave likewise? If we do feel some limitation of city size is necessary, then if not by the year 2000 in South Africa, certainly in the future beyond that there will come the day when influx control would have to be applied to all races in particular areas.



The influx control could be either of people, and/or of businesses and industrial enterprises. Are we, with African influx control, and industrial decentralization already seeing the beginning of this process of control? Influx control may not, in itself, be a bad thing — it might be the lesser of two evils, in which case the question is not whether we have influx control or not, but how it be administered, and that we must have adequate machinery to ensure that there shall be no injustice to individuals, no disrupting of family life, no committing of people to poverty. These requirements call for a far more flexible, far more humane, and a far more intelligent planning structure than anything which the western world has yet managed to evolve. The best we seem to have achieved so far is a kind of nightmarish bureaucratic system which stumbles forever in a morass of red tape, with a fiendish exponential development on the basis of some Parkinsonian Law.

### Mile-high buildings

Given huge city populations in future, a colleague of mine has predicted mile-high buildings. While man is infinitely adjustable, I am thankful that I personally will not live to see that day. Perhaps rural ties are still unknowingly strong within me! — for I do cling to the earth and the idea of being a mile high seems to me halfway to being in orbit, which as far as I am concerned is for the birds — and astronauts. If we don't want huge cities with such tall buildings, influx control and population curbs will be essential.

Another problem which we should be tackling now, and not waiting for the year 2000, is the question of urban poverty and maladjustment resulting from rural people being sucked into the vortex of our rapidly expanding urban life, without any skills or prior adaptation to urban living. I refer to the poverty and problems particularly of our non-Whites, as by contrast, the problem of poor-White poverty has largely been solved. If two-thirds of our urban non-Whites are in poverty, particularly in the small areas, what are we doing about their economic development and uplift *now*? What are we doing to aid adjustment of rural people to urban ways of life? We should take a long hard look at what the Americans are doing in their attempts to assist Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, streaming into the cities in the north, to adjust, and we could well try and use these same techniques in South Africa. Our industries — whether they be in White cities or in bor-

der areas — are pulling hundreds of thousands off the land into urban areas and into a new sphere of existence. Problems of poverty, malnutrition, family life, and social dislocation are all too frequent. The position may not be as bad as it was a quarter of a century ago immediately after the war, but nonetheless we are faced with a challenge. I hope by the year 2000 our social conscience, together with our desire to improve our own lot by stimulating the economy through the improvement of our brothers' lot, will have improved the position considerably.

As automation has a greater impact on our society towards the end of the century, the problem of technological misfits could become a serious problem. It is a problem that is emerging now in Europe and North America, and may well be a problem with us by the turn of the century. In an editorial in the February 1969 issue of 'Frontier' there is the following challenging comment about Western European society:—

'... it is very doubtful whether any acquisitive society can survive into the next century . . . The trouble with an acquisitive society in the new conditions that are coming is that it tends to reject those who are not successful in their acquisitions. With tens of millions of technological redundancies we may find ourselves with tens of millions of rejected members of society. The poverty and deprivations of the inner cities of America show one thing that can happen to rejects; but it is not only a matter of poverty. Even if you provided everyone in the inner cities with a comfortable home and a good income, they would still feel rejects. And rejects they would be, for they would not have passed the standards set by a society that is still acquisitive and is still rapidly becoming more competitive.'

From this point of view I hope that our economic development up to the year 2000 will be such that we will have gained many of the advantages of the development that Europe and North America have gained, but that disadvantages of this type will not yet have hit us. We still have to wipe out the problem of maladjustment and poverty resulting from urbanization, without having any further problem landed in our laps.

An important area of South African society is intergroup relations. This is an area frequently spoken about, politically debated, and polemically argued about. Often, alas, emo-

tional nonsense is put forth, and nothing more. There are so many variables involved that forecasting is most difficult. So I will not attempt to lift the veil on this aspect of South Africa in the year 2000. However, I will comment that increasing economic development — i.e., urbanization and industrialization — will not leave us as we are, and all

the processes I have described will impinge on group relations too.

The challenges are great, the opportunities immense — I hope we will rise to them. Our European forebears recreated the face of Western Society, I think on the whole for the better; what will we and our children do with South Africa?

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## PROFESSOR J. S. MARAIS

**PROFESSOR J. S. MARAIS** died suddenly in Johannesburg in November, 1969. His wife, Anna, is the national vice-president of the Black Sash and we were greatly saddened both for her and because Etienne Marais was a good friend to the Black Sash from its earliest beginnings. He bequeathed laughter and joy to those who knew him.

Dominee Beyers Naudé paid this tribute to him at his funeral. There are no better words with which to express our love and admiration.

“Professor Marais will be remembered by the warmth and friendliness of his personality, his uncompromising commitment to honesty and truth, his unquestioned integrity and his fearless stand for social justice. These will be the marked characteristics by which Etienne Marais will be remembered and his memory cherished by his wife, his children, his colleagues and his friends. We are grateful for such a life and for the fact that he passed away without any illness or pain.

When I reflect on the life of Professor Marais I am always reminded of Christ's words in John 8:32 where he says: ‘And you will know the truth and the truth will make you free.’ For Etienne Marais will be remembered for his search after truth—a search clearly shown in his approach as an academician to the subject he loved so dearly — history. Without any partisanship, with an objectiveness and scientific approach which made him one of the great historians of our country, he pursued his research and published his findings. This deep respect for truth was the dominant factor in his historical writings which will be honoured for their reliability long after his personal memory has passed away.

He will be remembered for his demand for integrity. All those of us who knew him

were aware of his insistence upon integrity—in his own life as well as in those of all around him. He evaluated the significance of people's actions in terms of their moral integrity. He despised all hypocrisy and cant and always wished to ensure that the motive of his actions should be pure and clear. Wherever anybody sincerely respects truth the question of integrity comes into play. Integrity is always the sign of honesty and purity. Etienne Marais' integrity was never questioned because falsehood was foreign to his character.

He will be remembered for his stand for social justice. The urge for truth and integrity inevitably and unavoidably leads a human being to involvement in social concerns. One who loves truth, who values integrity is also the one who advocates for social justice. This explains why Etienne Marais could never be the kind of person who would be satisfied to live in an academic cloister — he had to move out to meet men where they live and suffer. This was the reason for his willingness to become chairman of the Open Universities Liaison Committee when the threat of exclusion of non-white students from the campuses of our universities was imminent. The same explanation applies to his chairmanship of the Academic Freedom Committee where he was willing to champion worthy and lofty causes however unpopular this made him to many.

These worthy characteristics linked to one another — truth, integrity, justice enacted in deep sincerity — moral values all too little acknowledged and honoured in our present-day society in South Africa. With more men of such calibre our country could be truly called great and free. This was the greatness of Christ who wishes all his followers to listen and to accept his words: ‘You will know the truth and the truth will make you free.’”

# SEPARATISM OR SEPARATION

## A discussion of Separatism in America as compared with the policy of Apartheid or Separate Development

VIOLET PADAYACHI

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You cannot clog  
My direction.  
Life's pattern's  
My own  
To decide.

I have arrived  
Within myself —  
liberated.

*From: "My Thing",  
by Horace Mungin.*

**T**HIS POEM SYMBOLISES to me the Black American spirit today and is the major theme of the Black Revolution — expressed in cries for liberation, self determination and for a positive identity. It embodies a refusal to be oppressed, restricted or relegated to a state of nothingness, but rather a security in the awareness of having arrived at last, "knowing who I am".

The Oxford dictionary defines "separatism" as follows: physically disconnected, forming a unit that is or may be regarded as apart or by itself, distinct, to cede from, go different ways.

This is not the best definition but describes enough of what separatist movements have spelled out over the years, and will be used as a framework for this paper.

The whole concept of separatism in America is not a new theme and to a student following the historical evolution of Black Americans in this country, a move in this direction could perhaps have been predicted. Over the years most protest movements have embodied the separatist theme in varying degrees, sometimes more strongly advocated than at other times. The recent emphasis towards separatism seems to me yet another effort on the part of the Black man to shake off the image of nothingness, inferiority and to assert his worth, to validate his claim to human rights. Since the onset of slavery, Black people have

protested against enslavement, subordination, and cruelty. The Black man has always felt the alienation from the mainstream of American life — both economic and political. Although the various civil rights struggles strove towards integrating the Black and White American, the efficacy of this method is now being questioned. James Weldon Johnson wrote: "There comes a time when the most persistent integrationist becomes an isolationist, when he curses the White world and consigns it to hell." Is it any wonder that waves of separatism have permeated the various movements and persisted throughout the years. The main thrust of the Negro revolution has been to take a rightful place in American life, side by side with white Americans, with the emphasis on political and economic opportunity. Several Negro leaders have over the years stressed separation. Booker T. Washington for instance, preached separation of the races but sought to train Negroes to be integrated into the economic life of the country, the ultimate aim being equal rights on all levels of life. C. Eric Lincoln asserted that, "nationalism" of the American Negro was not voluntary, but was prompted by a desire to set himself apart in order to preserve some cultural values and was a defensive response to external forces which threaten his creative existence.

Elijah Muhammad's teachings were that the only solution to the Black man's problems was "complete separation from the White man!" He felt that no sane black man would opt for integration into the corrupt society of the white man, and that his salvation lay in separating from it, "to a land of your own, where we can reform ourselves, to lift up our moral standards."

### Separation not segregation

Malcolm X attempted to define separation as not being synonymous with segregation. He said, "we reject segregation, we want separa-

tion. Segregation is when your life and liberty is controlled, regulated by someone else. To segregate means to control. Segregation is that which is forced upon inferiors by superiors. But separation is that which is done voluntarily by two equals — for the good of both!”

Aruthur Lewis (New York Times magazine 5/11/69) drew clearly the differences in the issue of segregation elsewhere in the world and as it is viewed in America. Blacks everywhere else in the world strenuously fight against segregation, even though they may be in the majority in some of the countries. He says however, there are situations where the minority may strengthen itself by temporary self segregation and this has occurred with minority groups here in the U.S., not just peculiar to the Afro-American. While there is integration by day, there is segregation by night, as each racial and ethnic group goes off to their separate social life. This segregation however, is voluntary and not imposed by law. For all its stand on separate development in South Africa, the Government has been unable to keep the races strictly apart. For sheer survival each group is mutually interdependent on the other. This dependence is often a feature of multiracial societies, each race or ethnic group having a contribution to make to the other. In South Africa, the white man has the good fortune to be at the top of the heap and runs the show. However, he has this position only because the Black man's sweat and toil makes this possible. The country depends on the Black man's labour. South Africa produces 74% of the free world's gold and plays an important role in maintaining the gold standard. Could the country have this important role in the international monetary world without the Black man's contribution? I doubt it!

The revolutionary movement among Blacks in the U.S.A. has passed through many phases — from the first efforts of fighting for emancipation from slavery to the nationalist movements of recent years. One persistent theme throughout has been the demand for a positive assertion of the Negroes' blackness, and the goal has been to have this acknowledged. This concept has operated within the Negro protest movement in two ways and has led it in two directions simultaneously: wanting out and wanting in. Wanting out has been expressed in several ways. In the early nineteenth century, free Negroes broke away from established churches and set up independent

religious bodies to escape prejudice and to be able to run their own affairs. This led to similar action in other fields — newspapers, schools etc.

#### "Back to Africa" movement

There were also the various efforts to emigrate, yet another way of wanting out. In 1862, President Lincoln promised governmental aid to those wanting to leave. Marcus Garvey in the 1920's revived the emigration scheme, popularly known as the 'Back to Africa' movement and he got as many as 4 million interested people. His main goal however, was building Black economic power in the ghettos, which was yet another form of opting out.

#### Economic and political control

In the 1930's the popularity of the 'Black Nation' concept of the communist party and in modern day black nationalism, there is again the common theme of wresting economic and political control of black neighbourhoods from the white power structure. The most militant elements in the current movement want 'out' in the sense that they have decided to end co-operation with the liberal established in and outside of the government and to go it alone. An example of this is the Lowndes County Freedom Party which attempted to take over control of Alabama county by political action. Local groups in the north too have moved towards gaining control of community boards of the Office of Economic Opportunity, or they have demanded control of local school boards, community centres and are making known their feelings in community efforts across the board — in health, education, welfare, religion etc. A great deal of governmental attention in recent years has been focussed on the Negro for two reasons: the Negro vote and the Negro protest of the 1960's. In essence it all boils down to an increased awareness of the Negro as being a power to contend with — his vote and therefore his role in the balance of power has increased and for no other reason is he now the centre of attention and controversy. Black power has made its presence felt.

#### Wanting in

A large part of the movement has however always wanted in and has sought to fight for Negro rights within the system and by its rules — its main aim being for Negroes to take their rightful place in American life — alongside the white. The main goal has been integration, with whites and blacks working

towards this — in the areas of transportation, schools, housing, jobs, politics and economics.

A pertinent question to pose at this point would be — can conditions be alleviated or changed to persuade the Black man to join the majority society rather than leave it — or to fight to change the system itself? It would be too simplistic to suggest that inclusion would solve all that exclusion from American society over 300 years has reinforced. Economic and other deprivation, exploitation and the massive indignities perpetrated against Black people will not be wiped out overnight. There has always been a resistance to accepting the Black man as an equal and a human being. This is something I know and understand so well. South Africa has an equally black record of discrimination and oppression of its majority citizens for almost 300 years too. The United States and South Africa are blood brothers in more ways than one, except that the American system has a slightly more subtle and sophisticated approach and the South Africans spell it out with no holds barred.

#### Apartheid in South Africa

What then are the implications of apartheid in South Africa? To different people it connotes different things — the black man interprets it differently, as does the white man, and to the liberal and the white nationalist conservative it has another meaning. Most whites see it through rose coloured glasses because they are anaesthetized most of the time and it is far too painful to dwell on.

The official government viewpoint on apartheid is as follows: "In South Africa with its multi-national population, the policy of separate development has been evolved in an endeavour to find a satisfactory pattern for the harmonious co-existence of divergent national communities with the same geopolitical borders." (S.A. Information Service booklet, 1968). To quote the Prime Minister, John Vorster (1968) who said, "I believe in the policy of separate development, not only as a philosophy but also as the only practical solution in the interests of everyone to eliminate friction, and to justice to every population group as well as every individual. Separate development is not a denial of human dignity of anyone. On the contrary, it gives the opportunity to every individual within his own sphere, not only to be a man or woman in every sense, but it also creates the opportunity for them to develop and advance without restriction or frustration as circumstances justi-

fy, and in accordance with the demands of developments achieved. Every population group has something of its own, that is beautiful and that can be developed." A rather long winded fairy tale but fervently believed by the white sheep who follow without question! Unfortunately I have heard similar viewpoints voiced by certain black militant leaders who also fervently believe that developing on ones own, and the "black is beautiful" bit has merit. They might change their minds if they spent one day in the South African milieu watching the police implement this separate development nightmare! Mr. Vorster's "dressed up" version of separate development is of course specially designed to allay fears and to lure the American and other tourists and all individuals who still believe in myths and fairy stories, to this White man's paradise.

The National Party's stand when they came to power in 1948 was as follows: "In general terms our policy envisages segregating the most important ethnic groups and sub-groups in their own areas where every group will be enabled to develop into a self sufficient unit. We endorse the general principal of territorial segregation of the Black (Africans, Coloured and Asian) and the whites. The African in the urban areas should be regarded as migratory citizens, not entitled to political or social rights equal to those of the whites. The process of detribalization should be arrested." (1947 election manifesto of the National Party.)



From the beginning there were two co-existing concepts of apartheid. One was that the races should be sub-divided into tribes and be completely segregated into self-sufficient territories. The other was that apartheid was not only to mean complete territorial segregation but a more rigid enforcement of non-white social, economic and political inferiority!

### Voteless majority

I should stress here that the non-white people of South Africa, having no vote, have no voice in deciding what is or is not for their benefit. They number at least 15,170,000 and are a voteless majority while all the power lies in the hands of the white minority of 3½ million. Furthermore, it is hoped that while the political and economic aspirations of the Africans, Coloured and Indian groups would be met by 'separate development', the privileges of the white South African will be guaranteed. So much for the hypocritical statements about the benefits blacks will derive from the system. We have had 20 painful years of white domination at its worst, during which time valiant efforts on the part of the oppressed groups to oppose the system have resulted in more stringent laws to put down any resistance. South Africa has built up powerful military and economic armour to secure a total hegemony over the black people of South Africa who are kept under a form of medieval slavery. Our best black leaders rot in prison, are banned or under house arrest or have fled the country and are in exile. It is against the law for black and white to have any joint political affiliations whatsoever! So over the years the granite policy has not cracked one iota but increased in intensity to squash any protest or resistance. An almost totalitarian regime exists and there is not much hope for change in the foreseeable future. The reason for this is very clear. The white man in South Africa has so much to lose. To give blacks an in would be to share his good fortune and he wants the whole pie. There does not appear to be even a stirring of conscience about the inequity of the situation as it stands. As world opinion and criticism of apartheid gathers momentum — it serves only to bring the minority white group closer together firmly determined to hold out to the bitter end.

### Opposition to Apartheid

The policy of apartheid has given rise to opposition. There have been protests, demon-

strations and riots from the non-whites, while among whites opposition to the government's policy has ranged from criticism to more active political involvement.

It would seem that a minority can hardly succeed in preserving its absolute supremacy in all spheres without the use of force. It is therefore not surprising that the implementation of the policy of apartheid has been accompanied by the abuse of police power, a disregard for the integrity of the individual and by indirect control of the press. If the blacks really believed that apartheid was for their good, would there be a need for a police state and force to implement government policy?

The real or imagined fear of counter violence has led those in power to a multiplication of procedures aimed at strengthening the system of apartheid, by destroying all opposition. Anyone vaguely suspected of anti-government views could be detained for 180 days recurring, banned or put under house arrest.

### Separation a failure

In spite of the ideology of apartheid, the uprooting of thousands of families, the complete separation of people into tribal and ethnic groupings has proved a failure. The closely integrated economic structure, the location of all the major industries, all the mineral wealth, the important harbour facilities, all the best arable land in that part of South Africa which is outside the black reserves in white ownership, means that Africans, Asians, and Coloureds remain dependent on the town and farming complex of white South Africa for a livelihood. Even the government's attempt to encourage African owned small scale industries in the Transkei (the first African homeland) has come up against the relative poverty of the area, the comparative lack of natural resources and the lack of accumulated capital. For good or ill therefore the white and black South Africans remain economically interdependent. If blacks need the job opportunities so does white South Africa need their labour to maintain their present industrial and agricultural production and their present high standard of living.

### The mutual need

As I see it black and white Americans are pretty much in the same boat. I cannot see that one can survive without the other or at the expense of the other. I have wondered how black Americans could believe that establishing a separate nation within the United

States can offer any solution to the black/white problems. Separate states for blacks or even separate neighbourhoods does not seem feasible especially considering that blacks are a minority and have not got the same kinds of institutions as whites and cannot depend totally on their own resources to survive. I cannot see that anything is going to change the multiracial composition of this country, and as each group plays a vital part in the life of the other, it would be suicidal to minimise the mutual need. Black power movements are making a strong case for community power to give each neighbourhood control over its own institutions. However, some 50-60% of the labour force moves out every morning to work outside of the neighbourhood and a black strategy which concentrated exclusively on building up the black neighbourhoods would be dealing with less than half of the black man's economic problems. Arthur Lewis in his article (N.Y. Times magazine 5/11/69) states that American economic life is dominated by a few large corporations which do the greater part of the country's business all of which is done in an integrated world, and there is little hope that such corporations as General Motors, Union Carbide or Standard Oil, are going to move their plants to black neighbourhoods. The blacks have few jobs at the top and are mostly concentrated at the bottom. It seems logical for blacks to press for jobs at the top and the middle to enable them to gradually get a bit more of the pie. The ghetto as I see it is not a viable economic unit and one cannot talk about economic development of the ghetto in isolation. To change this there has to be changes in many areas, for the problem is really a political and social one.

### Sweeping generalisations

The white man in South Africa as in America questions the capacity, potentiality and integrity of the black man to function in certain fields. His smallest failure is pounced upon and his ability and success in many areas overlooked. An abuse or misuse of authority or finance calls for a hue and cry and sweeping generalisations are made about all blacks. However the privileged white forgets that for centuries all legitimate means to negotiate or acquire certain benefits was closed to blacks and the only way was to use other and often illegitimate means, which system the white man has not only perpetuated but encouraged. To allow blacks to negotiate legitimately would be to accept him as an equal

and that was not permissible. I therefore reject any suggestion that the black man is less capable of being honest and if he errs in this direction, he is a victim of circumstances and his white counterpart should share the responsibility of his deeds.

### Desire to reject

Arising out of recent militant movements, there is a tendency to reject any white participation in black affairs and their role and presence in some professional institutions is being questioned. I think that some of this is a bit precipitate for although the desire to reject it is strong, the white contribution may still be necessary and the gap left by their going may not always be easily filled, especially in fields of medicine, nursing, social work etc. This might be the eventual goal but hasty action may be to the detriment of the black group. I can sympathise with blacks with wishing to rid themselves of white paternalism. The current feeling is that as long as they are here, black people will continue to be dependent on the white man's contribution.

The separatist movement in America spells out several things to me. I get the impression from whoever is espousing it that it sometimes follows a more literal definition — a break away from and a go it alone policy. At other times it seems to symbolise a wielding of power and a testing of black strength, and by no means should be interpreted as a plea for separate development in the South African sense. Ever since Stokely Carmichael first raised the cry of 'Black Power' he has had both support and condemnation. The moderate black leaders have come out in a spate of criticism of his stand. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP said, "No matter how endlessly they try to explain Black Power, the term means anti-white . . . It has to mean going it alone. It has to mean separation. (Excerpt from Life magazine—article on Stokely Carmichael.) This is I think a limited and short sighted interpretation and appears to come from someone who perhaps does not see himself as being black any longer and I am sure there are many more who think like him. This attitude is only possible because white domination has done such an effective job in stripping black people of their racial identity. They have lost themselves in the white man's world and his value system. Perhaps it is therefore important that they break away from the dominant white influences for a while to re-establish and reinforce what is

peculiarly their own. This could be a massive undertaking because for 300 years the black American has fashioned himself in the image of the white man and adopted his culture and way of life. A search for a new identity will require more than adopting African hair styles and dress. The African heritage has much more to offer than these superficial symbols. The present pressure from black students for courses in black history and culture is not only legitimate but necessary. For too long there have been distortions and deliberately fostered misconceptions of blacks and this must be corrected. Both black and white have been brainwashed about the racial issue and a massive deconditioning process has to be evolved. I feel very strongly that both groups should be exposed to this and that it would be a mistake to keep out white students from this educational process. Both desperately need new insights and one group is not going to benefit at the cost of the other being excluded. In the hassle over technical details of who will teach and what will be taught, there is the danger that the real purpose of such programmes will be obscured. The intent of such programmes should not be just to give psychic refurbishment to blacks who have suffered the ravages of racism but to instil and motivate a commitment of service focussing not just on individual achievement but on creative, productive work that benefits the whole black community.

#### Imposes greater responsibility

Whitney Young, of the National Urban League felt that there would be no dignity in the Negroes' withdrawal from society, that Carmichael preaches. He felt that this would give too many blacks a chance to escape responsibility. This I feel is far too simplistic an interpretation. Far from escaping responsibility, this coming together as a group to resolve the racial dilemma must impose greater responsibility on the individual in terms of decision making for himself. As Floyd McKissick said, "Black Power is a drive to unite the Black man in America in a gigantic effort to erase the effects of alienation, despair and hopelessness. Its got to be good if the white man is against it." The white press makes capital of the black power drive — whipping up fear in the whites who have had white power for 300 years. What most whites forget is that the ideology of separation of the races is the brainchild of the privileged white man who wants to hang on to the goodies! Who separated the black man from the main-

stream of American life and prevented them from a rightful share in the American heritage? The Blacks have never had any choice before and if separatism means putting power in black hands for a change, then I am all for separatism!

#### Ambiguity

Many still believe that the black power slogan means only that Negroes should take pride in their race and organise themselves for political and economic action. Others view it as an anti-white rallying cry. Still others see it as a sort of paramilitary slogan that leads to riots and rebellion. A limited few look upon it as a chant that will ultimately lead the Negro to his own homeland. It strikes me that the very ambiguity of the phrase is its main strength as a rallying cry for the blacks. It has served to bring the most diverse black political groups together because each saw "black power" in his own way. Surely it has served an important function — the creation of solidarity which is a very much needed ingredient if common objectives are to be realised. One of the weaknesses of the past with the 'middle of the road' civil rights groups has been that they were so easily co-opted by the establishment and after a while they were being run and financed and serving white needs instead of black.

What future is there for the separatist trend? A difficult question to answer right now. It depends on the dent they can make with both white and black. Black power has come into its own and perhaps the time is ripe for relevant change in the existing power structure. No longer can white, complacent America relegate 11% of its people to an inferior status. A noticeable feature of the present military groups is the leadership—mostly of young people — very often intellectual, sensitive and impatient for a change. I can see a new order emerging of black people with a pride in their race and colour, no longer cringing and apologetic about their presence and it excites me to have witnessed such a development. I feel reassured that it is happening someplace if not in South Africa just yet. I feel that the emergent African nations, gaining independence and taking their rightful role in world affairs has given the movements here added impetus.

What hope for South Africa? Precious little right now. The situation gets worse daily, with new laws to enforce apartheid in sport, religion, education, welfare, employment etc. The lives of blacks are regimented



beyond belief and I see no glimmer of hope that she might change. America, France and Britain have tremendous investments in South Africa and it is to their advantage that the present order of things remain. South Africa

can rely on their support because of their vested interests, so 15 million blacks can very readily be sacrificed. I see more hope for the American black than there will be in South Africa for a long time to come.

# THE STRATEGIES OF BANTU RESETTLEMENT

LAWRENCE MORGAN

*Mr. Morgan is Agricultural Editor of the Natal Mercury. He specialises in problems of Bantu development. This article is a talk he gave to the Natal Coastal region of the Black Sash.*

**T**HE GRAVEST MATERIAL and physical problem facing South Africa is that of resettling millions of Bantu. The factors determining ultimate success or failure now hang desperately in the balance. The scale of this problem and its decisive role in determining whether or not White South Africans can maintain the viability of their society in the years ahead should logically make its solution a basic issue in any parliamentary general election.

That it is quite unlikely to displace the issues of Maori rugby players, television, and what Dr. Hertzog said to some nonentity 40 years ago is indicative of the widespread ignorance and lack of perspective regarding the realities of the crisis towards which most White South Africans, of all shades of political opinion are so apathetically and perilously drifting.

**W**hile we have not yet reached the point of no return, and while we still retain considerable opportunities for bringing the situation under control, indications of failure are already apparent in some specific facets of the problem.

No longer, for instance, can we justifiably hope that we will be able to overtake the rapidly accumulating backlog in housing, and at the same time retain those structural and amenity standards which we thought in the past to be not only possible but essential. This failure, the roots of which are at least 30 years old, in itself poses a considerable threat to our projected industrial and urban growth points.

If we have considered resettlement in the past, we have usually focused our attention on its tactical implications, rather than on its wider strategical nature. It is the strategies of Bantu resettlement which I wish to discuss this morning. The tactical considerations which concern us from time to time involve the mechanisms and nature of specific "removals": the justice or injustice of government action; the efficiency or blundering,

the heroism or villainy of local officials; the hardships or advantages experienced by those removed. But we tend to give minimal consideration to the broader issues of resettlement — the strategies — in which the removals of the past constitute merely an infinitely small part of the total problem. For Natal, the strategic demands of the resettlement issue are ominously clear.

In the older urban areas, housing facilities for the existing Bantu population are ludicrously inadequate. Many of the major centres have as many illegal residents as they have lawful tenants and householders. The numbers of squatters living under Cato Manor-style conditions are increasing at a disturbing rate. New industrial growth points are being generated. They will provide jobs for many thousands of Africans, who will have to be resettled in new townships.

In overpopulated rural areas, safety valves in the form of new employment opportunities and new townships will have to be created. As a result of land betterment schemes, scattered kraals will have to be relocated at a more rapid rate and their occupants resettled in village-type groups.

## 2,000,000 Africans in Natal alone

Altogether, during the coming decade we can expect to be confronted with the seemingly impossible task of securing the resettlement of a seemingly 2,000,000 Africans in Natal alone. On the face of it, "impossible" because census figures would have us believe that there were little more than 2,000,000 Africans in Natal in any case. We have just to consider some of our main Bantu townships, however, where the actual population is at least 100 per cent. above the officially accepted figure, to understand the reason for the apparent discrepancy. We have to recognise from the outset that few of the statistics we possess relating to the Bantu can be considered reliable, population statistics least of all. Although the next census may result in a more accurate population assessment than the last one, it will certainly produce figures far below the actual totals. Every Bantu urban centre now contains a continually increasing proportion of illegal tenants. These, together with the illegal squatters on the perimeter of the townships, will naturally evade to the best of their ability the formality of being recorded in the census. We can therefore accept as inevitable a considerable degree of error once again. However, there are often discernible area population patterns, and recorded figures from a variety of local organisation and State department offices are frequently available. It is upon such sources that I have based the approximate calculations in this survey.

In Natal we are confronted with two main aspects of Bantu resettlement: those of the rural areas and those of urban areas. It is probable that few members of the Black Sash will agree with me when I assert that the basic factors contributing to the necessity for resettlement programmes in Natal are essentially social and developmental, and only in insignificant part are they political. The fact that nearly 40 per cent. of the region is Bantu-occupied, in fragmented areas, reduces the necessity for mass resettlement on purely political grounds. Other than for minor consolidation projects and the acquisition of more land from the White sector, this fragmentation is likely to persist indefinitely. There is no prospect of a consolidated Zulustan on the pattern of the Transkei.

Rural resettlement needs stem from three principle problems: those of overpopulation, agricultural planning requirements, and the labour tenant system.

No other development has been so dramatically significant and has possessed such far-reaching implications in South Africa's recent history than the Bantu population explosion. Natal's Bantu population densities, and their accompanying livestock numbers, are now exerting such pressures on most rural areas that the situation must be regarded as critical. There is now, as never before, the likelihood that vast areas of land will become sterilised and permanently incapable of food production as the result of having to accommodate too many people and too many animals. The consequence must be increased poverty, malnutrition, and disease, and an escalating threat to Natal's major watersheds — all but one of which lie in Bantu areas.

### Population density

In South Africa other than in Natal the population density of non-Whites varies from 15 per square mile in the Cape to 43 in the Transvaal. In Lesotho it is 63, Kenya 41. On Natal's South African Bantu Trust Land it is nearly 110 per square mile. On Bantu-owned land it is over 235 a square mile. Some individual districts are even more overcrowded. There are 400 people per square mile in the Swartkop location and 252 in the Inananda location. And these are suspect figures, derived from the last census. In one Natal Bantu area alone a recent survey has revealed an actual population more than double that officially accepted from census figures.

Until such population densities are reduced it is impossible to effectively plan an area on an agricultural basis. Up to the present 44 per cent. of Natal's African areas have been planned, ranging from five per cent. at Msinga to 50 per cent. at Bergville. Without such planning, agricultural rehabilitation is impossible, and so is the effective participation of scattered communities in educational and health services and other essential amenities. This rehabilitation involves both the urbanisation of those who can no longer be supported on the land, or who are no longer farmers, and the resettlement of the remaining farming community in village-type settlements. Of the latter, over 105,000 people have been resettled so far in planned residential areas. It is probable that at least a further 200,000 in this category will have to be resettled.

### Labour Tenant System

However, perhaps an even more immediately menacing rural resettlement problem is that produced by Natal's labour-tenant system.

There is little that can be said in favour of this method of employment in which Bantu labourers engage in farm work for half the year in exchange for certain residential rights, grazing facilities for their animals, and — though not always — a small wage while they are employed. This system is not conducive to either an efficient White agriculture or to the provision of adequate living standards for the Bantu. In full-time employment a labourer's status and conditions can be immeasurably improved and it becomes possible to initiate training programmes adequate to the demands of modern agriculture. Both organised agriculture and the Government have agreed that the labour-tenant system should be ended, but have accepted that no abrupt change can be made without serious repercussions both for the employer and his worker. The official approach in Natal, therefore, has been to soft-pedal the move towards full-time employment, which will ultimately result in the resettlement of at least 316,000 Africans. The Natal Agricultural Union has put the total at a possible 1,000,000.

### Weenen

Unfortunately, this awareness of the scale of the problem and its resettlement implications are apparently not shared by the White farming community in its entirety. At the moment we are seeing in the Weenen district what precipitate action can accomplish. As a result of an understandable but ill-advised decision of the local farmer's association to seek the immediate application of regulations legally ending the labour-tenant system, a substantial crisis has been provoked there. The Africans, forming a solid front, have rejected full-time employment until they have been provided with homes off the farms where, they say, they can negotiate employment conditions from a basis of security. The immediate result of the crisis has been a severe shortage of labour on the farms, and a crash programme for the resettlement of between 20,000 and 25,000 Africans who may eventually need new homes. The long-term consequences may well be a permanent switch by the Weenen Bantu from agriculture into urban — migrant — employment. The Weenen affair has also provoked a further influx of homeless Africans into the already overcrowded Msinga reserve. It is obvious that further additions to such overpopulated areas, whether voluntary or involuntary, cannot continue without severe and accelerated injury to both the land and the human com-

munity involved. Weenen is only the curtain raiser to what may be an even greater labour-tenant crisis.

### Vryheid

In the Vryheid area, where there are 175,000 Africans, including families, involved in the labour-tenant system, there are now ominous indications of a situation developing which would make the Weenen crisis seem a mere picnic. A minority of impatient White farmers are already, on their own initiative, enforcing full-employment conditions on their farms. The disquiet and anxiety which this is producing among the entire African farm population threatens to escalate to a point where another vaster and far more serious Weenen situation will arise. Just in the two areas of Weenen and Vryheid, there is need to plan for the resettlement of at least 200,000 people. There is no hope of providing the Bantu with land in the Vryheid area which could support the numbers which would be displaced there. The only hope of accommodating them on land of an adequate agricultural standard lies in the possibility of more White-owned farms in Zululand being acquired for their resettlement. This is not an impossibility, as the agreed quota of land yet to be released there for eventual Bantu resettlement has not yet been taken up.

### Black Spots

In addition to displaced labour-tenants Natal is faced with the task of resettling the population of Black Spots. Some 200 of these areas remain to be cleared. Although the Black Spot problem has acquired in some instances a political aura, there is little doubt that the majority of these areas are long overdue for attention on non-political grounds alone. The conditions under which the inhabitants of most of them live are an indictment of any nation which claims to number itself among the advanced states of the world. Many are, indeed, Black Spots in more ways than one, sited on ruined, donga-scarred soil, with disease-ridden slum housing. Where there is water, it is usually polluted. But there can be no immediate resettlement of all these unfortunate people. There is insufficient land to offer them, and any improvement of their conditions must await either the acquisition of more White land under the quota agreement, or new accommodation and employment opportunities in urban centres.

## Urban resettlement

The problem of the urban resettlement of the Bantu in Natal is complex and of vast proportions. Without exception, the existing urban townships are grossly overpopulated. In many, illegal tenants outnumber those that are there legally. There are also increasing numbers of squatters. Authoritative estimates of the population of such centres as Durban's Umlazi put the current population at more than twice its official figure. A by-product of this situation is that thousands of Bantu children in Natal are barred from educational and other facilities because their parents have no legal status as residents. In addition to the contribution by illegal tenants to overcrowding, there is no indication that current housing programmes are even keeping pace with the natural increase of the legal population of urban centres.

## Squatter population

But urban areas have yet another problem of increasing gravity — that of the squatter population around their perimeter. The squatter population of Port Natal alone is now bigger than that of Natal's biggest African township, Kwa Mashu. A conservative estimate of the shortage of houses in the Durban-Pinetown complex is 30,000. This backlog is increasing by the day.

The biggest resettlement programme in Natal's history is, however, that incorporated in the Government's second five-year plan, which is now being implemented. It will involve the resettlement of at least 850,000 Africans, the development of eight Bantu towns in the Port Natal area and 34 others in the rest of Natal. A large volume of new employment opportunities will become available in the new border industry centres of Newcastle and Richards Bay. This development will meet the urgent need of providing employment and accommodation opportunities necessary to support surplus rural populations, which will relieve the current critical pressures on the rural areas. It will also contribute to the decentralisation of urban and industrial populations, and it will reduce the proportion of migrant labour.

Border industries, however, still involve considerable transport problems for their workers. A large expansion of Natal's road and rail transport facilities is now envisaged, but it is obvious that unless industrial wages rise, there will be need to subsidise Bantu

transport considerably in much of the new development areas.

There is an important alternative to Border industries. Official surveys are now in progress in Natal, conducted with complete lack of publicity. These will not only provide the foundations for future planning of minor resettlement areas and patterns of land use, but will indicate where and how many major industrial growth points will be created in Bantu areas.

## Industrial complexes

Up to now, industrial complexes have been confined to White areas. Although the border industry concept can probably be implemented more effectively in Natal than in most other regions of South Africa, and there is little doubt that it is destined to play an invaluable role in both Bantu and White development, it has certain obvious disadvantages for both employer and employee. It is now probable that Natal will be the site for the first industrial growth point in a wholly Bantu area. That the Africans have had to wait this long for prospects of industrial development in their areas is surely utterly inexplicable. In most developed nations when faced with the problem of economically depressed regions it is regarded as axiomatic that new industries should be deliberately sited in them, even if it means their transference from other, more affluent areas. Nothing of the kind, voluntarily or involuntarily, has occurred in our economically depressed regions — the Bantu areas. Indeed, little support for such a policy has come from the public generally, or from the English-speaking section in particular. It is impossible to understand, from a basis of economic and social justice, why the African should be denied the provision of employment opportunities on his own doorstep, and instead be expected to leave his home under pressure of poverty to seek work in distant corners of the country.

As a group, we English-speaking people have consistently and, I think, rightly attacked the iniquities of the migrant labour system. But what have we and English-speaking industrialists done to promote or encourage employment near the traditional homes of the Bantu so that the worst evils of the system could be alleviated? This is yet another basic socio-economic issue which has become bedevilled and befogged by our pathological urge to translate everything into political attitudes.

## Ethnic grouping

There remains one further facet of resettlement — that which is being implemented for reasons of ethnic grouping. This, possibly, is potentially the most controversial of all. The largest project in this category may well be the resettlement in Natal of Zulu populations now living outside the Province. With the industrial development of the Tugela Basin I think that we can expect pressures to accommodate the Zulu population now living in the Southern Transvaal.

## Creating residential centres

To recapitulate: We must now prepare for a rapid acceleration in the urbanisation of the Bantu; we also are confronted with the task of creating large numbers of residential centres within the rural areas themselves to accommodate the farming population after their land has been agriculturally planned. To accommodate all categories, including squatters, illegal tenants, inhabitants of Black Spots, labour tenants and the rest, will involve housing programmes on a scale never before tackled in South Africa. Earlier I asserted that we had already lost the unequal struggle to provide housing of the standards which, up to now, we have considered essential. Indeed, the physical challenge of creating sufficient housing is one of the most difficult that confronts us. This is not a problem unique to Natal, or even to South Africa generally. A committee of the United States Senate has estimated that more than 900 million people in Africa, Asia and Latin America live in sub-standard housing, and that altogether some three-quarters of the world's population live in such conditions.

## Site and Service Schemes

Except in the further expansion of some major existing centres such as Kwa Mashu and Umlazi, I do not see any physical possibility of providing the vast number of required homes at current standards in new industrial areas, such as those of the Tugela Basin. To provide for all categories, both urban and rural, would require a housing programme of at least 300,000 new houses for the Bantu alone during the next decade. It is evident that there will have to be considerable rethinking on the part of the Department of Bantu Administration as regards housing, particularly in the new urban centres. Personally, I can see no alternative to an extension of the Site-and-Service Scheme, whereby

the State provides the site and essential services, while the house is built by its prospective occupant. This would mean that more houses of the traditional Bantu type of approved standards would be erected, possibly incorporating improved design and equipment facilities.

## Truly organic growth

But this immense programme of resettling large masses of African families in new or expanded urban environments involves far more than a relocation of human pawns on a Natal chessboard. If we are to avoid creating soul-less, termite-like urban communities, such as those of Calcutta and some of the huge, crowded cauldrons of humanity in South America, we need to ensure that our new and existing Bantu townships experience a truly organic growth. The mega-cities which are to be created will be accompanied by a variety of insuperable problems if conceived merely as broiler chicken plants, no matter how many cinemas and sports stadiums they may contain. When housing projects in its environs are completed, Kwa Mashu is likely to comprise a residential complex containing a population of 500,000 people. What sort of place will it be? A community of homes or a sub-economic science-fiction nightmare?

On the answer to this will, to a large extent, depend not only a significant part of the material prosperity of Durban's Whites, but also their physical security.

## Fundamentally non-political

This problem, like the majority I have discussed in the resettlement issue, is one which is fundamentally non-political. Perhaps South Africa's most tragic — and dangerous — characteristic today is the refusal or inability of so many of its people to view the realities of their situation without recourse to the distorting lenses of their ingrained political prejudices. It is because of this, perhaps, that there are too few sociologists, too few town planners, too few agricultural advisers — too little support even for voluntary organisations like SANTA who are struggling to provide desperately needed help for the African. Is there not futility in any approach which merely regards resettlement problems of exploding Bantu populations as being somehow isolated phenomena, directly attributable to specific political factors? If we accept this restricted type of assessment we not only fail to recog-

# SING A SONG OF SIXPENCE

**A**fricans removed from urban areas can be detained in settlements in the homelands and made to do such work there as the law for the settlement provides — Slave labour?

**A** Parliamentary session in which real issues are largely ignored and much time is devoted to personal backbiting.

**I**mposition of PAYE income tax on Africans earning R360 per year — no rebates for dependents.

**R**191 spent on each white school child in the Transvaal during 1968-1969; R14.48 spent on each African school child in South Africa.

**H**undreds of African children are turned away from schools in the urban areas. They are supposed to be educated in the homelands. Hundreds of African children are turned away from schools in the homelands.

**M**eeluistering — is it or isn't it?

**I**ncident at Ceres where Coloured earthquake victims complain that they are still living in tents and have not been provided with prefabricated buildings which are being erected for the whites.

**M**r. Jaap Marais M.P. searched by police at the D. F. Malan Airport. Did he think it couldn't happen to him when he supported suppressive legislation in the past? Some of us have always said liberty is indivisible.

**B**OSS, White-by-night cities, group areas, beach apartheid, manpower shortage, increased interference with the rights of local authorities, accidents on overcrowded suburban railways, shortage of telephones etc., etc., etc.

**N**on-whites refused permission to watch professional soccer in Maritzburg.

**P**apwa Sewgolum refused permission to play in South African Open Golf tournament.

**P**ass laws, migratory labour, endorsements out, broken families.

**P**overty, malnutrition, disease.

**M**r. Sueo Masuzawa, a celebrated Japanese jockey, refused a visa to ride in South Africa.

**M**orsgat, Limehill, Sada, Mnxesha, Illinge, Stinkwater, Klipgat.

**S**outh Africa's daily average prison population in 1967-69? 80,534.

**B**anned people, house arrested people, passports refused and confiscated, visas refused.

**A** Coloured congregation at Malmesbury complains that their children are taught to say 'The Father which are in heaven' not 'Our Father'.

**L**ocal elections in the Cape Province delayed until 1972 so that coloured voters can be taken off the roll. There will be no representation for Coloured people on local authorities in future.

**T**he Bantu Laws Amendment Bill gives the Minister uncontrolled power to prevent the employment of Africans in any particular job, for any particular employer, in any place or throughout the country.

**T**he Minister refuses to make public the findings of the Committee of Inquiry into the deaths of three men in a police van last year.

**T**wenty two people who were detained for interrogation in May, 1969 are charged in October, found not guilty after the prosecution withdrew the charges in February and immediately redetained under the Terrorism Act for interrogation.

**P**olice action taken shortly before midnight on 21st February to prevent the publication by the Sunday newspapers of a statement by Mr. Jaap Marais.

**S**chools in Soweto are instructed not to accept any money for the building of classrooms from philanthropic individuals and institutions.

**N**on-whites will not be allowed to use the two restaurant floors built for them in the Post Office tower, Johannesburg. Separate but equal?

**ISN'T THIS A DAINY DISH TO SET**

**BEFORE THE ELECTORATE**

nise the intrinsic nature of the problem, but render ourselves impotent to contribute towards a solution.

### Social trauma

Africans are destined to suffer from the same social trauma as Whites: the devaluation of family and kinship beneath the tide of anonymous mega-city humanity; the ever-constricting urban limitations on what we now consider democratic freedom, and the increasing regimentation of human masses in an overpopulated environment; the pattern of violence, alcoholism and drugs, which will increasingly become vehicles for a symbolic rebellion, or hopeless retreat, from a mechanistic environment which degrades individual identity and destroys the family clan. More and more, the resettled Bantu in urban centres will, like White city-dwellers, suffer the suffocation of personality. Like Whites they will live, as someone has aptly described modern housing trends, in disposable cubicles for dispensable people. But such experience is inherently far more menacing for communities whose evolutionary time processes are compressed and who are abruptly pitchforked into a cultural and environmental transition, such as today's Bantu. These, indeed, are some of the most crucial problems facing mankind universally, as our population explosions and our technological development — like a demented, driverless steam-roller — threaten every aspect of our environment. Somehow we will have to attain that degree of vision and perspective which will enable us to view Bantu resettlement, the creation of new cities and the expansion of the old, not merely as an exercise in Black or White logistics, but essentially as a problem of human ecology.

Someone is certain to comment that as population growth is the principle cause of our resettlement problems, the answer is basically one of contraception. I have just one observation to make on this: the only avenue that holds any promise of reducing the birth rate lies in raising the living standards of the Bantu. In no country in the world has it been found that birth-control facilities and propaganda, on their own, have more than scratched the surface of the problem. The poorer and less-educated people are, and the lower their standard of nutrition, the more babies they have.

I am conscious of the pitfalls in African resettlement planning waiting those who approach this massive complex problem from a

predominantly abstract, non-organic basis. I am aware of the dangers of undermining individual responsibility and mutual human respect through impersonal manipulation of human society, whether attempted by sociologists, ethnologists, town planners, politicians, or merely by those who think — possibly even with justification — that they know best how other people should live their lives. Indeed, I see also the perils inherent even in the power of knowledge, of understanding, of moral courage — a power, without doubt, shared by many White South Africans of differing outlook, including members of the Black Sash. For today even these qualities, on their own, are not enough. They possess their own built-in limitations for ultimate practical achievement.

Today, the battlefield undeniably belongs to the nameless ones; to those who are spurring and canalising African development in directions which offer most hope for them and for their neighbour races; to those who are working with special skills; who are compassionate but without the diffusive impotence of sentimentality. This, as never before, is the day of the field worker with the sociological hoe; the cultivator of cultural change. All else is now of subordinate urgency. It is only necessary to look at trends in many of the Black States to the north of us to appreciate this. In spite of severe human organisational limitations and the fragility of both political and a-political influences on a community's evolutionary destiny, there does not appear to be any alternative to attempting to accelerate change in the culture and environmental circumstances of Bantu society. And this involves the task of stimulating such far-reaching processes as resettlement, one of the basic structural facets of change.

To achieve this — and to achieve it in the rapidly dwindling time left to us in South Africa — is there any alternative to rolling-up our sleeves and to labouring for it within whatever White political and sociological framework exists at any specific point of our history, now or in the future?

For if we reject this role, we retard even essential developmental processes, to the danger of all races — but, most of all, to the peril of the Bantu themselves.

# AS OTHERS SEE US

ROB ROBERTSON

*The Reverend Mr. Robertson is the minister in charge of the Stirling and North End Presbyterian Churches in East London.*

"YOU WOULD BE CALLED A REBEL HERE", said a San Francisco business man after hearing the story of North End illustrated with slides! I took this with a pinch of salt, because in San Francisco the public education authorities had purposely taken bus loads of children daily across the city in order to achieve the integration of their schools. In Los Angeles a Negro had come within an ace of election as Mayor in a city that doesn't have a Negro majority. On the buses and in public amenities Negroes and whites mix freely.

But these talks about North End and the discussion that followed helped me to see what others are thinking and doing about racialism and what they think of us in South Africa. What follows are my very sketchy impressions, from a lightning trip, of the Church's position in the racial issues of our time.

The first shock was that other people don't share our view that South Africa is the most important place on earth. Some have written us off as irrelevant fools who will one day reap what we are sowing. Others were sympathetic but had bigger problems of their own to worry about. A few grunted that maybe we had the right idea in separating people off.

But apart from these personal attitudes, the thing that came home to me most is that the state policies of the rest of the world are *away* from discrimination and segregation on racial grounds — and moving fast! It matters less and less what colour a man is. In the Southern States of the USA a marked acceptance of integration happily or resignedly, has come just in the past two or three years. The extent of this acceptance far outweighs the comparatively isolated incidents of friction. Did we hear of any "race riots" in the United States this summer?

So people see South Africa as an isolated anachronism.

White South Africans immediately ask: "Does this mean that mankind will finish up a uniform khaki colour all over the world?" Well, visiting communities from the tropics to near the Arctic Circle convinced me that as climate was the original decider of colour of skin, and of the kind of culture that goes with it, so it will remain, but with constant diffusion taking place as travel becomes easier."

Very few Blacks find it comfortable to live in Canada where one works hard to keep warm, just as very few Whites can live per-

manently in the Carribean where a leisurely approach to life is the only way to survive. Empire building drove whites to the tropics and job seeking still drives blacks to Birmingham. But when things have settled down a bit I should think that those who like cold weather, hard work and predominantly white company will gravitate towards the poles, while those who can stand the sun and prefer leisure to prosperity will surround the Equator. The interesting thing about Africa is that it is the only continent that doesn't reach far enough (either way) towards the poles to provide a more or less guaranteed white zone! The abandonment of apartheid seems unavoidable, in the very nature of things, and sooner rather than later.

Quite apart from mere climate, pressure from outside for its abandonment can only grow. In traditionally white countries non-whites are taking an ever increasing share in all aspects of life, sport, entertainment, business administration, science, medicine — you name it they're in it. South Africa will either have to accept them all without classifying them or abandon relationships with the rest of the world. Maoris and Malawian ambassadors are the merest indication of what is yet to come.

As I said to the Presbytery last month: "I am beyond condemning apartheid. I am trying to tell you that it is going to pass away in the night, and that we had better prepare for the new situation."

This will mean a big chance for us. A visit overseas makes one realise what a fierce grip racialism has on each of us. I found myself



“classifying” people as I met them, just as one has to do every day in South Africa, with everyone one meets, to decide whether you can get on the bus or enter a restaurant together, or what ambulance to call in an emergency! We are a mighty long way behind the rest of the world in realising that race cannot be made the deciding factor in human relationships. A tremendous job of reconciliation waits to be tackled by the Christian church to enable us to see men as brothers.

### The World in Microcosm

South Africa is, of course, very important and the rest of the world ought to recognise this. Here we have a miniature world situation in one country, viz. a rich, powerful, well-fed and well-armed white minority of 20% and a comparatively poor, under-nourished and defenceless black majority. That's like the rest of the world where 20% of the population, predominantly white nations, possess 80% of the wealth and nearly all the atom bombs.

### Economics rather than racialism

The tendency of people who have wealth and power is to want to keep them, especially if they have worked hard for them. On the world scale the rich nations do this by controlling immigration and trade. Britain's tightening of immigration control is dictated by economics rather than by racialism. She reckons she cannot take too many of the world's poor too fast. America has a tougher immigration policy, despite the inviting words on the Statue of Liberty:

Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me;  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

The rich nations are of course aware of the existence of the others and give them “aid”—at a rate of less than 1% of their gross national product. They are also beginning to feel afraid of the sheer numerical strength of the poor and hungry in a world busy overpopulating itself.

### Whites keep the cake

In South Africa, where rich and poor are to a great extent integrated in labour and in the economy, as well as geographically, the immigration solution can't be applied. Instead we have adopted this pathological “race

classification” system to enable whites to keep the cake. Genuine partition according to “race” won't do either, because that would spoil the white cake too — nobody to do the cooking! — and in any case a good half of the cake would have to be given away to make partition work.

Of course South African whites give aid “to the Bantu” and probably at a higher rate than takes place on the world scale. We are also afraid of sheer numbers, calling for more white babies while advising other races to use the pill.

### The guinea pig for the world

But the rest of the world, and our internal circumstances, keep up the pressure on us to “integrate”. We are thus the guinea pig for the whole world of what happens when rich and poor, white and black, hard-working and leisure-loving meet in proportions roughly corresponding to the world situation. I can't think of anywhere else on earth where this is happening. We don't want it to happen so we dig our heels in and try to persuade everybody that apartheid is the solution for the whole world. This only makes me laugh!

If we have a justifiable complaint against the rest of the Western world it is that they are pushing us to do what they themselves should be doing but can still evade having to do, i.e. share the cake.

The challenging thing from the Church's angle is that both in the world and in South Africa this rich, white minority is by-and-large professedly Christian, while the rest is only partially if at all so. This is a test of the reality of our allegiance to Christ, who we should remember belonged to the poor, weak and sun-burned masses in the days of His flesh. A distinctive aspect of Christian faith is sharing. The Greeks had a word for it (*koinonia*) which we frequently find in the New Testament referring to sharing possessions, sharing fellowship and sharing the Lord's Supper. Dr. Visser 't Hooft, former General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, has made the point that to deny sharing is as much a heresy as to deny some fundamental point of Christian doctrine.

Mankind needs this, and Christians are supposed to have it. South Africa thus is a real testing-ground for the Church, and we are in this test whether we like it or not. If we can show the nations how to share, instead of building fences, then we will have done something of world-importance and perhaps justified that opinion of ourselves.

# THE RESETTLEMENT OF AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

M. W. CLUVER

*This paper was presented to the national conference of the Black Sash in October 1969 to present as many of the new facts culled from the 1969 parliamentary session and to collect together the information on resettlement areas which was gathered during the year.*

**T**HE APPLICATION OF THE POLICY OF APARTHEID in South Africa means that people of different skin colours must occupy separate portions of the country in which they live. We are told they must develop their own cultures and learn to live separately and economically.

In order to achieve this so-called ideal, therefore, people must be moved from the areas in which they may have lived and worked for generations and be settled in the places which the White Government has decided should be set aside for them.

It is significant that this disruption effects a very small number of white people and a very large number of black or coloured people. This paper deals only with the resettlement of African people but it must be borne in mind that many thousands of Coloureds and Indians have been and will be moved in order to implement Apartheid.

**A**frican Homelands have been drawn on the map of South Africa. The best known of these is the Transkei which has some measure of independence. Others sprawl as strangely shaped pieces of land or clusters of small dots scattered over the whole Republic. Some are near white cities, most are far from civilisation. In terms of the Group Areas Act every city has its land divided between the colour groups. Every city has, therefore, an area on its outskirts set aside for occupation by Africans only.

On the map of South Africa are many areas occupied by Africans which are destined for white South Africans. From these areas, known as black spots, the people must be moved to the African Homelands. Most farms have living on them numerous African families, known as labour tenants and squatters, who live by working small areas of land and giving or selling part of their labour to the land owners. By law these families must be reduced to a minimum required for farm labour. The rest must be resettled in African Homelands. In the towns and cities the laws governing Influx Control limit the number of Africans allowed to be in Urban Areas. Thousands of people are endorsed out every year and these people have to be settled in the African Homelands.

Of the land in South Africa 86.3% is set aside for the 3½ million white people. 13

million black people are allowed to occupy the remaining 13.7% of the land.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated in Parliament this year (1969) that approximately 900,000 Bantu have been resettled since 1959.<sup>1</sup>

General figures for Bantu areas to December 1969 are:—

Total area approximately 13,000,000 morgen.

Reserves and black spots still to be eliminated, approximately 300,000 morgen.

Approximately 65,000 houses have been built by B.A.D. "in the last few years". The cost of each house seems to be about R600 (according to Hansard figures on House construction in Hammansdale) and expected occupation is five people per house.<sup>2</sup>

In the Bantu Homelands there is sometimes free title to land. Africans living in Townships attached to white Urban Areas are not entitled to buy land in these areas.

Under the doctrine of Apartheid Africans must learn that they "belong" only in their own areas. Their residence in White areas is temporary and in order to sell their labour. They must, in the main, live and die in the Homelands.

1. *Hansard* No. 1, Col 137-140, 4 Feb., 1969.

2. *Hansard* No. 3, Col. 1128, 21 Feb., 1969.

The Homelands are divided into arable land, grazing areas and townships. The Townships are designated "closer settlements". In these closer settlements a family allotment averages 1/8 to 1/4 acres (ref. official figures given for Limehill, Uitval, Asynkraal, Vaalkop and Uitvlucht) but can be as small as 1/16th of an acre (Kwa Mashu). The cost of buying the land at, for example Mondhlo is R2 per 500 square feet.

At most of the abovementioned closer settlements land is rented at R1.00 per annum per plot. People who inhabit these closer settlements are those who have owned less than 20 morgen of land prior to their resettlement. Those who have owned more than 20 morgen of land are compensated with larger areas of arable land and tribes can be resettled on a communal basis on arable or grazing land if it is available.<sup>3</sup>

### Migrant Labour

It is known that African men have for long been migrant labourers, leaving wives and children in the kraals to till the fields and herd the cattle. With the urbanisation of African families migrant labour has ceased to be the way of life for many people. Now it is again on the increase, but with a difference. Families resettled in closer settlements can no longer live off the tiny pieces of land allotted to them.

When "black spot" removals take place, compensation is paid, the assessment being made by Government officials. The people being resettled are moved by government vehicles, can take what they can salvage from their own homes with them, and their livestock *unless* they are being moved to closer settlements, where there is no room for such animals. On arrival at their destination they are provided with tents until such time as they have rebuilt their houses. For this purpose they may be provided with some construction materials.

At Limehill the average compensation paid to 969 families was R143.00 per family. Poles for building were provided free of charge, but no door frames or windows. Thatch — the usual roofing material in this area — was not available at the time of resettlement. It would be six months before the grass was grown and dry for this purpose.

According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, rations were

3. Hansard No. 1, Col. 323, 7 Feb., 1969.

issued to the resettled people for the first few days after removal. At Limehill and Uitval these consisted of:—

3 lbs. of mealie meal per person per day for 6 days.

1 lb. of skim milk powder and 1 lb. of soup powder per person.

In deserving cases, children are given milk powder and soup powder for a longer period.<sup>4</sup>

The Bantu Affairs department undertakes to provide water and sanitation for people removed and resettled. When the first settlers arrived at Stinkwater and Klipgat drinking water had to be fetched from a borehole some miles away. Water for building and washing was available nearer, but was muddy. There were, at first, no latrines.

When people were moved to Limehill some water was available and latrines were being dug, but were insufficient in number.

When Mondhlo was established in 1963 2,000 persons were placed, in tents, on half acre sites at the beginning of winter with no water available and no sanitation provided.

In the early days of all these villages there were no shops. There were no clinics. There were no schools. There was no transport. There was little or no firewood.

4. Hansard No. 4, Col. 1307, 25 Feb., 1969.

In January the press reported that a white man was attacked by a swarm of bees in Johannesburg and stung until he was black. He was put in a non-European ambulance and rushed to a non-European hospital —



In nearly all cases the families have been moved twenty miles or more from where they had previously been living. This means that those men and women who had been employed in nearby towns could no longer keep their employment unless they left their families or paid the greater part of their wages in transport. Now that buses are available the return fare from Limehill to Washbank is 40 cents. There is no nearer employment centre. The fare from Mondhlo to Vryheid, return, is 35 cents. From Stinkwater to Pretoria R1 for a five day week. Workers there must leave home at 4 a.m. and return at 9 p.m.

And so we have a picture of a newly established resettlement village. Usually miles from a centre where employment is available, a small plot of land for each family, no grazing for livestock, accommodation in tents, no shops, no schools, no medical services, no fuel, very little water, pit latrines. Some services do improve with time. Schools and clinics are eventually built and staffed, more boreholes are sunk, shops appear in the district, transport is laid on. Men go away to find work in order to keep their families.

But until these things happen tragedies occur.

At Mondhlo, in the first year, there were 77 reported cases of typhoid.

At Limehill a form of gastro-enteritis caused many deaths, but it was impossible to ascertain from the authorities how many people suffered from this disease.

### Hunger

When one examines the rations available to villagers and remembers that a whole season's crop is often lost in the move, one realises that hunger must be common. Children lose months of schooling and family incomes are reduced. Families are split up because the breadwinner must go away to seek work. These are a few of the immediate hardships.

The people moved to closer settlements are more badly affected than those moved from one agricultural area to another, but in all cases the move is accomplished only with hardship to those concerned.

It appears that organised resettlement has been going on for at least ten years. Let us now examine conditions in villages which have been in existence for some time.

### The Closer Settlement of Mnxesha

Established in 1967, ten miles from Kingwilliamstown. The inhabitants come mainly from Middelburg, a Northern Cape farming

area, and some families endorsed out from Urban Areas in the Western Cape.

Official figures given by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development for this closer settlement are:—

387 families occupy the area. Of these 348 people are men, 508 women, and 2,041 are children.<sup>5</sup>

Only 30 adults have kept their previous employment. Six adults work in Kingwilliamstown. 55 men and 111 women are old age pensioners, 80 women get state aided work, which is grass planting in the area. 21 men, 53 women and 264 children get state aid for no work. 162 men and 27 women work elsewhere as migrant labourers. The nearest Industrial area is East London and the Minister says no industries are planned near Mnxesha. It is planned to settle 1,800 families at Mnxesha.

The houses are basic in structure and vary from one to four rooms. Rental is fairly low and, where there is no breadwinner, is free. So far there is one school to Std. II, pit latrines, water in taps in the street, and, after agitation, a clinic with a resident nurse and visiting doctor. The death rate in the early days was very high. There is no available fuel.

Picture these people. The majority lived in a farming area with work available nearby. Now they are in an alien land either existing on charity or leaving their homes to become migrant labourers. The greater proportion of villagers are children and old age pensioners. It is an established fact that people suffering malnutrition in their early years can suffer permanent brain damage.

Those who were endorsed out from towns or cities must find the change even more difficult. There is no hope of work in the area.

The cost of this pathetic settlement up to March 1969 was R193,000.

### The Closer Settlement of Illingi

Thirteen miles from Queenstown, Illingi was established before 1967 and houses about 4,500 people. There is a small clinic and two schools. It began as a settlement for pensioners, but now has many families endorsed out from the Western Cape. There is no work for these people in Queenstown; some men can get work in the area building new settlement houses at R16.50 per month, and women and children are employed in land

5. Hansard No. 5, Col. 1776, 4 March, 1969.

clearing at R5 or R6 per month. Again, breadwinners must be migrant labourers. This closer settlement is occupied by the old, the women and the young who exist on next to nothing.

If the inhabitants have money they can buy land and own houses here. But to earn money means to have work. Most resettlement villages are in areas where there is no available work in the immediate vicinity.

#### The Closer Settlement of Sada

Has about 7,000 inhabitants and was established in 1963. It is comparable to Illingi. Men build houses for future inhabitants. This work can only be temporary. A nearby Government Forestry department offers part time labour and there is seasonal work in East London jam factories. There is a brick factory in the area. On the face of it, Sada offers more possibility of employment than many other resettlement areas. However, nearly half the inhabitants have to receive government rations in order to keep alive, calculated on a scale of R1.70 per month per adult and R1.40 per child. Old age pensioners get varying amounts but never more than R54 per year.

Water is piped along the streets and there are pit latrines. The main disease seems to be a form of gastro-enteritis. Last year there was a break down in communication between the Divisional Council Health Authorities and the Provincial Administration and dead bodies were being kept in houses with no authority for their removal. Following on newspaper publicity this dilemma was resolved.

#### The Closer Settlement of Mondhlo

In Northern Natal. There are (official figures given in February 1969 by the Minister B.A.D.) 862 families inhabiting it. The total cost of this settlement to date is R343,660. The annual cost is R8,760.<sup>6</sup>

The clinic is run free by a local Anglican Mission.

Mondhlo has been comparatively "lucky". In May 1963 2,000 people were dumped in tents in the veld. No water and no sanitation. 77 people, at least, contracted typhoid. They were cared for by the Anglican Mission and the whole affair was widely publicised in the press. Within a year piped water was laid on, and over two years water privies were built on every site. The excellent clinic is still run by the Anglican Mission, and schools and churches have been built. In spite of these

amenities it is interesting to read the report of a man who knows the area — "the people have behaved in a most orderly, mature and co-operative way . . . But there is no work and people must travel to Vryheid (35 cents return) which leads to hardship. If they lose employment they are told to get work in Nqutu, where there is none."

#### The Closer Settlement of Limehill

Established in February 1968. Without any doubt conditions have improved here in the last eighteen months. The removal of people from black spots to this area was given wide publicity in the Press. Two schools have been built (this is inadequate for the number of children.) A clinic has been established with a permanent African sister and is visited by a doctor. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated that all families would be permanently housed by April 1969. Adequate pit latrines have been built and water is being piped.

Of the 1,500 inhabitants most are women and children. The men have been forced to become migrant labourers, since Limehill is 24 miles from civilisation. There is no local work for the inhabitants. There is hunger and poverty. The inhabitants prior to being moved lived on farms a few miles from Waschbank, where many were employed, and on a mission station where they farmed and worked.

#### The Closer Settlements of Stinkwater and Klipgat

Lie 34 miles from Pretoria. The inhabitants moved there from African townships near Pretoria, from the previously African owned farm of Eerste Rust near Pretoria and other places. Again, following on newspaper publicity, conditions in these areas have improved since June 1968. There are three boreholes feeding two reservoirs though the people must walk 800 yards to three-quarters of a mile to this supply. There is a clinic within three miles, four shops, one school built and one being built, and a daily bus service to Pretoria at R1 per week.

The Minister, in answer to Mrs. Suzman in March 1969, stated that there was no employment in the area, but an employment bureau had been set up.

The inhabitants, of course, are mainly women, children and old age pensioners. The men become migrant labourers. They used to live, as family units, a few miles from where they worked.

6. Hansard No. 2, Col. 739, 14 Feb., 1969.

## The Agricultural Settlement of Vergelegen

People resettled in this area owned land in excess of 20 morgen before removal. The tribe, some 4,500 people, owned an 8,000 acre farm in a "white" area. Vergelegen is a 14,000 acre farm. Water has been laid on to residential areas and three dams have been built. Tractors are available on hire from the government. Compensation was paid for the previous farm.

People moved to Agricultural settlements are undoubtedly better off than those moved to closer settlements. They are living much the same as they have always lived, they can move their livestock from one farm to another. They lose a season's crops but if they can weather this, they can live.

They are, however, usually much further from civilisation than before. The men, to supplement a farmer's income, must become migrant labourers. They have moved far from schools and shops.

The tribe moved from Boschhoek to Vergelegen did not wish to move. They had owned Boschhoek since 1870. The area of Vergelegen is not as good as Boschhoek.

Many other closer settlements and agricultural settlements exist. Some, in Natal and the Eastern Province, have been visited by Black Sash women. In the Transvaal permits to visit closer settlements have been refused and even Clergy and the Press have had their visits stopped. Is there something that must be hidden?

We are told by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development that people move gladly to resettlement areas. The imagination boggles at the thought of a family employed in an urban area and found by government officials to be living there illegally under laws governing Influx Control, moving with pleasure to, let us say Illingi. The houses may be better, but people need work in order to live. One cannot conceive of a poor family, living primitively near Waschbank, being overjoyed at being resettled 22 miles away in the open veld and subjected to worse poverty and no available work.

Resettlement is, in the main, away from urban areas and consequent employment. Border industries are not being established to any extent near Bantu Homelands. There is no hope now, and no visible hope in the future. A man must leave his family to get work, women and children must suffer terrible conditions in the homelands.

There are times when people should be moved — slums should be cleared and their inmates should be better housed and given better employment facilities and education. This is clearly not the case with African Resettlement in the Homelands. There are some people who have been glad to be given a house in a homeland area where they are no longer hounded to produce a reference book and permits all the time. This is a dreadful reflection on the conditions in which they had been living in "white" areas before. But they nearly all complain of the fact that there is no work and no money.

Conditions do improve with the years. It seems possible that conditions improve faster where the press has publicised the plight of the people moved. But whether conditions improve to the stage where people can live an economic, healthy family life has not yet been demonstrated. The deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in Parliament this year, "do you know why the United Party is casting so much suspicion on Limehill, Stinkwater and Klipgat? It is because each of these places is a manifestation of the successful implementation of the policy of separate development."<sup>7</sup>

If these pathetic settlements of deprived women, children and old age pensioners are the successful result of Apartheid, then God help this country.

7. Hansard No. 1, Col. 137-140, 4 Feb., 1969.



# THE INDIAN IN NATAL

This paper was written and presented to the Black Sash national conference by five members of the Natal Coastal Region: Doreen Patrick, Ann Colvin, Eleanor Mathews, Adele Keen and Mary Grice.

**T**HIS PAPER CONCERNS the Indian race which was introduced to this country solely for the purpose of establishing an industry which has by now become a major exporter and a vital factor in our economic stability. Without the Indian we could not seize such a large share of the sugar market nor could we enjoy such provincial prosperity.

The first sugar-cane tops were brought from Mauritius in 1847 so that sugar might be established as the chief product of Natal. The cane was planted on five acres of land at Umhloti and four Indian labourers were brought from Mauritius to farm the crop. The experiment succeeded and cane was planted along the North and to a certain extent the South Coast.

The expanding industry was faced with a labour problem. It was not that labour was unobtainable but, as Dr. Edgar Brookes points out in his *History of Natal*, "... without a large and reliable number of capable hands, sugar-planting is a barren occupation." The African was unable to cope, and showed neither interest in, nor desire for the work.

The records show that other races such as Chinese and Malays were imported for farming before it was finally agreed to follow the Mauritius pattern of indentured Indian labour.

The first of the indentured immigrants from India arrived in 1860, and eighty-three percent were Hindus. With this group came the passenger Indian who had paid his own fare and was to trade in Natal. The passenger Indians were about ten percent of the immigrants and were Muslims. The other seven percent was of Christian and other faiths.

Considerable hardship was experienced in these early days and there was much conflict between employer and employee. The European farmer does not show up very well, and even 100 years later the Indian is still struggling for recognition. It is not fair at this stage to blame the present apartheid policy for all of this.

We must remember that after his five-year contract was completed, the Indian was free to go where he pleased — hence the migration to the towns and into commerce and industry.

In the midst of this social turmoil and injustice in the late nineteenth century a few European farmers were very conscious of their responsibilities. The welfare of their labour force and families was of such concern to them that model villages and stable communities were established, where employees could retain their own culture and way of life.

The towns of Verulam and Tongaat were founded in 1850 and 1856, and they are now the centres of integrated farming. Indians and Europeans farm side by side, and they share their interests and responsibilities.

In the 1850's the Saunders family established what is now known as the Tongaat Sugar Company, and we have here a fine example of what private enterprise has done for its labour. In the last few years this company has diversified its interests into textiles, poultry and real estate, and it is well able to cope with the shift of emphasis of the twentieth century Indian from agriculture into commerce and industry.

We have often heard the argument that the Indian is better off here than starving back in India, but this does not seem to be a logical statement. Despite his considerable contributions to economic prosperity in Natal, his rights are still limited. It is true that many Indian bodies have been formed, such as the South African Indian Council and the Town Council of Verulam; but nowadays it is legislation rather than exploitation which limits the Indian's rights and freedom of movement. We must realise that his contribution to our society now merits further recognition.

## SPRINGFIELD FLATS

**D**URBAN'S METROPOLITAN AREA — multi-racial in character — comprises a sizeable population of nearly 700,000 people, of whom the bulk — surprisingly perhaps — is Asiatic, 33% as opposed to 31% Bantu, 27% White, and a small Coloured community making up the remaining 4%.

An estimated 60% of Natal's Indians reside in the Durban/Pinetown complex. An interesting demographic feature of this complex — even before Separate Development became a politician's pipe-dream — had been, over a

period of some 50 years, the gradually emerging pattern of racial separation. Indeed, as a sociological study made in 1958 accurately observed that — and I quote — “of all the cities in the Union, Durban, through its City Council, has shown the greatest enthusiasm for compulsory segregation”. This compulsion had initially been enforced by a Provincial Ordinance, which led to various Government “Pegging” Acts, and eventually to the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946. The Nationalist Government’s Group Areas Act, promulgated in 1950, merely sanctioned, therefore, and lent an awesome rigidity to this process of residential segregation, whose prime motivation of course had been fear on the part of the economically dominant, if numerically inferior, White group.

Taking 1950 as the watershed, the ecological jig-saw of the Durban complex until this date revealed the Indian domiciled areas to have been mainly on the alluvial flats that stretch from the Umhlaas to the Umgeni Rivers, and in the peripheral zones behind the more favoured seaward facing slopes of the Berea and Bluff ridges. A very small minority — 7% — of the more prosperous Indians had, however, managed to penetrate this elevated, and almost exclusive preserve of the White man.

Since that significant date — 1950 — the implementation of the Group Areas Act combined with an ever accelerating process of White expansion has effectively forced the Indian community to be removed even further towards the perimeter — to the north and to the south of Durban City. Only a few enclaves of Indian settlements remain in relatively close proximity to Durban’s industrial and commercial centre — and these are regarded as purely transitional arrangements. (The vexed and thorny question of the Grey Street area — the hub of Indian commerce — remains in abeyance.)

Typical of these so-styled transient settlements is Springfield Flats, which is situated in the lower reaches of the Umgeni River valley. Commonly referred to as “Tin Town” Springfield Flats is sited on municipal land, and therefore comes directly under the control of Durban’s City Council. Many of its occupants, prior to their establishment at Springfield, had been illegal shack dwellers, who, in 1957, following the demolition of their homes, had been re-housed in this controlled slum area in houses of sub-economic construc-

## NANA SITA

**M**R. NANA SITA died on the 23rd December, 1969 at the age of 71. He was a former president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and a firm believer in passive resistance. He served several prison sentences for refusing to leave the house he and his family had occupied for 44 years when the suburb was proclaimed for white occupation only.

The ideals he lived for are best summed up in the words he spoke at his trial under the Group Areas Act in the Magistrate’s Court in Pretoria on the 17th August, 1967.

“I stand before you for flouting the provisions of the Group Areas Act, which for the reasons stated above, my conscience does not allow me to comply with. Therefore in obedience to the higher authority of conscience I have decided not to meekly submit to the provisions of the Act. Being a follower of Mahatma Gandhi’s doctrine of “Satyagraha” (Passive Resistance) based on truth, love and non-violence I consider it my sacred duty to resist injustice and oppression and in doing so am prepared to bear the full brunt of the law and am willing to face the consequences thereof.

If you find me guilty of the offence for which I am standing before you I shall willingly and joyfully suffer whatever sentence you may deem to pass on me as my suffering will be nothing compared to the suffering of my people under the Act. If my suffering in the cause of noble principles of truth, justice and humanity could arouse the conscience of White South Africa then I shall not have strived in vain. I am 69 years of age, suffering with chronic ailment of arthritis but I do not plead in mitigation. I ask for no leniency. I am ready for the sentence.”

tion — the erection and maintenance of which are the responsibility of the owners themselves. This was, I emphasise, 12 years ago, and today the position for these humble folk, as for the rest of Springfield’s indigent community, is as untenable as it was then.

The human composition of Springfield Flats has, in fact, been drawn exclusively from the lowest income group of Durban’s Indian community, and of the approximate 400 families present in the location an estimated 80% are currently living below the breadline.



Thus this emergency transit camp bears, both in fact and appearance, all the hall-marks of a depressed area. Poorly housed, and in cramped conditions, with no security of tenure, and, for the most part, inadequate living wages, these impoverished peoples eke out a deplorable existence. The increasing number who are qualifying for State and other charitable grants is a clear indication of extreme poverty. While the extended family system, so much in evidence at Springfield, is here also largely dictated by economic circumstances.

"Tin Town's" unsatisfactory state of impermanency has not, obviously, warranted the provision of any recreational facility, and the settlement's only amenity is a school, situated on the outskirts and catering for children until Standard VI.

Insecurity and deprivation breed their own social problems, and "Tin Town", like most slum spots, is not immune from the devitalising evils of juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, crime, unemployment, apathy and the psychological ill-effects of children (there are about 1,600 of them) reared in an environment bereft of any advantages whatsoever. Malnutrition too is apparent with all its recognised symptoms of degeneracy. Springfield Flats is, indeed, fast becoming a place unfit for human habitation, and which in itself constitutes a health hazard not only for those immediately concerned, but for the adjoining districts as well.

Improved housing and higher wages are essential pre-requisites if Springfield Flats is no longer to remain a blight area, and a disgrace to the City of Durban.

This sorry situation has been further compounded by the recent injection of 149 families from the Bayhead area, whose homes (which had been in their possession for 80 odd years) have been reclaimed by the South African Railways Administration. These uprooted persons represent a small proportion of the approximate 150,000 Indians, who, it is estimated, are likely to be affected either by the Group Areas Act, or by further expropriation and development schemes.

These Bayhead Indians come also from the lower income group bracket, but hitherto not only had their rental costs been low — a rand per month, but having the sea within easy access, and land suitable for cultivation, the majority had contentedly made a livelihood either as fishermen or as market gardeners.

Now, common to all displaced persons, they

feel rejected and bewildered — uncertain of the future, and resentful of their enforced upheaval.

Nor do they feel justly compensated by the Department of Community Development's decision to give them priority over Springfield's resident tenants in the proposed re-settlement scheme at Chatsworth.

## CHATSWORTH

CHATSWORTH is an Indian Township some ten miles from the centre of Durban, on Corporation ground, commenced in 1960.

Row upon row of houses, like concrete boxes, stand on the barren hill side. It is planned to accommodate 150,000 people. By the middle of 1968 approximately 11,000 houses had been occupied by over 80,000 people. The Township is divided into ten Units and the houses stand on plots of one-sixth of an acre or less.

Community facilities are completely lacking but one cinema is being built. There are no temples or mosques, and telephones are almost non-existent. I quote from Fatima Meer's books in which she says: "People who once lived in small compact communities with well-defined public roles and recognised neighbourhood status, find themselves in a multitude which questions their bona fides."

Transport is poor. Buses are privately owned and run irregularly. Drainage is non-existent on the newer roads. Flood water runs through the houses. Street lighting is limited and this encourages crime.

One man describes how easy it is to be robbed even in broad daylight. "At 3.10 p.m. on the afternoon of 5th July 1969 I boarded my bus, and took my seat at about the 6th row from the front. A man with a knife came and sat next to me. He pointed his knife at me and demanded money. His friend sat behind me with a gun. I, being shocked at the sudden move, took all my money and gave it to him. He wanted to stab me because I refused to let him have my watch. Fortunately he managed to break my watch from my wrist so I was not hurt. All this happened in a very short time and they jumped off the bus whilst it was still going slowly."

Rentals vary from R3 per month for a room, kitchen, shower and toilet up to R28 per month for a three bed-roomed house. Rental covers the house, sewerage, water and outside painting. Rents must be paid in person in

Unit 10, a long way from some of the other Units. House repairs are done by the Corporation and are charged to the occupants, and electricity is charged for.

The higher income groups live in Units 1 and 7 and ground can be bought in these areas. Houses on 1/8 acre cost approximately R2,000. Rents vary from R20 to R28 per month. In Units 2, 3 and 5 the rentals have been increased from R5 to R10, leading to much bitterness and in many cases to real hardship.

Well-built schools in all Units are adequate for the present population, bearing in mind that Education is not compulsory. The teachers take two sessions daily and are paid by the Government. They voluntarily contributed 10% of their wages towards the building of the schools. There are playing fields but these can only be used by the schools.

The R. K. Khan Hospital with 453 beds and a Nursing College is a Government Institution. It is dedicated to the memory of R. K. Khan who left his fortune to health services. Of this fortune R400,000 was donated to this building. It stands in Unit 5. Unfortunately only two wards are in use owing to shortage of staff. This is a paying hospital, non-paying patients are still sent to King Edward VIII hospital in Durban.

In the Township there is a Child Welfare Society which employs 6 Social Workers.

The only Shopping Centre is in Unit 2. There is also an hotel which is used by Welfare and other organisations on Sundays. Two private doctors practise from this area.

The women work mostly in factories in Pinetown and Durban. Those who work in Pinetown leave at about 4 a.m. and return about 7 p.m. They earn between R5 and R7 per week. The men earn between R10 and R12 per week. The daily return bus fare is 20c and to Durban 22c. Most of the domestic shopping is done in Durban or Clairwood in spite of the expense of travelling.

There is an interesting group of about 100 families known as the Zanzibaris, recently in the news, who live in Chatsworth. The story of their travels goes back to 1873 when a British man-of-war intercepted a cargo of slaves bound for Zanzibar in Arab dhows. This small Urdu speaking Islamic community who speak Arabic and study the Koran was settled on Muslim Trust Land on the Bluff, but in 1930 they were re-classified as Africans. In 1961 they were again re-classified as Asiatics and were settled in Chatsworth. They are a

problem group, living in the direst poverty in the poorest Unit in Chatsworth, where their children attend the Indian schools. They have their own mosque. Recently they have been re-classified again. Can you imagine the feelings of a people in this crazy country of ours who look like Africans, live amongst Indians, and are now classified as Coloureds? We were quite chilled by the bitter resentful faces we saw amongst them.

I would like to close with a quotation from Fatima Meer's book "Portrait of Indian South Africans."

"There is on the one hand the mowing down of communities which have taken ninety to a hundred years to mature and on the other, the expectation that new neighbourhoods will arise in the physical shells provided for those displaced. Little attention is paid to the deeply traumatic effects of sudden uprooting, and a nelson eye is turned to the overwhelming problems which face the displaced and the dispossessed."

## RESERVOIR HILLS

**R**ESERVOIR HILLS is an Indian residential suburb, to the North of Westville.

The area was originally planned as a white suburb, on land owned by a private Development Corporation. Development started in 1947, and ½ acre plots were marked out.

However, the area turned out to be unpopular with white buyers. (It is a rather bare, stony, wind-swept hillside rather far off the main road, and dominated by the enormous superstructure of the Durban Reservoir.)

No plots were sold to whites, and in 1958 it was declared an Indian Area.

At this stage the Development Corporation decided to sell ¼ acre plots.

Plots were sold for about £1,000 (R2,000) and some Indian families of the upper income groups, including professional people, doctors, lawyers and teachers, decided to move out to this new country area. They came from places like Asherville, which were getting very crowded, owing to the shortage of land available for Indian housing.

The Development Company was anxious to attract new residents, and so they partly subsidised a privately owned bus service, and the roads which were on the bus route were tarred. (These are still the only tarred roads in the area.)

The bus service still operates, with half hourly buses in the early morning and late

afternoon, hourly for the rest of the day. There are no buses into Durban after 8 p.m. or out of Durban after 8.30 p.m.

No provision was originally made for schools, but the Natal Indian Teachers' Society raised funds and put up a building on a piece of land bought at a low rate from the Development Company. (The company was still trying to attract residents.)

Eventually, when Indian Affairs took over Indian Education, the government granted a subsidy towards the further development of the school and has now taken over the running of it.

When the Greyville area of Durban was declared white, many of the better-off families from this mainly Indian area, which included Avondale Road, Madras Road and Cowie Road, were forced to move, and a large number of them settled at Reservoir Hills.

There were many distinguished Indian families amongst those who lost their homes at this time. Many of them were well-to-do merchants, whose families had owned and lived in their town houses for 80 or 90 years. They were a stable community with deep roots and a stake in their town. They had a sense of service to the community, and financed many amenities, such as schools and colleges.

They were conveniently near their businesses, schools, cinemas, and all the amenities of town life, including the beach.

Now that there was an enforced move, the Development Company was able to take advantage. Plots were smaller, and prices higher.

A plot in the best part of Reservoir Hills costs at present around R12,000, and the annual rates on these properties are R400, payable to the Durban Corporation.

Plots in the nearby White houses of Westville North cost only about R3,000 or R4,000 with correspondingly lower rates, (this is owing to the shortage of land allocated to the Indians.)

What do the residents of Reservoir Hills get for the high rates they pay?

No pavements, narrow, winding, un-made roads, poor soil, no storm water drainage, no main sewerage system.

A poor telephone service, with a great many people still waiting for phones.

No cinemas, no swimming pool, no High School, no daily postal delivery, inadequate street lighting and poor maintenance of lights, inadequate police protection.

No Civic Centre, no Public Library, no Parks.

All religious groups have now been allocated sites, and are building up their congregations.

When large areas in Durban, traditionally Indian, and occupied by the poorer Indian families, were declared White, Reservoir Hills began to fill up rapidly with cheaper houses, closer together, and blocks of working-class flats.

Residents of the original section are afraid of over-crowding, and a change in the character of their suburb.

On the other hand, the White houses of Westville North are creeping closer and closer, as Westville grows and spreads Reservoir Hills residents are beginning to feel a little anxious at the thought that they might be forced to move again, to make way for the Whites.

What worries the residents most of all is that the Durban Corporation makes decisions about the planning of the Township, without consulting the rate-payers themselves. They have no representation on Durban Corporation. Decisions are made over their heads about matters which are of great importance to them, and vitally affect their living conditions.

## CONCLUSION

FROM THESE PAPERS we have a picture of people, people whose forbears began to arrive over a hundred years ago, as indentured labour with no assets except their labour, or later as passenger Indians to develop commerce. By 1913 the Whites had decided that they were becoming a problem, and immigration was generally prohibited, with further restrictive legislation following over the years.

We have a picture of people being moved. The Department of Community Development reckoned that by mid-1966, about 41,000 people had already been re-settled, and that there were still another 86,000 to be moved from these same controlled and proclaimed areas, plus over 9,000 to come from other controlled areas such as Mobeni and Clairwood. This means that very nearly the whole Indian population of Durban will be moved. Waiting lists are understandably very long — 10,000 odd families in 1966, 40% of whom were being moved because of the Group Areas Act.

We have a picture of extremes — of abject poverty and considerable wealth — of a township such as Chatsworth where Mrs. Fatima

Meer considers that not enough sub-economic housing is provided. She believes that about 80% of Indians in Natal earn less than R54 a month, whereas less than half the houses built are sub-economic. Mrs. Ramasar in a paper on "Emerging social problems among the Indian People" in 1967 pointed out the growing number of indigent Indians, stating that in 1953 "1,800 families in Durban depended on grants and social pensions alone", but in 1966 up to 11,000 families received State assistance.

For this group life is a struggle and social workers find their problems increasing, due to such factors as desertion and no support by husbands and fathers, unemployment, and sickness. Even the handing of grants to the women can cause problems as it gives them independence for the first time. Religion is losing its hold, there is a breakdown in the system of joint families, and the lack of land ownership has deprived them of a status symbol as well as a means of subsistence.

The wealthy group have contributed greatly to the economic development of the area, but have been sadly rewarded. The great demand for land has led to fantastic prices, and at the same time the homes which they have had to vacate were often valued years before they were moved out, and they were sometimes paid as little as one-third of the real value. Further the "Grey Street complex" future plan is undisclosed, and this means there is no development or investment in this part. Another worry for property owners here is that it is expected that Indians who now shop in Grey Street will eventually shop in the Townships.

The wealthy Indians have a highly developed sense of service to others and charities exist for the benefit of Africans as well as Indians. Examples are the Shifa Hospital which was built with money donated by Indians and is run by a group of Indian doctors, the Islamic Institute which is a school for 1,000 primary and secondary school children, built by the Institute and sharing running costs with the Government, and the Womens' Cultural Group which raises money for charities at Kwa Mashu, amongst others.

They are a very cultured and intelligent group, and it is they who suffer most from the restrictive legislation and inequalities, forcing some of them to leave the country. One of them told me recently that she only realised how stunted was her personality once she lived in the United States. These are the people

to whom we should be giving responsibility, and whose advice we should be seeking.

On the question of unemployment, Mr. G. Maasdorp and Mr. L. McCrystal in a paper in 1967 found that the rate of growth of the economy was being restricted mainly by the colour bar, and very little by job reservation. Perhaps even the colour bar is breaking down now, as seen in the growing number of Indians, including women, employed in shops. We only hope that the Government will not pass any legislation to prevent this growth.

On the subject of housing, having looked at some of the townships recently, we question the wisdom of providing housing for thousands of people without providing corresponding amenities. We think the time has come for a meeting of township planners, social workers, Ministers and others to discuss the whole problem, and if necessary to change policy and plans. At present, we appear to be creating vast, anonymous masses of discontented people instead of stable, happy communities, and our problems are only likely to increase.

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## CABBAGES

I cannot stand these long flat days,  
My mind was stuffed too full in youth —  
It hunts incessantly for news  
And likes to weigh falsehood and truth.

Must oldsters thus be mummified  
Like cabbages in kindly ground  
Who are no good to anyone  
But cabbagers who wealth have found?

Surely God does not want our lives  
In muffled stupidity to float,  
When half the world is needing help  
And agony's a common note.

I know not what I'm going to do,  
How break the cage in which I'm bound;  
But cabbage culture wins my wrath,  
I'll hunt a cure until it's found.

*Jessie Hertslet (89).*

Jessie Hertslet died in January 1970 just after this poem had been received. A tribute to her was published in the August, 1969 issue of *Sash*.

## ANNIE BERTHA CONYNGHAM



ANNIE BERTHA CONYNGHAM, born in 1874, the eldest but one of a family of nine was brought up on a farm on the South Coast of Natal at Ifafa.

She trained as a nurse at Grey's Hospital, Pietermaritzburg during the time of the Boer War (1898-1901). In 1902 she sailed for England with military wives and patients and was the only trained nurse on the ship. Whilst in England she took her Midwifery and Massage training before returning to South Africa. After this Miss Conyngham did private nursing for some years and when the 1914-18 war broke out, she joined the Queen Alexandra Imperial Nursing Service and served in England and Salonika for some time. On the way to Salonika the boat stood by to take off wounded from Gallipoli — having no equipment for such nursing. They then sailed for Malta with the idea of leaving patients there only to find the Island was full. They had to sail to Gibraltar to land the wounded there. There they transhipped and sailed for Alexandria where they were told to go to Salonika. They were attacked by Zeppelins several times.

Miss Conyngham was invalided out in 1916 and sailed for South Africa where she continued with her nursing.

She took up Christian Science about this time and later became a practitioner. She went to Boston to the Mother Church. Later she adopted a little girl, Elsa, (now Mrs. Cooper), bought land in Pinetown and had a house built. She lived there for 30 years. After this she sold her house and went to the Knole Rest Home at Gillitts where she died on the 13th December, 1969 at the age of 95.

She joined the Sash in 1955 and attended the first meeting in Durban together with her sister Miss Beryl Conyngham and Miss Middleton. She never missed a Sash stand until prevented by illness, and took a keen interest in all its activities.

## Athlone Advice Office

### Annual Report

#### The Work of the Advice Office

This has continued much as usual, with just enough success to make it worth while. There is less and less we can do in the face of revised regulations tightening up the management of African townships. These regulations were gazetted on June 14, 1968 and came into effect on August 1st, 1968.\* The results have become very noticeable in the prescribed area of the Cape Peninsula during the past year.

#### New Regulations

(a) Housing permits may be allocated only to males who are South African citizens and over 21 years of age who qualify under Section 10 1 (a) or (b) of Act 25, 1945 as amended to live in the prescribed area concerned (i.e. by virtue of birth or long residence), and are employed there and have dependants who normally live with them there. Other families or individuals who qualify to remain in the prescribed area may be accommodated as lodgers with a householder if they can find such accommodation. There are in all 9 conditions which have to be satisfied before housing permits are issued to such people.

(b) Housing permits may be cancelled with 30 days notice, among other reasons, if the holder is for a continuous period of 30 days unemployed or not following some lawful trade or occupation (except in cases of illness). The permit may also be cancelled if the holder ceases to be, in the superintendent's opinion, a fit and proper person to reside in the township, or if a holder is convicted of an offence and is sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period exceeding 6 months. There are in all 15 ways in which a householder may have his housing permit cancelled.

(c) Special permits for family housing are issued to employees or representatives of a church, school, the State, or a provincial or local authority, who may be transferred to the area.

(d) There are certain concessions concerning widows and divorced women, but in Cape Town we know of few cases where a woman has been allowed to remain as a householder

\* These regulations came into force in Johannesburg in August 1969.

for long after the death of or divorce from, her qualified husband, even if she qualifies to remain in the area in her own right. She is expected to find lodgings if she does qualify, or to be resettled if she does not. Such people, both qualified and unqualified, have great pressure put on them to agree to be resettled.

(e) Lodger's permits. No-one may accept lodgers or take lodgings without permits, concerning the granting of which there are a great many conditions. Care in the issue of these permits should indeed help to control overcrowding, with all its attendant social ills including the spread of disease, in particular T.B. But difficulty in finding officially suitable lodgings, especially for family groups with children, also increases the pressure brought to bear on people to agree to resettlement.

#### Pressure upon families to be resettled

On March 11th last year, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, in answer to a question in the House as to how many Bantu were removed from the Western Cape to Mdantsane during 1968, said that "None were removed compulsorily. During 1968, 537 moved to Mdantsane voluntarily." Cases seen at the Advice Office indicate that those who are resettled do sign their agreement to resettlement, although often unwillingly or incomprehendingly.

Many of the cases we have seen have been those of women sent for and told that they no longer qualify to remain in their houses, where they have often lived for many years. This may be because their qualified husbands have died, or deserted them, or because, although they have lived in the Cape Peninsula area for more than fifteen years, it is not quite fifteen years since they registered. Few women registered until towards the end of 1954 and most only early in 1955. The trouble often starts with an application for registered employment or for a change of job on the part of a woman who had for many years considered herself qualified to remain in the area. Many, indeed, had exemptions under Section 10 1 (a), (b) or (c) of the Urban Areas Act stamped in their books. Section 10.1.b" exemptions were given until about five years ago to women who could prove that they had lived over fifteen years in the area but these are now commonly cancelled, because only official registration for over fifteen years is accepted, in accordance with the strict interpretation of the words "has lawfully resided" in

the 1952 amendment to Act 25/1945. Section "10.1.c" exemptions cease to be valid when a qualified husband dies or ceases to reside with his wife, or when the daughter of a qualified man marries, or a son turns 18.

Such women often only agree to be resettled after so much persuasion that it amounts to coercion. To repeat our quotation of last year from General Circular No. 25, 1967 (Head Office File No. V. 164/1), "It must be stressed that no stone is to be left unturned to achieve the reesttlement in the homelands of unproductive Bantu at present residing in the European areas . . . If a person or family does qualify, they can only be settled in the homelands if they agree to it. Persuasion must be continuously exercised by the district officials in collaboration with the responsible official of local authorities to persuade persons who qualify and are not prepared to accept settlement in towns in their homelands, to be settled in towns in their homelands on ethnical grounds."

In our experience, great pressure has been put on families who are well established in the townships, with their children attending local schools, to tear up their roots and be resettled in rural areas.

*Mary Seekoei* has been a widow since 1940, the year she came to Cape Town. She is now seventy years old, and a full-time grandmother, an office of which she has not been deprived by resettlement because the grandchildren, two Cape Town "borners", have been sent with her to Witzieshoek. Her exemption permit under Section 10.1.b. of the Act was cancelled when it was observed that she had registered in 1955, and did not qualify to be the tenant of a township house. Not being in gainful employment, she fitted the Deputy Minister's description of "superfluous appendage", although her own family here did not regard her in that light. Her daughter, mother of the children, was allowed to accompany them and see them settled in and then return to earn their livelihood. She has no husband, but is saved from the threat of destitution by the new scheme for women bread-winners (see below). The old lady has by now been left in her new home, where one hopes that younger neighbours may befriend her and help her with the growing children.

*Vivian Ntloko* is legally married to a qualified man who, has been employed for the past ten years by a garage in Cape Town. They had been lodging together in Guguletu, but the family grew to six children and so did

that of the official tenant of the house in which they were lodging. Quarrels became frequent and they were told to move out. Resettlement was immediately offered the family. As they have no rural connections, it was arranged that they were to be sent to Mdantsane, where Mr. Ntloko would be able to visit his wife and children during his annual leave. Train tickets were issued for February 16th, 1969. But these were never used. The couple had not lost their right under Section 10 (1) c of the Urban Areas Act to remain residing together, and when it was found that their appeal was well-founded, the picture changed and instead of being resettled they were allocated the local housing for which they qualified.

### Breadwinners' Concession

Provision is now made for women with dependants, who need not necessarily be qualified, to remain in the area in terms of Section 10 (1) (d) of the Urban Areas Act, providing they have a long record within the area. A special concession, carefully arranged at Bantu Affairs and applied under supervision in each individual case, enables such women to take their children away to rural relatives or to foster parents and then to return to work in the Cape Peninsula, preferably in living-in jobs. They are supposed to bring a written certificate from the magistrate of the district where the children have been left, stating that the children are now there, and may then either return to former employers to even take new jobs. Assistance is given with rail-warrants and with food parcels for the journey, and mothers are encouraged to welcome the positive benefits of country life where their children can absorb traditional ways of life away from urban influences. Above all, they are not destitute and can send support money regularly to their families. The children will be placed in rural schools (whether these are usually of a standard comparable to that of the township schools which they are leaving, is not clear).

This scheme is said by officials to be working well, and bread-winning mothers certainly do accept its positive aspects with relief. It is not fully recognised by the authorities that, like all mothers everywhere, they experience acute distress and anxiety over the separation, especially where there is no grandmother up-country to take charge. Precisely these worries bring them to the Advice Office. But the pattern of coercive persuasion applies, and indeed as a realistic solution to a basic eco-

nomic problem it is most welcome. Apart from the further disruption of family life entailed, it is disturbing to note that children born in the area and sent away under this scheme will lose their residential rights here and will never be able to return, except, in the case of men, as contract workers. The authorities are enthusiastic about the arrangement, which relieves some of the overcrowding in township houses, but they do not seem to consider the serious deprivation of rights.

*Girlsie Nyembezi* has lived in the area since 1947 and registered in 1954. She has been visiting the Advice Office since 1962, first about her defaulting husband (from whom she separated), difficulty in paying the rent and from 1966, when her 10.1.b. exemption was cancelled, about the looming threat of resettlement. It may be now be fifteen years since she registered, but she has agreed to the resettlement of the children under the breadwinners' scheme and is only waiting to be satisfied about the details. She must work to support her four children, whose health and behaviour tend to cause her alarm. (One daughter has abandoned an infant and disappeared.) She wants to take the family to her relatives but as they are all living in the prescribed area of Port Elizabeth, it seems that unknown foster parents are to be allocated at Mnxesha. She is unhappy about taking them to strangers and although she is supposed to have left by the middle of September and has already been arrested and fined once, she is still smiling and hoping for a further extension and a more acceptable ultimate arrangement.

*Elsie Atolo* has not seen her husband since they separated in 1950, the year of her arrival in Cape Town. Half of her family of eight are living at Burgersdorp, but the others were living here with her, two of them with rights under Section 10 (1) (a) of the Urban Areas Act. She herself is in full-time employment and rented a brick house registered in her name. She apparently forfeited her right to this house by being late with the rent or by committing some other offence. On May 15 she saw a City Council official, who persuaded her to agree to the resettlement of her family at Mnxesha. Had she been happy about the arrangement, she would presumably not have come to our Office for advice. But the eviction order had been served and the train tickets were waiting for her at the Registration Office. She could not find lodging accommodation for the family and felt oblig-

ed to take them away. She was to return to her registered job in Cape Town.

All children sent away from Cape Town in this manner will have lost all rights to live and work in Cape Town in the future.

### Separation of Husbands and Wives

While fewer cases have been noted of couples being separated who have resided together for many years, a very high proportion of all cases seen concerns couples who must expect to be unable to reside together, except on holiday visits, until they reach the age of retirement. The hardening pattern of migrancy is now keeping husbands and wives apart, rather than separating them. The wives of contract workers may not even visit their husbands in the urban areas, and visiting permits are carefully controlled for the wives of qualified men who must find suitable lodgings and obtain permission before their wives come. We have seen many wives of qualified men during the past year, who would reside with their husbands here for choice. But although their husbands have residential rights under Section 10.1 (a) (or more often b), of the Urban Areas Act, they cannot make homes with them here because they do not *already* "ordinarily reside" with them. Men whose wives are given permission to visit them are allowed to lodge with them temporarily but may not cancel their rent in bachelor quarters, which remains as proof that the couple do not "ordinarily reside" together. Such couples are not eligible for housing and the wife must leave when her permission to visit expires.

*Geslina and Jacob Ntuli* are a fairly elderly couple from Natal. Their children are grown up and settled in homes of their own. He has been working in Cape Town since 1950, and she visits him whenever she can obtain both permission and her fare. His annual leave is too short for trips to Natal, where they have no home of their own anyway. They ratified their tribal marriage with a civil ceremony in 1967 at Observatory, hoping that this would secure their residential qualifications but it did nothing of the sort. She left when unable to remain lawfully and returned this year, hoping again to remain permanently. They had suitable lodgings and were emphatic about wanting to lodge a legal appeal against her instructions to leave after a visit of several months. This was impossible because he pays rent in the zones; they therefore do not "ordinarily reside" together and had no legal grounds on which to appeal. Mr.

Ntuli is now sixty years old and retirement is presumably only a couple of visits ahead. Will they be able to have a home together? Not in Cape Town.

The husband of *Margaret Mkandwana* is not a qualified man but has been with a firm of building contractors since 1963, and if he remains working there, can hope to qualify in 1971. As he does not pay rent at bachelor quarters, but lodges legally with his in-laws, the conditions of "ordinary residence" are only blocked by the fact that he does not qualify under the Act. His wife had come to Cape Town with her parents at the age of five and had always lived with them, until her endorsement out at the end of last year. She was supposed to go to Mr. Mkandwana's home at Engcobo but stated that she would prefer divorce to such a fate. He has a tribal wife there, to whom she expected to be unacceptable, and with whom she did not fancy living. She said it would be better to remain with her parents as their unmarried daughter. This step would in fact make legal residence with her husband possible again, while severing the legality of their marriage. It is not known to the Office what transpired.

### Legal Cases

The appeal of Mrs. Caroline Mafeje was upheld in the Supreme Court, Cape Town on August 19th, 1969. The Appeal had been noted at the time of her last appearance in the Magistrate's Court at Observatory when she was found guilty of being in the area illegally and given a suspended sentence. It was maintained by the Magistrate that as the written record at Langa gave her date of entry as 1938, this must be accepted as true and her own verbal testimony based on "fallible human memory", that she had been in the area since 1936, could not be accepted. Evidence led in the Supreme Court concentrated on the date of her civil marriage, which the Cape Town marriage certificate gave as January 31st, 1938. Mr. David Knight, an advocate presenting her case, showed that according to the laws governing marriage without special licence at that time, she must have been in the area at least five weeks before her marriage in order that the banns could be called. As this carried her record in the area back into 1937, the Langa records were thereby proved faulty, and the judges were consequently willing to accept her own testimony concerning her entry in 1936.

It had been agreed in the lower court that an African who could show that he or she



entered the area before June 24th, 1937 and had remained in it since, was already qualified in terms of Section 10.1.b. of Act 25, 1945, at the time that the amendment to Section (10) was promulgated on 24.6.52. Further registration was not necessary, whereas persons not yet fully qualified should have registered within 72 hours of that date. This was not understood at the time, least of all by the people most concerned. The machinery for registration was moreover not yet organised, resulting in the disqualification of hundreds of women. Many subsequently had their exemption permits cancelled and many have been obliged to leave. As a result of the success of the Appeal, Mrs. Mafeje's unmarried daughters, Doris and Beaty, who had also been endorsed out, are allowed to continue residing with their mother in the brick house registered in her name and all are now working with permission as chars. Fortunately they have at no stage moved between the City Council and the Divisional Council portions of the Cape Peninsula. Few families can show such a long unbroken record. It is also significant that the total infallibility of official records has been disproved.

In the Magistrate's Court at the Department of Bantu Affairs, charges of being found in the area illegally were withdrawn against three wives who could show that they were the legal wives of qualified men with whom they "ordinarily reside". These couples are (1) Mr. and Mrs. Swartbooi Potye, (2) Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Mdlankomo and (3) Mr. and Mrs. Joubert Coki. The last of these three husbands was not yet quite qualified at the time that his wife was refused a further extension, but by the time she was arrested his fifteen unbroken years in the area were complete and as they were "ordinarily resident" together in lawful township accommodation, their right to continue doing so was admitted and she now has a 10.1.c exemption stamp in her book. "It looks like a dream", she said in thanks.

Another case withdrawn by the prosecutor before appearing in court was that of Nofezile Teka, who came to visit her husband without permission because they had applied for it but had got impatient over delays. She arrived in October 1968 and was on her way to the Registration Office to apply for a visiting permit when she was arrested. It was still within 72 hours of her arrival and she could not therefore be found guilty. She was subsequently allowed to visit her qualified

husband for one month. This was a concession in view of the ruling that permission to visit a prescribed area must be obtained before leaving the home district.

Two women defended by our attorney in the Magistrate's Court were found guilty of having remained in the area without permission and were given suspended sentences, after which we assume that they left.

Jostina Nkwandla had hoped to prove that she qualified because she was convinced that she registered early in 1954. This could not be substantiated. She was in the process of suing for divorce from her husband, but was instructed to leave the area and return for the case.

### Right to Return to Previous Employer

The entrenchment of the migratory labour system shows clearly in the case of men who cannot establish their qualifications under Section 10.1.b. of the Act. Such men may not change their jobs locally, but once discharged are endorsed out and must register as work-seekers in their rural districts. But Africans who are offered re-employment by their previous employers within a year of discharge may not, in terms of Section 28.u. of the Labour Act No. 67 of 1964 be refused permission to return to these jobs. If they have actually left the area in the interval however they can only return to their previous employers under contract, which is not always possible. There have been a number of cases in which Africans have been initially refused permission to return to employers who had given them written offers of re-employment. This was rectified when the attention of the registering officials was drawn to the relevant Section of the Act.

*Wuyisile Gwetyana* is not a qualified man, having first entered Cape Town in 1957. He was discharged from his job (which was not a contract job) in March 1969 after getting into trouble for an offence which his employer was subsequently willing to overlook with a caution. He was offered fresh employment almost immediately, but was refused permission to resume work and endorsed out. Several interviews and a number of telephone conversations, of which the most effective were between our attorney and the registering officials, took place before he was finally reinstated in his old job.

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

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

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

Published by the Black Sash, 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg, and printed by Messrs. Pacific Press (Pty.) Ltd., 302 Fox Street, Johannesburg.

## Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

## Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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