

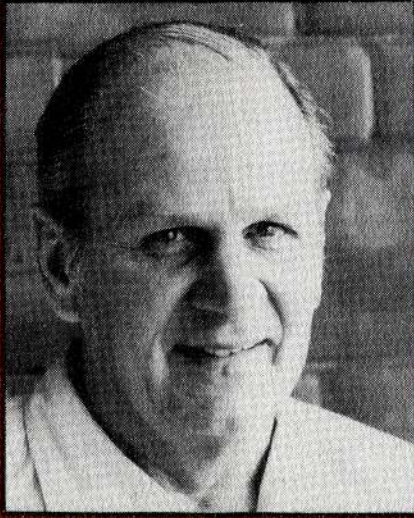
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EDITORIAL

FIGHTING FOR ONE'S COUNTRY

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) certainly started something with its resolutions on conscientious objection to military service. Archbishop Hurley added fuel to the fire saying that he could not counsel young South African men to fight for their country. All of this happened while Frelimo was taking over the government of Mozambique.

Responses were swift and varied. The Government announced that it would make it an offence to "recommend to, encourage aid, incite, instigate, suggest to or otherwise cause" any person to refuse to undergo military service. The maximum penalties on conviction would be a fine of R10 000 and 10 years' imprisonment. Some church leaders supported the SACC resolutions, and some acknowledged their validity while withholding approval. The church-appointed chaplains in the Defence Force repudiated the resolutions. A young debater

from Treverton School at Mooi River said in the Durban Parliament that a man who would not fight for his country was not worthy of citizenship. Letters poured into the Durban papers, some praising Hurley and some telling him to go and live somewhere else. The accusation was hurled at would-be conscientious objectors that they were really attempting to save their miserable skins at the expense of the lives of heroes.

REALITY has no intention of inciting any person not to undergo military service, but it intends to examine the meaning of the words "Fighting for one's Country." This is not a purely South African exercise. People all over the world—and especially young people—are examining the meaning of these words, which in certain circumstances and at certain times are the most emotion-charged words in the human vocabulary. What exactly do they mean?

At Pietermaritzburg on October 8th., the body of a young constable was buried with full honours. He had given his life on the borders. For the act of a young man who is willing to die for what he believes, one cannot but have the deepest respect. What we wish to examine are the words spoken by General Crous on this solemn occasion.

General Crous said that terrorists trying to infiltrate South Africa would encounter a united nation made up of different origins but with the common goal of preserving the country for future generations.

Is that true? Are we a united nation? What unites us? Is it the possession of a system of free, compulsory, and enlightened education that unites us? Is it a common sharing of power to decide our destinies that unites us? Is it a common pride in our institutions not excluding prisons, that unites us?

In any case, while General Crous has every right to use the word "Nation," his use of it is in complete disagreement with the dogmas of the Government and the Nationalist Party. The Prime Minister has explicitly repudiated the idea of a nation made up of different origins. He has insisted time after time that South Africa is a multi-national state. He has even rejected the idea that these nations could join in a federation. They are absolutely separate, and can co-exist only in a commonwealth that will have no common legislature. Therefore the Government, which after all controls the armed forces, cannot possibly agree with General Crous's use of the words "united nation".

What about the "common goal of preserving the country for future generations"? What does that mean, the actual physical country, or its institutions, its rigid colour bars, its bars against inter-marriage, its bars on mixed sport, its segregation of people "made up of different origins" in every possible place and at every possible time? Is that worth preserving for future generations?

What is a black soldier or a black policeman to fight for? Is it job reservation and the high cost of black education? And the young Indian sailors? Are they to fight for the Group Areas Act? And the coloured soldiers? For the destruction of District Six and the griefs of race classification?

These are nasty questions, but they have to be asked. And they have to be answered too, if General Crous's words are to have any meaning except on those solemn occasions when young soldiers and policemen are buried.

It was to be expected that the Nationalists would react with extreme anger to the SACC resolutions. The United and Progressive Parties reacted less violently, but with disapproval. Professor van Zyl Slabbert said in effect, of course one must fight for the country, because it is in that country that just changes are going to be brought about. He is in fact saying that we must fight so that we may gain that time which we need in order to do better. Chief Buthelezi, as might be expected, put it more toughly; he said in effect, of course we'll defend our country, if you give us a country to defend. It is indeed hard to die for 29 separate pieces of land.

We do not wish to pour scorn on Professor Slabbert's words, though there are many in this country who would do so. We too have urged, in season and out, white South Africans to do better, and the corollary of that is that we want time for them to do better. But such a decision commits us, and it commits Professor Slabbert and his party, to an unremitting, unrelenting, untiring, dedication to make this a more just society.

One thing is certain. Not one of us non-Nationalists wants to die for the Nationalist Party, nor for the Government, nor for the Group Areas Act and the destruction of District Six and that mean and miserable thing called Bantu Education. And there is little doubt that a very great number of Nationalists, when they talk of fighting for South Africa, mean fighting to maintain the burden of cruel and un-Christian laws that they have laid on our unwilling backs.

If the Government wants our support, then they must show us that the just re-ordering of society is **being done**.

At the moment we see very little sign of it.

A final word to the young debater from Treverton. You are reported to have said that a man who would not fight for his country is not worthy of citizenship. You are not reported to have discussed the question as to whether the citizenship is worth having. We hope that as you grow older you will devote your talents, not to glib generalisations on patriotism but to making our citizenship something worth fighting for. □

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THE CASE AGAINST THE DEFENCE FURTHER AMENDMENT BILL

The Bill (Section 10)

The following section is hereby substituted for section 121 of the principal Act:

121 any person who

- a) agrees with or induces or attempts to induce any member of the S.A. Defence Force or any auxiliary service or voluntary nursing service established under this Act, to neglect or to act in conflict with his duty in that Force or service; or
- b) is a party to or aids or abets or incites to the commission of any act whereby any lawful order given to any member of that Force or service or any law or regulation with which it is the duty of any member of that force or service to comply may be evaded or infringed; or
- c)
 - i) in any manner whatsoever advises, encourages, aids, incites or instigates any other person or any category of persons in general; or
 - ii) uses any language or does any act or thing calculated to encourage, and incite instigate, suggest to or otherwise cause any other person or any category of persons or persons in general,

to refuse or fail to render any service to which such other person or a person of such category or persons in general is or are liable or may become liable in terms of this Act,

shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction in the case of an offence referred to in paragraph a) or b) to a fine not exceeding R1 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 5 years or to both such fine and such imprisonment, and in the case of an offence referred to in paragraph c), to a fine not exceeding R10 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 10 years, or to both such fine and such imprisonment*

*The Bill has emerged from the select committee relatively unchanged. There is one major difference. It introduces the qualification "with intent" in Clause C. (Rand Daily Mail, 10/10/74.)

Moved in the Durban Parliament on 10.9.74 by Bishop Ken Hallowes (proposer) and Mrs Bunty Biggs (seconded)

That this House rejects the Defence Further Amendment Bill as it is proposed and calls upon the Government to give a sympathetic hearing to those whom conscience forbids to take up Arms.

BISHOP HALLOWES

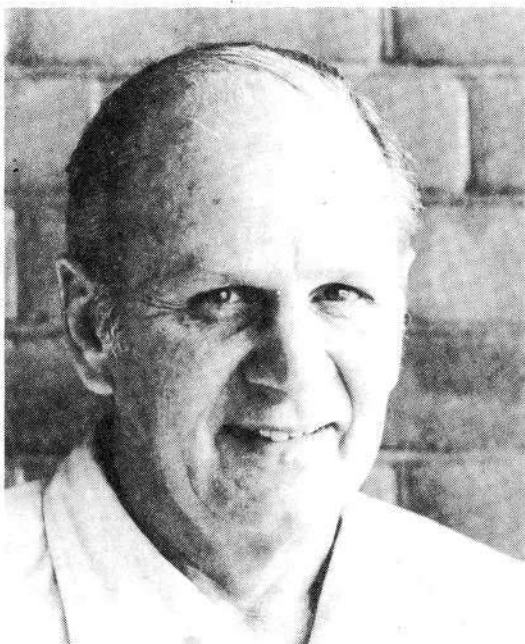
Clause 10, Section 121 (c) of the proposed Defence Further Amendment Bill, introduces into the Defence Act a new kind of crime with ferocious penalties. Whatever the intention of the clause may be, it will make serious inroads into basic civil liberties—freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and the academic freedom of the University.

The present Sec. 121 relates to serving personnel, and makes it an Offence to take deliberate action "to indulge, aid, abet, incite any serving personnel to waive or infringe a lawful order."

The proposed new Section 121 (c) does not relate only to serving personnel and is an attempt to shut down discussion on Conscientious Objection and moral argument.

With whom does it interfere?

1. The Church in general in discussing the religious and ethical grounds of military service and the refusal to do service.
2. Church denominations or sects—Quakers, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc.—who are opposed to military service for religious reasons and will no longer be able to proselytise their faith.
3. Individual spiritual leaders or any pacifists, who will no longer be free to express their views.



Bishop K. Hallowes

Jill Orpen

4. Individual citizens, groups, parties, who will not be free to discuss the whole question of compulsory military service—(many people believe there is a strong case for a volunteer army.)
5. The Press who will not be able to publish articles, letters, speeches, reports, even from overseas, on the whole question of violence, military service, or wars of liberation.
6. Publishers who will not be able to publish or import books (e.g. by Emily Hobhouse) dealing with these matters.
7. Universities who will not be able to include in their course any subject or reading matter or discussion which might be "calculated to in any way cause . . ."
8. Films, gramophone records, tape recordings, folk songs which could influence people against institutionalised violence or military service and which would be banned.

We have been told that the Bill is to deal with the resolution of the Council of Churches deploring violence and calling on its member Churches to challenge all their members to consider the question of conscientious objection, in view of the fact that the Republic of South Africa is at present a fundamentally unjust and discriminatory society.

Are we really to believe that the Government believes that, as a result of this resolution thousands of South African youths are now going to become conscientious objectors, and refuse to join the defence force? I really cannot believe that this is the case.

Then why this hullabaloo! Why this extraordinary reaction—and I use that term in its worst sense—this reaction to an issue which has exercised the minds and consciences of people, Christian and non-Christian alike, down the ages? Why?

I personally believe that the real reason for this savage reaction is not the fear of the effects of conscientious objection, but rather anger because of a bad conscience; resentment, even a cold fury, roused by being dubbed an unjust and discriminatory Society.

If this is true it makes this Bill a cold-blooded and calculated political move to silence opposition to Government policies which many of us believe to be the direct cause of guerilla activities on our borders—to hamper any who would work for change towards a more just society in our land.

We acknowledge that a Government has the right to expect its citizens to defend the country against aggression from outside its borders, but we also hold that the Government must be sure that it is doing all in its power to purify its society from unjust and discriminatory practices. For the Republic of South Africa this would mean the removing of all oppressive legislation from our Statute Books and a radical change in attitudes generally.

Government politicians would have us believe that the guerillas are communists or communist-inspired. Some may be but many, perhaps the majority, are black South Africans, driven by oppression and discriminatory legislation to seek for ways and means of obtaining freedom—in much the same way as Boer fought Briton to seek for his freedom. Naturally the Communists are laughing, for our Government have opened for them a door into Southern Africa, and we have none but ourselves to blame. Injustice and greed have always played into their hands, despicable though their methods and history may have been. Yet, though armed with weapons supplied by communist countries, trained by them I doubt whether many of the guerilla fighters are in fact communist, or uphold communist ideals. Create a more just society and we believe that much of the need for violence would disappear; or at the very least we would have a Society which conscience would find it easier to defend.

One of the effects of this proposed legislation has already become apparent in the stand taken by the Roman Catholic Board of Bishops. It is a pity that the press has described their statement as a defiance of the Government, because in fact it was not. They were simply telling those who would establish this legislation of the predicament it put them in, and in fact of the predicament it places most Christian people in. The Bill restricts our pastoral duty, it inhibits the counselling role of ministers and others. It forbids us from encouraging our people to face moral issues and there are serious moral issues at stake.

So the Christian leaders are faced with a dilemma—we wish to obey the State, but we also wish to obey God. When the demands of the State conflict with the demands of God we have no choice but to obey God—despite what the Minister of Defence said in October 1970—namely that the ‘honour and duty to defend one’s country should not be made subservient to ones religious convictions’. Words which are little short of blasphemy—of putting man above God, and so denying the Sovereignty of God.

This brings me to the second part of my resolution.

We recognise the right of the State to call on its citizens to defend our country, but we do not recognise its right to demand an allegiance which overrides all the religious beliefs and scruples of the individual.

Violence and war, for Christian people, can never be other than evil.

Some believe that there can be no greater evil than war, and therefore a Christian can never take part in war or violence. This is the pacifist view; and some take it as far as to refuse to have any part in any military organisation—even to the wearing of a uniform.

Some Christians believe that there are some evils that are greater than that of war, and that we are all sinful people living in a sinful world. This means that often we have to choose between two courses of action, both of which do not satisfy the Christian ethic. At times war seems to be justified in these terms.

Both Catholic and Protestant theology allow for a Christian taking part in what it terms ‘a just war’. I take this to mean that it justifies a Christian accepting war as the lesser evil; but it leaves the Christian with a real problem to face; that of deciding which is the greater evil.

For the Christian there is a **duty** to search his conscience before taking up arms, and being prepared to kill people. It is never an easy decision.

The Military Attitude in South Africa

In a statement issued in October 1970 the Minister of Defence explained the Department of Defence’s attitude to Section 67(3) of the Defence Act, Conscientious Objectors are either (a) allotted to non-combatant units or (b) trained without weapons. The minister said, “This policy observes both the letter and the spirit of the law and should have removed any reasonable objection to military service and training.” He added that, “the honour and duty to defend one’s country should not be made subservient to one’s religious convictions.”

Convictions of Conscientious Objectors in South Africa.

In May 1971 there were 68 young men in military detention barracks for refusing to serve in the armed forces, either in a combatant or non-combatant capacity. Some had been sentenced 3 times for refusing to report for service; and up to 10 times for refusing to obey military commands—they had, in effect been imprisoned for more than three years. Sixty-three of these youths served periods of solitary confinement during 1971.

In April this year, there were 65 young men in detention barracks for the same “offence”. Answering a question in Parliament in March, the Minister of Defence revealed that 62 of these detainees had been sentenced to periods of solitary confinement since the beginning of the year.

The majority of young people of 16, 17 and 18 years of age, which is the age when they have to make the decisions, are not going to think twice about joining the forces.

The few who have consciences about violence and war are under such social pressure that it is only the very few who are prepared even to declare themselves. When they are put into so-called non-combatant units they may still be required to train with a rifle, and take part in training to use a bayonet. Much depends on the understanding nature of the Officer commanding and Officers and N.C.O’s under him.

What purpose is served in jailing men who refuse to join the forces? Those who refuse on religious grounds are not going to be deterred by this treatment.

What purpose is served in forcing a young man to carry a rifle on the borders if he is going to be found wandering around with no bullets in his rifle?

Let us first begin setting our own Society in order, let us by every means make rapid strides towards radical and peaceful change in our society, so that the violence and war to which our social, economic and political policies are leading us may be avoided.

BUNTY BIGGS

I was a C.O. in Britain in the last war. When I was conscripted into the armed forces I went before a civilian Tribunal; civilian, because the authorities recognised that this would ensure a more objective and impartial hearing than a military Tribunal. I was given exemption from any kind of military service on the grounds of my religious convictions; I stayed on in my job with the Ministry of Health and Local Authority.

This is not the time to argue the validity of the Conscientious Objector's position; but it is appropriate to state that it has been held faithfully and consistently over the last 300 years by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), and in more recent times by an increasing number of others on grounds of religion or humanitarianism.

In 1661 the Quakers addressed King Charles the Second thus:

"We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretence whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world. The spirit of Christ by which we are guided is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing as evil and again to move unto it; and we do certainly know and testify to the world, that the spirit of Christ which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons."

The above Quaker witness against participation in war, has meant for the great majority, a refusal to enter the armed forces whether in a combatant or non-combatant capacity.

Similar statements of conviction were made on the occasion of the wars in 1744; 1804 (Napoleonic); 1854 (Crimean); 1900 (S. African), and during the first and second world wars.

Many thousands were imprisoned for refusing to be conscripted and it was only in the last war in Great Britain and in other countries subsequently, that the position of the Conscientious Objector was accepted and provision made for exemption from all forms of military service.

This attitude to war and military service is not dependent on a particular political situation or the government in power, it is "an organic outgrowth of our belief as Christians which cannot be abandoned without mutilating our whole faith".

Our peace testimony is much more than our special attitude to world affairs; it expresses our vision of the whole Christian way of life; it is our way of living in the world, of looking at this world and of changing this world.

Must we now be silent under threat of dire punishment?

I therefore ask this house to pass the motion under my name, and to reject the Defence Further Amendment Bill as it now stands, and to call upon the Government to respect the consciences of those who find they cannot, for conscience sake, take up arms.

The pacifist places great emphasis on **the need to remove the causes of war**; man's greed, selfishness; disease; poverty; injustice, unfair discrimination, misuse of power.

I am convinced that we can only ensure peace and prosperity in South Africa if we are willing to remove the causes of bitterness and friction: despair, misery, frustration, injustice and violence.

We are challenged by Christ to examine our consciences in relation to our man-made institutions and the defence of them. For me this is an obligation, and it is no crime for the Church to remind us that we should be so challenged. Each one of us must arrive at our own destination, and quite clearly must be free to do this.

Refusal to do military service is not a decision that can be arrived at lightly or frivolously; indeed to talk about "inciting" or "instigating" anyone to take such action shows lack of understanding of what the C.O. position involves.

I believe that it is most unlikely that there will be any considerable number of young men who at the age of 17 or 19, have reached the stage in their thinking about such matters that they are able and willing to adopt the C.O. position—after all it is not an attitude that is exactly popular or readily accepted by society!

The government must be well aware of this fact.

It has been stated that there is no intention of penalising the genuine C.O. and that adequate provision is made for him in the Defence Act, and this will not be amended. Let us now turn to this provision.

Subsection (3) of Section 97 as amended, Defence Act 1967: "a person who BONA FIDE belongs and adheres to a recognised religious denomination **by the tenets whereof its members may not participate in war**, may be granted exemption from serving in any combat capacity; but shall, if called upon to do so, serve in a non-combatant capacity".

Thus we have the strange situation whereby an attempt has been made to meet part of the objection to military service, by exemption from combatant duties; and yet the propagation of the Quaker peace testimony may in future be regarded as inciting young men to commit a crime, i.e. refuse military service.

The wording of this clause excludes all those young men who are not members of a "peace" church, and this means almost the entire Christian congregation that is the Catholic and

Protestant churches, for they do not **require** pacifism of their members.

This is most unsatisfactory. We do not believe for one moment that it is only the Quakers who are genuine in their witness against war.

If the suggested amendments now being considered are approved, then it will be a crime for any church except Quakers and Jehovah Witnesses to advocate conscientious objection within the framework of the existing provisions, for this subsection (3) does not cover the Christian church. Therefore the C.O. cannot make use of it, his conscientious stand will presumably therefore be disregarded, and he will be committing a crime if he holds to his convictions. If he is committing a crime, then presumably anyone who encourages this attitude will be committing a crime as envisaged in these amendments.

So I refute the suggestion that the present Defence Act adequately safeguards both the Objector and the Church in their serious intent of upholding freedom of conscience.

Indeed I ask the question why is the clause subsection (3) of 97, being retained, if discussion on the whole matter is to be treated as if it were a criminal offence? One does not become a C.O. as a result of thinking in a vacuum! Much heart-searching discussion and reading is necessary before the full implications can be understood and accepted. It is now going to be a crime to advise and discuss with young men, even one's own children, the meaning of reconciliation and violence in our human situation. These amendments will make this unlawful, there will be penalties for distributing peace literature, there can be no free speech or open debate.

Are we really so afraid to discuss such matters?

It seems as though the Church, ministers and laymen, are being told first to tailor their faith to the demands of the state and then make the commands of God fit in. This is what happened in Nazi Germany, where large sections, fortunately not the whole, of the Christian Church succumbed to Hitler's pressure, and preached his kind of God.

Heaven forbid that this should happen in South Africa.

It has taken many centuries for the Christian democratic societies to recognise and accept that if there comes a point when the demands of the state conflict with a man's deeply held religious convictions, man must be allowed to give his first allegiance to God. If this were not so, then we literally could not call our souls our own.

For the majority this conflict of allegiance does not occur when a man, or woman, is conscripted into military service, and I fully accept that a person can have as strong a conviction that they should fight for their country as I am convinced that I cannot be part of the military effort.



Mrs Bunty Biggs

Jill Orpen

What I ask is that the latter position, that of the C.O. be accorded the same respect as the former, the soldier.

Now it may be reasonably asked how an objection to military service on grounds of conscience can be established. I do not minimise the difficulties; but they have been overcome elsewhere, and I cannot believe it is beyond the powers or abilities of this House to effect the necessary machinery, both to establish the validity of the grounds of objection, and to decide on suitable alternative service and the conditions thereof.

We are constantly being warned of violence, the present reality of it on our borders and the future possibility of it within; and yet the philosophy and practice of non-violence is now being looked on askance, and the very people who truly believe that the use of violence in effecting change and settling disputes is contrary to the will of God are likely to be the first ones to suffer the savage penalties.

I call on this House to reject clause 121 (c) of the Defence Further Amendment Bill and instead to appoint a group of its members to make an impartial study of this whole matter to which all relevant bodies can make representation; and further ask this House to unequivocally reaffirm its belief that there must be freedom of expression; publication and dissemination of ideas on this whole question; for without this the Christian Church cannot be true to its calling and mission, neither can the spirit of man freely seek to find answers to the challenging and complex problems which societies all too often try to solve by means of violence. □

The Motion put before the Durban Parliament was defeated.

THE INSTITUTE VINDICATED?

by Raymond Tucker

Much has been written and said about the Schlebusch/le Grange Commission's fourth interim report into Nusas. Little is known about its fifth, also recently tabled and dealing with the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The Institute, to nobody's great surprise was "vindicated", but in the course of its report, the Commission managed to make its fair share of insinuations about the organisation's objectivity, its foreign associations and, inevitably, about the role played in its affairs by members of the student organisation, Nusas.

Control of the Institute's youth programme was, perhaps, the major area for outright criticism of the organisation's personnel.

The strictures have been rejected by the Institute as "unfounded" and made "to present a semblance of justification for the investigation".

Just what were some of these criticisms?

In giving "attention" to the objectivity of the Institute's research and publications, the Commission's report carries two statements seemingly mutually exclusive.

In one, the commission states that it "by no means wishes to suggest that all the Institute's research and publications are of a negative and one-sided nature" and, as proof, praises the work of Miss Muriel Horrell, especially the Annual Survey of Race Relations.

A little later in the report, though, we are to find that "as has already been indicated, the Commission holds the view that not all the publications distributed by the Institute will pass the test of objectivity and correctness".

Which is the Commission's view? That most of the publications are objective or that most of them are one-sided?

And what does the Commission rely on for either of these judgments? There is the opinion of one of the multitude of anonymous "expert witnesses" whose views are peppered through these reports (there are at least four referred to in this one alone).

His credentials or qualifications are not referred to so we are left only with his remarks from which to judge his expertise and the merits of his "evidence" as accepted by the Commission.

When asked about the objectivity of the publications distributed by the Institute, he praised the Annual Survey of Race Relations and then proceeded to say the following in regard to a publication prepared by Mr John Kane-Berman:

"But the other publications are quite a different matter. I am thinking of South-West Africa now. I have not seen it again recently—about the Ovambo Strike—but this does give one the impression that it was written in a fairly prejudiced attitude"—"I have not looked at it again. I just ordered it when it came out and then had a bit of a look at it, but there were quite a number of factual data in it, some of which I would be in a position to confirm as being correct and others I would not be able to judge on my own. But the tone of the whole thing was not that it gave the impression that it was a purposefully objective study. It was written, one might say, with strong emotional involvement".

So much for the judgment of that expert on this publication. He was called upon to express his views on the publication "United States Corporate Investment and Social Change in S.A." by Mr Dudley Horner. He says ". . . it really struck me that it, well, really fell short as far as objectivity was concerned. That I must really say. I have given instances—there is something else here—yes. It was the subject of Labour Policy as such, which purported to give a brief survey of South Africa's labour policy. It is on page 5. The impression that a foreign reader must get is that we are still standing exactly where we stood in the days of the poor White and that whole problem, and that nothing has changed since then, and that practically nothing has been done. That is what I think is being said there in so many words. Well, that is not an acceptable presentation". A reference to Page 5 of that publication shows that it deals with the Industrial Conciliation Act passed in 1924, quotes the motivation for the measure by the then Minister of Labour and then proceeds as follows:

"The act was an unashamedly racist measure designed to protect the White worker from the threat of Black competition and in effect created the situation where there is one law for the White worker and an entirely different sort of law for the Black worker. This deliberate policy has been carefully fostered and nurtured over the years by successive White governments. In 1948 it was specifically re-affirmed by the then new National Government. It has given rise to the 57 laws listed in Annexure A to this memorandum".

One wonders which is the more objective view?

An aggrieved attack on Mr Horner's publication reads more like an information department handout than a serious attempt to examine the merits or demerits of his research and conclusions.

The Commission stated that over the years 337 research and investigation projects were carried out by the Institute, yet it

is apparently on the basis of these two publications alone that it reaches its conclusions about the objectivity of the Institute's research.

How seriously can one treat this finding?

As in previous reports, the Commission has appeared to rely on letters and documents obtained under the most questionable of circumstances.

Again, as part of its attempt to prove a "takeover bid" of the Institute by younger people, chiefly senior Nusas personnel, the Commission refers to letters written to and by Margaret Marshall, a former president of the National Union.

The letters as quoted in the report are chiefly remarkable for the sections omitted.

For instance, a letter from Miss Marshall to Mr Peter Randall, then assistant director of the Institute in which she criticises the Institute.

The following was cut out of the middle of the letter:

"Perhaps I am being somewhat underhand in writing to you about this instead of making the criticism at the meeting, but this was the first meeting that I had attended and I spoke up on a number of occasions and was met with nothing less than stony glances."

Why should this have been omitted? Was it because it minimised the suggestions of underhand action by students?

In a letter to Miss Marshall from the then Director, Mr Quinton Whyte on the 9th May, 1967 the following appears:

"I am in substantial agreement with what you say, and have made many efforts to inject a little life into the 'old boy's club'. Increasingly over the years the Institute has become more staff run but I have always tried to place responsibilities on Executive members, and have tried to avoid a staff run Council or Executive. Many of the latter have been in opposition for 19 years, and it is difficult to maintain morale when working continuously over these years in a negative context. Many are tired and frustrated and many feel that their abilities and knowledge and experience have been passed over by the wider community of South Africa. No public rewards, seats on commissions, no diplomatic posts, etc. etc. Creative abilities have been restricted".

This is dealt with by the Commission in the following way:

"I . . . have made many efforts to inject a little life into the old boys club. Increasingly over the years the Institute has become more staff run, but I have always tried to place responsibilities on executive members . . . Many are tired and frustrated and many feel that their abilities, knowledge and experience have been passed over by the wider community of South Africa". The comment on this is: "Although the Commission does not conclude that Mr Whyte was also in favour of more radical action on the part of the Institute, it nevertheless seems that he adopted an apologetic attitude towards Miss Margaret Marshall and that in his opinion there was room for "improvement" in the "fossilised" Institute. This statement could not have been made had the letter been quoted in full.

What clearly emerges from this portion of the report dealing with Nusas and young people is the deep-rooted fear of the Commission of any attempt to inject younger people and new ideas into old organisations.

This fear is only matched by its horror and distaste at the Institute's connection with overseas bodies.

The Commission examined the association of the Institute with certain overseas bodies, among them the Ford Foundation.

And it is here that the members of the Commission presume to express opinions on the taxation laws of the United States.

Nothing in the report suggests that the Commission here used an expert to advise them on these laws yet they are "convinced" that the conduct of the Institute falls within the ambit of certain sections of the U.S. Tax Reform law despite the opinion given to the Institute by the law advisers for the Ford Foundation that there was no transgression.

Was the purpose of this exercise to suggest to the U.S. authorities that the country's law was being transgressed or was it that the Commission imagined itself to be a committee of the U.S. Congress?

What skills and training did this Commission have to enable it to interpret the tax statutes of a foreign country? What tax experts did it call upon to support its view?

Is it any wonder that the Institute, in rejecting the findings of the Commission accused it of being from the outset "totally unsuited, both in composition and procedure, to perform what was essentially a judicial function".□

“UPROOTING” AND “RESETTLING”

A LA APARTHEID. The Case of Indians in Durban.

by Fatima Meer

Community development, resettlement, urban renewal, slum clearance, are terms constantly used by officialdom. The activities that occur under these designations are at the best of times never innocent of intrigue against the underprivileged and the powerless.

Mechanisation is popularly accepted as the only answer to rapid population growth—a world growth which has scaled from an estimated 500 million in the seventeenth¹ century to 906 million in 1900, and 3 billion in the last 60 years and which is expected to double itself by the year 2000. But mechanisation has also resulted in the concentration of capital and land in the hands of a few, and peasant and proletariat have had to make way for the agricultural and industrial tycoons.

While urban renewals operate primarily in favour of the upper and more powerful classes, Governments in democracies are under some pressure to settle their “electorates” with a minimum of trauma, and to their advantage. Enlightened authorities may be guided by the observations and conclusions of social scientists who emphasize the human, rather than the ecological, or architectural factors in urban renewal. They insist that the process of renewal is in effect incomplete if it does not result in an improved life for the displaced. They advocate consultations with the uprooted on the siting of the new neighbourhood, the designs, rentals or prices of their new homes and on the provision of transport, health, educational, recreational and other community services.

They warn against the isolating, segregating and declassing of the uprooted, stressing that this breeds resentment, hostility and tension and in extreme cases results in rioting. They advise against homogeneous replanting, claiming that this reinforces ethnic and religious differences, increases social distances and in effect produces disgruntled minorities. The new community, they contend, should be composed of a cross-section of the wider society in terms of age, sex and socio-economic levels since this ensures leadership from within, and enriches social life through variety and the greater range of offered choices. Resettlement, they affirm is valid only if the emphasis is on renewal rather than removal, and when in fact resettlement occurs in the same area, and new houses are built around existing social groups,² the inference being that the risks of uprooting increase with distance. Above all, they plead that existing groups which have taken generations in maturing and developing their distinctive neighbourhood traditions, and perfecting their networks of associations and influence, should not be broken up. Communities should be resettled

as wholes and in a manner which makes it possible for them to recognise their familiar boundaries and take up life with renewed zeal in their new homes and streets.

In ideal situations, resettlement is an interactive process between the “settlers” and authority. The greater the agreement between the two, and the more proximate the power of each in relation to the other, the greater the success.

The inclination of authorities to be guided by such enlightened advice is dependent on the power of the uprooted themselves. Political minorities have invariably suffered and their uprootings have nearly always been motivated by the desire of the more powerful to be rid of them from areas they value, rather than by the desire to settle them. This is the intrinsic character of resettlement in South Africa where the concept operates basically as a process of cleaning the cities of non-white commerce and residence. Resettlement is almost wholly a non-white affair, and since non-whites do not constitute part of the democracy, they do not exert any pressure on the authorities responsible for their resettlement. The result is that houses are assembled and families are moved into them even before the bare essentials of an urban neighbourhood—hardened roads, private supplies of electricity and water, police protection, telephones, health, welfare and educational and recreational services, places of worship and adequate transport, have been provided.

RESETTLEMENT IN DURBAN

Durban, one of 287 world cities whose population exceeded 500 000 in 1960,³ was catapulted into the twentieth century race for industrial development during the last world war when her population increased by 44 per cent. Beginning as a village of a few hundred inhabitants in 1830,⁴ her population rose to 681 000 in 1960 and is estimated at 936 000 today. Her position as the third largest city in South Africa, and the largest city on the East coast of Africa has not only been maintained but has been strengthened by her exceptional industrial expansion since 1960.⁵

But, as is characteristic in all such processes of rapid industrialization, her expansion has been accompanied by an acute housing shortage which has remained chronic since 1936. A 1943-44 one-in-twenty random sample survey⁶ revealed that half of the Indian and African houses, a third of the Coloured and one-sixteenth of the white, were overcrowded.⁷ By 1940, the European position had improved, but the non-white position had deteriorated.⁸ Failing to find more suitable accommodation, workers and their families moved into old deteriorating houses, congested existing dwellings, and piled up tin shanties on the hilly peripheral regions. By 1950, at least 40 000 Africans were

living in shacks under conditions of intolerable degradation. In the meanwhile, industry had continued to attract African labour at the rate of 6 000 a year.⁹ In 1952 there were 50 000 Africans in one shack area alone,¹⁰ in Cato Manor. It had been estimated on the basis of the total number of houses enumerated in Durban in the 1936 census that an additional 70 000 houses would have to be built by 1961 to alleviate existing overcrowding and cope with future population increase.¹¹ It was clear too, in view of the enormous poverty of the non-white people that the largest proportion of these would have to be built and subsidised by the Government.

The problem was fundamentally one of providing opportunities for an improved social life, and of stimulating social members to participate in it and contribute to it. There is no observable indication that the authorities were to any extent motivated by this factor. While a certain degree of re-location of residential areas from the city centre to its periphery was indicated, by and large the situation required rebuilding and renewing existing shack settlements which, though developing spontaneously, were rationally related to work places, and did not intrude into the areas of logical industrial and commercial expansion. But the choice, exercised by the people, was totally ignored. Housing complexes began to appear ten to twelve miles from the city, thereby increasing transport time, transport costs and the frustrations of mass peak hour travel. With this single and first stroke then, the basis was laid for reducing the vigour and quality of the worker, and draining him of all reserve to contribute to community life.

By 1956, tin shanties, became considerably reduced, though they never quite disappeared. Suburban hills began to be converted into regiments of brick and mortar. Between 1944 and 1968, the Government had built 64 040 houses.¹² In the meanwhile a need for an additional 80–90 000 houses¹³ has accumulated, and the shortfall has become considerably aggravated by the Group Areas Proclamations since 1958 which affected 165 500 people in Durban at the time and which has since affected many more. According to the Minister of Community Development, up to 1968, 95 611 South African families had become displaced as a result of the Act, of which 41 807 had been resettled.¹⁴ At the end of 1969, 123 000 Indian and Coloured families had put their names down for municipal housing in Durban.¹⁵ Judging by the rate at which building projects progress, it seems inevitable that inadequate, overcrowded living conditions must continue to be the lot of hundreds of thousands in Durban.

The implementation of the Group Areas Act has meant that Durban has had to cope, in addition to the problems common to all rapidly growing cities, with those problems peculiar to South African cities, forced into pampering the irrational ideology of apartheid. The removals have in effect led to the destruction of thousands of liveable homes because their standards or architectural styles were not in accord with the tastes of the whites to whom alone they could be transferred.

Today, the Group Areas Act, rather than any other single rational economic or humanitarian factor, determines the

process of resettlement in South Africa. In fact the word "resettlement" is a complete misnomer in the South African experiment, since the effect of the Act is to unsettle rather than resettle, to eliminate non-whites from the cities and push them on to its peripheries. To the white executives and their white foremen, Chatsworth and Kwa Mashu are words, out of which their Black workers come by day and to which they safely recede by night.

The effect of the Act is that non-whites know only of uprooting, and little of resettling; they know removal and very little renewal, and they see the process as one of deprivation and depletion of community life. Riverside, Prospect Hall, Cato Manor, Malvern, Seaview, Bellair, Hillary, Briardene, to name a few, were vibrant Indian communities, some a hundred and more years old, with schools, homes and churches, temples, mosques, cinemas and halls for marrying children, and feeding guests, and holding meetings so that the communities' attitudes and works could be seen in service to the poor, the blind, the sick, the young and old; so, too, that the communities' anger at indignities and voices raised in protest could be heard fearlessly. There were 3 300 families in Cato Manor, 16 temples, churches and mosques, 11 schools, 15 factories, 115 businesses, built and nurtured by the people.¹⁶ In Riverside, welfare, social and political bodies bound the community, and thousands flocked to be strengthened spiritually at the shrine of an old saint.

The extent to which the Act has resulted in blatant and unashamed deprivation, is observed in the case of Indians, the only non-white people with substantial property holdings at the time of the passing of the Act. In terms of Proclamations up to 1963, they were dispossessed of 6 638 acres of their original land holdings of 10 323 acres of rateable land in the Durban Municipality¹⁷ and their residential and commercial activity was restricted to 14 of 74 districts and five additional zones of a total of 311 zones into which the 74 districts were divided in the Metropolitan area of Durban¹⁸. Worse still, the dispossession has taken place on terms dictated by the Government so that sales have been forced, at times, at prices far below municipal valuations. In 1964, an Indian owned property with a municipal valuation of R 11 200 sold



Mrs Fatima Meer

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for R5 000, another valued at R960, sold for R50.¹⁹ By contrast the prices of properties in the declared Indian areas have become so inflated that only the very small proportion of the wealthy are able to afford freehold land. Four half-acre lots at Isipingo realised R106 500 in 1968. In 1936, Indians owned a third of the properties they occupied (highest of all race groups).²⁰ A 1964/65 market research sample survey revealed Indian home ownership to be as high as 60 per cent. Today, this position has changed drastically. The average Indian can only hope to own a council house and never the land on which it is built. It is estimated that by 1990, over 90 per cent of Indians in Durban will be living in council houses.

Writing in 1958, Kuper, Watts & Davis, stated:

“Displacement under the Group Areas Act will magnify the present acute housing shortage, while the increased difficulties of the journey to work will severely limit the energy and resources of the non-European for development work. These factors, coupled with the poverty of the non-Europeans and their consequent inability to make an effective financial contribution, must inevitably bring about a situation in which the great majority of the non-European settlements will have a low standard, not only of urban amenities, but of the basic necessities.”²¹

This has in fact occurred, whether the non-white areas have been set aside for private development, as is the case with Reservoir Hills, or massed with Council houses, the authorities have in each case done no more than provide the bare essentials. In Reservoir Hills road were laid out, their surfaces hardened and water, electricity and a refuse removal service provided. But there were no schools, no clinics, no public transport, no sewerage and no community buildings of any description, no parks nor playing fields. Today, twenty years later, two schools have been built yet rates are high, as high as those in white areas. In Chatsworth, apart from the addition of sewerage and building of schools at the outset, the situation is no different. The residents of Reservoir Hills, closer to town and with economic means, are in a position to fill in the gaps in their lives, but the Chatsworth dwellers are caught in their concrete capsules without adequate shopping facilities and no entertainment opportunities. They are unable to afford all but the most essential trips into town at 20 cents a time per person, invariably after having to undertake long walks on tediously undulating roads to bus stops.

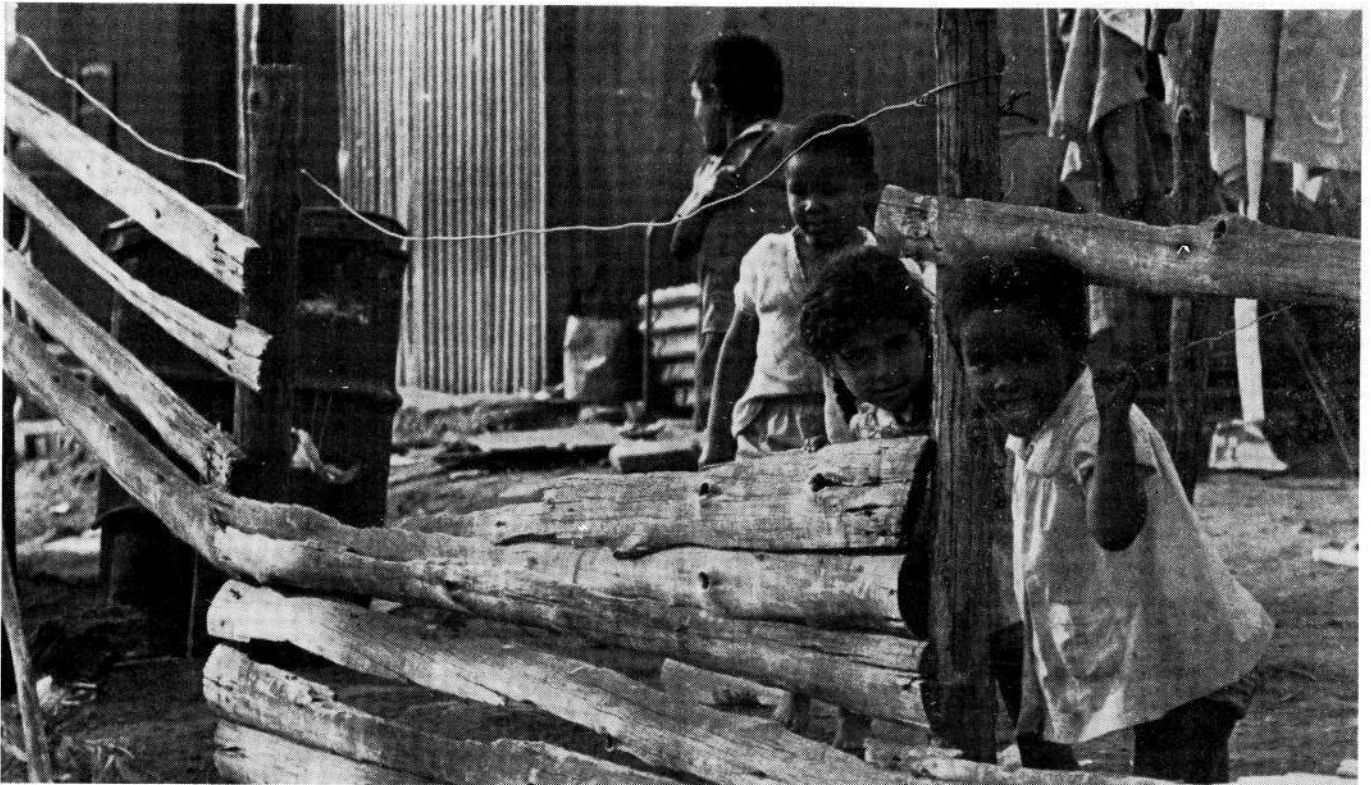
South Africa's blue print for resettlement, follows a standard formula laid down by the National Housing Board. It consists of an enclosed space of 180 sq. ft. per couple or 530 sq. ft.²² if there are ten or more persons in the family. Such units duplicated thousands of times, are placed on roads, which in the better projects are hardened. Electricity, sewerage and water may be laid on and schools may be built, and resettlement is considered complete. The maps will show sites for recreation, worship and even central metropolises, but since these depend on voluntary development, they will only occur when the residents can find the finances.

On the basis of this formula, Durban has assembled three gigantic housing complexes, since 1956 with populations exceeding 110 000 in each, and reaching 165 000 in one

(Chatsworth). Extensions to two of the complexes, Chatsworth and Umlazi, will increase the population in each to 250 000 and 220 000 respectively.²³ These are the proportions of cities rather than residential suburbs. There were in 1965, 896²⁴ cities in the world of these dimensions. But the similarity ends here. These housing complexes have not been designed as cities and they will never develop as cities. They are essentially the dormitories of urban workers and their families, and as such they have no economic viability of their own. In contrast to the vibrant heterogeneity and compelling variety of the city, they are characterised by a dulling uniformity and pervaded by an air of intellectual sterility. There is nothing to suggest that they now or will in the foreseeable future, constitute self contained societies, fulfilling for their members the interests, goals and designs for a complete and self sufficient society. They are the ghettos of the rejected, pushed away and out of the range of concern, sympathy and action of the more privileged members of Durban's Society. The tragedy is the tragedy of segregation, of discrimination. Twelve miles out of the city is a long way out and there, in their bleak environments, the non-whites, out of sight, out of mind, are left to their own poverty-stricken devices. If development is to take place at all, it must, as things stand, come from outside. In this respect Indians have an advantage, in that they possess a small affluent group and this group is religiously motivated to do good, but the proportion of this group in view of the changing economic structure of the Indian community, appears certain to decline.

But people do not like to have things done for them. They wish to be free and solvent so that they can do things for themselves, plan, build and develop their own activities and interests, for it is in this sense alone that they can grow into a community, that an assembly of households can fuse into society. But the process requires freedom and spontaneity.

In 1928, hundreds of families, many of whom had²⁵ formerly lived in slums, moved into the London housing estate of Wattling, overwhelmed by the strange and new and dejected by the sacrifices in time, money, energy, comfort and old friendships that the uprooting had cost. But within months the situation changed. Six enterprising persons called up a residents' meeting, 250 attended. They founded a local paper which took up local issues and reflected the needs and aspirations of the people. The association and its paper, began agitating for schools, transport, postal facilities, playing fields, a central park, discussed rents, represented the community's needs to the Local Relieving Officer, and pressed for proper representation on local Government. While pressing for the last, the Association negotiated successfully with various Government departments for improved and increased amenities, and established numerous committees, thereby creating institutions to cope with the specialised hobbies and worries of the residents. Hence, within a year, a district nursing association, a free legal advice service, a children's league, a dramatic society, a play reading circle, a loan club, a horticultural society, a women's guild an old comrades' association and branches of two political parties had become established. "Wattling" families were, as a result, quickly integrated into a community as was evidenced in the enthusiasm they displayed in all group activities and in voicing their feelings in the local paper.



Shanty Town

Jill Orpen

One may compare this example of dynamic growth with the experience in Chatsworth. In the absence of any substantial data, the interpretation is based on very general observations. Apparently, few voluntary associations have emerged and of these none appear to have the type of vital membership that could invigorate feelings of community and solidarity. The only group activities observably present, are those related to sport, religion and social welfare, but even with these, there is considerable dependence on outside help. Yet the Indian people have always had a strong tradition for voluntary associations and have in fact progressed their welfare, health, hospital and education services primarily on the basis of this tradition. The families in each of their original pre-Group Areas suburbs were bound and rebound through large numbers of varied associations. The explanation for the absence of associations in Chatsworth cannot thus be explained in terms of Indian apathy. The explanation, has to be sought elsewhere, and may well be found in both the physical and social environment of Chatsworth.

The Wattling study revealed that community life reached its peak when it was composed of 2 468 families, then declined progressively as the number of families inclined. This is best observed in the circulation of the local paper, which fell from 80 per cent to 24 per cent when the families had almost doubled.²⁶ It may be suggested, that the very largeness of Chatsworth vitiates against its easy development into a community.

But the problems that Chatsworth residents face are more complex than that of size. Voluntary associations, the life breath of community life, are stimulated by a sense of power, a feeling that through them things can be gained. The people in Chatsworth are hemmed in by too many restrictions and too many fears and the two combine to suggest to them that their security lies not in voicing their opinions, but

concealing them. Associations, other than religious or sporting are considered dangerous, and associations that may be formed to promote their most urgent needs could easily fall into the category of the political and subversive. There is, hence, a fear of associations.

But probably the largest factor inhibiting the growth of associations in Chatsworth is the factor of poverty and time. Associations require leadership and leadership in all societies is usually provided by the upper and middle classes. In Chatsworth, the poor have been forced together into a homogeneous socio-economic mass and thereby sealed off from social experiences that invigorate and stimulate, through their variety and complexity.

It seems that all three of Durban's mass resettlement schemes or housing projects have developed in total contradiction to the recommendations of experts. Where they advocate or economic homogeneity for fear of breeding social minorities or economic heterogeneity for fear of breeding social minorities and exposing the wider society to tension and overt violence, the authorities have deliberately designed settlements for specific races, and specific socio-economic groups. Kuper et'al warned in 1958,²⁷ that the implementations of the Group Areas Act might well result in the creation of pariah communities, with high crime rates and other indications of social disorganization, and this is what has happened. In Chatsworth the respectable housewife points with disgust to the shebeens in her area, and tells you that you can also buy dagga there. These are new things in her life experience, and in order to be "saved" from these, she must shut her door against the street and keep her husband and children in the house. There are complaints that alcoholism is increasing and dens of prostitution are becoming a feature and in the absence of shops, there is an outcrop of other forms of illegal trade.

Chatsworth has already burst its seams. As many as 25 persons have been reported to be living in some two-roomed houses. 5 000 new homes are needed immediately to accommodate the families of married sons. But the two adjacent units of Bul Bul and Welbedacht, almost a tenth of the present Indian land allocation in Durban, have been declared unsuitable for development.

The future Indian housing development is planned in the Phoenix-Newlands complex for a population of 210 000. The drawing board presents a gallant effort not to repeat the monotony and friendlessness of Chatsworth. The houses, single, semi-detached, duplex, terraced and flats are grouped into clusters and neighbourhoods to accommodate populations of 4 000 and 8 000 respectively. Nursery schools, shopping and community centres, and children's "run abouts" are indicated to suggest the gathering together of peoples and founding of communities. But it is the sheer scale, the congestion and the poverty that are destroying Chatsworth, and nothing has changed in Government policy, to save Phoenix-Newlands.

Indian land values are highest of all in Durban. The Government, city council and Department of Community Development have sold residential plots of 5 000 and 10 000 sq. ft. for R5 000 and more. The cheapest sites, on undeveloped rural land, 18 miles from the city are offered to selected victims of Group Areas removals at R1 200–R1 500. Private township dwellers offer plots from R3 000–R12 000 in relatively undeveloped areas and for as much as R25 000 in the "choice" Indian areas more proximate to the city.

Indian townships are the most congested. Chatsworth, 4 700 acres in extent is planned for a population of 165 000: the African townships of Umlazi and Kwa Mashu, 10 000 and 3 700 acres respectively, for respective populations of 120 000 and 110 000. 2 014 dwellings per acre have been planned for Chatsworth and a density of 153.2 persons; 12.3 dwellings have been planned for Kwa Mashu, 10.00 for Umlazi and the density 73.9 and 16 persons respectively.

The ruling plot size in Kwa Mashu is 40 x 70 ft, in Umlazi 50 x 70 ft; in Chatsworth 25 x 90. The standard area per sub economic unit in Kwa Mashu is 523 sq. ft, in Umlazi 582 sq. ft. in Chatsworth 520. The average family size in Umlazi and Kwa Mashu is 6, in Chatsworth it is 7.5.

Chatsworth has been developed on Indian fruit farming land: it was expropriated from Indian farmers at an average price of R250 per acre. Economic houses have been sold to Indians at R4 000 per unit. The buyers in fact paying R8 000 by the time they redeem their capital. The authorities are bound to make enormous profits out of the whole scheme.

The buyers on the other hand must spend large sums of money to keep roof and walls together. The houses built by the Department of Community Development have been known to be poor, since the Department is exempt from all housing regulations.

Both the Department of Community Development and the City Council are hard landlords. Residents are expected to keep the homes in good repair at their own expense and may be summarily ejected for such breeches of the tenancy agreement as illicit dealing in liquor and default in payment of rentals. Evictions range from 10–60 per month.²⁹ But in the absence of freehold land, the exorbitant cost of building and rental in private housing, and the constant flow of removals in terms of Group Areas proclamations and urban expansion, the pressure on council housing and land is enormous.

Indian home ownership which was as high as 50 per cent prior to the Group Areas Act, has dwindled to an all time low today. In 1966 75 per cent of Durban's Indians lived on freehold land; by 1990, it is estimated that 90 per cent of Indians will be living in council houses.

The larger proportion of land in Indian Group Areas in the Durban region is in fact in white hands—in the hands of the Durban City Council and the Department of Community Development—and the proportion in such hands is bound to increase under separate development.

Consequently, any talk of Indian independence, Indian autonomy or Indian freedom in Indian Group Areas is a farce and Indians are deeply conscious of this. Accordingly local rate-payers' bodies have openly boycotted elections to the Local Affairs committees and the people have remained cold. Of a potential 2 00 000 voters in the two Durban zones in 1973, only 23 000 voted.

The Durban City Councils' studied neglect of its Black communities was recently highlighted by members of the Local Affairs Committee. Of a projected expenditure of R557 million for 1973–74, only 5,3 million rands was budgeted for Indian areas, whose population today far exceeds the whites. The budget for coloured areas is R749 410. The expenditure on white luxuries alone is higher than the total Black expenditure: R2,4 million for white Parks, R2 million for white sport, R0,5 million for white entertainment, R2,1 million for white beaches, R0,2 million for white libraries.

No allowance is made for Black entertainment, or beaches, and the niggardly sums of R0,09; R0,02 and R0,24 million rands are allotted to Black libraries, sporting and park facilities respectively.

The term resettlement is an obvious misnomer. □



Edgar Brookes

The Natal Witness

During recent years forward-looking South Africans of more than one political party have been actively considering what modifications in the present "homelands" policy would be needed to make it more just and more practicable. A minority of thinkers has stood out for a united South Africa with a common roll type of franchise. The majority opinion has been in favour of some type of federation in which the "homelands" would play an important part.

In his book Paul Malherbe has introduced a new and original conception which may well affect the thinking of both groups. His oddly named "Multistan" signifies a unified area with a common roll forming part of a Federation composed in the main of "white" or "black states". It is arguable that if this "Multistan" proves a success, it may lead to a gradual development of both the Federation and its component states in a "Multistan" direction.

This able little book—another of David Philip's outstanding publications—exhibits very welcome signs of practicability and thorough research. Mr Malherbe shows a touch of real genius in selecting Kwa Zulu (which he persists in calling "Zululand") for his first experimental "Multistan". Within the present Government's policies, Kwa Zulu faces insuperable difficulties. If all white-owned land is excluded from its boundaries, Kwa Zulu will inevitably be split into at least ten different fragments, a fact which makes independence or even local autonomy extremely difficult. If on the other hand these rich sugar lands are to be expropriated the cost will be intolerably high. But if white land-owners retain their property, a franchise on a common roll dominated

REVIEW

"MULTISTAN": A NEW FACTOR

Malherbe, Paul N: "Multistan": A way out of the South African dilemma, (David Philip, Cape Town, 1974) R4,95

by Edgar Brookes

by Zulu voters, and equal (but not superior) civil rights, Kwa Zulu can have viable boundaries, the white landowners can preserve the property which their hard work and technical skill have built up, and white residents can remain political sharers in Kwa Zulu without humiliation. It is pertinent to say that this happy result would be better achieved under the leadership of Gatsha Buthelezi than under a less diplomatic and skilful ruler.

As the neighbouring segments of South Africa watch this development, some with hope and some with fear, they will be, so Mr Malherbe hopes, converted to the view that a black majority can rule whites without economic, political or personal disaster. From this may gradually work out the kind of solution which the minority group of liberals would prefer—a united South Africa with a common roll.

It is an example of Mr Malherbe's sobriety and modesty that he does not attempt to take us all the way along this route. He injects a new factor into our thinking by giving us a practicable example which will certainly work and might take us a long way. His book gains from not being written to support a theory, but from being rather a practical and most useful contribution from a South African who loves his country to the easing of that country's problems and needs.

As he is a son of E. G. Malherbe, it may be permissible to describe him without irreverence as a valuable chip from a valuable old block.□

“THE CHALLENGES OF BLACK LIBERATION”

“The Challenges of Black Liberation to the Black-Arm of the Church in the light of what constitutes ‘Liberation’ within the context of our contemporary situation”

An opening address by: The Hon. M. Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu.

At the Annual Conference: Inter-Denomination African Ministers’ Association:
Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre: Pietermaritzburg: Tuesday, 20th August, 1974.

As one of the children of the CHURCH, I have a free conscience about being here today, not to deliver a homily, but to examine with you as a Churchman, what I see as challenges we face as the Black arm of the Church, vis-a-vis Black Liberation, which constitutes the subject of an animated current debate in our contemporary scene in South Africa.

The Church is harassed and rightly so, in Southern Africa, because as the only ‘foreign’ institution we still embrace, it is poised for a crucial role in the whole struggle for the Black man’s liberation. The whole exercise reminds me of ‘the trials, and hopes of the apostolate, as so well set out by St. Paul in his Second Letter to the Corinthians, chapter 4 vs: 7 to 12:

“We are only the earthenware jars that hold this treasure, to make it clear that such an overwhelming power comes from God and not from us. We are in difficulties on all sides, but never cornered; we see no answer to our problems but never despair; we have been persecuted, but never deserted; knocked down, but never killed; always, wherever we may be, we carry with us in our body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus, too, may always be seen in our body. Indeed, while we are still alive, we are consigned to our death every day, for the sake of Jesus, so that in our mortal flesh the life of Jesus may be openly shown. So death is at work in us, but life in you”.¹ I am rather fond of Phillips translation of the same passage for its dramatic effect:

“This priceless treasure we hold, so to speak, in a common earthenware jar—to show that the splendid power of it belongs to God, and not to us.

We are handicapped on all sides, but we are never frustrated; We are puzzled, but never in despair. We are persecuted, but we never have to stand it alone. We may be knocked down but we are never knocked out! Every day we experience something of the death of Jesus, so that we may also know the power of the life of Jesus in these bodies of ours. Yes, we who are living are always being exposed to death for Jesus’ sake, so that the life of Jesus may be plainly seen in our

mortal lives. We are always facing death, but this means that you know more and more of life. All faith is like that mentioned in the Scripture: I believed and therefore did I speak. For we too speak because we believe and we know for certain that He who raised the Lord Jesus from death—shall also raise us with Jesus. We shall all stand together before him.²”

It is a well worn out platitude of many immodest white politicians that the Black man should ever be grateful to the White man for “Liberating the black man from black savagery” he was subjected to before the white man came, and for bringing him what is rather glibly referred to as the ‘Christian gospel’ or ‘Christian civilisation’.

The more I am getting on in years the more I realise that for the black man, the Church has not in practical terms successfully related to Blacks what the core of this Christian gospel is.

The more I realise that we blacks in South Africa seem furthest than all blacks on the Continent from liberation, the more I appreciate that we have never enjoyed fully the fruits of that Christian brotherhood which the White man boasts of having brought us. The more the White electorate supports white exclusiveness, white wealth and white privilege, the more it is brought home to me, that as a black man, I am not supposed to enjoy the fruits of that Christian civilization, about which I have heard so much for more than forty years.

Southern Africa is now, the theatre of the black man’s struggle for liberation and this has placed the Church in a most invidious position. Unfortunately, whilst we are the Church here, it is however still true that the Church is still primarily a white and secondarily a black voice owing to the amount of power whites, wield because of the major role which white leadership still plays in our Church. That is why I have always applauded the action of the African Ministers who founded IDAMASA. This body it might be said, was not necessary to have, because the Church is non-racial. But whilst that represents more what is desirable than what is, the existence of a body like IDAMASA

reflects the reality of our situation. The existence is now more essential and meaningful than at any stage of the black's struggle for liberation.

Whilst the stand of the Church on issues such as were discussed at the South African Council of Churches Conference in Hammanskraal recently, is highly appreciated, it is also equally important to have our black stand, on issues, which are related to our own particular black experience within racist South Africa. By saying this, I am not attempting to play down the epoch-making stand taken by the Council of Churches at Hammanskraal. White over-reaction to that stand is phenomenal.

At no time before, have we as the Church been called upon to witness on the whole issue of God's image in the black man as now. I make bold to say that this is the time when we might see within the black arm of the Church churchmen who will make a bold witness such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Otto Dubelius, Martin Luther King Jnr. and Dom Helder Camara, have given in other parts of the World in our own times.

The whole meaning of the gospel's message with regard to current issues of our times such as race, political power, wealth, poverty, violence and non-violence will be brought into focus, for each one of these is relevant to the liberation of the black man. A clergyman I have had the privilege to meet, the Revd. Fr. Francois Houtart in conjunction with Andre Rosseau put this looming conflict here into focus in these words:

"The conflict between religion and revolution can be on the level of historical ideals: The revolutionary wants to establish the "new life" here on earth, whereas the Christian is on his way toward a transcendent future, and believes that the solution of history lies outside history. The conflict can also lie in the area of notion of history: The revolutionary believes that man's role is to transform the world, whereas a certain type of Christian sees social reality as a gift of God which man can only accept. The symbolic images are quite different: For the former development is the only reality. The world can be changed. For the latter, all things come direct and already perfect from the hand of God. Finally, the conflict can lie in conflicting interpretations of history: For historical materialism, revolution must change structures in order to change man, whereas the spiritualist point of view seeks to revolutionize the heart of alienated, sinful man. But there are also areas of agreement: the emphasis on certain values; a thirst for justice; the defence of the downtrodden; and reference to a certain Utopia. P. Blanquart, for instance who offers another comparative analysis of the Marxist and Christian projects for humanity, shows that the former contains a rationale or operative model, a utopia which mobilizes the whole human potential and an atheistic and scientific humanism.

In the latter we find no operative model, but we do find a utopia expressed in mystical terms as well as transcendent humanism."³

I came to speak to you as a churchman who is not committed to violence, as much as you are not. And yet we as Christians are called upon at this time, when this issue of violence is so deliberately clouded in South Africa by so many emotional issues to the extent that the amount of violence so basic to the whole status quo is often overlooked. To bring in some sanity to this whole debate of violence, we as Christians

should take it as our duty to point out what is behind the philosophy of violence adopted by some of our people in desperation. It is often overlooked that the philosophy of violence is a direct result of our system which is structured in violence. It is our duty to point this out to bring about the balance so essential if we can ever hope to resolve our problems through peaceful means.

The theologian I have quoted above, has this to say on this very aspect:

"The tactical importance of violence is especially obvious in armed insurrection and guerilla warfare. Not long before his death Che Guevara is known to have called for the use of more violence. But the Latin American guerrilleros often distinguished between institutional violence, which they judge to be indispensable and the use of personal violence, which should be used only when there is no alternative. The history of South Vietnamese NLF or of the freedom movements in the Portuguese Colonies, shows that they were not originally violent. They become violent because of the systematic opposition they met with in the first place and later, in response to repressive measures used against them by the power system. This is what Dom Helder Camara is talking about when he speaks of the "established violence" of social and political structures. Violence is triggered by police repression, which transforms a non-violent movement into a violent one. Many moralists have failed to take this basic historical process sufficiently into account when pronouncing their judgements".⁴

He goes on later to state:

"It is important, therefore, to recognize that violence is not an end in the revolutionary process. No responsible revolutionary movement uses violence for its own sake. Violence exists in revolution just as it exists in the status quo. In the former it is often more spectacular and it does not benefit from the aura of respectability surrounding what Max Weber calls "legal violence". It is therefore "savage". It is the violence of the poor, of those who have no part in the power structure and who cannot, therefore, use "legal violence" which is less noticeable and better organized. ."⁵ He then quotes a report dated July 31, 1967 the Guatemala Committee for the Rights of Man, which declared:

"The armed struggle in Guatemala, as in any other region where it may arise, can be understood only in terms of the destitution and injustice in which the majority of the urban and rural masses live. Who would think of organizing a guerilla group in the Swiss Alps or in any country where other forms of struggle can be used for negotiation? A serious study should be made to see whether violence stems from orders received from abroad or whether it is the fruit of a revolt against, the repression under which people live. What non-violent means are available to the people of Guatemala to express their problems legally and peacefully?"⁶

We as the black arm of the Church should see our role at this time, as a very serious and crucial one in restoring sanity in this whole debate taking place in Southern Africa on violence. This we must do not because we wish to condone violence in any way, but because if the issues behind the conflicts now taking place are not seen in their correct perspective, it will be impossible for the Church to play its role of reconciliation successfully. I am convinced that if we do this as Christians,



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we will be living up to the Beatitude, "Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called the Children of God". Dietrich Bonhoeffer makes it clear that being peace-makers has a price we have to pay. He states in his comment on this Beatitude, "... But nowhere will that peace be more manifest than where they meet the wicked in peace and are ready to suffer at their hands".⁷

It is no longer sufficient to point out that violence is wrong but in our condemnation of violence, let us point out that the personal violence chosen by guerrillas in Southern Africa is a product of the institutionalized violence, which stands as an invincible monolith in the midst of all the powerless and the voiceless in Southern Africa. In a country often glibly described as Christian as ours often is, it is important for us to be contrite, if we expect God to show mercy on us and on all the peoples of this country. To keep on pointing out culpability of only one side, of those two sides who are facing one another in violence, is like fanning the flames. It is only by pointing out wrong on both sides that humility which precedes contrition can take place.

I am convinced that this is one of the thankless tasks that we as the Church are called upon to perform at this point in history in the interests of all our peoples in South Africa. Neither side has a right to use force to destroy the image of God in their fellowmen. Hunger, poverty, illiteracy, lack of economic justice, are all evils which postpone the liberation of the black man and we have to do something about them.

Having pointed out what the issues are, I heartily applaud the Church's involvement in promoting grass-roots development of their people. I have in mind here the Community Development plan of the Zululand Council of Churches, spear-headed by Bishop Zulu. I have in mind the efforts of IDAMASA in relation to the Black Bank project.

We can not hope for manna from heaven anymore, however devout we may be in our prayers. Prayers can only strengthen us to stand up and have the self-awareness without which we cannot liberate ourselves.

We are called upon to witness in an era of revolution in Southern Africa. We can only witness in such a revolutionary era through revolutionary methods. Revolutionary ideas do not mean only bloody revolutionary ideas. We are aware that during our own times there have been exponents of non-violent revolutionary movements such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Albert Lutuli and Dom Helder Camara. All these were God-fearing men and I challenge anyone to show me if we have a single man more God-fearing than these servants of God. To me this is not merely a question of politicising Christianity. It is a matter of rising to the occasion by seeing all the dimensions of our problem at this crucial moment in history and making a relevant contribution. Our Lord stood for non-violence to the end, as we all know. As a non-theologian, I am always aware that my Church has always told me that our bodies are God's temple. Therefore any desecration of the temple cannot be forgiven. Our Lord gave a whacking to those who desecrated the Temple. It was the only occasion when our Lord is recorded as having used violence. So that all forms of exploitation which cause the body of man to suffer, are forms of desecration. I will not go so far as to prescribe that only violence can be good enough for those who desecrate in this way, but this is a point I think we would do well to remember as followers of Christ.

In conclusion, I wish to quote Fr. Francois Houtart and Andre Rosseau on the role of the Church in a revolution situation'

"The function of social critic is essential to the Church, which exists not "in-itself" but for the parousia. It is in view of future reality, announced by Jesus Christ, that the institutional Church has the obligation to a witness of hope and, therefore, a tangible sign of hope. This means that it has the obligation to organize itself in such a way as to be the institution of critical freedom". I ask brethren, How else can the Church bring about "God's Kingdom on earth as it is in Heaven? " To me this is the major challenge of the Church, particularly her black-arm, in the context of what constitutes liberation of the black man within the context of our contemporary scene. I am honoured to share my rather wild thoughts at this time, with you. Forgive me, despite my wildness in daring to speak about matters so above me, I am still your Brother. □

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