

Vol. 14. No. 2

September 1971

Price: 30c.

SASH

The Black Sash magazine

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On the 22nd July the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, spoke of this "dynamic third decade — D.T.D." He boasted of the "most striking successes we as a National Party have on our record book . . . I mention to you the tightening up of influx control and the organising of our country-wide system of labour bureaux . . ." He later went on to say that another task to be performed in the Seventies is "the very exacting one of further checking and reducing the influx of Bantu to the white area and also to establish in their own homeland those Bantu who are in the white areas illegally and to no purpose."

Two weeks later the report of the Prisons Department was published for the year 1968 to '69. South Africa's daily average prison population was 88,079 — 496,071 sentenced people and 257,651 unsentenced people were admitted to our gaols. Of the sentenced people more than 92% were people sentenced to terms of up to 6 months. 265,713 were people sentenced to terms of up to 1 month. 4,700 breast fed infants were admitted to gaol. In the previous year 44.6% of all imprisonments were for Pass Law and Bantu tax offences.

These figures are the measure of Mr. Botha's dynamism. What we are promised is that the prison figures will continue to rise astronomically as they have done in the past decade; that there will undoubtedly be more babies born in prison, more nursing mothers arrested and taken in with their children; more stories in the newspapers such as that of a woman held in gaol for 6 days while her reference book was at her employer's house, or a young girl, charged with not having a reference book, so small that she could barely see over the wall of the dock. There will be increasing numbers of people endorsed out, increasing families broken up by the migratory labour system and the pass laws, increasing numbers of married men living in 'bachelor hostels'.

The Minister says he knows that the African people want all this because he says he is "in contact with them". We challenge Mr. Botha to spend two weeks in one of our advice offices really making contact with the victims of his "striking successes".

Op 22 Julie het die Minister van Bantoe Administrasie en Ontwikkeling in die Volksraad gepraat van die „dinamiese derde dekade” — D.D.D. Hy het geroem op die mees indrukwekkende suksesse wat hulle as Nasionale Party op die rekord boek geplaas het — by name die verstywing van toestromings beheer en die oprigting van 'n landswye stelsel van arbeid bureaus. Hy het verder gesê dat nog 'n taak wat wag in 1970 is die veeleisende een om Bantoe toestroming na die blanke gebiede verder te beheer en te verminder en ook om Bantoe wat onwettig en doelloos in blanke gebiede is, in hulle eie tuislande te vestig.

Twee weke later is die verslag van die Departement Gevangenisse in 1968 en 1969 gepubliseer. Suid-Afrika se gemiddelde daaglikse tronk bevolking was 88,079—7,500 meer dan in vorige jaar, 496,071 gevonnise mense, en 257,651 on-gevonnise mense was in ons tronke opgeneem. Van die, is 92% vir tydperke van minder as 6 maande gevonnise. 265,713 vir tydperke van minder as 'n maand. 4,700 suigeling was in ons tronke opgeneem. In die vorige jaar was 44.6% opgesluit vir pas an Bantoe belasting oor-tredings.

Die syfers vertolk Mnr. Botha as dynamika. Ons het nou die vooruitsig dat tronk syfers, soos in die afgelope dekade, verder die hoogtes sal inskiet; daar sal ongetwyfeld meer babas in tronke gebore word, en meer moeders met suigeling sal gearrester word, en opgeluit word met hulle suigeling; meer verslaë sal in koerante verskyn soos die van die vrou wat 6 daë opgesluit was, terwyl haar bewysboekie in haar werkgewer se huis was; of van 'n jongmeisie wat daarvan beskuldig word dat sy geen boek het nie, terwyl sy so klein is dat sy skaars oor die beskuldigings bank kon sien. Daar sal meer en meer gekerm word oor die mannekrag tekort; meer en meer mense sal uitgeendoseer word; meer en meer gesinne sal verbrokkel word deur die trekarbeidstelsel en die paswette; meer en meer getroude mans sal in "enkelmans koshuise" gevestig word.

Die Minister sê hy weet die Bantoe mense wil dit so hê want hy is in kontak met hulle.

Ons daag Mnr. Botha uit om twee weke in een van ons Advies kantore deur te bring en daardeur werklik kontak te maak met die slagoffers van sy „indrukwende sukses”.

PROTEST AND THE COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE

NADINE GORDIMER

Miss Gordimer is a distinguished South African author. She addressed the annual general meeting of the Transvaal Region of the Black Sash in Johannesburg on 3rd June, 1970. This is the text of her address.

What am I here for?

To congratulate you on your 15 year survival?—that's been done. To exhort you to keep on keeping on?—you don't need me or anyone else to do that. To express my admiration for your doggedness and tenacity?—admiration is as irrelevant to you as the opprobrium, ridicule and abuse you have successfully endured over those 15 years.

I don't need, either to "sell" you the spirit of protest! indeed I know I could learn something from you. Yet I do speak to you as a fellow-protestor, one who, according to her notion of her own responsibility and usefulness, sees an obligation to speak out.

Why do we protest? Why are some of us moved to do so while others are content to comprise the ox-like acquiescence of a silent majority? It's an easy question for each one of us here to answer personally: I think you'd agree that the need arises spontaneously out of a sense of justice and is moved to action by a sense of angry compassion. Guilt comes into it, too, on some issues. There are many of us who feel guilt for the unearned and unwanted privileges of our whiteness. I see no necessity to be ashamed to admit that; guilt can be a useful emotion when it makes people act positively to redress the social injustice which is its cause. Perhaps some of you would qualify my reasons by reference to your religion or philosophy: how you arrive at the position of becoming activist isn't important, the point is that you do, and, having started from various different political and philosophical and religious positions, you reach together the stage where you are one in your convictions and can act collectively.

The concept of collective conscience is one that is open to argument; some thinkers regard it as a contradiction in terms, seeing conscience as, by definition, an individual function, though oddly they do not seem to discount the opposite phenomenon, mass hysteria, mob reaction, with the abdication of individual conscience which its concerted brutality often implies. I myself would regard the activities of a diverse group of individuals such as yourselves, arriving, as I say, at the same point by different paths, as a demonstration of the existence of the collective conscience.

When people ask for tolerance of unjust laws, in this country, on the grounds that what is just or unjust is not an absolute but

a matter of interpretation in the light of one political ideology or another, I can only assert with all the conviction of which I am capable that there is a certain spirit level — and the analogy is with the simple tool that builders use to keep a wall straight — a spirit level inside human beings, something as delicate and vital as that sense of physical balance hidden in the mysterious middle ear, that gives a positive moral indication about what is right and wrong in human relations. There are times and places, and we in South Africa live in one of those times and one of those places, where indifference, callous or merely slothful, goes by the name of tolerance. The spirit level inside us that won't balance unless we measure other people's needs with our own, provides an absolute of human decency that does not shift conveniently in the interests of any so-called tolerance. It is along the line of that spirit-level that you members of the Black Sash stand together whenever you line up along Jan Smuts Avenue behind placards; it is as a collective conscience that you stand, all political and group loyalties subordinate to it.

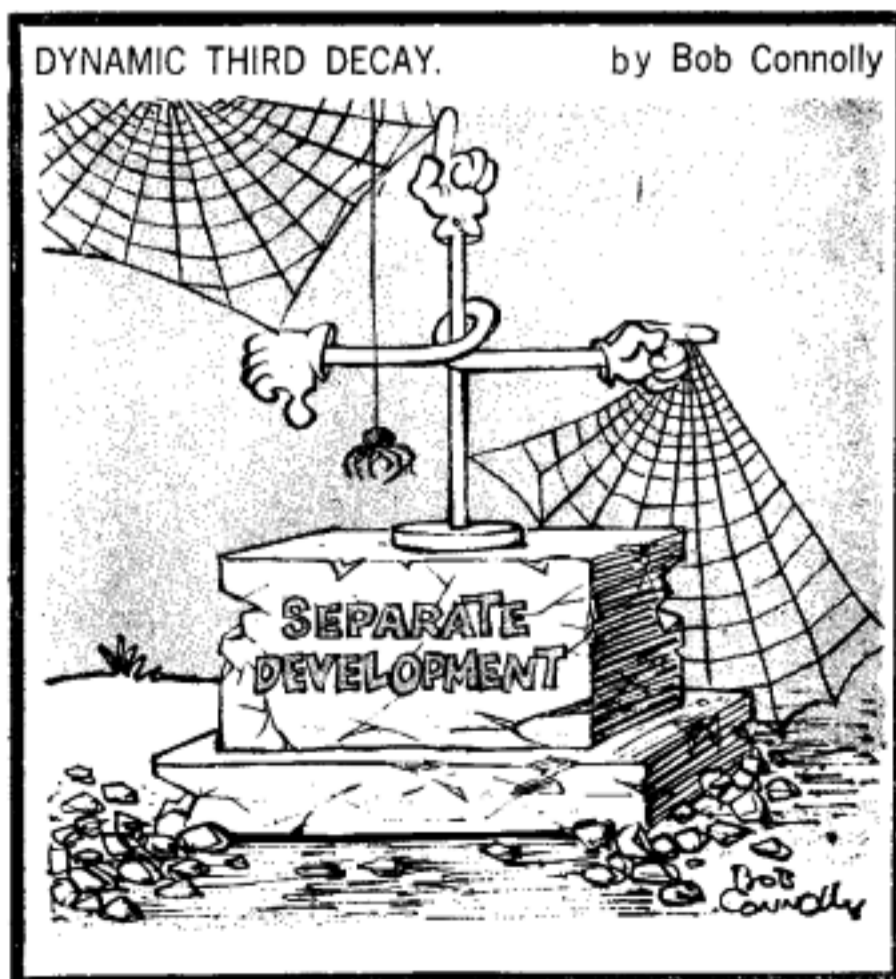
Why is the collective conscience so difficult to rouse in South Africa? We won't go into the old, the basic reasons that have been examined so many times by people with the professional qualifications I lack — the sociologists, psychologists and political scientists. We know that, basically, this conscience has been stifled over generations by fear, the most powerful of all inhibitions—sexual fear, economic fear, all the kinds of fear that people build up, rational and irrational, when they want to hang on not only to what is theirs but also what is rightfully someone else's share of life as well. But why is it that even in instances such as

those we have seen lately, when there has been every reason for this fear to change direction, since threats on life and liberty now come, in the form of BOSS and its satellite laws, from within the white group itself, directed as much against the white group itself as any other — why with the knife turned to face their own hearts, so to speak, do the silent ones give no sign? Of course there are many who still believe: it can't happen to me. I am so docile, so grateful for the privileged shelter built up for me by pass laws, job reservation, re-settlement schemes, so ready to swallow any trumpery racial theory that will enable me to exploit the black, put his miseries somewhere out of sight, and still feel good — I haven't enough human spirit left in me to run the risk of ever offending in any way whatsoever. It is true that nothing will ever threaten them because they have given up in advance what, oddly enough, they have been told they represent: civilised standards. They have merely accepted more than their share of the fruits of technological advance, which is another thing entirely.

But what of the attitudes of many thousands of other people, who are not unaware of injustice, not entirely untroubled by it, and not so preoccupied by their own real estate that they are without uneasiness at the erosion of man's intangible estate, his right over his own person. They are people who cling to the standards without which the notion of civilisation is meaningless; humanity in their

personal and private dealings, the rule of law and so on. And yet they will not be moved to act as you are moved to act. They sigh regretfully and protest their concern, but ask them to stand up and be counted, and they melt into thin air. Part of the trouble is fear again, of course, this time not the tribal fears of a white minority among blacks, but the straightforward childish dread of authority, of the very powers that they have summoned to protect them from their white tribal fears. Of course, there is reason to fear the authorities in our country. The Special Branch, with all the might of distorted law bent to its purpose, is a Goliath before which we may well feel ourselves to be puny Davids, the truth a mere pebble, and the place of contest not the impartial open air but a small cell where the sling-shot won't find its mark in the darkness of mental confusion. There is plenty to be afraid of, in South Africa, goodness knows; but this threat of punishment, not for wrongdoing but for defending the right has surely succeeded in silencing people far beyond its reach.

It has rendered ineffectual not only those people who would break unjust laws, but also those who would wish to pronounce those laws unjust, and who have the right, within the law, of doing so. Intimidation — psychological intimidation — has succeeded surely beyond the wildest expectations of those who promulgated the amendments to the Suppression of Communism Act—that Act that makes communists of all dissenters, from Hertzog and Jaap Marais to you and me. Psychological intimidation has succeeded beyond the wildest hopes of those who made law the Sabotage Act, and put BOSS into every home. There has come about a paralysis of the will among South Africans, fear-induced. They have lost all judgment in terms of self-preservation, all ability to measure the calculated risk against the irresistible desire to be one's own man or woman, an independent, thinking being instead of a cipher. For if politics is the art of the possible, protest, among law-abiding people of average courage, is the art of the calculated risk. Not all of us are revolutionaries — even in the sense of peaceful revolutionaries — by conviction, nor by measure of courage. But what South Africans have forgotten too easily, under threat, is that certain forms of protest are open to them, in terms of the law. If these go unused, there is a further atrophy of what freedoms remain to us. We shrivel spiritually



and become less and less human every time we open our mouths — and nothing comes out.

For me, the most important achievement of the Black Sash movement is that consistently, week in and week out, year in and year out, for more than 15 years you have exercised this feebly twitching muscle of the human spirit in our country; you have never once fallen back in anticipatory fear of repressive legislation, never prostrated yourselves in the shadow it casts before it, but gone out to meet it, face it, oppose it to the very limits left open to us. Since the first half of this decade of the sixties that has just dropped behind us, when all militant legal opposition to the injustices and inhumanity of colour bar legislation was outlawed, whether on the part of white or black, the principle of non-violent and peaceable opposition to unjust laws has been forgotten, except spasmodically, by all South Africans except the members of the Black Sash.

Sentimental old ladies

The Nationalist press has ridiculed you, you have been dismissed, despite the youth of some of you, as dear sentimental old ladies, you have endured the accolade of rotten eggs and the most cutting insult of being discounted. Yet you have endured, and in doing so you have kept open, kept alive, the possibility of protest. It is not for nothing that the students crossed the so-called generation gap to join with you two weeks ago in protest against the detention of the 22. You have shown them what the rest of those who like to consider themselves an older and wiser generation have let drop out of the community's moral currency: the possibility, given a little courage, of speaking out, the necessity of taking on oneself the shame committed in the name of the community and the country. The students joined forces with you because you were the only people in whom their doubts about the way of life made, for them found a positive answer. And the answer, contrary to all attempts to make it appear otherwise, was responsibility, the responsibility for protest.

Now this is the paradox of the thinking of the silent majority in South Africa — surely the mutest of all the silent majorities who are letting the world go the way it is today. Protest is labelled by them categorically as an irresponsible act, something irrational, impulsive and exhibitionistic. It does not matter by whom, or how performed. A few days after the Darragh Hall meeting the editor of a na-

tional newspaper referred in general to the students, lawyers, churchmen, Black Sash members and citizens who have protested against detention without trial as hysterical long-haired liberals — which prompted my twenty-year old daughter to remark, not without wonder 'What's long haired about Bishop Stradling?'.
But the fact is that even if privately one deploras the travesties of law that decree and condone the forced removal of whole communities of black people from their homes, the mobster's justice of putting people out of the way without trial and conviction, and the torture of solitary confinement, it has somehow come to be regarded as more responsible to accept these things in silence than to say aloud, in deed and word, that they are wrong. Under the conditioning of our ambiguous moral climate, the concepts of "responsibility" and "irresponsibility" have exchanged meaning; and we have come to a pass where the young who (in the eyes of the very traditionalists who are ready to drop the burden on their shoulders) are considered as entitled to a few years of travelling light — these young are saddled with the full weight of the human responsibility which their elders have abdicated. The young, and a small group of women — yourselves — again a category traditionally regarded as irresponsible, this time by reason of their sex. Young people who have only just got the vote, and women who have earned the right to it only a generation ago and are still waiting for equality of opportunity in many fields of human endeavour; it is on these categories of the community that the heavy responsibility of the defence of human rights has been laid. Because protest, in a situation such as we find ourselves in as citizens of South Africa, is nothing more nor less than a proper sense of responsibility towards our fellow South Africans and ourselves. With it, not only our sense of justice, but also our self-respect is bound up.

Success

Another value about which there is confusion in our country is success — what good does protest do? How successful is it? People expect your movement to be able to put its campaigns against the pass laws, the sabotage act, the resettlement acts, on a scale and balance them with reforms achieved as a result. I hope you are not tempted, in low moments, to do this yourselves. This is not the test of the meaningfulness of protest. Neither is the

tipping of the scale against your activities the measure of success or failure. For although, of course, the practical aims of these campaigns is certainly reform of laws offending against humanity, and concrete change in the daily lives of the people affected by them, the fact that there are too few of you to hope to succeed, most of the time, does not make your protest futile. The nights you have stood in vigil, the leaflets and pamphlets you have distributed, the press campaigns you have roused out of indifference — these things, whether they have brought about actual change or not, have kept alive, are keeping alive a morality that would otherwise have been swamped by expedience in our society. Above all, you are holding up an alternative to the crushing determinism of that society; and the possibility of an alternative is one definition of freedom. You are there day in and day out, and your presence is living proof that it is, after all, possible to be fully human, to be committed to caring instead of fearing. There is no futility in that, believe me, even if you haven't succeeded in having the pass laws repealed, or removals stopped.

The bandwagon of protest

And as for the more obvious kind of 'success' — who can say how much your setting of conveniently ignored facts before the public eye may have prevented abuses from being worse than they are? This again is something that can't be put in the scale. Perhaps you will never know what you have achieved — does that matter, so long as the achievement has reflected itself in people's lives? And in one of your very rare and most recent 'successes', success that can be seen to be so — of course I am referring to the official announcement that the 22 are to be charged or released — it certainly ought to give you encouragement to note that at least one political leader was quick to take up the credit for the effectiveness of peaceful protest, which had, in fact been sustained over this issue for three years by yourselves alone until the students joined you. But I am sure you're not complaining; what a crowning justification for the existence of the Black Sash it would be if all the political leaders would take it into their heads to crowd you off the bandwagon of protest against unjust and repressive laws.

In the meantime, to all those of the silent majority who hang back and will not take up their share of adult responsibility for the hunger and hardship, the unnecessary frustration

of the human spirit in our society, to all those who dismiss as hysteria and sentiment and exhibitionism the obligation of thinking, responsible human beings to protest against these things, I commend words of Albert Camus; ". . . servitude, falsehood and terror . . . these three afflictions are the cause of silence between men, obscure them from one another and prevent them from rediscovering themselves in the only value which can save them from nihilism — the long complicity between men at grips with their destiny."

Family Day — 1970

There was great excitement — one of their daughters had come home from school for three weeks' holiday, and they showed her the town. They went to the Zoo and ate popcorn and to the Airport to see the planes come in. They went to a soccer match and cheered the local side. They appeared a happy family unit, even if their daughter was small for her age and really too thin. Father looked proud, mother looked happy and daughter looked transported.

Mother lives in my backyard, a quiet, hard-working pleasant woman of about 35. Father has a good job with a firm of wholesale merchants where he is in charge of all the African staff — he has a bed in a hostel in Soweto. Their child lives in Natal with her grandmother and goes to school there. Happy family? Father sleeps at my house when he can and when he thinks the police will not catch him. He does not qualify for a house in the township although he will live and work here all of his life. Mother is "permitted to be in the Urban Area of Johannesburg whilst employed by" me. The child will never be allowed to come here as she has spent all of her childhood in Natal. Once a year, normally, the parents go to Natal for their annual holiday and this is the only time they come together as a family. This visit by their daughter was quite new — and quite illegal, because she stayed here with her mother.

How happy a family day — in the knowledge that they were breaking the law and could be arrested at any minute?

R.M.J.

Agricultural Problems of African Resettlement

J. BOWBRICK

Mrs. Bowbrick is an agricultural scientist who specialised in pasture science. She presented this interesting paper at a meeting of the Natal Citizens' Association in February.

RECENTLY THE PRESIDENT of the Ladysmith Farmers' Association urged that Driefontein, an African farm complex, be transferred to White ownership because of the soil destruction there. The African landowners reacted with some bitterness.

One old man commented: "In the 1930's I wrote on behalf of us all to the Secretary for Native Affairs asking for help to improve our land. We wanted financial assistance and technical advice. The reply we got was: 'We are sorry but we have not got staff or funds to help you . . .'"

So today Driefontein is in a mess, but if the people are to be moved to other land what will happen? Won't the mistakes of the past be repeated? Land is seldom deliberately ruined, but when there is ignorance and poverty, too many people on too little land, no capital, or loans, or teaching staff, then it is inevitable that land destruction follows. All these factors have dictated the fate of Driefontein, but unfortunately the people will not shed these problems if they are moved — they will take them to any new area too.

Since the first African removal schemes started in earnest in Natal about two years ago, one of the main reasons we have heard justifying removals has been: "The people must be moved because they are ruining the land . . ." This paper will try to show that in fact the removals are going to aggravate present land problems.

The new land where people are being resettled is seldom better than the old — sometimes worse. (Mr. Andries Vosloo, deputy Minister of Bantu Development admitted a few weeks ago that the Act laid down that Black Spot families be resettled on land of equal value, but that it was a problem finding land of equal value.) The new farms still carry too many humans, too many animals, there is no capital for farming, no subsidies or loans, and very little technical advice. In fact the present land resettlement policy is not saving the land — it is just adding new areas to those already ruined.

South Africa's land problems go back a long way and White and Black have both played their roles in drastically changing the face of the country. The earliest Black and White settlers were all pastoralists, practising a shifting cultivation. Agriculture was primitive, exploitive and done for subsistence only. As populations increased, more and more land was settled and less and less remained for nomad pastoralists and their herds and the temporary fields of shifting cultivation. The

countryside began to show signs of weariness and protest. Clear streams became seasonal muddy torrents, grass began to disappear, marshes became deserts, springs dried up and forests were hacked away.

According to a Government report, Natal had lost a third of her forests as early as 1880, thanks mainly to European farmers and sawyers.

By 1900 aware and frightened professors, farmers, politicians and even a few "Native experts" were beginning to campaign for a new land policy to halt the deterioration.

South Africa has always been subject to drought and during the regular, recurrent dry periods, the land first hit back at its mistreatment.

In 1914 a Senate Committee was appointed to enquire into the cause of recurring droughts, and so started what has become a national tradition. What other country has so regularly appointed councils, committees, and commissions to study droughts? And what country has so consistently turned a deaf ear to the words of each in turn — for the verdict has never varied: South Africa is not drying up, but the land has been treated so badly by man that it can no longer withstand drought periods.

While the 1914 Senate Committee was studying the problem a group of men was travelling the country probing the land question from another angle. This was the Na-

tives Land Commission appointed to find out whether our African Reserves were big enough. In 1916 it reported that most of the Reserves were bursting at the seams, and the land was deteriorating rapidly. It recommended that large additional areas should be added to the Reserves.

Unpopular provisions

In 1917 the Native Administration Bill was put before Parliament following up this recommendation. The bill got as far as its second reading, then faded away. Its provisions could not have been more unpopular. Because of public feeling about the land issue the Government then appointed local committees in each province to investigate and comment upon the areas which the 1916 Land Commission had wanted to set aside for Africans. Every committee found reasons why the proposed land increases should be reduced.

In Natal for example, the Local Committee wanted a cut of about 3 million acres. The Native Administration Bill had proposed 3,800,000 — the Local Committee proposed 900,000.

As it was obviously a tricky and unpopular move it lagged behind other legislation until 1936 when the Native Trust and Land Act was passed, providing for an increase of $7\frac{3}{4}$ million morgen for South Africa's Reserves. It is now 34 years later but this total has not yet been acquired. Meanwhile the African population in the Reserves has catapulted due to natural increase, the Squatter Act, influx control, and Black Spot removal. At the beginning of the Century, according to the Tomlinson Commission, an average of 27 morgen was available to every African family in Natal's Reserves. By 1952 — despite an increase in the land — statistics showed that only 22 morgen was available to each family.

However to worsen the situation — in the interim the nature of the land has changed. Because of deteriorating conditions, 27 morgen today cannot produce what 27 morgen produced 70 years ago.

Steep downward trend

Once again statistics support this. By 1923 crop yields in the Reserves were showing a steep downward trend, and within 20 years maize production had dropped by 142 million pounds.

The last available census figures show that the pattern of declining crop yields in the Reserves has continued to the present.

The Tomlinson Commission stated that although the African Reserves had increased in size by 25% since 1919, the production of maize and mabela had actually decreased.

Only 15% of South Africa is arable land — ours is mainly a ranching country. In the Reserves however even this potential has not been realised, and thousands of sheep, goats, cattle and donkeys have turned once-rich grasslands into near deserts.

To digress here briefly — statistics give the impression that every African family owns immense herds. In actual fact the distribution of stock is very unequal. In some areas between 20% and 50% of the people own no cattle at all.

The nightmarish state of the Reserves has been condemned for almost 100 years — it has hardly been unnoticed, or secret. But what steps have our various governments taken to improve conditions?

Political considerations

Political considerations have always been part of our land policies — but unfortunately nature has not yet been made to understand just how important these considerations are, and so has wilfully continued to go her own way.

White and African agriculture have always been separate. Whilst White agricultural departments were functioning before Union an agricultural service in the Native Affairs Department did not start until 1929.

White agricultural advance has been held up time and again because of fear of the powerful farmer vote — rather than enforce an unpopular conservation measure and offend the farmers, conservation requirements have been allowed to lag.

The European agricultural department claims that its work has been hampered by lack of staff and funds. Yet an intensive programme of agricultural education and propaganda has helped to overcome the conservatism of the European farmer, and gradually his exploitive methods of farming are being changed.

Unfortunately the African agricultural service has faced more staggering problems, and has had fewer funds and even less staff — and so little success. According to the Tomlinson Commission the technical agricultural service for African areas did not really get down to work until 1946. Even then, there were only 410 agricultural demonstrators among several million people.

In 1946 the Director of Native Agriculture announced a 12-year rehabilitation scheme for the Reserves. It was then blithely assumed that it would take a mere 12 years to repair the damage of the previous century. A few years later the Tomlinson Commission more realistically stated that at the present tempo it would take 245 years to stabilise the Reserves, and the cost for the first ten years would be R66 million. This has not been spent.

Historic year

1946 was an historic year for conservation, for it was then that the Soil Conservation Act was passed, designed to save our soil for the future. However conservationists were unhappy at one aspect of the new laws — they did not apply to African areas where they were most needed. The high hopes held out for the Act were not achieved, and we have just seen a new Act passed to overcome some of the faults of the old. Natal campaigned vigorously — but in vain — for the inclusion of the African areas under the new Act. The Natal Agricultural Union could not have done more to point out that unless Black and White areas are treated as one, we can never expect to “save our soil.”

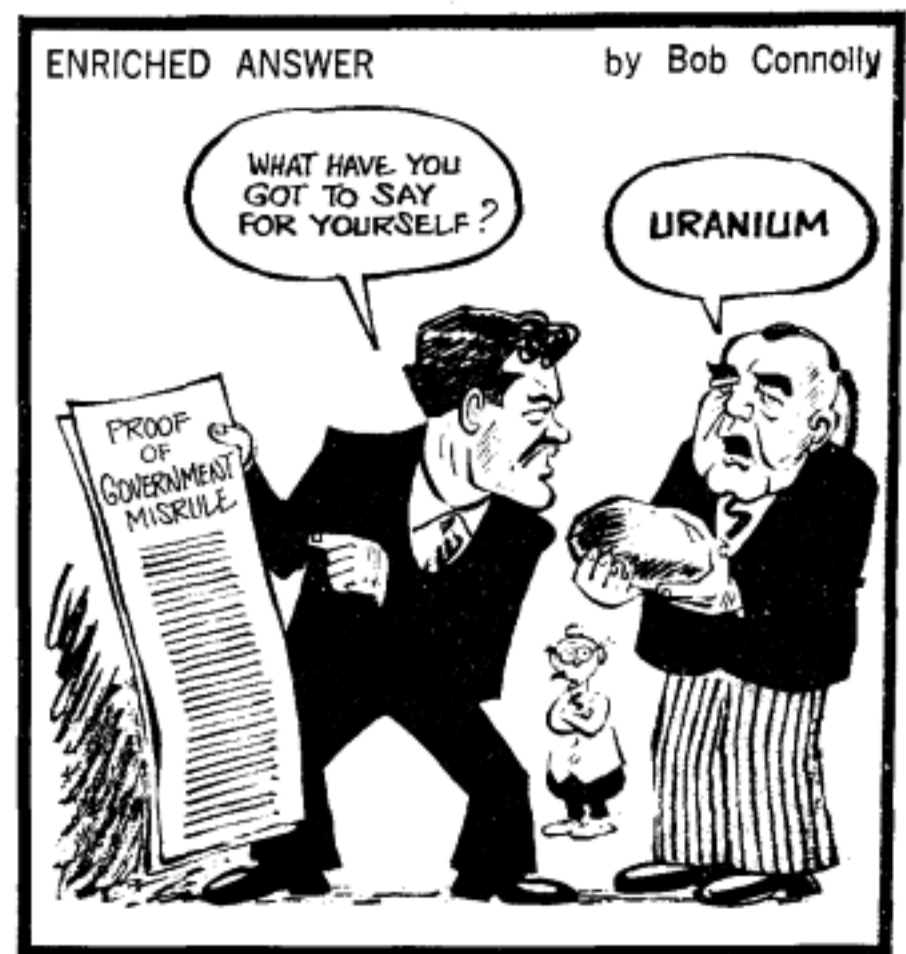
I should add here that the original Act intended to overcome civil service staff shortages by letting the farmers themselves administer the Act through local soil conservation committees. Had White and Black land been included under the Act, we might have seen White farmers helping to implement soil conservation measures in the African areas.

Subsidies

African agricultural progress has always been crippled by lack of money, while European agriculture has had generous financial help from the Government. For example, in a ten year period ending in 1941, R50 million was paid out to European farmers in the form of direct assistance and subsidies. During a similar ten year period ending in 1944 the Native Affairs Department spent R660,000 on soil conservation work —and there were no funds at all to subsidise the individual African farmer.

Without capital nobody can establish a business, and farming is a business which like any other requires the investment of a large amount of money if it is to be economic.

What does it mean to be an African farmer? Well, you may go to one of several agricultural schools, or even a University college to



get an agricultural training. However you will probably find that most of the students doing the course intend to become teachers, or agricultural demonstrators — and not farmers. As soon as you go back home, burning with new ambition, you begin to see the sense of those other students. Quite apart from the difficulties of farming individually in a communal tenure system, you find that you have not got funds to buy a bit of fencing to surround your home.

But the white farmer can get a fencing grant, and subsidies for seed and fertilizer, and loans to buy land. During drought periods he can have his area declared drought-stricken, and is then entitled to special railage rates, and he can obtain stockfeed at special prices.

The African farmer has to share the services of the local agricultural demonstrators with several thousand other people. The European farmer might also have to share his local extension officer with too many others — but there are agricultural research stations in almost every region, offering free advice, and there is a State Library which supplies him with any literature he requires.

Through the activities of the various Control Boards the government also helps the farmer — if he is White — find a market for his crop, and in bad periods pays subsidies to ensure that he gets a reasonable price for his crop. These are privileges which are not available to the African farmer.

The incomes of White farmers are maintained at a reasonable level through protection

and price maintenance schemes, and the burden of these schemes is borne by the consumers of the foodstuffs. Maize and sugar form the basic foodstuffs of the African and these two crops more than any other (except wheat) have received special assistance in the past.

It has been estimated that in 1939-40 a minimum of R10 million of farmers total income was in the nature of a transfer to them from consumers* — many of whom were much poorer than the farmers to whom the wealth was transferred.

Thus the Reserve farmer suffers from more than one direction. He cannot get the help offered to the White farmer, whilst at the same time he has to pay high prices for food to ensure that the White farmer gets a reasonable income.

And South Africa suffers, because in Black areas maize is being grown in unsuitable areas at a terrifying cost in terms of soil erosion—while in White areas maize is being grown at subsidised prices and exported at a loss. As one newspaper commented in a headline: "Amaizing!"

Betterment areas

Trying to alter the picture in the Reserves was enough to make the bravest heart quail. However in 1949 the African agricultural service formulated a policy for the future known as "betterment areas." Because of potentially explosive aspects of these betterment schemes they are only started at the request of, or with the approval of a tribe in the Reserves. However on quota land bought up by the Government to add to the Reserves, betterment schemes are compulsory. These areas are known as Trust farms, and it is here that Africans are being resettled today. On Trust farms the Government can control all aspects of land settlement and land usage from the time the first settlers move in.

The Tomlinson Commission admitted that the problem of the Reserves had overwhelmed the Bantu Agricultural services, who had concentrated their activities on Trust farms where they could expect some degree of positive success.

What is a betterment area? It is a farm which has been divided into residential, arable and grazing areas. There is supposed to be no overstocking because experts assess the correct carrying capacity of the land — and so

* *van Eck Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission.*

decide how many animals will be allowed on the land.

It all sounds very well-planned and presents a soothing picture to the layman. One imagines therefore that a Trust farm must be a model farm — an example to the surrounding countryside. But is it? According to the Tomlinson Commission the average amount of land available per family in the betterment areas was 33 morgen — and from this they managed to get a gross annual income of R44. To supply the basic needs of a family however a gross income of R120 a year is needed. In other words, even in betterment areas the African cannot possibly earn a living from the land, and so it becomes necessary for members of the family to sell their labour away from home.

The best of motives

Although the motives behind betterment schemes have been the best the system has failed so badly it needs an overhaul.

Let us just take the matter of carrying capacity. A nice phrase. It seems to have the pleasing finality of a measurement such as "three feet equals one yard." In fact today in agricultural circles it is the subject of much heated debate. Determining the carrying capacity of any land bristles with difficulties and some say it is an impossibility for a casual visit to produce an assessment.

In the 1950's arson, sabotage and serious disturbances broke out at Witzieshoek, a Reserve near Harrismith, where the Government was attempting to implement a betterment scheme.

The Witzieshoek affair has since become to many people an example of the African's backwardness and antagonism towards any land improvement scheme. "It's hopeless to try to help," they will say. "Look what happened at Witzieshoek . . ." Unfortunately they have not bothered to look themselves.

A fleeting visit

A Government Commission of Inquiry was appointed to investigate the trouble, and found at the root of everything — queries about carrying capacity. Apparently some European experts had paid a fleeting visit to the Reserve, seeing only a few sections of the vast area. They had then announced a carrying capacity — and the Africans were ordered to cull their cattle because according to the expert assessment, they had too many. The Africans held that the brief inspections made by the Europeans could not possibly have pro-

duced a correct estimate — and the Commission agreed with them. To add to the confusion — the Commission obtained three other estimates which showed that the Reserve was in fact understocked.

As a result of its findings the Commission suggested that any further assessment of carrying capacity be made only after a thorough study of the grazing, at all seasons, for a period of three years. For a department already desperately short of agricultural officers this is clearly an impossibility.

While on the subject of grazing control there is one aspect which should be mentioned here.

Goats and donkeys

In terms of the East Coast fever regulations the authorities can control the movement of cattle from one farm to another. So our planners have been able to control the number of cattle moving from a Black Spot to a new resettlement farm. However this law does not prevent the movement of goats and donkeys. So African families who have had to give up cattle, re-invest in goats and donkeys. A new farm may carry fewer cattle, but it carries many more goats than the old. Any agriculturist will tell you which animal is the most destructive.

Agricultural resettlement involves problems which receive too little attention. For example — even if a new farm is virgin land, it will take several seasons for the new settler to produce reasonable crops on it.

Going back in history once more I would like to quote from the report of the 1917 Land Committee of the Eastern Transvaal.

“Now the question of whether areas are ready to receive a sudden large access of population is not a question of extent — it is not even a question of quality. It is a question wholly of development. A family might well starve on the most fertile soil in the world in the interval necessary to reduce it to a condition of productivity . . . and the Native areas are almost entirely undeveloped. The developed portions are the occupied portions. Much of the land described as “arable” is still virgin bush and must be cleared before it is suitable even for the purposes of African cultivation; much of it that is said to be suitable for grazing is waterless and must be supplied with boreholes before it can be made adequate for the needs of man or beast. When our Committee therefore states in general terms that a given tract of land is capable of supporting a

definite number of people, it must be understood as contemplating a gradual process of development. It assumes that the Native settler will be guided, encouraged and helped by some such body as the Land Settlement Board which watches over White settlement. To transport Natives even from the exiguous conveniences of settled life in non-Native areas, suddenly and in large masses to areas which they still have to prepare before they can exist in them would be disastrous in the extreme . . .”

This is all still so relevant that there is little need to add to it. However I should point out that most Trust farms cannot provide the new African settlers with virgin land, but with land that requires considerable rehabilitation, and so much greater efforts are required to bring it back into productivity.

The land has rules of its own and scientists have learned that you have to follow these rules, or destroy both the land and your future on it.

In our African resettlement schemes we have ignored the most important law of all — man must adapt his activities to the potential of the land. You cannot grow pawpaws in frost areas or primroses in the desert. Some land is suitable for intensive farming and can carry many people, other land is suitable only for extensive farming such as ranching, and so can only carry a smaller human population.

Laws of the land

At one stage during the removals controversy a leading member of the Nationalist Party stated that he and his family had owned one of the farms bought up by the Bantu Trust for resettlement purposes. As they had made a living from it, he saw no reason why the Africans shouldn't live there comfortably too. We doubt whether this man's family was so large that it had numbered several thousand. For land that can comfortably carry one farmer and his family, cannot equally carry a population numbering thousands.

Present removals do not show much consideration for these laws of the land.

Hlatikulu

Let us take one example—the Kunene tribe who lived on the farm Hlatikulu in the Glencoe District. According to newspaper figures which were not contradicted, there were 4,000 members of the tribe living on 8,000 acres of land. There were many springs and streams, good grassveld, and an annual rainfall of about 30 inches. These people were moved to the

farm Vergelegen with sandy soil, thorn scrub vegetation and a rainfall ten inches less. (These figures were taken from maps of the Town and Regional Planning Commission.) So they were moved from an area where intensive farming WAS possible, to an area where it obviously is not. Even the government recognised that the new land was not of equal value to the old, for instead of giving the tribe 8,000 acres in exchange for 8,000 they gave 14,000 acres. However even this increased acreage cannot make up for the basic differences between the two farms.

Economic units

The Tomlinson Commission insisted that in any farm planning the land should be divided into economic units, and the number of people settled as farmers should not exceed the number of such units. What is an economic unit at Vergelegen, the Kunene tribe's new farm? If we are generous we might describe this area as a mixed farming region. The Tomlinson Commission said that in such a region a family needed 108 acres to produce a gross income of R120 to cover its needs. If there are 6 people per family, then there are 666 families at Vergelegen with about 20 acres each — far, far below the minimum economic unit. In fact the land should only be supporting about 130 families.

However it would probably be more accurate to describe the Vergelegen area as a thorn-

veld area, in which case, according to the Tomlinson Commission, 194 acres are needed per family—and so only about 70 families should be settled at Vergelegen and not 666.

What happens when the land carries too many people? We go back to Square One — the land is destroyed.

Mr. G. F. Froneman, deputy chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, announced that before any removals were made technicians of the South African Bantu Trust planned and laid out new farms so that soil and water conservation was effected. To those of us who cannot claim to be expert, it is very confusing trying to correlate the expert planning of the Bantu Trust officials, with the recommended planning of the Tomlinson Commission. Who is right and who is wrong?

The Tomlinson Commission was a panel of some of the best people the Government could find — and they were able to call on experts from many spheres to help them formulate their proposals. As it is unlikely that the Bantu Affairs Department, with its admitted shortage of funds and staff, has had the same brain power at its disposal, we might presume that the Tomlinson Commission's plans are the more realistic of the two. It would be interesting to find out the qualifications of the Bantu Trust technicians — what training have they had in all related aspects of rural resettlement?

Co-operative farming

Recently Dr. J. B. Daniel of Natal University urged the Government to use any unallocated land in the released areas to try out new ideas, new concepts and new agricultural schemes. He suggested special selection of farmers, and the possibility of introducing a co-operative farming system similar to the Israeli principle, under which farms are individually owned, but share central services.

If we are serious about saving the land — then we will have to do this rather than repeat the mistakes of the past by moving people from one ruined area to let them ruin yet another. At present no African farmer class is recognised. The only criterion for land resettlement is: How much land was owned before? If an African individual or group owned less than 40 acres, they cannot get compensatory land but are placed in closer settlement villages without fields or room for cattle. However if an individual or group owned more than 40 acres they are entitled to land in the resettlement areas. We are not dealing here



with the economic hardships of Africans who have to give up cattle and fields — we are only considering the future of the farming lands of the resettlement areas. As the policy is at present, no Trust farm can provide a living for its inhabitants, so the men earn wages in town while the families scratch a little extra from the land. Would it not be better to settle these people in closer settlement villages, and perhaps pay them some special form of compensation to reconcile them to their loss of farming rights?

The White farmer in South Africa, despite the help he has — and sometimes because of it — has also managed his fair share of soil destruction. One does not hear quite so often the cry that HE must be moved because he is ruining the land. However in the past few

years the Government has tried to achieve this effect by actually paying farmers NOT to farm — a man can earn up to R2,500 a year by leaving his land alone.

Surely if we can afford to pay White farmers NOT to farm, we can also afford to pay African families NOT to farm too?

It will be cheaper and less dangerous for the future of us all to do this, than to continue the present system of land resettlement for Africans.

“When man is reaching for the moon, the Zulus cannot be expected to move towards self-determination at oxwagon pace.”

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

A Question of Courage

ALAN PATON

Alan Paton delivered this address to the Natal Coastal region at a meeting held in Durban to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the Black Sash.

I do not feel competent to come here and to give you courage and to tell you what you should be doing and how you should do it. My courage is not greater than yours, and in fact courage is rather like the warmth that a lot of cold people get by huddling together on a bleak and wintry day. In other words, we give courage to one another, and a good thing it is too; and it's a miracle too because the sum is greater than the parts.

I propose to share a few thoughts and ideas with you, about courage, about leaving the security of one's group and seeking membership of a wider one, about leaving the security of group-membership because one is seeking a different kind of security that many people would regard as very insecure indeed. And then lastly, I shall offer one topic for discussion, not for question and answer because I don't know the answer; but I think it is a question for which it is worth trying to find an answer, and that is, is there any relationship between the protest of a respectable, or shall I say, relatively respectable body like Black Sash and the turbulent and sometimes agonised protest of the young people of the world against the heartless, soulless, war-making, identity-destroying civilisation into which our much-vaunted Western civilisation is in danger, very grave danger, of degenerating?

Can these two generations of protest work together or is it better that they protest apart? Even though their aims are often the same, are their methods so different that they cannot act together? Can they not ever speak together? Is there nothing that they can do together at all? These are the questions.

When we were young we were taught that there are two kinds of courage, physical and moral. Horatio Nelson was said to be without fear, and one thinks of him as fearless rather than courageous. Smuts also was a kind of fearless being. There is a story of him at the time of the general strike of 1913. There was fighting in Fordsburg, and Smuts rushed to Johannesburg. As he left his car an angry striker came up to him with his rifle at the ready, but Smuts, holding up an impatient hand, walked past him saying “Kerel, ek is haastig, ek het nie nou tyd daarvoor nie”. Was Smuts morally courageous? In some things, no doubt, in others not. I don't think Smuts thought courage an important element in politics. I think he thought skilful manipulation much more important. Bishop Latimer seemed to have a high degree of courage of both kinds. When he and Ridley were led to the stake under Bloody Mary he said to his fellow martyr, “Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play

the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out." Some unknown writer wrote these striking words: "He received the flame as it were embracing it. After he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, as it appeared, with very little pain or none."

Now although we extol courage in others, we are not supposed to extol it in ourselves; we are not even supposed to recognise it. And I would say that the truly humble person does not recognise it in himself; if you asked him why he did such and such, he would probably say "there was nothing else that I could do." Therefore I shall not extol your courage — in fact I have had orders not to do so. And you will not extol mine either, so that our proceedings will be direct, crisp, and without the possibility of cant.

What is moral courage? It is the courage, is it not, to do something, to take some course of action, to say something or write something or paint something, which is not approved by the group to which you belong, which is not in accordance with the prevailing beliefs, conventions, myths, and superstitions. You may belong to this group by accident of birth, or by adoption, or by language, or by colour, or by law — but if you can be said to *belong* to it, then to go against its beliefs and customs is going to require, sometimes more so in the beginning than later, moral courage. I say sometimes, because I have known people who found the going harder and harder, and finally returned to the security they had left. Sometimes they keep quiet for the rest of their lives, sometimes they become the most strident critics of those who leave the fold. These steps require moral courage, not only because they arouse anger, sometimes violence, but because they may lead to a sense of loneliness; however the depth of this sense is not always justified, because you are not the only courageous person about. But it must be accepted as an axiom, that if you challenge the beliefs and customs of your society, and especially if you are thought to endanger its security and its possessions, you must expect a certain amount of loneliness, ostracism, abuse, or if you're lucky, perhaps just pity.

Let me read you a letter I received recently, after having delivered a lecture in Grahams-town.

"Sir,

I am one South African born citizen who has no time for you and your buddies, you are all for Integration and Kaffir loving. This is entirely unscriptural and un-South Africa. May I suggest you leave our glorious Republic and migrate to Southern States of U.S.A. We do not want your kind of people in our land."

Signed William Jeffrey,
100% Nationalist Supporter.
13.5.70.

I thought of writing to him thus:—
"That makes two of us. I am one South African born White citizen who has no time for you and your buddies either. You are all for Segregation and the many cruelties practised in its name. This is also entirely unscriptural, but I cannot say it is entirely un-South African. I don't suggest you leave our glorious Republic and migrate elsewhere. There are too many of you, and I guess we are just stuck with you. I congratulate you on signing your name. Most of your buddies don't."

Signed Alan Paton,
100% Nationalist Non-supporter.

This is really quite a nice letter — I mean Mr. Jeffrey's. But some are not so nice. This is the price — not as high as that paid by Bishop Latimer — which one pays for challenging the customs and beliefs of the reigning class.

Why does one do it? I suppose it is the working of that strange thing called conscience, but this conscience has to be pretty strong, otherwise you can ignore it, or silence it, or pretend that it is saying the opposite of what it is really saying. But if you have to listen to it, or worse still obey it, it is going to lead you into what are called strange waters.

Mrs. Suzman asked about the acquittal and subsequent redetention of the original 22, and whether any witnesses in the original trial were detained in terms of Section Six of the Terrorism Act.

Mr. Muller replied that 22 people had been detained as witnesses.

One had been detained for 107 days, 2 for 195 days, 5 for 200 days, 1 for 204 days, 7 for 214 days, 1 for 225 days, 9 for 227 days, 1 for 310 days, and 1 for 371 days.

Two of these witnesses had been redetained — like the people charged and acquitted — in February.

Rand Daily Mail, 22nd July, 1970.

But there is one thing even worse than that, and that is not to listen to it and not obey it, and then it will lead you into water still stranger, where your conforming self has conquered your non-conforming self. You can't lull him, you just silence him. You shut him up in a room, and you don't let him out. When people come to see you, you hide from them this room where your non-conforming self has been shut up. If someone should say to you, what's in that room, you say with a hearty laugh, ha! ha! that's our junk room, we don't show it to visitors. Ha! ha! indeed, of course you don't show it to visitors, because that's where your other self, and your better self too, will stay incommunicado, for as many terms of 180 days as you decide. And you will live your life knowing — because you can't help knowing — and not knowing — because you dare not know it — that your true self has been relegated to the room for junk. That's a pretty nasty way to live, and it's because you think it's nasty that you belong to the Black Sash. Not because you're brave, but because you really can't bear the idea of locking up your true self in a room kept for junk.

“We will not allow the growth rate to increase uncontrollably because that will destroy our established social order in the Republic.”
*Mr. Marais Viljoen,
Minister of Labour.*

And now I want to change this metaphor, but I still want to use the symbol of the room. You and I are like a man who is born in a room and has lived all his life in the room. The room is warm and secure, and in it is all his treasure, and all those whom he loves, and everything that is safe and constant. The room has only one door, and that's the door to the world, to the unknown. There are new sounds out there, and if the door is opened, there are new sights out there too, but it is all strange and frightening and exciting. And there grows in the man a stronger and stronger desire to open the door, and to leave the room so warm and known and secure, and to go out into that strange and frightening and exciting world. And one day he does it. And once he has done it, *he can almost never go back again.* There is this to be said, of course, that even if he wished to go back, they might not let him in, for he is the traitor, he didn't love the room, and he has diminished by one the number whose holy duty it is to depend on the room.

This story of the world and the room can be told in reverse also, in that profound and witty version, which we owe to Reginald Reynolds, the Quaker observer of South Africa. He likened White South Africa to a room in which everyone is talking and eating and drinking and smoking, with every window closed against that cold, cold wind. And when he the stranger had come in and closed the door behind him, he said to them, Hell, what a fug there is in here. And as one man they cried out at him—How do you know. YOU've only just come in!

For some people love of South Africa is shown in simple ways — to abstain from public protest, to reveal no public scandal, to expose no bureaucratic cruelty, to give nothing to the Press, and to be obsequious and patient with officials, even in a matter of life and death. Yet to others, to do the contrary of these things is to show a love of country, and a desire to make one's society more just and merciful. To this company, for better or for worse, the Black Sash belongs.

Sometimes we are tempted to think that protest is useless, that the time for it is gone by. This does not appear to be so. There is as strong a protest against arbitrary authority as there has ever been in the history of the world, I believe. A protest against the cruelty of monolithic authority, a protest against an authority that takes decisions — even in the country of America that is dedicated to the proposition of freedom — without recourse to the democratically elected legislative assemblies. A protest against the rule of the military, allied to the industrial machine, that demands the life and death of the young without their sanction. A protest against poverty and racial discrimination and the rule of the computer and the machine and the bomb and the Group Areas Board and the Bureau of State Security, and all the rest of them.

What's wrong with our young people? Have the Communists got hold of them? Are the Communists using them and their zeal and their courage so that they can plunge them back into the ruthlessness of Stalin, who freed the worker from his chains so that he could put fresh chains upon him? What unmitigated nonsense these allegations are! I do not think any of us here are disposed to believe them. But I think that the whole question of communication between old and young is a question to which we should devote our attention. These young people, however different their methods may be, however extreme their re-

vulsion against our society, are protesting against the same things, are resisting the same evils and injustices, which the Black Sash has been protesting against and resisting since it came into being fifteen years ago.

The conflict between those who resist change and those who work for change is never-ending. In this perennial struggle the aid of all the great moral truths is invoked. Both sides are for justice and mercy. Both sides are against cruelty. Both sides — in this country — are for the great teachings of the *Christian gospel*. Limehill is merciful, Limehill is unmerciful. The Group Areas is for some — those who are not affected by it — the very charter of freedom and self-realisation. For others — including ourselves

— it is one of the most cruel pieces of legislation that any people have ever had to suffer. Hold fast to your belief. These things are unbelievably cruel. You have been saying so for fifteen years. You have been protesting against them for fifteen years. You have often felt completely frustrated, largely because the powers-that-be have paid no attention to you. You cannot recognise your courage, because it is forbidden to you. But you can say, in the words of the humble person whom I quoted to you, "there was nothing else that we could do."

May I congratulate you on attaining the age of fifteen? You are very young, in a country where injustice is very, very old. The advantage of youth is yours.

Grim Fairy Tale

Once upon a time there was a beautiful young man called Percival Pledge with a beautiful voice which was heard by everybody who lived anywhere. One day this young man went to visit a country where the people had been divided. There were people called People and other people called Persons. The Persons were called Persons to make quite sure nobody would ever mistake them for people. When Percival, whose voice had only been heard before by the people of this country, turned out to be a Person and not a People, (this had not been obvious on gramophone records) he was, of course, only allowed to sing to Persons because this strange land existed a very long time ago and many peculiar things happened then. People and Persons were not allowed to do things together in case they got muddled up. To show you how peculiar they were, Persons were not allowed to enter a music competition run by the People of the Broadcasting Corporation because Beethoven's idiom was for People not Persons and radio waves might get mixed up, not understanding this.

So Percival was given a permit to sing to Persons only although he was allowed to live in a hotel which was usually kept for People. He was very impressed by the honour that was accorded him. One night the People gave a party for him and by mistake a female Person was invited and Percival, who was very kind-hearted, signed his name on her thigh. This was a very important event because some of the People thought, to begin with, that this

beautiful girl was a People and they thought this happening would lead to the destruction of the whole People. Luckily it turned out in the end that she was really a Person and it was quite alright for another Person to write his name on her thigh.

The great night arrived for Percival's first concert. I must explain to you that never before in that country had a Person come from the world to sing to other Persons. It had usually been People coming to sing to People and because Persons had never been allowed to attend there had never been any friction. On this occasion the People suddenly got annoyed that they were not allowed to go and hear this Person sing, so a lot of them covered their skins with brown shoe polish so that they might look like Persons. But the manager of the theatre was a very clever man and he could see at once that these People were not Persons. He would not let them in and they were furious because they had to sell their tickets to Persons and go home sadly, missing all the fun.

After all, the story had a happy ending because the Chief People were sorry that the other People were not allowed to see Percival so they very kindly allowed him to sing to special audiences made up of People only and everything went back to what it had been before, so everyone was content although some of the Persons still complained. Percival went back home after his strange adventures very pleased that where he lived people were people so he could sign any thigh he liked. S.D.

“H” is for Homelands

This is the text of a pamphlet which was drawn up and distributed immediately before the election by the Citizens' Action Committee and the Black Sash.

'H' is for HOMELANDS

“The policy of separate development has two facets — the one dealing with the presence of the Bantu outside the homelands and the other dealing with the development of the Homelands — the Government's policy is to attract more Bantu to the Homelands.”

Hon. P. G. J. Koornhof.

Dep. Minister Bantu Administration and Education.

“We get their co-operation in all cases voluntarily. As a matter of fact sometimes it is necessary to do quite a lot of persuasion, but we do get them away and I would like to give you the example of Limehill about which we had heard so much at the beginning of the year. In eight or nine months from the middle of last year when they started with Limehill up to the beginning of February this year, we removed about 4,000 Bantu persons big and small to the bigger Limehill area without a single arrest — all voluntarily.”

M. C. Botha.

Minister of Bantu Administration and Development—Top People 21/11/69.

“The White State has no duty to prepare the homelands for the superfluous Africans because they are actually illegal aliens in the White Homelands who only have to be repatriated.”

Mr. S. Froneman.

Deputy Min. of Justice, Mines & Planning.

The Government is forcibly removing hundreds of thousands of African people to the homelands through:

1. Black Spot Removals.
2. Endorsements out of urban areas of ‘superfluous appendages’ — wives and children of Africans living and working in town.
3. Endorsements out of non-productive Bantu.

900,000 people have been ‘resettled’ in the last 10 years.

14% of the land is for 13 million Africans.

86% of the land is for 3½ million Whites.

'H' is for HUNGRY

how do they live

“MRS. M. is a widow 37 years old. She was a domestic servant in an urban area, supporting her six children. The family was moved to a resettlement camp where she had no income as there was no work. Four months later two of her children had died, one was in hospital with malnutrition and two had ‘Gross pellagra’. The visiting nurse was unable to help because Mrs. M. did not have the required 20 cents.”

The home they live in is one room 9' x 12'. 2 adults, and 6 children eat and sleep in it.

There were no cooking facilities and it was obvious that any attempts at fire making in this little wooden room would be dangerous. They told us that they had to cook outside.

“What happens when it rains?” we asked. “Then we don't cook. We just have to wait . . . We are living in another world”, said the woman.

Once a week a tractor brought water and each householder filled every available container. If they ran short they could walk about ¾ miles to a dam for more. We checked the water supply in one section of the camp. There was one communal tap for every 55 houses.”

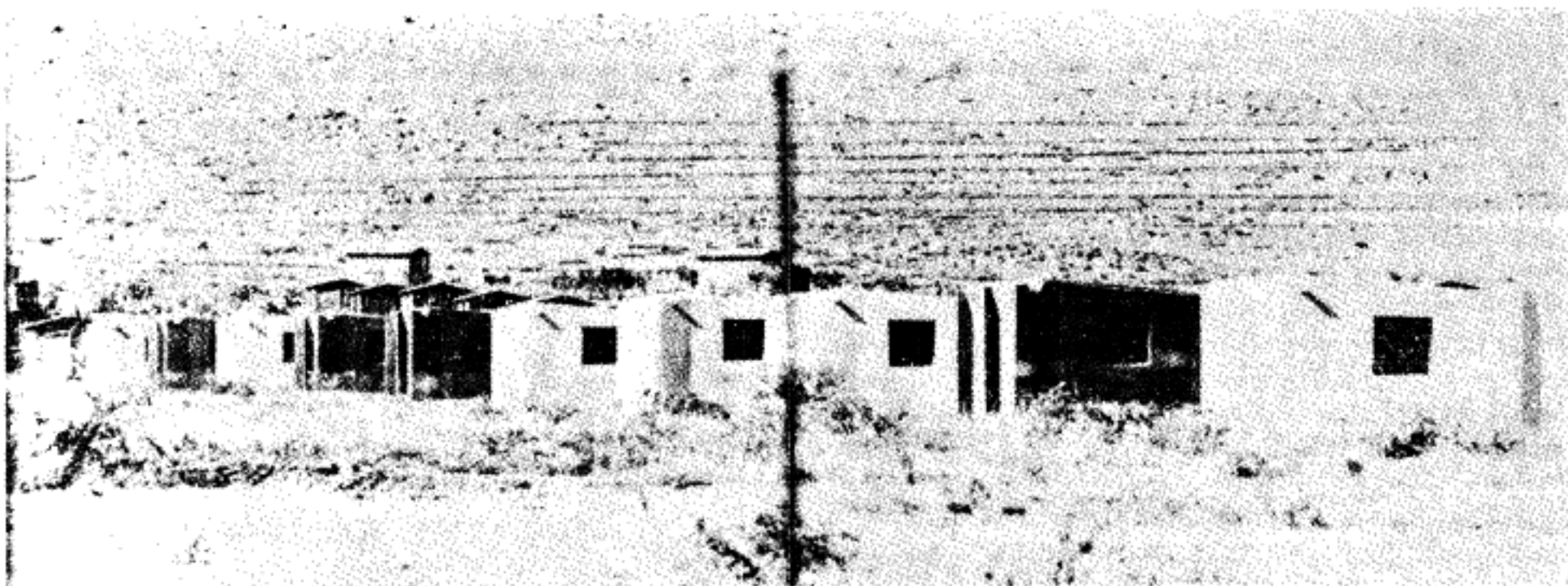
Sanitation

“We started to dig pits, but they told us to stop. Now we use the veld.”

“The stink is terrible after the rains.”

“There was some sanitary relief in the form of a dozen black pigs who kept human waste under control. Their presence was illegal and so they were slaughtered on official instructions.”

“There are no facilities for pauper burials at Sada. A health hazard arises from bodies being kept in homes until they can be disposed of.” (Sada is a resettlement camp) *Daily Dispatch* 20/1/68 quoting health officials.



LIMEHILL RESETTLEMENT CAMP.

SADA 9' x 12' - THE SIZE OF YOUR STUDY CARPET?

ILLINGE, 'WELCOME VALLEY' RESETTLEMENT AREA.



Published by the Citizen's Action Committee and the Black Sash (Author - Paul Goller, 57 Bezuidenhout Avenue, Bez Valley North), and printed by The Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd., Pietermaritzburg.

'H' is for HOPELESS

how do they support themselves

"One man told us he earned R4.80 a week as a nightwatchman 15 miles away. His return bus fare was 50 cents per day, leaving him R1.80 a week."

"He earns R4 a week. He has a wife and 3 small children. His wife used to work seasonally near their old home, but in their new place there is no work."

"The nearest source of work was 23 miles

away. The total employment in the district was 1,050 out of a population of 45,000."

"Edith was a domestic servant in an urban area. After 10 years of work she was endorsed out of the town to a resettlement camp. There is no work for her to do and therefore she has no income. There is a feeding scheme in the camp which supplies soup and porridge to children and adults who do not work. When Edith needs soap she sells a bit of her food to buy soap. When she runs out of salt she has to sell more of her food to obtain a few cents for salt. There is no readily available fuel to cook her porridge and to keep her warm. When she is really desperate she gives children some of her food to go and find firewood for her in the mountains."

'H' is for HOUNDED

why do they go

"Persuasion must continually be exercised by the district officials in collaboration with the responsible officials of local authorities to persuade persons who qualify (i.e. to remain in white urban areas) and who are not prepared to accept settlement in towns in their homelands, to be settled in towns in their homelands on ethnical grounds . . . It must be stressed here that no stone is to be left unturned to achieve the resettlement in the homelands of non-productive Bantu at present residing in the European areas." 'Non-productive' was described as the aged, the unfit, widows, women with dependant children.

Gen. Circular No. 25/1967 issued by Sec. Bantu Administration and Development.

"When I asked her why she had signed the paper authorising the removal of her furniture she said the official made her put a cross on the paper — she was too frightened to refuse."

"MRS. S. has lived in Cape Town since 1945 and is legally employed there. She has 7 children and 3 grandchildren. She was sent for and told to take the whole family back to Alice where she was born. If she did this she could return to her employer as a living-in-servant. She was given the opportunity of trading her children's and grandchildren's rights to live and work in the urban area for permission to continue in her own job in order to support her children so that they might stay alive."

The above are cases dealt with in the Athlone Advice Office, Cape Town.

'H' is for HEARTLESS

The facts presented here are authentic.

They are extracts from eye-witness accounts of visitors to the resettlement villages. Sources are not acknowledged because of fear of reprisals. It is apparently Government policy to shroud these places in a veil of secrecy, any penetration of which is actively and immediately discouraged by counteraction. Nor is the desire for secrecy surprising, for who would wish to be held responsible for conditions such as those described here? Some of the conditions no longer prevail to the same extent. There have been improvements, generally as a result of publicity followed by public outcry, but they have existed, and in many places still do exist.

This is how hundreds of thousands of S.A. citizens are living and dying. The African people are not being "attracted to the homelands", which is not surprising. There is little to attract them. They are being forced to the homelands, where they live in penury often to the point of starvation, in appalling conditions with totally inadequate housing, sanitation, health services, water supplies, schooling. There are few opportunities for employment; in some areas there are none.

This is the reality of Separate Development. This is apartheid in action. This is what government policy means. This is the fundamental issue in the forthcoming general elections.

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Meanderings

JOYCE HARRIS

Mrs. Harris is National Vice-President of the Black Sash and is a regular contributor to this magazine. She recently returned from an overseas holiday.

HOW THOUGHT-PROVOKING a trip from the new world to the old can be, and when that new world is South Africa, which delights in a kind of splendid isolation, how startling. The impact is quite shattering, because it is so diverse — the antiquity which demands an alteration in perspective and, superimposed upon it, the modernity from which South Africa has artificially divorced herself. One comes home again with one's assessments a tangled confusion and one's values threatened. To create order in the chaos of one's thoughts is a challenge.

Israel

There is much that is chaotic. In Israel I found myself torn between the very real and seemingly irreconcilable rights of Arabs and Jews. They live cheek by jowl, geographically so close to each other that any separation seems artificial. It is their conflicting needs and cultures, their opposing nationalisms which create the menacing chasm. Can it ever be bridged? The Israelis are very aware and tolerant of Arab grievances, and there is surprisingly little bitterness considering the constant harassment, but Israel's very existence is threatened, and Israelis feel they have no alternative but to fight for it. It would take a wise man indeed to find an alternative. That small area of land contains such a history of conflict, graphically represented in all its archaeological excavations and its holy places, where temples and places of worship have been destroyed to build other temples to be destroyed in their turn to build further temples. Each destruction and each rebuilding is symbolic of anger, hostility, warfare. The great religions have desecrated the holy places they share. If ever there was an indictment of organised religion, or what man makes of religion, this is it. And yet down through the ages the old city of Jerusalem has survived, with its Armenian Quarter, its Jewish Quarter, its Moslem Quarter, its Christian Quarter. It is like antiquity come alive, like visiting an historical site where you do not have to imagine the lives people lived in those days

because it is still there for you to see. It is the past living in the present, the people are encapsulated in space and time. The past lives on, and proves that peaceful co-habitation is possible. Modern Israel's most remarkable asset is its people. They have come together from the four corners of the earth, but they have two elements in common in addition to the fact that they are all Jews. With few exceptions they seem to possess an essential, warm humanism which is concerned with people as people, as individuals with hopes and problems, and this warmth is reflected in their human relationships. They also share a deep and very real identification with their country and its ideals and aspirations — not that they are not divided politically, they are, very much so but fundamentally they are Israelis, be they Sabras, old immigrants or new. I found myself envying this ability to identify so completely and yet it is probably an essential ingredient of nationalism and nationalism in this day and age is dangerous. The world can no longer afford it. Israel contains within its small borders all the contradictions, all the



problems, all the discrepancies which beset world affairs.

Istanbul

Istanbul, too, is full of contradictions. Here is this ancient, modern city, with a long rich and varied history, with one foot in Europe and the other in Asia Minor. It is split up the middle by the Bosphorus, and, significantly, there are no bridges over the Bosphorus. Apparently there has never been time or money to build them though they are a project for the future. But it is interesting that there should be no bridges where the West meets the East, and even more interesting that there are frequent and continuous ferry services across the Bosphorus used by thousands of people every day in their journeys to and from work. Perhaps mutual needs build invisible bridges which are far more significant than any that are obvious to the naked eye.

Vienna

Then Vienna — that beautiful, dreamy city of beautiful people, which seems to exist in a beautiful dream, balanced as it is on the tightrope dividing the communist and capitalist worlds. Prague is only 40 kilometres away. There is something a little unreal about Vienna, which prospers on its tightrope but does not quite believe in its prosperity.

Berlin

On to Berlin where the tightrope is no longer imaginary but takes the hideous form of a precast concrete wall which cuts the city in half. If it were not so tragic it would be funny. Who ever heard of a wall across a city which bisects houses, which brings streets to a sudden end, across and through which there are no rail or postal or telephone communications? Who could imagine that families could be severed apart perhaps for ever because they happened at a particular time to have lived on opposite sides of a particular street? Berlin with its wall is the crazy creation of the crazy twentieth century where differences are solved by building walls and cut-

“If the Prime Minister had gone out among the people, heavily disguised as a human being, he might have learned a little about how the world had changed.”

*Mrs. Helen Suzman,
M.P. for Houghton.*

ting communications, not by building bridges and encouraging communications. It is sad to reflect that the old world, despite the fact that its mere survival through a long and turbulent history holds out hope for its future, is no better able to cope with its difficulties in a civilised manner than is the new.

Paris and London

The impact of Paris and London, and more particularly of London, is more one of modernity than antiquity, although the stabilising influence of the past is always there. Life is swinging in these cities, and the permissive society is reflected in literature, theatre, choreography, art. The initial shock waves take quite a considerable degree of absorption by one who has come from the censorship-encapsulated cocoon of South Africa. But literature and the theatre do not only reflect society, they also influence it, and whether such permissiveness is right or wrong, good or bad is irrelevant. The fact remains that it is there and it is affecting the entire structure of society and will inevitably affect the trend of history. Any section of the Western world which chooses to cut itself adrift from this trend, which voluntarily opts out of communications in a sphere of life which by its very nature is all-embracing, is isolating itself from the life-giving forces of the culture of which it is a part and putting itself out in orbit. South Africa has stopped the world and got off, but the world is going on despite it and is travelling in a different direction. Perhaps future history will depict South Africa as an amputation lost somewhere in the maze of the twentieth century.

Dignity of man

Of course the old world has its problems. Of course it makes mistakes. Of course it often lacks wisdom and sometimes even sanity. It is composed of human beings with all the fallibilities of human beings. But it does have regard for human beings. It does respect the dignity of labour and therefore of those who perform the labour. Respect for the dignity of man has persisted and developed through the centuries, and it is this that offers comfort and hope in troubled times. It is this that South Africa lacks. South Africa shares the world's contradictions, but it lacks the essential element for their solution — at least that's what I think.

The African In South African Society

R. N. ROBB

Mrs. Robb is chairman of the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash and director of the Athlone Advice office. She presented this comprehensive paper in the Cape in July 1970. She wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to the following publications of the Institute of Race Relations; Bantu Education to 1968, The African Reserves of South Africa 1969, and the Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1968 and 1969. The sketches were drawn by Bill Anderson, a young Johannesburg artist.

Although Africans constitute nearly 70% of the total South African population they are still considered by the Government, and most of the people, to be "un people", "un citizens" almost "un-human" and very few of us know very much about them and the vast maze of restrictive legislation under which they live and suffer. Africans have not been allowed to acquire land from whites since 1913 in the North and since 1936 in the whole of the Republic including the Cape. Land ownership is confined to the Reserves, as they used to be called, which at present constitutes 11.8% of the total area of South Africa and when complete 13%. Africans cannot buy land or houses in the African townships but can only rent them on a monthly basis. Until January 1968 Africans in Soweto could buy sites on a 30 year lease on which they built their own houses, or purchase homes on a 30 year lease. This has now been stopped and Africans who want more luxurious homes than those provided are encouraged to build in the Homelands instead of the Urban areas, or to request the local authorities to build better type houses and arrange to rent these. Africans who already own these houses can only sell to local authorities and are not allowed to leave them to their heirs. 8,000 Africans in Soweto were adversely affected by this decision. Only 40% of the African population are domiciled in the Homelands, 32% being urbanised and — 28% living in the rural areas other than the Reserves — white rural areas. You may be surprised to hear that in 1960 four-fifths of the rural population of South Africa, outside the Reserves, was African. These are the Africans who live and work on white owned farms as Land Tenants, Squatters and Farm Labourers on whom we

largely depend for agricultural products. I have decided to divide the Africans into three groups and to deal first with those who are domiciled in the Homelands — 40%, secondly those who live and work in white rural areas 28% and finally Urban Africans—32% and to try to give you a picture — very superficial I'm afraid — of the position of the Africans in these spheres — his legal, civil, political, land and home ownership rights, his opportunities for education, employment and the practising of a profession or the undertaking of a business venture.

Tribalism

Before talking about the Africans in the Homelands I must remind you that since 1959 Africans have been divided into 8 main ethnic groups — Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, North Sotho, South Sotho, Venda, Tsonga, Swazi — there is now a ninth, the Ndebele. The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, supplemented by the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act in 1959, has re-inforced tribalism and the powers of the Chiefs and provided for tribal bodies to come together into Regional and Territorial Authorities. The latter Act removed the African representatives in Parliament and replaced them by five Commissioners General to represent the Government in Bantu areas — they are responsible directly to the Minister of Bantu Affairs. The Transkei is the largest and only unfragmented homeland and the only one with partial independence. It has a legislative Assembly, and a Cabinet consisting of the Chief Minister who is also the Minister of Finance — Matanzima and 5 other Ministers of Education, the Interior, Justice, Agriculture and Forestry, Roads and Works. The Legislative Assembly passes Acts, subject to

the approval of the State President, which Acts are operative in the Transkei.

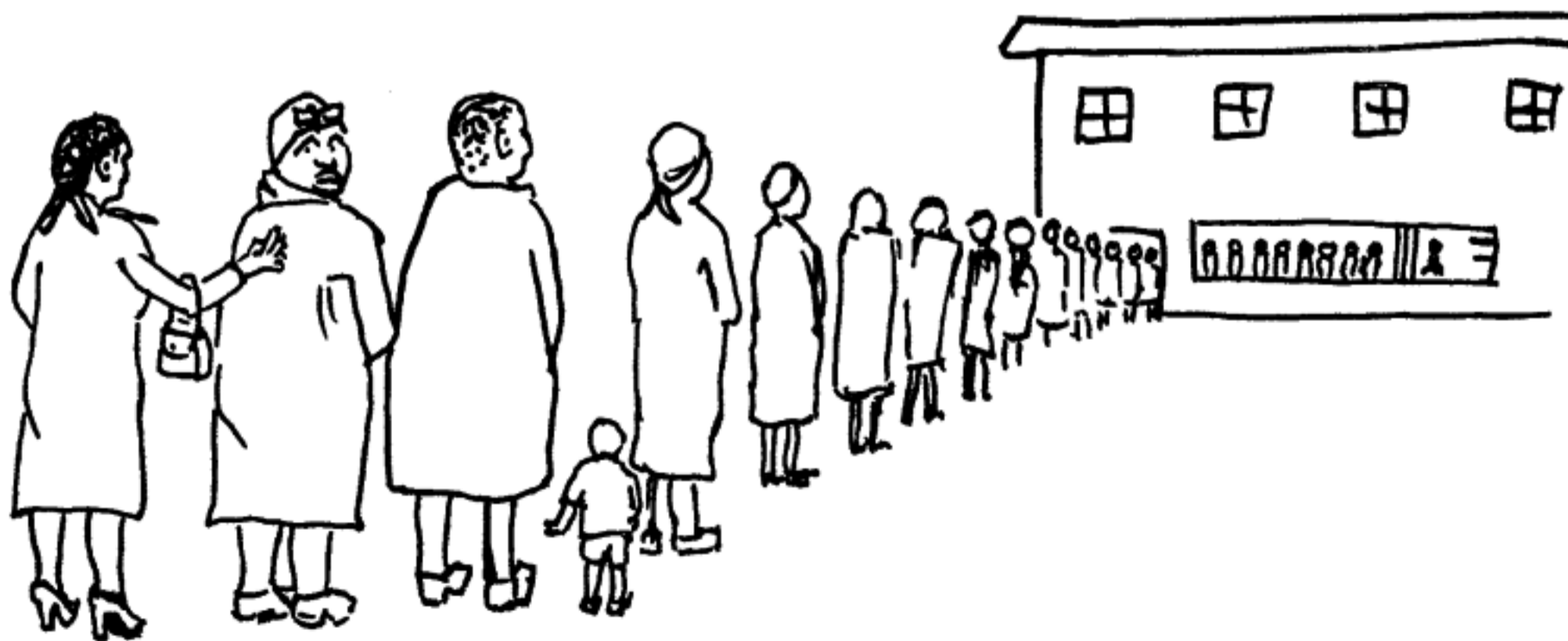
The other Homelands have Territorial Authorities, the newest being that of the Zulu which was constituted a few weeks ago. Each Territorial Authority elects its own Chairman, a chief executive councillor, responsible for the Department of Authority Affairs and Finance, who must be a Chief and 5 other executive councillors who head departments of community affairs, works, education and culture, agriculture and justice. The Territorial Authorities are all in different stages of development but even the partially independent Transkeian Government has white secretaries running each department and many senior white officials — seconded by the Republic. However there has been a steady move to replace these with Africans.

Supreme Chief

The State President is the supreme Chief of all the Africans in the Republic and is empowered to legislate by proclamation in all Bantu areas — these proclamations have to be tabled in Parliament and are subject to repeal or modification but in practice they never are. As Supreme Chief the State President appoints the Bantu Authorities and Chiefs, whom he can also fire, and he makes regulations governing marriages, succession, administration of townships and settlements in Bantu areas and the control of meetings. In the so-called independent Transkei Proclamation 400 of 1960 which contains emergency regulations concerning meetings etc., and many other restrictions, still operates today — 10 years later.

Taxes

One hears a lot about all that “we whites do for the Africans” and that “it is time they stood on their own feet” and “stopped being a burden to the whites” but few people realise that every African male, employed or unemployed pays a general tax of R2.50 per year between the age of 18 and 64. Those with disability grants, and genuine scholars are exempt, but illness or unemployment is not a reason for exemption. Secondly African males and females start to pay tax on incomes over R360 per year and there are no tax rebates whatever, whereas whites pay personal tax between the age of 21-59 years inclusive — 8 years less than Africans; married white, coloured and Asian women do not pay personal tax, but married African women pay the additional general tax if their incomes exceed R360 a year. Single whites, coloured and Asians start to pay normal income tax when their taxable income is about R700 per year — the rate being R8.00 — a married man R1,000 when the rate is R2.00. Rebates are allowed for dependents. A white married couple with three dependent children would get a rebate of R115 (1968) and would not be liable for normal tax until the joint taxable income was R2,500. Compare this with the married African couple with three children — they both pay tax above R360 each and no rebates for children are given. However since March 1970 the African has not had to pay normal and provincial income taxes, but instead the rates of the additional general tax rise more steeply than they did previously with increases in income. Incidentally, African old age



Pensions are a maximum of R60 per year, to those whose private income is nil — R21 per year. After that the rate is progressively decreased. Compare this with the white pension of R384, free income permitted R432.

Reference books

All Africans, male and female, once they turn 16, must carry Reference Books at all times — it is an offence not to have one on them but a worse offence not to own one at all. Foreign Africans must carry passports. This applies to the whole of South Africa — white urban areas, white rural areas and the Homelands. The possession of a Reference Book is not enough — it must be in order. In section A there must be permission to be in the area, either for purposes of residence, schooling or employment. Section B is the employment record, the employer must enter his name and address and sign the book before the 7th of every month for a male. Section C records tax payments — Personal and other taxes — Section D shows whether the owner is in receipt of a Disability or Old Age grant. So the Reference Book is not only an Identity card such as all of us have to own, but not carry on our person, it also shows whether the owner has the right to be where he is, where, and by whom he is employed and whether his taxes are up to date. In the year 1967-68 there were 693,661 prosecutions for pass law offences, that is an average of 1,900 per day.

Limited freedom of movement

The African domiciled in his own Homeland may move quite freely inside it but should he wish to leave he must get prior permission to do so. He can go to a white rural area for 72 hours without permission but cannot remain longer without a permit, and except in cases of emergency, this will not be given unless he had express prior permission to enter the area. In theory he could travel the country, spending just under 72 hours in each area, whether rural or urban, without permit or arrest but in practice how can he prove how long he has already been in any area where he is arrested? He cannot go to another area in search of work — he must register for employment at his local tribal authority and must be recruited from there on a maximum of one year's contract. He has to agree to the terms of the contract before he leaves the Homeland and has usually never met his employer until he reaches his place of work. Employers may recruit workers personally —

many do — but most put in for so many workers for such and such a job at a certain rate of pay, under certain specific conditions of work. There are four copies of the contract, for which the employer pays the tribal authority R1.00, one held by the employer, one by each of the tribal and District Bureaux in the Homeland and one by the Municipal or District Labour Officer in the area to which he goes — the African has no copy of his contract. Employers, other than farmers, have to prove that adequate accommodation exists and have to advance the cost of transporting the workers to his place of employment and iron rations and guarantee his return to his Homeland at the completion of the contract but can recover all such costs so long as the African has R1.00 per month left of his wages! Boys under 16 and women require the consent of their guardians to be recruited.

Proclamation 74

Under Proclamation R74 of 1968 all male Africans in the Homelands who are dependent on employment (excluding Transkei) for a living and who are over the age of 15 and under 65, unless otherwise exempt, must register for employment at their local tribal bureau within 30 days of turning 15 or becoming unemployed. It is an offence not to do so — fine R25 or 14 days — so even in his own Homeland an African male may be arrested if unemployed, though dependent on employment, if he has failed to register as such.

In terms of a notice in the Gazette of 24th April, 1968, the Transkeian Government followed suit and provided that all private employers would be required to pay R1.00 per worker attested for service in the Republic. Women may not be engaged for work in a Prescribed Area except with the approval of the Director of Bantu Labour.

This means that in future:

- 1) No African can ever qualify to have their families living with them at their place of work — none will ever qualify under Section 10 (1) of the Urban Areas Act.
- 2) Wages will be kept low as there is serious unemployment in the Homelands and "beggars can't be choosers".
- 3) Wages for local Africans who still qualify to remain in the Urban areas, are kept down by the competition of contract workers.

Rosy picture

Many people have a rosy picture in their minds of the Homelands filled with prosperous

African farmers who only need to leave home in order to work for short periods to raise the money to pay lobola for a bride, or to buy some necessary farm equipment. This used to be the case but today there are thousands of landless Africans who need to work every day of their working life in order to live at all, let alone maintain a family. In the Transkei in 1968 only about 105,000 of the 700,000 male population were permanently on the land,

Professor J. V. O. Reid . . . said that recent research had discovered that in a typical African reserve — in Sekhukhuniland — death through malnutrition diseases claimed 50 per cent of all children born alive before they reached five.”

The Star, 16th June, 1970.

of them 41,626 men and women were employed within the Transkei itself. The Deputy Minister of B.A.D. said in the Assembly on 3rd June 1969 that about 233,000 migratory workers were away from the Transkei at any one time. This means that 21% of those seeking employment were employed in the Transkei while 79% had to go elsewhere in search of work. In July 1968 there were 1,508,671 Africans domiciled in other Homelands at work, under contract, in white areas.

Professional men

Africans are free to choose to practice their professions in the Homelands — in fact those choosing to do so in the Urban townships are encouraged to leave the Urban area and go to their Homelands. They are also assisted, by means of loans by the Bantu Investment Corporation and Xhosa Development Corporation, to finance their own businesses and undertakings.

Five hotels have been bought from whites by the Xhosa Development Corporation at Butterworth, Cofumaba, Flagstaff, Qamata Poort and Umtata Mouth, and a new hotel has just been completed at Umtata. There is a steady taking over of stores, hotels and businesses from whites by the Xhosa Development Corporation which then helps Africans to buy, rent or manage them. The Bantu Investment Corporation also builds trading premises which can be rented by Africans and later purchased by them.

Secondary industry

Secondary industry within the Reserves is still in its early infancy, only 37 whites and

945 Africans being employed in such in February 1968. Since the passing of the Promotion of Economic Development of Homelands Act in 1968 whites can be employed as agents or contractors to the Bantu Trust or to a corporation to undertake development projects. These whites may not own, but only occupy land in the Reserves and would have no proprietary or entrenched rights. A large concentration of white workers must be avoided and mainly Africans used — these to be trained to hold increasingly senior posts. Agents must pay rents, royalties, commission on a share of the profits to a corporation and/or the Bantu Authority in the area concerned. The Minister said in February 1969 that 25 years contracts might be granted to white agents in the case of labour intensive industries or 50 year contracts in the case of Mining concerns. In white areas all skilled mining work is by law reserved for whites unless exemptions are granted. In the Homelands these exemptions will have to be widely given although the powerful Mine Workers Union (White) is strongly opposed to any relaxation of the colour bar in mining. In the Assembly 15th April, 1969 the Minister of Mines said an application by the Impala Platinum Mines in the area of the Baphokupt tribe near Rustenburg, for certain exemptions from the mines and works regulations was still under consideration — for the 2nd year in succession. But the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said “we insist on Bantu being gradually employed in the higher grades.”

Border industries

The Border Industries employed a total of 109,000 Africans in secondary industry at the end of 1968. Up to the end of 1968 about

At Dimbuza, a resettlement village near Kingwilliam's Town:—

“Every adult is given 20 lbs of mealie-meal, 8 lbs of mealies, 5 lbs of beans, 1 lb of fat and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb of salt. Every child under the age of 12 years is given 14 lbs of mealie-meal, 4 lbs of mealies and 2 lbs of beans. In other words 33 lbs of food per adult and 20 lbs of food for a growing child every month. I leave it to you to decide whether that is enough food for a person to live on and not to suffer from hunger.”

*Dr. Jan Moolman,
M.P. for East London City.*

5,000 new employment opportunities were created annually in secondary industry in border areas. It has been estimated that this should be increased to 9,000 new employment opportunities annually. Unfortunately there are no Border Industries surrounding the Transkei, the largest Homeland — the nearest are mainly in the area between the Ciskei and East London, although there is one area surrounding Queenstown which is nearer to the Transkei. Other Border Industries are concentrated at Ladysmith in Natal, Empangeni and Richard's Bay in Zululand, Pietersburg, Tzaneen, Phalaborwa in the Northern Transvaal and Brits, Rustenburg, Zeerust and Mafeking in the Western Transvaal. The purpose of the Border Industries is that Africans can live in their Homelands and work in Border Industries nearby in white areas, commuting daily, weekly or monthly according to the distance involved. In practice the scheme only works when the Homelands are scattered throughout white areas or contiguous with an industrial area. When is a Black Spot a Black Spot and not a Homeland near a Border Industry? Mdantsane is the African township supplying East London from which the distance is 12 miles. It is just inside the Ciskei. The newer scheme envisaged by the Promotion of Economic Development of Homelands Act of 1968 offering incentives to white entrepreneurs on an agency help basis in the Homelands seems a much more progressive step provided that the industrial colour bar is steadily and eventually done away with. The Transkei would seem the ideal place to operate the scheme but will the incentives be enough to attract sufficient white capital and expertise?

Education

Education is an enormous subject which cannot be dealt with today, but it is obvious that the Bantu Education system, while succeeding in having more African children in school than ever before, is not producing enough adequately trained people because most of the children do not go beyond Standard II.

Although about 85% of African children in the 7-14 age group are attending primary school at any one time, just over half these reach Standard II (about a quarter reach Standard VI and only one-tenth go on to post-primary schools. The total number writing matriculation in the Homelands in 1966 was 1,332 of whom just under half, 640 passed.

In the whole Republic 1,941 wrote, 682 obtained a university entrance pass, 389 a School Leaving Certificate and 870 failed. In the Transkei 334 wrote, 90 obtained a University pass (only 1 in 1st class) and 97 school leaving certificate while 147 failed. With such small numbers of matriculation passes it is easy to see why the total number of full or part time students in the 3 African Universities, Fort Hare, Ngoya and "The North" is only 3,911 while the number of white students in eleven universities is 68,549. Even the 13 trade schools in the Reserves, 2 of them in the Transkei require Standard VI, or Standard VIII for electrical courses, as entry, and although 1,529 boys were enrolled in these in 1968 only 313 qualified at the end of the previous year. A technical college has just opened at Umtata in the Transkei. None of these training schemes can succeed until an adequate supply of suitably educated students is assured. Although the sky is the limit, as far as Africans in their Homelands are concerned, until compulsory free education, books, stationery are achieved for all Africans their progress towards the sky will continue to be excruciatingly slow; although each Territorial Authority is to have its own Educational Department which will be responsible for the construction and maintenance of school buildings, the provision of school furniture, books and other teaching aids, the employment and salaries of teachers and the control of school boards, the existing Central Bantu Education Department will prescribe syllabuses, determine educational methods, control inspectors, give indirect professional guidance to teachers, administer examinations and issue certificates. Possibly this is because one of the first Acts passed by the Transkeian Government was one providing that English be the medium used in their schools and the Cape Provincial Syllabus used rather than those of the Bantu Education Department.

Political rights

All Africans over 21 are to have political and civil rights in their own Homelands although 60% of them are not domiciled there — they have none in the rest of South Africa even if they have been born and have lived all their lives in an urban area. The only Homeland whose citizens have exercised their vote is the Transkei where there have been two elections for 45 elected members of the Legislative Assembly. An effort is being made to separate urban Africans into their ethnic

groups as far as housing and schooling is concerned and to foster an increasingly strong link between these groups and their Homeland. Under the Bantu Citizenship Act passed in February 1970 every African is a citizen of one or other Homeland.

Although Africans in the Homelands can move freely they cannot live wherever they like. If a township in a Homeland is in the area of jurisdiction of a Chief or Headman, only members of that tribe concerned may be occupiers of land or premises, except with special permission from the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. The Minister decides for which national unit the township is established and only members of this unit may occupy fixed property there. No one may occupy a residential site in a township in a Bantu area unless he relinquishes any residential right he may hold elsewhere including right to arable allotments in scheduled areas or on Trust land. Building sites may only be allotted to heads of families including women heads, providing they are fit and proper persons to reside in the township. Bona fide relatives may live with the house-head but a visitor may only remain for 30 days without permission — after that he must apply for a lodger's permit and satisfy the superintendent that he is a fit and proper person to have one. Thus even in their own Homelands Africans are not free to live where they wish. However they may purchase sites or houses in the townships in the Homelands which they cannot do in urban townships though no one may occupy more than one site on which one house may be built.

Land tenure

In spite of the fact that in 1955 the Tomlinson Commission urged that Africans be classified into full time farmers and those who would earn their livings by other means and that the land holding should be adequate in size to support a family and that the Africans should be able to obtain freehold title to his farm, the Government has refused to alter the communal system of land tenure as it "would undermine the whole tribal structure." Instead the people are being persuaded to move from their scattered homesteads to demarcated residential areas, arable plots are concentrated in the most suitable areas and communal grazing areas are divided into camps to enable rotational grazing to be practised. All those who previously had rights are given arable plots of equal size which may, in crowded

areas, be quarter of an economic unit. Freehold tenure is not being granted at present as the whole land situation is in a state of flux. Sons may inherit their father's plot provided he has tended it well — failure to do so results in the loss of the plot. A great deal has been done to improve agriculture in the Homelands but until more people can be moved off the land and work is found elsewhere, African farmers will not be able to make a living off the land and will be forced to work as migrant labourers in order to augment their income.

Resettlement villages

Before leaving the African in the Homelands I must refer briefly to the Resettlement villages which have been established in most Homelands excluding the Transkei. These are townships where displaced Africans are sent when they are endorsed out of the white urban areas, when they leave white owned farms and when they have no other place to live when they are too old to work or disabled — such as Sada, Illingi and Muxesha in the Ciskei. There are other settlements to which whole communities are moved when a Black Spot is cleared, such as Limehill in Natal and Morsgat in the Western Transvaal. Details of all these can be found in the excellent book "Discarded People" by Father Desmond published by the Christian Institute. These are most depressing places with an unnatural population of the very old, the disabled, widows, unmarried mothers and hundreds of young children. Apart from building the townships there is no work available so that the majority of the residents are living on government charity — basic food, rations, rent waived or reduced and, at the most doing relief work for a wage of 20 cents a day. The children in these villages are growing up in a most unhealthy atmosphere — in families with no male head in which nobody works — encouraged to steal wood and food from the nearby farmers. The only future for the male children is to be migrant workers as soon as they are 18! if they can find work. The girls are most unlikely to find any work at all unless they can afford to be trained as teachers or nurses. Schools are being provided, conditions are slowly improving and a brick works has been established at Sada, but many of the Resettlement villages have no economic foundation and are areas of shocking poverty and distress.

Africans from white rural areas

Secondly there are Africans born on white-owned farms, or in locations in White rural towns. They too, in future, will only be allowed to go into an urban area on a maximum of one year's contract and will never earn the right to live anywhere permanently. Such men can get permission to spend short holidays with their parents who live on white farms, but neither the farmer nor the government will allow them to remain on the farm permanently or to have their wife and family there. Such a man can, of course, get work either on the farm where he is born or another farm — it is very easy to do that — farmers may engage farm labourers and then register the contract at the local magistrates office — they do not have to get permission to employ an African. This does not apply to the Western Cape — I am talking of the rural areas in the rest of South Africa. It is often said that Pass Laws — Influx Control — was designed to keep farmers supplied with cheap labour, this may or may not be so, but it is almost impossible for a man born on a farm to do other than work as a farm labourer. In the good old days the sons of farm labourers worked in Urban areas until they qualified under Section 10 (1) of the Urban Areas Act to have their families to live with them. Now they can *never* earn that right. Africans who leave a job on a farm may go to another farm or else they can be sent to their Homeland if they have any ties there. They are subject to influx control regulations but these are not usually nearly so tightly enforced in rural areas.

Entitled to be on white farms

The only Africans who are entitled to be on white owned farms are :

- a) The registered owner of the land or member of the tribe if the land is registered in the name of a Bantu or tribe.
- b) Bona fide employees registered as in full-time service.
- c) Labour tenants registered in respect of that land.
- d) Squatters registered in respect of that land.
- e) Wife (civil or customary) or any other bona fide dependent of the above men.
- f) Bantu who have received special authority from the Bantu Affairs Commissioner.
- g) A bona fide visitor to a lawful resident on that land who has obtained permission of the owner of the land.
- h) A Bantu who has received special author-

ity from the Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development.

Dependents are described as :

- a) Wife.
- b) Sons under 18 who live with him and are dependent on him.
- c) Unmarried daughters who live with him and are dependent on him.
- d) Other children — disabled, infirm.
- e) Parent or grandfather — dependent because infirm.

Any African may be employed by a farmer except children under 14.

Children 14-18 must have permission of parents.

Children 14-16 must carry a special document of identification.

Those over 16 must have a Reference Book.

The Reference Book must be scrutinised to ensure that its owner is not under contract of service to someone else — he must have been signed off.

Foreign Africans must get special permission.

The farmer must, if he wishes to employ the African for over 14 days, sign his Reference Book, complete card B1004 and send it



"Seeing the idioms are completely different it would be unwise for a composer from Soweto to compete against a top white musician . . . In the same way the Negro spiritual is completely different from a composition by Shostakovich."

*S.A.B.C. public relations officer.
Mr. N. J. Naude,*

to the local magistrate who will send him an advice card on BA116 (which must be kept as proof of Registration). In practice I have found that the Africans working on farms have no Reference books—they haven't taken any out because they don't want to have to pay tax. The farmers seldom look at the Reference Books and often do not register their contracts with the African concerned. Farms are often raided by the Police and those Africans not in full time employment or registered as Land tenants or squatters, or the genuine dependent of the same, are arrested but I have seldom heard of a farmer being charged with employing an African without a permit except in the Western Cape where the farmers have to comply strictly with the law.

Labour tenant system

The Government is pursuing its policy of abolishing the labour tenant system in favour of full-time labour, in districts where the white farmers' associations agree to this, and of resettling African squatters. The Labour tenant system has been abolished in 25 districts of the Transvaal, the whole of the Free State, 3 districts of the Cape and in Natal. The number of labour tenants registered has dropped by 6,591 to 27,517 at the end of 1968 and the number of squatters reduced by 7,301 to 82,629 registered on December 31st, 1968. Thus any security which Africans had when living on white farms is being removed, since the fully employed farm labourer is subject to the usual notice and may be told, not only to leave his job, but the only home he knows where he and maybe his father were born, taking his family with him. This is probably the reason why many farm labourers have left their jobs and asked to be resettled in Resettlement villages where they feel they will have some security and where it is possible to own their houses and the land on which they stand. Apart from the very low wages they earn, farm labourers have long felt the insecurity of having no rights whatsoever in the land of their birth — not having been born in a homeland they had no roots there and could never have any rights in a white rural area. Many former labour tenants in the Weenen district where the Labour tenant system was abolished on June 30th, 1969, refused to accept the wages (R6.00 per month) and conditions laid down by the farmers' association for full time workers, and in consequence were ejected.¹ The farmers preferred charges

of illegal squatting against them and by October 1st, 1969 291 Kraal heads (representing 2,246 Africans) had been convicted and given suspended sentences.² Finally they were moved at State expense to resettlement areas at Tugela Estates and Keates Drift in the Nkandla District and provided with tents, building materials, sanitary conveniences, drinking water and rations of mealie meal and food for babies. In future, said Mr. Torlage, M.P. (Deputy Chairman of Bantu Affairs Commission) they would be forced to find their own transport when ejected but he also warned the farmers they would have to compete with industry for labour. There were estimated to be 10,000 labour tenants in the Weenen area who were affected.³ Mr. W. T. Webber M.P. said the Africans feared, with justification, that they would be tied to the land for the rest of their lives if they became full time workers. They said they would be prepared to accept full time employment only after they have been provided with the security of homes elsewhere. Mr. Torlage however said on 16th June that full time African farm workers would not be allowed to change their jobs, nor to settle in the Homelands, unless there was no shortage of farm labour anywhere in the country.⁴

Africans in urban areas

The third class of Africans are those living in Urban Areas. These Africans are controlled by all the laws of the land which affect whites and by:

- a) The Urban Areas Act 25/1945 as amended.
- b) The Regulations which are regularly proclaimed under this act.
- c) The Bantu Labour Act 67/1964 as amended.
- d) The Bantu Labour Regulations as regularly proclaimed under it.
- e) The Group Areas Act which affects all population groups.
- f) The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act 52/1951.

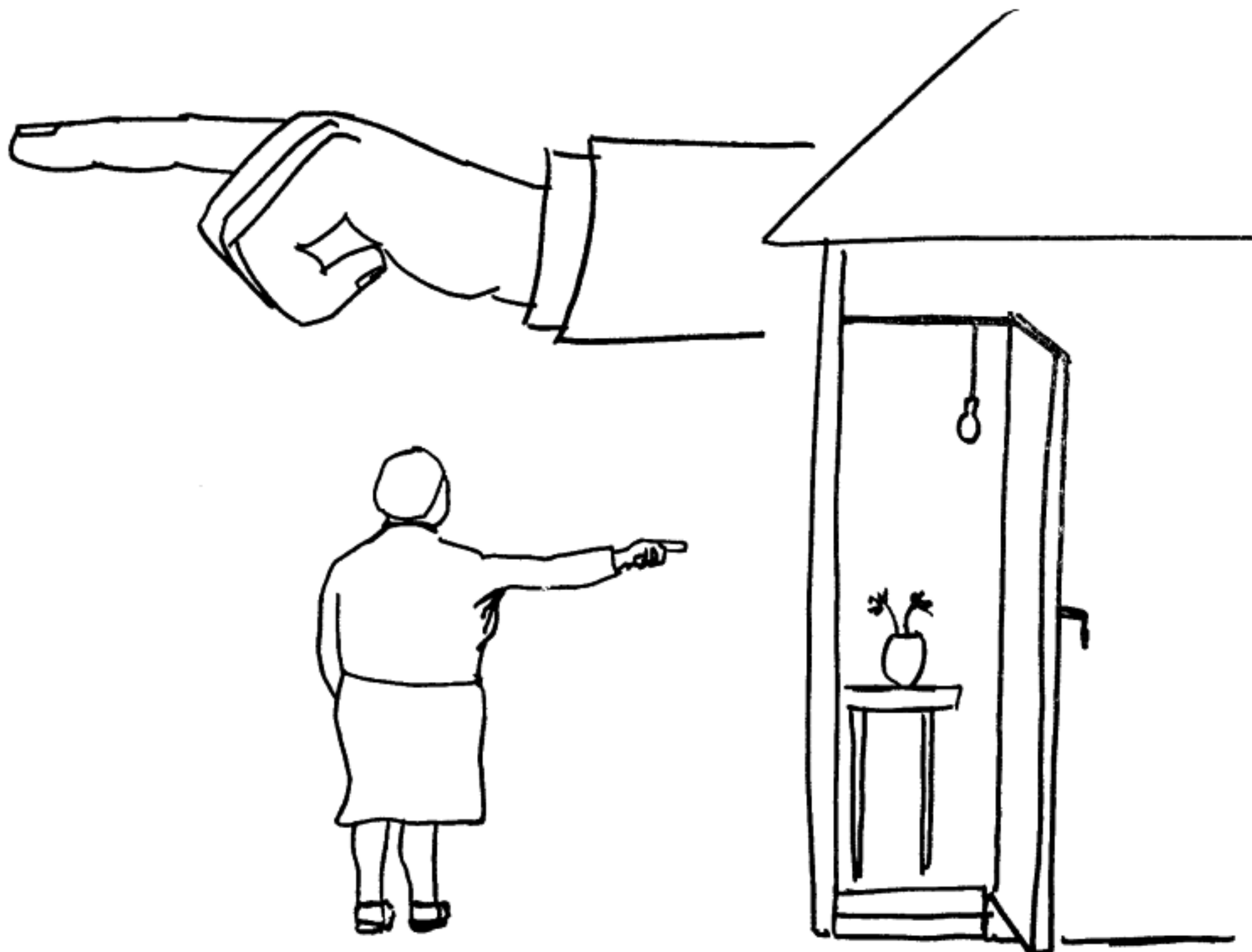
The most important of these is the Urban Areas Act which was passed in 1923 and concerned segregation of African accommodation and registration of contracts, Native Advisory Boards and Revenue Accounts. It was amended in 1930, 1937 and consolidated in 1945 but the important thing to remember is that:

² Press statement in *Natal Mercury*, Oct. 3, 1969.

³ *Natal Witness*, Oct. 4, 1969.

⁴ *The Friend*, June 16, 1969.

¹ *The Natal Mercury*, Oct. 3, 1969.



- 1) It was only enforced in areas where the urban authorities asked for the Governor General to proclaim their area as one in which it would apply. It could be applied to refuse entry of Africans other than those in employment, those seeking employment and bona fide visitors.
- 2) It restricted the entry of Africans and the time during which they could look for work and evict them if they failed to find work. Women's work contracts did not have to be registered. Some areas, such as Port Elizabeth, never applied to have their areas proclaimed so that the Urban Areas Act didn't apply there — Africans were free to come and go as they wished until 1952.

Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act was not in the Act as consolidated in 1945 — it was brought into the Act under the Native Laws Amendment Act 54/1952 by the Nationalist Government. This is fascinating because it was the Nationalists who gave the Africans

right of permanent residence in Urban areas — the very rights they are intending to deny them during the coming session of Parliament. The Native Laws Amendment Act also made the Urban Areas Act compulsory in all areas.

Section 10

The famous Section 10 (1) is the crux of influx control and the only section which need concern us today. It has been amended several times. Under it no African may remain more than 72 hours in a prescribed area unless he produces proof in the manner prescribed that he has (a) since birth, resided continuously in such an area. (b) he has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than 10 years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than 15 years and has thereafter continued to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area and has not during either period been sentenced to a fine exceeding R100 or a period of imprisonment exceeding 6 months,

(c) such Bantu is the wife, unmarried daughter, or son under the age at which he would become liable for payment of General Tax i.e. 18, of any Bantu mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of this subsection and after lawful entry into such prescribed areas ordinarily resides with that Bantu in such area.

I have dealt with this section in full because it is much in the news at present — the Government has already drafted a Bill which removes these rights from Africans. In future no more will qualify even if they are already permanently resident in an urban area. This means that children born before this act is promulgated will qualify but younger ones won't. At present an African born in a prescribed area who qualifies under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b), and who can produce proof of it, is entitled to be housed on a family basis if he is:

- a) a he and not a she.
- b) over 21.
- c) in regular employment or licensed to carry on a lawful occupation.
- d) is a fit and proper person in the opinion of the Location Manager to live in a Bantu Residential area.
- e) if his wife is domiciled within area.
- f) if he is free of infectious disease.
- g) is not a foreign African.

Nine conditions must be fulfilled before an African may be granted a house or site but there are 14 ways in which he can lose this right including:

- 1) Being unemployed for more than 30 days without Doctor's certificate.
- 2) Rent not paid by 7th of month in advance.
- 3) Keeping chickens, altering the house without permission.
- 4) If he works in another area for more than 30 days unless this is in the course of his regular employment.
- 5) If he leaves the area for more than 30 days.
- 6) If his wife and children go away for any length of time.

It is important to realise that if he loses his house for any reason he will not be given another. He might be permitted to lodge with another family but if he has a wife and 5 children and furniture he will find it hard to find accommodation.

Valuable right

A second valuable right of a qualified man is to change his employment. As you know an employer has to have permission to em-

ploy an African at all as well as a specific African. In the Western Cape the employer has to have a permit from the Labour Department to employ an African and this is only given when there is no coloured applicant available. Then he has to get permission from the Bantu Labour Officer to employ a specific African. Every African, too, has to have written permission. An unqualified man or woman, on losing his employment, has no right to remain in the area, no right to change his job and in the Western Cape today is never allowed to do so. So if such a man has worked 14 years and 10 months in one area or 9 years and 11 months in one job and leaves the job *for any reason* he is endorsed out and has to leave the area and return to his homeland. If he has a wife and children they too must go with him either (a) to the place where he was born or (b) to a place where he has relatives, however distant or (c) to a resettlement camp where a house will be allotted to him and he will have to find work as a migrant worker on one year contracts in any one area where he can find employment, for the rest of his life.

Not inviolate

The rights of a qualified man are precious but they are not inviolate.

- 1) If there is no accommodation for him he can be endorsed out even if he is qualified. This has happened to Africans here in Elgin when the African township, New Town, was abolished and even qualified Africans endorsed out.
- 2) If he is declared Idle or Undesirable, even if he qualifies, he can be removed to another area. There are 8 reasons for declaring a man Idle including one if he is over 15 and under 65 (women 60) and though capable of being employed is normally unemployed, excluding scholars and bona fide housewives. There are 11 reasons for declaring him undesirable, all to do with offences against the law, mostly political offences. After serving his sentence he can be removed from the area.
- 3) If he leaves legal registered employment and doesn't report within 72 hours to the Labour Bureau he is no longer legally in the area. He will, if qualified be allowed to look for work or be put in the Labour pool but if he fails to find it in 30 days he can be evicted from his house and may have to leave the area. If he is on paid leave he is all right but if he takes a month off between jobs he is in trouble.

- 4) The easiest way an African can lose his rights is by working in another area for more than 30 days.

Told to leave

One man I know has worked for a building firm in the Municipal area of Cape Town for more than 10 years and so qualifies to live in Langa. The firm has now moved to Bellville East, the man has continued to work for the firm for over a month — now he has been told to leave Langa and go to Nyanga. Nyanga is a Divisional Council township and Bellville East is in the Divisional Council area. If he goes he loses his rights under Section 10 (1) (b) of the Urban Areas Act and will only be allowed to remain in Cape Town while employed by the firm. If he leaves he will be endorsed out and have to work for the rest of his life as a migrant worker on yearly contracts.

- 5) Another common way of losing his rights is for an African to leave the area.

Many children are sent to boarding school in the Homelands because there are very few secondary schools in the African townships in Urban areas, or else they are sent to live with relatives so that they can attend day schools there. Unless these children:

- 1) Return home once a year on holiday.
- 2) Their names are retained on the rent card and their presence there at least once a year is recorded.
- 3) They take out their Reference Books in the area where they qualify, were born, or where their parents live.
- 4) Above all unless a boy returns before he is 18 and pays his first tax or gets tax exemption in his home area he will lose his right to live with his parents in the urban area. Wives often lose their rights by going to nurse a dying relative in the Homelands. The husband is told he must move into single quarters and when she does get home she is endorsed out as there is no longer a home in which to live with him.

Qualified people

For those lucky Africans who do qualify to live in an prescribed area, and do not lose this right inadvertently, life in the township is only relatively pleasant. Wages are low, they cannot be employed as skilled workers, a large proportion of their wages goes on transport, they cannot of course, live anywhere else than in the African township with very little choice

of house, and they cannot enjoy the amenities available for whites. They have no civil or political rights in these urban areas and are hemmed in by endless frustrating legislation — yet they are allowed to earn their living, to educate their children and have many amenities of their own. There are two large swim-

Mr. Botha indicated that the Government did not accept that any Africans had an inherent right to be in urban areas — such as those at present enjoyed by Africans born in these areas — and that it planned to step up the return to the “homelands” of Africans whose labour was not required.

Ranú Daily Mail, 23rd July, 1970.

ming baths in Guguletu and one in Langa, playing fields and good clinics and primary schools and many churches. Professional men such as lawyers and doctors may no longer have their consulting rooms in the white town near the courts and hospitals but may rent, but not own premises in the townships. They are being encouraged to “return” to their Homelands (which they may never have seen) to practice their professions there where the people have very little money with which to pay them although their need is great. Similarly African business men may rent premises for shops and other businesses but not own them and they too are being encouraged to set up businesses in the Homelands and, if suitable, are being helped financially to do so.

Homeland citizens

The Citizenship Act passed earlier this year makes every African a citizen of one or the other of the Homelands although they are also to remain citizens of the Republic under its protection. This seems to be the answer to the contention that nearly one-third of the African population has no rights anywhere in South Africa because they were born on white owned farms and have no roots in the Homelands nor in the Urban areas. Now all Africans have rights and a vote in a Homeland but this won't help them much if they have no home or employment or other source of livelihood there.

Job curbs

Another Act passed earlier this year — the Bantu Laws Amendment Act has further undermined the rights of urban Africans. They can now become artificially unemployed if the Minister announces in the Gazette that

Africans may, as from a certain date no longer be employed in a certain category of work or in a certain area of the country. An uproar followed such an announcement by the Deputy Minister shortly before the General Election. One month's notice was given of the Government's intention to forbid the continued employment of Africans as typists, telephonists, receptionists etc., in any part of South Africa. As implementation of this notice would have brought Johannesburg to a standstill, Commerce and Industry objected vocally and the enforcement of the order has been delayed.

Bachelor Quarters

I cannot leave the urban African without mentioning the shocking fact that in Langa alone there are well over 20,000 so called bachelors living in single quarters — 25,000 in the three townships of Cape Town. This is the other side of the migrant labour story. Many of them — the last figure was 68% — are married — many of them have lived in these quarters all their married life going home for a few weeks a year or a few months every few years. Wives of qualified men can get permission to visit their husbands — but not to live in the single quarters — they must find lodgings elsewhere and the husband usually sleeps with his wife in the lodgings but has to continue to pay rent in the single quarters.

In Soweto, 1966, there were 80,000 such "bachelors" and you don't need one to tell you that this enforced herding together of males leads to homosexuality, a great deal of illegitimacy, all sorts of crime and is a perfect breeding ground for all types of agitation — political included. While you have migrant labour you must have single quarters. The policy of migrant labour has been condemned by all churches especially the Dutch Reformed Church which called it a cancer in our midst, by economists, sociologists, politicians and yet the policy is steadily extended, year by year.

Work units

So the African in South African society is a work-unit with no civil or political rights and not much security in 87% of his country — suffered because he is vitally necessary to the development of the country but feared because he is so numerous. In 13% of South Africa he has far more freedom to develop to his full capacity but no money with which to do it. The Homelands are becoming more and more overcrowded — there is not enough land for more than about one-third of the

de facto population to farm, there is not enough employment for the rest, let alone for the thousands being endorsed out of the urban areas and moved from Black Spots and white farms. African affairs have been practically separated from those of other groups.

My dream is that one day the Homelands will be fully developed and independent, and that their citizens will not need to work as migrants in order to live, and that white South Africa will go down on bended knees and offer fair wages and other incentives to try to persuade Africans to work in white South Africa once more . . . and then I woke up and realised that never would this be allowed to happen. During the 1968 session the Transkeian Legislative assembly passed a motion that the Republican Government be approached to do everything in its power to prepare the Transkei for independence in the shortest possible time. This was the reply given by the Republic's Minister of Bantu Administration and Development: "The road to full independence is a long and difficult one. Before any people could aspire to it certain pre-requisites had to be fulfilled.⁵

- a) considerable administrative experience in the management and control of government departments.
- b) deep-rooted reliability in all actions, particularly in the control of finance and budgeting.
- c) integrity of purpose in public affairs from the highest to the lowest official.
- d) a democratic way of life and sense of complete responsibility.
- e) the control and management of all fields of administration by its own citizens and not on a large scale by citizens of another country because there were not enough local men qualified to do the work.
- f) economic development and the provision of jobs for its own people by its own government and
- g) a firm desire for peaceful co-existence. A nation that wished to govern itself independently must show by word and deed that it was prepared to live in peace with its own people and with other people or nations, especially its neighbours.

If South Africa has not achieved these pre-requisites in 300 years what hope is there that any of the Bantustans will ever achieve their independence?

⁵ *Hansard* 17 of 1968 Cols. 6656-61.

From The Regions

The Natal Coastal Region of the Black Sash has been mainly occupied with the question of the removal and resettlement of African communities and individuals. Mr. Lawrence Morgan of the Natal Mercury spoke at their general meeting and his talk on the resettlement of Africans in Natal was published in the last issue of Sash. They are keeping in constant touch with Members of Parliament and the newspapers and are particularly concerned with the Weenen area and with Geordedale. Geordedale is different from other areas where removals have taken place. It is part of a Zulustan and so all 'foreign' i.e. non-Zulu men are forced into the migrant labour system when their families are evicted. The man, as he is employed, is allowed to stay and becomes a contract worker in his erstwhile home area — his family is moved to what will, in future, be regarded as his home area. This is an iniquity which has very little solution.

Two letters from the region have been published, one pointing out the similarities between the Limehill and Morsgat resettlement areas and the other replying to statements made by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in the 'Top People' programme on the S.A.B.C. The Black Sash is co-operating with the Natal Citizens' Association whenever and wherever this is possible.

This region has also been holding regular demonstrations every Monday in Durban to protest against Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. This is the Section which allows for indefinite detention without trial.

In both the Transvaal and Natal Coastal regions special meetings were held to mark the 15th anniversary of the Black Sash. Dr. Alan Paton and Miss Nadine Gordimer spoke at these meetings and their addresses are printed elsewhere in this magazine.

The Natal Midlands region was saddened by the death of one of their foundation members, Miss Marjorie Fleming. Until she became too frail Miss Fleming took part in all their stands and was an enthusiastic member.

They have been busy in this region, with a survey of education for all races in the Pietermaritzburg area and in investigating the conditions in the Swartkop location. They have been trying to discover the facts of life in this town such as land tenure, water supplies, ex-

tent and population, schools and the contributions towards the financing of these which are made by the parents, malnutrition and tuberculosis, roads and transport facilities. Sash hopes to publish the findings soon.

Professor Macquarrie and Mr. Colin Gardner have spoken to meetings of this region and their non-racial group has held regular monthly social meetings with various activities.

The Grahamstown branch of the Cape Eastern region has also been occupied with resettlement schemes in their area. The following are extracts from the minutes of their annual general meeting:

"We will be mainly concerned with the Fingo village this year. Mrs. Davenport outlined the background of the removal. The area is to become Coloured after being held freehold by the Fingoes for over a century. About 6,000 Fingoes are to be moved to Committees Drift 28 miles away from Grahamstown, a bleak place where the ground of pure shale will not support crops, where nothing has yet been built, and where there will be no water unless Escom provides it.

The new Coloured area is not radial but forms a crescent around the eastern edge of white Grahamstown — Africans will have to pass through this on their way to work and this is likely to cause friction. The City Council will have to spend something like R1 million on amenities.

The Fingoes were originally given the area in gratitude for their defence of Grahamstown. Title deeds go back as early as the 1840s but many have lapsed as transfers were not recorded. Some title deeds were updated in 1941 but even they are possibly now invalid.

We agreed to write to the Rate-payers' Association offering our support. We formed a sub-committee headed by Mrs. Oosthuizen, that will write feature articles for the press. Dr. Giffard will be asked to give us assistance. The aim is to tell everyone about the Fingo Village and Committees Drift. Having publicised this as widely as possible, we should have a public symposium on the Fingoes and on resettlement generally. We shall ask permission for a stand on the removal about a week before Settlers' Day (September 10th) stressing that the Fingoes are also settlers and no less important than the 1820 variety. We intend to find out if the title deeds can be est-

ablished even after a long lapse, and if present householders will be allowed to stay in the village until they die. Without title deeds people cannot sell their houses to incoming Coloureds or even claim compensation from the Government, so this is priority. We shall start an Advice office to deal with legal and family problems. We must also set up a vigilance committee to check on amenities and general welfare at Committees Drift. It will be a huge camp because people will be coming from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage as well as from here. The site is still vacant as far as we know."

The Transvaal Region held its Annual General meeting in June and Jeanette Carlson was re-elected Chairman. In her report she had this to say: "I am able to say with conviction that this report shows the importance of the work done by the Black Sash, the clear need for such an organisation in our country, and the successes we have achieved, notably the results of our protests on detention without trial, and the nationwide public protests over the 22 people detained for 5½ months, charged, acquitted and immediately re-detained. The Black Sash was the only organisation outside Parliament to publicly reject the Terrorism Act and protest against its introduction in 1967. We stood every Monday from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. after these acquitted people were re-detained. This regular protest was the take off point for the students who have done a magnificent job in publicising the issue on a much wider basis than we could ever have done. The culminating point in Johannesburg was the mass meeting at the Darragh Hall, with Christian and Jewish leaders as well as lawyers on the platform. The day after this meeting the Minister of Justice announced that the 22 detainees would be charged or released expeditiously. I have no hesitation in saying that this announcement was the direct result of public protest and pressure and I also do not hesitate to say that, if our weekly demonstrations had not been taking place, the whole campaign may not have been thought of.

Another major effort was the ending of the campaign against resettlement of Africans in the homelands. By 'ending the campaign' I do not mean that we consider the matter closed and our work finished, because this is not so. But the specific aim of continually bringing to the notice of the public, conditions and facts about resettlement has certainly been achieved. It should be remembered that the

first disclosures on resettlement were made by the Border region of the Black Sash. The Transvaal region compiled and sent out 5,000 pamphlets entitled 'H is for Homelands' immediately before the election. This was a major undertaking as most of our active members and those on the Citizens' Action committee were very busy with election work."

Stevie

Mrs. V. Stephens must be the oldest member of the Black Sash.

This year "Stevie", as she is affectionately known by the Wynberg Branch, turned ninety five years young. She has unfortunately to pander to a dicky heart and a little deafness which keeps her from meetings, but she is always eager for Sash news and has an independent, lively and active mind combined with a generous compassionate nature. However, she does not suffer fools gladly.

Most of her time these days is spent knitting or crocheting for the Morning Market or her friends.

We salute you Stevie, long may you continue to epitomise all that the Sash stands for.

Johannesburg Advice Office

During June the controversy about the removal of 'surplus' servants to The Diepkloof hostels was widely publicised and discussed in the press. Now that the removal of servants has been temporarily suspended consideration can be given to the question of who the men are who already live in the existing hostels and who will fill the beds in the new hostels to be built in Alexandra and Soweto. A comparatively small number will be domestic servants.

The hostels are said to provide accommodation for single men or 'bachelors' but what is not generally realised is that very many of these men are in fact married. It has been estimated that only 25% of married African men in the towns have their wives with them.

Every month numbers of men come to the Advice Office because their wives have been refused permission to live in Johannesburg or have been endorsed out. Some of these men are migrant workers, in Johannesburg as contract labourers. They are not allowed to have their wives with them unless they happen to

have married women who qualify in their own right to be in the area. Others are men who do themselves qualify under Section 10(1) (a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act and are therefore entitled to remain in Johannesburg, but they are not permitted to *bring* their wives into the area to live with them. Permission is not given to a wife to join her husband except in the few cases where she qualifies in her own right in another prescribed area when she may obtain a transfer.

A man who qualifies under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) is entitled to have his wife living with him if she entered the area lawfully, ordinarily resides with her husband and if there is accommodation for her. As there is now, practically speaking, no lawful entry for any woman into a prescribed area, many men find themselves occupying a hostel bed, separated from their wives for most of their working lives.

A qualified man may apply to be the tenant of a house of his own if, among other things, he has dependents, but his application will not be accepted if his wife and dependents are not lawfully living in the area. Many of the women who come to the office were under the impression that their position in Johannesburg with their husbands was secure but when they made application for a house they were endorsed out, because they did not in fact have permission to be here.

Examples

Mr. M.S. has fallen in love with a girl from Natal. He intends to marry her and brought her to the office to ask how he could get a residence permit for her to live with him here after the marriage. Although he qualifies under Section 10 (1) (b) of the Act he cannot get permission for her to enter the prescribed area of Johannesburg.

Mrs. K.G. was born in Botswana. She has been living with her husband in Soweto but has now been endorsed out, and told to go back to Botswana. Her husband has been given notice to vacate his house and will now have to accept a bed in a hostel or find lodgings for himself in someone else's house.

Mr. J.S. lives in Alexandra and his wife lived lawfully in Soweto. He applied for his wife to be transferred to live with him in Alexandra but the transfer was refused on the grounds that he only qualifies to live in Alexandra on a 'single basis'. He came to the Advice Office for help. After he had been able to prove that he qualified to be in the

area in terms of Section 10 (1) (b) the transfer was granted and the names of his wife and children were put on his housing permit.

Mr. A.M. lived with his wife in a house in Krugersdorp. She left him and after the divorce was finalised he married Miss O.B. who comes from the Transkei. Because her entry into the prescribed area of Krugersdorp was unlawful she has been endorsed out and her husband has been told to vacate his house and go to live in a hostel.

M.L. has been ordered to leave Johannesburg within 72 hours. She is married to a man, who qualifies under Section 10 (1) (b) and who has a house in Meadowlands. She was born in Sophiatown and only left Johannesburg to go to school in Rustenburg from 1956 to 1963. Her name was on her step-father's housing permit in 1969 and her mother's employer was able to state that she has known Mary since she was a small child and knows her to have lived in Johannesburg. Even during the years she was at school she returned to her mother for all the holidays. In spite of all the documentary proofs she was able to collect, her appeal against her endorsement out was refused by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. She is now collecting copies of all the documents again in order to ask for her case to be reconsidered.

M.S. applied for her first reference book when she turned 16. Her name is on her parent's housing permit, but the Bantu Commissioner refused to issue her with a reference book. This seems to be because the christian name on her school certificate is not the same as the christian name on the housing permit. She is now trying to prove that both these names refer to her.

MRS. L. has seven children. She and her husband have had a house in 1964, in Meadowlands, but the names of the five elder children do not appear on the permit. The reason for this is that these children were at school when Mr. and Mrs. L. were given their house. The three elder sons have been unable to get reference books and their 13 year old daughter will be in great difficulties when she turns 16. None of them have been able to get permission to live with their parents.

A woman wept at a Johannesburg court yesterday when she was told that she would be separated from her husband and sent to her original tribal home.

Rand Daily Mail, 24th June, 1970.

David and Miriam

ALTHOUGH DAVID AND MIRIAM love each other and are married to each other David lives in a 'bachelor' hostel and Miriam lives 'illegally' in her mother's house with their four children, Thandi 7 years old, Dan 5, Johannes 4 and the baby, Marjorie who is only one. If this marriage was made in heaven then it is being broken in Johannesburg.

David was born in Johannesburg and has never left the city. Under the law he qualifies to live and work here. Miriam, too, was born in Johannesburg. She is 28 years old. When she was 18 her name was removed from her mother's housing permit and she was given a lodger's permit to live in her mother's house. For this she had to pay 75 cents a month. Three years later she was ill and failed to go to the Superintendent's office to pay her 75 cents. Her lodger's permit was cancelled. Since then she has been unable to get her name on any housing permit and, because her housing records ceased abruptly in 1962, she has been endorsed out and has been unable to prove her right to be in the area. She has been living illegally in the place of her birth.

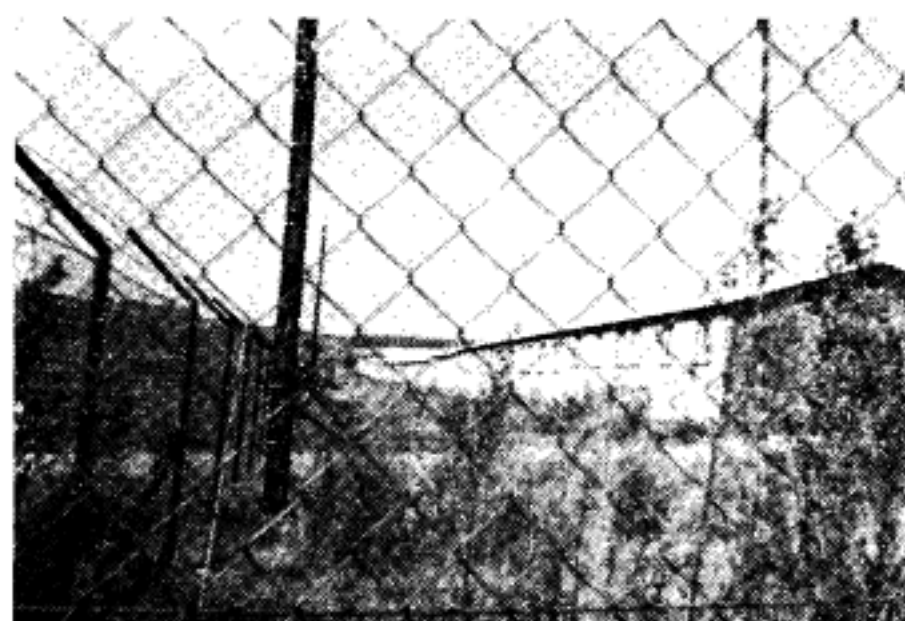
This means that, although David is entitled to apply for a house for himself and his family, he is prevented from doing so because Miriam cannot get her papers in order. Marriages must not only be made in heaven in South Africa they must fit in with the unnatural restrictions imposed by the law.

So David lives as a 'bachelor' in a 'bachelor' hostel and Miriam lives with their four children in her mother's house which must also accommodate her brother, his wife and four children, her sister and two children and her mother.

David cannot live in the house as a lodger — there is simply no room for him. He visits his wife and children after work in the evening. Sometimes he shares the evening meal with them before going to his hostel bed. Occasionally he spends the weekend with them. This is indeed separate development. This is what Separate Development is all about.

S.D.

Single quarters for married bachelors —



The new Diepkloof hostel in Johannesburg — to accommodate 5,200 men.

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

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

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

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

Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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