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The pilgrims who walked from Grahamstown to Cape Town in penitence for the evils caused by the migrant labour system have issued a call for the system to be phased out.

They made concrete suggestions which, if adopted, would mean that by 1984 men coming to centres of employment would be automatically allowed to stay and to bring their families with them. They would also have the security of knowing that they would not be sent away when they became too old to work.

Freedom of movement is something so precious that it is difficult for people who have it to comprehend what life is like without it. Whites in South Africa have accepted certain restrictions on their freedom of movement but there are few who really feel themselves deprived because they may not enter African areas without a permit.

Blacks in the Republic have no freedom of movement whatsoever. They may not move out of the homelands without a permit. They may not move around to seek work. They may not accept work, or move to live with their families, or move from city to city, without permits. This means that none of the things which Whites take for granted are possible for Blacks.

It is White government which has taken this right from Blacks and it is White government, backed by the majority of the White population which continues to increase the restrictions which make family life impossible to a majority and free choice of employment and residence impossible for most.

The situation is so bad that one recoils at the thought of waiting until 1984 before the worst of the restrictions are lifted. From the Black man's point of view, to wait until tomorrow is too long. There is no justification for the discrimination inherent in the pass

laws but South Africa has moved so far in the wrong direction that it may well take 10 years to provide adequate housing and amenities in the centres where they are needed.

On the other hand housing and amenities have to be provided for people wherever they are living and, if slums were to grow up in the cities as they are now growing in the rural areas, then perhaps the people who hold the power would be motivated to take the necessary urgent action.

It seems highly improbable that any of the pilgrim's suggestions will be adopted. The migrant labour system and the pass laws are basic to the ideology of apartheid and this Government has not been notable for paying any particular attention to rational ideas or for admitting to mistakes made in the past.

It is probably impossible for Whites to make any politically realistic plans for change in our present situation.

Any changes which might, by skillful leadership, become politically possible are unlikely to be radical enough to meet the urgent requirements for the reconciliation of our deeply divided society.

We would like to see South Africa governed according to the principles of western democracies where there is no separate legislation for different race groups, where all citizens have the same means of identification, where all are governed by the same labour laws, where housing and amenities are provided using common criteria, and where freedom of movement is enjoyed by all the citizens of the country.

We can only work towards this to the best of our abilities and to this end we support the pilgrims in their stand. We are only afraid that White South Africa will continue blindly along the path to destruction and that we will all be overtaken by events.

An immoral law

Early in February, Tony Brink, geologist, lecturer and householder, went to prison because he refused to pay a fine for "illegally" employing Mrs. Suzanne Sepanya so she could be near her husband and two young children. Four days after he went into the Fort to serve a 15-day sentence, he was released, the money he had on him when he went into prison being used to pay the balance of the R15 fine he had elected not to pay. Now, Mrs. Sepanya is back on the West Rand, her husband and children remain on in Witkoppen and when she pays them a visit she risks being prosecuted for being in the prescribed area of Sandton. The stamp in her reference book means "endorsed out" of the municipal area of Sandton. This is the statement made by Tony Brink to the magistrate who sentenced him.

‘I own a five acre property in Witkoppen, Sandton and have lived there for the past 12 years. Four months ago, at a time when I was looking for a domestic servant, it was suggested to me by a nearby neighbour that I might employ Suzanna Sepanya, the wife of the Rhodesian-born African man in her employ. My neighbour explained that Suzanna Sepanya’s husband was legally registered in her service in Sandton and was applying for South African citizenship by virtue of his marriage to Suzanna who is a locally-born woman. Until such time as his application for South African citizenship was considered he was not entitled to work for any other employer but herself.

‘Suzanna’s two youngest children, aged 12 and 15, live with her husband and attend the local Witkoppen Bantu Farm School. Suzanna naturally wanted to live with her husband and two young children and as the R26 per month which her husband earned was not sufficient to cater for their needs, she was looking for a job nearby.

‘I accordingly agreed to employ Suzanna as a domestic servant and went to the offices of the Sandton Bantu Affairs authorities in Alexandra Township to ask for her to be registered as being in my employ. I was informed that it was not possible for her to be employed in Sandton as she had previously been registered in the non-prescribed area of Krugersdorp.

‘Furthermore, as she had grown up in Randfontein, she was not eligible for registration in Sandton. In spite of this, however, Suzanna wished to remain in my employ in order to be near her husband and two sons. She was

prepared to face the possibility of being arrested as an illegal resident, and I was prepared to face the possibility of being charged with employing her illegally. Nevertheless, I tried on two further occasions to get her registered, but my application was turned down both times.

‘A further attempt to have her registered as in my employ, this time by the employer of her husband, resulted in an endorsement being stamped in Suzanna’s reference book to the effect that she was to leave the municipal area of Sandton within 72 hours, that was by January 21, 1973.

‘The day after this endorsement had been made in her reference book Inspector de Klerk, Jr., arrived at my home and, having examined the reference book, served a summons on me to appear in this court under a charge of having employed her illegally. The summons indicated that I could elect to pay an admission of guilt of R20.

‘I did not pay the admission of guilt. I am a practising Christian and I try to live according to my understanding of Christ’s teachings. I consider a law such as that under which I have been charged, which has the effect of denying a husband and wife, and a mother and her children the right of living together to be an immoral and unchristian law.

‘I fully realise that I was breaking the Urban Areas Act by employing Suzanna Sepanya, but I am prepared in conscience to face the consequences of having done so.

‘Suzanna and her husband were married

in the Christian rite. Christ has said "What God has put together let no man put asunder". I take this injunction seriously, and I will not be party to any manmade law or action which defies it.

Suzanna left Sandton on January 21, 1973, as required by the endorsement in her reference book. She is not permitted to return.

Even if she were to come to visit her husband and children, she would face the prospect of arrest.

"The law which has been responsible for this is the law I broke. I stand before this court now, prepared to bear the consequences of having thus chosen to act in accordance with my conscience as a Christian."

What is so funny?

ELEANOR ANDERSON

On catching sight of a Black Sash demonstration, people react in all manner of ways.

Some react by not reacting, save for a small tightening of lip and nostril, and simply cease to see. Others, passing by even unto the other side of the road, rev up their cars, with fierce little roars, and really punish the chewing gum in their mouths, for it has become more than cud. Still others laugh.

Considering that this demonstration concerns hostels and the splitting up of African families, one wonders where the joke lies. One man, with a hard and handsome face, pauses in his Volkswagen alongside the row of women and laughs terrifyingly, showing every well-stopped molar. What is so funny about separating a small child from its mother?

In another car a man nudges his wife, laughs sneeringly, and her heavily lipsticked mouth joins in the mirth. In a bus a pretty young woman holds hands with a small boy next to her and snickers at a poster which has caught her eye. The poster says "Give families family life".

Several young men in a combi pause for the robot, but it is only when the vehicle moves on that one of them has the boldness to shout an obscenity at the women. Does he agree that it is obscene to forcibly separate a man from his wife?

Many people read the slogans on the posters, mouthing the words as if they were hard to understand. "Kinders by ouers" should not pose such great difficulty. A middle-aged man shouts "bloody fools!" and speeds away. A uniformed African chauffeur and his employer gaze non-committally at the posters. A hefty

White truck driver, whose passenger is a small, neat African in overalls, drives his elbow hard into his ribs and bids him share the jest, and the small man, who has been looking with concern at the women, giggles wretchedly.

A young man in a slick red Alfa waits for the green light and looks so nice that one hopes, hopes, that he will not laugh. But he does. A young couple with granny in the back seat stare scornfully, and as they drive on granny, unseen by them, blows the Black Sashers a fluttery kiss.

Why is whiteness so superior? Whiteness puts one in mind of snow of lilies, of clean linen and purity and flags of truce, but it is also associated with fear, and leprosy, and sun-bleached bones.

Bus number 77, Slegs Vir Nie-Blankes, is going to Greenside. Bus number 77, For Europeans, is going to Greenside too. Will they ever meet?



The pipe-dream shattered

JOYCE HARRIS

Black Consciousness is an awareness of self — “I am, I exist” . . . It is an acknowledgement of one’s value in the eyes of God, one’s worth as a human being . . . It is a denial of the process of depersonalisation which has been inflicted on the Black people by 300 years of White racism . . . These were but a few definitions of Black Consciousness which were given at a recent symposium on the subject where the platform of speakers was Black — in varying degrees.

The Whites are deeply and bitterly resented. The use of terms like “Non-White” and “Non-European” are a sure indication to the Blacks that they are and have been viewed by Whites as non-persons, and over the years they have become conditioned to viewing themselves in the same light.

But Black Consciousness is changing all that, and how easy it is to appreciate the wonderful feeling of exhilaration and elation that this sudden sense of self-awareness and self-importance must give to people who are down-trodden, oppressed, regarded simply as cogs and numbers.

What an indictment it is of White-ruled South Africa, that the large majority of its citizens should have to seek comfort in a concept such as Black Consciousness — the only answer they have been able to find to the White Consciousness which has been thrust upon them in the guise of White superiority.

But unfortunately I am not Black, I am White. I say “unfortunately” advisedly, for I came away from the symposium feeling excluded, left out, rejected because of the colour of my skin — surely a new experience for a White South African though all too familiar to a Black one.

I was told that there was absolutely no way in which I could identify myself or be identified with Black Consciousness, should I so desire it. I was told that only Black people could “belong”. I was one of the “ladies and gentlemen” of the audience, not one of the “soul brothers and soul sisters”.

I was told that White people are irrelevant. That word, “irrelevant”, was used more than once and with the potency of a sledgehammer. So now we know that we mean even less to the Blacks than they do to us, for apparently not even our labour is important to them.

They have their path, they know where they are going. They do not feel violently disposed towards us — they do not have the time for such luxuries — but we simply do not matter.

A Black speaker from the floor said that Black Consciousness is a concept beyond the comprehension of many Black people, especially older ones, and asked that it be called what it really is: “Black Power”, which could readily be understood by any Black man.

The same speaker spoke with hatred and contempt of “White liberals” who have achieved nothing, who have no right to try to identify themselves with Black aspiration or to influence the Black movement, and whose only objective should be the conversion of White people to a liberal viewpoint. They, too, are irrelevant, but more dangerously so for they constitute a potential threat to Black exclusiveness.

Perhaps this is an extreme version of the opinions expressed; perhaps not all the speakers felt quite so strongly; perhaps there were some on the platform and in the audience who were more kindly disposed, but the general tenor of the meeting, despite smilingly spoken words of comfort and reassurance, was menacing, frightening, disturbing.

It is all very well to understand cause and effect, to be able to appreciate why Black people feel as they do, and to be able to applaud the growth of Black Consciousness because of its therapeutic benefit to people sorely in need of it.

But how is it going to be possible to draw a line, to extract only the benefits and to prevent the evils? For it seems to be quite inevitable that Black Consciousness will become Black Power if it has not already done so, nor is there any reason to believe that

Black Power will function any more acceptably than White Power has functioned.

For power corrupts, and power based on feelings of racial superiority corrupts even more, as history has shown.

The White man has set the pattern for racial-ly-based colour politics in this country which have operated to the detriment of the Black man, so he should not be surprised when the tables are turned.

I was not surprised by what I heard at the symposium. I suppose I even expected it. But I had also been nursing my own little private pipe-dream that a non-racial, colour-blind state might still be possible in this country. I do not feel this any more.

I accept the reasons for Black Consciousness, I understand its merits and advantages, but I am terrified of its implications. It is a juggernaut constantly gaining momentum. How will the brakes be applied when it becomes necessary to do so, as it inevitably must?

To be a White liberal in South Africa is to be schizophrenic. To be torn between one's very real concern for the Black man and what has been done to him by the White man and one's gladness when one sees him taking matters into his own hands, taking pride in himself and his heritage, taking steps to secure a better life for himself; and then, in the final analysis, to find that one is White and vulnerable and irrelevant and expendable and human and frightened — this presents an apparently insoluble dilemma.

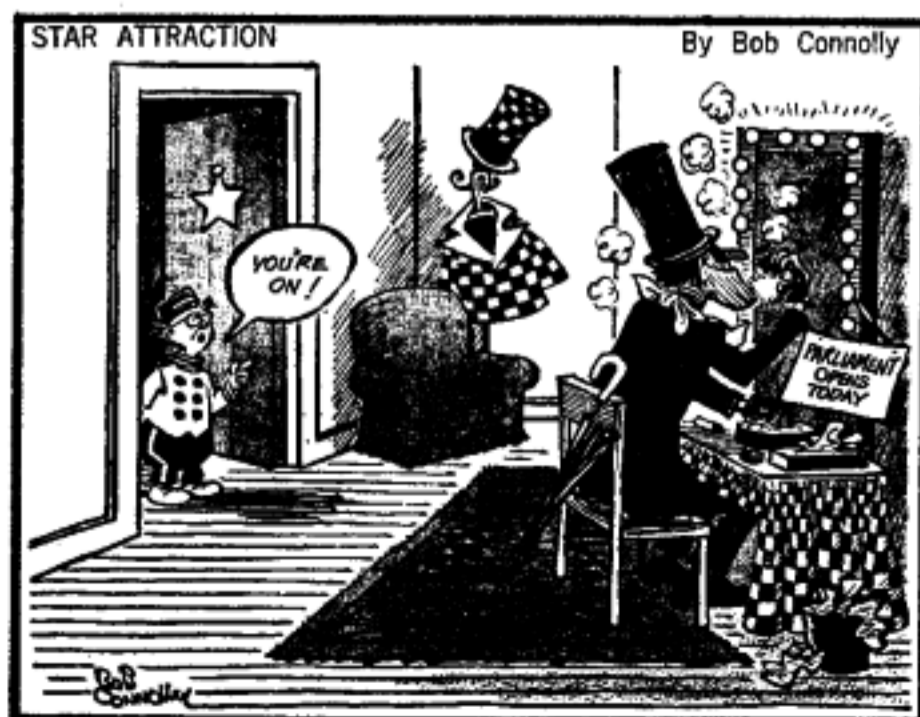
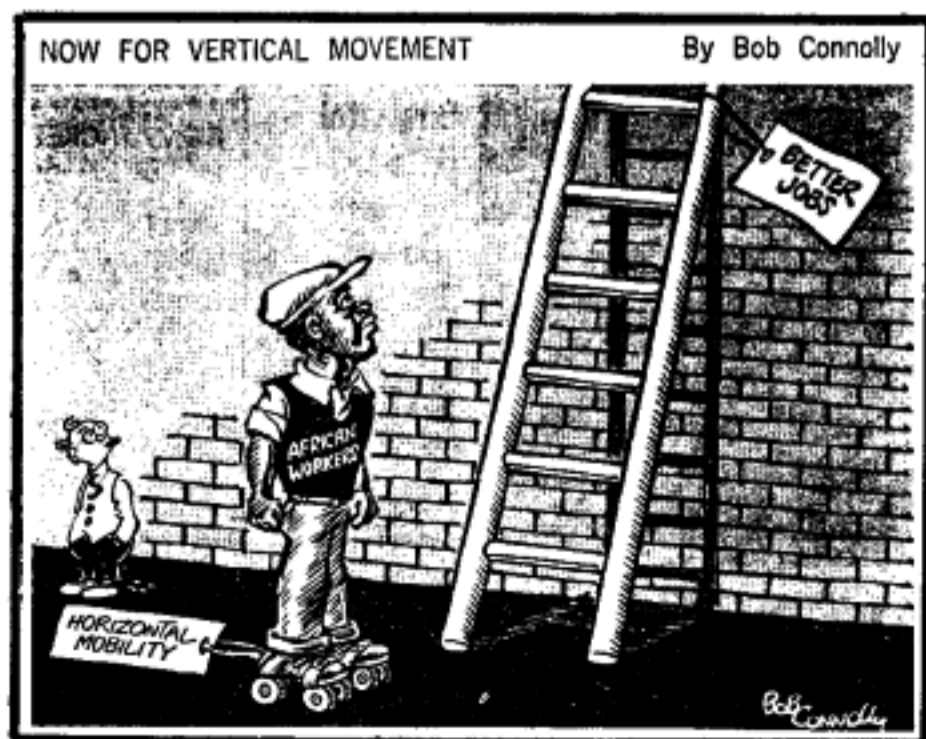
I was never more aware of it than during that symposium, for no punches were pulled, and I could no longer blind myself to what now appears to me to be an entirely inevitable racial confrontation. My own personal confrontation will, I fear, be between my own integrity of purpose and conviction and my instinct for self-preservation. This is not a choice I relish, and I can only hope that by some miracle of brotherly love I will not be called upon to make it.

CHIEF Buthelezi told the Assembly that the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, had "attempted to hold discussions with us" on the question of consolidation, in Pretoria on October 19 last year.

Chief Buthelezi said the talks had broken down. He said Mr. Botha had described the talks as "the most unsavoury discussion I have had with African leaders in 13 years."

Chief Buthelezi said: "We will not allow ourselves to be used as a facade. Your executive committee will not be a party to a fraudulent negotiation. We are not saying that the crumbs from the master's table will be rejected, but it must be remembered that we have our dignity apart from our poverty."

Rand Daily Mail. January 18, 1973.



A need for radical change

DORA HILL

This paper on employer-employee relationships and low wage structure was presented by Mrs. Hill to the last National Conference.

This problem is very wide in its scope and in such a paper one cannot hope to deal with it comprehensively. I have therefore selected certain aspects which seem to me important.

Firstly the background of the African worker and his adaptation to a new world; secondly how best to fit him in and increase his productivity through good management; thirdly the low wage position and the causes of it; and lastly the forces for change and recent events in this field.

The growth of a modern industrial society in South Africa is comparatively recent and we are still youngsters compared with the old industrial countries of the West. We have not yet learned to make the best and the fullest use of our resources in men and materials. In addition we have not got a homogenous population but one composed of groups with different backgrounds.

Our political beliefs and the ideology of apartheid further complicate the situation and, in many respects, frustrate the advance towards contentment and prosperity.

We are increasingly drawing the Black people into our system of life; one which is completely foreign to them and they are struggling to adapt themselves. It will be instructive to take a very brief look at the old tribal way of life if we are to understand their difficulties. The main features may be summarised as follows:

- Self sufficiency on a family basis;
- Even distribution of riches;
- Division of labour in accordance with sex and status;
- Mutual co-operation;
- Lack of monetary values;
- Ritual aids in production.

This type of life leads to little specialisation; a few pot makers and metal workers and medicine men. Behind them always lies the need for supernatural safeguards such as medicine to ensure fertility, rain, good crops, etc.

The changing environment has meant adaptation with individuals reacting differently — taking more or less from the new, and retaining more or less from the old e.g. monogamous marriage combined with lobola.

These changes have led, among other things, to specialisation; the division of people into urban and rural groups; unskilled and semi-skilled workers; a few professionals and sophisticates. There is understandably often a feeling of insecurity and money tends to become the old security.

The impact of these new ways of life is much greater on the urban than the rural African and of necessity his adaptation is much faster. He is, however, tremendously handicapped in his efforts by lack of education and technical training, which are fundamental to our industrialised way of life. He lives a social life isolated in the townships without the cultural stimuli available to the Whites and suffers the disability of having no say in his own present or future or that of his children. He is as unaware of our motivations and aspirations as we are of his.

Trust between management and worker is essential in an industrial society and is always difficult but is infinitely more so in these circumstances. The human being places great value on status and security and desires some indication that his is individually acknowledged and valued and that his contributions are appreciated and considered worthwhile.

Productivity is extraordinarily low in South Africa. In the period 1952-1958 productivity in the UK increased by 19 per cent; in the USA by 20 per cent; West Germany by 34 per cent and Japan by 50 per cent while South Africa's increased by one per cent.

This is the world in which we have to compete. Although wages have risen productivity has not. In increased productivity lies the road to higher standards of living.

There are many reasons for our low productivity as we shall see. We start with the disadvantage that our markets are small and this makes the full use of expensive capital

equipment impossible. Purchasing power must be expanded by increased employment and wages. The Government attitude is "no increase in wages without increased productivity".

We have an unemployment problem which militates against an increase in wages. The gap between White and Black wages is widening. Unless purchasing power is increased, an increase in productivity without increase in output leads to the same total wages to less people and more unemployment. The responsibility for increased productivity lies squarely on the shoulders of management. This is an enormous field and I only intend to deal with some of the important human ways in which improvement can be effected.

Trust between employer and employee may be difficult to achieve but it is essential. This is vital when the powerful White is the employer. The first necessity is the realisation on the part of the employer of his responsibility firstly towards his Black labour supply and secondly for increasing his management's efficiency and understanding.

- Management is responsible for the human climate in the undertaking. This climate will directly affect the prosperity of the undertaking and the happiness and satisfaction of the individuals constituting it. Personnel management can be used to determine the quality of the climate.
- No employee can be productive if he is not suited to his job and adequately trained for it.
- Job evaluation and wage administration are vital for Africans who suffer disabilities because of the limitation of movement in the labour field and the fact that they have no unions and no bargaining power.
- He must clearly understand the nature and scope of the job and what wages he will receive.
- The training of White supervisors in charge of African labour is of the utmost importance.

Supervisors must be taught an intelligent and sympathetic approach towards the African's difficulties of adaptation to modern techniques.

Management must ensure that their communication with supervisors is satisfactory and that the supervisors understand the motivations behind increased productivity.

In any undertaking many difficulties arise in regard to this most vital group. They have to be chosen from a limited field as most of them are White. Many suffer from colour prejudice and because they are not well educated they have a limited outlook.

They often suffer from fear of the competition of competent Africans. They must be taught to give instructions clearly and in an acceptable way. Supervisors must evince respect for human dignity and give the worker the sense that he is valued and given appreciation for his efforts. There are difficulties of communication through language barriers and lack of understanding of motivation between such different groups of people.

- No technical training for Africans is provided by the Government but industries can do a good deal themselves about training their African labour and a great deal more should be done.
- Because of the long distances travelled to work, men are often inadequately nourished when they arrive at work. Canteen facilities should be provided. Pension schemes, sick funds and leave should be provided.
- Throughout history the worker has had a sense of being exploited. This is bound to happen in South Africa in the future. The desire to increase productivity will be represented as exploitation. Tension may well be heightened by race differences.

Respect for human dignity is a vital factor in securing co-operation. The Black worker now wants to make his own contribution and be respected as a person

We have seen in other countries the disastrous results of individuals being made to feel they are impersonal units. The attitude of supervisors will play a great part here. As already stated, however, many of them suffer from social and educational handicaps which make it difficult for them to fill these positions satisfactorily.

Great success has attended the establishment by the mines of carefully designed selection and training procedures for African supervisors. Dr. Biesheuvel was the pioneer in this field and has done much splendid work.

These are all aspects in which management bears the responsibility and despite difficult

factors beyond their control, great advances can be made in this field alone. Government legislation and policies are responsible for most of these difficulties. Influx control; job reservation; poor general and no technical education; inefficient wage determination; lack of trade unions for Africans.

These factors all militate against the successful adaptation of Black workers who are facing all the problems of urbanisation, industrialisation and detribalisation at once.

Lack of education alone makes their task almost impossible without the severe legislative handicaps and frustrations. There has been continual outcry on the part of industrialists for years for technical education but Government policy favours this being given in the Bantustans.

Efficient industrial labour must be permanently urbanised. The knowledge that a man's way of life and status is bound up in the plant contributes to his development as a sound worker. Good housing is essential for family discipline and an orderly way of life. Family discipline becomes well nigh impossible when mothers have to go out to work to supplement inadequate wages.

The following figures are taken from Barbara Roger's paper "Standard of Living of Africans in S.A."

The Government continually states that Africans are better off in South Africa than anywhere else on the continent. Miss Rogers however, quotes the following figures. The figures represent annual income in dollars:

S.A. (All races) 375; Senegal 187; Liberia 162; Zambia 137; S.A. (Africans only) 108,5; S.A. (Africans in reserves) 45; Guinea 25; Malawi 25.

The average income of Africans in Africa as a whole is estimated at between \$110 and \$120. In South Africa it is \$108.

Minimum wage rates are fixed by the Government and kept low. The Bantu Laws Amendment Act 23 of 1970 gives the Government the power to prohibit the employment of Africans in any area, class of employment or trade or in the service of any employee.

Close control of the movement of labour lessens its bargaining power more even than job reservation which covers only 2,9 per cent of the labour force and from which hundreds of exemptions have had to be granted.

REAL WAGES:

	1944	1950	1954
Total Essential Expenditure	£12.18.6	17.14.4	23.10.6
Average family income	£ 9.18.1	12.16.6	15.18.11
Monthly deficit	£ 3. 0.5	4.17.10	7.11.5

(Figures taken from SAIRR)

Figures for the whole country are impossible to get but the Poverty Datum Line figures for Johannesburg are as follows:

1957	PDL	R42,00
1964	PDL	R52,67
1972	PDL	R82,19

Increases in wages there have been but nothing like in proportion to the rise in the cost of living, and real incomes have declined.

In mining, African real wages have not advanced since 1911. In agriculture, real wages have fallen and in the Reserves, annual income per head has dropped from R25,8 in 1954 to R22 in 1969.

In the border areas there are no Industrial Council agreements operating, wages are incredibly low and the PDL is not considered in fixing wages.

The latest national report of the Productivity and Wage Association shows that in the private sector 80 per cent of Africans earn less than R70 a month. The PDL is R82,19 but the real essential minimum is nearer R100 in Johannesburg.

GAPS IN MONTHLY EARNINGS BETWEEN DIFFERENT RACIAL GROUPS:

	Manufacturing:	Construction:
White	R287	R304
Indian	71	147
Coloured	68	103
African	50	47

In mining the gap has continually been widening and is far greater than in manufacturing and construction — although in some other directions, as we have seen, they are relatively enlightened employers. As has been noted however, Black mine workers are no better off in terms of real wages than they were in 1911. No real comparison is possible between urban and rural wages but undoubtedly the latter have not kept pace with the former.

According to the 1963/64 census an African farm labourer earned R83 a year — a Colour-

ed R155 and an Indian R193 while a White earned R1 285.

In the Reserves earnings are decreasing and poverty getting worse. The earnings of migrant workers are essential.

Forces operating to perpetuate the wide disparity between skilled and unskilled wage rates:

Legislative and customary hindrances to vertical mobility of labour; lower paid jobs held by Africans, Coloureds and Indians because of their inadequate access to education and technical training and the high rate of natural increase meaning an enormous reservoir of unskilled labour operate to perpetuate the disparity between skilled and unskilled wage rates.

The Apprenticeship Act of 1922 stipulates a minimum of eight years schooling as qualification for entry so that most African, Coloureds and Indians cannot qualify. It is only the acute shortage of skilled labour that has enabled some of the Black workers to move to more skilled jobs.

Added to all this must be the social disabilities; poor health and nutrition; lack of recreational facilities; lack of social security; low pension; inadequate housing; migrant labour.

Africans are not allowed to belong to registered trade unions. They have no legal bargaining rights and no say in the determination of their working conditions. Certain Tucsa unions have made attempts to organise Africans in trade unions. The Garment Workers Union has assisted in the establishment of the only viable African union, the National Union of Clothing Workers.

The strength of the White power structure keeps Blacks powerless.

The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1922 recognised the right of workers to organise themselves and negotiate rates of pay etc., with employers. Strikes were legalised but only after a period of negotiation.

This improved the position of White workers on the mines.

The position of Blacks is different. Under the definition of "employees" in the Act, Blacks did not qualify. They have no unions, no right of bargaining, no right to strike.

Coloureds and Indians may join or create unions. There have been many arguments used for and against African trade unions. Whites

fear the power of unions and the Chamber of Mines has continually maintained that because Africans on the mines consist mainly of migrant labour, it would be difficult for them to establish trade unions.

Trade unions would undoubtedly raise wages, partly through negotiation and increased productivity resulting from better working conditions and relations with management. Without unions, workers have no protection from arbitrary dismissal, poor pay and working conditions.

There is no atmosphere of trust and understanding between management and workers which is a dangerous state of affairs. Africans themselves could help by the formation of works committees.

Private enterprise is largely in the hands of Whites who can supply capital. There is some development in various group areas by Coloureds, Indians and Africans, but they labour under difficulties of acquiring credit, and some legislative enactments.

The shortage of skilled labour is due to the barriers to advancement of Black workers. The colour bar deprives South Africa of one of its greatest assets by placing restrictions on the use of labour. This is traditional in South Africa and is rooted in the fear of competition.

The continual calls by industry to the Government to relax the colour bar meet with adamant refusal because of this fear. Whites are promoted to skilled jobs they are not equipped to fill and Black people are frustrated by their inability to rise above certain levels. The monetary cost to the country must be astronomical and the cost in loss of faith and racial tension dangerous to us all.

In 1968, R288 a year was spent on the education of each White child; R14,48 on that of each African child and R73 on each Coloured child.

Compulsory education for all has been recommended over and over again but nothing has been done. In addition to the inadequate facilities and poor pay of teachers, Black parents have to pay for books, quite an item on a tight budget.

Vocational and technical training is practically non-existent. This lack of education is one of the main reasons for the poor wage levels.

Apprenticeship training is closed to Africans.

It is increasing in the Coloured and Indian groups especially in the furniture and building trades.

Forty-five per cent of the rural population has to be supported on 12 per cent of the country's land. There is little industrial development in the Bantustans and the people are desperately poor.

Industrialisation alone will not bring about change and give the Black population a real share in our wealth.

The workers must have the power to organise and bargain through unions. Efforts are being made through industrialists and some of the White unions but have encountered tremendous resistance from the Government. Increase in skills would undoubtedly help as such skilled workers are no longer part of a vast reservoir of unskilled labour through which "difficult" workers can be replaced.

Economic growth is essential for the country. The powerful White group desires it but the political and social set up hinders such growth. The White group is faced with the position that their own interests require growth and demand that the Blacks be given more opportunity and power, but they are reluctant to make such concessions. Where the desire is strong enough they come up against the policies of the Government which are opposed to such developments.

In August, 1972, Tucsa held its annual conference in Cape Town. They represent 210 000 White, Coloured and Indian workers. Sixty-eight out of 70 unions voted for full trade union rights for 5½ million African workers. All delegates were asked to get a mandate from their workers on this issue.

Prof. Van Der Merwe from Pretoria gave an address which is considered to represent the Government's blue print for future wage

negotiations of all African workers. African in White areas will, through "Ambassadors" request their homeland governments to negotiate for them with the South African Government.

Dr. Francis Wilson pointed out that there is no substitute for direct union negotiation on wages. The plan envisaged does not include the consent of the worker. Industrial peace rests on common consent.

Prof. van der Merwe admitted the need for African unions — but only if the unions were confined to the homelands. Decisions on wage increases must rest with these Governments. He said that South African Government would never accept integrated unions.

Tucsa members want mixed unions because they consider that the interests of workers are paramount, irrespective of colour. African trade unions are legal but may not take strike action.

The Rand Daily Mail appealed to employers to organise factory unions; give facilities for organisation and deduction of subscriptions and guarantee no victimisation of leaders. Should industry-wide unions come into existence factory unions must be encouraged to join.

Mr. W. D. Wilson of Anglo American recently called on industry and the mines to make an immediate start on improving the wages of all Black workers.

Tucsa has given him its support. Mr. Grobelaar, the secretary of Tucsa, remarked:

"What must be sincerely welcomed is the fact that a section of South African primary industry, with a far from perfect record of meeting human and social aspirations, is facing up to the need for a radical change in the interests of a prosperous South Africa."

I DO not believe in abstract principles. There are only people all around me and I never ask myself whether in my meetings with them I am being true or false to any principle. I ask myself whether I am being true or false to this person, these people.

Adam Small. Cape Times. November 11, 1972.

AN EVIL SYSTEM

Between December 16 and January 24 eight Christian priests and laymen walked from Grahamstown to Cape Town on a pilgrimage of penitance for the evils of the migrant labour system.

The Bishop of Grahamstown, the Rt. Reverend B. B. Burnett, addressed them at a service before they set out.

"Migrant labour is a social evil we have lived with for many years. One may reluctantly accept the necessity for some breadwinners to be absent from their homes for prolonged periods, but it is something quite different to build migrant labour into the normal structures of our social life. Of this we all need to repent."

The pilgrims stated:

- That the economy will always need large numbers of Africans to work in the already established industrial areas of South African cities;
- that such workers must be allowed, if they wish, to set up permanent homes with their families in those areas.

They made six suggestions for action:

- The Urban Areas Act must be amended to state unambiguously that any person who qualifies to be in town in terms of Section 10(1) has the right to have his family with him and remain permanently there with his family, even when he is too ill to work, or is unemployed, or retired.
- The 1968 Bantu Labour Regulations must be repealed so that migrant workers are not compelled to return to their homeland every year. This prevents them from qualifying to live in town in terms of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act. They must also be repealed so that if the migrant worker does return from leave he will not be disqualified from acquiring rights to remain in town.
- Freehold tenure must be provided in at least the established African townships, so that anyone who qualifies to be in town and wishes to buy land may do so.
- Firms must be free to house their workers on a family basis.
- A target date must be set for the Urban Areas Act to be amended in such a way that it will be possible for an orderly and rapid transition to take place from the

present situation and the current method of implementing the Act. The rate of change would depend on the speed with which houses and amenities could be provided.

- A crash programme for building family accommodation, both houses and flats, must be launched once the target date has been set and the country firmly committed to a policy of phasing out the migrant system.

The pilgrims suggested that the Urban Areas Act be amended with effect from 1975 to stipulate that, each successive year, the length of urban residence which is required in order to qualify for permanent residence in town be reduced by one year.

At present men must live lawfully in one area for 15 years or work continuously for one employer for 10 years. If the pilgrim's plan were adopted the requirement would be 14 and 9 years respectively in 1975, 13 and 8 years in 1976, until in 1984 those coming to town to work would automatically be able to stay.

The Witwatersrand Council of Churches asked people who felt able to do so sincerely, to dedicate themselves with the following pledge.

"I pledge myself to pray daily for the victims of the migratory labour system and for the restoration of a full family life to all in South Africa.

"I pledge myself to work for the phasing out of the migratory labour system especially in the situations where I exercise control or influence."

USUTHU!

DAVID HEMSON

Mr. Hemson is organiser for the Textile Worker's Union.

It is difficult to begin to comprehend the origin, cost, and likely effects of the series of strikes which have paralysed the Durban-Pinetown-Hammarsdale industrial complex in the last few weeks.

This is not to say that some of the strikes have not been expected (trade unionists in touch with African workers put out specific warnings before the strikes) but certainly nobody anticipated the popularity and internal dynamism of the strikers.

In all cases where strikes had been anticipated and the management warned by the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, the approaches were snubbed. Early warnings were ignored by most firms.

The workers milling about outside the factories, to a large extent leaderless, but with heightened expectations and the weight of numbers, are testament to the lack of recognition of African unionism.

The Government obviously prefers the chaos of shop floor demands which can range tremendously between a desired wage and a negotiable demand and which are so difficult to reduce to specific industrial problems, to organised industrial unionism for all workers.

At times the signs of chaos have been overwhelming. Anyone who was in Jacobs in the past few weeks must have felt exhilaration seeing thousands of workers pouring into the streets on their way home in the early afternoon.

At times there has been a happy holiday atmosphere as the workers spurred each other to action crying "usuthu!" the old warcry of the Zulu armies and the rallycry of the popular Zulu Royal's soccer team.

But behind the rising wage demands lay a clear perception of the needs of their families. Predominant in justification for considerate wage demands was the desire to educate their children, to feed and clothe the family, to pay the rent and get to and from work.

The beginning of the new year brought an exhaustion of the holiday pay, needs for uniforms and books, and steep rises in transport costs. The timing of the train rises was guaranteed to bring a response in the boycott.

Through the strikes came the affirmation of the humanity of the African worker and the humour of the poor.

"We are not children who make a noise for no reason," said one of the textile workers at a mass meeting.

"We are men and women who want to see if tomorrow can be better than today because today is a struggle which is very heavy and we would like to have hope for the future."

"Everything costs more these days," said another. "It even costs more to sleep! The blankets I weave I cannot buy in the shops."

The strikes have been more widespread and determined than at any time previously in South African history. Apart from the strikes at Durban, Pinetown and Hammarsdale there were also strikes at Pietermaritzburg, Port Shepstone and Umzinto.

They have centred on fundamental economic goals: higher wages, long service bonuses, better working conditions, and upward mobility for African workers.

Altogether 120 firms were affected and more than 60 000 workers have been on strike. At times the waves of strikes approached a general strike — on one day 32 000 workers were on strike.

The strikes have spread not through the use of skilled agitators, but through the force of example. Labour unrest in Durban has built up to a crescendo from the Durban stevedoring strike to the Coronation Brick strike, and then suddenly it has swept through the factories.

From the docks which is the traditional centre of labour unrest, worker action has spread to the factories which should be comparatively better off. In its sweep the strike movement has included Dunlops which has been developing a model industrial relation system within the present industrial legal context and Smith and Nephew which pays considerably higher wages than other textile factories in Natal.

Because most of the strikes have centred on Durban, commentators have sought answers in the level of wages in Durban. But although Durban has nothing to be proud of it is no worse than other South African towns.

Drawing a line at R10 a week is useful since it distinguishes the percentage of workers in dire poverty whose families are not likely to survive in the long run and who are most susceptible to socio-economic diseases.

It has also been the rallying cry of the South African Congress of Trade Unions; a cry which sparked numerous strikes in the late '50s: "£1 a day!" The following figures show the position throughout the country:

Area	Percentage earning R10 per week or less
Bloemfontein	85
Kimberley	80
Ladysmith	74
Pretoria	48
Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Sasolburg	42
Pietermaritzburg	24
Cape Town	20
Durban/Pinetown	20
Witwatersrand (central)	20
West Rand	18
East Rand	11
Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage	7

Workers earning less than R10 are excluded from any benefits under the Unemployment Insurance Act and are highly vulnerable to family disaster from the illness of the male earner.

From a recent nation-wide survey it has been shown that at least 31,6 per cent of African industrial workers are earning less than R10 per week. But as we can see, the proportion of workers in desperate need is much the same for all the three major industrial areas of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg.

For an explanation of the wage crisis in Durban we must look for other reasons apart from the primary one of low wages.

As we have shown Durban fares no better or worse than other major industrial centres. But the difference lies in the fact that African workers in Durban are a homogeneous workforce (virtually all Zulu-speaking) who are undergoing a revolution in consciousness.

They are beginning to feel hope for the future, and hope as we know is a revolutionary force. African workers are steadily gaining confidence in their work; many know they are doing skilled and rewarding work and are becoming aware of how job reservation has denied them better work opportunities. The widespread currency of the idea of the poverty

line and its publicity showed the African workers that objective standards of minimum physical requirements exist.

At an engineering firm the workers waved a pamphlet summarising the opinions of Professor Watts in support of their wage demand.

But undoubtedly the most important factor of all was the relative deprivation of the African worker in the Durban area.

The cost of living index here has risen fastest of all urban areas and these price increases have hit African workers the hardest. Real wages have been virtually stagnant at a time when expectations were rising: the contradiction burst into strike action.

One worker told me: "When we asked for increase our boss gave 55 cents. I would like to give my boss 55 cents and ask him to try to buy his children a piece of meat for 55 cents!" More than any series of strikes before, this series has been concerned with fundamental material issues, and the wage demands were symptomatic of a desire for a complete change in life.

"When I come to work I use the bus even in the rain but the Whites come in their cars. Why should I spend my life kicking the frogs out of my path?" Behind the strikes is the revolt of a people who are economically disadvantaged, insecure in work and accommodation, and who are now becoming aware of new possibilities.

The strike brought some immediate relief to workers. Generally increases ranging from an immediate R1 to R1,50 were given in the textile industry. The Municipal workers got an increase of R2; at Motor Assemblies an escalating increase of R4,50 was granted, and generally wages are being revised by managers fearing strikes in their factories.

Whether or not employers are considering the long-term implications of paying their workers a living wage is, of course, another matter.

The strikes broke out in a certain pattern. The following characteristics of the typically strikebound factory have emerged:

- Low wages (generally below R10 for most workers);
- Poor labour relations (anti-union, no works committee);
- Oppressive management (hiring and firing, high labour turnover, victimisation, informers).

No company in South Africa has been entirely free of these conditions, but most observers were surprised to see even Dunlops fall, although this may be attributed to job insecurity as sections of the factory move out to the border areas.

As the strike movement gained momentum, factories without all these characteristics collapsed under pressure. The workers demanded that their fellows in the better-paid factories join them in a common demand.

Another feature of the strikes has been that trade unions have generally been absent. Only the Textile and Garment Unions have tried to play an active role in negotiations between striking workers and terrified management.

In other cases the role of the unions has been peripheral. The reasons are not hard to find. Many lack recognition from management, others are not at all interested in African workers. Those who are fear rebuke from the Department of Labour for negotiating on behalf of workers who are not members. Finally there is the surveillance of the Security Police.

It has often been said that South Africa has an ideal industrial relations system in the form of the industrial council on which the workers and managers are represented.

Although many of the factories experiencing strikes are covered by industrial councils, however, their officials have made few attempts at mediation and generally have sided openly with the management.

The industrial councils contain no legitimacy whatsoever for African workers who protest that they are bound by agreements between White and Coloured unions and managers.

The only legal organ which can be used by African workers is the works committee. But the committees which existed did not stop the strikes or bring back the strikers.

Works committees are tightly controlled by management and in most cases are not permitted to talk about wages. Inevitably wage demands come directly from the shop floor.

The works committees can be useful in the investigation and settling of individual complaints, but are quite unable to put forward a general demand for just wages.

During a strike the works committees have proved themselves to be quite irrelevant. When the action began the leaders faded away:

“We want the money first, then we will talk about representatives!”

The strikes broke out in a certain pattern.

First to fall were the firms with the worst conditions, but then the strikes spread street by street and area by area.

It is well known that African workers travelling to work and in the streets know a lot more about what is going on than White people who have a limited social network and who don't address strangers. Under these social conditions, communication and comparison was incredibly easy without requiring roving agitators.

Strikes spread most notably down streets: Gillitts Road in Pinetown, and Chamberlain Road in Jacobs. In Gillitts Road, first hit was Consolidated Woolwashing and Processing Mills, the lowest paying factory in the street, then followed Smith and Nephew, Hume Cement Products, Durban Concrete Fencing, again Smith and Nephew, and finally the Huski Group.

It is quite probable that since workers use the same transport and live in the same area they could talk to striking workers and then copy them.

Later the strikes spread throughout industrial areas, and then to other towns, giving the impression of a general strike.

Central to the strike situation has been the police who have appeared automatically at all disputes. The English language newspapers have been prolific in their praise of the police who did not enforce the numerous laws against striking, but in fact they had little choice.

The whole purpose of anti-strike legislation is to get the workers back to work and workers in jail make no profits for the firm. In a “leaderless” situation the only alternative could have been to arrest the whole labour force of 60 000 who had been on strike.

There can be no doubt that the deployment of police even at completely peaceful strikes was done to show the attitude of the state and to enforce settlements in an atmosphere of repression.

The use of police in camouflage uniforms driving in army trucks was designed to reinforce settlement at whatever terms the employers chose to provide.

It is difficult to say whether the strikes have had any real impression on management. The Natal Employers' Association has had a

particularly anti-worker stance and has moved the employers away from conciliation to a "take it or leave it" offensive.

The director has in a number of meetings of employers sniped away at the validity of the poverty datum line.

This in an attempt to evade the fact that African wages are poverty wages. It is not quite certain what was discussed at a number of "private" meetings held between various employers and employers' associations but one strong current of thought is opposed to setting the poverty datum line as a target for African wages, proposing rather, wages between R12

and R15 for the male wage earner. The current poverty datum line as estimated by Professor Lawrie Schlemmer is R19,30.

Some employers have taken advantage of the strike situation and fired the whole labour force and then taken them on again at lower wage rates. A very deeply-felt bitterness is being built up.

If the employers are not prepared to realise that a new situation has developed and that the time has passed for quibbling about African poverty, the mass strikes of the past weeks will be only a forerunner of further mass discontent.

Removals

BARBARA WAITE

If one spent sufficient time one could perhaps give a fairly accurate account of the removals that have taken place since 1971 and predict those that will happen in the next few years.

What one could never do, given all the time in the world, however, is to convey the anguish and horror, the heartbreak, the agony and anger, the bitterness and rage that these removals cause.

As a White wife and mother, I could never claim to have any inkling of the intolerable tensions and frustrations of hope of the mother whose son has little opportunity for education and even less for employment; whose teenage children fall into bad company, become layabouts, thugs or prostitutes because of boredom, frustration or hunger; whose husband is now in some hostel because my new homeland township is too distant to allow for daily or even weekly commuting and so cannot share my burden of raising and disciplining the family.

I have never experienced the horror of seeing my home reduced to rubble by a Government bulldozer, of being given a free ride in a Government truck and accepting, with humble gratitude, the magnanimous gesture of a free tent.

I have never had to beg a meal, let alone to accept month after month my packet of mealie meal, margarine, milk and mealies and with it swallow the story that it is dished up by a pious Christian Government.

I only know that I am White, that the burden of guilt is beyond bearing and I pray God that I may be forgiven.

In 1971 it was said in Parliament by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development that 311 "black spots" remained to be eliminated. (Hansard No. 3, February 17, 1971.)

In February 1972, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that in Natal, 300 000 people (Bantu) still had to be resettled and re-housed. (Hansard No. 4, February 22, 1972.)

On February 24, 1972 he gave figures of removals and resettlement for the last 10 years. Between April 1, 1970, and June 30, 1971, (i.e. in 15 months) 65 481 people had been moved and resettled. (Bearing in mind that organised sports on Sunday are forbidden it works out to about 165 people per day.)

● The most recent removal that we know of was reported in the Rand Daily Mail, September 19, 1972. Two thousand Africans were moved from their homes in the Hobsdale area near Ladysmith to Ezekhene, 40 km away. At Hobsdale they were living on $\frac{1}{2}$ acre (20 sq. m.) plots; at Ezekhene they will be living on $\frac{1}{8}$ acre (5 sq. m.) plots.

● It was reported in the Rand Daily Mail (August 14, 1972) that 2 000 squatters were evicted from the outskirts of Komatipoort to Naas township, 35 km. away, at the end of June and during July. They have been provided with one-roomed, corrugated iron

huts on concrete bases 3,7 m. x 3,7 m. Each family gets two of these at a rental of R2,80 a month. The nearest shops are at Komati-poort, 35 km. away. The lowveld sun beating down on corrugated iron...

● At the end of July about 500 families were moved from Ruigtefontein near Wasbank to Ekuvukene, 29 km. away near Limehill. One man and his three brothers had 44 acres at Ruigtefontein. At Ekuvukene he has a plot 30 m. x 15 m.

● About 433 families of the Batlhaping Tswana tribe were occupying part of a reserve about 65 km. west of Kimberley, through which the Vaal River runs. It was decided in 1968 that they should eventually be moved in order to consolidate the Tswana homeland and straighten the border.

Also, the Spitzkop Dam, when completed would inundate the area. Many of the men worked in diamond diggings in the Barkly West area. Chief Moseki opposed the eventual move to Vaalboshhoek, 80 km. away, because of distance from centres of employment and because of transport inadequacies. His recognition as a chief was withdrawn, the Government closed the school, withdrew social pensions, demolished the tribal court and finally bulldozed the homes. The area to which they were moved, near Kuruman, is semi-desert.

● Pampierstat is a large township being laid out by the S.A. Bantu Trust in the Taung homeland which is part of the Tswanastan. About 1 200 African families have been gradually moved there from Jan Kempdorp, 29 km. south east. Previously, people were moved there from Hartzwater (18 km. away) and from the diamond diggings in the Barkly West and Windsorten areas further south. Because of distance, some of the workers probably only go home at weekends now.

● At Machaviestad, near Potchefstroom, was a group of about 40 families of the Barolong tribe who fought their removal for about 20 years, saying that their land had been given them by President Kruger.

Last year those who had refused alternative offers of land (they numbered about 140) were forbidden to plough, their grazing fees were raised, their livestock was impounded on three occasions, the school was closed, a gate was put across the road.

Finally, they were resettled at Rooigrond, near Mafeking, where there was no land for ploughing, no schools, no clinics and no local employment. (See S.A.I.R.R. Survey, 1971).

● Mafeking's Bantu Residential Area was abolished in April, 1971, and everyone has been moved to Montshiwa in the Molopo Reserve.

● Zeerust's municipal township has recently been abolished and all Africans are being resettled at Le Hurutsi (13 km. west) near the Botswana border.

● Brits is a border industrial area. All the Africans in the municipal township are being moved or have been moved to the new trust township (13 km. east) called Muthutlung.

● At Potgietersrus, the residents of the old township were moved to Makwelereng (5 km. north west).

● From the municipal township at Pietersburg, the Africans have been moved to the new township nearby, Seshego, which is the temporary Lebowa capital.

● In about 1969, the Africans at Groblersdaal were moved to Motetema, 11 km. north east.

● From White River, the Africans were all moved to Kabokweni, a township 20 km. east.

● All of Nelspruit's 2 600 African families have probably been moved by now, 23 km. east to a farm Nyamsaam.

● Madadeni and Ozisweni, near Newcastle, are continually being used for the resettlement of African farm squatters and labour tenants around Utrecht and from "black spots". The municipal township at Newcastle was to have been abolished by the end of 1971.

● All the Africans at Howick are being resettled at Mpopheni, 13 km. away.

● Mabopane, about 29 km. north west of Pretoria is being developed to house people of Tswana origin employed in Pretoria and also for workers at the border industrial area of Babelegi. About 5 150 houses have probably been completed by now. By October, 1971, 419 families had been moved there from the municipal townships of Atteridgeville, Saulsville and Mamelodi where building developments have not taken place for several years.

● The municipal township at Douglas, 225 km. south of Kuruman, was (in terms of Government Notice, August, 1971) declared abolished. The Africans are to go to Mothibastat, 7 km. from Kuruman.

It is unlikely that employees at Douglas will be able to travel home at weekends, as the distance is over 200 km.

(The same may apply to Griquatown and Postmasburg.)

● More than 4 000 Africans are to be moved from Christiana to a proposed new township in the Taung homeland.

● The Bantu Residential area of Bloemhof was declared abolished (Government Notice June 2, 1972) and the Africans from there will probably be moved to the new township in the Taung Homeland.

(The same may eventually apply to Vryburg and Schweizer-Reneke).

● From Delareyville and surrounding small towns, families are to be resettled in a new trust township called Marotzi, about 19 km. north. It will become a very large township, serving the proposed new decentralised industrial area.

● Lichtenberg is negotiating on behalf of Carletonville, Coligny, Fochville, Hartebeesfontein, Klerksdorp, Leeuworingstad, Orkney, Ottosdal, Potchefstroom, Sannieshof, Stilfontein, Ventersdorp and Wolmaranstad, with the Department about the laying out of a township Itsoseng (35 km. west of Lichtenberg), to which all the Africans of these 14 towns will be moved. It is to be a "labour reservoir". The 14 towns will probably build hostels for their workers.

● The African residential areas of Nylstroom and Naboomspruit were declared abolished towards the end of 1971 but the destination of the families is unknown as yet.

● All the African families at Louis Trichardt are to be accommodated 35 km. north east at Setooni.

● There is a possibility that the Africans at Piet Retief will be moved to Ncotshane, in the reserve to the south, north of the Pongola River.

● At Richards Bay about 6 000 people in Reserve No. 6 will be displaced when the township is developed. No final decision has been made about them yet.

● All the African families from the municipal township at Vryheid are to go to Mondlo, 24 km. south. The present population at Mondlo is 7 864. It has a clinic with two district nurses in daily attendance and a medical officer who visits once a week. Patients are treated at Nqutu, 18 miles away. (See Hansard No. 12 of 1972, col 930.)

● The African families at Estcourt are definitely to be moved to Wembezi, 12 km. south-west of the town.

● Zandbult is to be established by the S.A. Bantu Trust near Limehill.

Families living in the municipal township of Sobantu at Pietermaritzburg will eventually be

moved to Imbali, an urban Bantu residential area which extends into a homeland, west of the town.

● Klaarwater at Pinetown has been zoned for Indian occupation and about 2 800 people from there will have to go to Kwa Ngendezi, south west of Clermont.

● Margate's municipal township, housing about 2 000 people is to be abolished. They are to be moved to Gamelakhe, 10 km. away. Some have already been resettled there.

● Matatiele's Bantu residential area was declared abolished (Government Notice June 30, 1972). The people are to live in Maluti, 10 km. away in the Transkei.

● Queenstown's municipal township of more than 1 000 houses is to be abolished. All the residents are to go to the Queensdale area, adjoining Ilinge, 10 km. south.

● All the residents of Uitenhage's municipal township, Kabah, are to be moved 6½ km. to Kwa Nobuhle on the south bank of the Swartkops River.

● At Grahamstown, the Fingo Village was proclaimed Coloured and about 5 500 Fingoes living there are to go east across the Fish River to a place called Committees Drift in the Peddie area. This is to be a "model" township with a potential population of 100 000 to 200 000. It is 52½ km. from Grahamstown.

● All the Africans from Stutterheim are to be moved, probably to a new township, 18 km. south.

● At Springs, the municipal township of Payneville has been declared a Coloured group area; 635 more houses are to be built at Kwa Thema to accommodate some of the families displaced but the rest will have to go to a homeland.

This picture of removals is not completed. But it gives an idea of how the Blacks of this land are pushed around (voluntarily, of course) for the benefit of the Whites. This is our "South African way of life".

THESE ARE some of the towns which have stopped building family housing, despite lack of accommodation for families with rights under Section 10(1) of the Urban Areas Act:

Dordrecht; Sterkstroom; Fort Beaufort; Philipstown; De Aar; Colesburg; Hanover; Middelburg (C.P.); Humansdorp; Upington; Prieska; Harrismith; Graaf Reinet; Oudtshoorn; Pretoria (Atteridgeville, Saulsville, Mamelodi); Roodepoort (at Dobsonville).

SOME OF the towns which are building, have built or plan to build hostels for migrant workers and the size (where known) are:

Delareyville (Men's Hostel — 800 beds); Lichtenberg, Carletonville, Coligny, Fochville, Hartebeesfontein, Klerksdorp, Leeuw-doringstad, Orkney, Ottosdal, Potchefstroom, Sannieshof, Stilfontein, Ventersdorp, Wolmaranstad. All families from these towns are to be moved to Itsoseng, 35 km. west of Lichtenberg; Potgietersrus — Some houses in new township, Matiwelereng, are being used as hostels; Nelspruit — 100 houses in existing township to be converted into hostels, each for six men; Louis Trichardt — Has Hostel for 512 men; Stanger — Hostel accommodation for 160 men, 30 women; Madadeni (near Ladysmith); Vryheid — hostels to be built in municipal area; Ladysmith — hostel beds eventually for 1 800 men; Dundee; Durban — Glebe township has been converted into hostel accommodation for men; Aliwal North — hostels to be built for men and women; King Williams Town — Dwellings in municipal township being converted into men's hostels; Humansdorp; Stellenbosch (See Government Gazette 10/4/70); Strand; Blackheath; Hermanus; Bloemfontein; Harrismith — for men — 300 beds; Bethlehem; Fouriesburg; Middelburg (Tvl.) — hostel beds for 3 312; Witbank; Standerton; Bethel — 400 men; Ermelo — 528 men; Port Elizabeth — 13 000 men at Zwide; Uitenhage — there will be 2 512 men at the new township; Delmas (See Government Gazette 24/12/70); Grahamstown (See Government Gazette 28/8/72); Pretoria — Ga Rankuwa — about 200 dwellings used as hostels for men, Mamelodi — 16 500 beds, Atteridgeville — 600 beds; Boksburg; Volksrust — 500 men; Johannesburg (excluding mining compounds) — Soweto — 5 hostels, 21 476 people, Meadowlands and Diepkloof — 12 945 beds, Alexandra — eventually to be for hostels only. First two opened have beds for 2 834 females and 2 642 males. Plan for 21 hostels with 32 000 beds to be extended. At present 15 000 men in single quarters; Roodepoort — Dobsonville, hostel for men planned; Krugersdorp — hostel for 2 250 men to be built; Westonaria; Sebokeng (Vaal triangle) — to have 2 100 hostel beds for men eventually; Cape Town (excluding hostels

built by private firms for employees) — hostel beds for about 4 428 men; Kimberley — 1 020 men.

THE Bantu Investment Corporation, as reported in *The Star*, June 20, 19972, "exists to promote development by fostering industry and commerce inside the homelands". The main growth points are: Babelegi near Pretoria; Letaba near Tzaneen; Seshego near Pietersburg; Sitebe in Natal; Mantshiwa near Mafeking; Witzieshoek near the Lesotho border. Other growth points: Zeerust; Rustenburg; Potgietersrust; Richards Bay; Newcastle — the third Iscor work is being developed here; Ladysmith — a new dam to be built here; Berlin and De Aar and Upington for Coloureds.

BORDER Industrial areas come under the Industrial Development Corporation. They are: Brits; Pietersburg; East London; Phalaborwa; Harrismith; Rosslyn near Pretoria.

THE MUNICIPALITIES of the following towns have been given authority to build African family accommodation for either a limited number of families or as much as is required and are keeping their townships — Bantu Residential Areas:

Rustenburg — the borders of an adjoining homeland were extended to include Thlabane; Winberg — granted authority to extend township; New housing schemes are planned at — Warden; Heilbron; Bethulie; Rouxville; Fouresmith; Welkom; Nigel — retaining Duduza Township for Africans who are to be moved from areas proclaimed Coloured; Reitz. TOWN building limited family accommodation — the "excess" probably have to find accommodation in a homeland:

Stanger — building 200 new houses — 250 are needed; Hofmeyr — building for 62 families — 270 families will have to go; Middelburg (Tvl.) — building 150 dwellings, 250 families are on the waiting list; Volksrust; Charlestown; Port Elizabeth — 5 500 semi-detached, 4-roomed dwellings being built — 10 600 needed; Molteno.

NOTE: The information for this account was taken from Muriel Horrell's invaluable paper on "Housing Schemes for Urban Africans in Municipal Areas and in the homelands"; "A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa" published by the Institute of Race Relations in South Africa; newspaper accounts; Hansard; and Government Gazettes.

The illegal children

SHEENA DUNCAN

Alexandra Township, just a few kilometres from the centre of Johannesburg is being demolished. All the houses are being bulldozed and hostels are being built which will eventually house from 60 to 65 thousand men and women in separate "single" accommodation.

According to official figures released in January, 1973, by the Peri-Urban Board 10 685 families have been moved to better housing in Meadowlands and Diepkloof, and 2 668 families to Tembisa since 1958; 3 800 people have been moved to single accommodation in Meadowlands and Diepkloof and 17 000 people are in single accommodation in Alexandra, either in the completed hostels or in houses where they are waiting for hostel beds.

There are also 4 000 Coloured people who will be moved to the Coloured group areas in Johannesburg, and 4 400 old or disabled people who are awaiting resettlement.

What is not mentioned in these statistics is the number of families in Alexandra who have been refused housing on a family basis and have been told to move to the hostels and to send their children away. They are given the alternative of going to the homelands with their children. Mr. Coen Kotze, manager of the Peri-Urban Board's Bantu Administration, said in a statement to the Press that the women are given ample time to make up their minds.

"We are giving them the choice: they must send their children back to the homelands and move into the hostels or must go back to the homelands themselves... this is the policy and we will enforce it."

Mr. Kotze said that the children being ordered out were "illegal" and that their mothers were migrant workers recruited from the homelands on a single basis.

"The law states that they are illegally in the area so they have to go. It's as simple as that."

Some of these families are the wives and children of the men already moved to single accommodation, other are still living together in houses in Alexandra but have had their permits cancelled and been told to separate and go to the hostels. They are now, therefore,

living together "illegally" but hang on until the last possible moment because the separation is more than they can bear.

Yet other families are desperately trying to find themselves lodgings in Soweto, which they are allowed to do if they are registered in employment in Johannesburg itself. This is an almost impossible task. Mr. Sam Moss, chairman of Johannesburg's Non-European Affairs Committee, has said that housing is urgently needed in Soweto for 84 000 people.

These people are already living as lodgers in other people's houses and there is just no room for families coming from Alexandra, particularly if they have no friends or relatives on the other side to help them in the search for accommodation.

The authorities are taking no responsibility for any of these people. They are given no assistance in finding accommodation. Alexandra will be bulldozed regardless of the human suffering involved. If a man does not "qualify" to rent a house then it is just too bad if he happens to have a wife and children. He is officially "single" and must live in a male hostel. If a woman has no husband but a family of children she too is officially a "single" and must live in a female hostel.

The housing regulations state that only a man over the age of 21, who qualifies in terms of Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act and who has dependents will be allotted a house in the townships in prescribed areas.*

When such a man is allotted a house he rents it on a monthly lease and the names of every person living with him in that house must be enumerated on his residential permit. Every man, woman and child living in an urban Black township must have his or her name on such a permit or on a lodger's permit.

The authorities in Alexandra seem to be using the fact that many of the children of unmarried mothers or unqualified fathers have not had their names enumerated on any house permit as an excuse to say that the children are illegal immigrants who have been recently brought from the homelands.

In many cases the authorities have consistently refused to put a child's name on a permit, whether or not the child had a birth certificate to show that he was born in the area.

Our experience in the Black Sash Advice Office have been that the women come for assistance because they have been told to send their children away have tried on several occasions to have the names of their children enumerated on their residence permits.

They have been refused and, in at least one case, the mother was told (in flagrant disregard of the regulations) that it was not necessary for her to worry. The children were too small to need permits and the "police will not worry them".

Many of these children have birth certificates or other documentary evidence to show that they were born in Alexandra or Johannesburg but this has made no difference to the authorities. Their mothers have been told to send them away, thus depriving them of their rights under Section 10 to remain permanently in the area. These children have no homeland to go "back" to.

One woman who has been ordered to go into the hostel and to send her two Johannesburg-born children away, is unmarried. She is intending to marry a man from Botswana, but, even were they already married, it would not help her because, as a foreign worker, her fiancé will never qualify to have a house.

She has been living in the Johannesburg area since 1956 and was registered in employment in Johannesburg until her employer transferred her to work in the adjoining municipality of Randburg in 1968. This was a grave mistake because it deprived her of her right to return to Johannesburg and to seek lodgings for herself in Soweto.

She had a permit to live in Alexandra which was cancelled in January, 1972. She made an appeal and was given a temporary permit until November, 1972, but this has now also been cancelled.

She has absolutely nowhere to send her children as her parents are both dead and she has no relatives in the homelands nor has she any homeland herself to go to as she has always lived in White areas. If she asks for

resettlement in a homeland she will be destitute because there is little work.

A married couple who have been living together with their three children have now been forced apart. They both had single permits to live in adjoining rooms but the children were not enumerated on either permit. The husband does not qualify for a house as he has not lived in Alexandra for 15 years.

He is registered in employment in Alexandra, she is registered in employment in Johannesburg, so they are not even allowed to seek lodgings together in Soweto. The wife's permit has been cancelled and she has been told to go to the hostel. Her husband remains in his room waiting to be allotted a bed in a hostel and the children must be sent away.

These families are only two of many who are in the same position. In the last quarter of 1972 the Citizen's Hostel Action Committee drew the attention of the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration to the plight of a few of the Alexandra families.

Their cases were re-investigated and the answer was the same as before: they do not qualify to be housed together. Mr. Moss appealed to the Peri-Urban Board for more flexibility in the implementation of the regulations and the preservation of family life. The Press reported that he met with an icy reception and was told that the Board would carry out Government legislation to the letter, even if it meant separating children from their parents.

Whatever the law says, these women have families with whom they now live and these families are being torn apart. Human decency demands that they be rehoused as family units, whether in houses, flats, or lodgings and that existing houses are not demolished until their occupants have somewhere else to live.

It is a pretty rotten society where children can be described as being "illegal" when they are living with their mothers — mothers whose labour is being used by the White economy.

* *He must have lived continuously in one area since then or lived lawfully and continuously in one area for 15 years, or been continuously employed by the same employer for 10 years.*

Quite out of fashion

ELEANOR ANDERSON

There are babies, and their mothers sit sideways on the car seat in order that the blanket-wrapped offspring on their backs may continue to breathe.

There is a very old man, night watchman at a Parkmore school, who seems quite glad of a lift at about nine in the morning or four in the afternoon.

There is a mother-of-five who "does washing" for a Sandhurst household, and a man who comes from Evaton several times a week, carrying a chain saw, to do a day's work in a Morningside nursery.

Nearly everyone seems to have something to carry or care for — a sewing machine, a suitcase, a box of groceries, a toddling child.

Who are all these people, and what is all this leading up to? The answer is, nobody much and nothing much. Except perhaps friends and friendship, for they are among the people you can offer a lift to in the Sandton area. Several women do.

You see, the bus service for Africans is not too bad when it's there, but there are hours and hours in the day, and night, when it is not there at all, and this means long, hot (or cold or wet) trudges for workers who *must* get punctually to their jobs, and away from them as best they can.

There was a young mother a while ago who was carrying a suitcase *and* a young child whom she'd had to take to a dentist. She had walked over two kilometres in the heat and was so astonished at being offered a ride that she forgot to say thank you. Or maybe she couldn't because she was crying.

An older woman said "God bless you Madam, how can I ever repay you for your kindness?" Oh dear.

One winter evening a man who claimed to be a painter (there are a couple of blue paint spots, quite a pretty shade, on the car seat which would appear to verify his claim) climbed into the car with a grunt of relief, for his equipment was heavy. At the end of the trip he said in the darkness, "I have not even seen your face, but I will never forget you."

Quite a lot of the trips are silent ones, but more often there is cheerful conversation — no, not dialogue, conversation. About children. Or the weather. Or the traffic, a holiday, a church matter. And once, the subject erupting quite suddenly, about the writings of Aldous Huxley.

And you realize you have a great crowd of new friends and you look forward to seeing them again. Danger in offering lifts to strangers? Possibly. But there is also danger in rocketing to the moon, in denying a desperate man the right to live with his wife, or in having a bath in case you should slip on that new cake of scented, expensive Christmas soap and break your neck.

The lift-giving woman whose tale this is has a favourite passenger, a debonair, youngish woman with two children at school, who does daily housework in a Sandown flat.

"I wonder," says the lift-giving woman one morning, "why so many White women are unwilling to offer lifts, especially to African men?"

And the favourite passenger grins and replies, "I wonder too. Perhaps the White madams have not heard that rape, at eight o'clock in the morning, is quite out of fashion!"

ADVICE OFFICES

Johannesburg

This report of the Johannesburg Advice Office, covering the period from February, 1971, to September, 1972, was presented to National Conference in October.

Influx control and migrant labour as practised in South Africa together form one of the most efficient, cruel and destructive systems ever devised for their own advantage by any group of men for the complete physical control of other men.

No African in South Africa has any freedom of movement whatsoever. He has no freedom to live or work where he chooses, to plan his own future or that of his family; no freedom to decide for himself what he will make of his life. He has been deprived of all this by White men to further the selfish interests of the White group.

We do not say this lightly, or for political motives, or for any reasons of expediency. We say it because our experience in the Advice Office has proved to us that it is the truth. We find it intolerable that such power should be exercised by any group over the destinies of millions of individual men and women.

During the last year, workers in the office have conducted 5 121 interviews, an average of 21,3 per working day. This does not include the large numbers of people who telephone or write for advice.

One quarter of the people who came to us were South African citizens who have been ordered to leave Johannesburg or one of the surrounding towns within 72 hours. Another quarter were seeking permission to live or work here. Other problems which were presented in large numbers were those connected with accommodation and housing, and with the issue of reference books.

Of the new files opened 47 per cent have been closed successfully, sometimes after two years of work. This figure only takes into account those people whom we know have been given the permission they were seeking. There are others who never come back to tell us what happened to them and, obviously, many of them must have succeeded otherwise they would probably have returned for further help.

Many, of course, just get sick and tired of standing in queues at the Labour office or

being pushed around from department to department, and give up all attempts to establish their rights or legalise their position.

The Aid Centre in Johannesburg was established in 1972. From Press reports and after a meeting between the Advice Office supervisor and the manager of the aid centres it is clear that many people who have been arrested for pass offences are able to avoid going to prison and are given a seven-day pass to enable them to walk around without fear of arrest while trying to regularise their positions or to find employment.

The aid centre has been helpful to men who pay Johannesburg tax but have never been registered in employment or had their names enumerated on a house permit. It seems that they are usually offered several choices of employment and then registered to work.

What happens to them when they are eventually discharged from the job they were placed in, or leave of their own accord, remains to be seen. It has been our own experience that men and women registered by special application in this way are often endorsed out again when the job ends and have to begin the whole dreary process once more.

In the report from this office for March 1972 we dealt fully with our experience of the aid centre. Nothing has happened since then to change our view that "the aid centres can only make the legislation work more smoothly. They cannot make one iota of difference to the fact that fundamental human rights are denied by the pass laws".

All the houses in Alexandra Township, which lies just outside the northern municipal boundary of Johannesburg, are being demolished and will eventually be replaced by multi-storey hostels to house about 65 000 people, both men and women, in single quarters. The first two hostels, one for men and one for women are now open. The men's block is almost full but, so far, only about 300 women have moved into the female block.

During the year many people have come to

the office to seek help, either because they have been living in Alexandra for years without permits and have now been swept out as the houses are bulldozed; because they have been given "single" permits only, without realising that their children were not included and that they therefore are not entitled to be housed on a family basis in Tembisa or Diepkloof; or because the man in the family does not qualify in terms of Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act and is therefore not eligible to become registered tenant of a house anywhere else.

One man who lives in Alexandra in terms of Section 10(1)(d) with his wife and two children was told to get a bed in the men's hostel, his wife was to go to the women's hostel and they were to "take the children to the welfare". His children are 10 and 11 years old, in school and certainly in no need of welfare assistance.

It is quite clear that not enough housing is being built for all the people who live in Alexandra and every technicality of the law is being invoked to reduce the number of people eligible to be housed on a family basis.

This is proving particularly hard for women with children but no male family head. Mrs. Khumalo divorced her husband a few years ago. She was born in Alexandra and has lived there continuously all her life and so have her children who all have birth certificates.

Mrs. Khumalo has never had her right to be in Alexandra in terms of Section 10(1)(a) of the Act recognised and stamped in her reference book. She had a permit to live in Alexandra with her family but at the time of her divorce when she moved to a new address her name was not enumerated on her brother's house permit.

Some time after this and with some difficulty, she again obtained a permit to live in Alexandra but did not realise that this permit was granted on a single basis only for the duration of her employment. It excluded her children. She has now been told that she will have to go to the hostel or move to Soweto and find lodgings for herself and that she should send her children to the homelands.

She wants to be resettled in Diepkloof on a family basis with her children so that she can continue to have them with her with some security for the future, and so that all of them have the right to remain permanently in the area recognised.

Mrs. Dyasi is another woman who has no husband and lives in Alexandra with her only

son who has just turned 16. She has been told to go to the women's hostel and put her son in the men's hostel. One can imagine only too vividly what is likely to happen to a 16 year old thrown into the communal life of a hostel amongst men who are all separated from their families and mostly much older than he is.

For many years people working in Johannesburg have been able to live lawfully in Alexandra. Many of them have married women who work in Alexandra, Randburg or Sandton. Now they, too, are finding it difficult to be resettled on a family basis.

Mr. Mafuna is one of these people. He does qualify in terms of Section 10(1)(a) in Alexandra but in 1964 was told to move to the hostel at Diepkloof. He refused to do so and continued to live in Alexandra without a permit and therefore the authorities refuse to recognise his 10(1)(a) right. He is married to a woman who lives and works lawfully in Alexandra.

He has been refused resettlement to a family house in Diepkloof and is not eligible for Tembisa because he works in Johannesburg. He cannot apply for his wife to be transferred to live with him in Soweto because he has no accommodation there for her. His dilemma is typical of that of many families in Alexandra at the moment.

The shortage of housing for Africans in the Johannesburg area is critical. There are over 13 600 families on the waiting list for a house in Soweto and thousands more who are not even on the waiting list because the man of the family does not qualify in terms of Section 10(1)(a) or (b) to become the registered tenant of a house. There is gross overcrowding.

The number of people who come to the office because they have nowhere to live increases all the time but we can rarely do anything to help them. Families have come to us who have spent nights with their children in culverts or under bridges. It is becoming more and more difficult to find lodgings in Soweto. People are understandably reluctant to take another family into an already overcrowded house.

Houses are not being built at the needed rate. New houses which have been built this year have been allocated to families from the demolished areas of Pimville and Kliptown and the shortage increases all the time. One sees the point of the Department of Bantu Administration directive quoted often before

at this conference about no stone being left unturned to "persuade" people to ask for resettlement in the homelands.

Of all the people who have come to us for help in asking for resettlement in the homeland only two that I remember have done so because they genuinely and voluntarily asked to go to start businesses of their own. For the rest, the story is the same all the time: "I have no place for my wife and children. I must find them a house, somewhere to live. I do not want to be parted from them but what can I do?"

The housing position in Johannesburg is particularly tragic when one remembers the tremendous effort the city made after the war to house all the people who came to work during the war years and who lived in shanties and shelters in extremely poverty-stricken conditions.

The backlog after the war was 50 000. Between 1957 and 1958 over 11 000 houses were built. That was the most successful year. Between 1960 and 1965 10 500 new houses were built but between 1965 and 1969 there were only just over 3 000. This is because the Government does not want family housing to be built for African people in so-called White areas and will not provide the money. Facilities are supposed to be in the Bantustans and hostels have priority over everything else in the cities.

Dr. Koornhof's concession does not seem to have made one iota of difference to married couples in Johannesburg. We have assisted large numbers of qualified men to make application for their wives to come to live with them in terms of Section 10(1)(c) and so far have not heard of anyone who has succeeded. Mr. Moss, chairman of the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council, said in June that the department had submitted over 50 applications to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner but had received no replies. We are quite unable to report on how this concession is being applied, if at all.

Married couples separated by the law remain one of our most serious problems. Apart from those men who marry women from the country we have dozens of requests for help from men who marry city women and still cannot get permission to live with them.

Mrs. Kubeka has been in the greater Johannesburg area because she has worked in Johannesburg most of the time but lived in Alexandra for four years without working,

in the '60s. She is now registered in her employment in Johannesburg and is married to a man who has a house in Tembisa. He divorced his first wife before marrying Mrs. Kubeka last year but cannot get a permit for her to live with him in Tembisa.

He is going to loose his house. Because his wife does not qualify anywhere in terms of Section 10(1)(a) or (b) she cannot be transferred to live with him in the prescribed area where he has rights although it is only a few miles away. He has three children from his first marriage and no woman to look after them.

We have continued to have trouble with people lodging appeals against an order to leave Johannesburg within the stipulated seven days. People take their affidavits of appeal to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and are told to bring other specified documents.

The appeal is not accepted nor is any official stamp provided showing the date on which the appeal was lodged. By the time all the required documents are assembled the seven days have long ago expired and the person concerned must then prove that he made every effort to lodge the documents with the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in time.

Another tendency which has been noticeable recently is the situation where someone with good grounds for an appeal and rights under Section 10(1)(a) or (b) wins the appeal and is registered in employment but the rights under Section 10 are not recognised. That person then finds himself endorsed out again when the employment ends and has to start the whole process again.

Mrs. Saphula was endorsed out but has a clear right under Section 10(1)(b). She appealed and was registered in employment in terms of Section 10(1)(d). She was discharged because her employers cut down on staff, and was then endorsed out again. She is now appealing once more. She should no doubt have persevered in the first instance and insisted on the 10(1)(b) right being stamped in her reference book but she had spent days queuing in various offices and desperately needed to get to work and earn money again so she didn't want to involve herself in more trouble once she was registered.

We have had the usual number of cases where people literally have nowhere at all to live. The Aid Centre can be helpful in these cases particularly if the person concerned can prove he was born in an urban area.

Displaced people are very often offered mine work or farm labour and if they are reluctant to accept such employment they find it extremely difficult to get further help from the authorities. Even when they are registered in acceptable employment this does little to establish any security for the future. They too find themselves endorsed out again when they lose a job. It is not easy to be resettled in a Bantustan when one has no previous ties there and no relatives. It seems that chiefs and homeland authorities are reluctant to accept unsupported strangers into their areas.

The South African economy operates on a system of forced labour. Countless examples can be quoted to substantiate this statement. Employers are able to get away with paying appallingly low wages to people whose security is conditional on remaining in employment. People registering at labour bureaux in the Bantustans are not given much opportunity to pick and choose where they work, for how much, or in what kind of jobs. They are dependant on recruiting agents and, in some cases, those agents do not seem to operate with any regularity or any frequency.

In some areas people have no option but to work in a nearby border industrial area where wages are not controlled by legislation and, in many cases, are very much lower than the going rate in a big city.

Skilled or educated men who are registered as work-seekers at a tribal labour bureau are in a particularly difficult position. Johannesburg will not allow any applications for skilled men to work on contract. These men have no alternative but to work in government departments because they have no other outlet for their skills. They are prevented by law from earning a just reward for their skills or their education.

We have had a number of people who have had their reference books either confiscated or refused because they are said to be citizens of a neighbouring country. These cases are very complicated because they have to prove their own birth in South Africa and that, at the time of their birth, either their mother was a South African citizen or their father had a right of residence in the Republic. This may mean going back for years.

One old lady suddenly found herself accused of being a citizen of Lesotho when she applied for a duplicate reference book. She had lived lawfully in Johannesburg for years and only spoke Xhosa having been born in the Transkei. Her parents had died many years

ago and she had never been in Lesotho in her life.

It was extremely difficult to find any proofs of her parentage but, fortunately for her, one of her fingers had been shortened in infancy according to the old Xhosa custom and she has a good chance of having her South African citizenship recognised without too much further difficulty.

We have continued to benefit greatly from working with an attorney in Johannesburg. Several aspects of our work are now very much more straightforward because he has insisted on the authorities acting within the regulations instead of exceeding them as was very often the case. All the workers in the office have learned a great deal from him and we are working very much more efficiently because of what he has taught us.

He has been endlessly patient with us and generous of his time in acting for people who have been wrongfully deprived of their rights. A second attorney is now working with him on Saturday mornings.

Margaret Kirk left us at the end of last year and we have missed her very much but have been fortunate in finding Penny Burrows, another member of the Black Sash, to take on the frustrating, nerve racking job of office secretary.

We have three wonderful interpreters, Mrs Radale, Mrs. Mabatlani and Mrs. Fholosi who are the backbone of the office and totally indispensable. Mrs. Radale is now interviewing all cases when they come for the first time and her knowledge of the law and the many different languages saves an enormous amount of time. The rest of the work of the office is carried by voluntary workers who give unstintingly of their time and their concern.

Our office is now grossly overcrowded and some days we just cannot move between the people. We are working longer hours, usually until 1.30 or 2 p.m., the administrative work being done after that. We need more space and more workers especially those who can give time in the afternoons, but our finances are limited and running expenses increase all the time. We are most grateful to the Bantu Welfare Trust for their generous financial assistance without which we would have a hard time keeping going at all.

It is impossible in a report like this to cover every aspect of the work done. Every case is always entirely different from the one

before in detail and every case is a human tragedy of one kind or another. In the Black Sash offices we only see a fraction of a percentage of the total number of people who are victimised by the pass laws.

Every African person in the country is victimised in this way, some of them being more fortunate than others in being in the right place at the right time so that their limited rights under the law are recognised and offer them a limited security.

There are no arguments for the maintenance of migrant labour and influx control which can outweigh the moral arguments for their total and immediate abolition. The policy of

separate development offers no solution. Since it was formulated and put into practice, the pass laws have been intensified particularly by the 1968 labour regulations.

The future of Black people is visualised as being a constant pool of available cheap labour for the White economy. The difficulties of the urban Africans have been spotlighted and discussed recently in many different quarters but the problems of rural people are just as great and just as much the result of White oppression. Poverty, deprivation of opportunity and a denial of the rights of many apply to all the Republic's Black people, both urban and rural.

Athlone

November was surprisingly busy at the Athlone advice office with attendance records the highest they have been the whole year.

Twenty-one of the miscellaneous cases were inquiries from men about pension funds, workman's compensation claims or unemployment benefits; 8 were housing problems; 10 couples were seeking permits to reside together, the husband in each case being residentially qualified in the area; another 10 cases concerned young people born in the Cape Peninsula and seeking to establish their rights of residence, permission to take out their reference books and be employed in the area.

Nearly all the contract workers interviewed were distressed by discrepancies between their contracts as they had understood them at the time of signing, and actual conditions encountered at work.

Thanks to the intervention of our attorney, we had success with Mr. Jonas Bevu, who was divorced in 1970 and was still the lawful tenant of his Guguletu house when he married a young woman in January 1972. She was here illegally at the time of the marriage.

She has achieved permission to reside in terms of Sec. 10(1)(c) not by virtue of Dr. Koornhof's offer to brides but because she returned to Umtata in February and waited for visiting permission which she got a month later, then joined her husband legally in his legal accommodation.

She was given only short extensions as a "visitor" until our attorney contacted the authorities and her marriage certificate was

produced. Hosts of the other couples with the Bevu's problem are prevented from residing together by the husband's obligation to pay rent in "single" quarters.

In the fourth group we can also report one "legal" success, and can hope for others. Gordon Nongauza was told that as he had been away from the area for several years, he must take out his reference book at Tsomo and get contract work from there.

Acting on our advice and supported by our attorney, he collected documents proving his birth in the area and the record of his schooling, which showed that his absence had been for schooling purposes only. He returned annually for holidays and although his name did not appear on any rent card, relatives could testify to his continued "home base" in Cape Town. Now he has permission to live and work here, where he belongs.

The absurdity and iniquity of contract workers not having copies of their contracts, to which they can refer, is constantly apparent. A group of five men came to Cape Town on contract as night watchmen under the impression that they would be on duty for nine hours every night, basic pay R9,60 a week, and overtime for anything extra.

It transpires that they do a 12-hour shift six nights a week with no overtime. This is the hard and usual beat of night watchmen. Their position is in particular need of improvement. But all contract workers should be able to check their contracts without being told that if they want to complain they must sign an "agreement" cancelling the contract.

These men have not returned to us and may still be doing their watching.

M. MK., a labourer less than half-way through his contract with a building firm, was similarly dissatisfied and was whipped off to DBA by his irate employer when he queried the terms of the contract. He had rashly absented himself from work for two days, and found himself signing the "agreement", out of work and so far without even money for his train ticket home.

Enlightened employers exist and it is encouraging to know of their efforts. In apply-

ing for a specific man as a contract worker, one employer was asked by the official why this man was so keen to come to Cape Town. The employer explained that he had only earned R3 a week working in a country town. Official — "what do you propose to pay him?" Employer — "he will start at R15 a week." Official — "That is enticement."

But this is the sort of employer who can rescue the unenticing image of South Africa in the wide world today and who is helping genuinely on the home front.

THE Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, said today he could honestly declare that, despite localised outbursts now and then, there was no vindictive hostility on the part of the Bantu peoples towards the Whites in South Africa.

The Minister, in a Day of the Covenant speech at Grootfontein, near Bethal, said this state of affairs was largely due to the positive attitude adopted by the authorities towards the Bantu peoples, namely to assist them in every way in their development and to grant them their self-realisation.

Provocative and offensive statements should not be made and deeds committed which offended Bantu self-respect.

The Star. December 16, 1973.

THERE is a third side of this question. African students have turned their backs on Nusas and formed Saso: in July, Non-White leaders met at Edenvale to form the Black People's Convention. Following the American example, these people have shown that two can play the segregation game. I am not aware that the Government has welcomed these moves as proof that its policy has made Black converts; but if it did so, the words would ring hollow. It is not converts that have been made, but enemies.

Arthur Keppel-Jones. The Star, November 15, 1972.

WE SHALL ask no one for permission to ensconce ourselves in a laager again, least of all the English Press.

Dr. Wentzel Du Plessis. Sunday Times. December 17, 1972.

Filling a long-felt want

Migrant labour is a horrifying fact of South African economic life but few people know very much about its ramifications and effects on the lives of millions of men, women and children. In his book "Migrant Labour in South Africa", Dr. Francis Wilson presents the first comprehensive study of the subject.

Review by SHEENA DUNCAN

Dr. Wilson has filled a long-felt want with his book "Migrant Labour in South Africa", published in January. The book was written at the request of the South African Council of Churches.

Up to now there has been a limited amount of factual material on the extent and the effects of migrant labour in this country. Dr. Wilson has gathered the known facts from all available sources and has done a great deal of original research himself in order to produce this invaluable work.

Migrant labour has been part of the South African scene for over a century and is now firmly entrenched as part of our "traditional" way of life. The system is being extended by legislation and Dr. Wilson estimates that about 1 305 000 people, that is every second Black person working legally in the White areas, is an oscillating migrant.

These people must all live separated from their families because they are not permitted to bring their wives and children with them to the places where they work.

The book details the conditions in which men live on the mines, on farms and in industrial centres and also analyses the poverty and social distortion which has been caused in the homelands.

One of the most horrifying facts is the extent to which hostels are being built in the homeland townships adjoining border industrial areas. The Government has always maintained that the decentralisation of industry to border areas will halt the break up of Black family life and enable men to live with their wives within daily commuting distance from their places of work.

Now we see that, for example, Mabopane, a town in Bophuthatswana north of Pretoria, is planning a hostel for 10 000 men to be built this year.

Hostels for migrants, instead of sorely needed family housing, are being built in towns

all over the country. The sociological consequences of forcing men to live in unisex hostels are well-documented by Dr. Wilson who describes in detail the different types of hostels, those already existing and those still at the planning stage.

One of the most useful chapters for those who constantly find themselves confronted with the justification that "migrant labour is used all over the world" is an examination of the patterns of migrancy in Europe, the Americas, Black Africa and China.

The only system which remotely resembles South Africa's seems to be that of Communist China where stringent influx controls and campaigns to reduce urban population were used.

"The main emphasis in these campaigns was to get people to move voluntarily, but compulsory measures were also used" and "In the event the target was not reached, nevertheless as a result of propaganda, economic and political pressure, provision of transport, rigorous police check-ups, and with the welcome assistance of a bumper harvest, the campaign succeeded in 'sending down' no less than 800 000 people from China's cities, 500 000 of them from Shanghai."

This all sounds only too familiar. In this as in other aspects of our traditional way of life, such as our legislation for indefinite detention without trial, there are more similarities between us and communist dictatorships than between us and contemporary western Christian democracies.

In his analysis of economic factors underlying South Africa's present condition, Dr. Wilson demonstrates in the simplest terms the fact that the Nationalist Government's declared political aims are totally irreconcilable with South Africa's economic needs and desires. On reading this chapter one despairs that reason, quite apart from the demands of love, has so little influence upon the decisions taken by those who govern us.

Dr. Wilson goes out of his way to be objective in summing up the pros and cons of

the migrant labour system. He is factual and scholarly and has kept emotional comment to a minimum but even so he has been quite unable to produce any convincing reasons why the migrant labour system should be retained.

The case against it is so strong that one wonders why everyone is not immediately convinced that it should be completely done away with. The arguments in favour of the system are entirely rationalisations of White determination to keep power and privilege in White hands.

The book provides well-thought-out suggestions for doing away with migrant labour which provide a constructive framework for all those who are working towards the abolition of the pass laws and influx control and the achievement of freedom of movement for all South Africa's people.

This book must be read. It is important to all of us. It may be ordered from Spro-Cas, Pharmacy House, 80 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg or from booksellers throughout the country.

Quotes from 'Migrant Labour in South Africa'

FRANCIS WILSON

'TOTAL number of blacks employed on the gold mines: 367 400. By law the gold mines were until 1969 allowed to provide family housing for not more than three per cent of the Black labour force excluding "foreign natives". But as the proportion of South Africans was not more than one third of the total this means effectively only one per cent of the Black labour force was eligible for family housing. However the position of even this one per cent has become tenuous since the issue in 1969-1970 of an official circular sent out by a local Bantu Affairs Commissioner to the mines in the Klerksdorp area instructing them that children might no longer stay in the married quarters.'

'HOWEVER, despite being in the homeland, Mdantsane itself has need of hostel accommodation. Early in 1972 family houses were being used to house approximately 200 contract

workers from the Transkei who did not qualify to live with their families in the area, but who were needed as bus drivers. Moreover, there was in Duncan Village a hostel for 752 men and they had yet to be accommodated in Mdantsane. Thus application has been made for preparation of plans for a hostel complex to accommodate single men.'

'THERE ARE nearly 16 000 men in the zones which are very similar in construction and "feel" to the Dube hostel in Soweto. But it is a bleak, windswept area with hardly a blade of grass and not a flower between all the buildings. The most disturbing feature of the zones, however, is the large number of children living there. They are said to have been brought from home by their fathers in order that, by growing up in Cape Town, they might gain the right to work there as adults.'

STATISTICS for 80 percent of the South African economy show that in 1968 the average White worker earned R2 672 a year, the Coloured R830, the Asian R909 and the African R412.

In 1971 the average White worker earned R3 513, the Coloured R1 058, the Asian R1 182 and the African R519. For the White man this was a 31,8 per cent increase, for the Coloured a 27 per cent increase, for the Asian a 30 per per cent increase and for the African a 26 per cent increase.

The pay gap increased between four and six per cent for Africans over the four years.

The Star. December 15, 1972.

The young ones

The Saturday Club's youth project has been a new venture for the Black Sash; one which could prove a valuable step in building up better relationships between Black and White children. Here Mary Raphaely and Judy Cook discuss what has been done and talk of plans for the future.

The Johannesburg youth project first got off the ground as a result of our concern about the youth preparedness programme which was first introduced into Transvaal schools this year, and more particularly the moral preparedness aspect of the Government's scheme.

Up to now very little information has been available, but it appears that the direction which youth preparedness takes depends largely on the teachers put in charge of the subject by the schools.

We know that there is very little contact between the different race groups in this country. Very important too is the lack of communication between English and Afrikaans-speaking people. We want to try to bridge these gaps among young people. On the black front, there are several difficulties as access to the African townships is quite strictly controlled. There is access to the Indian and Coloured townships although distance presents a problem.

We decided to begin with the already existing Saturday Club, a mixed discussion group which has been meeting for a number of years on a monthly basis. We asked our members to bring their children under the age of 14 to a gathering in a private house.

We hoped that pleasant surroundings and equal status contact would form the background for the growth of a better inter-group understanding. We hired a bus to collect the black children and their mothers from town and when they arrived, served a simple lunch. For the first few meetings we planned our activities with the children carefully.

We divided them into groups of roughly the under-fours, the five-to-nines and the older ones. We had a few members organising each group, and the mothers shared the responsibility of supervising them. With the babies we found that integration worked naturally, and that it was impossible to do more with them than produce toys and allow them to

get on with activities, like making dolls out of waste products. With the oldest group we had a painting project and played games calculated to mix them up.

After the first few meetings we decided we needed a freer structure, in order to allow the children to relate more naturally to each other. From then on, to a large extent we left them alone, and when we organised them we used lots of music and singing games. Recently two of us have attended a mixed creative drama course. An idea we learnt here which we hope to implement is to use music to trigger off a chain of mime, drama and painting, all designed to immerse the children to the point where they lose awareness of their colour differences.

We do believe that the most likely situation to reduce inter-group tensions occurs where people have to co-operate with each other in order to achieve a common objective. And this we hope to achieve through using the training we have had in the drama course.

At the moment the Junior Saturday Club consists very largely of African children with a few Coloureds, some Whites and no Indians. We have had a request to include children above the age of 14.

There are several breakdown points in the scheme. There is a hiatus over the holidays and the children are not meeting at all except at our meetings which themselves may be too infrequent for young people to maintain a proper contact. Nevertheless we feel that in many cases the Saturday Club has been the first point of contact and that it is much easier to establish it when the children are small than to try to do this artificially later on. Already by the age of five, there is a shyness in both Black and White.

Nevertheless, over the year we have investigated various other activities. We found out about the Natal and Cape programmes and we contacted various people working with mix-

ed groups in an effort to establish a valid course of action. We found that several schemes have failed largely because of a lack of White interest.

We feel that one of our prime targets must be to educate White children and this year we hope to draw children into studying some of the African languages using a cheap basic language laboratory technique. We would like

to establish a group with high school children debating on relevant subjects outside our political situation.

We have started with a small group and we will work towards expanding it. It is our belief that we must work at a level where contact across racial barriers is not artificial and that gradually with growing knowledge of each other a greater respect will develop.

MR. DORFMAN said that while in large crowds it might appear that African traffic officers were dealing with Whites, this was not so. They were in fact dealing only with Africans.

"They will never try to stop the Whites. These are their instructions." The position was apparently different if a White spoke to an African inspector. The inspector could then reply to the White.

Rand Daily Mail. December 15, 1972.

DESCRIBING the problem of overcrowding in Soweto, Mr. Moss said housing was needed for an estimated 84 000 people, including 13 000 families and 19 000 "single" men and women.

Rand Daily Mail. December 11, 1972.

AN AFRICAN family now needs at least R85,15 a month to survive, according to Jo-

hannesburg Chamber of Commerce figures released yesterday . . .

Updating its six-monthly figures for Soweto households, the chamber also finds that there has been a 16 per cent rise in the Poverty Datum Line, making it necessary for a household head to earn a minimum of R76,16 to keep above that level, which includes purely basic budget items . . .

Rand Daily Mail. January 10, 1973.

WHILE mission hospitals in many homeland areas report the "usual" high incidence of near starvation among children, two hospitals report that a staggering 75 to 80 per cent of the children they see are famished.

There has been an acute food shortage and the situation facing families without income is desperate.

Many children have starved to death.

Rand Daily Mail. December 15, 1972.

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OBITUARIES

Mrs. A. C. Parkes

IT IS with deep regret that the Cape Western Region records the death of Mrs. A. C. Parkes of Hout Bay Road, Constantia.

Mrs. Dora Landsberg

All members of the Black Sash Cape Western Region, especially those of the Gardens/Sea Point branch and the workers at the Athlone Advice Office, join hundreds of Capetonians from every walk of life in mourning the death of Mrs. Dora Landsberg.

An outstandingly active and highly valued member of the Black Sash since its earliest days, Mrs. Landsberg was the mainstay and inspiration of her branch until her death. Totally committed to humanity, her personal concern showed itself at every level and found political expression through this movement of concern.

Was there a sphere of life to which she did not contribute, usually as a leader? Her favourite way of showing herself was through music, which goes so far beyond words in its expression of feeling. Many learnt the beauty of sound values through Mrs. Landsberg's music. Her home was open to all comers catering to their personal needs with friendly offers of music, food, shelter, discussion or argument.

The closing tribute at her funeral service, taken from a prayer inscribed on the wall of the Muir Street Mosque, is alive with her spirit:

"Enthusiasm is the vehicle of my life;
"Sorrow is my friend;
"Knowledge is my weapon;
"Trust is my salvation;
"Love of all men is the core of my belief."

Proudly and gratefully, we of the Black Sash acknowledge the example of Dora Landsberg.

Professor Donald Molteno

We believe it is no exaggeration to say that the Black Sash here in the Western Cape could not have achieved or maintained half its stature, let alone kept on the right side of the law, without the guidance and support and inspiration, the devotion to our common cause, afforded us over more than 17 years by Donald Molteno.

He taught us all we had to know about Civil Rights, about the iniquities and inequities of the pass laws and influx control, the intricate ramifications of the migrant labour system; and so very much more . . .

His knowledge and experience gained over 20 years before the Sash came into existence illuminated all our efforts to inform and educate ourselves and the South African public.

And at our National Congress in 1958 a resolution that he helped to structure (calling for a moving on from protest and propaganda on unjust laws to the giving of active help to their victims) founded our advice offices, where many thousands have been given some shelter from the winds of what he has called "our merciless society".

Perhaps we shall remember him most happily for the grace with which, when we tried to express our gratitude, he boosted OUR ego, saying it was entirely for *him*, and an up-until-then *small* number of allies, to be grateful for so large an advent on to the side of the angels as was represented by "the ladies of the Black Sash".

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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 organisation, 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.

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