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A remark to the effect that there is no starvation in South Africa, made publicly by M. C. Botha and echoed privately by many well-fed whites... a feeling that as long as the market picks up... we will be back on our golden road to prosperity and all the black bogies will go back into their proper places... out of town and out of sight... which is of course where they belong and are most happy. Yes, we think that we are wonderful in the way that our generous hearts respond to appeals for money for poor black children, we're fantastic in the way we find money for a poor old black man who has been defrauded of his life's savings. Perhaps you are one of those who feels that given a little more elastic approach on the part of the ruling powers, a little less of the petty apartheid game, and a little uplifting of the harmless black middleclass man, and a distant hope that one day he might be allowed a bit of say in things and all will stay the same in our dreamy white world. Well, times have changed and its too late. The big fraudulent apartheid game is on its way out too. And no watered-down version will ever convince the world that it could work or is intended to work, because though the news may not have filtered through to everyone yet, the mood has changed, and if you want to be in and around at that time you had better make some pretty rapid adjustments. On a public platform in Johannesburg recently, a respected churchman said that the black hand was still extended in friendship to the white man. We feel that he is rather over-optimistic. Of course there may be a corner

of this country to which the evil fruits of this governments policy have not spread, but it is doubtful. We strongly doubt that there is a remote enough a rural area which still has the semblance of a village where the men are paid enough on the spot not to have to take their labour to the white cities where it can be exploited more successfully. We doubt too that in any rural area there is adequate food, schooling or prospects. And in the towns we should be familiar with the scene, of violence through frustrated ambitions, of a total contempt for the whitemans law which is based on the whitemans own interest in keeping the blackman forever in an inferior position... so we find it a little naive to imagine that the blackmans hand is still in the outstretched position. If we could be in the black situation for several months, and feel what it was like to be powerless and black in a white orientated power system, to have suffered the ignomy of being less than a man in the eyes of others, a mere "boy", have felt the daily pains and frustrations... perhaps then we might feel a bit less confident as to whether his black hand was still offered in friendship, and even not too sure that he would want to take our white hand either. Its time to rid ourselves of the presumption that we have got forever in which to do our adjusting, that in five years time it'll be much the same as it is now, outside pressures are increasing, and inner pressures are mounting, stop seeing the blackman as endlessly benevolent to you because you are white and prepare yourself for the day when you will have to accept change on his terms.

Race and Economics in South Africa

By KEITH GOTTSCHALK

who is reading for his M.A. in African Government at U.C.T.

The phrase "apartheid versus economics" is, in one permutation or another, currently a popular debate. This phrase is misleading and obscures part of what is going on in the Republic. To explain and predict the workings of our society we must understand the relationship between race and economics in South Africa. This paper examines the three main alternate views of the relationship between race and economics in our society, how the society works, and why it has an intrinsic built-in tendency to more race discrimination, an increasing black-white wage gap and growing repression to maintain the whole system.

The three main alternative hypotheses on the relationship between race and economics are:

that "the imperatives of economic growth" will ultimately cause apartheid to wither away;

the second view, that economic growth will adapt itself to the existing pattern of race discrimination; and

the third theory, that *race discrimination* will increase with industrialisation to neutralise its political consequences, and apartheid will finally slow down the rate of economic growth.

The first hypothesis is that economic growth, foreign investment, raising the gold price will wither away apartheid and colour discrimination. Big business, and its academic sympathisers, the business-owned daily press, and official and unofficial agencies supporting white supremacy, from the Department of Information to the South African Foundation, all plaigerize the Beatles' refrain: "its getting better all the time." The view that if only South Africa is left alone economic growth will make things better for everyone is endlessly publicised by such captains of industry and finance as Dr. Frans Cronje, Jan Marais, Harry Oppenheimer, Anton Rupert and Albert Wessels,¹ with academic

sympathisers such as Ralph Horwitz and F. van den Bogaerde.

These pillars of Hollard Street are supported by some Marxist intellectuals, such as Raphie Kaplinsky and the late Prof. Eddie Roux, who add the rider that the inexorable withering away of apartheid by capitalism will be inexorably followed by some sort of socialist revolution.

The lengthiest exposition of the view that economic growth, the industrial revolution, will erode apartheid is found in the writings of Michael O'Dowd, a director of Anglo-American and the English Academy of South Arica.

Very briefly, O'Dowd says that as all states undergo their industrial revolution feudal-type systems are undermined. Society is disrupted by the industrial revolution, inequality increases, mounting protests are crushed by intensified government repression lasting not longer than 30 years at most, after which liberal constitutional reforms usher in some form of the welfare state.

This hypothesis is vulnerable to severe criticism. O'Dowd based his theory on Rostow's stages of economic growth theory, which has met with academic scepticism. Only a minority of countries in Western Europe followed O'Dowd's pattern of gradual constitutional reform leading to democracy and the welfare state. Some countries, Bolivia or Syria, for example, have many violent swings or coups; other states (Libya, Outer Mongolia and Yemen) went straight from a feudal *ancien re-*

(1) Directors of respectively Netherlands Bank, Trust Bank, Anglo-American, Rothman's Tobacco and Toyota.

gime to a socialist or Communist regime; still others (Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, Argentina, Japan, Rumania) moved from a feudal-type government to a short-lived, multi-party liberal democracy, which was overthrown by a fascist, semi-fascist military regime, which in turn was overthrown and replaced by either a capitalist government (W. Germany) or a communist government (E. Germany).

The second hypothesis, that the industrial revolution adapts itself to pre-existing patterns of racialism, is argued by Hervert Blumer, a Californian professor, and Frederick Johnston, a fellow of St. Anthony's College, England. A factory owner, if a local, will probably share his community's racial views; if a foreigner, he will be anxious to seek acceptance. He usually depends on the local society for his supplies, staff and markets. The authorities' and society's goodwill or at least neutrality may be essential to the running of his business. Consequently the manager's hiring policy is likely to obey (if I may coin a phrase) "the customs and conventions of the community."²

It was only ended, not by "natural" economic forces, but by the deliberate, outside political intervention of the U.S. Federal Government, which passed far-reaching civil rights laws in the 1960s, and sent in federal police and army troops to help enforce the law.

Frederick Johnston examines the relationships in South Africa between white employers, white employees, and black workmen. He defines what he considers "the core structure of white supremacy", as extreme economic inequality between black and white, and the power to maintain this. White employers and white employees conflict over the division of privileges between them, but their interests coincide in seriously underpaying black and brown workmen, and in police repression of black political parties and trade unions who seek to oppose this extreme economic inequality.

The third hypothesis is that race discrimination *increases* with industrialisation in order to neutralise its political consequences. This view seems first to have been elaborated in

(2) Copyright of this phrase is vested in the U.T.C. Council, whose indulgence I beg with Roy Cambell's words:

"Forgive me Statesman, that I have purloined This deathless phrase by Thine own lips coined" — THE WAYGOOSE 1928.

the novel "When Smuts Goes" by the history professor Arthur Keppel-Jones. Recently an economist at Oxford, Sean Gervasi, and Dr. Francis Wilson, of UCT, have both marshalled evidence to demonstrate that the century of South Africa's capitalist industrial revolution has not reduced the extreme economic inequality between black and white, but appears to have possibly increased such inequality.

Keppel-Jones' book, subtitle "A History of South Africa from 1952 to 2010" was published in 1947. It claims that whatever temporary fluctuations are caused in race policy by splits in and coalitions among the Nationalist and United Parties, the Afrikaner-dominated Republic drifts inexorably towards a rigid *verkramptheid*.

The institutions and ideology of the Republic narrowly limit its rulers' options to a number of predictable, historically-repeated responses: confrontation not compromise, repression and rearmament, not reform of race relations.

To ascertain which of these alternative hypotheses is accurate, we must examine the facts of South Africa's society and history. Let us discuss three questions:

Why did race discrimination start in South Africa?

Why did race discrimination continue in South Africa?

Why does race discrimination increase in South Africa?

Professors Wilson and Thompson warn us that in an unequal society historical writing is not merely a reflection of social inequality; it is also a powerful instrument for the *maintenance* of inequality."

In South Africa this has gone so far that even misleading words are used. In this paper those people called in school books "Bushmen", "Hottentots" and "Bantu" are referred to as San-speaking Africans, Khoi-speaking Africans, and Bantu-speaking Africans. Persons who misuse the linguistic term "Bantu" thereby avoid having to admit that San- and Khoi-speakers ("Bushmen" and "Hottentot") were also Africans.

They can thus deny that the whole of the Cape Province and OFS, the whole of South Africa, is the homeland originally occupied by black and brown South Africans before the white conquest, and who are now confined to reserves, locations and group areas demarcated for them by the whites.

My calculation is that if we could convert all the malnourished into a well nourished people quickly, we would have a population 10 million less in 31 years time, than is now predicted.

*Professor John Reid.
Sprocas 4.*

Similarly, it has become fashionable for even some liberals to imitate the Nationalists and call the reserves "homelands". But the official renaming of the African reserves as "Bantu homelands" serves a specific propaganda purpose. It implies that these reserves must be in some way the "homelands" of black South Africans, in which they once lived and to which they may justifiably be repatriated. In fact the reserves are only the remnant of the "homelands" of the indigenous South Africans; they are only 12.8% of the "traditional homelands".

The pre-conquest societies in South Africa were not usually based on race discrimination. Though San-speakers lost much of their hunting grounds, they still lived throughout the Karroo and Northern Cape, and traded or worked for Bantu-speaking Africans.

It is an often-repeated white myth that the San- and Khoi-speakers were ruthlessly exterminated by the "Bantu invaders" and were only saved by the protection of peaceful rule of the whites, a sort of *pax Afrikaner*. In reality wars between Khoi- and Bantu-speaking Africans appear not noticeably more frequent than wars between Khoi and Khoi, or wars between Xhosa and Xhosa. Khoi- and Bantu-speaking African tribes lived intermingled in various areas, they traded, their chiefs formed dynastic alliances by inter-racial marriages of each other's daughters, and in one case two separate tribes of Khoi-speakers and Xhosa-speakers, through inter-marriage, formally merged into one tribe called the Gqunukwebe (who incidentally lived west of the Fish River and the Eiselen line).

The San-speakers were exterminated by the Boers in campaigns of genocide between 1715-1862. The white settlers also seized virtually all the pastures of the Khoi-speaking African, killing those who resisted, the landless survivors being forced to either starve, emigrate, or become labourers for the white farm owners.

The monopolistic merchants of the DEIC set up a garrison-farm in the Cape Peninsula in 1652, from 1657 they encouraged the growth of what was to become a class of hereditary white land-owners called the "Free Burghers", in 1659 their seizure of pastures started the first of three dozen wars against Black and Brown. The point is not usually made that the prosperity of the Free Burghers depended on a class of Unfree Burghers. Initially most of the labourers were indentured DEIC handed out free to the Free Burghers donations of slaves; later the subsistence white farmers obtained most of their labour from non-slave San- and Khoi-speaking Africans.

The D.E.I.C. merchants subscribed to an unequal society based upon class discrimination; they were not opposed to a colour bar, as may be seen by the fact that three-quarters of all births at the Cape were Coloured children, and 10% of all marriages were interracial, during the seventeenth century, Governors Simon and Willem Adriaan van der Stel were Coloured Persons.

When their labourers were indentured whites, the Free Burghers could rely on class distinctions; when their labour source was predominantly slaves (who were freed if they became baptised and spoke Dutch) the dividing line was religion and language. When later the poor, illiterate, white trekboers obtained most of their labour from non-slave black and brown, only colour divided them from those whom they found it convenient to regard as their social inferiors (because they could be paid inferior wages when paid at all with a larger profit for the white farm owner).

Notice that the order of succession of the source of labour determined what are still, in ascending order, social divisions in South Africa today — class, religion and language, and colour.

Having explained how colour discrimination started in South Africa, we must now discuss why it continued. The eighteenth century Cape contained a trading society based on class inequality, and an unequal society of subsistence white trekboers, based on colour discrimination. The trekboers became dominant with their 1707 triumph of having the Governor recalled for not promoting their interests against those of the company; they, not black and brown, gained dominance on such legislative, administrative and judicial

organs as existed. The government initially pampered them with virtually free supplies of labour; later it almost always retrospectively legalised their conquests of land and thefts of cattle. Hence the Boers' society based on colour discrimination, on feudal-like³ "proper relations between master and servant", became dominant. When they left to conquer most of South Africa between 1838-1868, the colour bar society spread over South Africa with them.⁴ The franchise allowed whites to dominate the Cape Colony; was restricted virtually exclusively to them elsewhere. This political power was used to perpetuate their privileges, enshrined in the Transvaal constitution: "The volk shall not suffer equality between black and white in the church or state."⁵

To summarise: there were three main groups in the eighteenth-century Cape white land-owners, (having a feudal-like relationship with their black and brown labourers); merchants and manufacturers employing wage

(3) because the British Government extended some measure of protection to black and brown against white employers (emancipation, anti-flogging circuit courts) and white land-grabbers (Glenelg's refusal to expel conquered Xhosas from their land for white land-owners).

(4) But the Cape Peninsula remained, more than anywhere else in South Africa, a society based upon class rather than specifically colour discrimination, with most public amenities integrated, until Nationalist laws forced its segregation after 1948. That this regional difference is primarily caused by the dominance of the values of a commerce-orientated society, and not religious, language or urban factors may be seen by comparisons; Durban has always been as segregated as Pretoria, or as any *platteland* village. These towns were in societies dominated by the white farm-owners' views of race relations. Protestant Cape Town had less segregation than the Catholic Belgian Congo. It is not the Calvinist theological doctrine of the "elect", but the economic and social factors making for religious selection that are of interest: in South Africa the Calvinists are split into 8 main churches: the three Afrikaner Reformed Churches, openly racist; the three Presbyterian churches, sympathetic to English-speaking liberals; as is also the Calvinist Church breakaway; and the Congregationalists, largely brown and black in membership and more radical.

In the Portuguese Empire white settlers were until recently bureaucrats, soldiers,

labour; and black and brown workmen. Classes tended early to coincide with ethnic groups.

By enforcing the colour bar the majority of whites forced class divisions to follow race cleavages. As new sectors of the economy rose, they were forced to follow the pre-existing pattern of race relations:

a) Between 1657-1869 the main source of wealth came from land-ownership (stock farming) most of South Africa being conquered and divided out among white farmers between 1836-1896: the reserves and group areas laws perpetuate this;

b) Following the major mineral discoveries of 1870 and 1886, laws confiscated all mineral-bearing land owned by black and brown;

c) As manufacturing became increasingly important after World War One, laws prohibited black and brown from owning industrial or commercial sites in the central business districts of the cities.

Hence South Africa was organised into a plural society — a society where the primary divisions were in racial *blocs*. Class clusterings and cleavages were organised into these primary race divisions:

INTEREST GROUPS

<i>Economic</i>	<i>Ethnic</i>
businessmen, intelligentsia, some middle class	originally Dutch expatriates; later predominantly English-speaking Whites.
lower-middle class landed and labour aristocracy	overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking Whites.
some skilled and semi-skilled work, manual labour, peasantry.	Africans, Coloureds and Indians, virtually only Africans.

wealthy managers of plantations, or peasants forbidden to hire black labour. Consequently there is a far lower degree of specifically colour discrimination in Portugal's African colonies. Though the exploitation of forced labour equals anything in South Africa, there is no colour bar against individual blacks rising to any position.

(5) The word *volk* has been wrongly translated by some to mean "people", *volk* here means the Afrikaner people, i.e. an ethnic group.

If society has been organised into race blocs ever since, if more apartheid laws are passed annually and none repealed, why do we keep on reading the claim in the daily press that "Apartheid is failing?" What Frederick Johnston calls "the core structure of white supremacy", viz the increasing black-white wage gap and repression of black unions and political parties still exists.

To claim that "Apartheid has failed" will sound grotesque to the Msini family, or the 1 600 000 other dependents separated by the pass laws from their homes under group areas, "black spots" removal and squatter laws, or to the black or brown university graduates denied a job because of the colour bar.

What the daily press mean when they announce that "apartheid is failing" is that white businessmen are granted additional quotas of migrant labourers, and that they are allowed to employ black and brown in formerly white jobs. In short they mean that those *apartheid* restrictions which hinder white businessmen have been relaxed. That there has been no removal of those apartheid restrictions hindering black and brown workmen (pass laws, group areas), does not appear to concern the white-owned press.

White employers oppose *apartheid* over the specific issues of feudal-like restrictions upon the horizontal and vertical mobility of black and brown labour. They in no way complain over police repression of black unions and political parties. This enables them to employ black welders on construction sites for 30 cents an hour, one-quarter of what white welders are paid on sites. When the state-owned steel mills reclassified a job from white to black, they also reclassified the wage rate from 68 cents per hour to 22 cents per hour. What happened to those missing 46 cents? Part were paid to white employees, the rest to white employers.

Another technique of inequality is "job fragmentation." Consider how this works by an example: a white employer paying a

In 1968 there was only one qualified Black Engineer and there was not one registered African apprentice in the whole of South Africa.

white employee say, R800 monthly needs to hire a second person at R200 monthly as the firm expands. Instead he fragments the job. The unpleasant labour part of the job is given to a black workman at say R60 monthly. The white employee, for condescending to let a black do half his former work, gets a pay rise to say R260.

Thus: the BLACK WORKMAN knows at R60 he is getting under one-third of what the job is worth. But his union leader has been endorsed out, and anyways the *Natal Mercury* forgot to ask him, so he says nothing.

The WHITE EMPLOYEE gets R260 monthly for less work and he says "Apartheid is the best for South Africa."

The WHITE EMPLOYER would prefer to employ two black workers for a total of R120 monthly rather than pay out total wages of R320. But he still pockets R60 extra monthly and he says "You know, Separate Development is not as bad as the overseas critics claim."

The NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT, by taxing the bigger incomes of the white employer and white employee, takes R20 towards buying Wasp helicopters, and it says: "We don't like NUSAS' arms statement."

Job reservation enables white employees to blackmail their employers for wages far above what they would otherwise get:

Black bricklayers at resettlement camps R16 monthly.

White bricklayers, average Cape Town, R160 monthly.

White bricklayers, average on Rand, R300 monthly.

White bricklayers, freelance on Rand, R1000 monthly.

This wage differential of 62 to 1 for the same job would soon equalise itself in the absence of job reservation and the pass laws. In short the more apartheid laws "fly in the face of economic imperatives", and "restrict the economy", the *more* prosperity this means for large sections of white employees. The more these restrictions are relaxed the more profits this means for white managers, shareholders and investors. In other words the phrase "economic growth vs. apartheid ideology" really means growth for white employers vs. economic prosperity for white employees."

In one sense it was accurate for a perceptive businessman, when he addressed an Institute of Industrialists meeting to comment

that although the South African economy depends increasingly on manufacturing and commerce the Government's labour policies are still "feudal". For the aim of apartheid is to deflect as big as possible a proportion of the national income from black and brown to those who were the wealthiest before South Africa had a capitalist economy — the white land-owners and their urban descendants of the lower middle class: bureaucrats, policemen, supervisors, formen, railway porters, white artisans, etc.⁶

Since a "whites only" franchise ensures that white employees can always outvote white employers (notwithstanding the articulate business-owned press) apartheid will continue to win over "the imperatives of economic growth." This is of course the reason why sympathisers of big business advocate a franchise qualified by wealth and education — it would allow the wealthy classes to outvote the lower middle class: bureaucrats, policemen, working class black and brown. That this would, a' la Brazil, merely shift the basis of extreme economic inequality from colour to class, but not reduce the inequality itself, is not a point such political circles care to emphasise. Neither do they explain why a "whites only" electorate with compulsory secondary school education elects an *apartheid*, whereas the overwhelmingly illiterate voters of Botswana or Zambia elect non-racial democratic governments. The subordination of educational qualifications to class and ethnic interests can best be observed by noting which political movements are supported by the majority of Afrikaner university graduates, by the majority of English-speaking white university graduates, and by African graduates, all having equal educational standards.

The fundamental difference between those who advocate a vote qualified by race or by class and those who advocate universal suffrage is between those who see the vote for Parliament as an instrument of power for their own group, and those who see the vote

(6) Strictly speaking, the Nationalist Government's economic policy cannot be called feudal, for it does not aim at returning to a subsistence agrarian manorial economy. The compromise of benefiting the white urban lower-middle class, white land-owner, and to a lesser extent white businessman, at the expense of black and brown labour, is more akin to the economic policies of fascist regimes as in Nazi Germany, Corporate Italy, Falangist Spain and Fascist Portugal.

as an instrument to channel the political process into peaceful, constitutional methods to arbitrate between different interest-groups. Indeed the Progressive Party suggested franchise is so conservative that the proportion of the electorate who would be black or brown would be smaller than it was in the Cape Colony electorate of 1886! It would *permanently* replace a race oligarchy by a class of oligarchy; ruled by a minority race with rule by a minority class. This is at best a transition step towards democracy; it is no substitute for government by the consent of the governed.

To summarise: apartheid is in the interests of the majority of the voters; hence the most racist party usually tends to increase its votes. Among the consequences of the extreme economic inequality and political defencelessness suffered by black and brown South Africans:

One black man or woman is prosecuted under the pass laws once every 50 seconds every day of the year. The average length of a pass law trial is 2 minutes in Cape Town, 1 minute 48,9 seconds in Johannesburg. In 1933 magistrate van der Westhuizen set an *average* time over one shift of 27,7 seconds per pass law trial, which is a world record for "justice".

One black or brown child dies a preventable death from the direct or indirect consequences of malnutrition every 50 seconds around the clock every day of the year. This is around 190 000 children dying preventable deaths annually when South Africa, unlike other African states, does have the money and staff to prevent this. To visualise what 10 000 means: If 190 000 child corpses were lined up by the side of the national road head-to-foot, the corpses of one year's child victims of malnutrition would stretch along the national road from Durban to Pietermaritzburg and beyond.

One black or brown man, woman or child is evicted from his/her dwelling every 6 minutes under group areas, "black spots" or "squatter" legislation. By the Republic's 20th anniversary, this will be accelerated to one person evicted every 90 seconds.

We must now ask the third question: Why does race discrimination not merely continue, but increase? Every year more apartheid laws are passed, none are repealed.

Our clue to answering the question lies in the semantic lineage of Nationalist policy —

apartheid *alias* vertical separate development *alias* multi-national development. The clue lies in the oft-repeated insistence of white supremacists that the "urban Bantu" are the worst "problem". By which is meant that black and brown in the rural areas, especially in earlier times, "naturally" (after their conquest) accepted what Thompson calls the "situation of power and deference in the countryside." They indeed had to obey the racist "customs and conventions of the community" if they were to escape violent assault for being "cheeky."

But in the urban areas, obedience to traditional authorities such as chiefs or white land-owners withers away. The dislocations of urbanisation spawn political parties and trade unions. Rural deference gives way to urban protests and riots. The Nationalist Government is hostile to black trade unions because they seek to reduce the black-white wage gap and because unions and strikes are incompatible with the deference the black lower orders are expected to render to those in a higher station in life. The Afrikaner Nationalist attitude to black trade unions is similar to that of the High Tory English judges who commented upon trade unions during legal proceedings in 1759:

"If Inferiors are to prescribe to their Superiors, if the Foot aspire to be the Head . . . to what end are Laws enacted?"

It is the indispensable Duty of everyone as a friend of the Community to endeavour to suppress them in their beggings."

As the then Nationalist Minister of Labour, Ben Schoeman stated, two centuries later, it is the policy of the Nationalist Government to "bleed African trade unions to death". African political parties and leaders were suppressed and banned in the 1950s and 1960s.

Simultaneously with police repression of black parties and unions went the erection of the ideology and institutions of "vertical separate development." Sovereign independence (except it seems, for controlling post offices) is to be bestowed upon the reserves, now renamed "Bantu homelands."

In the Transkei "self-rule" meant that the proportion of elected members in the Bunga council was reduced from 2/3 to 1/3; the Transkei election being marked by the banning of Liberal Party candidates. Other Bantustan Legislative Assemblies are completely unelected. It is interesting to note that the

executives of all the Bantustan "Legislative Assemblies" and the Coloured "Representative Council" are all either hereditary or appointed personages.

It has of late become fashionable in some white political and journalistic circles to claim that the Bantustan policy has "reached the point of no return" (sic). Such persons should remember that the Government faced scarcely a riot in terminating the Parliamentary representation rights of black and brown in the Cape Province, though these rights were over a century old. It did not hesitate to smash any means that proved necessary (bannings, 18 000 interned in concentration camps and prisons in 1960) all black mass movements and militant trade unions. There is no reason to suppose it should meet with any trouble in abolishing its Bantustans and "Representative Councils" should it so choose. These have not brought benefits on any scale to the vast bulk of the subject races (if I may use an appropriate phrase)! neither have these institutions the power to repeal apartheid laws; their ceremonies and installations are attended by far fewer people than protest meetings over bus fares, wage demands, or funerals of distinguished African Nationalist political leaders and their relatives.

The Bantustan policy has simply assembled the already existing chiefs, with already increased powers of jurisdiction over their political opponents, into debating chambers graced with a ceremonial mace symbolising such properties, as the Minister reminded the Tsonga-Machanganaland Territorial Assembly as **ORDER, OBEDIENCE and INDUSTRIOUSNESS**. These would seem to be less the attributes of constitutional sovereignty than the qualities which imperial rulers desire to be instilled into their subject races.

These ethnic political institutions, "Legislative Assemblies" and "Representative Councils", dominated by hereditary or appointed members, have had conferred upon them what in the USA or Britain would be considered only local government responsibilities — maintenance of public works and roads, education, some taxes, some part of the police.

These ethnic institutions, perhaps following the precedent of Kruger's *Tweede Volksraad* (a *Rooinek* Representative Council), are analogous to the feudal state-general of medieval France, or the *Duma* of Tzarist Russia, in that they

- a) have no power to remove the central government from office;
- b) cannot repeal either the laws or decrees of that government; and
- c) are elected and separately convened apart by the different "estates".

In fact, not being state-wide in their representation, these ethnic institutions are weaker than the *Duma*; they are akin to the Tzarist Divicional Councils *zemstvos*. It would be constitutionally appropriate for "Legislative Assemblies" and "Representative Council" to preceed and prorogue their debating sessions not with DIE STEM or NKOSI SIKELELE but by singing GOD, PRESERVE THE TZAR.

For permitting channels of dissent, the subject races are fragmented into 10 units; for purpose of control, they are dealt with by one security apparatus. From the viewpoint of the rulers, vertical separate development has a similar divide-and-rule effect on tribal peasants to that of "indirect rule" in the colonial empires. From the viewpoint of the rulers, vertical separate development politically divides urban labour in a similar way to the "vertical syndicates" or "corporates" of Franco and Mussolini's fascist regimes.

One economic aspect of the Bantustan policy is a new, and intensified form of exploitation called "border industries", *alias* "economic growth points", *alias* "industrial decentralisation". It must be emphasised that what the Nationalist Government refers to as "industrial decentralisation" has nothing whatever to do with what anywhere else in the world is understood by such a policy.

From Capitalist Britain to Communist China "industrial decentralisation" refers to a policy of state intervention in the economy to give people in depressed regions a higher income than they would otherwise have. In South Africa, let us take the example of the first year the Physical Planning Act was fully applied, 1968:

The Government, using its powers under various laws, prohibited industrialists from building factories which would have employed 260 000 black South Africans in urban areas. In the same period only 5 000 new jobs were created in "border areas." In short, what Pretoria called "industrial decentralisation" is an integral part of the pass laws, of influx control. In 1968 "industrial decentralisation" meant

- a) 225 000 black workers were unemployed, who would have been offered jobs in urban areas;
- b) even the 5 000 black workers who obtained jobs in "border areas" were forced to accept wages much lower than in urban areas — down to 29% of the current Johannesburg wage in one instance;
- c) white employers in urban areas claimed "undercutting" competition from border areas meant that they would have to refuse further wage demands from textile workers;
- d) during 1968, 61 658 "Superfluous appendages" (the aged, women and children, cripples) were endorsed out of urban areas, to become an additional burden on the increased poverty and unemployment in the reserves.
- e) All minimum wage legislation was abrogated in the reserves in 1970, leaving black labour completely unprotected.

The colour bar still applies to most border areas. Thus the interests of the lower middle class whites are maintained, and the white employers get added privileges at the expense of black workmen. To be more precise, Afrikaner businessmen tend to obtain privileges at the expense of their "English-Jewish" competitors. For the labour restrictions are applied most severely on the Rand (a largely "English-Jewish" enclave in an ex-Boer Republic) and in the Cape, and border area concessions are extended to existing Afrikaner towns, such as Vryheid, Dundee, Newcastle, (a Boer enclave in a U.P. province), and Rustenburg, Brits, Palaborwa, Pietersburg, etc.

Two other consequences of the colour bar are not without relevance; EVERY WHITE IMMIGRANT MAY BAR A BLACK OR BROWN PERSON FROM PROMOTION. For it is only when wage bribes and immigration fail to solve a "manpower bottleneck" that the Government condescends to suspend job reservation, to raise the colour bar to permit black and brown to rise another rung or two higher up the corporation ladder.

Recently much has been said over foreign investment. One effect of foreign investment is surely that for every dividend cheque which leaves the Republic, someone, somewhere in the world beyond the borders is saying "You know, separate development isn't really as bad as the newspapers make out. The

Bantu are really quite happy; they're better off under it."

To return to the question why race discrimination increases: growing urbanisation of black and brown brought growing demands for a proportional say in decision-making, and increasing demands for political power to defend themselves against discriminatory laws. This caused increased political discrimination and repression, including the end of Parliamentary representation. More repression of black trade unions left workmen undefended from exploitation. As growing numbers of black and brown persons acquired the education for artisan, white-collar, professional and managerial posts, so job reservation is *extended* to protect the added numbers of whites now facing competition. You only need symphony and opera house concert *apartheid* when numbers of black and brown persons are educated enough to wish to attend such activities.

To conclude:

1) South Africa's unequal society, based on colour discrimination, had its genesis in the semi-feudal society of white stock-farmers during the eighteenth century.

2) The interest-group of white land-owners, and their urban counterpart of the "labour aristocracy", forced its pattern of control and inequality and capitalist mining in the nineteenth century, and industry and the whole of society in the twentieth century.

3) The white minority gained political control over the whole of society. The electoral system enabled the lower middle class white pressure-group (Afrikaners) to dominate the state. The power of the state was used to create and rigidify a plural society based on ethnic cleavages.

4) The response of the ruling white minority, more specifically the Afrikaner minority, to challenge to its rule or policies is to repress those challenges, maintaining intact the imbalance of power between the various ethnic *blocs*. In fact it reacted to the political consequences of black and brown urbanisation by strengthening the primary racial cleavages in society. The political consequences of urbanization and economic integration are neutralised for the ruling group by *increasing* political and social integration.

5) One consequence of police repression and coercion is the helplessness of brown and especially black against discrimination. This results in increasing inequality between the average wages of black and white.

6) The nature of the plural society makes peaceful, constitutional economic or political reforms, radically redistributing power and income very unlikely.

7) The political importance of the state bureaucracy, industrial interests, military establishment, intelligence community and possibly Afrikaner political parties will continue to increase. The political power of traditional authorities such as the Afrikaner churches, white land-owners and Afrikaner academics will increasingly be shared with these groups.

8) The nature of the Republic's race society indicates that the historically most probable trend is that race discrimination, police coercion and inequality will continue to increase in the future. Resistance to white supremacy will be responded to not by removing or ameliorating colour discrimination, but by coercion and elaborating the ideology and institutions of "vertical separate development." Segregation will be intensified and strengthen the ethnic, primary cleavages in the Republic's plural society vis-a-vis others.

These trends will continue into the future for as long as the present imbalance of power and its determinants are not upset by major developments, such as intervention by foreign powers, rebellion or some combination of these on a scale so large as to physically overwhelm the capacity of the security apparatus for dealing with it.

THIS CONTAINED A QUOTATION BY
FR. COSMAS DESMOND BUT WE CAN
NO LONGER PUBLISH IT.

Editor.

Family Day

By SHEENA DUNCAN

Republic Day passed and with it the separate celebrations. It was indeed a demonstration of the apartness apartheid has forced upon us. Ex unitate vires.

Now we anticipate our next public holiday — Family Day; another mockery meaning nothing to the majority of our citizens. Mrs. Diale will not be celebrating.

She married twenty years ago. She was born and lived in a small place called Sterkspruit in the Cape near the border of the Free State. She married there and bore four children there. Sterkspruit being where it is her husband was forced to leave her and come to work on the mines in Johannesburg. The law would not allow him to move his family to his place of work. She saw him sometimes when he came home to her and the children on short annual holidays. Very occasionally, when he could afford the fare, she visited him. He died in Johannesburg in 1964.

Mrs. Diale, being now the breadwinner for five people tried to get work within reasonable distance of Sterkspruit. She tried many white towns but was refused permission to seek work in any of them. She was allowed to accept work as a farm labourer in a nearby rural area for which she was payed R3 a month. Then she was offered R4 a month in a country trading store. Finding that on R4 a month she was unable to pay the school fees for her two elder children let alone being able to feed five people she decided that if she had to seek employment illegally she would do so in Johannesburg where at least should would be payed a bit more for her labours.

In 1967 she came to Johannesburg leaving the children with relatives because it is difficult enough to live illegally on one's own without trying to do so with four dependants. Because she could not be registered in her employment she worked temporarily for a series of employers. After she had been arrested and fined one of them wrote to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in July 1968 on her behalf, telling her story and recounting her endeavours, explaining that she

was an able-bodied woman, eager to work and capable of supporting herself and her family but that she was unable to do so because she could not get permission to work. The employer asked the Minister where she could be legally registered in gainful employment. Mrs. Diale received a telephone call from the municipal labour office in Johannesburg asking her to report to his office. She was given a stamp permitting her to remain in Johannesburg for purposes of investigation. Every three months she reported to the same office and this stamp was renewed while she awaited the decision of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. In May, 1971 she was 'warned to leave the prescribed area of Johannesburg within 72 hours'. She was told that if she was a welfare case she could report to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner for assisted repatriation to Sterkspruit.

No doubt she can report to the Bantu Commissioner when she gets there and ask for welfare. Maybe he will offer her rations. Maybe she will be told to find farm work.

Meanwhile her family has been destroyed. Her eldest daughter who is a clever girl and was hoping to matriculate had to leave school when she passed J.C. and is now teaching in Zastron. She is caring for her small sister there. Mrs. Diale's son, deprived of his mother's care at the age of 14 ran away from school, has been convicted of assault and is now working as a contract worker on the mines in Virginia. The other small daughter is living in Welkom with an aunt — illegally of course.

Let's have a gymkhana — Happy Family Day White South Africa.

An up-dated "Memorandum on the Application of The Pass Laws and Influx Control" has been published by The Black Sash costing 25 cents a copy and available at 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

Education for Progress —

with particular reference to the Needs of the
Coloured Community

By Professor HANSIE POLLACK

The Conference was convened by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations and was held in Cape Town from 13—15 January. It was opened by Dr. E. G. Malherbe. There were three papers at the plenary sessions. Mr. O'Dowd presented the first paper on the educational priorities for the last quarter of the century. This was followed by an outstanding address by Prof. S. P. Cilliers on socio-economic aspects and their implications for education. Mr. L. L. Mohr, the Director of Education of the Department of Coloured Administration gave a very detailed account of the educational services presently being provided and those planned for the future..

Conference then broke up into eight discussion groups, each one of which was introduced by a lead-in paper.

Although it was a Conference on the theme of education it was immediately apparent that education, being one of the fundamental institutions of society, could not be considered on its own and in vacuo. It could only be considered as it acts and interests and is affected and in turn affects the other major institutions, that is family, community, the religious, economic and other institutions. It was found that we couldn't just discuss education as if it were something that one could isolate and cut off from the living body. We had to think of the child in the environment, the influence of the environment on the child and also of society which the child enters when he has completed his schooling. You can realise that this was a pretty tall order. A great deal of our background thinking had to be devoted to obtaining information on the major socio-economic conditions and for this we were indebted to Prof. Cilliers.

In the Coloured community you have, as in every other community, the development

of a class structure with a small but very significant group at the top. These are the professional and top administrative persons, whose standard of living and way of life is no different from that of the middle class whites. Then there is a smallish group of qualified technicians and artisans whose standard of living and life pattern again approximates to that of our industrial working class. But if you take your economic structure you'll find that even today, or at least at the last census figures, in 1960, 31% of the coloured males were still in agriculture, 20% in industry, 11% in construction. In industry and construction, even in this day and age, amongst the Coloured people two-thirds are still classed as labourers. And this is the very significant factor, it means that "the economic pyramid" has a very broad base of untrained men and women earning very low wages. Thus there is an underprivileged group living under conditions of chronic and absolute poverty.

Sociologists who have undertaken research into such conditions have coined a phrase which I find very apt and very pertinent. They speak of the culture of poverty and this has universal phenomena. It is marked by chronic poverty, low living standards, either no housing or over-crowded housing or congested slum conditions. It is marked by malnutrition and disease, by high fertility and high mortality, by quite insufficient and sometimes non-existent levels of education which in contemporary society means low earnings. This means that many persons enter the labour market with no skills. It is amongst this group that one finds underemployment and unemployment. The living milieu is not such to internalise work motivation and regular patterns and habits of work. It is in this terrible congestion of human living under the bread line that one finds the stresses and strains on personality resulting in many deviations — the disruption of family life and personal deviations

which manifest themselves in alcoholism and crime and so on. That is the universal picture of the culture of poverty. Turning to South Africa, all of the problems exist. The Coloured community is in no way unique—and these characteristics are found among the large section of socially and economically deprived. This has very serious implications for education, because a child brought up in such a milieu is not a child which can derive the full benefit from an educational system.

Let me deal with one aspect — housing. Prof. Cilliers had some alarming figures based on his research. He said that two-thirds of the Coloured community in the Western Cape were living in grossly overcrowded conditions and one-third were either without housing or with housing that was sub-standard and extremely delapidated. For the complex of Greater Metropolitan Cape Town, he estimated the housing requirements at the immediate moment to be 47 000 units and with the rate of increase of the coloured population he estimated that these needs would be 97 000 housing units in 1985.

I want you to realise that a child from such environment has no place where he can sit down and do homework, no place where he could have a five minutes quietness to read a book, has rarely had a proper meal and so on. These conditions contribute towards educational retardation, and poor motivation. A child has to go to work as soon as he can and what can he do but a dead end job? Thus one finds the tragic situation of poverty and slums being reproduced.

Because the occupational structure is so different the average income of a coloured family is one-quarter that of the income of a white family. It is not that coloured workers earn a quarter in the same job; it is because they are in lower jobs and have hardly risen to the professional ranks, except in teaching and nursing.

One of the most significant factors to be considered is the current population increase. Demographers have a theory that population growth passes through a cycle, related to the economic development of a country and the socio-economic status of the people. Underdeveloped societies have high birth rates and high death rates. With development and the improvements in the standard of living, application of medical services, death rates decline and there is also a very substantial decrease in birth rates, which ultimately results

in lower rates of population increase. We whites are very much more advanced in this cycle of development than the coloured people. They happen to be in the most explosive stage of the cycle. Coloured death rates have and are still declining, there has been improvements in standards of living but the birth rates have not yet registered any decline. So that the rate of increase at the moment is particularly high and roughly double that of the whites. This has enormous implications for education. Prof. Cilliers indicated to us that by 1985 this will mean doubling the available accommodation and services for primary schools. And if you take this all the life cycle of development than the coloured people, and more youngsters will be leaving school and entering the labour market and you can see how imperative it is that this outflow of unproductive labour and ineffective use of human potential be halted. So we need much more and much better education. But education cannot change the whole situation. In the final analysis one can only conclude that a multi-pronged effort of improving educational and socio-economic conditions is essential. It is no use developing even the best educational system if the socio-economic conditions and the home conditions are not going to be greatly improved. So by and large, we pleaded for the greatest investment in education as education is the key to social change and the point, of course, was made that education is an investment for the future which will bring great returns in human productivity, human skills and enhance the worth and the dignity of the individual. We are already spending countless millions on palliative expenditure to deal with the very problems that have come about because people have not had sufficient education. But unfortunately the position in South Africa is enormously complicated by the fact of the position that the Coloured community enjoys in the total racial hierarchy in South Africa and the existence of racial prejudice and discrimination. In a society in which the whites are dominant it is they who presently determine policies and it is they who control the state purse.

It is interesting that in each of the eight discussion groups and in no less than six of the rapporteur reports the same *cri de coeur* was made. If any meaningful progress is to be made it is imperative to bring about a change in white attitudes. For, on the labour side it is traditional colour bar which is incomparably more restrictive and affects

far more workers than does the legislative colour bar of job reservation. It is the attitude of the trade unions which keeps non-white workers out of occupations and it is the timidity of many employers who are afraid to employ non-whites, even if this be possible. It is the factor of discrimination in the public sector — in the lower salaries of teachers, doctors, nurses.

And as it was an educational conference it was inevitable that the emphasis should be upon education. So we recommended that the education of the white child should be directed to creating attitudes which will create respect for human worth and dignity and pay due regard to the aspirations and legitimate needs of the entire South African population.

Now let us turn to the educational side. There were over fifty recommendations and findings many of which are of a very specialised nature — teacher training, syllabi, education for the handicapped and so on and these I shall not mention.

Conference paid tribute to some important innovations introduced by the Administration of Coloured Affairs and these will begin to bear fruit as more trained teachers are available. One of the most exciting of these is what the Administration calls multi-lateral schools — but you probably know of it as the comprehensive school. Previously the High school was based on an academic course geared for the needs of the handful that entered university. This is being changed and now they have already introduced in all high schools one vocational course and a greater variety of courses than at present provided, will be introduced as the scheme advances. High schools are going to develop on three directions — the academic (which will include some vocational education in at least one field such as woodworking, metal working — the technical and the commercial streams.

There will be seven specialist technical schools of which five have already been started in the Western Cape, one at Port Elizabeth and the other two will be in Johannesburg, and Durban. These will go up to what is known as the technical senior certificate, which will enable successful candidates to enter University and study for engineering and such like degrees. There will eventually be twenty-six commercial schools leading to the commercial senior certificate. There have also been some vocational schools introduced mak-

ing provision for full time training of apprentices. This is a very remarkable change but it is only in its initial stages. You do not introduce a change today and derive the benefits tomorrow. It takes time to train teachers. In the technical field there is an additional difficulty — it takes three years to train a teacher and then commerce and industry lure him from teaching by offers of better salaries. So one of the greatest problems is the shortage of qualified teachers. Far more coloured children are receiving schooling. Today there are some 516 000 children at school but only 12% of the entire school enrolment was in classes of Std. VI and upwards. Each year after Std. IV there was an enormous wastage of pupils so that only 0.38% were in Std. IX. So you have your broad pyramid with its tiny little top. What does it mean in round numbers? In 1969 there were 1 995 in Std. X. This is the crippling bottleneck of Coloured advancement. Because of this terrible wastage teachers, lawyers, doctors, technicians, administrators — all must be drawn from the 1 600 matriculants of whom probably less than half had matriculation exemptions and were eligible to go on to University.

So priority one in this whole education problem is extending the schooling particularly in Standards IX and X. You can't successfully introduce compulsory education and expand at the bottom unless you first expand at the top to get teachers. There are today almost 16 000 teachers, because over half of whom have qualified at the J.C. plus two years training to get the lower primary teachers certificate. Only 3% of the 16 000 teacher force are university graduates. At High school level only 24% are university graduates. The high schools, which are expanding and where we say the emphasis has got to lie, are hence constantly compelled to use staff which is hardly competent and trained to teach at this level. So you see that it doesn't matter how excellent your curricula are (and may I say that we found the curricula to be most suitable) unless you have the teachers to put it across, the whole system virtually breaks down. Now, on the teaching side there are many problems, not only the lack of qualifications. Perhaps the greatest problem has been the decline in the morale of the teachers which may not primarily be due to the inadequate salaries. It is also due to the whole milieu, the whole framework, the pent up resultant feelings on the part of many of being forced into a separate system. It is connected with

regulations which are restrictive and limit certain civil rights and free speech. There are fears of expressing opinions, of reprisals and of being kept under constant surveillance. All of these have undermined morale resulting in very high rate of resignations, particularly of those at the top level. Many of the best qualified teachers have left South Africa and are pursuing teaching careers elsewhere. To me this indicates that it is not the teaching profession but the conditions under which it is exercised in South Africa that is the rub. On the subject of salary scales a very sad thing has happened. In the former days of Provincial control of Coloured education the Coloured teacher with the same qualifications and experience as the white teacher received 80% of his salary. Over the years this has declined. The recent increases for white teachers and the very much smaller increases of pay for Coloured teachers has meant that the disparity has widened to 61—64% dependent upon the particular grade of post. These are the things that are hurtful and damaging.

Naturally the Conference passed the sort of resolutions that you would expect. It recognised the principle of equal pay for equal work and pleaded for revisions of salaries with the very sharp reduction of the differentials and the goal of achieving parity in salaries. We asked for a commission of enquiry into the whole question of conditions of service, resignations of teachers and low morale. Another very important decision we took after a great deal of deliberation was on compulsory education. This had applied in only six school areas in the Cape and in Natal, where compulsory education for children from seven to fourteen or completion of Stdé VII had been introduced in 1942. We heard that this was not being enforced and naturally made strong recommendations on this. The subject of compulsory education is very complicated because of the requirements of additional teachers, accommodation, equipment and finance. We had the benefit of being addressed by Mr. Bergins, who is the member of the Coloured Executive Council in charge of the portfolio of education. The C.E.C. in theory is responsible for Coloured Education and the staff of the Administration are his professional advisers and consultants. But the crux of the matter is that the C.E.C. does not vote the funds — these come through Parliament in the estimates of expenditure. Mr. Bergins told us that in 1969/70 some

R35 000 000 was spent on primary and secondary education.

The C.E.C. had already resolved in favour of compulsory education. Mr. Bergins indicated all the problems of bringing about compulsory education. Conference was well aware of their existence, but despite these resolved that compulsory education must be introduced and could no longer be deferred. So we recommended a scheme, which Mr. Bergins himself had suggested as a future model, starting in the first year with compulsory education for the seven year old, extending it in the next year to eight year olds. In this way it would take ten years to get compulsory education for the seven year old, extending We made this decision knowing full well that it would, in the beginning, mean the continuation of double sessions, the use of poorly qualified teachers and the postponement of generally higher levels of qualifications for teachers. Yet unless this decision to have compulsory education is taken now it can only get worse in the future, because of the increase in numbers. We may have been regarded as somewhat unrealistic but whites have had it in the Cape Province since 1905 when conditions were even more difficult than they are today.

We also took decisions on the reintroduction of school feeding. One of the most important recommendations was on what the Americans call the "environment enriching programmes of education" or compensatory education which they have developed particularly for the underprivileged deprived ghetto child — Operation bootstrap. A child brought up in an environment where he has never seen a picture or a book and there is little dialogue, which is poorly stimulated and handicapped. We felt that these programmes of compensatory education were particularly important for the culturally deprived coloured child and so we recommended their adoption particularly for the pre-school child and the drop out. These are the youngsters who have left school too early and whom you won't get back into the normal school system and are the ones who are not even having the chance of being absorbed in the labour market. You might think we were asking for the moon — but we urged that we first start on expanding the creche and nursery school programmes by better installation grants and rising subsidies as the C.O.L. goes up. Then

on these we graft the environment enriching programmes for the underprivileged child.

I believe that it was a conference that had tremendous value and significance because it was a conference which brought together educationalists and others of all hues and enabled them to sit down and think of education both in universal terms and also in terms of getting to realise the specific educational needs of the Coloured community. I also think that it was immensely important to get the representatives of the Administration and the teachers together in a neutral atmosphere and each to hear the views of the other. The Conference recommended that the Administration appoint a Public Relations Officer. To me it was unmistakably clear that there had been misunderstandings in the past and that each had erroneously suspected the other's motives, consequently an atmosphere had developed in which there was not sufficient mutual trust and confidence.

Finally I think what is also important is that it directed the attention of the public to the requirements of Coloured education. I should like to pay my tribute to the press for their magnificent coverage, particularly of the social-economic aspects discussed at the conference.

I know that this conference is not going to change the system overnight but I think it has given the 400 people who were there an awareness of what fundamental issues have to be solved both in and outside the educational system. I think that it has given us all a purposefulness that must gather momentum. I think it is perhaps just the beginning of the snowball on its course down the mountainside.

Question on Closed Circuit T.V.

Answer: The Deputation to the Administration with all these recommendations has not yet taken place. I am convinced the Administration will face the recommendation with a tremendous amount of interest and an open mind. It can revolutionise the whole concept of the quality of teaching. When it is introduced you don't need to have a highly qualified teacher in every classroom. At the conference the recommendation was accepted with acclamation.

Question on children who are employed, in this case a twelve year old in domestic service in Bellville. No pay. Passed Sub A.

No further education. Mother from Robertson. Told there are unfortunately a very large number in similar situation.

Answer: One of the recommendations was for greater use of school buildings particularly when you haven't got Community centres specifically to organise activity programmes for those children who are not at school until such time as education is compulsory.

I must pay tribute to the Coloured community for even without compulsory education 96% of the eight year olds are at school and 93% of eleven year olds. The drop out is substantial after that. Furthermore the Administration is planning the development of school hostels to make it possible for children from rural areas to have high school education.

Question. Change in white attitude possible? and anything being done about it?

Answer: Even within the structure of prejudice and discrimination I am not altogether hopeless about it because the inexorable demands of our economic structure and the growing demand for skilled manpower have made it possible for a certain degree of vertical mobility for the Coloured workers. When employers do this they pay the rate for the job but unfortunately the public sector still discriminates. Teachers, nurses, doctors, paramedical personnel all received much lower salaries than do whites. We also see progress in some government departments—every year when Mr. Ben Schoeman reports on railways he gives information of how many additional thousands of jobs have been given to non-white workers. Another illustration is the opening of the building industry in the Transvaal to Coloured plasterers and carpenters. Job reservation did not apply in the Cape or there would have been no building industry. Increasingly some trade unions, and TUCSA in particular, are doing a wonderful job among their own workers in impressing upon them that their own opportunities and their welfare and security in the future lie not in restriction but in creating ever growing opportunities and that the whole industrial economy will flower and develop as human skill and potential are fully used. There is no doubt that with the advantage of education and training the Coloured worker will move up the scale.

A Radical Viewpoint

By RUAN MAUD

Lecturer in Politics at Rhodes University

A number of progressive and liberal organisations and groups boycotted South Africa's republican celebrations this year. What is the radical's attitude to such actions? As far as the radical is concerned the issue is not even worthy of contemplation, let alone debate. This being the case, the only conceivable way of communicating with the radical would be to ask him the premises upon which his own perspective is formulated. This article will attempt to outline briefly this perspective. To hold a radical viewpoint means constantly to endeavour to get to the roots of the matter. What is the matter with the Republic of South Africa? At base it is the deliberate and wilful social, economic and political exploitation of the majority, the browns and blacks, by the minority, the whites. There is no doubt that anyone who is not utterly insensitive or a downright reactionary would agree with this statement. Wherein then does the radical perspective differ from this point of view?

For the radical the root of the matter in South Africa is not one of race. It is rather one of class. The fundamental issues are not social or political, they are economic. Political and social exploitation are no more than weapons, albeit as we shall see extremely important weapons, used to maintain the subservience of the economically exploited. Thus for the radical the root cause of South Africa's present racial totalitarian social and political structures lies in the country's economic institutions and processes. The root problem lies in the country's capitalist economy with its ethos of possessive individualism and the profit motive. That is, the persistent and ever-increasing private pursuit of wealth in order to maximize individual wants and desires irrespective of the basic requirements of the members of the society as a whole. The logic of this capitalist priority of the pursuit of financial profit for purely personal benefit inevitably means not only the erection but also the maintenance of unequal socio-economic, and hence political, relations of domination and subordination between the haves and the have-nots. The form that such a society takes is perforce hierarchical and authoritarian, being achieved through a form of social stratification based on class lines in which the have-nots (primarily the working class) have nothing to sell but their labour whereas the haves (the capitalists) have more to sell than their labour since they own either or both property in the form of land and the means of production in the form of factories etc.

It can be seen that the above very brief and oversimplified analysis of the socio-economic structures of capitalist societies is one of inherent class conflict between the haves and have-nots. How is this conflict to be overcome? To answer this question it is worthwhile examining in broad general outline the historical process whereby societies have moved from an agrarian to an industrial capitalist-based economy. The form of class stratification in a primitive agrarian society is primarily threefold: i) A dominant landowning aristocracy. ii) A subordinate peasantry tied to the land, under population pressure and living close to subsistence. Any surplus that this peasantry is able to produce is taken away from them in one manner or another by the landowning nobility. iii) There is no middle class only a group of craftsmen and merchants who are almost entirely dependent on the nobility for their livelihood and status. The major area of conflict in such a society is between the interests of the peasants and the interests of the landowning aristocracy and its attendant nascent middle class. With the development of an industrial capitalist economy two new significant classes emerge on the historical scene. Firstly a new rising powerful middle class whose source of wealth is based not so much in land as in trade and the ownership of the new industrial means of production like factories. Secondly there arises a working class consisting originally of peasants who have been forced off the land and consequently now have nothing whatsoever to sell but their labour. Their de-

prived situation forces vast numbers of them to move to urban areas in order to seek work in factories etc.

With the emergence of the above new class formations two new major arenas of class conflict develop. The initial arena of conflict is between the original traditional sources of wealth, the landowning aristocracy, and the new sources of wealth, the rising middle class or *nouveau riche*. The latter demand a social recognition and political power in the upper classes commensurate with their newly-found economic position. In addition they will also make demands for the dismantling of outmoded irrational traditions and socio-economic structures which are seen to be in the way of the efficient 'rational' development of an industrial capitalist economy. The more obvious example of this development being the requirement that a man be judged primarily by his inherent natural abilities rather than his inherited social status, by for example the fact that he happens to be born the son of an aristocrat. This development is what the sociologists describe as the move from 'ascribed' to 'achieved' status. It is precisely this demand for the breaking down of outmoded irrational structures that the South African capitalist businessman is making when he calls for the abolition of such racially 'ascribed' legislation as job reservation. It is not that the capitalist is necessarily worried about the inherent injustice of the situation, although some few of them may be, but rather that such situations are detrimental to his "rational efficient" pursuit of profit. Already from this class analysis of society it may be seen that the race hegemony and cohesion of the dominant white group in South Africa is not quite as secure as might on the surface be supposed. For the interests of the white, as well as the black, working class are in conflict with the interests of the white capitalists. This is an important point and will be returned to later.

For the moment we are concerned only with the initial conflict between the old and the new men of wealth. How is this conflict resolved? Either the old men of wealth accommodate themselves to the demands of the *nouveau-riche*, as occurred in 19th century Britain; or they dig their heels in and refuse to grant concessions as happened in 18th century France. In the latter case the result was that the landowning aristocracy were simply swept aside. Precisely the same form of resolution of the problem takes place when the

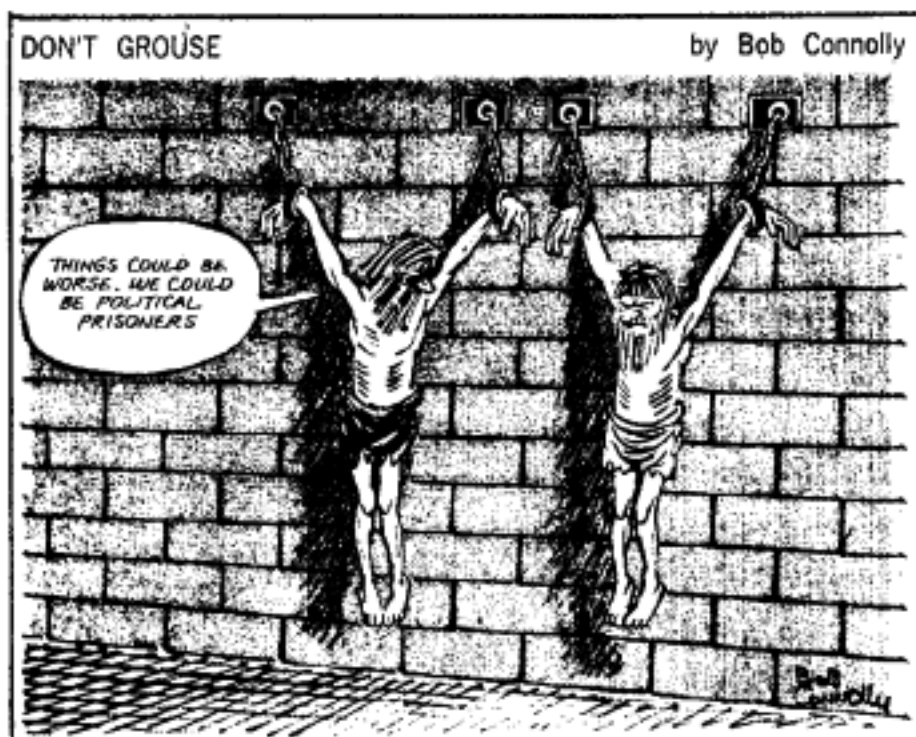
second major arena of conflict develops. This is the conflict which I mentioned at the beginning which takes place between the owners of capital and those who have nothing to sell but their labour, the working class. Thus for example in Russia, where the middle class was anyway weak (the reasons for which need not detain us here), the Tsarist autocracy dug their heels in with the result that they were violently removed from the scene by the Russian working class supported by a vast peasantry. In Britain on the other hand the wielders of power, in this instance the upper class of landowners in combination with the wealthier members of the middle class, attempted, and remarkably successful, a more flexible approach. The power struggle being fought primarily around the issue of the franchise. Initially the power holders attempted to incorporate only those persons who would pursue the same capitalist-oriented goals. Thus they introduced a qualified franchise based on education and property. Based that is on their own particular image and definition of the 'responsible' and 'dutiful' citizen. However they soon realised that if the franchise was not in fact granted to all the have-nots (the workers as a whole), it might well be simply taken anyway. That is, it was soon recognised that the fundamental issue with regard to the franchise was not 'are they fit enough?' but rather, 'are they powerful enough?'. The institution of universal suffrage by the holders of power in Britain was of course a gamble, for the minority haves might have found themselves voted out of the seats of power (parliament). In fact however the gamble paid off handsomely for in the process, instead of overthrowing the capitalist socio-economic system as happened in Russia, the British worker became incorporated into the system. Thus not only was his loyalty to upper class symbols established, but at the same time he absorbed the 'rags-to-riches' myth of capitalist competitive possessive individualism. The vast majority of the workers came to believe that if only they worked hard enough they too could climb to the top of the competitive capitalist ladder. And conversely, that if they didn't get to the top it was nobody's fault but their own. It was most certainly not the fault of the capitalist system and its inherent hierarchical and authoritarian socio-economic and political structures.

Readers will by now no doubt be asking what all the above structural and historical

analysis has to do with the radical's critique of South Africa. The radical's response is that a very similar kind of analysis may be applied to South Africa's historical development and capitalist structures. And that not only will such an examination prove singularly enlightening, but that furthermore it will draw very different conclusions from those people who do not start with the concept of class as their fundamental tool of analysis. Thus the vital distinction between the radical and all other political breeds in South Africa is that whereas the latter start from the basic assumption of race and race conflict and are just as confused and confined in their outlook at the end of their analysis as they were at the beginning; the radical starts from the initial assumption of class and class conflict and finds this approach highly illuminating. For the radical the dragging in of the race issue right from the start can only be a dangerous and muddle-headed obfuscation of the socio-economic (class) realities of the situation. Let me clarify this point a little further. The radical is not ignoring the issue of race, far from it. He is simply arguing that for purposes of analytic clarity, if you really wish to get to the roots of the matter in South Africa, you must begin your examination with the concept of class and not that of race. For, to repeat again since it bears repetition, a country's social and political arrangements are to a considerable extent no more than a reflection of that country's underlying economic structures. Consequently if the issue of race has come in South Africa to supplant that of class, it has done nothing more than befog the latter and much more fundamental issue. However, since the issue of race is (subjectively) felt to be the more

fundamental issue in most people's minds in South Africa, the radical has to admit that race has become as objectively important and real as the class issue. "If a situation is *defined* as real", wrote W. I. Thomas, "it is real in its consequences." (my emphasis) Nevertheless from within our class analysis of society we can see how our whole perspective on, and definitions of, social reality in South Africa have become stood on their head, turned upside down. We can appreciate just how crazy, and indeed how dangerously crazy, this society really is. At the same time, having admitted that race is as significant as class in South Africa, the radical's basic point still stands viz: that race discrimination and prejudice, and the structures that are built up thereupon through legislative enactments, are at base no more than weapons used by particular (white) groups or classes to enable them to economically exploit other (brown and black) social groups or classes. Put simply: "prejudice exists because somebody stands to gain by it."* This being the case any attempted solution of South Africa's problems which is fundamentally concerned with the welfare of the country's population as a whole, cannot in the final analysis be based on hypothesis that makes the race issue the fundamental priority.

Having said this let me now turn, very briefly and once again in an highly oversimplified form, to the analysis of South Africa. The situation is at one very important level remarkably similar to that pertaining in 19th century Britain. The majority of the peasants have been dispossessed of their land and have nothing to sell but their labour. This they sell to either (white) landowning farmers or the (white) owners of industry and commerce. Their interests are thus basically in conflict with these two white groups. Although these two white groups have a mutual economic interest in that they both wish to ensure for themselves a continuous and plentiful supply of cheap (primarily black) labour, they are also in conflict with one another since they each have a different economic basis to their wealth. Thus on the one hand they are in competition for this labour whereas on the other hand they combine together to insure, through legislative enactments (i.e. penal sanctions), that those who



* cf. G. E. Simpson & J. M. Yinger: *Racial and Cultural Minorities*.

have only their labour to sell (the browns and blacks) do not use their only source of power (combination through numbers and the withdrawal of their labour e.g. through strikes) to even be able to bargain for a greater slice of the material cake (national product) through the formation of trade unions and political parties which would specifically represent their interests.

If we recall the historical examples of Britain and Russia we will now have to ask ourselves how this fundamental conflict will be resolved in South Africa. It is of course not possible to predict the outcome. However an examination of one country to our north, Rhodesia, may prove illuminating. For the advent in the early 1950's of the Central African Federation and its policy of 'partnership' was essentially an attempt to resolve this conflict through the implementation of certain reforms. The policy of 'partnership' was an endeavour on the part of industrial and commercial capitalist interests (both national and international) to create capitalist reforms which, it was hoped, would overcome the irrationalities of race discrimination and prejudice which were blocking the full development of a flourishing capitalist economy in Rhodesia. In essence it was the attempt by industrial capitalist economic interest groups to pre-empt race conflict and, if there had to be conflict, allow it rather to develop along class lines. Thus Huggins and his 'Establishment' (the white middle class commercial and industrial interests) endeavoured, through the implementation of multi-racial social arrangements and more particularly through the introduction of a qualified franchise based on property and education (i.e. based on class rather than race criteria), to create a stable African middle class in their own image. That is, an African middle class who would come to absorb the same basic capitalist goals and way of life as themselves. And in the process, and this was the most important aspect of the policy, align themselves with their white middle class counter-parts against the black working class and peasantry.

This attempt at reforms failed dismally and for two fundamental reasons. On the one hand as far as the majority of the black educated middle class were concerned, they felt that the colour of their skin was the fundamental and vital factor hunting all black men. Class differences amongst themselves were secondary in importance in the face of (white)

racial domination. On the other hand the attempted implementations of capitalist reforms made manifest what had previously only been latent in the dominant white segment viz: their conflicting economic interests. On the one side stood commerce and industry, only too anxious for reforms. Whilst on the other side, and totally opposed to reforms, stood the semi-skilled and skilled white workers and the white farmers. The farmers felt threatened because i) land reforms would inevitably lead to competition from black farmers. And ii) labour reforms would lead to the loss of their plentiful supply of cheap black labour. Since, as industrial development grew, this labour would gradually but increasingly move to urban areas where there would be opportunities of learning semi-skilled and skilled occupations and thus the real possibility of obtaining higher wages. It was of course precisely the possibility of this latter event occurring that perturbed the white worker. For once a plentiful supply of semi-skilled and skilled labour became available in the urban areas, their trump card in bargaining with their capitalist employers for higher wages etc., viz: the artificially created scarcity of such labour, would be undermined. Furthermore for all white groups there was the political factor to be considered. If the franchise was broadened the whites feared that inevitably sooner or later the Africans would be in an electoral majority, assume political control in Rhodesia and do away with the whites racially-based social and economic privileges. The upshot of the split in the white ranks was that the anti-reformist groups, led by the white farmers, formed the Rhodesia Front political party, exploited the white electorates' fears and were thus able to oust the commercial and industrial 'Establishment' from political power and so block the implementation of capitalist reforms in Rhodesia.

Setting this Rhodesian case side by side with that of 19th century Britain, we can see in it as do race (caste) forms of stratification that is easier to break down than race. More particularly because class stratification does not have the same basic rigidities inherent in it as do race (caste) forms of stratification. Class stratification at least allows for some form of social mobility whereas racially based types of stratification do not. Thus whereas the British working class man can attempt to change his accent and clothes in an endeavour to climb the capitalist hierarchical ladder, a brown and more especially a

black man, can never change the 'clothes' that he wears. A second important outcome of these different forms of stratification is that whereas, as was mentioned earlier, the British worker has to a considerable extent absorbed the capitalist 'rags-to-riches' myth, since there is evidence that some social mobility is possible in Britain, and consequently seeks incorporation in the capitalist system; can we say the same about the black workers' situation and expectations in Rhodesia and South Africa?

The overall parallels between Rhodesia and South Africa hardly require comment for very similar economic interest groups support and oppose Afrikaner Nationalism in South Africa as support and oppose the Rhodesian Front in Rhodesia. Ironically enough, although they differ fundamentally in their goals, the radicals on the right (e.g. the *verkramptes*) have a similar analysis of the present situation and draw similar conclusions as do their counter-parts on the left. It is those who stand in-between who are lost and bewildered. Having no sound conceptual tools upon which to base their theoretical analysis, and as a result only ill-defined goals, they worry themselves to death over such irrelevances as whether or not to boycott the republican festivities this year. Such persons could be more creatively occupied if they stopped reacting for a moment to every event that is placed in their path and instead sat down quietly and did some hard thinking and analysis of the present situation and its likely future development. This is of course easier said than done for any one at all morally sensitive and alive to the wretched plight of so many of our fellow South Africans. Nevertheless, this needs to be said: action for action's sake is in the long run likely to be both extremely frustrating and fruitless. The radical viewpoint argues rather that our actions must be placed within a specific framework that attempts, through self-reflection and the analysis of society, to get to the roots of the matter and form a theoretical perspective that can act as an adequate guide to action. A lot of homework needs to be undertaken and in the process the world of ideas and critical analysis embraced rather than scorned. For as Carlyle is reputed to have said to a businessman who reproached him for merely dealing in ideas: 'There was once a man called Rousseau who wrote a book containing nothing but ideas. The second edition was bound in the skins of those who laughed at the first'.

Dedication

We South Africans of all races, here assembled on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of South Africa, recall the high hopes of the founders of our Union — hopes of prosperity and peace, of freedom and justice. We recognise that the past half-century has witnessed important achievements in certain fields, notably in those of economic development and of education and knowledge. But, as witnesses to the truth, it is our duty sorrowfully to acknowledge that, after fifty years of Union, the vast majority of our fellow-countrymen have largely been destroyed or are in abeyance, and the injustice of racial discrimination disgraces our land.

Nevertheless, however dark the clouds that hang over our country at the present time, we declare our faith in the unconquerable spirit of man, in the values of Western Civilisation, and in the future of South Africa as a civilised land. Inspired by that faith, we solemnly dedicate ourselves to the tasks of ridding our country of the scourge of poverty, of guaranteeing to all South Africans those civil liberties that are regarded throughout the civilised world as inalienable human rights, and of achieving inter-racial justice on the basis of government by consent, equal protection of the laws and equality of opportunity for all, irrespective of race or birth, class or creed. We pledge ourselves not to be dismayed at the difficulties of these tasks, and to strive, through their successful accomplishment, to bring greatness, dignity and peace to our fatherland.

**...This dedication was issued by the Archbishop's Conference Committee, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Union in 1960.*

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Black Theology

By Dr. BASIL MOORE

who is on the staff of University Christian Movement

Today the world is hearing more and more about Black Theology. It has even begun to make a belated impact on the South African scene. Since, however, there have been so many misconceptions and hasty judgments (based usually on the head-line title alone) it may be useful to attempt some explanation of what Black Theology is.

In attempting such an explanation little point would be served in dealing at any great length with the content of Black Theology. At this stage some understanding of the method and its significance would be more appropriate.

The first point that needs to be made is that there is or ought to be a distinction between "Black Theology" and "African Theology". "African Theology" may be used generally to describe traditional African religious practices and beliefs and when used in a Christian sense to examine the relationships between African and Christian beliefs and practices. As such African theology could be an aspect of comparative religions' study as well as provide the basis for a Theology of culture in Africa and attempts at indigenization. "Black Theology" on the other hand is more directly and explicitly a theology of politics. This is not to say that "African Theology" has no political implications. It has. But while African theology is more concerned with traditions of Africa, 'Black Theology' is by no means limited to Africa.

'Black' is not primarily a racial or cultural term. Its primary reference is to the politically and socially oppressed and disinherited people of the world. Thus an alternative title could be the "Theology of the Third World". But it is a fact that the disinherited people of the world are also to be found in the 'First' and 'Second' worlds, and are usually people of colour, though women in most parts of the world would also be included in this category. A better overall description of 'Black Theology' would be "Theology of the Disinherited" or "Theology of Liberation". This would show better that the chief themes dealt with in this theology relate to the facts of oppression and point to liberation.

Despite this, at the moment there are two major groups of disinherited people looking at the Theology of liberation from their own particular perspectives. The one group of

women theologians, and the other is a group of Black theologians. While the theology of women has scarcely made any impact at all on South Africa, and is only just beginning to reach mature, systematic formulation in the United States, "Black Theology" is already here.

Consequently, "Black Theology" could best be described as a theological study of disinheritance and liberation from the perspective of people who are oppressed because of their colour.

A second distinguishing mark of "Black Theology" is that it is a theological activity engaged in primarily by Blacks. This should not be surprising. Serious studies have been made of 'British Theology', 'German Theology', 'American Theology', etc. and of particular periods of theological history in these countries. It is now widely recognised that the distinctive 'national characteristics' and methods of academic study have influenced the theologians as much as their socio-political-cultural situation. It could not be otherwise. Theologians are also particular historical beings and they bring their own particularities with them as they grapple with the prime sources of the Christian faith and attempt to interpret their significance for their time. "Black Theology" is then Black men quite consciously bring themselves as they know themselves to be in their situation to a study of the Christian sources to interpret their significance for their situation.

This does not mean that there is a situational uniformity of Black men across the planet. In broad outline, ignoring exceptions and not focussing on particulars, there is a marked similarity in the patterns of op-

pression. In these general terms one could point out the similarities between the oppression of women and the oppression of Black people, and the need for the liberation of both. But particulars are important, making it necessary, perhaps, for the "theology of women" to be looked at in semi-independence from "Black theology". This also makes it important not to view "Black Theology" in South Africa as nothing but a copy of the "Theology of Liberation" of Latin America or the "Black Theology of the United States." The particular men involved here do have a different background and history bringing different insights to bear as they grapple with their significantly different situation.

Neither of these two basic points of "Black Theology" (namely that it is concerned with the politics of oppression and liberation and that it is self-consciously a theology by Blacks) should lead us to assume that "Black Theology" is nothing more than an 'ad hoc' attempt to provide theological justification for Black aspirations. If that were so it would cease to be Christian theology in any sense. Christian theology is the attempt to understand and interpret the working of God in the world which must take seriously the Bible as a primary document on which this understanding and interpretation is based. (The Bible is, however, not the sole source.) If the Bible is ignored as irrelevant then, however valuable the exercise may be, it cannot claim to be Christian theology (just as you could not claim to be doing Physics if you rejected the scientific method of experimentation to establish the reliability of a cause and effect hypothesis).

It is not at all unlikely that Black theologians will be able to bring an existential awareness to the interpretation of Scripture which is lacking in much of the academic aridity of too many white, Western theologians. The Bible story in its tales of ancient Israel is the record of the growing religious insights which came to a people enslaved in Egypt, struggling against enemies for their existence in Israel, dragged into captivity in Babylon and then struggling again against waves of conquest oppression and disinheritance by Greece and Rome. The chief story of the New Testament is that of a Jew living among Jews in their own land but occupied and ruled by Rome. The Black man is to be enslaved, ruled and to live in the land of his birth without the right to share in making the decisions that deeply affect his existence.

Perhaps our greatest tragedy is that so much of our theological understanding has been shaped by men whose existential situation is that there are of the ruling, oppressing, colonising elite. It is little wonder, therefore, that our theology fits the wealthy suburbia like a glove but has little life-transforming significance in our stinking human ghettos of oppression and starvation. No wonder Jesus appears to be the one making vain appeals to the rich to relieve the burdens of the poor and hardly at all as the one standing alongside the poor encouraging them to stake their rightful claims for freedom.

If our white ruler mentality has obscured our vision of what Christianity is about, it is to be hoped that "Black Theology" may yet expose its frightening reality.

The significance of this new direction should never be underestimated. Two immediate reactions can be anticipated from whites.

Firstly, there will be those who will attempt to dismiss it arrogantly as having no substance. They will neither read it nor be able to 'hear' what is being said, or, if they do, they might read enough to be able to condemn it as publicly as possible. This is to be expected. There are few old dogs who can learn new tricks, especially when they earn their living from the old tricks, and the new tricks might place their earnings in jeopardy. The tragedy is that this sort of resistance will hasten a confrontation between them and the younger Black theologians which will have all the ingredients in it to split the whole Church down the middle.

Secondly, there will be the more liberal white theologians whose identity has been intrinsically interwoven into the black people's struggle for their rights. Many of them will have been at the public forefront of the struggle. Suddenly they will find that their whiteness will exclude them from the place where they most want to be. They will be hard put to it to disengage from the centre of "Black theology" no matter how deeply they appreciate the theological and psychological need for Blacks to grapple theologically with their specific identity crisis. The inevitable result will be that they will feel a rejection which will threaten their identity. This is likely to generate a host of varied responses. The most hopeful response would be that this new experience would help them to focus theologically on a far more deeply sensed personal level their lack of freedom and their crisis of iden-

tity. Out of this may emerge a new theology of exciting relevance.

As "Black Theology" is directed primarily at the Black community, however, it is here that its chief significance lies. Since the arrival of Christianity on the soil of Southern Africa, it has been, with a few precious exceptions, politically disastrous for Blacks. As a religious agent of colonisation it has served to enable Blacks to accept their disinheritance. Whether consciously or unconsciously it has been a tower of strength behind white domination.

For a focus of their political aspirations the Blacks turned to their own political parties. While some turned away from Christianity, the majority were members both of their Church and their party. Church and party met entirely different needs. When the parties were finally banned, the majority had only the Church. Their ministers were trained in the white-staffed seminaries of the white-controlled churches. Consequently these ministers failed largely to relate the Gospel to the political situation of the people in the pews. They were left with no focus for their political dreams.

What the advent of "Black Theology" may mean is that the political relevance of the Gospel to Black people in their situation will begin to be articulated, heard and felt. When Blacks in a South African situation begin to hear loud and clear the Christian affirmations of their human dignity, worth and resources who can tell what its political effect will be?

Besides traumatization, the Gestapo relied mainly on three other methods of destroying all personal autonomy. The first of these was to force prisoners to adopt child-like behaviour. The second was that of forcing them to give up their individuality and merge themselves into an amorphous mass. The third consisted of destroying all capacity for self determination, all ability to predict the future and thus to prepare for it.

The Informed Heart
by Bruno Bettelheim

A SANE REVOLUTION

by D. H. Lawrence

If you make a revolution, make it for fun,
don't do it in ghastly seriousness,
don't do it in deadly earnest,
do it for fun.

Don't do it because you hate people,
do it just to spit in their eye.

Don't do it anyhow, for international
Labour.

Labour is one thing that a man has too
much of.

Let's abolish labour, let's have done with
labouring.

Work can be fun and men can enjoy it:
then its not labour.

Let's have it so! Let's make a revolution
for fun!

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A Transkeian looks at the Republic Festival

By DONALD WOODS
Editor of the Daily Dispatch

I was a sports-blazered youth when the Black Sash was formed, and I remembered all the predictions of how it would go the way of the Torch Commando, the Covenanters, the Anti-Republican League and other mushroom movements against Nationalism. But the Black Sash is still here and very much so, fifteen years later. -

In the best traditions of Emily Hobhouse liberalism, it still sticks up for the underdog; still holds high the torch of decency; still shows the oppressed that there are those who care deeply about them.

In the intervening years I have seen all sorts of Sash demonstrations, large imposing ones, small pathetic ones, solitary ones, all impressive; all magnificent. Nobody really enjoys standing up in a public place with an unusual placard, particularly when thugs respond with insults and attempted intimidation.

But the fact is that it is done as a reminder that there are many unpleasant things in life that have to be done, like visits to the dentist, and it is in the highest nature of mankind to do such things for the sake of others.

Why has the Black Sash lasted so long? What is its peculiar strength? Firstly the agelessness of its ideals. Unlike Torch and other extra-party organisations, which were founded for a particular purpose at the time, Sash was founded on an ideal adaptable to all circumstances. Secondly, as Shakespeare says, women are more consistent . . . and here is the Black Sash of 1971, constant as ever, faced with a new thought — what to make of the Republic festivities.

Just as well the organisation got its first inspiration from the defence of the constitution before the Republic, so it can now gain fresh impetus from challenging the worth of the Republic constitution after ten years.

Is this the sort of anniversary we want to celebrate? Of course not, what is there to celebrate? increasing economic ruin? worsening race relations, increasingly restrictive laws? Are these truly reasons for herding school-children together, like the Russians and the Chinese, not because they want to participate

in such festivals, but because such participation is arranged?

Let us rather think of the Republic we should be celebrating. Let me, as a Transkeian, imagine such a country, the country South Africa should be . . . a land where the destinies of my home territory could be influenced by Transkeians of all races, participating freely without proclamation 400 or the apartheid laws, whether in reverse or not. In such a land I could take my friend Knowledge Guzana to tea in a restaurant in Umtata without his being ejected in this "Black" capital! In such a land I could join with Transkeians of other races to devise real and meaningful development for the territory. We could scrap the absurd attempt to turn pastoral people into agriculturalists; we could plant vast co-operatives where whole families could work on massive cotton plantations for income now and housing *now* and schooling *now*. We could turn our "Wild Coast" into the richest tourist attraction outside of California, and harness the massive water power potential of Pondoland, Bomvanaland and Tembuland.

We could have a proper university, supplying the final reason for our people to stay in the territory. With their labour opportunities here, their schooling here, their higher education here and their unhampered job challenges here they would not have to seek work and betterment elsewhere.

Then the Transkei would really show the rest of the nation something. Then we would really have something to celebrate after ten years. Then the Black Sash could merely be a fond memory instead of what it is today, serious necessity. Yes, there is a link between the Transkei I want and the Black Sash I respect. It is the common wish for a high purpose extending beyond petty prejudice.

It is the urge to strive for the full realisation of human potential, for others as well as self. It inspires the vision of the Transkei that could be, the Transkei that could have every reason to celebrate anniversaries . . . as Martin Luther King would have said "I have a dream"

ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE ANNUAL REPORT

Athlone Advice Office case-histories clearly expose the strains imposed by the law and its administration on our African people. The work of the Office in sorting out, explaining and channelling the problems of puzzled and distressed Africans reveals one of the ugliest sides of our national scene. As the object of the work is to get the fairest and squarest deal for every individual applicant, every effort is made to bring the best out of the law and every positive straw is grasped. A heartening measure of success is achieved in case-work, but this is in spite, and not because of the structure of the system, which pays close attention to the details of the individual past records on the one hand and neglects long-term arrangements for the same individual's future welfare on the other. The separation of family units and deprivation of employment are major features.

Resettlement

A feature of the work this year has been the return of women who have been resettled or repatriated during the last year or two and who have come to Cape Town without permission to report that they have been unable to get work in their home area and are in a desperate plight. Women who have for years supported themselves and their families find themselves idle and with little or no money for food, cleaning materials and clothing, and feel humiliated and deeply unhappy.

Bessie Mgidlana was living with her husband in a house in Guguletu when she was endorsed out of the area during 1966. The couple did not want to separate and fought long and hard to establish their residential rights. But the official written records showed a gap in her husband's record during part of 1953 and 1954 when he was said to have worked in Stellenbosch, and he was unable to prove his claim to have been here all along. So her own rights under Section 10, 1c of the Act, as the wife of a qualified man, fell away; a relative said he had accommodation for her and the children at Nqamakwe, and off she went. Money soon stopped coming and she found herself and five children sharing her brother-in-law's hut with his equally large family. Her husband by now has another woman and child to support and she has returned to the Peninsula in desperation. If

she cannot stay and work here (and of course she cannot), she would prefer to be sent to a resettlement township where at least she is independent. But no one can be transferred from one Territorial Authority to another, unless they have forfeited their rights in the first. In other words, Mrs. B. M. is going to remain stuck with her in-laws at Nqamakwe, support or no support, work or no work, unless she divorces the man whom she lived happily with until she was sent away by the authorities.

After Press publicity and subsequent further investigation by officials at Langa and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, Bessie was sent back to Nqamakwe armed with letters to her local magistrate, from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and ourselves, together with a promise that her husband would be made to support her properly. The following letter was written on 3/10/70 — the original in Xhosa is available for inspection:

"I left Cape Town in July this year. I took the two letters to the magistrate one of yours and another of Bantu Affairs, the clerks at the Magistrate's Office told me that they have got nothing to do about finding me accommodation, what they are going to do is to get support for me from my husband. My husband must look for a place for me to live with my children. Another thing is the clerks here they don't take anybody to the Magistrate they tell you what to do verbally. I wrote three letters to my husband telling him what I was told at the Magistrate's Office but there was no reply. I don't know what he is up to he only sent me money once for the last three months and the children are sick. I even went to see the magistrate at Nqamakwe but he did not help me, he told me to go. I told him my whole problem that my husband does not support me but he did not take no notice about that, this is the second month I had nothing from him. I am not eating with the children. I am lost I don't know what to do and where to go because the magistrate up there did not want to help me with anything. I have nowhere to stay I am living with friends. Will you please call my husband and ask him does he write or send money to me."

Pressure on families to be resettled in their Homelands continues to be exerted, often on people who have contravened the housing regulations and been threatened with eviction from their houses. In many cases all our efforts have been in vain and the families have left the area. However in some cases we have been able to delay their departure while further investigation was made — sometimes with the result that their right to remain in Cape Town was established.

Mrs. I. B. aged 23, born in Bloemfontein, lived here with her brother and was on his rent card until her marriage a year ago to W.B. She moved into his lodgings and they reported together to Langa Registration Office, hoping to be put on the housing list. But when his record was scrutinised, a break from 1954 to 1956 was uncovered and so (yes, it follows, "theirs not to reason why") she was told to go to his family at Tsomo. This indeed will be her married destiny unless her own rights under Section 10, 1b can be established, which will depend on her having registered correctly at the age of sixteen years. The result is "pending" as far as the Advice Office is concerned, but her permit has already expired.

The Supplementary Settlement Scheme

This scheme was evolved at the Department of Bantu Affairs, Observatory, during 1969. It was the brain-child of an official who had assessed the predicament of women with dependants when endorsed out to areas where they would not be able to find employment, or virtually none. Within the limitations of the official policy of reducing the numbers of Africans in the Western Cape, it is a compassionate and realistic arrangement. But the conditions which must be met before it can be



applied are stiff, and the "side effects" are serious.

The scheme is in the form of a concession, allowing women who have a record of having resided and worked lawfully in the area and who have not been sent away, or only within recent months, be permitted to resume work in their former or new jobs, generally living-in and on a temporary basis renewable from time to time. First, however, they must take their minor children to up-country relatives or foster parents and bring back a note from the rural district magistrate or other definite evidence that the children are properly settled there. These children may indeed benefit from more wholesome surroundings than city streets but they are deprived of their mother's company and she of theirs. Already they are fatherless. In extended family relationships, foster parents are more readily acceptable than in established urban families, but many of the affected families have known only the city family unit pattern. Most appalling is the realisation that children sent away from the proclaimed area in this fashion lose their rights to return. Most of them have been born here and are entitled to grow up and work and reside permanently, but this they must forfeit after living elsewhere for any length of time. When they grow up, they will have to take out Reference Books in rural areas and will not get back to Cape Town except, if they are lucky, on annual contracts.

The scheme is said to be operating smoothly and on quite a large scale. Return train tickets are given to mothers accompanying their children to the Transkei and Ciskei, and food for the journey. The mothers make reliable breadwinners, as they never fail their children. The Advice Office notes however that many women are not accepted for the scheme, usually because they have only returned to the area some years after endorsement out, when circumstances became intolerable. They are posted back to rural district magistrates with letters requesting assistance in the form of rations or maintenance grants which we gather are exceedingly slow to materialise. For some mothers, the scheme offers the ideal solution to their problems. For others, the suggestion is totally unacceptable. But there may be no choice.

Mrs. E. M. was escorted out of the area in 1968. Her father-in-law at Cala refused to be responsible for her keep and that of the five children when no money came. Her hus-

band had deserted her in 1965. She followed the correct procedure in getting her headman to take her to the magistrate at Cala, and he advised her to seek help for the children from her own relatives at Queenstown. They are now in schools, two in Standard 6, and money is what is needed. Mrs. E. M. arrived in Cape Town in April, in an emaciated condition. Officials found her story true in all respects, the magistrate at Cala had recommended her to leave her father-in-law and her husband could not be traced. Despite her absence from the area over a period longer than is usually admissible, she was allowed to find a living-in job. The case is to be reviewed every six months (this makes the employment similar to a man's contract job, without the full documentary rigmarole) and she was instructed to report to Langa whenever she leaves on a short visit to her children, who will not be allowed to visit here.

Mrs. E. A. was endorsed out of the Cape Peninsula in July 1969, with her three children. The family was "resettled" at Dimbaza, near Kingwilliamstown. In July of this year she returned, getting a lift by car, and brought a harrowing account of misery which her thin face and hollow eyes bore out. She described the free rations issued monthly, mealie-meal and samp almost sufficient but very little of anything else, no protein foods and no soap. She emphasised her distress at not being able to work and earn, at having to "sit and do nothing", at not even being able to keep children clean. Scrub-clearing at R4,00 per month is the only work available, and women doing this forfeit their free rations.

Senior officials were concerned about this woman's grave plight, which did not conform with the expectations of the policy-makers. Temporary permission was given her to be in the area while arrangements for the Supplementary Settlement Scheme were investigated on her behalf.

Legal Representations

An interesting legal feature this year has been the fact that out of 22 cases referred to our attorneys, 14 have been satisfactorily settled without a court appearance. This means that the Africans concerned who had been endorsed out, had a legal claim to permanent residence which was acknowledged by the officials concerned once the attorney had made representations on their behalf. These representations often involved a great deal of work,

perseverance and time but were very well worth while.

Eunice Gqeba was born in Queenstown in 1950. Her parents came to Cape Town in 1953 and are now qualified residents and City Council householder. Her father has been with one firm ever since his arrival. But Eunice was left in the charge of her grandmother in Queenstown and had her schooling there. Granny died some ten years later and Eunice went to an uncle in the same location, but his own family already filled his house to capacity and he pointed out that her own parents were now in a better position than he to give her a home. Her parents agreed and she arrived, still under age for registration. But her school papers showed that she had grown up in Queenstown. This was in 1964. Three years and one arrest and fine later she was sent back to Queenstown to get her reference book there. She tried again to live with her uncle, but it seemed absurd to add to his difficulties and be uncomfortable herself while her parents in Cape Town had a home for her. So she went to the magistrate for permission to come to Cape Town to live with her parents, but he assured her that as she was the unmarried daughter of a Cape Town qualified man, with accommodation, she could and should proceed whither she belonged and that permission was not required. Cape Town officials thought otherwise and she went straight back to Queenstown for a visiting permit. At this stage the Advice Office could only recommend her to obey instructions. She was back within a month, duly authorised to "visit" her parents with whom she intended to live permanently. She was given permission to "visit" for three months and extension was refused when the time was up in September 1969. Legal advice was sought at this point and when she was arrested the case was remanded and later withdrawn, because the prosecutor had evidently not collected much evidence and preferred not to accept her right of residence but to wait until the case became more clear-cut. After an extension to her permit of one week the whole weary business started again. Arrested on November 7th, 1969 and charged with being in the area illegally (as usual) the case was remanded to November 20th then to December 4th then to January 27th, 1970 when the case was again withdrawn. Her right to reside in the area with her own father was now accepted and after fresh confusion at Langa, where the first stamp given her was permission to reside with

her as yet non-existent husband, she brought her reference book to the Advice Office and showed a correct 10, 1c "exemption" stamp acknowledging her right of continued residence as an unmarried daughter with her qualified father.

Court Cases

These both concerned young men, sons of permanent residents.

Charlton Maya who was arrested for being illegally in the area appeared in court three times after which the case was withdrawn for lack of evidence. He was born in Cape Town and had lived there most of his life but had spent several years up-country and so lost his right to live in Cape Town.

Patrick Skehle. Patrick's mother asked for help in March 1970 as her 21 year old son had been sentenced to detention in a work-colony for 18 months under Section 29 of the Urban Areas Act and was at present in Pollsmoor Jail. Under this section he had been declared idle i.e. "between the age of 15 and 65, though capable of being employed is normally unemployed". His mother explained that he had remained in school until 1966 when he was in Standard 9 and left because of ill health. He had a job at Langa Bar from January 1967 to June 1968 when he again became ill with tonsillitis and left his job. After having his tonsils removed in July 1969 he went to circumcision school at Worcester for 3 months. On his return he was assaulted and suffered head injuries and a broken ankle. This history of ill health is well backed by medical certificates, some of which his mother handed in when she appeared as the only defence witness at his trial. In view of this we asked our attorney to appeal against his conviction and the appeal was upheld in the Supreme Court in August. It was apparently the first appeal of this kind and was heard by Judge President, Mr. Justice Beyers and Mr. Justice Diemont. The following is an extract from the judgement "If this record had come before me for revision I would have set it aside on the grounds that I am not at all satisfied that right and justice was done. It now comes as a sort of appeal. The Law apparently gives this Court Appeal-jurisdiction. I am not certain that it is an appeal at all, but the proceedings have come to our attention; we are completely dissatisfied with this record and with the proceedings which have taken place, and completely uncertain whether justice indeed was done.

For this reason the proceedings are set aside and any order which was made as a result is declared null and void."

Patrick is now employed and back with his mother. If he had been sent to a work-colony for 18 months he would have lost his right to live and work in Cape Town which he holds under Section 10, 1a of the Urban Areas Act, having been born in Cape Town and lived here all his life.

Aid Centre

This has been operating most of this year. The office is at Langa but is manned by staff from the Department of Bantu Affairs at Observatory. It seems to us to be just another place where Africans are told to go "home" and where they can receive a rail-warrant to do so.

R. F. typifies the deserted wife who came to Cape Town without the permission she could not get, to bring her defaulting husband to book. She was sent to the Aid Centre where it was explained to her that she must go back to Lady Frere and lay her complaint before the magistrate there. She found her husband eventually but he refused to go to any office with her.

J. M. The story of a young man, is typical. Endorsed out of the Divisional Council area of the Cape Peninsula two years ago because he did not qualify he eventually left for Tsolo to register as a work-seeker. A would-be employer with a large property in Constantia had made strenuous efforts to engage him but not even any form of contractual arrangement was permitted. He had to go through the "normal channels". He went, and is now back in the area to find illegal employment. He waited months at Tsolo. No jobs were being offered there, or only to a favoured few, so he registered at Umtata and hung around there many more months. He had no money, he was hungry, and now here he is. The cost of a lift to Cape Town can be repaid later if his earnings are not swallowed in fines.

Workman Compensation

The application of Influx Control legislation is in the interests of Government policy, not of the welfare of the people directly affected. Where legislation makes definite provision for the welfare of all citizens, such as the Workmen's Compensation Act, Unemployment Act etc. many cases seen at the Advice Office show that the administration of these Acts is so grievously complicated precisely by

Influx Control, which causes constant movement to and fro of labour, that the actual money to which needy claimants are entitled takes many months to reach them and sometimes never seems to arrive at all.

Mrs. N. Q. came to Cape to sort out her husband's affairs, concerning which she knew little beyond that he had had an accident and had been in hospital for over a year, since March 1969. He had in fact sustained brain damage and will never be able to be cared for outside an institution. The firm had lodged a claim correctly with the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner and it was natural that the final assessment of the extent of the damage should cause delay. The Department of Bantu Affairs, Observatory, disclaimed all responsibility for helping his wife with the Compensation Claim because he had been a contract worker, not a resident of the Peninsula and, to quote an official: "He comes from the Transkei and that is a separate country now." Everything had to go through Pretoria. The man's unemployment insurance card never came to light, so any money which could have been claimed by his dependants from that source was not traced. Mrs. N.Q. returned to Cofimvaba as instructed and the hospital was informed during August 1970 that her husband's Compensation money, amounting to nearly R2 000, would be administered by the magistrate at Cofimvaba on her behalf and that of the five children. Mrs. N. Q. has however written to the Advice Office during September 1970 that the magistrate has told her that she must produce the Claim Number before he can give her any of the money. To date she had not received this crucial fragment of proof of her rights to the claim.

Mrs. I. G. was widowed when her husband was knocked down and killed by a motor vehicle in September 1968, in Nyanga East. She had recently left Cape Town after a visit and was just back home at Nqamakwe. Her brother here acted on her behalf and consulted a lawyer about a Third Party claim. Mrs. I. G. came down in connection with the estate in September 1969, but this claim was still hanging fire and when her visiting permit expired, she left. In July, 1970, her brother came to the Advice Office with a letter from the lawyer explaining that there was no evidence of witnesses of the accident would make any Third Party case possible as none of the alleged statements, and all denied all knowledge of the

case. This letter was posted to Mrs. I. G. at Nqamakwe together with a covering explanation for her magistrate, to whom a letter was also sent from the Advice Office. She went to him as instructed by us and a month later the Office received a letter from his office, asking us to "supply all information about the accident to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner, Cape Town. Also instruct Mr. S. (her brother) to report to the B.A.C. with a copy of this letter." At the same time Mrs. I. G. wrote to us to say that her magistrate had said that D.B.A. Observatory must arrange for the Third Party Compensation. We duly sent Mr. S. and the letters to D.B.A., and a sympathetic and disturbed official then explained that "this problem can only be handled by the magistrate at Nqamakwe."

Mr. M. R. has been waiting hopefully since an accident in July 1966 for Compensation money to which he is entitled. Information about the claim took an exceptionally long time to reach him and three letters to the Commissioner in Pretoria were not answered or the answers never found him. In August 1970, his firm sent him to D.B.A. Observatory and he was told that the claim had been paid out in July 1970. Whether the cheque was given to the wrong claimant, or whether there had been confusion between two claims for similar amount (R188) is not yet known. Presumably he will eventually receive the money, although one official told him that he had already had it.

Widows

The hopeless position of widows who, under the new housing regulations described in our last Annual Report are not allowed to remain as tenants in their houses when their husbands die, is causing us great concern. Even when the widow can prove that she and her children qualify in their own right under Section 10, 1a or b of the Urban Areas Act to remain in Cape Town, she is not allowed to rent a house — she must move to lodgings or agree to be re-settled. There are no lodgings available for a woman with several children and a house full of furniture.

Struggle to prove S.A. citizenship

Lucy Sitemela was born in Aliwal North — we have an affidavit from her brother Mr. Vani to that effect but since February 1968 we have been trying to help her to prove that she was not born in Lesotho as the authorities

maintain. She was married to Julius Site-mela, who comes from Cofimvaba, first by tribal rites and then by civil rites in Worcester in 1945. They live together in a house in Guguletu registered in her husband's name. She is still carrying temporary papers giving her permission to remain here until 30.11.70 but if she fails to prove that she is a South African citizen she could be deported to Lesotho. This she was told in December 1967. Imagine the state of mind of this woman, legally married to a South African-born man but who will not be allowed to remain with him unless she can prove she also was born in South Africa. Our attorney received a letter from the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in September 1970 informing him that "the Director of the Bantu Reference Bureau has ruled that the evidence before him is insufficient to identify client as a South African citizen and that she will be regarded as a foreign African and subject to the laws and regulations applicable to them."

R. N. ROBB.

B. D. VERSELD.

TRANSVAAL

Campaign on African Women

Our main project for the year under review has been our campaign to ameliorate the plight of African women, a campaign which will carry over into the coming year, as it is now really getting under way. The Advice Office has exposed the suffering endured by African women, and we felt that it was right that we should devote our energies to trying to alleviate it.

For this campaign we have adopted the slogan "Who Cares". The campaign was initiated with the six articles in the "Star", and the compilation of the pamphlet, "Who Cares", and the booklet, also entitled "Who Cares" which embraces these articles. We made contact with a few Women's Organisations to test the degree of support we might expect from them, but carried on undeterred when this appeared to be minimal, as it did at that time.

The pamphlet was distributed to a mailing list of approximately 5 000 and to all regions, the booklet sold well in Rosebank and Killarney.

The next step was the compiling of a

Charter for Women and of a Petition to be presented to Parliament which incorporated the Charter. Transvaal Region took the Petition and the Charter to Conference where it was endorsed by all regions. The Petition was signed at Conference by all Delegates, thus representing the whole of the Black Sash, and was presented in Parliament on behalf of the Black Sash by Mrs. Helen Suzman.

The Petition, the Charter, the booklet "Who Cares" and a covering letter asking for support and the adoption of the Charter, have now been distributed to all women's organisations, or other organisations and the political parties, and indications of support have already been received from the Mothers' Union of the Church of the Province, the National Council of Women and Quaker House. Members will be asked to help sell the booklet and the Memorandum on the Pass Laws so that this whole issue will be kept before the public.

Laws

We have kept a watching brief on legislation before Parliament, and have made a particular study of the General Laws Amendment Bill, which imposed further restrictions on methods of protest by making marches subject to magisterial permission; the Bantu Administration Boards Bill, which might well cancel out its one advantage for African workers of enlarging the areas in which they might seek work by undermining the powers of all the local authorities and vesting it all in Government-appointed Administration Boards; and the Drug Bill which seeks to fight the Drug menace by methods which create their own menace. In each instance we took relevant action in the form of letters, articles, demonstrations.

Membership

I must apologise that I do not have the exact membership figures for Transvaal Region, but they are in the vicinity of 300. We have acquired 42 new members during the year under review, one of the most encouraging aspects of this report. It is not easy to join the Black Sash. We do not tout for members though we are exceedingly glad to welcome new ones, and it is good to know that there are always women outside our organisation who are anxious to become part of it. We are making every effort to incorporate them quickly into all our activities.

Books

Most of you will be aware that the Special Branch took away our books and Minutes and that they have not yet been returned. Some of our members have been questioned by the Special Branch, mainly about the address by the Dean of Johannesburg. Activities by the Special Branch always have an intimidatory effect, because of its vast powers, but should like to assure you that everything the Black Sash does is perfectly legal, that nothing is done secretly or under-the-lap, and that, in fact, everything is done with the utmost publicity for this is part of our function as we see it — to inform the public of what we are doing and why.

The Committee

The Committee was exceedingly fortunate in that for most of the year it had as its chairman Mrs. Jeanette Carlson. She is an outstanding person, vital, dynamic, highly intelligent, perceptive, understanding, with a warmth to which everyone responds and possessed of a sense of humour which brought welcome laughter to our committee meetings. We shall miss her dreadfully and wish her much good fortune in the future. We also sadly miss our lovely Irish colleen, Laurie Brand, who has gone to live in Durban.

JOYCE HARRIS.

Acting Regional Chairman.

We Salute You Cosmas

Let me tell you a bit about Cos. Desmond. I met him at Shirley and John Davies' house in Parktown in Johannesburg at the time that John Davies was the Anglican chaplain to Wits. Cos. was resting in between his extensive travels of examination of the resettlement schemes. He was thin and tired and asked me if I could buy him some long winter underclothes, this was the winter of 1968... the winter of the Limehill removals. The next time I saw him, he was ill again, with a serious infection of his leg. His life was still one of miles and miles of dusty roads, little food and even less rest or comfort. Not the life of the Pretorian beurocrat who makes the laws, but the life, shared with the people who suffer daily under these laws. He felt with them, really felt, as I have felt, as anyone who has been to Limehill and seen the young mothers come to the mission clinic there, with their terrifyingly frail babies and seen the plastic bottle, the worn teat sewn up with cotton, and the contents of either black tea or thin soured porridge and said to the mother "Ubisi?" and been told through an interpreter that the mother has no milk, has no money for milk, and the father is in Johannesburg working for the great white law makers.

Yes, Cos., we salute you for what you have done, for caring and loving in a way that few white Christians do. For going on though you have had little support from your church, which is my church too. I say little support... you had it from your brethren as you call your Franciscan brothers-in-Christ. In the city of Johannesburg you were denied the opportunity to speak in the Cathedral, and now one

reads that The Catholic Bishop of the diocese has "nothing to say"... he didn't have anything to say either when he was asked to speak on the increasing intimidation of dedicated church workers of other denominations were victimised for their stands on Christian ethics. Cosmas Desmond causes scandal, yes, his work and dedication to the oppressed inarticulate mass of people, cause much of the "official" church to close its eyes lest they too see the oozing sore that we have produced.

Some of us have seen "your" film "The Dumping Grounds". I cried when I saw it in London and we cried when we saw it again in Johannesburg because there it all is, in its full hideousness, the carting away of real people into the desert. The de-humanising policy that we have seen before in this century, as a child I, inadvertently saw in England, the film of Dachau and Auschwitz which the policy of elimination takes to its logical end.

Even if they moved Jan Smuts Airport into Parkhurst and you could board a plane without leaving the magisterial district I doubt if you would get on one, though you could still get a British passport, I doubt if you would leave, because this country is your country and the real people are your people, some whites among them. In any other country they would have given you a bloody medal and a seat in parliament. Thanks, Mr. Pelsler for what you have done. You have finally acknowledged what a great and good guy Cosmas Desmond is... may there be many more like him.

Angela Muldoon.

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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 A. Cobbett, of 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

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Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

MET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons 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 beloop 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.