

# SASH



**‘Home is the place where,  
when you have to go there,  
They have to take you in . . .**

**‘. . . I should have called it  
Something you somehow  
haven't to deserve.’**

**ROBERT FROST**

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Issue on  
housing**

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# The Black Sash Die Swart Serp

**S**OUTH AFRICA is not alone in facing an ongoing housing problem. All over the world countries experience difficulties in housing their citizens adequately, being faced with such demands as the natural increase of the population, migration to the cities, the poverty among people, insufficiency of state funds, the question of state priorities, the practical logistics of manpower, materials, space, design and so on.

But South Africa has special problems which are a direct product of the political ideology of its Government. The determination to separate the various races, which together make up the total population of our country, has aggravated a situation already complicated by the relative poverty of the rural areas, the financial attractions of the large cities and the general economic downswing.

Under the Group Areas Act 1594 White families, 58 834 Coloured families, 30 646 Indian families and 142 Chinese families were moved from their homes and resettled as at the end of 1975. A total number of 465 393 persons were thus uprooted. (IRR Survey, 1976.) 159 369 people have still to be moved. (RDM, 19.2.77.)

Between 1948 and 1974 about 190 794 Africans were removed from Black spots, small scheduled areas and outlying parts of other scheduled areas, and resettled on land adjoining large homelands. Widely differing estimates have been given at various times, by the Minister and officials concerned, of the numbers of Africans who will eventually be required to move, but the number may run into hundreds of thousands. (IRR Survey, 1975.)

The Government is playing a gigantic game of chess, moving people from one place to another like pawns, and every single time this happens it means that people are being taken out of accommodation that already exists — however mean and shabby it may be — to be placed in other accommodation which perforce must be constructed either for or by them.

Every time there is a Group Area removal new houses must be built for people who are already housed, while the waiting list of those who are genuinely unhoused continues to grow, and more and more people are forced to share already overcrowded accommodation with unwilling householders, to break up their families and house their children wherever they can, to build shanties and swell the squatter camps, to find some kind of a roof over their heads.

Add to this the Government's reluctance over a period of many years to build housing for Africans in the urban areas in the fond belief that, like King Canute, it would be able to hold back and, in fact, reverse the flood of migration to the cities, and a housing shortage in the urban areas of crisis proportions presents itself. For no provision has been made even for the natural increase of the settled urban African population, of whom Dr Verwoerd once said, "There will be no increase".

The compulsory migrant labour system does nothing to ease the situation, except insofar as hostels provide housing of a most unsatisfactory nature for large numbers of married men who spend their entire working lives in single-sex hostels, while their wives and children must be accommodated in dwellings in the homelands.

Dr Francis Wilson estimated that in July 1968 no less than 51 per cent of the 2 583 000 Africans then registered in employment were oscillating migrants, and the proportions seemed to be rising. ('Migrant Labour in South Africa', Francis Wilson.) Quite apart from the horrific sociological implications of this unnatural existence, the separation of wage earners from their families compounds the housing shortage, for they must be accommodated separately.

Growing expenditure on security and defence means less money available for housing and, by and large, Black people are prevented from providing their own housing because too little land is allocated to them, freehold title is not available, leasehold title is of too short a duration, bonds are impossible to come by when only leasehold title can be offered, and people have no sense of security.

This issue of SASH does not pretend to be a definitive study on housing. It merely attempts to highlight some of the problems and to give some inkling of what it is like to be on the receiving end of a policy that is less concerned with the provision of family housing — which must surely be a first priority in any country which prizes the establishment of a stable and contented society — than with the pursuit of an ideology of separation.

Until the housing crisis is satisfactorily resolved, particularly in the urban areas, it will continue to be a flashpoint of discontent and unrest, with vast numbers of people living in totally adverse social and psychological conditions.

# Legislation for separation

E. M. WENTZEL

## A brief look at some of the legislation responsible for the housing inequities that beset South Africa.

**T**HERE was once a suburb in Johannesburg called Sophiatown. It was much the same as many other rather poorer suburbs in Johannesburg. The houses ranged from the neat and even well-to-do to the decidedly slummy.

It did not appear to be especially different from the suburbs in its immediate vicinity, such as Westdene, but in South African terms there was a cardinal distinction.

Sophiatown was occupied by Blacks and in large measure owned by Blacks. For that sin, its elimination became a cardinal plank of National Party policy and eventually the people of Sophiatown were removed and the houses demolished and in its place a suburb for lower middle class Whites was established with the name "Triomf".

That name "Triomf" perhaps is a key to much of the thinking behind that kind of segregation. It is the mentality of the frontier in which land is won and the future of Afrikanerdom is secured.

What happened to Sophiatown is but illustrative of a vast battery of legislation which is calculated to enforce the segregation aspect of the policy of *apartheid*.

In this article, some of these legislative provisions will be discussed; there is such a host of legislation and regulations that this cannot be done comprehensively.

Wherever appropriate the actual wording of the Legislature is quoted; not with intent to punish or confuse, but so that it may speak for itself.

Perhaps the best place to start is at the beginning and that is with the Population Registration Act. Under this Act an attempt is made to identify the various racial groups and to classify all South Africans according to their race.

Whites, Coloureds (including said groups) and Bantu are defined, but it does not necessarily mean that these definitions which apply under the Population Registration Act, necessarily and in all cases apply under other statutes where race classification is an essential feature.

Population registration, however, is a key to the theory of the whole segregation process which must start with an assumption that one can

classify men according to their race and fit each person into his particular racial category.

The segregation provisions themselves vary according to the particular racial group affected by them. Broadly speaking, Whites are in one category; Indians and Coloureds in yet another and Blacks in the third. It takes but little knowledge of South Africa to know that that is in an approximate descending order of privilege.

To start with Blacks; perhaps the primary provision is the Land Act of 1913. That statute was passed after the deliberations of the Beaumont Commission, which investigated the situation in regard to land holding throughout South Africa.

The Act provides essentially for the definition of scheduled Bantu areas and as from June 19, 1913, a Black was prohibited from entering into an agreement for the purchase, hire or acquisition of land or of any right or interest or servitude in land from a person other than a Bantu in respect of any land outside those scheduled areas.

In addition, no person other than a Black was able to enter into transactions concerning land in a scheduled area. Thus two South Africas were created: one for Blacks and one for the rest of us.

The portion for Blacks (now 13 per cent) was smaller; Whites overwhelmingly owned and occupied most of the rest.

The moral theory behind the Land Act is based upon the apparent premise that Blacks in Central Africa waited there until told on the tom-toms that Van Riebeeck was about to arrive at the Cape, gave him precedence in so doing and then stormed down the East Coast to meet the Whites on the eastern frontier, leaving 87 per cent of the land surface of South Africa empty and free for White occupation and 13 per cent for Black occupation.

In 1963 after the deal which led to fusion and the removal of Africans from the common voters' roll in the Cape, the Bantu Trust and Land Act was passed.

That Act provided for a modification of the Land Act. It created additional released areas for occupation by Blacks and created a South African Native Trust to preside over those lands.

Unlike the laws of the Medes and Persians, however, this dispensation is flexible and the State President is empowered by proclamation to remove any particular area of land from the released area, provided that he replaces it with land of an equivalent pastoral or agricultural value. He may also add to the released area when a resolution of both Houses of Parliament empowers him to do so.

This statute creates the basis for the removal of Blacks from particular areas because by mere proclamation an area which was once available for lawful occupation by Black can be removed from the released area and with some preliminary formalities that occupation can become unlawful.

This has happened in many places throughout the Republic and Blacks have found that their legal protections are more technical than substantive.

It does not matter that the particular tribe has lived in that area since time immemorial. The proclamation is sufficient to end those lawful rights.

Just to make assurance doubly sure the Bantu Administration Act which creates the State President as the supreme chief of all Bantu in South Africa gives to the State President the right to define the boundaries of the area of any tribe.

Furthermore, whenever the State President deems it expedient in the general public interest, without prior notice, but after consultation by the Minister with the Bantu Government concerned, he may order that any tribe, portion of a tribe, Bantu community or Bantu shall withdraw from any place to any other place and shall not at any time thereafter or during a period specified return to that first place.

Sophiatown was dealt with by passing an Act designed specially for it, the Bantu Resettlement Act. That was necessary because Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare and Pageview were all places within the urban area of Johannesburg in which Blacks had had rights prior to the passing of the 1913 Act.

Finally, and in order to make sure that the courts do not intervene, the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act was passed in 1956 to provide that whenever any native was required by any order to vacate, to depart or withdraw from,

to be ejected or removed from, not to return to, not to be in or not to enter any place or area or to be arrested or detained for the purpose of his removal or ejection no interdict or other legal process shall issue for the stay or suspension of the execution of such order or the removal of the property of such native.

In the urban areas themselves segregation is founded on the Bantu Urban Areas Act, well-known for the section 10 classification that every urban Black has stamped in his pass (or should one say reference book bearing in mind that passes were abolished by the Abolition of Passes Act under which it became mandatory for every Black without exception to carry a reference book).

The Urban Areas Act provides that no person other than a native or a company held exclusively by natives may enter into any agreement or transaction for the acquisition of any lot or premises in a native village or location.

More significantly, perhaps, no native and no association, corporate or unincorporate in which a native has any interest shall, except with the approval of the State President given after consultation with the local authority concerned enter into any agreement or transaction for the acquisition from any person other than a native of any land within an urban area.

Perhaps that is enough to give one some insight into the segregation provisions concerning Blacks in particular. The cardinal provisions enforcing segregation of all race groups but in practice more especially Coloureds and Asians is the Group Areas Act.

This was once referred to by a judge in the Appellate Division as an experiment in social relations.

What it provides in essence is for the creation of group areas throughout the Republic and the prohibition on the acquisition or occupation of property in one area by persons who do not racially qualify within that area.

It is under this statute that Asians lost their rights as shopkeepers and dwellers within many town throughout the Republic were removed to their own areas, often on the outskirts of those towns. And under a proclamation issued in terms of this Act those who are not White may not attend a place of public entertainment in the White area. (And theoretically vice versa.)

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● FIVE children died of malnutrition last week at Thornhill resettlement camp which has a weekly average of 10 deaths. New graves abound among the thousands of tents and tin shanties in which about 40 000 unemployed and despondent refugees are trying to exist.' Star. 24.2.77

# Unscrambling the egg

A system of government which functions at three levels — central provincial and local — and which provides different departments of government for the different racial groups, becomes enmeshed in a bureaucratic web which is difficult to disentangle.

At a seminar organised by the Housing Action Group of the Transvaal Region DR E. J. JAMMINE, Director of the Coloured and Asian Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council; MR YUSUF DINATH, Information and Research Officer of the Department; MR WINSTON HERZENBERG, a Johannesburg City Councillor and MR BRIAN LEON clarified the position. Two of these addresses have been summarised here.

## E. J. JAMMINE

LOCAL authorities are controlled by the Government and the Province, and are not free to do as they please. For instance they have no control whatsoever over Group Areas removals although, as the local authorities responsible for the proper housing of citizens, they have to play their part in rehousing the people so removed. The standard of housing is subject to the provisions of the Slums Act and is determined by the National Housing Commission.

A local authority depends on the State for funds for housing and must therefore adapt itself to available funds and conditions of loan, as well as the standards prescribed.

There are annual Parliamentary appropriations for housing, and the central government Department of Community Development decides on priorities and allocates monies to the various local authorities. The local authorities pay interest on this money, which swells the coffers of a Central Housing Fund, which in turn is used to make supplementary advances for housing on an assisted basis.

The National Housing Commission is a subsidiary of the Department of Community Development and consists of a panel of experts in various fields of housing. Its job is to formulate policy and to consider the merits of the various applications for funds.

It also regulates standards of accommodation to be provided, and because, in the past, these standards had been very low, slum conditions such as those which manifest themselves in Thomsville, Lenasia, had been permitted to develop. However, the Housing Commission has now radically changed its policy, and really decent homes are being built such as the economic housing in Eldorado Park, which is quite satisfactory.

The State has become aware of the seriousness of the housing situation all over the country. Interest in Coloured and Indian housing is more recent than for African housing.

During the War Coronationville was built as a White area, and Noordgesig was built for Blacks. But in both instances the houses were and are presently occupied by Coloured people. For many years Coloured people lived in a variety of areas throughout Johannesburg, amongst members of other race groups.

In 1962 when Coloureds were cleared from Albertsville under the Group Areas Act about 2 000 to 2 200 families were placed in Western, supposedly as a temporary measure. This area had previously been known as Western Native Township, and the Black people were first moved out to make room for the Coloureds.

Coloureds were also moved to Bosmont, a new township built by the State as a prestige area, although it is now suffering from the effects of overcrowding. Riverlea and its extension were established at about this time and later. Most of these areas were subject to controls by the Government Mining Commission.

Eldorado Park was outside the municipal boundaries, with the exception of what is today known as Extension 2. The State had assumed control of development there. A sprinkling of existing houses which could be owned by Coloured people (and a few sites for self-builders) were made available.

During this period the Johannesburg City Council negotiated for and accepted incorporation into its area of jurisdiction, Eldorado Park, as well as its planning and the provision of essential amenities. In 1962 Dr Verwoerd established the Coloured Management Committee systems of local government. The Departments of Coloured and Indian Affairs were also started about this time.

The State has made provision for extensive Coloured housing development to take place at Ennerdale, 24 miles from the Johannesburg City Centre. This would be a Coloured city accommodating a quarter-of-a-million people. By the turn of the century 200 000 people are likely to be living there.

Currently there is little land available within the Municipal boundaries in the remaining Coloured Group Areas. Only another 4 000 homes can be built. More land is urgently needed. Money, too, is urgently needed for the redevelopment and rehabilitation of Kliptown. This area had been for several years and is still occupied by people of different racial groups.

About five or six years ago it was frozen in terms of special provisions in the Group Areas Act for development as a measure of preventing speculation and abuse. Therefore real development has not taken place and in the meanwhile the whole area has fallen into a shocking state of disrepair. The Medical Officer of Health is concerned about living conditions there. Western, too, is an area of which no-one is proud. It should have been cleared years ago but original intentions could not be pursued when Claremont became a White group area.

The current housing position is extremely acute. Currently there are 3 800 families on the waiting list of the Coloured and Asian Affairs Department for Coloured housing, though in all probability there is an immediate and more realistic need for 6 000 homes. This list was reduced by about 1 000 in 1976 as a result of the number of new houses constructed that year.

The natural increase in population alone demands approximately 700 new houses per year, so unless considerably more homes than those being built each year are constructed the backlog will continue to grow.

To date the City Council has provided about 9 000 housing units at a cost of over R30 million.

Seventy per cent of Coloured people living in the Johannesburg area are dependent upon housing provided by the State and local authority. It is vital for a healthy society that people be independent.

To buy a house a Coloured person has to pay a deposit of R300,00. The remainder is paid over 30 years at the prevailing rate of interest which presently is 9½ per cent (the Riverlea interest was only six per cent). When a Coloured or Asian person buys a house in his own Group Area he has title to that land and home, and can dispose of it as he wishes. The only restriction is that if the City Council or the Department of Community build the house they hold a pre-emptive right over the property for five years to prevent speculation.

It is impossible for the City Council to inquire into the specific needs of each family, though it does try to keep in touch with what people need and want. It endeavours to allow

a certain measure of choice and is attempting to build up a stock of maximally acceptable homes. Applicants provide fundamental information of family size, ages and income according to which they are allocated homes.

Although it may seem to be a trial and error system there is a great deal of feed-back of information from City Council officials administering the various housing schemes and from people already housed. This improves knowledge and provides insight for appropriate planning and erection of future housing schemes acceptable to the people concerned.

In terms of the Group Areas Act only Lenasia has been set aside and proclaimed for ownership and occupation by Indians in Johannesburg. Coloured people on the other hand do have some choice accorded them by the City Council as to the area in which they may live.

The City Council was given no hand in the development of Lenasia until 1970 when, with Eldorado Park, it was incorporated into the municipal area. It had, as a result, to face up to considerable capital expenditure to provide the essential services and community amenities still badly needed at that time by the people accommodated there by the State.

## YUSUF DINATH

Indians came to Johannesburg around 1885. The reason I take this date is that in 1885 the first law was passed which restricted Indians into certain areas. This was Law 3 of 1885. At that time this particular legislation required that Indians reside in specific areas in the towns. This resulted in the demarcation of certain suburbs. In Johannesburg there developed what was then known as the Coolie Location which is now presently the Fordsburg and Newtown area. The old Malay Location is now Pageview.

An investigation of the early health reports by the Medical Officer of Health indicated that even at that time Indians were living in deplorable conditions. In 1909 an epidemic of the plague in the areas caused the MOH to close and burn down part of the Coolie Location.

Indians were subsequently displaced into parts of Fordsburg, Newclare, the farm Sophiatown and even further into Klipriviersoog. From that period onwards and right up to the promulgation of the Group Areas Act the Indian community has been hounded by all types of legislation.

In the 1930's it culminated in what was then known as the Penetration Commission. It was felt that Indians were penetrating into White areas either by buying through a White person or marrying a White person. The Penetration Commission went from town to town looking at this problem, and in many areas it came to the conclusion that Indians were using the loopholes within the legislation to acquire property

"illegally". As far back as 1909 the Precious Base Metals Act prevented Indians from residing on land where there was any indication that this land might be needed for mining of minerals.

In 1925 the first inkling of the Group Areas Act was presented in Parliament by Dr Malan, but it was not passed. When the Group Areas Act was actually promulgated it became very clear that the Indians would be the first community to be affected.

Indian leaders in the 1950s were concerned at the deplorable conditions in which Indians were living. Because of the overcrowded and deteriorating conditions of the housing situation it became imperative that Indians find housing elsewhere. Private enterprise tried to establish a township outside of Johannesburg, and the Lens military base was the site chosen by certain private individuals.

The Department argued that since the Indians were already interested in establishing a residential area at Lens it would be expedient (in terms of the Group Areas Act) to proclaim, and then expropriate and finally establish the township of Lenasia. This is exactly what they did. They froze the area. They proclaimed it a group area and bought out the private enterprise that was involved.

Indian resistance to this type of separating people, of moving them, of discriminating against a particular community because of colour was met by a deep-rooted resistance in the community.

Lenasia township was designed with no overall master plan, and this is one of the reasons why it is in a predicament today. The Indian community in Sophiatown and Newclare were forcibly removed to an area without proper sanitation and facilities. The only link to Johannesburg at that time was by rail. This was, in embryo, the beginning of Lenasia as it is today.

In 1960 suddenly the floodgates opened. Whereas previously it was all piecemeal, the demand for housing increased. To give an indication of the rapid growth one only has to look at the official population returns. In 1960 the population of Lenasia was indicated to be in the vicinity of 660. In 1970 the official census indicated 21 323. In 1977 the population is conservatively estimated to be in the vicinity of between 42 and 44 000. There are those who believe the population is in excess of 50 000.

In its piecemeal design of Lenasia and its extensions the Department of Community Development has never given thought to the needs of the community. For example in Lenasia and in Extensions 1, 2, 3 and 4 no sites were made available for nursery schools. In Extension 5, five sites were allocated once the Department of Community Development realised the need for nursery schools.

Community Development has created a dormitory suburb in the sense that the total working force, that is the economically active popu-

lation, has to leave Lenasia every morning to travel to Johannesburg. This includes a tremendous number of women who need facilities for child care. Between 1960 and 1970 50 per cent more women came into the workforce. This is the kind of difficulty with which this very resourceful community has been faced.

Today there are more than 6 500 units in Lenasia, the bulk of which have been built by the Department of Community Development. The family structure which has held the Indian community together is being eroded by the type of housing and by the method in which these houses have been allocated by CD. People were simply told, "Here is a number, go and see the house and move in". There was very little, or practically no choice in the site or the type of house because they were all built according to a fixed formula.

In the Indian community there still exist many extended families, but the provision of CD housing has resulted in a change in the family structure. Up to the 1970's there was no semblance of a juvenile delinquency problem in Johannesburg among the Indians. It was a negligible thing. Today we have such problems because children are left uncared for at home and teenagers roam the streets while their parents work away in Johannesburg.

With regard to an individual wishing to move from one area to another it is not only the housing shortage per se which creates problems for Indians. CD is the controlling authority for all Indian housing in the Transvaal. There is no private enterprise system applicable anywhere in the Province and it makes it literally impossible for a person to buy a house elsewhere even if he gets a better job. Even with the removal of official and legal barriers a person cannot move from one area to another without the provision of housing.

During the 1925-1930s (the Gandhi and post-Gandhi era) political movements were established. These were stifled and destroyed in the 1950s. From this time until the Consultative Committees were established in different towns there were no opportunities for communities to have their say.

These Committees consisted of nominated people thus limiting the free expression of opinions for or against the Government. On the other hand the elected committees (to serve the local areas) have now become quasi-political organisations. Time and again you will read in the papers of a political statement made by a civic body because this is the only opportunity left to express dissatisfaction with the system.

There are ratepayers' organisations but in most instances these are strongly behind the elected committees. The reason is that the ratepayers realise that their association is bound by legislation which they cannot change. Unless an impact is made on legislation there is going to be no change.



# Statistics are people

SHEENA DUNCAN

● 'THERE is nothing left for me but to drink poison.'

This man had made a home in a room in Alexandra township. Recently the West Rand Administration Board delivered a notice to him instructing him to prepare himself to be removed to accommodation in single quarters in a hostel. He does not 'qualify' to have a house so must live in a compound while his wife and children return to her parental home in Soweto where, one supposes, he may visit her from time to time to enjoy the 'mutual society, help and comfort' for which marriage was ordained — provided, of course, that he gets a permit.

● 'He told me to go to hell because I asked him what I can do if my furniture is not intact when I fetch it from the Superintendent's yard.'

She is a widow who lost her job and is sleeping in the street with her children after WRAB took possession of her house and impounded the contents because she had not been able to pay the rent.

● 'This is a house of sorrow. How can I move in while the people must sleep without shelter?'

This is the new tenant who had waited seven years for a house and was at last given a key and told to move in, but arrived to find a widow with ten children, only four of whom are of working age, and eight grandchildren on the street outside with literally nowhere to go to.

● 'I am sleeping in the street with my wife and children and my brothers but my grandmother has been taken in by the neighbours. The Superintendent says I cannot stay in the house because I did not tell him that my mother died last June.'

His mother had been the tenant of the house and when she died he was too frightened to report her death in case the whole family was evicted. It seems that his fears were well founded.

● 'The Superintendent told me he had a house for me if I paid the R190 arrears rent which the previous tenant owed. I could only find R130 in time and he said he had told me to bring the full amount. He has given the house to someone else. No, I don't want to make a statement because I will never get a house if I make trouble and I have been waiting a very long time.'

● 'I owe R68 arrears rent. I borrowed it and paid it to the Superintendent, but he took it and said I was too late and locked me out of the house. Then the new tenant came to move

in and showed me another receipt for the R68 which he had been told to pay for arrears rent for the house before he could move in.'

These are the people behind the statistics, and there are so many more like them: the man who was ordered to vacate his house because he has been unemployed for more than 30 days; the widow who was accepted on the waiting list before 1968 who was still waiting in 1974 and went to enquire why it was taking so long, only to be told that in terms of the 1968 Regulations she had been removed from the list and would never be allotted a house; the family whose names were put on the list in March 1972 and who are still waiting — lodging with someone else where there are 15 people living in a two-roomed house; the man who has been turned out of his lodgings with his wife and five children because the tenant needs their room; the family who has been warned by the Superintendent of his intention to give them notice to vacate because their children are fighting with the children down the road. (It may or may not be relevant that the father of the children down the road works in the Superintendent's office.)

Elsewhere in this magazine figures are given for the shortage of housing in Soweto — 20 739 families on the official waiting list and innumerable other families who do not qualify to be counted in the estimates. Because of the current unemployment crisis the rate of evictions for non-payment of rent is increasing rapidly, and no doubt we will be told at the end of the current financial year that the waiting list has been reduced by a significant number.

This will be totally misleading as all that is happening is that for every family removed from the list when a house is allotted to them another family is rendered homeless, all of the newly unhoused will be able to get back on to the waiting list if the family head is a woman. As virtually no houses are being built the number of homeless people can only go on increasing.

In South Africa the critical housing shortage for Black people in urban areas is not just the consequence of industrialisation and agricultural reorganisation. It is caused by the policy of the Government, aggravated by the establishment of the Administration Boards, compounded by the totally unrepresentative character of these Boards, and rendered insoluble by Government denial to Black people of the right to help themselves.

## Government Policy

According to Government policy Black people, like the Minister of Justice's Greeks, are in the urban areas but not really there. It follows that people who are not really there do not need houses, families and services. All Blacks are foreigners and only in the Republic as long as their labour is required. Their homes are in the homelands and their wives and children are also in the homelands. Therefore houses for families must not be built in urban areas.

Available housing monies must be spent on the provision of hostels for 'single' workers and the families of the 'single' workers can then be written off as 'illegals', or 'superfluous appendages', in the memorable words of a Cabinet Minister some years ago. There is also the hope that those Blacks who so misguidedly go on insisting that they are townspeople with no ties in the homelands will ask for resettlement 'back' to where they are said to have come from if it is made impossible for them to find somewhere to live in the towns where they work. (All this, of course, is why South Africa has two sets of population statistics — the de jure population and the de facto population.)

The policy was announced in 1967, and in 1968 new Regulations Governing Urban Bantu Residential Areas were published in Government Notice No. R1058. These Regulations not only lay down restrictive conditions controlling those who may apply for a house but render the leasehold purchase scheme almost useless by preventing security of tenure.

The Superintendent may not only evict a tenant but may cancel a home-owner's permission to remain in his house for many different reasons, among which are being unemployed for a continuous period of more than 30 days; being employed for a continuous period of more than 30 days outside the prescribed area; leaving the site for a period of more than 30 days without the permission in writing of the Superintendent; ceasing to be — in the opinion of the Superintendent — a fit and proper person to reside in the Bantu Residential area; ceasing to occupy *together with his dependents* the site or building (in other words, if a man's wife dies he is not occupying his house 'together with his dependents') of, 'being a female — marrying or entering into a customary union, or living in a state of concubinage'.

These provisions show up the new concessions on home ownership to be what they are — a public relations operation designed for overseas consumption.

## Administration Boards

When the Bantu Affairs Administration Act No. 45 of 1971 was introduced the accompanying memorandum stated, 'It is intended that a Board shall in respect of its financial matters be

independent and that it shall not be necessary to approach the Treasury for Funds'.

This means that each Board must raise the money it needs itself. A Board is vested with the rights, powers, functions and duties of a local authority in terms of all legislation relating to Africans. This means that, in addition to all the normal functions of a local authority such as the Johannesburg City Council in relation to the White, so-called Coloured and Asian residents of Johannesburg, the Board also administers the influx control, housing and labour regulations.

This point cannot be stressed too strongly. The Board raises its money from the Black people under its control and uses that money to administer the complex and expensive pass law system which is totally rejected by the people who have to pay for it. Black people have no representation on the Board whatsoever, direct or indirect.

The West Rand Board has never functioned adequately. The figures in this paper show that long before the disturbances of 1976/77 the Board was not providing housing to meet the needs of the people, nor were the services such as refuse collection, maintenance of existing houses, making and repair of roads, erection or upkeep of recreational facilities, etc., in any way meeting the needs of the community.

The 'fabric' of Soweto had deteriorated markedly before the events of the 16th June 1976. However, the rigid implementation of the pass laws has continued and expenditure on this has evidently been maintained at the expense of all other aspects of the Board's obligation.

The West Rand Board raises its money as follows: The figures given are from the Chairman's budget speech for the 1977/78 financial year.

From Consolidated Labour Fees	: R 8 753 000
From House and Site Rents	: R20 420 682
(estimated on proposed new rents)	
From Sale of Beer	: R15 281 000
From Sale of Liquor	: R13 600 000
From Sundry Sources	: R 1 897 400
	<hr/>
	TOTAL R59 952 082

The Consolidated Labour fees are paid by employers and can amount to R2,50 per month per Black employee. The figure also presumably includes the R1 per month paid by legally registered self-employed Black people. Apart from this and the small amount from sundry sources the whole is paid by Black people. As Blacks are not permitted to have freehold title to land in so-called White areas the Board cannot draw on rates to increase its income.

The income for 1976/77 of R59 952 082 represents a drop in income from previous years.

(Figures taken from Hansard questions on 4th and 8th February 1977.)

In 1974/1975 the total WRAB income was R60 493 411, and the income from rents R11 170 196.

In 1975/1976 the total income was R68 925 240, and that from rents R14 341 177.

The drop in estimated income for the current financial year is mainly caused by the destruction of beer and liquor outlets during the disturbances. The progressive increase of income from rents is due to increases in site rentals, as there has been no significant increase in the number of houses built and let as is illustrated by figures included later in this paper.

37,7 per cent of the Board's income is spent on salaries, wages and allowances.

The Board budgeted for a deficit of R9 163 000 which they aimed to reduce to R597 000 by increasing site rents. These increased site rents were gazetted earlier this year but have not yet come into effect because of resistance by the people of Soweto.

It was proposed to raise the rent of the 51/6 in Zola — four rooms with outside lavatory and water tap, on stand measuring 50 by 70 feet — from R9,10 to R9,50 per month, which includes R6,26 site rent; to R14,35 to R14,75 per month which includes R11,50 site rent; the 51/9 in Meadowlands — four rooms with inside bath and lavatory — from R11,90 per month which includes R8,55 site rent to R16,20 per month which includes R12,95 site rent; the five roomed de luxe in Orlando East from R17 per month which includes R6,25 site rent to R23,20 per month which includes R11,50 site rent; and the two-roomed house in Orlando East from R8,90 per month which includes R6,25 site rent to R13,95 per month which includes R11,50 site rent.

There is an additional charge of R3 per month for water.

The Board claims that the site rent includes such things as sewerage, refuse removal, street lighting, street cleaning, cemeteries, contributions to health services, school funds, ambulance costs, interest on and repayment of loans used by the Board (or the local authority in the past) to purchase the land.

Residents point out that refuse removal and street cleaning are totally inadequate, that they pay R1 for every visit to a clinic, that if they want an ambulance they must pay R3, and that there is hardly any street lighting.

It is the practice of the Board to insist that every son of working age and every daughter who is pregnant or has a child, whether she is working or not, is removed from the parents' residential permit and forced to take a separate lodger's permit for which the charge is R1 per month. This materially increases the total rent paid by a family. (e.g., a mother and father living in a 4-roomed house 51/6 in Zola with two grown daughters and three sons who are no longer at school are paying R9,10 rent plus R5 extra in Lodger's Permits.)

It is also proposed that hostel rents be increased from R4,60 per month per bed to R7,00 per month. This is an intolerable charge on men who have to support themselves in the urban area as well as paying for the separate household of their families in their home area.

## Conclusion

The recent history of the bulldozing (or front-end loading) of squatter houses in the Cape Peninsula illustrates the Government's attitude to Black people who provide themselves with shelter. Contemporary experience in other countries has shown that no State can provide housing for all its people without the active involvement and personal contribution of the unhoused, yet we in this country continue to legislate to forbid people to help themselves.

The shortage of housing is inextricably intertwined with the policy of influx control which, in turn, is absolutely basic to the policy of Apartheid. There is no prospect whatsoever that the housing crisis can be resolved without the provision of freehold title to the land and this involves a fundamental change in policy. Such a change cannot come about until there has been a radical change in the political arrangements in South Africa.

These things could not happen to people who had a vote, and all of us are helpless to correct them unless we can exert some real influence on the country's resources.

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## Book Corner

**THE SQUATTER PROBLEM IN THE WESTERN CAPE: SOME CAUSES AND REMEDIES**, by Prof. George Ellis, with contributions by Delia Hendrie, Alide Kooy and Johann Maree, all of the University of Cape Town. Illustrated (R4,50). Available: Institute of Race Relations offices and some bookshops.

The scope and usefulness of this study is apparent in the chapter headings: causes of squatting, causes of the housing shortage, government policy (with certain unworkable aspects highlighted), the effects of policy (on family life, the economy, race relations and security) and "alternative strategies".

The last-mentioned fills one-third of the book and, drawing on experience overseas and expertise right here that is ready and waiting to be used, makes an extremely valuable contribution to a possible working through of this major problem.

# A hostel's not a home

*Mr Moroney is Research Assistant for the SA Institute of Race Relations in the Transvaal.*



*The Alexandra Hostel. This and other buildings like it are what "home" looks like to thousands of workers all over the country.*

**H**OSTELS and compounds continue to play a determining role in the political economy of South Africa. Research into the social, economic and political effects of such institutions remains deficient. Studies commissioned by employer organisations are characteristically inaccessible.

Most articles that are written in liberal publications concerning the matter tend to adopt a moralistic tone and fail to tell us about the social and economic dynamics that perpetrate this class of undesirable accommodation. This article seeks to provide a brief factual and theoretical overview of hostel living and to suggest areas for further documentation and research.

Compounds were developed on the diamond fields and the Reef by mineowners to realise their particular labour requirements. In addition to perpetrating the cheap migrant labour system the compounds fulfilled other important political and economic functions.

Workers could be easily controlled in the hostel environment. Tightened security, together with an established system of institutionalised violence

in the post-Boer War period, increased productivity.

Reluctant workers could be physically forced to go underground. Inter-tribal conflict was encouraged and contributed towards the maintenance of a disunited work force.

Workers in different compounds found it difficult to organise together. Incidents of worker protest could easily be isolated. In conjunction with the pass system, compounds prevented workers from attempting to sell their labour on more favourable terms to alternative employers.

However, the overriding advantage of the compound system and, through it, the migratory labour system, was that it ensured the continued profitability of the mines through the maintained depression of wages. The theoretical basis for this exploitative system has been extensively documented.

The argument, stated crudely, is that the worker and his family are partially sustained through continued access to the rural economy, thus allowing the employer to pay wages below the

minimum necessary for the continual and complete subsistence of the worker and his family.

Expensive social welfare services can be kept to a minimum in the worker environment, as the sick or old worker is maintained by the rural base when he returns home to his family. This system still operates in the mining industry today and the compound is the institutional manifestation crucial to its operation.<sup>1</sup>

However, the growth of secondary industry necessitated a qualitative change in the labour force. More long-term, semi-skilled workers were required in large numbers. So was a growing consumer market.

Townships were developed in response, allowing for family settlement on a permanent basis. Extended urban dwelling made the worker and his family entirely dependent on a wage income and increased their consumer requirements, resulting in an upward pressure on wages.

Through the development of the urban hostel system, however, employers were able to extend the migratory labour pattern into the industrial labour market, where possible. They could thereby ensure that they did not unnecessarily engage expensive, non-migrant labour in tasks that could be performed by low-paid migrants.

In other words, a two-tier labour market developed in the urban industrial setting and is maintained and extended through the hostel system. As a result the migrant quota of the industrial labour force is maintained and in some areas, increased. Even in border area townships, hostel accommodated immigrants are maintained in order to extend the two-tier system.

This indicates that motivation exists for the perpetration of the system even where Government policy does not necessitate it. There is no doubt that hostels are important in terms of Government influx control policy, but the economic motivation behind their existence is neglected. Their political function in maintaining a segmented work force will be discussed later.

Employers' need to extend the migrant labour system can be currently exemplified by the growth of employer-constructed hostels in the Cape Peninsula townships and in Alexandra, Johannesburg.

The State has failed to provide sufficient quantities of such accommodation so employers have assumed the task of providing it themselves.

In the Peninsula townships of Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga, 6 484 beds are provided in hostels constructed and controlled by employers.<sup>2</sup> Most of these employer hostels were constructed during the period 1968-71. The vast majority are used

by construction and building firms — a sector which is able to employ large numbers of unskilled contract workers.

In Alexandra, 16 hostels have been built by employers to house their contract workers.<sup>3</sup> In addition, houses expropriated from former African owners have been converted into single accommodation for migrants. In 1976, 11 257 men and 177 women were housed this way in Alexandra.<sup>4</sup>

In September 1977 it was announced by the West Rand Administration Board that 3 000 of these 'single' inhabitants are to be moved to City Deep hostels later this year so that the old houses can be demolished and new hostels built. The workers would be returned once they are completed.<sup>5</sup>

The State's programme of developing hostel settlements in Alexandra, after a period of delay, appears to be continuing. Some of the burden of accommodating migrants will be taken from industrialists.

Protests by groups such as the Citizen's Hostel Action Committee, which operated in 1972 in response to the initial Alexandra Hostels scheme, seem to have died down. Perhaps this is because the recent programmes do not effect Northern Suburbs servants.

The development of hostel accommodation can be labelled as symptomatic of Government policy, and also of the acute housing shortage. However it should also be viewed in terms of its economic function: the extension, for the benefit of employers, of the cheap migrant labour system.

The manner in which this class of labour is subjected to the profitability needs of employers is revealed through the quality accommodation provided in 'private' hostels. According to the recent study made by David Selvan, employer-built dormitories in the Peninsula provide some of the worst accommodation.

In Nyanga 1 280 men are accommodated in employer-built sheds. A total of 22 have leaking roofs, only six have ceilings, 20 have electric lighting and 15 have stoves for heating. No kitchen facilities or hot water are provided. There are storm-water drains or gutters and water and mud cannot be kept out during heavy downpours.

In some, as many as 40 men were accommodated in double bunks within a space of 120 square feet. For each set of two sheds there are only two toilets housed in two tiny rooms. There were no actual ablution blocks. Outside each hostel one tap is usually provided and there were a few showers.

1. It is interesting that the Chamber of Mines recently officially adopted the term "hostel" to refer to compounds. Their function remains the same, as does their form with certain exceptions. This easy switch in terminology indicates how easily distinction between the two forms of accommodation can be blurred.

2. Selvan, David; *Housing Conditions for Migrant Workers in Cape Town*, 1976. SALDRU Working Paper No. 10, Cape Town, December 1976, pp 7-8.

3. *Star*, 20 April 1976.

4. *Assembly*, 2 February 1976, Hansard 2, col. 41.

5. *Star*, 16 September 1977.

Sixty people on average are thus forced to make do for all their toiletries, cooking and washing, with two toilets, two cold water taps and no showers. Selvan asks whether it is any wonder that eight out of the original 49 sheds had been destroyed by fire.<sup>6</sup>

In the other two townships, Langa and Guguletu, employer-provided accommodation is marginally better — but still reflects the same attempt to keep down costs. In Langa, for example,

“...there are two kinds of dormitories, those classed as permanent and built of brick; and those classed as temporary and built of asbestos or a similar material. In fact the ‘temporary’ buildings seem unlikely to be replaced in the foreseeable future, and the conditions inside both kinds of dormitories are virtually identical, or at any rate they are not determined by the building being permanent or temporary. This is an indictment of the permanent sheds which have not in any significant way raised the men’s living conditions above the level of the temporary sheds.”<sup>7</sup>

In these structures up to 50 men are accommodated in double bunks. There are no partitions between the bunks and the men construct cardboard partitions or complete internal “pondokkies”, to provide privacy and security and to keep out wind.

Here the roofs leak in heavy rain and there are virtually no gutters, let alone stormwater drains. There is approximately one lavatory for every 19 men. None has a proper seat. There is one shower per 20 men and few have hot water.

In Guguletu, the men claim employer-built sheds are draughty and cold. Lights are switched off automatically at 10 p.m. Low roofing hampers ventilation and many men had caught ‘flu at the time of the study.

Post Office and railway workers are accommodated in equally primitive dwellings. GPO men live in prefabricated huts in Langa, six men to a hut, the cubic air space per man is 61 metres — 69 less than the legally permitted minimum. SAR workers live in barracks used in the Anglo-Boer War.

No equivalent detailed study has been made of hostel accommodation in Alexandra. However, Press reports indicate that conditions were less than desirable in those structures provided by employers for their workers. It was reported in 1976 that “temporary” hostels provided little beyond basic shelter with no heating, cooking facilities or proper ablution sections in some cases.<sup>8</sup>

In comparison with employer-provided hostel accommodation, the Administration Board hostels in all areas comply to preferable standards. However, it is important that they play the same basic role of facilitating the migratory labour system.

They range in style from the multi-storied buildings housing 2 600 workers established in Alexandra to single-story 3-room barracks in Soweto hostels accommodating 16 workers.

The Diepkloof hostel, visited by this writer, is typical of most of the nine major Board hostels in Soweto.

It consists of 330 dormitories and 170 single rooms. Each dormitory consists of two sleeping areas separated by a kitchen/living/dining room. The sleeping areas contain eight beds each and are subdivided by semi-walls into two sections of four beds each. The middle room is furnished with a coal stove, benches, table and food lockers.

Although electrical lighting is provided the general appearance of the rooms is dingy, with no ceilings, unpainted walls and little storage space resulting in possessions being scattered on available nails, boxes, beams and ropes strung across the room. Ablution blocks are provided for groups of dormitories (about one for 20 or 30 dormitories). These provide little privacy and are very rudimentary although hot water is provided in the mornings.

The physical conditions of the Soweto hostels were recently described in an article in the Rand Daily Mail. Workers interviewed have expressed general dissatisfaction with the conditions.<sup>9</sup>

In some of the Soweto compounds employers have dormitories set aside for the use of their workers in order to comply with the requirement that companies employing contract labourers must ensure that they have accommodation. The Administration Board therefore provides a direct service for employers of migrant labour.

From the employer’s point of view, this must be preferable to the Alexandra or Peninsula area where they have become directly involved with the provision of accommodation and are therefore directly responsible for the existing conditions.

Although the Soweto hostels are ethnically integrated, there is no doubt that tribal identity plays a role in hostel life.<sup>10</sup> It is suggested that, like in mine compounds, migrant workers establish and maintain links with others from their home areas in order to gain security and companionship.<sup>11</sup>

This should not be labelled as “tribalism”. It is a rational response to a violent environment situated in a labour repressive economy.

6. Selvan, D. Op. Cit p 57.

7. Ibid, p 15.

8. Star, 20 April 1976.

9. See Financial Mail (April 15, 1977); Rand Daily Mail (July 22, 1977).

10. The following comments on the role of ethnicity are largely speculative due to a lack of research.

11. This pattern has been recently described in a recent study of mine compounds. Matsobane, P., and Eggenhuizen, T. (ed.), Another Blanket. Johannesburg: Agency for Industrial Mission June 1977, pp 17, 20.

There, no doubt, exists considerable tension between hostel and township dwellers. Social distance between the two groups could be viewed in terms of a western/tribal gap. It probably has much more to do with relative economic security and different income and skill level.

The atrocities that occurred in late 1976 in both Soweto and the Peninsula, when hostel and township residents clashed, was no doubt exacerbated by police instigation. However, the degree to which migrants could be manipulated did suggest the pre-existence of tensions. One can hypothesise the following:

● In a situation where all your companions are coming and going at different times it is difficult, and possibly an emotional drain, to form meaningful relationships with strangers. You therefore concentrate your efforts on those with whom you already have some measure in common and rely on them for friendship.

● A migrant's centre of security and comfort, however unrealistically, is perceived to be his home area. The undesirability of his living conditions in the city assure, in part, this continued perception. As a contract worker he can lose his job (probably more easily than the township dweller) if he responds to a stay-away call.

Even if he does not lose his contract, his time in the urban area is extended by the amount of time he stays away. Thus his respite in the home-area is delayed by those many days. He has no perceived interest in the improvement of the edu-

cational system, or the fostering of political solidarity with township dwellers.

● As a hostel dweller he is used to being somewhat despised by township folk. (Various derogatory terms are sometimes used to refer to hostel dwellers.)

Therefore he would be inclined to jump at an opportunity (one in which he was possibly even encouraged by the authorities which usually control him) to assert his physical strength in a display of sanctioned violence.

The maintenance of a strong differentiation between hostel and township residents works in favour of employers. Hostel workers without families do not present the same pressure for economic or political improvement as their township counterparts.

More recently, employers, through their organisation, are seeking to introduce a new element of township differentiation: a Black middle class. Pressure for the provision of home ownership, and improved standards of housing, together with the programmes of the Urban Foundation are symptomatic of this campaign.

If successful there will emerge a three-tiered social and economic system in the township — hostel migrant, township worker and a small, more secure, middle class. Employers will reap the benefits of a differentiated work force and consumer market. The urban Black community will, no doubt, increasingly suffer from internal tensions and conflict.

## Olive Rowe . . .

## . . . an appreciation

**T**HE Sash has surely never had a more dedicated and devoted member than Olive Rowe, who died recently. She was a member from the very beginning and in the early days played a very full part in all its activities.

When, in later years, illness and diminished capacity forced her to change her whole way of life her courage and fortitude were an inspiration to all who knew her. She then carried on her work in other ways — by recruiting new members, always upholding our ideas and every year producing a meticulously packed parcel of knitted garments and toys for our stall.

She was a remarkable woman of high principles, great integrity and compassion and a burning sense of justice. She had been a distinguished educationist and had a wide-ranging mind and many interests — music was a special love.

She had been an outstanding sportswoman in her youth — including being a Springbok hockey player.

She had a delightful sense of humour (but could, at times, be very stern) and a great gift of friendship.

She had a great capacity for appreciating and savouring every experience that came her way be it the delicate colours of a flower, the expression on a child's face or the enjoyment of a meal in congenial company.

Those of us (especially in our False Bay Branch) who had the privilege of working with her over the years in the companionship of the Sash valued her for her wisdom and humanity and untiring efforts. We are glad to have known her and will remember her with appreciation and affection.

**G. H. E.**

# Stephen Bantu Biko

A tribute

TRUDY THOMAS

STEVE was special. Being with him made a special occasion. Knowing him was an enriching experience.

He was delightful company, full of charm, large and easy and gentle and courteous and humorous. He was always completely in command, completely self-possessed — and completely unassuming. There was, of course, no need for statement or pretence, he was so obviously the real thing. He seemed always to be in buoyant spirits and lifted yours with his.

He was no ascetic — he loved life and its good things and imparted this relish but thought, of course, that everyone should have a fair share.

I can see him now, resplendent in a new checked winter shirt; looking good; basking in the compliments; a little concerned that it might be a trifle loud. I can see him quaffing a beer provided by a student — one of the endless stream of visitors who beat a path to unlikely King Williams Town to talk and listen to this remarkable man — and patting a paunch that was just beginning.

He enjoyed appearances although he registered impressions rather than details and was often in trouble with his wife when she tested him about what she had been wearing the previous day.

People were important (after all that was his central philosophy) and that included you. When you were with him you had a sense of your own worth — and your responsibilities. He hobnobbed with the great and the influential who sought him out in his banishment which rather neatly turned his intended Siberia into a Mecca. But he was always equally available and concerned about the very least.

Just released from 101 days in detention (no charge) he helped to organise the annual Christmas party of a creche run by the Black Community Programme. I could not attend as I had hoped and he later gently reproached me for not being at what he regarded as a very important event. While the Programme's clinic doctor was in detention he rushed around arranging locums for weekly out-station work,

concerned that sick people would turn up and find nobody to treat them. It is impossible to reconcile this man with the image of a rabid revolutionary. His preferred path was always peaceable and constructive and creative.

I first met him when he was in charge of the Black Community Programme as we shared an interest in cottage industries and comprehensive medicine and child welfare. He was a most active and effective worker.

He, with Dr Mampilo Rhamphole, established a community health centre, realising a dream they had had as medical students. I remember his unconcealed boyish pride as he showed us around the beautifully conceived little project, typically modest but uncompromisingly adequate. That was just three years ago. Those were glad, flag-flying days, full of hope and promise. Now Mampilo is banned and Steve is dead. Is this what we do to Black visionaries? Is this the price of Black dreams and competence and effectiveness?

Steve was brilliant. With him you had a remarkable sense of being in the presence of a great mind.

Strangely, the word "clever" did not suit him. He never indulged in intellectual gymnastics for show. His mind was simply a tool to chisel out sense and truth and order.

With Steve around ideas flowed and each was scrupulously examined in the light of objectivity. He could not be seduced by popular sentiment or emotionalism or gratuitous association. He remained maddeningly fair-minded even about his greatest opponents or under the most relentless harassment.

He was invaluable in committee. If issues became obscured or irrelevancies began to creep in he could provide an instant and masterful analysis and lucidly reveal the essential substance and set the proceedings on the right track towards progress again.

All this adds up to a brilliant, concerned, efficient human and attractive person. But there was still more. Much more. His greatness lay in the quality of his spirit, unstintingly and unswervingly served by his personality and his mind.

Despite his towering stature, despite constant

harassment and frustration, he remained the most modest and moderate and tolerant of men. After every meeting with Steve you wanted to go out and say to people "Come and meet this man. Come and talk to him, you will find the right balance again, you will get the true perspective."

Steve was motivated purely by the search for good and truth. There is plenty of scope for this in our South African society grown dark and murky with hatred and greed and prejudice and overindulged insensitivity. He searched steadfastly and single-mindedly and was gloriously rewarded.

His special inspiration was Black Consciousness, the passionate conviction that a Black man is as worthy as any other.

This insight, however, was not for him merely grounds for recriminations. Certainly it meant that Black men should have exactly the same rights as any other but also that he must fearlessly claim them. Full personhood meant full personal responsibility which it was imperative to shoulder (even unto death) or compromise human status.

Steve had perspective — direction — equilibrium. Steve had a sure centre.

In a mad, confused world, he remained normal and sane and good. These were his reference points, his beacons and signposts.

These, and not any imported or ready-made ideology, were his policy makers.

Everyone who met Steve in goodwill experienced a sort of magnetism. I attribute it to his triumphant, unassailable normality, a touchstone you were welcome to share.

There has been plenty of speculation about the manner and circumstances of Steve's death (and all those others) and the imaginings are searing. But we should not be sidetracked. These are the inevitable consequences of our security legislation and just as predictable as casualties in a war. It is largely irrelevant whether a man dies from a bullet or a mine or in a burning tank.

It is Section 6 which killed Steve (and all those others). You cannot have a law which puts a man behind locked doors with his jailers and no appeal. Even society has its deviant

personalities. All possible safeguards must be employed to curb and contain their vicious instincts. Section 6 provides for them a potential playground.

It is Section 6 which killed Steve (and all those others) and a system which stoops to promulgate such measures and which needs them for its preservation.

And let it be emphasised that a system which cannot tolerate a man like Steve and what he stood for condemns itself more certainly than any outside critic ever could.

There are those who suggest that he is being artificially lionised and that his death is being exploited for political gain. They are wrong. The great multitudinous road of protest springs entirely from the deepest grief and anger and despair. Surely it is obvious that there is no need at all for external prodding. And after the noise has died down there will remain in our hearts an implacable dissent.

It has been said that if Steve had lived he would probably have been charged with preparing inflammatory pamphlets. It is dishonourable to accuse a man who cannot answer for himself. It also does not justify death nor detention without trial. We have excellent courts and a specially qualified judiciary which can handle these problems competently.

It has been suggested that only one in 100 Black people had ever heard about Steve Biko before he died. That makes about 160 000 people — not a bad tribute to a man who was prevented from meeting and speaking to the people at 26 and died at 30.

However, even if the percentage of people who knew his name was small, there are few who are unfamiliar with his ideas which are now significantly and increasingly shaping a nation.

I did think of him as indestructible. As it happens I was wrong about his body. I had obviously attributed to it the same qualities as his transcendent spirit. *It* lives on, setting alight a thousand hearts and minds. May it purify them and strengthen them and light up the right path and lead them to the just and peaceful land he wanted with a fair share for every citizen.



# 'We are tired of being a number'

*An examination of the housing problem of the Greater Durban Area.*

ELIZABETH FRANKLIN

AS the housing problems of the Black populations of the Greater Durban area are so closely linked with the demographic table, an analysis of the ethnic groups of this economically integrated metropolitan complex might help to put this brief survey in its first perspective.

The following estimates are based on census data and Natal University estimates, but the most vital data, that is, the most accurate up-to-date figures, are simply not available. This applies with particular reference to the African population, where it is estimated that for every legal "counted" member in the area there is one squatter. So given the African population at plus 475 000 it is understandable why, with the obvious breakdown in the government system of migrant labour, the true figure for the African population is unlikely to be officially accepted.

African:	475 000
Coloured:	55 000
Indian:	430 000
White:	355 000

The African situation in the greater Durban area is rather different in character from the other metropolitan areas, in that within its boundaries there are two large scale homelands and one small homeland — in other words, Kwa Mashu, with an estimated population of 145 000, and Umlazi with 152 000 residents, and Ntuzuma with 1 300 people fall under the Kwa Zulu Government services. (Kwa Mashu changed its status on the 1st April this year, and unofficial estimates put its population 25 per cent higher, and Umlazi 100 per cent higher than the official estimates).

The other townships of Lamontville, 23 742; Chesterville, 12 079; C. J. Smith and Glebe hostels, 9 799, and others, 3 181, fall under the control of the Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board; while Clermont, in its transition stage, comes under the Department of Bantu Administration and Development — the latter designation a gross misnomer.

Thus it will appear that the greater majority of Africans come under the jurisdiction of the Kwa Zulu authority, which financially is the poorest of the controlling bodies.

In its most recent legacy Kwa Zulu has inherited an area — Kwa Mashu — that is very inadequately equipped... only 10 per cent of the houses have electricity; the roads are shocking; there is only one city health clinic for children

and one poly-clinic for adults; there are no libraries, park or vocational training centres.

If one considers the figures of the present population, and the under-development in the areas, in relation to the population growth, which in South Africa is 40 per cent higher than the world average, one can get a very rough, but daunting picture of the problems that lie ahead.

Foremost among these is the problem of housing — of providing some sort of shelter for the thousands upon thousands who, despite the Nationalist Government's unrealistic programme of segregating the races on their human chessboard, are coming to or being born in the cities as a natural result of social and economic forces.

The enormity of the problem in the financial aspect alone, without taking into account all the restrictive legislation pertaining to land tenure and building operations, can be judged by a statement of the Under Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development who, in 1975, said that it would cost R250 million to solve the problem in the Durban areas alone. What the increase in costs, and the population will be when such an undertaking is finally started heaven only knows.

In the townships of Kwa Mashu, Ntuzuma, Lamontville, Chesterville, Umlazi, Clermont and Klaarwater, there are a total of 47 000 official housing units, containing an officially estimated population of 368 550. The majority of units are 4-roomed, but there are thousands of 2-roomed units. Thus the estimated number of people per unit is more in the region of 10-16 per house.

The official estimate for single hostel beds is 48 000 in the Durban Area. A glance at the official waiting list for family housing in 1977 will give an indication of the seriousness of the situation. For Africans in Umlazi, Kwa Mashu, Chesterville, Ntuzuma and Lamontville there are 17 500 families waiting for homes.

The figure for Indians is even higher. Though the Indians constitute only 2,9 per cent of the total South African population, it is significant that 83 per cent are concentrated in Natal, where they account for more than half a million persons; while in proportion to the other ethnic groups residing in urban areas, they are only five per cent lower than the Whites.

The Indian group is also characterised by a wide range of income differentials, and according to Mr P. N. Pillay, a researcher in the De-

partment of Economics at the University of Natal, the overwhelming majority fall into the lower income group. For these, although the Indian birth rate is the lowest of the Black population groups, the chief areas of concern are the effects of relocation and the conditions of employment.

There has been for the past few decades enforced removal of Indian families from the conveniently situated to the out-lying and overcrowded places like Chatsworth. Though the quality of the houses might have improved, many of the residents are critical of the higher rentals, the greater transport costs and the lack of facilities. Another aspect of relocation is that of transit camps — such as Tintown, which suffered heavily in the floods, and Merebank, where a settled community was displaced by a railway expansion scheme.

The instability and insecurity, the fact that displaced persons are often forced to remain in the camps for a very long period of time, have led to a deterioration in the quality of life, which again has been aggravated by the serious backlog in housing — more than 23 000 homes are required. It has also given rise to a squatter problem, as many families have moved out of Chatsworth to settle on Indian-owned agricultural land in the environs.

The squatter problem among the Africans has reached even more alarming proportions — except to one untroubled Bantu Administration official who glibly confessed to Solveig Piper that he had done a good job cleaning them out of Kwa Mashu and now they had settled in Clermont! The recent ruthless shack demolishments in that township prove what a futile and heartless method the Administration employs to try and solve the problem.

So the vicious circle continues with the dispossessed African a mere pawn in the Government's racialistic plot of separate development. What will happen to the people of Chesterville, the oldest and smallest of the townships, that lies eight kilometres from Durban between two White areas, when it is deproclaimed as a Black area, is another question of deep concern. At present it is under the Port Natal authority.

The most urgent need among the Coloured community is for land — freehold land. The Coloureds, who are mostly of the artisan class, know that there is land constantly available for the Whites; know that the best land is accessible to any person in the White group; know that there are schools, amenities and facilities within

easy reach in the affluent White areas; and they are aware too, that with all their skills, their creativity, their pride in their homes, that they could make for themselves a settled and happy community.

But they are frustrated at every level by the Group Areas Act, the departmental bungling and all the attendant restrictive legislation. Mrs Barbara Robertson, a voluntary social worker, said that the only time a house for Coloureds is offered for sale is when a Coloured family emigrates. As a consequence land prices for the Coloureds have become very inflated.

While valuable land at Glen Anil, in a White area, sells for R4 500, plots at Newlands East, a Coloured area, 75 per cent of which is under ecce shale, will be sold for R5 000; and at Treasure Beach, where there were so many applicants that names had to be drawn out of a hat, the "lucky" winners were able to purchase 757 sq. metres for R5 750.

The Coloured Representative Council and Mr Sonny Leon, Chairman of the Labour Party, have been called in to fight the massive rent increases in Coloured housing in Durban. Mr Bill Hendrickse, of the Local Affairs Committee, has initiated this move because of the inflexible attitude of the City Council Management Committee on the matter of rents at a time when inflation and unemployment are running high.

"Give us the land and we will develop it ourselves. We are tired of being a number in some economic complex." This strong appeal from Mrs Barbara Robertson, who was very active in the "Save Our Homes Campaign", reflects the desperate need, central to the whole housing issue, for decentralised control.

Instead of someone deciding "what does what for whom, and why, and where and how", the choice of decision should be left to the individual, Black, Brown and White. How many Whites today have ever experienced the trauma of never having the opportunity to own land, to choose, or build, or own their own home, or being able to live a family life without the constant fear of up-rooting?

If we, as Whites, continue to treat people this way, denying them reasonable justice and a share in what we have, then we will not deserve to survive. As The Hon. Mr Justice J. H. Steyn has said — "We must seek the development of a social and political order in which it will be possible for all members of our society, irrespective of race or colour, to develop a sense of human worth and dignity".

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## Book corner

**HOME?**, by Dr Margaret Nash (R1). Available: Cape Flats Committee for Interim Accommodation (CFCIA), Church Hall, Brooke Street, Claremont, Cape 7700.

The first edition was reviewed in SASH. A second edition is now out and an Afrikaans edition will soon be available.

# Nowhere to go

The following interview was conducted and edited by **ANDREW SILK** and **WALLACE MGOGI**. Mr Silk is an American in South Africa as a fellow of the Thomas J. Watson Foundation and is currently doing research at the University of Cape Town. Mr Mgoqi is a community worker for the Cape Flats Committee for Interim Accommodation. At the time of the interview he was conducting research for Professor Phillip Mayer of Rhodes University, who suggested some of the questions and lines of inquiry which helped this African squatter to articulate his experiences.

**I** WAS a young man when I first left the Transkei... in 1946. Cape Town was much better then. It was just a small place. There was no question of the pass. I had an identity document, that was all. The great hardship in our lives comes with the contract labour system. Before I would go home for four or five months after working down here, but then it became necessary to return after three weeks, or else I would lose my rights to be here...

I stayed in the hostels... until 1971. Then, my wife was sick so she came to join me. But in the bachelors' quarters she was arrested, so we decided to stay in the bush — you see, most of the people in these camps are here because African women are only allowed to be here for four days. Even if a wife or child is sick, this does not count.

I bought some zincs and moved to this area on the other side of the railroad tracks. It was far back in the bush, and as there were few people staying there we thought no one would bother us. We would get water from the CRC buildings nearby.

We stayed like this for two years, and my wife's health improved. We then decided that it was better for her to stay with me permanently. There are some men who still want their women to stay at home and take care of the animals and crops, as I did for a long time, but for those of us who have had little up there, this is hard to believe in.

After we made this decision I wrote to a relative at home to sell what I had in the village, for I saw that it was better to try and save things where you are. But I may have made a wrong choice — for now if we leave this place, I will have nowhere to go.

There was a time some years back when I thought I might try to find work in the Transkei — so I went to Umtata where they were building an airport. But after seeing how few jobs there were, and the wages that were being paid, I decided, "No, it was better to come back

here, even with the problems".

So we stayed on the other side of the tracks for three years. Then we found out that they were going to build on the land. The inspectors came around to evict us, and we did not know where we could go next. But one of the Coloured men who had come with the Whites told us that this land here, on the other side of the tracks, would be all right, as long as we kept hidden.

We were getting ready to move, but one night the bulldozers came, and all our zincs were crushed. They made a hole in the ground, and threw them in and said, "If you want them, you know where to find them".

I had paid R100 for the zincs and didn't want to lose so much money, so when my family and about 15 others moved here, we just took plastic and cardboard. I built the new place, well hidden, and bought a dog to protect my wife from the tsotsis when I was at work.

The place here is right near the airport, so we covered the roof with leaves and twigs so that we could not be seen from the planes when they came in to land.

Both my wife and I would get up while it was still dark — she to get water in Belhar (the new place they were building) and I to go to work. As we walked, we would sometimes cover up the path with leaves. At night, I would go to the shops and then come back into the bush.

We stayed like this for four months. It was winter and we suffered a lot with the rain. But my wife understood and did not blame me, because she had had many problems in the Transkei and knew what problems Africans faced. You see, when wives come here, they are in a better position to understand our difficulties. But when they are in the country, and do not see what is happening, they tend not to believe us.

Slowly a few more people began to come — at first we were only about 15 — and we wondered how long we could keep hidden, with so many people starting to go in and out of the

bush. Then about a year ago, they began to clear out people from KTC, a camp near Nyanga. They knocked down all the shacks of the families who were here illegally, and gave the women train tickets... people said, "No, this is too much".

Within a few weeks, more than 100 shacks were built. It was impossible to hide any more, but we felt safer because we thought that there were too many of us to move easily.

The camp continued to be built very quickly. Bushes were cleared away and paths became big enough for trucks to come in with people's zincs and furniture. No one really knew what was going to happen. The police saw us here, and we did not know when they might start arresting for passes or burning the shacks.

One night they came. It was raining very hard,

but they started demolishing the shacks and arresting some of the people. There was a fight, the women were screaming, and a few of the houses were set on fire. People had to go to the hospital.

But people continued to come and build. Shortly after this we decided to form a committee to protect ourselves. That is another story, but since then the police have not bothered us here, unless we ask them to come. This committee works with the police and turns over those people who are caught stealing or who commit other crimes.

As I look at all these troubles, I think that it has something to do with this independence in the Transkei. For now people reckon that this is not our country, so things must be made difficult for us so that we leave. But if we go there, we find that there is nothing to do... ;

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## Demolition diary 1977

- Jan./Feb. Grassy Park squatter houses demolished — approximately 150 to 200 people affected. These people were virtually all Capetonians with long residence records in Grassy Park or neighbouring suburbs. Some families had been on Divisional Council housing lists for some time. Cape Divisional Council decided to resite 26 families at Lourdes farm where 670 families live with Council approval.
- February 7 About 96 squatter camps demolished by Stellenbosch Divisional Council.
- February 28 Two houses were rebuilt by Stellenbosch Divisional Council following court action.
- July 6 Coloured squatters who were in minority were moved to serviced site at Rifle Range and their houses were subsequently demolished at Modderdam.
- July 26 Demolitions started at Tableview (Killarney) in very bad weather. About 100 people were left homeless. The Cape Divisional Council allowed 15 tents to be erected on the condition that they be taken down on August 6.
- August 8 Demolition of Modderdam camp started and continued all week.
- August 12 Operation of demolitions completed. This was a massive demolition operation involving the homes of about 15 000 people. The operation was carried out under the instructions of the Peninsular Bantu Affairs Administration Board. Many squatters moved to unknown destinations. Temporary accommodation was offered in halls and church premises. The Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist churches all offered accommodation. St Thomas's church, Rondebosch, took in about 300 people who were housed in the church hall and in tents in the grounds.
- August 25 Werkgenot camp was flattened in one day. People moved from this camp to Kuils River and subsequently to other churches.
- August 26 A portion of Hout Bay squatter camps demolished by Divisional Council of the Cape.
- September 20 Kraaifontein (Everite) squatter camp demolished in one day.
- September 21 Kraaifontein (Jabulani) huts belonging to African squatters demolished.
- October 4 Hout Bay — 12 shacks demolished and plastic sheeting used by squatters was ripped by Divisional Council workers.
- October 6 Only a few tents remained on church property and most families have moved away. These people suffered about two months of harassment by BAAB officials. Arrests have been made and many squatters have appeared in court, some have been given suspended sentences and others sentenced for pass offences and for trespass.
- The large squatter camp at Unibell, accommodating about 20 000 people, still stands. Representatives from the Transkei and Ciskei governments have been in consultation with the authorities regarding this camp.
- Sporadic demolitions by Cape Divisional Council and Stellenbosch Divisional Council continue.

# The poison seeps in



Picture by kind courtesy of Peter Kerchoff.

## PETER KERCHOFF

**O**N 2nd May, 1977, five families were evicted by the messenger of the Court from their homes at a place known as "The Barracks".

"The Barracks" can probably best be described as a cluster of derelict squalid rooms with no electric light, no heating, no internal toilet facilities and no running water. The bathrooms and toilets are at the end of a rough, untidy yard, with only one washing area. The toilets do not function properly, the clothes-and-dish-washing area is, more often than not, blocked, and the filthy water lies around for days before seeping away.

It was a shock to learn that the squalid, unhealthy conditions had been known to the authorities for 10 years and they had apparently not done anything to improve the lot of the people living there, nor applied pressure on the landlord to make conditions more habitable and hygienic.

If families were evicted the landlord removed roofs, doors, floors and windows. Squatters moved into the shells left standing.

There were about 20 families (120 people) in need of housing in "The Barracks".

After pressure from the Black Sash, the Institute of Race Relations and the Rev. Sol Jacob, events followed in quick succession and, at the present time, seven families have already been accommodated in tents on Church grounds in Ohrtman Road. In the church buildings are 80

squatters, apart from the tent town families. Of the 80, 68 are children.

Another family, facing the hardship of a very recent death of the husband and a grandchild suffering from TB, are to be accommodated in a classroom on the same premises. Of the remaining families most will be accommodated in tents until prefabs are available.

Recently the Natal Witness reported that the National Housing Commission has approved the building of an emergency housing scheme for 16 families, the cost of R27 000 to be born by the Department of Community Development.

C. R. Hensman, in his book, "Rich Against Poor", says:— "The slums and shanty towns are not only sources of infection for the whole body politic. The damaging and demoralising effects of overcrowding and lack of housing on development are evident in other ways... The high rate of illegitimacy, the high percentage of juvenile criminals from sub-standard homes or no home indicate the bad conditions in which people are forced to live.

It is not a few individuals, or even many individuals, but the whole community whose standards are lowered and features disfigured. Moreover, the poison of frustration, filth, disease and impotence of the... slums and depressed rural areas seeps into the tissues of the whole society. In this way people keep on producing what destroys society economically, politically and socially.'

# We'll do it ourselves

**Extracts from a petition presented by the Protea Tenants Residents' Committee to the Secretary of the Department of Community Development; the Secretary of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development; the Urban Foundation; the Executive of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council; the Johannesburg Coloured Management Committee and the Rural Urban Townships and Investment Company.**

**According to information received Mr W. A. Cruywagen, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, declined to receive a deputation on the grounds that the area is to become part of Soweto.**

**I**T is the humble request of all the residents and property owners of southern Protea that their township be retained by them and be declared a Coloured group area; that they be allowed to develop and build it up as a prosperous Coloured community, which it was intended to be in 1946 and save it from the neglect it has fallen into through administrative indecision; and that all thoughts and intentions by the Government to resettle the present community and declare the area a Bantu residential area, be abandoned.

This will not involve the rescission of any statutory enactments, proclamations, etc., but only the revocation of administrative decisions. Neither will the request have any financial implications for the Government except the provision of essential services by the City Council of Johannesburg — services which are, with the exception of roads, repaying services.

In terms of the conditions of establishment of the proclaimed township of Protea only Coloureds may own and occupy land in Protea — it is a Coloured township.

A small Coloured community developed. Proud home owners did not hesitate to invest in beautiful homes. A school was built for our children. Vast tracts of land remained. A closely-knit community developed with an excellent community spirit. Notwithstanding the smallness of the community, eight church denominations hold services in Protea. There are four church buildings. Two denominations hold services in a classroom at the local primary school, whilst another denomination holds its services in a vacant shop.

The measure of the camaraderie and co-operation between different denominations and the community at large can be seen in that two denomination share one building, holding services at different times.

There are three established football clubs in Protea. One of the clubs has joined a league as far afield as Bosmont. There are also two girls' hockey teams in Protea.

Over this happy community a cloud of threatened resettlement has descended.

As a result of the findings of the Mentz Commission, the Minister of Bantu Administration,

during the early 1960s, declared his intention to reserve Protea for Bantu residential purposes, in terms of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 25 of 1945. Northern Protea, which was undeveloped, has since been acquired and declared a Bantu residential area and is at present being developed by the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board.

Southern Protea has not yet been declared a Bantu residential area and negotiations are still being conducted with members of the Coloured community to acquire their homes.

All we ask is that the Minister of Bantu Administration should abandon his declared intention in respect of southern Protea.

Development in southern Protea ceased. Essential services became rudimentary. We still have to endure a pail service; Homes were bought by the Department of Community Development and neglected.

Our appeal is that the Departments of Community Development and Planning should set the administrative machinery in motion, arrange an inspection and hearing by the Group Areas Board and declare the area a COLOURED group area. We want to develop Protea and retain not only our township but also our community.

The administrative decisions requested are in accord with Government policy to eliminate the Coloured housing backlog.

There is a waiting list of 4 000 for Coloured housing. The proclamation and development of Ennerdale is still beyond the horizon. Very little land is left within the municipal area of Johannesburg for Coloured housing.

Servants' quarters in Protea are rented out to allay the housing problem. Houses in most Coloured areas are often divided to accommodate two or even three families. Houses built in Eldorado Park are occupied by people from other areas where the housing problem is more acute.

Many people have moved from Protea to live in Eldorado Park and Grasmere but their houses in Protea are always snapped up by new tenants. This indicates that there are always people seeking accommodation.

People in Protea are beginning to feel less

inclined to move, as the search for housing can be avoided by remaining in Protea. The housing backlog will take a long time before it is settled, if ever. During the past six months only two families have moved out of Protea, one of them from servants' quarters.

The high rental in Eldorado Park has made home-owners and tenants more determined than ever to remain in Protea.

The inferior quality of the houses in Eldorado Park compared to the existing houses in Protea, makes it seem strange that people should want to move to Eldorado Park.

In southern Protea 1890 erven are available which could, within 24 hours after a favourable decision has been reached, be developed. 189 houses have already been constructed and are occupied by members of the Coloured community. 97 houses have been purchased by the Department of Community Development and these could be resold at the same price to those who are now occupying these houses as tenants. In addition there are 17 small holdings which could be sub-divided and flat sites which could be developed.

The development of southern Protea will be a significant relief in the backlog of Coloured housing, but a mere drop in the ocean insofar as Soweto is concerned.

The waiting list for Soweto is approximately 10 800. If the development of Soweto is planned to the North of Zola and the west of Dobsonville, more land can be made available nearer to industries and close to mining ground. The movement of Bantu is to the east, away from southern Protea.

The development of southern Protea as a Coloured township will take nothing away from the Bantu. It will instead result in a more efficient and coherent planning of Soweto.

We do not want our request to burden the Government financially.

We, the Coloureds, wish to develop southern Protea as our own township with finances which we will obtain from Building Societies, etc.

Insofar as services are concerned, it is agreed that these are rudimentary at this stage and the City Council of Johannesburg and/or the township owners will be involved in capital investment, but all the services are of a repaying nature, for example, sewerage, water, electricity, etc., with the exception of roads. Even if another township is developed to which this community will then be resettled, roads will have to be built.

We will not ask anything in the way of transport. Midway station is very close to our township and the Putco bus service, although not very satisfactory, is in existence.

Insofar as recreational facilities are concerned, no demands will be made. The only requirement

will perhaps be a communal hall. Neither will any demands or extra distances be imposed on the City Council to maintain services — we are much closer than Lenasia.

To allow the Coloured community to retain and develop southern Protea township will not only give the Government breathing space, but also an opportunity to demonstrate to us its sincerity in immediately relieving the housing plight experienced by Coloureds.

Southern Protea is a local problem — a local problem of housing and the uncertainty caused to a stable and peace-loving, crime-free local community. It is not a political problem.

We beg the Government to give southern Protea the services which administrative decisions have deprived us of and not to break up a closely-knit community by unnecessary resettlement.

We further request that we be granted an opportunity of giving evidence before the Group Areas Board before the fate of southern Protea is finally decided.

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## The law

Why have you built this house?

*Master, who wants to know?*  
The men who made the Law.

Is this your wife and child?

*Master, who wants to know?*  
The men who made the Law.

Why are they here at all?

This woman has no pass.  
*Master, at home there is no job,  
There is no food, no grass.*

Her place is not with you.

*Master, who tells me so?*  
The men who made the Law.

*Master, if I am needed here today*

*To work for you,  
What is the reason why she cannot stay  
To work here too?*

The Law says she must go.

*Master, who made the Law?  
Because, when we were wed,  
The Other Master said:  
"Let no man put asunder".  
And who are you, if you are not a man,  
Master, I wonder?*

M. L. ORPEN

Published by courtesy of the Cape Times.

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# Overcrowding is chronic

GUSTA MACDONALD

**G**ROUP AREAS were proclaimed in Grahamstown only in 1970, 20 years after the passage of the Group Areas Act. From 1957 a variety of proposals were made and rejected by the Grahamstown community. The City Council originally proposed a scheme along the existing lines which was rejected by the Group Areas Board.

One of the major disputes during these years concerned the Fingo Village within easy walking distance of the city centre, in which Blacks had property rights. Early government plans proposed to make this area into a White and Indian township. In 1965 the government decided to declare this a Coloured area. This was essentially the plan adopted in 1970.

Property holders in Fingo Village were to lose their freehold rights and the area was to be rebuilt for Coloured and Indian occupation. Part of the long debate centred on alternative housing arrangements for both the landlords and tenants of Fingo Village.

In 1969 it was planned to move the villagers and other "redundants" to Committees Drift in the Ciskei. This project received considerable opposition, with Chief Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei reacting adversely (in 1975), and the Bantu Affairs Department and the Bantu Affairs and Administration Board in opposition to each other. An alternative site just outside the borders of the Ciskei, on the farm Glenmore, was then chosen for removal.

A referendum was held in April 1976 in order to gauge the response of Fingo Village landlords and tenants to the new proposals. In a 20 per cent poll, 80 per cent indicated their desire to remain in Grahamstown, and 20 per cent their willingness to move. As yet nothing has been done, partly for lack of funds.

That portion of Fingo Village zoned as an Indian residential and trading area (involving the removal of Indian owned shops from proclaimed White areas in Grahamstown) has seen little change. About 450 Fingo Village tenants and some property owners faced removal to temporary housing in order to make way for the development of this Indian area. These temporary houses were nothing more than corrugated iron shacks with no floors or ceilings no proper windows, obviously very hot in summer and very cold in winter. Because of strong objections only voluntary moves to these shacks were made after June 1976.

In December 1976, after a visit from Mr Cruywagen, "a new deal" for the Fingo Village property owners was announced. They were in-

formed that they could either move to Glemore, where they could acquire property and buy houses or build their own, or they could choose to move to Makanas Kop (a township in Grahamstown) where they may buy houses built by BAAB or build their own houses on stands allocated for this purpose.

232 plots have been set aside by BAAB for this purpose. This applied only to title holders and the plight of the lodgers in Fingo Village remains uncertain.

Since 1962 only 100 houses for Blacks have been built. The result has been the creation of contrived slums. The census of 1975 reported a Black population of 34 797. A Senior Health Inspector believed the figure was closer to 40 000. At present there are 4 200 names on the official waiting list for houses. In the proclaimed township areas there are

- 1 236 houses owned by BAAB;
- 875 sites with service and
- 346 Fingo Village houses with 216 freehold property owners.

The lack of housing development in Grahamstown has made for chronic overcrowding. The average number of persons per plot is variously estimated at between 14 and 19 persons. One plot in Fingo Village (130' x 270') contains 46 families with a total of 208 people. Fingo Village has a population of 7 915 and an average of 23 persons per plot.

In Dead Horse Kloof, an area with no sanitation, tap water or refuse removal, there were 1 334 people on 18 plots averaging 74 persons per plot. BAAB has, however, started removing the inhabitants to the temporary housing originally created for those Fingo Villagers living in the proclaimed Indian area. Old Municipal Location and Tanti has a population of 14 959 and averages 17 persons per plot. Makanas Kop has a population of 9 300 and averages eight persons per plot.

The population figures appear in the Health report by the Senior Health Inspector in September 1976. The inspector correctly describes housing conditions as being not only poor, but unliveable and dangerous.

The most recent development involves an offer of land by the Grahamstown City Council to BAD for housing. This has been referred to BAAB and to date no official response has been forthcoming.



# The fairest Cape

*Black housing in Cape Town and environs . . . plans and problems.*

## CANDY MALHERBE

**M**ITCHELL'S PLAIN and Atlantis are vast cities-in-the-making designed for Coloured people. Vrygrond, Lourdes Farm and Elsie's River are among the largest of the 40-plus mainly-Coloured squatter camps in the Peninsula, while Crossroads (and others such as Modderdam and Werkgenot, now demolished), comprises mainly African squatters. Belhar is a small, assisted home-ownership scheme for Coloured families, backed by the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce.

Bonteheuvel, Hanover Park and Bishop Lavis are examples of generally overcrowded townships, erected within the last 25 years or so on the Cape Flats, which cater for sub-economic and economic Coloured tenants, while Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu are the three official African townships. In these and other places an estimated one million African and Coloured people in this area (the 01 Economic Region) find shelter.

A complicating factor in any summary of Black housing in Cape Town and environs is the multiplicity of authorities involved. Of an approximate 22 900 squatter structures some 12 700 fall within the Cape Divisional Council area, some 7 200 within the Cape Town municipality, and 3 000 or so under other authorities (e.g. Kraaifontein, in the Stellenbosch Divisional Council area).

The Bantu Affairs Administration Boards are inevitably involved regarding African township residents or squatters while policy formulated by the Department of Community Development determines the fate of Coloured families. Local authorities may co-operate, as in the case of the Cape Town City Council and the Cape Divisional Council over the development of Mitchell's Plain, or squabble, as in the case of BAAB and the Cape Divisional Council over who owned the land on which Crossroads stands.

The Public Works Department also owns land where camps have sprung up (e.g. Modderdam) and is often involved in demolitions. (Private landowners also come into the picture, for e.g. the Dutch Reformed Church which ceded its portion of Modderdam to the State.)

Add to this the awesome complications which stem from official policy. In some aspects these are nationwide, for instance in the application of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, before and after it was amended by the 1977 Parliament. In the Western Cape there are additional problems posed by the "Coloured Preference Area" policy, which greatly aggravates African

insecurity, while massive dislocation of Coloured people due to Group Areas Act implementation (8 000 in greater Cape Town area still due for removal) has all along been a major contributor to the local housing crisis.

With respect to the Coloured people, this crisis has been described as follows: there is at present (November 1976) an estimated backlog of Coloured housing in Cape Town of about 31 000 dwellings, including about 7 000 for squatter families (this is the figure for the Cape Town Municipal area only — see text above). The present total housing stock for Coloured in Cape Town is approximately 70 000 units... the Cape Town City Council... has now set its sights on an output of at least 6 000 dwelling units per annum... it is only at this rate of building... that the present backlog can be overcome, allowing for normal growth demand, and the need to eradicate squatter settlements, within a reasonably short time.

It will be seen that this refers only to the area controlled by the Cape Town City Council. It is obvious from figures given earlier that other authorities must set equally ambitious targets to deal with the crisis in their areas. As regards African housing, there has, since 1966, been a virtual freeze on construction of family dwellings.

Meanwhile the waiting list for family housing continues to grow — a waiting list which takes into account only the natural increase among Africans qualified under Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of Act 25 of 1945 to reside permanently in Cape Town.

Let us look more closely now at some of the communities, official and unofficial around Cape Town. First, the proposed new cities — one a "dormitory" city for Cape Town, the other a planned economic growth point for Coloured people.

### Mitchell's Plain

Vital statistics: approximately 2 400 ha, 27 km southeast of central Cape Town, on which 40 000 dwelling units will be erected over a 10-year period (1974-84) to house approximately one quarter million Coloured people. Preparation for this home-ownership project included a survey among residents of existing "low-cost, high-density housing schemes" to find out their housing preferences — revealing an overwhelming preference for single-storey detached homes with

gardens. An admirable attempt has been made to provide homes of quality and create an attractive environment at Mitchell's Plain, which one day could conceivably become the successful city envisaged by planners.

At present, however, there are numerous problems: deposits and monthly instalments are out of reach for the great majority of Council tenants while some who can pay are reluctant to leave more conveniently situated accommodation — two factors which defeat the hope that space might be created in economic and sub-economic schemes for the presently unhoused poor.

Transport is a major stumbling block, both for the potential resident who faces high fares and indefinite delays in provision of promised services (none of the three railway stations advertised for Mitchell's Plain has yet been built) and for the authorities. In 1976 Mr J. D. Lloyd, Senior Planning Officer of the SAR, estimated a cost of R125 million per annum over 14 years "to provide rail links between cities and townships such as Mitchell's Plain and Atlantis".

### **Atlantis**

Vital statistics: approximately 18 000 ha, 40 km north of Cape Town, for industrial and residential development under the aegis of the Cape Divisional Council. Home ownership and economic rental units to house half a million Coloured people are projected. At mid-August, 609 units (251 home-ownership houses, the balance flats and lease houses) were completed and occupied. A further 2 706 units will be completed over the next year to 15 months.

Of the 500 ha set aside for industrial development, 288 are now fully serviced and 50 have been sold. Fifty-three industrial concerns, employing 700 persons, are in operation, or will be shortly. Other workers commute to Cape Town and its outlying industrial areas, using the new coastal road linking this city with Saldanha. A lot of idealism has gone into the planning and encouragement of this community, within the framework of Government policy.

In August the Deputy Minister of Planning and Environment, Mr T. N. H. Janson, commented that "the lack of rail facilities and the low level of overall economic activity hampers the present development of Atlantis", which is relied on to alleviate massive unemployment of Coloured people. He suggested this would get "top priority in future".

Next, some squatter camps:

### **Modderdam/Werkgenot/Unibell**

These huge camps containing both Coloured and African squatters almost enveloped the bright new buildings of the Coloured Representative Council and the University of the Western Cape, on Modderdam Road in Bellville South. In mid-February this year, when the Government announced it would serve eviction notices on Modderdam squatters, giving them seven days to clear out, it appeared that 15 000 people would be affected.

Both the Black Sash and the Women's Movement called meetings to protest against the evictions and a letter and R500 cheque, sent to the *Cape Times* by a correspondent calling himself "Inasmuch", laid the foundation for the SHELTER Fund, now grown to R½ million through public subscription. The Modderdam squatters were given a 17-day, then an indefinite reprieve due to the "legal limbo" in which such camps were deemed to exist before amendments to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act became law. But after they were gazetted the pressure was renewed.

Squatters at all three camps — some 30 to 35 000 people — were warned to remove or "face the bulldozers"; in the words of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Western Cape, Mr F. H. Botha, Representatives of well-organised squatter committees pleaded with local authorities and the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr W. A. Cruywagen, not to break up families, in the case of Africans, nor break up the community itself which had been law-abiding and peaceful.

Despite all, Coloured families were moved to a new site called Rifle Range. On Monday 8 August, "front-end loaders" moved into Modderdam and before the week was out 1 200 homes had been demolished. Next the homes of 2 000 at Werkgenot were destroyed, and Unibell is scheduled to follow.

### **Grassy Park**

At the end of January 1977 the homes of 26 Coloured families (about 150 individuals) on Klip Road in Grassy Park were demolished by the Cape Divisional Council, but the people were left in the open on the site. Three weeks later, Divisional Council workers moved in again to demolish what had been re-erected and remove building materials — again leaving the people behind.

On the night of 19 February, rain fell in torrents and the next morning Mrs Stott, member of Exco and chairman of the Housing Committee of the Cape Town City Council, conveyed "about 100 drenched squatters" to the Rondebosch Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk where the State President, Prime Minister and many senior officials worship.

She did this, as she later explained, believing that they would not force people out of their homes once they had met them. A day or so later the Grassy Park families were permitted to move to Lourdes Farm, a Divisional Council site-and-service area where there were already 670 squatter families living.

### **Kraaifontein**

On the same day that officials moved for the second time to demolish the shacks of the Grassy Park squatters, the Divisional Council of Stellenbosch demolished and carted away the materials of about 100 shanties off Old Paarl Road, Kraaifontein.

Newspapers reported the shacks had been bull-

dozed and the Minister of Community Development, who had given assurances that in no circumstances would bulldozers be used for demolition, was outraged.

Minister Steyn claimed the machine appearing in photos was actually a "front-end loader", not a bulldozer, and that it had been used only to cart away and not to demolish. Eyewitnesses confirmed, however, that this machine had indeed been used to knock down houses.

Successful court action, based on failure to give due notice of eviction, ensued and a couple of shanties were rebuilt by the Council. Some weeks later the Divisional Council began to re-erect more shanties and it was understood that all would be rebuilt but, perhaps because the amended Squatting Act was about to become law, the effort petered out and most Kraaifontein squatters have spent the winter under tents or other makeshift shelter. A feature of this camp is that, within a stone's throw, completed sub-economic and economic flats were standing empty for many months. Lately Coloured squatters have been invited to apply for these flats, though tents are beyond the means of many.

Adjacent to the mainly Coloured section of the Kraaifontein camp (called Jabulanibos) is the "Everite" section, where former contract workers lived. In early September, their shelters were demolished. All these families now face removal and demolition, though 100 Coloured families have the option to move into Scottsdene.

### Crossroads

According to Brigadier van der Westhuizen, chairman of the Peninsula BAAB, this camp came into being shortly before the Easter weekend, 1975, when a few families moved onto a piece of ground adjacent to the official township of Nyanga, and it grew quickly thereafter. BAAB moved to clear the area but, "The whole process was stopped through legal decisions which prevented the Board from continuing".

These and other facts he supplied just after the Cape Divisional Council decided unanimously, on camp. By this time it embraced an estimated 10 000 squatters, many being legal contract workers whose families had illegally joined them. From November a R10 per month service charge was required of each household to defray costs of twice-weekly removal of 1 640 nightsoil buckets, once-weekly clearance of 1 000 rubbish bins and 12 taps (later augmented) on the camp's perimeter. By May 1977 it was calculated that the monthly charge was higher than need be for the services rendered and the Council agreed to reduce charges to R7 monthly, starting August.

In these very abbreviated case histories of several of the camps, some of the problems facing squatters and the authorities are brought to light. For Africans the overriding problem is to achieve a family existence despite influx control regulations and the Western Cape's special status as a Coloured preference area.

For Coloured families too "the right to be here" looms as a problem when it is suggested they return to their "place of origin". In fact many squatters (75 per cent according to the Theron Commission) were born here, becoming squatters for various reasons, while others born up-country have also been here for many years.

Nor does it appear that country areas can readily re-absorb large numbers. Many municipalities already have waiting lists for family housing and when it was suggested that former farm workers among the squatters return to the land, Mr G. S. Bosch, secretary of the Cape Provincial Agricultural Union, cautioned that "one would have to look at the situation very carefully before encouraging large numbers of people to come to the Boland".

The figure for Cape Town's Coloured homeowners — 18 850 in 1970 — showed a percentage-wise decline from the 1960 figure. It may be that new opportunities for home-ownership, as at Mitchell's Plain, will cause a reversal of this trend. Homeowners are to be found in a few areas thus far spared under Group Areas, e.g. parts of Woodstock and Wynberg, and in suburbs such as Athlone, Crawford and Lansdowne.

The Belhar experiment, an assisted home-ownership scheme undertaken by the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, has been a success, and an encouragement to other bodies to undertake similar projects. The Peninsula Community Association, which is "a non-profit company with a majority of Coloured directors on its board", is one such body which has applied for development land. On the other hand the Government no longer considers houses costing less than R20 000 for its interest subsidy scheme, "a blow to many prospective Coloured home owners".

In Somerset West a 10 year campaign to save Coloured property owners, threatened by Group Areas removals, ended with permission by the Department of Community Development for about 90 families to remain, if their houses are "of acceptable standard".

Overcrowding with all it entails is an overriding problem in the Coloured townships. At Bishop Lavis, built and administered by the Citizen's Housing League in the Cape Divisional Council area, it is reckoned that 42 000 live in housing designed for 16 000.

One of the best documented townships is Bonteheuwel. Following reports on a study undertaken by the Institute for Social Development at the University of the Western Cape, the *Cape Herald* summed up findings in the following manners:

The study of Bonteheuwel reported on this page last week show clearly the problems facing both the City Council and Joe Smith in his sub-economic council house.

Joe Smith pays, say, R28 rent for his home. He is angry because of overcrowding and lack of facilities. He also thinks the Council

should build houses for the squatters down the road.

Joe wants to buy the house he lives in. Instead they offer him a house at Mitchell's Plain, far away from family and friends, where he would have to pay R80 a month. He doesn't want it.

But the squatters can afford that Mitchell's Plain house even less than he can.

The Government, meanwhile, insists on wiping out shanty towns and the bulldozers are kept busy. So, in a place like Bonteheuvel nobody moves out, new people move in, children grow up and have more children, and the overcrowding gets worse.

The Council would, naturally, like Joe to go to Mitchell's Plain and the squatters to move into Joe's old house. They know that if they let Joe buy his house they would never, at today's prices, be able to build houses for the squatters at anything like R28 rental.

And so the problem goes round and round without being solved. And this is just one aspect of it. Group Areas, shortage of money, an exploding population and Government refusal to allow fully serviced squatter camps just make it worse... (Cape Herald, 16.11.76)

This dilemma may be said to apply generally to residents in other sub-economic and economic housing schemes.

As for African townships, statistics supplied for December 1974 showed 10 090 family housing units in the three official townships, in which 68 370 persons (including a few legal lodgers) lived. This gave roughly 6,77 persons per unit. Another 36 332 were registered in single quarters — mainly in Langa, where men outnumber women by about 11 to 1.

These totals, plus small numbers in compounds, factory premises and domestic quarters, give a figure of something over 122 000 Africans legally resident in Cape Town. But an indetermined number (90 000 estimated by Deputy Minister for Bantu Affairs Janson in 1975, a figure claimed to be too high by the local BAAB) reside illegally, some as illegal lodgers in the townships' family housing units where, on this account, actual densities may be as high as 11 per household. The balance, who are mainly squatters, have been referred to earlier. Home-ownership for Africans, as announced for other parts of the country, has been ruled out for the Western Cape.

In all this, Cape Town's Indians have not been mentioned. Regarded as a racial group separate from Coloured people, they do not qualify for accommodation in Coloured townships, whether rental or home-ownership. It follows that they are not eligible to buy houses at Mitchell's Plain.

Numbers are negligible compared with other population groups and the City Council's official waiting list stands at 120 families. As a housing official readily pointed out, this does not diminish

the hardship for those families awaiting homes, but as yet no project specifically for Indians has been undertaken. All Indians have been moved to the Rylands state section of Athlone.

Malays, on the other hand, fall under provisions for Coloured housing. A small number live in Schotsche Kloof, above Cape Town, where there are a few single dwellings and 191 flats built in 1940 specifically for them. The Malay Quarter in central Cape Town is a special case where a number of authorities including the National Monuments' Commission have an interest. Occupants of these houses, which are being restored on an ongoing basis, have first option to move into them again if they can afford the rents. Otherwise they accept alternative accommodation and Malays on the waiting list for housing have the opportunity to move into the restored houses.

## postscript

**T**HESE facts, which Candy Malherbe has compiled are among the many which overwhelm anyone who tries to understand the squatter situation, in the hope of contributing to putting things right.

Another important fact must be added: namely that the mood of the squatters has changed and is changing. The old attitudes of fatalism and inevitability no longer hold undisputed sway. People have had enough. They are convinced that there must be a better way. They are more and more prepared to stand their ground, to stop moving on and vanishing into the further bush each time the officials harrass them.

The White people, too, are developing a different consciousness. We, too, are realising that things don't have to be like this, that they can be changed.

Because of this change of mood, attitude and behaviour there is hope. But things won't come right without further struggle and sacrifice, without suffering and disruption. In the Sash we say that if we are to work for change in the laws we must do so within the framework of the laws. In the African squatter communities the people are saying that if we are to save our family life (and get the laws changed), then we must live together illegally and take the consequences.

That is happening now. They are demonstrating, by the thousands, a steadfast obedience to morality and justice that transcends the idolatry of legalism.

**MARGARET NASH**

### Sources:

1. *Home?* by Dr M. Nash, for the Board of Social Responsibility, Anglican Diocese of Cape Town.
2. *The Squatter Problem in the Western Cape: Some Causes and Remedies*, by Prof. George Ellis and others, University of Cape Town.
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4. *The Argus, Die Burger, Cape Herald, Cape Times.*

# Relax the granite stand

*A shortened version of a memorandum presented to the Urban Foundation by the Black Sash in August.*

## SHEENA DUNCAN

**T**HE Black Sash believes that the acute shortage of family accommodation in Soweto and the resulting overcrowding, frustration, anxiety and family disruption is one of the basic factors causing social disorganisation in the area. We are also of the opinion that the quality of life in Soweto (and in other urban areas) cannot be materially improved unless something is done to resolve the housing crisis.

According to figures published in the Sunday Express earlier this year the West Rand Administration Board says that on 31st December 1976 there were 10 739 families on the waiting list for houses plus another 10 000 families where the male head was not born in Johannesburg — i.e. the 10(1)(b) men.

The Regulations make no distinction between these families and it is not clear on what authority the Board divides the list in this way. But the division accounts for the low figure of 10 235 given in Parliament by the Minister of Bantu Administration on 15th February 1977 for the shortage of housing in the Johannesburg-Roodepoort area.

It is clear, no matter how the Board chooses to manipulate the figures, that there are at least 20 739 families who are not housed, who have a legal right to rent a house in Soweto, and whose names appear on a waiting list.

This in no way represents the real shortage, as all families where the head is a woman and all families where the male head has not yet established a Section 10(1)(a) or (b) right are automatically excluded from the waiting list.

These families must all live as lodgers in someone else's house, and it cannot be denied that they, too, are in urgent need of housing.

In the Black Sash Advice Office in Johannesburg it is not unusual for us to interview a man who has been on the waiting list since 1969 and is still waiting.

In 1974 the Board built 1 009 houses (Hansard); in 1975, 761 houses (Hansard); in 1976, 441 houses (Sunday Express); and in 1977, nil houses promised (Sunday Express).

The re-introduction of the leasehold scheme is not doing very much to resolve the housing shortage.

1 103 persons applied for and were granted 30 year leases. It seems likely that most of these people were purchasing the houses they were already renting which does not affect the waiting list at all.

We understand that employers are not receiving a wholehearted response to schemes for home ownership for their employees. We believe some of the reasons to be the prevailing insecurity and tension in Soweto; the fact that 30 years is a relatively short period and the Government's vague talk of "indefinite period" is not trusted by people who have experienced so many broken promises in the past; and the high cost of building even the minimum 51/6 houses (R2 900).

On a typical 51/6 house in Zola a man would take a 30 year lease, have to put down R340 plus R60 for a water meter in cash, and still have to pay R9,44 plus R6,50 site rent plus metered water charges — a minimum of R18,94 for a house he can at the moment rent for R9,50 per month. At the end of 25 years the house would be paid off with five more years of his lease to run and site rent still to pay.

The gazetted site rent, which has not yet come into force due to the protest, will be R11,50 and this is likely to have at least doubled within the next 25 years.

This is not a sensible proposition and does not take into account the costs of any improvements such as an indoor bathroom, electricity, security fencing, internal doors, cupboards, kitchen fittings, etc., or the cost of maintenance, repairs, insurance and the cost of services, excluding electricity, to be put on unserviced stands.

Resale value is not assured. Whichever way one looks at it and whatever happens in South Africa, people who can afford to own their own houses in 30 years' time are not going to be wanting to purchase a 51/6 in Soweto.

There are 14 000 empty sites in Soweto. If these were utilised the existing waiting list could be reduced by two-thirds.

It does not seem likely that the financial position of Administration Boards will ever allow for the large scale, crash provision of houses.

The old site and service scheme in Soweto threw the onus of providing housing onto the local authority, in that it was a temporary measure and houses were built by the Johannesburg City Council. This would not assist in the present crisis.

It is clear that the crisis will not be resolved unless people are permitted to provide their own shelter, and this will not be possible until the Government relaxes its granite stand that there can be no freehold tenure for Blacks in urban areas.

**“The Government is determined to ensure that the peaceful coexistence of peoples in South Africa is not disturbed by a small group of anarchists.”**

**James Kruger, Minister of Police and Prisons.**

**ANARCHIST?** Percy Quoboza, whose newspaper ran a leader the day before it was banned stating: “The action by a group of Pretoria youths who went around several lower and higher primary schools beating up small children and burning their books must be strongly condemned . . . This was an act of hooliganism”.

**ANARCHIST?** Aubrey Mokoena, Black Community Programme field worker: “Black awareness . . . seeks to free the black man from physical and psychological oppression. Our philosophy . . . does not call for confrontation between black and white”.

**ANARCHIST?** Dr Nthatha Motlana, whose Committee of Ten constantly sought to meet with Government officials in order to suggest solutions to the ongoing unrest and was constantly refused a hearing.

**ANARCHIST?** Dr Beyers Naude, churchman, whose Christianity could not allow him to keep his comfortable place in the ruling hierarchy in the face of injustice and discrimination.

**ANARCHIST?** Donald Woods, overtly outspoken advocate of change. Supporter of the Progressive Federal Party.

**ANARCHISTS?** The members of the Black Community Programme who ran clinics and community development projects to ease the lot of rural and urban sick and poor.

**ANARCHISTS?** The 42 or more community leaders now detained indefinitely in South Africa's prisons.

**Just who are the anarchists?**

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