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# SASH

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Most white South Africans would presumably state that they believe in democracy — as applied to themselves. They talk often enough about upholding Western Democratic principles and, indeed, regard this as their special mission in life. They refer sneeringly to dictatorships in other South African or South American or Eastern countries; they talk about socialism in the most scathing terms; they are in favour of free enterprise. Yet they seem astonishingly unaware of South Africa's new political system.

Tremendous powers, uncontrolled either by Parliament or by previous long-standing legislation, have been taken and are being taken by Cabinet Ministers.

The Minister of Police, the Minister of Defence, the Minister of the Interior all have great power. The Minister of Justice has uncontrolled power to incarcerate or ban anybody and in many cases there is no appeal to the Courts. No citizen of South Africa has any protection against his power.

The power of these men is often exercised in secret and there is no protection against them.

The Minister of Education is taking increasing powers over all educational institutions. The Ministers of Bantu Administration, of Coloured Affairs and of Indian Affairs are taking power to control University education so that Universities will no longer merit the name. These men have control of all aspects of the lives of those who are arbitrarily classified as belonging to these racial groups.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development already has tremendous power over the lives of everyone but particularly over the African people and he is now taking complete power to control all industry, commerce, all growth points, and South Africa's economic progress.

There is no protection for anyone against him.

The Minister of Community Development is taking complete power to control all local authorities and those who live within their jurisdiction. The Minister of Planning has power over all industrial and commercial expansion or change. There is no free enterprise in South Africa any longer.

Die meeste blanke Suid-Afrikaners sal vermoederlik hulle vertroue in demokrasie uitspreek, in elk geval so ver as dit hulle raak. Hulle praat baie maal van die instanthouding van die westerse demokratiese prinsiepe, en beskou dit as hulle spesiale roeping in die lewe. Hulle praat smalend van diktatorskappe in ander Afrika lande, of in Suid Amerika of in die Oosterse lande — hulle is ten gunste van vrye ondernemings. Maar, verbasend genoeg, skyn hulle geen besef te hê van Suid Afrika se nuwe politieke stelsel.

Verrykende magte wat nog deur die parlement nog deur vorige en langebeproefde wetgewing gekeer word, is reeds aan kabinet ministers toegeken en word nog steeds toegeken.

Die Minister van Polisie, Minister van Verdediging, Minister van Binnelandse sake het almal groot magte. Die Minister van Justisie het onbeperkte magte om enige persoon op te sluit of in te perk, en in baie gevalle mag daar geen beroep op die Howe gedoen word nie. Geen burger van Suid-Afrika het enige beskerming teen sy magte nie.

Die manne voer baie maal hulle magte in die geheim uit en daar is geen beskerming teen hulle nie.

Die Minister van Opvoeding is besig om steeds meer magte oor alle opvoedkundige inrigtings aan homself toe te ken. Die Minister van Bantoe Administrasie, van Kleurling-, van Indier-sake neem magte om Universiteits opleiding te beheer sodat die inrigtings nie meer reg het op die naam van Universiteit nie. Hierdie Ministers beheer op alle vlakke die lewens van diegene wat arbitrêr in die groepe geklassifikeer word.

Die Minister van Bantoe Administrasie en Ontwikkeling het reeds enorme magte oor almal se lewe, maar in biesonder oor lewens van die Bantoe, en nou ëien hy hom die reg toe om volle beheer te hê oor industrieë handel, alle groei punte, en Suid-Afrika se ekonomiese vooruitgang.

Daar is geen beskerming vir enige persoon teen sy magte nie.

Die Minister van Gemeenskapsontwikkeling kry volkome mag om plaaslike owerhede, en almal wat onder hulle jurisdiksie val, te beheer. Die Minister van Beplanning beheer alle industriële ontwikkeling of verandering.

There is no protection for anyone against these men.

There are eighteen of them. They hold power over every aspect of our lives. They take power unknown to democratic governments and they take it despite the opposition of the majority of South African citizens. They are largely uncontrolled by Parliament, or by the Courts of Justice, or by the ballot box, because the ballot box is not representative of the people of South Africa. The type of legislation by which they take this power to themselves is often so wide in application and interpretation, and very often so retrospective in nature, that they can in many cases be said to have placed themselves above the law.

This is not Democracy — this is government by Junta.

Vrye onderneming bestaan nie meer in Suid-Afrika nie.

Daar is geen beskerming vir enige persoon teen die manne nie.

Daar is agtien van hulle. Hulle het magte oor alle aspekte van ons lewes. Hulle ken aan hulle self magte toe wat vreemd is aan demokratiese regerings en hulle kry die magte tenspyte van die opposisie van die meerderheid van die Suid-Afrikaanse burgers. Die magte word grotendeels nie deur die Parlement, die Howe of die stembus (wat nie verteenwoordigend van die burgers van Suid-Afrika is nie) beheer nie. Die tiepe van wetgewing wat die magte aan hulle toeken is baie maal so wyd in sy toepassing en interpretasie, en daarby nog terugwerkend van aard, dat dit in baie gevalle gesê kan word, dat die Ministers bokant die wet geplaas is.

Dit is nie demokratisie nie — dit is regering deur 'n Junta.

# THE BUSINESSMAN'S DILEMMA

F. E. STREEK

*An address to the Annual National Conference of Kupugani in March*

**1968 WAS A GOOD YEAR FOR BUSINESSMEN.** The economy itself was not all that exciting, although we reached the targets set by the Economic Development Programme. There were gold scares, gold hoarding and monetary crises elsewhere. But the Republic rode along unperturbed. Several indicators underline our business progress:

The J.S.E.'s activity reached unprecedented heights. Volumes reached record levels. Take over bids, mergers, pyramids, mutual funds. You name it. We've got it. Sidcor, Sagov, Glen Anil, Liberty Life are household terms. Ordinary people are joining the game too and the J.S.E. official handbook now runs to 60,000 copies;

Despite a liberal import permit policy our gold and foreign exchanges are above the 1,100 million mark;

Two days ago we heard about a record budget;

Companies report higher earnings;

The Economic Development Programme indicates we can handle a 5½% growth over the 1968-1973 period;

Inflation was kept in check and increased by only 2 per cent in 1968;

Foreign capital flowed in;

There is a queue of foreign firms who want to open up in the Republic;

The credit ceiling has been raised;

We have struck oil.

These facts are known. Dr. van Eck, Chairman of the I.D.C. and one of our leading industrialists, spoke in this vein recently. So did Mr. Mabin, director of Assocom, and so did Dr. Diederichs. They are all variations of a theme. The theme itself is excellent and as a businessman I am very pleased with the sound of our short term prospects. It is music to my ears. When I do my homework and look at the long term, the sound of music is better still.

It is certain we shall have a population of 40 million\* by the end of the century. It is certain their living standards will be superior to those of today. This means that not only will the usual accelerator apply viz. more people than today, but they will each have more.

\* 54 million according to the latest estimates of the University of Cape Town.

A sort of economic geometrical progression.

People, of course, have certain needs, the basic ones being food and shelter — followed by sex and other academic items. Consumer goods and building will be needed. Some people are alert to this and have invested in the food and clothing industries or have bought land where houses will be erected. In addition, our vast extractive industries — agriculture and mining on land and in the sea — will grow. There will be changes and agriculture will become agri-business designed to cater for markets instead of producing items and then seeking markets. The folly of the latter approach is illustrated on the one hand by the fantastic subsidies consumers have to pay, and on the other by mounds of rotting oranges.

Gold mining is expected to tail off in the mid seventies, but this has been known and we have discounted the problem. I am confident, therefore, that all signs are go-go to businessmen.

I should make it clear that I speak in their defence tonight. I should also make it clear that by businessmen I mean not only the people who run factories and help to run them, people in shops and service industries, but people in offices like lawyers, accountants and bankers whose existence depends on the activities of businessmen. Many of these people are able to ignore the problems which constitute the businessman's dilemma and I don't think they should.

#### Discordant notes

Are there any discordant notes in the theme? Are there any factors which could stop the Republic's economic progress? Yes. International criticism, the vagaries of our climate, and skilled manpower shortages.

One might think that international criticism will sour our prospects, I don't think so. In fact, I think the reverse. I entertain a belief that this criticism in the last decade has contributed to our growth. Our thinking has been "They are wrong and we will show them." And show them we have with schools, hospitals, roads, bridges, gold, ships, townships and the rest. But we have skirted around other problems. And the sum total of our business is small compared with the rest of the world. One might say we are mini-skirted-businessmen. And the verkramptes now threaten to remove that mild palliative to business worries with their longer hemline ideas.

Our National Income was R8.3 thousand million in 1967, the U.S.A's R460 thousand million, i.e., our income is about 1.9% of the U.S.A's, but our population is about 9% of theirs. In other words our productivity is only about 20% of America's. Nevertheless we are moving. If we reach America's 1967 level by 1999, and our population doubles, our National Income will grow ten times. One can argue about the numbers but I stick to my belief that international criticism will promote our growth not hinder it. This type of stimulus is familiar to all husbands whose incomes, according to Parkinson's Laws, will never match their wives' propensity to spend. So we businessmen are kept moving by external stimuli.

#### Water and Power

Our climate is ideal for tourism but it is a dry one and we face perpetual drought problems. Why we don't store or make water I don't know. From Port St. John to Port Alfred we have natural storage areas in the deep side valleys. They could be exploited at low costs. There are such things as nuclear reactors which not only generate power cheaply but desalinate sea water at the same time. Their cost is relatively low and would be a great investment. The African villages in the Transkei, like villages everywhere else, could have light, power and water. The possibilities are endless. In the meantime, however, we have droughts and they knock the economy around. The fact that the Vaal dam is filled to 42.345% capacity makes the National News Service on the radio. Droughts also cause human suffering, to farmers and others living off the land. They also cause hunger.

What is certain to halt progress is the lack of trained manpower. It already does so. There is no need to burden you with statistics. Practically every speaker on our future economic prospects mouths platitudes on the subject. Some businessmen do their duty and import brains and talent from other countries, some train their own staffs or get them trained, but we need skilled labour now and it is simply not available. In total very little is done about this inhibiting factor. The converse seems to be true.

Mr. Jan Marais pointed out about a week ago that the number of civil servants increased by 276% from 1937 to 1966, during which period the white population increased by 70%. So the State grew at the expense of

private enterprise which pays the taxes on which the Civil Servants exist.

It sticks out like a sore thumb that our non-whites are the only means of filling the need. It is not easy for businessmen to train and hold them. The bulk of unskilled labourers are non-white. Most of them cannot be trained in skills which require a period of apprenticeship because they cannot be apprenticed. The workers themselves are badly organised. If they are Africans, they cannot join trade unions, they cannot strike, they cannot move freely. In short they cannot get the best bargain for their services. Indians and Coloureds suffer to a lesser degree, but the prejudice of pigmentation hits where it hurts — in the wage packet.

We businessmen are poor politicians and rarely speak on matters of social reform. We are experts at rationalisation. "This is the situation and this is how it will look next year. What's in it for me and my company?" If one is properly motivated one would say "my Company and me", but the approach is the same. We may grumble through our trade associations about certain matters or blame the press for not putting them right, but we don't follow through and alleviate some of the side effects of the artificial labour shortage.

#### Poor bargaining position

One such effect stems from the poor bargaining position of many South Africans. This results in poor earnings without a foreseeable hope of improvement and with the real threat of loss of wages for the slightest misdemeanour. This is good for businessmen who, as a result of the system, are not under pressure to pay realistic wages to unskilled workers. Some excellent work has been carried out by Batson in Cape Town, Watt, in Durban and Suttner in Johannesburg and by others, notably the University of South Africa, in examining the incomes and expenditures of our poorer citizens. Africans in different urban areas from 1960-1965 did not balance their *household* expenditures — plus minus R60. a month; Indians and Coloureds other than in Cape Town did so, their expenditures exceeded R100 a month, and so did whites — expenditures (1966) R387.

If one looks at *household heads* and basic needs the position is worse. The only non-white breadwinners who could meet basic needs were the Durban and Port Elizabeth

Coloureds and they just balanced. The whites' basic needs of R206 were met by the breadwinner. Breadwinners and household heads should be able to meet basic needs without family assistance. Who wants to live with his mother-in-law and vice versa? Basic needs consist of food, clothing, cleansing materials, fuel and lighting. They constitute the Primary Poverty Datum Line. When the cost of rent and workers' transport is added, it becomes the secondary PDL.

It is a dismal grey level of existence that does not allow for recreation, medical and dental expenses, insurances, alcohol, cigarettes, personal care, education or emergencies, or a newspaper.

As Rowntree discovered in York almost a century ago, people spend on non-essentials. Who doesn't? We all like to be naughty and buy something we can't afford. If one is married one has strong forces pushing the same way. Parkinson's Law should be amended to include teenagers. In order to meet the bill for basic necessities, one must earn much more than their cost. Batson estimated this at 50% of the PDL. The real minimum for the grey existence is therefore 150% of basic needs and is called the Effective Minimum Level.

PPDL, SPDL or EML are academic. If you are hungry, you are hungry per se. Watt calculated that the SPDL in 1966 ranged from R56.37 in Pretoria to R66.74 based on an African family, but theoretically applicable to all races. This is a rough average of R53.55 which extended by the increase in the cost of living from 1966 to 1968 is R56.81. This is R13.13 per week, or 29 cents an hour for a 46 hour week. It should be 150% of that or 43 and a half cents. As an example of the problem, the rate for the lowest grade worker in the steel industry is 19 cents an hour.

There is hardly an organisation without PDL workers on its pay roll and I do not exclude my own. In this situation people are hungry, which is the reason for Kupugani's existence.

#### Hunger not malnutrition

I prefer the word hunger to malnutrition. Hunger is an exhausted condition caused by want of food. Malnutrition means bad eating. If one ate too hearty a dinner with too much wine one would suffer from malnutrition. One would not be hungry. And yet so many people rationalise the problem by talk-

ing of malnutrition. The problem is a lack of earning power plain and simple.

### Disease, squalor and crime

This is the businessman's dilemma. In this land of plenty the business signs are good, but the other signs are not. Hunger statistics for example. Their unwanted offspring are Disease, Squalor and Crime. News of some of these reach businessmen — typhoid, for example, or T.B., or Kwashiorkor. These are primarily poverty diseases. Kwashiorkor, as Professor Reid said a year ago, causes permanent brain damage. It is no longer a notifiable disease. In 1967, 10,830 cases were quoted, only seven were white. There were 69,261 T.B. cases of which 1,244 were white — 34.9 per 100,000 population against 460.7 for Africans, 436.5 for Coloureds and 204.9 for Asians. In other words the poor have from 6 to 13 times the chance of contracting T.B. as richer citizens. These statistics are not publicised. One has to look for them. Nor are visitors to Soweto reminded that, according to one investigation, it is the scene of 1,000 murders a year. Almost 3 a day. Nor does one hear much about urban hospitals on Saturday night when the assault victims from the African townships make them look like battle fields.

There is little doubt about the validity of Rowntree's and Batson's findings — the shocking results of hunger, the need for higher wages for the poorer classes. *Our ability to pay is not in doubt.*

We spend nearly 300 million Rand a year on defence in time of peace. Well-fed, well motivated people would be our best defence, if defence is the main reason for our existence, which I doubt.

### Rate for the job

What should businessmen do and what should be done to them? They must be educated to be charitable, because many of their workers have no bargaining power; they must pay the rate for the job; they must extend pension and medical schemes to all workers; they must support legislation for minimum wage levels; they must encourage surveys, for where surveys are undertaken conditions improve; they must work for the removal of laws which restrict workers' earning capacity and their opportunity to learn skills; they should ensure that poorer workers are fed and are educated in correct feeding; they should organise committees of their workers and con-

sult with them and thereby learn some facts about their existence.

Many enlightened businessmen do these things and the result is predictable. They attract good, stable staff and achieve the purpose of their being in business, i.e. an adequate return on their investment. In general terms too, it can be shown that higher wages lead to higher productivity. From 1948/1958 real wages did not rise, but the retail price index did by 3.7%. From 1958 to 1963 real wages increased by 4% the price index by 1.8%. In other words, increased wages do not necessarily mean inflation. They can lead to increased productivity. Not quite to the U.S.A. standards, but towards them.

### Kupugani's need

I have generalised about businessmen's need to do something. They can help Kupugani, directly too. If they knew about its work and the calibre of its supporters I think they would do so. This year you have a first class opportunity because your final accounts are a businesslike document and we businessmen like to help businesslike organisations. I think those responsible for your financial recovery deserve the highest praise. I think you should let businessmen know that you have cut back to be businesslike and to keep out of the red. Tell them too that you will work within your budget in the future, but that your activities are limited to the extent you receive support. It should be obvious that, as you expand your goods in transit, expenses will grow. Ask them to fund this.

Go to a Direct Mail organisation. They have the addresses and letter writing skills. Shoot off thousands of professionally designed mail shots. Throw in some statistics so that you will educate the readers. Tell them to remember Kupugani in their wills and remind them you will take Liberty Life or other valuable shares in lieu of money. I am sure you will reap a good harvest.

You see, we businessmen face this dilemma of conscience and performance daily, but we rarely act spontaneously. We rationalise. We plead ignorance. Given the facts we do respond as your membership list indicates.

We know that if we solve our dilemma — the dilemma of rich possibilities on the one hand and an emasculated labour force hovering around the PDL on the other — our economy will soar to heights that will make even the 1968 performance of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange look ordinary.

# MANPOWER — APARTHEID VERSUS PRODUCTIVITY

The Black Sash organised a symposium, Manpower-Apartheid versus Productivity, in Durban on 22nd October, 1968. The following articles are condensed from the papers read at this symposium.

Mr. Douglas Sutherland is a well known Natal industrialist. Mr. Michael Savage was a Lecturer in Sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand and is now in the United States of America. Mr. J. E. Mansfield and Mr. Metelkamp are agricultural economists and farm in Natal. Mr. Gavvin Maasdorp is a lecturer at the University of Natal.

## THE ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE EMPLOYER IN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

D. G. SUTHERLAND

I welcome this opportunity to speak on "The Essential Requirements of the Employer in Industry and Commerce" because while representative bodies of employers meet regularly to discuss their problems with each other and Government officials, it is perhaps a good thing that a wider public should know something of the complexity of the business world and of the difficulties being encountered at the present time.

First of all I'd like to remind you that in a Capitalist society, as opposed to a Communist society, there is a voluntary combination of Capital and Labour for the production of goods or services required by the society which provides both the capital and the labour. The capital is provided by individuals or organisations in return for a reward which they expect to receive in the form of appreciation of that capital and by interest or dividends paid thereon. Labour, in the form of wage or salary earners, gets a direct reward for the work it does or the services it provides and neither capital nor labour can be effective without the other, and without both nothing would be produced at all.

Industry, as it is currently understood, is nowadays viewed as falling within three sections:—

1). Primary Industry, which covers the mining, extraction and beneficiation of ores for the production of metals and other commodities, such as coal and asbestos (and also everything that comes under the heading of Agriculture and Forestry).

2). Secondary or Manufacturing Industry, which utilises the products of Primary Industry for the production of commodities, articles, machines, equipment, etc. for the convenience of modern society (and incidentally accounts for 22% of the Gross Domestic Product of this country).

3). Tertiary Industry, which covers the so-

called Service Industries — the generation of electricity and gas, transport, communications such as telephones, telegraph, wireless and so such as telephones, telegraph, wireless and so on.

In contrast to "Industry", "Commerce" is generally understood to cover all those activities concerned, not with extraction or manufacture, but with the buying and selling of the products of primary and secondary industry and with the many activities associated therewith such as Banking, Building Societies, Insurance, Shipping, Advertising, and so on.

As, however, practically the whole of my working life has been connected with the second category of Industry — Manufacturing Industry — what I have to say will inevitably be culled from that experience with the emphasis on manufacturing activities and such opinions as I may express about Commerce will also be largely related to the Commerce of Manufacturing Industry.

When we speak about an employer, which presupposes a person, a single entity, this, in industry, is a concept which virtually no longer obtains. In the 19th century, during that period of rapid development which followed the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century, most of what we call manufacturing industry consisted of family firms, where the initiative of starting some enterprise was taken by a person or by a group of persons, and where the money to finance the enterprise was provided by that person himself or by his family and where the ownership of the



enterprise was retained largely, if not entirely, within that family group.

Times, however, have changed. Manufacturing industries have, through the years, grown bigger and bigger and in general are now beyond the ability of individuals or families to finance and control. Taxation of higher incomes too has played its part in discouraging individuals to hang on to growing businesses with increasing responsibilities and problems so that today any manufacturing business of any size is in the form of a Company owned by a group of shareholders, whose members may well run into many thousands, controlled by a Board of Directors elected by the same shareholders, and administered under the general direction of the Board of Directors by a Managing Director or General Manager. Correctly, therefore, the employer is that same large body of shareholders, the vast majority of whom have only one interest in the companies of which they own a share, which is the making of a profit by the appreciation in value of their shares and the interest they receive by way of dividends. In fact, however, the responsibility of "the employer" usually centres in the Chief Executive, the Managing Director or the General Manager who is himself invariably an employee of that impersonal "Company" which owns all the assets. The change, from personal association of individuals, or families, in the early days of Manufacturing Industry, to the impersonality of modern organisations is reflected in the decreasing number of companies having names of people and it is significant, if one looks through any of the lists of the "100 top companies" so popular with the financial papers, or at greater length through the Stock Exchange Year Book, that companies with personal names are in a small minority, thus emphasising the growth in impersonality which has developed through the years.

### Mergers and monopolies

The trend towards larger organisations is causing so much concern to the Government that a draft Bill has recently been prepared to amend the Regulation of Monopolistic Conditions Act to give powers to the Minister of Economic Affairs or the Board of Trade and Industries to examine mergers before they actually take place. In a recent explanation to representatives of the Federated Chamber of Industries and the Association of Chambers of Commerce, an official of the

Department of Commerce referred to the Government's concern over the tendency for larger firms to absorb or strangle the smaller business unit and stated that between 200 and 400 mergers took place each month in this country, thus reducing competition within the market. He added that if the current trend was not stemmed, it was estimated that by the year 2000, all businesses in the country would be controlled by about 50 giant corporations. However, fortunately we have not reached that stage yet.

So then, when we talk of the employer in Industry, let us be clear that the individual who is thought of in this capacity, albeit the Chief Executive of the organisation to which he belongs, is, as I have already said, himself an employee and liable to censure, correction or even dismissal at the hands of his Board of Directors or the more nebulous shareholders who, in aggregate, hold the real power.

In the case of Commerce things are a bit different, for while there are the big units, a great deal of the commerce of Western civilisation and of this country remains in the hands of the small shopkeeper or agency, who is, in reality, an individual or family unit and here we do find that the employer is a person or a small group of persons responsible only to themselves. Nevertheless it makes no whit of difference and the same rules and regulations, restrictions and statutes apply to the employer whether he is an impersonal body represented by an executive or by the owner of a business himself.

### Responsibilities of employers

The employer in a capitalist society has three main responsibilities:— to the customers; to the employees; to the shareholders; and to these might be added two more:— to the community and to the firm's suppliers. We must consider what are the requirements which will enable these responsibilities to be met.

Now, while I accept that the intention of this symposium is to concentrate on the human angle, if I am to deal with the subject of my talk comprehensively, I must point out that there are many essential requirements of an employer other than those concerned with the employment of people, which cannot be entirely ignored. The primary requirement of an employer in manufacturing industry surely is to have knowledge and experience of something — an article, commodity, machine or piece of equipment, which has, or will

have, some value, some attraction to the community and similarly in commerce, the employer must have some article, or some service, which he can offer to sell to the community — for without that there is no justification for an employer to employ people to do anything at all. But this is only the starting point.

### Basic requirements

In order to manufacture anything, an employer needs land, buildings, machinery and equipment; services such as electricity, water, sewerage; in many cases steam raising equipment; sometimes gas; internal communications such as telephone and telex installations; roadways; transport — both internal and external; raw materials or semi-processed materials manufactured by another industry and finally, but by no means least, labour wherewith to make effective use of all the other requirements I have specified to produce the end result. Everything that I have mentioned is an “essential” requirement of an employer, but, since the purpose of this Symposium is the consideration of the human angle in employment, apart from stressing that each and everyone is an “essential requirement” I shall say no more about them and concentrate the rest of what I have to say on the essential requirements of an employer in so far as the labour or human element or manpower is concerned.

There are two categories in which industries are frequently regarded — these two being “Capital Intensive” and “Labour Intensive.” The former category covers those industries in which the greater proportion of the total cost of production is due to the capital cost of machinery and plant and the cost of the raw material used, and where the cost of labour is small, while the second category covers those industries in which the labour costs account for a large proportion of the total cost. It is easy to appreciate therefore that in a Capital Intensive industry where the labour cost may be of the order of 5% of total cost of production, there is far less scope for introducing economies in the wage bill by improving the efficiency of the labour force than there is in the Labour Intensive industries where the proportionate cost of plant and raw materials may be small and where labour cost may be very high — perhaps 50 or 60% of total cost. In the one case an improvement of say 10% in efficiency will only have an effect on total cost of

½% while in the other the effect would be 5 or 6%. It follows that the employer in a Labour Intensive industry needs to ensure that his labour is working at the highest level of efficiency — to a greater extent that the employer in a Capital Intensive industry where the rate of production is very often controlled by a machine and not by the physical effort or activity of the worker.

The employer must, necessarily, consider his labour units in the whole production machine, but the days are long past when this was the beginning and end of it. Nowadays the employer accepts that each of his employees is a human being with all the problems, hopes, fears and ambitions inherent in a living being, so Personnel Managers, trained and qualified in the art of Personnel Management, have come to be accepted as important if not essential parts of the industrial organisation. An employer needs some form of Personnel Department to deal, not only with the routine work of seeking, selecting and engaging operatives, but to maintain records of service and generally keep a close watch on the progress and performance of all employees. Personnel also inevitably involves responsibility for their welfare. Arrangements must be made to ensure that transport is available to bring employees to their work in time at the beginning of a shift and to take them away at the end, to provide canteen and other arrangements for their feeding during their stay in the factory premises, to look after their health and to provide the necessary medical attention in the case of illness or accidents. In large factories it is customary to find some facilities for social and sports activities. Security has to be provided in the form of factory police and gatemen, and by and large, everything has to be done that is essential to the needs of a community — for any manufacturing unit is a community of its own with all the problems and needs of any community.

“Labour” in industry covers a very wide range of activities and skill. Starting at the top and most important of all are the Heads of Departments for to them is delegated by the Chief Executive the responsibility for the different functions of Design, Purchasing, Production and Sales. What is required here is experience, which is something that only comes with time, but where technological work is involved, this experience should preferably be based on suitable technical qualifications.

## Management training

The big problem facing employers is to know who are going to fill these senior jobs in the future, for, with more and more emphasis being placed on the importance of a training in Management, the standard of education required is constantly increasing and it seems highly probable that the supply will not be sufficient to meet the demand.

## Revolution

In the past few years we have seen a revolution which can only be compared with the Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century and I refer, of course to the invention and development of computers which not only have prodigious memories but can carry out calculations and produce facts, figures and statistics at rates which are almost incredible. While the development of computers has been extremely rapid since they were first introduced into the commercial and industrial world, they are, at present, still expensive, so that only relatively large concerns can yet afford their purchase. To some extent this has been overcome by the setting up, by the computer manufacturers, of bureaux in the larger cities to which the less large organisations can be connected by means of telephone lines and where they can buy time and have their various calculations carried out at considerably less expense. Such work as calculations of wages and salaries, stock control, production control, preparation of accounts by computer is now common practise where the volume of work justifies the cost, and this practice is bound to increase as the cost of computers comes down.

This means that the leaders of Industry and Commerce of the future will have to be trained in a much more sophisticated type of management than the men who are heads of departments today. Clerical work, as presently understood, is bound to decline as computerisation increases. I think I am right in saying that, with few exceptions, if any, all the people engaged in the design, sale, manufacture and operation of computers are young people, for the whole approach to the use of computers in Commerce and Industry is so very different from the traditional methods we have become accustomed to.

What is important is that the younger generation should be able to enter Industry and Commerce "computer minded" and be able to appreciate the uses to which computers can be put.

It seems likely that as time goes on, employers will look more and more to the University graduate to provide the leaders in the Commerce and Industry of the future. I am well aware that many of the greatest figures in Industry and Commerce, men like Henry Ford and Lord Nuffield, had very little education at all and fell far short of that expected of a graduate, but times have changed and are still changing fast, so that, while there will always be opportunities for the gifted individualist, with management coming to be accepted more and more as an art or a science, employers today want to have something more tangible to work on, and so it is from this group that one expects the Senior Executives of the future to emerge.

In Engineering and Chemistry, the graduate level of education is so obviously required as hardly to need mention, but since so much emphasis is now being placed on training for management, it is in the Commerce faculties of the Universities that a real effort is being made to provide background education for the senior management of the future.

## Technicians

Second only in importance to the University graduates (and their equivalents in the accountancy and secretarial fields) are the technicians — a group of fairly recent origin. They fill the gap between the artisan class and the university graduate and are largely the products of full-time or 'sandwich' courses

PALS

By Bob Connolly



in the technical colleges, trained and able to control technical operations. They also provide opportunities for the brighter and ambitious artisans to leave the bench and factory floor and join the ranks of the white collar workers. They, too, are scarce and already much is being done mainly by bursaries sponsored by the engineering industry to encourage young men to enter the technical colleges and equip themselves for this kind of work.

#### Clerical workers

If we accept that, by and large, Industry and Commerce will look to the Universities and Technical Colleges to provide the Officer Class of the future, then for the Non-Commissioned Officers it will look to the much larger body of young people who receive a basic education in the schools but who are unable to make the University standard, or who, and alas in too many cases, get into the University only to fall by the wayside and fail to graduate. Of these the brightest will have reached Matriculation Standard, the evidence of a good general education, while the less gifted, or less fortunate, may have to rest content with the Junior Certificate level. This vast group, having no specialist education, provides the recruits to fill the innumerable clerical posts in the various departments and laboratories—the white collar jobs as distinct from the “manual work” on the factory floor. In general, this group has to learn as it works, under the guidance of more experienced and senior people and for further education must depend on night school classes at the Technical or Commercial Colleges or on Correspondence Courses.

#### Manual workers

Finally, we come to the rank and file and the great masses of manual workers. The cream of these are the qualified tradesmen or artisans — the group probably in the shortest supply in this country today. This group in the engineering industry, provides the skilled workers on the accurate and intricate machine tools in the machine shops and in more general manufacturing industry, the erectors, fitters, turners, electricians and welders responsible for the erection, maintenance and repair of all the production machinery and equipment in our factories. These are men who serve an apprenticeship in some recognised trade and are the successors of the “craft” system of long ago. They learn

their jobs while working but are required to attend classes at night school in the Technical Colleges and to pass examinations there and to undergo a Trade Test before qualifying as tradesmen. Into this group has come, with the development of electronic equipment, a specialised type of electrician, skilled in high frequency equipment and with the increasing use of computers, the demand is likely to grow very rapidly indeed. With few exceptions, this artisan group is reserved for the European section of the population but I can see no reason why these trades should not be opened up to the Non-European Community. Even if one accepts that the African has a limited potential for technical knowledge, which may or may not be true, here in Natal we have a large population of Asiatics and Coloureds who undoubtedly have the inherent ability to learn and practise a technical trade. Indeed, this is already proved in the Building Industry where numerous Coloured bricklayers are employed and practise the trade of bricklaying quite as well as their European counterparts. Sheet metal work has also come to be the province of the Asiatics in certain areas because of the scarcity of European artisans. Recognising the dangers to the whole economy of the shortage of skilled persons in the engineering industry, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa is presently considering ways and means of encouraging education and training of Technicians, Supervisors, Foremen and Operatives along somewhat similar lines to those which have been adopted in the United Kingdom, whereby all employers within the industry contributed to a fund from which grants are made to those firms who provide facilities for training on the basis of so much for every person trained. I think I am right in saying that the British scheme is a State one and applies to all employers of labour, but the SEIFSA one is likely to be confined to the engineering industry alone and its concept is a measure of the public-spiritedness of the members of that industry, and one which, if eventually launched, may well become a pattern for other industries to follow.

So much then for the skilled persons and now we come to the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers — with few exceptions provided by the Non-European community — some with little and many with virtually no education at all. The more highly semi-skilled operations offer opportunities for the Asiatic and Coloured workers and with them

no language difficulty is present and as I know from personal experience, they adapt themselves very well, not only to manual work of this type, but also to clerical work in the factory offices associated with Planning, Stores, Test, Despatch and Transport. Indeed, without them it is difficult to conceive how many of these jobs would ever get done.

#### African workers

Africans provide the manpower for fetching and carrying, for digging and delving and for the multitude of jobs for which mechanisation is not considered either applicable or economic. From labouring jobs the step to the semi-skilled operative in factories is, fortunately, a short one and an almost infinite variety of operations, either manual or machine minding, which, in the Western European countries are carried out by female labour, has become very largely the province of the African male, although in the newer textile industries in the Border areas, increasing use is being made of the African female as well. But in the cities and urban areas the African male still predominates and he has shown that he can adapt himself to such work very well indeed. If he is lucky he will have resided in an urban area for not less than ten years, for then, as the Law stands, he is entitled to remain in that area with the chance of leading a normal life with his family. Much less fortunate is the African whose tenure of residence is less than that or who, being a young man, has come from his kraal in his "Homeland" to seek work in the cities for he comes as a migrant worker and with the recent legislation of the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act, he can never be anything else. As things now stand, he may not go of his own accord to a city and apply for a "Permit to seek work" but must register with a Labour Bureau in his own tribal area until such time as his Chief sends him, in response to a demand for labour from a European area, and even then he may only contract for a twelve-month period and must return to his home at the end of it. From the employers point of view, this arrangement is most unsatisfactory. An employer needs a stable labour force and all responsible employers work to this end.

#### Undesirable expense

It is a fallacy to suggest that, in any job which contains even a small element of skill, one worker is as good as another and that all are interchangeable. This may apply for un-

skilled labouring but in Manufacturing Industry there are far more semi-skilled jobs than simple labouring ones so that some sort of training is essential before the worker can perform the job required of him. This means that somebody, even if only a foreman or chargehand, will have to show him what to do and this takes both time and money, and while it is unavoidable initially when a factory starts and when it grows, it becomes an undesirable expense when this happens because of a too great turnover of labour. During this learning period too there is always a risk that material may be spoiled and have to be scrapped due to mistakes made by an inexperienced worker. And so turnover of labour is always expensive and therefore something which every employer tries to reduce to the minimum, so that he will avoid anything which will encourage labour to leave and will adopt any reasonable measures to encourage labour to remain. To this end he will offer fair wages and a good working environment to start with; it has also become common practice within recent years to bring Non-European workers within the scope of Pension and Life Assurance Funds in spite of certain inherent difficulties in the case of African labour; and these, together with fringe benefits like subsidised meals and free overalls all help to create a stable labour force. So it is not surprising that organised Industry and Commerce are strongly opposed to the new labour regulations which cut right across all steps employers can take to build up a permanent labour force without which they cannot hope to achieve and maintain a high level of efficiency in their factories.

#### Productivity

"Productivity" has become something of a clarion call ever since the Conference on Productivity which took place in Pretoria two years ago. Since then a Productivity Council has been set up with a grant from the Central Government to finance its operations, but up to now no one seems to know just how it intends to operate.

I have suggested on more than one occasion that the first thing it might do is to define precisely what is meant by productivity for I get the impression that a lot of people use the word without really knowing what they mean by it. There is nothing new in employers seeking to improve the efficiency of their organisation — in every way they can think of. It is part of their job

and if they don't keep on doing this they will soon fall behind their competitors and their profits will suffer. Is this "productivity"? But certainly until it is defined it cannot be measured and if it cannot be measured there will be no means of comparison. I think we all have a vague idea of what is meant by "productivity." But whatever it is it certainly won't be improved by sending our African labour shuttling backward and forward to the Reserves every year and by perpetuating a system of migrant labour because, apart from the lack of continuity and almost certain increased turnover, men who are unable to lead normal family lives are unlikely to give of their best at their work.

### Fantastic strides

We live in a period when rapid sociological changes are taking place, not only in South Africa, not only on the African Continent, but all over the world. The tremendous advances in technology have made it possible for fantastic strides to be taken to improve standards of living for vast numbers of people on this planet and that process is continuous and irreversible. All this depends, to a large extent, on the products of Manufacturing Industry and the associated Commerce which is necessary to convey these products to the populations that need them. Industry itself has to accept that it too exists in the midst of continual change and that, if it wishes to survive and prosper, it must be prepared to adapt itself to an ever new environment. Increased efficiency of production is an essential requirement of any employer and this requires a continual effort to cut costs by seeking faster and better means of production, while at the same time ensuring that labour receives a fair reward for its contribution to the end result. To achieve this, Industry needs modern and up to date plant and, incidentally, to get this, must not be taxed to the extent that there is insufficient money left for this purpose. To achieve high production and to cater for the mass markets of the present day, an employer needs men with outstanding skill, knowledge and experience to lead and a contented stable labour force to follow. Management, as I have already indicated, is being developed into an art, but even with the finest machinery and with the best management, little or nothing can be achieved without the human labour to tend and operate the machines. Much has been said about the need for Industry to "automate", but automation,

as correctly understood in the engineering sense, can only be economically applied in certain processes and under certain conditions—of which vast output is a vital one — and in this country, where demands are small by overseas standards, this condition is not easily met and so an adequate supply of labour is likely to continue to be an essential need of the employer for a long time to come.

Other things being equal, labour will go to Industry although there may be conditions which make a plentiful supply of labour an attraction for an Industry to go to it — as happened in the nineteen-thirties in the United Kingdom when some of the newer "light industries" were attracted to the Depressed Areas of Clydeside, South Wales and the North-East Coast of England because of the slump in the mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering industries on which these areas had depended. But these conditions were exceptional. No doubt it will be maintained that conditions here are exceptional too. Maybe they are and maybe they are not. But what I am concerned with is the detrimental effect on Industry and Commerce of migrant labour and the reduction in efficiency which will inevitably result and the added problems which employers will have to contend with, for nobody is going to accept a lower standard of quality or a higher unit cost, both of which are natural consequences of a decline in labour standards. At a time when great emphasis is being placed on good management, a migrant labour system is surely an anachronism and a contradiction of efficient organisation. It is expensive, it must be unreliable, it discourages the employer from training his labour force and it removes from the worker any real incentive to learn.

This talk would not be complete if I did not mention the "essential requirements of the employer in Industry" which, to my way of thinking are NOT being met in this country at the present time.

### Decentralisation

First of all industrialists do not now have complete freedom to select the location of their factories and other considerations are given priority over the economic ones which would normally determine the siting of a factory or an industry. Few intelligent industrialists today object to the principle of decentralisation, for we have all seen what can happen when too much industry is concentrated in too small an area. But decentrali-

sation should proceed voluntarily because it is better and more profitable for the industry to relocate itself in an area which offers advantages and better attractions and not for other reasons. The stage has now been reached when, in the so-called Controlled Areas, factories are not now even allowed the freedom to expand and develop when they choose because of the restrictions imposed on them by an artificial shortage of African labour in the area.

### Shortage of labour

Secondly, there is undoubtedly a shortage of labour in a number of categories such as the University graduate, the Technician, the supervisory class in the factories and the artisans. Most of these shortages can be attributed to the growing pains of a relatively young country which is industrialising just a bit too fast and I do think that as much as can be expected is being done by the Universities and Technical Colleges to provide the ways and means of filling some of the gaps. But apart from these, there are still scarcities in categories of labour which could well be made good from the over-abundance of other categories and in this connection I have already referred to the need for more skilled artisans and suggested that they should be found from the ranks of the Coloured and Indian Communities, certainly in Natal where, from personal experience, I am convinced that they have the potential required. But whether the Trade Unions would agree with that I do not know. I cannot see what they have to fear for, as more Non-European artisans became available, there would be increasing opportunities for the European artisans to step up a notch and act in a supervisory capacity. Until that happens it will always be a case of too many employers chasing too few artisans, wages will continue to rise, labour turnover will increase and further inflation will be inevitable.

Thirdly, the supply of young European clerical workers, both men and women, falls short of the requirements of our expanding Industry and Commerce so that, with demand exceeding supply, it is the same story all over again — turnover of staff too high, efficiency falls, mistakes occur too frequently and productivity declines. Here too the obvious solution of utilising the surplus educated Coloured and Indian labour is only partially successful, but at least it is filling the gap to a certain extent.

And finally there is the problem of African labour to which I have already referred — the restraint on the employer's inherent and traditional right to select and engage such labour as he requires.

One other thing I must add. All these problems of shortage of labour are placing disproportionate burdens on senior management — the Heads of Departments. These in general are the older men who grew up under vastly different conditions of employment and who are very nobly carrying on while at the same time our absurd Taxation System denies them the reward which is their due. What is going to happen when, like the "Old Soldiers", the time comes for them to fade away and to be replaced by a younger generation which is less tolerant of unsatisfactory conditions — again I have no idea.

And there, ladies and gentlemen, I think I must stop. Whether or not I have managed to give you the picture you were seeking, I do not know, but I have tried to paint it as it appears to me after nearly eighteen years in this country with the responsibility of an "employer" in Industry and in the Commerce associated with that Industry. If I have failed to give enough emphasis to the needs of Commerce, as distinct from Industry, I must apologise and crave your indulgence. The interests *and* the problems of Industry and Commerce are not always the same and information of the sort you are seeking is only of value if it is based on actual experience, but I venture to suggest that, fundamentally, in so far as labour is concerned, the needs of the Commercial employer are not so far removed from those of the Industrial employer.

**T**he hon. member for Karoo mentioned yesterday that Native pensioners receive R51 a year which he pointed out came to, I think, 14 cents a day. Most of us spend a good deal more than 14 cents a day on our dogs and cats. I should like to join with the hon. member for Karoo in his plea to the hon. the Minister. This is a matter which should receive very serious consideration, particularly in view of the fact that over 70% of our non-whites live below the poverty datum line.

*Mr. L. E. D. Winchester.  
Hansard No. 3. Col. 1092.*

# SOME REQUIREMENTS OF THE EMPLOYEE IN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

MICHAEL SAVAGE

**WITHIN ONE CENTURY** South Africa has moved from being a poorly developed country dominated by subsistence agriculture and having a low standard of living, to being the most prosperous industrial and urban country in Africa. The South African geographic national income has grown from R266 millions in 1911/2 to R4,791 million in 1960/1; during the same period the average per capita real income has more than doubled; the number of people employed in the manufacturing and construction section of the economy has increased eightfold and the urban population increased from 26% to 47% of the total population. Such figures testify to the considerable economic achievements of the past fifty years and indicate how rapidly South Africa has acquired the infrastructure of a modern industrial economy. By 1960 5.2 million workers were employed in the modern exchange sector of the economy, of whom 78% were non-white, and of the total labour force 30% were engaged in Agriculture, 29% in the secondary sector of the economy and 41% in the tertiary sector. This distribution of workers reflects the declining influence of the mining and agricultural employment and the growing importance of the modern manufacturing and commercial sectors of the economy, which now employs 27% of all workers.

## ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY SECTOR AND RACE 1960 (in Thousands)

	WHITE	AFRICAN	COLOURED	ASIAN	TOTAL	%
Agriculture	118	1,451	119	10	1,698	30
Mining	62	539	4	—	605	11
Manufacturing	229	320	97	33	679	12
Construction	72	165	40	2	279	5
Electricity etc.	10	25	3	—	38	1
Commerce and Finance	234	158	39	27	458	8
Transport	122	72	17	4	215	4
Services	252	813	141	22	1,228	21
Unemployed	41	335	90	27	493	9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,140</b>	<b>3,887</b>	<b>548</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>5,691</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: D. Hobart. *The South African Economy*, 1964, p.224.

Despite its remarkable economic achievements South Africa is not a rich country, and although it has rich mineral deposits it is not very well endowed with natural resources. The national average per capita income is only one-sixth of that of the United States, one half of the United Kingdom and equal to that of Italy, and its wasting mineral resources do not provide it with any guarantee that it will experience self-sustaining economic growth.<sup>1</sup> Continual economic growth has come to be seen as being increasingly dependent upon the proper utilization of the human resources of this country, so as to enable capital equipment to be built up and national resources to be exploited to the full. In effect this means

that for economic growth to continue it must be accompanied by a consistent programme to improve the use of the capacities and skills available in the existing and future labour force. It is important to realise that such a vital programme first demands that workers should be encouraged to acquire a commitment to the total industrial order so that they can draw from this commitment adequate motivation to possess required industrial and commercial skills and utilise them in a satisfactory manner. Thus the first essential group need of workers in the modern exchange sector of the economy is that they should have the freedom necessary to commit themselves to the industrial order and the ability to continuously participate within it. Without such freedom it is unlikely that workers will be able to satisfy their individual needs within

<sup>1</sup> S. van der Horst. *Poverty in Perspective*. S.A.I.R.R., 1967, p.1



work or to develop, to any marked degree, a positive attachment to their work. The worker, as well as the employer, thus requires that barriers preventing an individual's participation in industrial life should constantly be lowered so that he can develop his skills and capacities within his work.

#### Commitment to the industrial order

Although South Africa is poised for continued economic development she has yet to solve many problems concerning the commitment of workers to the industrial order. The White labour force has been assisted to develop this commitment and to work in the modern economy, and live in urban industrial areas by the so-called "civilised labour" policies and by an increasing number of privileges being entrenched by law. The result is that 80% of the white population now live in Urban areas and 90% work outside of Agriculture. However White commitment alone is not sufficient to ensure the development of the professional and technical skills necessary for continued economic growth. Already Whites contribute over 67% of the existing managerial and technical manpower, despite the fact that Whites constitute only one-fifth of the economically active population, and it will certainly place impossible strains on the White population's resources of talent and intelligence if it alone has to continue to meet the bulk of the skilled manpower required for the future. Even calculating for 1969, this year, it can be shown that if one assumes that all work done by Whites will continue to be done by Whites there will be an absolute shortage of 47.5 thousand White workers on top of the already chronic shortage of trained manpower. The commitment of the White labour force to the industrial order is such that their resources are being extensively utilized, but the commitment of the Non-White labour force is another matter.

#### Severely restricted rewards

By 1969 32% of the African population and 68% of the Coloured population had been drawn to urban areas by the processes of industrialization and the population pressures on the land. A further third of the African community were living in "White" rural areas outside of the reserves. These communities, now supplying four-fifths of all workers, have been drawn increasingly into the modern exchange sector of the economy but their incen-

tives to commit themselves to this sector have been limited because the rewards for doing so are severely restricted. Job reservation laws, restrictions on freedom of movement and association, influx controls, Group Areas Acts, limitations on freehold ownership — are just some of the numerous legislative provisions established to control the Non-Whites' sphere of action in the modern economy and to protect Whites from economic competition. Such legislative measures when coupled with wage discriminations, the insecurities of urban life and a variety of socially discriminatory practices have had the effect of impeding the commitment of Non-Whites to the industrial order. This has been conclusively shown by several social research projects.

#### Men of two worlds

The attempt is being made to bridge the gap between the necessity of Non-White commitment and the reality of it, by the political ideology of apartheid, which, in a memorable phrase, has the effect of making the majority of the working population "men of two worlds." It is, however, the industrial world that needs them and their commitment if its skill requirements are to be met. This mal-integration between the traditional and modern sectors of society has important consequences in that it encourages high rates of labour turnover and absenteeism, short periods of service and a lack of interest in industrial work, and by themselves such factors serve to reduce the available skill levels. There is, of course, a large degree of commitment to industrial work amongst the Non-White population but it is my belief that this commitment is produced predominantly by such desires as that of escaping from poverty and finding employment and cannot be interpreted as a commitment to the total industrial order as it now stands. Professor van der Horst's study of African and Coloured labour in Cape Town tends to confirm this belief, for she states as a conclusion that "Our study suggests that there is little positive attachment of workers to the firms which employed them. Such attachment as there was appeared to be a negative attitude of being used to their job and of realizing that there was little prospect of doing better elsewhere."<sup>2</sup>

Economic development has brought about the growth of industry and commerce, which has had to rely increasingly on the Non-

<sup>2</sup> S. van der Horst, *African Workers in Town*; O.U.P., Cape Town, 1964, p.96.

White for their labour force. In the fourteen years between 1946-1960 the total number of Non-Whites employed in industry and commerce has increased from 454,898 to 899,392 — that is doubled — with the African labour force more than doubling during this same period. More significantly, projections have shown that there must be an increasing reliance on Non-White labour. In manufacturing alone the proportions of White workers is dropping by a steady average of 1% every year, so that whereas White workers constituted just under 30% of the labour force in 1961, by 1971 they will make up only 20% of it. The necessity of drawing increasingly on the supplies of Non-White labour has had the effect of cutting into the jobs customarily reserved for Whites and raising the skill levels of the Non-Whites. This is well illustrated in the metal and engineering industries where more than one-fifth of the total labour force now consists of semi-skilled non-whites.

#### Stringent measures

This need to employ growing numbers of Non-Whites and to place more of them in semi-skilled positions has had the effect of renewing the fears of the White worker about his privileged position. The legislature's response to these fears has been to increase the privileges and protection of the White worker and at the same time to engage in establishing more stringent measures to halt the townward movement of Africans and to limit their

commitment to an Urban-industrial way of life. (This is indicated by two statements of the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration. "I am a fanatical apostle of the man who said 'Rather a poor but White South Africa, than a rich and Black South Africa' . . . if South African industrialists took advantage of the present labour shortage (sic) to replace Whites with Black workers they would make rods for their own backs". (Rand Daily Mail, 19th October, 1967). The Deputy Minister has also warned local authorities not to provide facilities in urban townships which "tend to cause the Bantu residential area to compete with the Bantu's own homeland (and which) have the effect of making the Bantu accustomed to a foreign taste" (Sunday Times, 2nd April, 1967).) Such measures impede the requirement of the Non-White worker that he should be able to commit himself to the industrial order and to equip himself with the skills appropriate to it. To my mind it is apparent that this requirement cannot be met until the majority of workers have a greater degree of freedom of movement within the economy — both socially and physically.

There are many people who claim that our peculiar problems prevent us from allowing a greater degree of freedom of physical movement within the economy. These people tend to justify the migratory labour system and the rigid application of influx controls by claiming that these are necessary to prevent our urban areas from being flooded with unemployed Africans who will create slums and engage in lives of crime. One can best evaluate such a claim by referring to other countries. Many other countries have had as rapid a process of urbanisation as South Africa, yet none have instituted as harsh and rigid a system of influx control. They have faced problems similar to South Africa's but have not found it necessary to permit only set categories of people to enter their towns, to return the unemployed to areas where they will remain unemployed, to damage the family life of the nation, and neither have they attempted to solve what are essentially economic and housing problems by instituting a system of population movement control which is socially discriminatory. In the main the most that other countries have done is to initiate a system of immigration control while permitting freedom of movement inside the country.

#### ODIOUS EXODUS

By Bob Connolly



## Lifting of influx control

While most realists would admit that the sudden lifting of all influx controls in South Africa would now have the effect of furthering slum living and raising the crime rate this does not form a sufficient argument in favour of the increasingly rigid application of such controls. In fact such an admission points rather to the necessity of concentrating on housing and employment problems in both the urban and rural areas, so as to make adequate provision for any changes in the distribution of our population brought about by economic growth and population pressures on the land. Thus to point to the existence of migratory labour and minor influx controls in other countries does not justify the enormous defects of these phenomena in our own country, and neither does it take account of the many fundamental differences between our institutionalized pattern of migrant labour and the pattern that exists elsewhere. Likewise, the claim that the lifting of influx controls will increase the pathologies of our social life does not justify the lack of action against the present pathologies brought about by the existing controls.

## Demand for mobility

The failure to meet the African worker's requirement for a greater degree of physical mobility has resulted in the major part of our labour force being unable to respond to better jobs, to leave old jobs or to change the nature of the work that they have been performing, so as to find employment more suitable to their abilities. Such consequences mean that the industrialist has a less efficient labour force than he might have without influx controls and that workers are frustrated in their attempts to develop their skills and capacities to the full. It can hardly be argued that the border industry policy will rectify this position, for these industries, at the most generous calculation, only employ 5% of the economically active African population and absorb merely 4½% of the 82,000 Africans who enter the labour market each year.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that yet again in our history we need a Government Commission to be set up to enquire into the effects and consequences of influx controls, and even if such a commis-

<sup>3</sup> Figures for entrants to the labour market by Dr. C. J. Jooste reported in the 1967 Survey of Race Relations, p.118.

sion only serves to collate and publicize facts it will have served a purpose. It is an uncomfortable fact that the restraints on workers freedom of movement are preventing many of them committing themselves to modern economy, but we need still to discover exactly how uncomfortable this fact is, for both them and their employers.

## Social tensions

A second group requirement of workers in industry and commerce is the need to gain a greater measure of social participation in industrial development. An International Labour Organization book put this well, when it stated that: "Industrial development, in fact, both calls for, and brings with it, radical changes in the way of life and work of the populations directly concerned, and its success depends to a large extent on their active participation. They have to provide the manpower for industry and must gradually adapt themselves to new conditions of life and work. In the process of industrialization, therefore, the creation of social tensions and profound antagonisms is inevitable, they are a result of changes in social and cultural conditions and cannot, like technical problems in industry, be avoided merely by importing methods and practices from highly industrialized countries; a patient effort must be made to find solutions adapted to local needs and circumstances. Frank discussions with the social groups involved is a *sine qua non* of any true progress in this direction."<sup>4</sup> This statement, formulated away from the political tensions and party politics of our society, perhaps expresses best the necessity for workers to have some form of effective machinery for communication and consultation. The fact that the Government has prevented the formation of any meaningful trade unions for the majority of the working population in industry and commerce, by excluding Africans from its definition of "employee" under the Industrial Conciliation Act, has meant that Africans do not have any effective machinery for group bargaining and consultations. The Government under the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, has established in the place of Trade Unions a complexly constructed Central Labour Board with Department

<sup>4</sup> Human Resources for Industrial Development, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1967, pp. 163-4.

of Labour officials who work with appointed African regional committees and elected works committees at individual firms. This complex machinery has been erected as it is thought that Africans are not yet 'ready' for Trade Unions, and also, contradictorily, because it is thought that African Trade Unions would be taken over by persons wishing to use them for political purposes. However within a period of 14 years only 49 works committees have been established despite there being over 30,000 registered employers of labour and over 19,000 factories.<sup>5</sup> The machinery of the Act has only been used to settle 39 disputes since its inception. Such figures indicate the lack of any effective machinery through which Africans can jointly participate in, and discuss problems of industrial development. Although full trade unions can exist for White, Coloured and Indian workers, the absence of any true African unions means that there is a 'missing person at the bargaining table'. It is idle to believe that employers can adequately look after their workers' interests and that there is no need for employees to have any collective representation. It has been shown by T.U.C.S.A. that many employers do not even protect their workers' monies that they hold in trust, in terms of holiday pay and other wage benefits. During 1961-1966 workers in the Transvaal clothing industry alone lost R24,727 due to insolvent companies. Likewise it is impossible for employers, who have to be management orientated, adequately to represent workers who are more orientated towards the industry rather than the firm.

These then are two of the prime requirements of industrial and commercial workers as a whole — the need to be able to commit themselves to the industrial order and to participate as a group in industrial development. The ramifications of these requirements and the problems attached to fulfilling them are, needless to say, enormous.

### Maslow's paradigm

Turning now to requirements of the individual employee in industry and commerce, we can usefully refer to Maslow's paradigm of human motivations.<sup>6</sup> In this theory Maslow

postulates that human needs arrange themselves in hierarchies of prepotency, so that as soon as one need is satisfied, other needs are activated, with the result that man is seeking constantly to gratify some need. At the lowest level are the physiological needs of man for food, clothing, shelter and some measure of sensory pleasure. Once these needs are in part satisfied, various safety needs become dominant, such as the need for protection against danger, threat and deprivation. Next in the hierarchy of needs are social needs, which are needs for such things as affectionate relationships, social acceptance and recognition. These social needs motivate the fourth hierarchy of needs, namely, ego needs for self esteem, status, appreciation and independence. Finally at the top of the hierarchy is the need for "self-actualisation", that is, the desire to become everything that one is capable of becoming. Maslow believes that these five sets of needs were arranged in such a way that most persons exhibited decreasing degrees of satisfaction at each level of the hierarchy with the result that a person who was forced to concentrate, for example, on satisfying his physiological needs would be thwarted in gratifying higher needs. Maslow's paradigm, although open to some criticism, provides an adequate framework for our discussion of workers' individual needs.

### Income differences

The ability of workers to satisfy their physiological needs is primarily related to the income that they receive and this, in turn, is related to their position in the social structure. It should come as no surprise that it has been estimated on a conservative basis that the average White income is ten times that of the average African income and seven times that of the Coloured, for these income differences correspond closely to the relative bargaining positions that the various population groups have in our social structure. The typical White worker is in the position to buy adequate food, clothing, shelter for himself and his family, but the average Non-White worker appears unable to do this. A wage sufficient to meet physiological requirements is evidently a prime need of any worker.

An examination of the income and expenditure surveys that have been carried out amongst Non-Whites shows a consistent deficit between the minimum income necessary for a family's physical survival and their actual income. In Johannesburg, where the

<sup>5</sup> *Financial Mail*, 28th July, 1967.

<sup>6</sup> A. H. Maslow in D. C. Miller & W. H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper & Row, New York, York, 1964, pp.616-618.

majority of African workers in industry and commerce lives, such an income deficit has been shown to exist since at least 1941 and has continued up to the present day. Although the deficit has been steadily declining the actual percentage of African families below the Poverty Datum level has only minimally altered and, allowing for population growth one can state that the absolute numbers of families living in poverty has grown. Thus whereas in 1950 73% of all Johannesburg African families faced a monthly deficit in the region of £4/17/-. by 1967 68% faced a monthly deficit of R1.01 — but there are more African families in Johannesburg today than there were in 1950. A similar situation can be traced out amongst other Non-White groups, and in other areas. In Durban, for example, a study in 1964 showed that 70% of household heads in six townships had in-

comes below the Poverty Datum line.<sup>7</sup> It cannot be stressed sufficiently that these studies are based upon figures allowing for a minimal physical survival and they do not calculate for the requirements for social survival. In practice it is probable that more people live in poverty than these surveys suggest because many housewives do not have the budgetary skills that enable them to buy their food supplies and clothing at the lowest prices, and most families spend some of their income on "luxuries" such as education, medical attention, tobacco and entertainment. The figures in these surveys should be increased by half if one is to allow for decent and healthy living.

<sup>7</sup> Reported in *Survey of Race Relations, 1966*, p.210.

#### COMPARISON OF ESTIMATED AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME WITH POVERTY DATUM LINE IN JOHANNESBURG, 1941-1967 (i)

YEAR	POVERTY DATUM LINE (ii)	ESTIMATED AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME PER MONTH (iii)	INCOME DEFICIT
a. 1940	£ 5.11.0	£ 5. 6. 8	£ 0. 4. 4
b. 1944	12.18.6	9.18. 1	3. 0. 5
c. 1950	17.14.4	12.16. 6	4.17.10
d. 1951	19. 0.8	13.19. 6	5. 1. 2
e. 1954	22.13.7	15.18.11	6.14. 8
f. 1957	20.17.9	15.19. 6	4.18. 3
g. 1959	R48.32	R35.77	R12.55
h. 1966	55.57	46.31	9.26
i. 1967	53.32	40.75	12.57

NOTES: (i) It is difficult to make accurate comparisons over all the years.

(ii) P.D.L. figures are calculated per family unit and allow only for physical survival and not for social survival. It is presumed that the cheapest variety of each item is purchased and no allowance is made for educational, medical or dental expenses nor for such items as insurances, postages, haircuts, holidays, newspapers, sports or medicines.

(iii) Figures arrived at on the basis of there being more than one source of income per family.

#### SOURCES:

- M. Janish "A Study of African Income and Expenditure for 987 families in Johannesburg." N.E.A.D., 1941.
- Reported in "African Poverty", S.A.I.R.R., RR 67/57, p.30.
- E. Wix, "The Cost of Living", S.A.I.R.R., 1951.
- op.cit. (b) p.30.
- O. Gibson, "The Cost of Living for Africans", S.A.I.R.R., 1954.
- J. Dey, Independent Inquiry, Cost and Management Consultants. 1957.
- J. de Gruchy, "The Cost of Living for Urban Africans." S.A.R.R.I., 1960.
- S. Suttner, "The Cost of Living in Soweto—1966." S.A.R.R.I. 1966.
- Johannesburg N.E.A.D. Research Report, 1967. Figures based on one earner per average family of five persons and include R2.52 expenditure on medical expenses and education. If figures are calculated for 1.3 earners per family, as in Suttner's report, income deficit drops to 33 cents. On either calculation 68% of families in Soweto receive incomes short of minimum necessary expenditure.

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES IN JOHANNESBURG WITH INCOMES BELOW POVERTY DATUM LINES

YEAR	POVERTY DATUM LINE	% OF FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY DATUM LINE
1950	£17.12.8	73%
1951	19. 0.8	73%
1952	20.12.4	69%
1956	25. 0.0	87%
1967	R53.32	68%

SOURCES:

1950—1956 "African Poverty". S.A.I.R.R., 67/1957.

1967 Johannesburg N.E.A.D. Research Project.

The dismal picture of poverty that emerges from income and expenditure in Non-White communities makes it quite evident that "it is not only the economically disabled who live in dire poverty, but also many of the able-bodied wage-earners."<sup>8</sup> The harsh fact is that the earnings of Non-White workers do not allow most of them to provide their families with a human standard of living, and such poverty in the midst of much affluence inevitably must raise enormous feelings of relative deprivation. Last year the average African worker in manufacturing earned R44 per month and this despite the fact that the Poverty Datum Line for an African family in Johannesburg was over R53 per month. His White counterpart earned an average of R238 per month.

Results of poverty

Poverty, whatever its precise calibrations, results in an unconscionable amount of avoidable human suffering and scars both the social and economic life of this country. Research has shown that poorly paid workers are likely to have inadequate diets, less commitment to their work, higher rates of absenteeism, low productivity levels and more serious accidents at work. It is pay and not skin colour that is primarily responsible for these phenomena. It has been shown, for example, that in the building industry there is a definite relationship between wages and serious accidents, which are defined as accidents requiring at least three days recuperation. When building workers earned less than R6 per week 75% of all accidents were serious, but when they earned R10 per week only 28% of work accidents were serious.<sup>9</sup> Although

Non-White wages in industry and commerce are improving this is occurring slowly, while at the same time the gap between Black and White wages in industry and commerce appears to be widening. A concerted effort is required to bridge both the gap between income and expenditure for Non-Whites and the gap between White and Black wages. As Professor van der Horst has commented: "Except in a few instances the most effective way to raise wages is by increasing the productivity of labour. This can be done and is being done by careful selection and training, by proper supervision and instruction, by adequate incentives and efficient organization. It is here that the migrant labour system is an anachronism and the reversion to the system of contract labour an offence to common sense and the first principles of good labour management. For this system which, except in special circumstances, only permits short-term contracts of a year or less, removes the incentive for the employer to train the worker, who will not be permitted to remain and may not be permitted to return. At the same time it removes the incentive for the worker to learn. It also precludes proper selection. It treats the worker as though he were simply an undifferentiated mechanical unit — manpower in its crudest, lowest form, a form fast being replaced in economically advanced societies by mechanical power."<sup>10</sup>

Wage demands dampened

It is such treatment that is at the root of our problem of poverty and which frustrates individual workers in their eminently reasonable attempt to satisfy adequately their own and their families' physiological requirements. Although for many workers housing

<sup>8</sup> Prof. van der Horst, *Poverty in Perspective*, S.A.I.R.R., 1967, p.5.

<sup>9</sup> *The Star*, 9th August, 1967.

<sup>10</sup> *op.cit.* p.8.

and food is subsidized, this relief measure can be no substitute for sufficient pay to enable them to purchase such basic commodities at the realistic prices of the open market. In fact it could be argued that such subsidization is detrimental to workers' long term interests as it dampens wage demands. At pre-

sent the subsidization of housing can also be criticized on the grounds that it has provided cheap housing in areas so far removed from places of employment that the worker's cost of transport to his work place is higher than if he has the ability to hire his living quarters on the open market.

#### WHITE AND NON-WHITE EARNINGS IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Year	Average Annual Earnings per Head (a)		Average Annual earnings per cap. of Non-White as a % of White earnings
	Whites	Non-Whites	
1925—6	R 410	R100	24.6%
1938—9	464	112	23.9%
1944—5	728	214	29.3%
1946—7	812	234	28.8%
1958—9	1,826	376	20.6%
1959—60	1,914	404	21.1%
1960—1	2,000	424	21.1%
	(b)		
1960	1,824	408	22.4%
1964	2,376	528	22.2%
1967	2,856	600	21.0%

#### SOURCES:

(a) W. H. Hutt. *The Economics of the Colour Bar*, 1964, p.181.

(b) Figures supplied by T.U.C.S.A. for Manufacturing Industries. 1967 figure provisional.

#### Illegitimacy and venereal disease

The other major physiological need, the need for some measure of sensory pleasure, refers mainly to worker's sexual needs. In this area it is again the African worker who suffers the greatest deprivation. The migratory labour system, which draws men to the towns and leaves wives in the country, has crippled the sexual life of the African community not only in the country but in the town. Various studies have indicated that only 25% of married men in the towns have their wives with them. And this in a country in which it is, in the words of the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions "the declared policy of the State to promote and preserve a sound family life" (S.A.B.C.—6th October, 196). With the result that there are pressures on many married men in the towns to find extra-marital sexual outlets. The effects of this are partially mirrored in the high rates of illegitimacy and venereal disease in the major urban areas. On the Reef some selected illegitimacy figures are: Pretoria 40% of all births (1964), Springs 60%

(1965), and Johannesburg 41% (1963). Venereal disease is also widespread, in Johannesburg alone there were 25,501 reported cases of venereal disease (1963) and this figure excludes those cases not attended to, or those seen by private doctors, and hospital out-patients departments. Homosexuality likewise is regarded to be increasing and reliable informants have told me of horrifying homosexual attacks on young males in some urban compounds, and of homosexual activity taking place publicly in other hostels. Such figures and statements, which any literate sociologist could multiply at will, are symptomatic of the strains and tensions within a community which is experiencing wide scale social change but at the same time they illustrate the effect of enforcing legislation which has the latent function of encouraging abnormal sexual activity.

In workers' second hierarchy of needs are needs for safety, both in work and in the wider community. Such needs are universal and are related to the general stability of community life. One crude indication of work-

ers security in their jobs is provided by labour turnover rates, which mirror the economic stability of workers and the commitment that they have to their work. A worker who is insecure in his work is unlikely to develop any long attachment to it and will probably soon swell the general turnover rate. The rate of labour turnover varies widely between and within different types of industrial and commercial activity, which indicates that different levels of security and commitment exist amongst the total work force. As a general indication of these rates amongst Africans one can cite the Tomlinson Commission statement that "large firms in Johannesburg (apart from the mines) are credited with having a labour turnover of 117% per year, or a replacement period of ten months." Amongst Coloured workers in Cape Town recent research indicates turnover rates of between 70% and 100%. Professor Cilliers' research amongst clothing workers leads him to state "On considering the figures for 1967, it could be said that the industry replaces half of the total

labour force once every six months."<sup>11</sup> Such rates form one partial indicator of the costly insecurity of workers within their jobs, and they are in great measure produced by the wider insecurities of workers within the total social system.

Workers' further needs for social acceptance and recognition and for status, appreciation and self-esteem cannot be more than partially filled in a society where their security needs and physiological needs are only minimally satisfied. It is not accidental that the legal barriers which hinder employees from fulfilling these basic needs are related to workers' very lack of commitment to the industrial order. It is these basic needs that must be met before we can make full use of the human resources available for our economic development, and this will require the audacity to break away from the past.

<sup>11</sup> S. P. Cilliers, *Labour Turnover in the Clothing Industry — Final Report*. University of Stellenbosch, 1968, p.9.

## SOME REQUIREMENTS OF THE EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE IN AGRICULTURE

DAVID METELERKAMP AND J. E. MANSFIELD

May I thank Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Savage very much indeed for such clear expositions on the requirements of both employer and employee in industry. As agriculture is also an industry, although I understand it is termed the Cinderella of all industry, most points which arise have already been covered. So I think it really only remains to my lot to indicate why farmers are selected as being of a different breed when it comes to industry.

IN THIS REGARD, those who still regard their farming as a way of life are becoming increasingly few. Why? Because they are rapidly going under. The overriding requirements of the farmer today, is that farming should be put on a basis of rationalised modern industry. We must reorganise on scientific lines with the elimination of waste of labour, time and materials. How are we going to achieve this? Farming is probably the most difficult industry in the world in which to achieve this very rationalisation, because climate is still the prime influence on production. This of course gives rise to alternate surpluses and shortages, rural solvency and rural bankruptcy. The most reasonable income tax provision — the provision whereby the Receiver of Revenue classifies farmers and diamond diggers on the same page — I think illustrates

some of our difficulties. The acute physical remoteness leads to a very poor communication between the farmer and his organisation or organisations, furthermore, between the farmer and sources of scientific advancement. In the latter case modern business costings must be included, and also long term planning.

Climate remains incurable, but its effects can be alleviated if the advance of rationalisation is achieved. After many years of organised agriculture, it seems very clear to me and to Mr. Mansfield, that rationalisation can only be achieved by the farmers themselves, who must pay for the industry and, of course, if they pay for it they must control it. It cannot be achieved by asking the government to take control through the types of statutory Boards operating under the Marketing Act, which are now in existence. Political considerations inevitably and unavoidably over-



ride agricultural and economic considerations. This is not to deny the fact that the statutory Boards have served a function, an intermediate function, possibly, in reducing what have often been chaotic conditions. Our theme is that such Boards, with a political head, and purely nominal control by producers, should be regarded only as an intermediate stage while the farmers are brought to a point of full responsibility for each section of the agricultural industry. Not only financial responsibility, but executive responsibility. Here I don't think that we are putting forward a Utopian position, since such position has already been achieved on a provincial basis by at least one commodity. Any government will insist on the right of Ministerial control in the event of any industry acting contrary to the national interest. This is right and proper, but it is a very different matter when every action by a Board, established under the Marketing Act, is subject to first obtaining Ministerial approval. This, in other words, puts all responsibility upon the Minister who consequently approves only the most commonplace of what could be very controversial acts. The result is very stultifying and when considered alongside the advance of modern industry, I think we farmers find it very irritating.

#### Executive responsibility

If we accept the proposition that agriculture is to be progressively financially independent and that executive responsibility should fall to the farmer's lot, we must realise that this can only come about if the new structure is entirely democratic and encompasses every farmer; and secondly, that the organisation has figures available to point out the way to prosperity. You might not realise that very few farmers keep an accurate set of books. This is naturally appalling from the industrialists point of view, but nevertheless is true.

These, then are the two basic requirements if the farming community is to shoulder the work of its own advancement and they can be met by putting only three statutory obligations upon the farmer. Firstly he should be a registered member of general Organised Agriculture, which would, as we envisage it, embrace conservation, general policy, agricultural finance, co-ordination between committees and various other minor problems.

Secondly, the farmer must be a registered member of the particular organisation responsible for his specialised type of farming. If

he is a milk farmer he must belong to the Milk Union; if his farming is predominantly in the wattle industry he must belong to the Wattle Growers Association.

Thirdly, and a most necessary provision, he should keep accurate records either by himself, or by using the non-profit costing services which are now becoming available to him.

These are logical and simple obligations ensuring that the farmer has his voice in the industry and in his special commodity, the commodity which is likely to measure his efficiency.

#### Pyramidal structure

Before looking at particular problems in agriculture I would like to summarise the new structure that is proposed. It is the old pyramid — the Minister will remain at the peak of the modernised structure since from the government will flow the authority for organisation to operate; but the Minister's intervention will be limited to matters bearing on National welfare only. He will not, as now, attempt to act as the business executive in every commodity in agriculture.

The Minister will supply brakes or incentives as necessary. The maximum freedom will be given to the running of the industry and the minimum restrictions will be imposed.

As you see, we are the only industry which is completely controlled by Boards. I think Mr. Sutherland discussing capitalism, would call this a form of socialism; it certainly isn't capitalism, and we live in a free capitalist society.

The South African Agricultural Union and the Provincial Unions, in future will represent all farmers, whereas, at the moment, only approximately 50 per cent of farmers pay subscriptions to their Agricultural Union. The commodity organisation in future, also purely representative of producers, will deal with the marketing of each commodity — matching production to demand and costing of their product, summoning of technical assistance when necessary.

#### Regional organisations

Regional organisations will follow under the South African Agricultural Union. We farmers think it is of utmost importance that we in each region with problems specific to the region, should have a regional organisation with maximum autonomy in widely set

limits, since experience in agriculture and industry alike show that over-centralisation has a most untidy appearance. At district level, the study groups which are now in existence, conservation officials, loans committees, field trial supervisors, and so on, will of necessity be drawn from the farming community.

Above all, I think, the concept will be that the farmer pays for his industry and controls his industry, as I have said before.

Having dealt with the new approach to the structure of agriculture, I would like to turn to some more detailed problems. Like Mr. Sutherland I feel it is necessary for you to understand the peculiar problems of the employer before we can even start discussing the employee in this rather difficult industry.

### Soil Conservation

This is widely advertised and is something dear to our hearts. While one must be opposed on principle, I think to compulsion, the stage has undoubtedly been reached where it is clear that this has become a national issue, and an issue where compulsion has to be exercised. Soil conservation methods are not in fact, being applied. The question remains as to where the personnel will be found to both guide and to control conservation. Where will the technicians be found? To lay out contour systems, to peg dams are not great engineering works, but require a certain amount of skill. In this respect it is most unlikely that sufficient personnel can be found in the government departments. The burden of the work must therefore fall upon localised, organised agriculture, operating under the supervision of government technical services. To achieve this effectively, adequate allowances must be made to the members of localised organised agriculture, since at present too much work is expected of the few who are willing to do it and of course, do it for nothing. I think that soil conservation which includes a healthy soil structure should be controlled by a separate National body, answerable direct to Parliament or to the Cabinet.

Nationally the necessary funds are available and these must be made more readily available to the farmers in short-term loans. Farmers do not like subsidisation. They prefer a fair price for their product, but when machines have been installed loans are very often a necessity to get the capital works off the ground.

Before leaving the subject of soil conserva-

tion I would like to look at the causes. It is only in the minority of cases that the non-conservation practice is due to ignorance. For the most part erosive practices of farming are due to financial problems and the need to mind the soil accordingly. No farmer that I have ever met likes to see his soil destroyed, that goes without saying.

### Mechanisation

The next problem that we are faced with in this peculiar industry is mechanisation. The inherent low fertility in comparison to European countries and the eccentric climate which we have make the European type of farming, where the farmer and his family do all the manual work, quite impracticable in the Republic. Here a relatively large area must be farmed economically and consequently the labour force is relatively greater than elsewhere in the Western World. There is no indication that mechanisation alone can solve this problem. Increased mechanisation, will of course, come. But when it comes the Bantu will remain the operators in this mechanisation and it is essential that means be found to train the Bantu in agricultural machinery and its operation, and thus enable more efficient mechanisation and an increase in the wages of the Bantu. Unfortunately this is where agriculture comes up against government ideology. This ideology continually rejects efforts to train the Bantu in agricultural techniques, if they are thereafter to work in the so-called White areas. This ideology is like a brick wall. We farmers have tried. To survive we must educate our workers. When we approach Bantu Affairs they assure us that no facilities are available.

### Costing

I touched on the keeping of books by farmers. Costing and advisory services are becoming available and to produce efficiency in any business without accurate costings and regular inflow of input and output relationships figures available, is quite impossible. The farmer's problem is physical involvement in the management of his enterprise, frequently many enterprises, which is so great as virtually to exclude normal business record keeping. Mr. Sutherland gave us a very clear talk on exactly how industry has its various employees on the top level, for example, the people who plan and the people who put the planning into practice, the accountants, the supervisors and so on down the whole echelon. In farming it is usually the farmer alone

who has to do all this. Consequently he requires someone else to do his bookkeeping and his costing and not just the ordinary bookkeeping as we know it. Costing has got to be performed so that each enterprise is treated separately and the farmer knows where he is actually losing money and where he should step up production.

To go back for a moment to Organised Agriculture and the government. We can, I think, accept the principle, that in a healthy farming system, the farmer must rely as little as possible on State aid. This means that Organised Agriculture must be his adviser, protector and supervisor. Organised Agriculture needs the best men available, but they must be adequately reimbursed and it is the farmer who must reimburse them. At the moment most of these men work for the love of their fellow man and consequently their farms are neglected while they are in service of their fellow farmers. Hence the requirement that every farmer be a member of Organised Agriculture so that the individual contribution would remain a light one. This would result in greater assistance and benefit, not only to the individual farmer, but to the agricultural industry and of course to the nation as a whole.

Since regional Organised Agriculture is the body in immediate touch with the farmer, it should be regional organisations which should advise the government on matters such as economic assistance if this becomes necessary in an emergency, conservation assistance, and water conservation.

I must emphasise that assistance should not be there simply to bolster the economic set up of the inefficient. In the past too much has been paid out for rehabilitation and subsidisation without sufficient reliance being placed on the considered opinions of the local committees of Organised Agriculture. This of course leads to waste, frustration and lack of production. So we see that the farmer has his problems. What are the requirements of the worker in agriculture?

#### The agricultural worker

Here, one can only make assumptions. As you all know there are no trade unions; there is no way that the agricultural worker can meet with his fellow man and discuss his problems and there are no clubs or unions which can pass on the feeling of the agricultural worker to the employer or to Organised Agriculture. So I know I am going to offend

Mr. Savage with my surmises and assumptions, but there is no other way that I know of. However, I will make it very short because we have no facts.

Primarily the agricultural worker is the African. In fact in Natal this is mainly so. His demands from the agricultural industry are painfully inadequate. This is largely, perhaps, a problem of education and sophistication, the lack of which leave his daily requirements at far too low a level to justify any effort on his part for higher wages or better housing. He will accept both, of course, better housing, more money, but not if productivity is a prerequisite. This of course doesn't apply to all Bantu, the able, the energetic and the ambitious are finding their place in industry in spite of all the moves and all the rules and laws to exclude them. It really applies to the Bantu who lack these qualities and remain on the platteland to be left to the farming industry. How do we change this position and improve both productivity and working conditions for farm employees? I can assure you that higher wages and better housing really have been tried, but the response has been very poor indeed. The productivity of the rural Bantu remains at about 23 per cent of that of his European or American counterpart. Obviously I am talking about real Europeans and not Whites. We believe that the key is in education. Until the rural Bantu understands the nutritional needs of his children, until his wives insist on a bed and a sewing machine and until his mind has absorbed the elementary discipline, the going will be hard for both the worker and for the farmer. Mr. Savage mentioned that we have these physiological necessities to overcome. Now the worker in agriculture, I think, gets past that stage rather more quickly than his urban counterpart, because of various perks that he has, housing, one or two things like that. As one pays the African farm labourer more, one has to, in my humble opinion, educate him, not only in wants that arise from basic necessity, but also to be more keen on education, better modes of transport, various status symbols, if you would like to call them that, which don't just cover his day-to-day existence.

Naturally, as Mr. Sutherland pointed out, low productivity labour, in other words labour that is incapable of a high output is extremely expensive and expensive in ruined machinery. I believe that the agricultural community now realises this and realises the waste

that goes on and is willing to pay for competence. The government argues that labour forces must be produced on farms, but at the same time strongly opposes agricultural training for workers in White areas and has some sort of built-in complex about Bantu education; I refer to educating the worker. Yet the answer to efficiency and proper conditions for the workers lie there. Clearly the worker must be educated, the farmer will pay him more and there will be happiness all round. I wish that there was a shorter answer to the needs and the problems of the Bantu farm worker. Education naturally takes a long time, but I know of no short cut to broadening a man's requirements beyond the basic requirements of sex, alcohol, both of which have undeniable attractions, but which are in increasingly abundant supply in the rural areas without any prerequisites of greater labour output or efficiency.

May I just summarise, very briefly. I think that what we require as farmers is that

agriculture should be run as a business with production matched to demand. We want to know what we can produce and then we want to produce it. The farmer realises that this can only be achieved if political control is replaced by control by the investors in his industry — in other words, his fellow farmers. We must run our own industry. The farmer believes that statutory requirements should be limited to registration in general agriculture and in his particular commodity and to the keeping of business-like records.

The farm employer believes that government sponsored agricultural research and himself are out of touch and very often speaking different languages and that the Soil Conservation Act is badly implemented, needs more staff and is badly enforced. The Bantu worker, on the other hand, cannot be content, well remunerated or nationally productive unless facilities in education and training are provided on a scale which does not even begin to exist under current government policy.

## SUMMING UP

### THE FINDINGS OF THE SYMPOSIUM

were summed up by Mr. Gavin Maasdorp, a lecturer at the University of Natal. He said that there is an artificial shortage of skilled manpower because the human resources of South Africa are not being used to their full potential, and this is restricting economic growth and contributing to inflation.

#### Human resources

Human resources include Indians, Coloureds and Africans as well as Whites, and barriers in apprenticeship courses and in entering the professions as well as inadequate facilities for the training of managers, technicians, artisans and workers at all levels in the right proportions are inhibiting the utilisation of human resources.

#### Education

The present high school educational system, where the percentage of school-going Indians and Africans who matriculate or graduate at a University is infinitesimal, is partly responsible not only for the shortfall of skilled manpower and the insufficiency of Africans who are qualified to enter those institutions offering vocational and technical training, but also for prevailing attitudes.

#### Personnel management

Much remains to be done in the field of personnel management. We need to view the worker as an individual person, not just as a unit, to appreciate the difficulties the African finds in the transition to a new environment and to provide effective machinery for consultation in the form of trade unions.

#### Migratory labour

Migratory labour was criticised by all speakers as an anachronism in the days of scientific management, militating against stable family life or incentive for the worker. It is expensive because of the labour turnover that is induced. What is needed are specialists, not people with one leg in the Reserves and one in the modern sector. We want people who are either going to work in agriculture or in industry, and productivity can only be increased through greater specialisation.

#### Legislation

Legislation such as influx control, the Physical Planning Act and the inter-provincial restriction on the movements of Indians which prevents them from selling their labour in the best market inhibits the utilisation of our human resources. Border Industries are causing the premature decentralisation of in-

dustry, which would have moved out of the cities in due course but which have virtually been forced to move with society bearing the cost. The Group Areas Act restricts the freedom of entrepreneurs to find the best location for their businesses.

### Income gap

The income gap between Whites and non-Whites is the most disturbing facet of South African life today, and this gap, based on racial lines, is extremely dangerous. The policy of low wages for labour is very extensive, and results in lower productivity, absenteeism, more accidents and widespread malnutrition. The Bantustans will merely lead to a perpetuation of this income gap and the resultant widespread poverty.

What large numbers of White people do not realise is that the policy of the rate for the job would not jeopardise the position of Whites nor would the improvement of non-White wages. The more rapid the rate of economic growth, the more will Whites be drawn up the occupational ladder. We have seen this happen in recent years, when there have not been enough White people to do all the skilled jobs.



All the factors discussed were present to a greater or lesser degree in each of the three sectors of the economy, militating against the use of manpower to its full potential and restricting productivity.

## THE BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT BILL

R. N. ROBB

*Mrs. Robb is the Director of the Athlone Advice Office in Cape Town*

**T**HE BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT BILL at present before the House is undoubtedly the death-blow to the urban African. His last vestiges of hope and security are now destroyed by means of very nearly every section of the Bill. The crux of the matter is now contained in Clause 11 by means of which a new Section 20(a) is inserted into the Labour Act 67 of 1964 after the present Section 20. I quote:—

“(1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any law, the Minister may by notice in the Gazette prohibit the performance of work by or the employment or continued employment of a Bantu —

- (a) in a specified area
- (b) in a specified class of employment
- (c) in a specified trade
- (d) in the service of a specified employer or class of employer.

(2) A prohibition referred to in subsection (1) (b) (c) or (d) may be applied either in a specified area or generally.

(3) A person who contravenes a prohibition referred to in subsection (1), shall be guilty of an offence.

This means that, by the stroke of a pen, the Minister can prohibit the employment, or continued employment, of, say, domestic servants or builders' labourers in Cape Town, or any part of Cape Town — say Sea Point. All Africans employed in such a category in that area would have to be instantly dismissed, whether or not they had worked more than 10 years for their present employers, or more than 15 years in the same area — whether or not they were “permanently” living in Guguletu, Langa or Nyanga with their families — whether or not their children were at school

in the township. It is clear that all those who do not qualify under Section 10(1) (a) (b) or (c) of the Urban Areas Act No. 25/1945 as amended would immediately be endorsed out, together with their families, to join the hundreds already suffering from severe malnutrition in the Ciskei and Transkei. It is not yet equally certain whether those who *do* qualify under this Act would remain in their houses in the township unemployed and therefore unable to pay their rent or feed their families, or whether they too would be sent away to suffer where they cannot be seen. This could be legally done by declaring them "idle" under Clause 29 of the Urban Areas Act on the grounds that they are over the age of 15 and under the age of 65 (men), 60 (women), and, though capable of being employed, are normally unemployed.

The Labour Act is further amended by Clause 12 which amends Section 22 by adding two more to the seven *existing* grounds upon which a labour officer may refuse to sanction the employment, or continued employment, of an African. One of course concerns those affected by the new Section 20(a) and the other is "that adequate housing accommodation is not available to such Bantu". So even if there is not a blanket prohibition on any category of employee, an employer can be made to dismiss his valued employee simply because there is no adequate housing available.

This becomes very significant when one looks at Clause 4 which amends Section 23 of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 1945. The Minister may now, after reference to the Administrator, and after consultation with the urban local authority concerned, order the removal, curtailment or abolition of any location, Bantu village, or Bantu hostel without holding a public local enquiry at which the local authority and/or other interested parties are entitled to be heard and to be suitably represented. This right was included in the old Section 3(3) (c) but has now been removed.

Clause 5 inserts a new Clause 3A after Clause 3 in the Urban Areas Act which gives the Bantu Affairs Commissioner power to remove any African with his personal effects from such location, Bantu village or Bantu hostel to any other place, whether within or outside the area of jurisdiction of such urban local authority if it is proved to his satisfaction, by means of affidavits placed before him, that such African has entered, has remained

in, or been found in such location. It would appear that the African concerned would have no chance to refute the affidavit and that even those who qualify under Section 10(1) (a) (b) (c) of the Urban Areas Act could be so summarily removed. Another devastating blow to all urban Africans is the deletion of the proviso in Section 28(u) of the Labour Act which stated that no African could be refused permission to re-enter an area for the purpose of returning to a previous employer after an absence of less than 12 months. No African will dare to go home on long leave, as he will have no guarantee whatsoever that he will be allowed to return to his previous employer. He will certainly not be allowed to re-enter the area to work for a new employer — this has not been allowed for several years.

Another retrogressive amendment is that effected by Clause 8 which amends Section 19 of the Urban Areas Act, substituting a new sub-Section 3(b) by removing the words in brackets and adding the *italicised sentence*. I quote:

"(b) any service, expenditure or grant which may be certified in writing by the Minister as being (calculated to improve the social or recreational amenities available for the Bantu residents within the area of the urban local authority, or otherwise to promote the social welfare of such residents) *in the interests of Bantu, irrespective of whether or not it relates to a matter in the area of the urban local authority in questions.*"

This means that the profit on the sale of Bantu beer may be used to subsidise any service, expenditure or grant in the interest of Africans irrespective of whether or not they live in the area concerned. Instead of using the considerable profits on the sale of Bantu beer to improve the social and recreational amenities available to the Africans only in the area where the beer is sold, they may be used for any purpose in any part of the country provided it is, in the Minister's opinion, in the interest of Bantu. No doubt this is to satisfy Mr. Blaar Coetzee who complained that Africans were being made too comfortable in the townships!

There is one clause (15) which will be welcomed by those employers who are still allowed to employ African labour. They may join "groups of employers for the purpose of recruitment or employment of Bantu." Pre-

viously only "employers of Bantu in farming, agriculture, horticulture, irrigation and mining" were allowed to do this. These will, however, be very strictly controlled and it will mean that the African employees will have even less say concerning their choice of employment or employer.

Finally, Clause 6, which amends Section 14 of the Urban Areas Act, provides that Africans who are removed from an area because they have been convicted of remaining unlawfully in the area for a period exceeding

72 hours and sent "to a rural village, settlement, rehabilitation scheme, institution or other place indicated by the Secretary *shall be detained thereat* for such period and *perform such labour* as may be prescribed by law in terms of which such rural village, settlement, rehabilitation scheme, institution or place was established." Will this be the fate of hundreds of Africans at present legally employed in Cape Town? Forced labour camps for those who have spent their whole working life in the urban areas.

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## SCENE AT BOULDERS BEACH

PATTIE PRICE

He sat alone  
On Bridle Path  
In the hot mid-day sun,  
Silent and motionless,  
Watching the crowd below  
On Boulders Beach  
Revelling  
In the cool refreshing bounty  
Of the sea.

Who was he?  
Suddenly I remembered.  
'Tarzan' we called him  
Though the sea, and not the  
forest  
Was his element.

How we would watch him  
Climb to reach the peak  
Of the highest boulder,  
Stand for a moment  
Poised above the ocean —  
A bronzed Adonis, outlined  
Against the sky.

Then arms outstretching,  
Rise on his toes, and  
Swift as a swallow  
Sweep downwards, disappear,  
Leaving hardly a ripple.

But leaving us gasping  
At this perfection, this poem  
In human motion.

Yes, I remembered! This  
Was surely 'Tarzan.'

Below him the sea,  
Cool and inviting  
Challenged the sun.  
At its edge small children  
Dabbled about with rings,  
Others, more adventurous,  
Paddled themselves along  
Brave voyagers! on rubber  
floats.

Small boys  
With screams and laughter,  
Dived, plunged, or,  
Pushing each other, fell  
From the rocks  
In an endless stream  
Of youthful animation.

While, further out,  
Swimmers with flippered feet  
And snorkels,  
Searching the depths  
Ventured below, moving  
Like shadows.

A fat man, climbing slowly,  
Began to ascend the rock —  
*His* rock. The one  
We knew as 'Tarzans'.  
Halfway  
Measured the height

In fearful hesitation,  
Then in a clumsy dive, inexperienced  
And sprawling  
Dropped with a splash  
Into the ocean.

Still Tarzan watched  
Silent and motionless.  
Behind him stood,  
Ugly and forbidding, the  
boards  
'WHITES ONLY' — symptoms  
Of a nation's degradation —  
Denying him his element.

A drop from his steaming  
brow  
Fell on his hand;  
He rose.  
And, as he turned to go  
I saw in his brown eyes  
And in the soft expressive  
line.  
Around the mouth,  
Not silent scorn,  
Only the aching pain  
Of utter and unutterable  
*LONGING.*

(Reprinted from  
*The Cape Argus*)

# PROTEST AND THE LAW

*This article is the first of two written by a Johannesburg attorney whose name may not be published for professional reasons.*

**U**NTIL THE PASSING OF THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT in 1950 the legal limitations in South Africa on what could be said in protest against the law, its administration or against social and economic wrongs were not particularly great.

The restrictions mainly related to contempt of Parliament or the Courts, sedition, libel, incitement to commit crimes, or incitement or the uttering of words with intent to promote feelings of hostility between whites and Africans.

Insofar as acts of protest were concerned if any deeds fell within the nature of the offences above-stated, or if a person committed any other crime (for example public violence, offences against Municipal by-laws etc), he could expect to be charged with that specific offence. Furthermore he would be subject only to the penalties prescribed for that type of offence.

Naturally treasonable or seditious acts could attract severe penalties, as would serious harm or damage to persons or property but some acts such as the holding of an illegal demonstration did not necessarily attract severe penalties.

**F**rom the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act the position has radically altered and it becomes necessary to establish whether or not meaningful protest is still possible in South Africa by reason of that Act, and its subsequent amendments, and also three other statutes, which form the cornerstones of the edifice of absolute power which the Government has, and which it exercises as and when it finds it expedient so to do. These other acts are the Criminal Law Amendment Act (Act 8 of 1953) Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act (Act 76 of 1962) the so called "Sabotage Act" and the Terrorism Act 83 of 1967.

It is intended in this article to examine those statutes to determine the risks which the person concerned with civil protest has to face.

## **The Suppression of Communism Act**

Not all the stringent provisions of this Act were contained in the original Act and as late as 1963 two new offences were inserted in that Act, both of which carry, on conviction, the same penalty as a conviction on treason and where the death penalty is not imposed, the minimum prison sentence is 5 years. The first of these provisions is contained in Section 11(b) bis, namely, that an offence is committed by a person who is or was a resident in the Republic at any time after the amendment of this Act (26th June 1950) who has advocated, advised, defended or encouraged the achievement by violent or forcible means of any object directed at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Republic by the in-

tervention of or in accordance with the directions or under the guidance of or in co-operation with or with the assistance of any foreign government or any foreign or international body or institution. This also applies if it is the achievement of any of the objects of Communism (contained in the definition of communism) which is sought to be gained by the methods abovestated.

The second of these latter provisions (sec 11 (b) ter) is that if a person who is or was resident in the Republic, at any time after the commencement of the Act and in the Republic of South Africa or elsewhere, has undergone or attempted, consented or taken any steps to undergo, or instigated, aided or advised, encouraged or procured any other person to undergo any training, or obtained any information which could be of use in furthering the achievement of any of the objects of Communism, or of any body or organisation declared unlawful under the Unlawful Organisations Act, he commits an offence unless he proves beyond reasonable doubt that he did not do any of the foregoing, or receive the information, for the purposes of using it in furthering the achievement of any such object.

Apart from these offences (and numerous others contained in the Act) any person who performs any act calculated to further any of the aims of Communism or defends, advises or encourages the achievement of any Act calculated to further the aims of communism, commits an offence.

This Act does not only contain penalties for persons who breach its provisions. It



gives the Minister of Justice wide powers over the individual, inter alia to prohibit him from doing a wide number of acts, including attending gatherings, including social gatherings (banning orders) or leaving his residence (house arrest) communicating with other banned persons listed as communists, becoming members of organisations, being within certain areas, receiving any specified visitors. The individual is not entitled to be heard before an order is made and in some cases he may request reasons (e.g., for the banning) but the Minister is only obliged to furnish these if he is satisfied that they may be disclosed "without detriment to public policy". In practice the Minister does not give meaningful reasons nor can the aggrieved person have access to the Courts unless she can positively show bad faith on the part of the Minister. Ministers of Justice have not hesitated to use these powers against persons whose politics or activities have not been approved of by them — but whose activities presumably have not constituted a breach of any law, as the authorities have not hesitated to prosecute where there has been any law broken, irrespective of how trivial the breach has been, when a political opponent has been involved. One only need look at the prosecutions for the most technical infringements of banning orders. These discretionary powers on the part of the Minister are matters of real concern to the person involved in protest.

#### **Criminal Law Amendment Act. 8/1953**

This Act was passed to combat the passive resistance campaign and by reason of its severe penalties can be said to have been the cause of the collapse of that campaign.

Section 1 of the Act provides for additional penalties to be imposed where a person is convicted of an offence proved to have been committed by way of protest, or in any support of any campaign for the repeal or modification of any law or the variation or limitation of the application or administration of any law. This applies even if the campaign itself is lawful.

The maximum penalty in this case is a fine not exceeding R600. or imprisonment not exceeding 3 years imprisonment or a whipping not exceeding ten strokes, or any combination of two of these penalties. No new offence is created by this section — penalties only are increased.

Section 2, however, creates a new offence. If any person in any manner encourages, incites, acts or procures any other person or

uses any language or does anything calculated to cause any person to commit any offence by way of protest or in support of the type of campaign set out in Section 1, he is liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R1,000. or to imprisonment not exceeding 5 years or a whipping not exceeding 10 strokes or any combination of two of these sentences.

This Act also prohibits the receiving from any person or body in or out of the Republic money or articles for the purpose of assisting any campaign described in Section 1 which would be conducted by Unlawful Acts or omissions or threats of acts or omissions, or to assist or enable a person to commit any offence by way of protest against any law or in support of the campaign, or for assisting any person who has committed an offence in terms of Section 1. The penalties of Section 2 apply to the soliciting, acceptance or receipt of such funds or articles. The provisions of this Act apply even where the law broken is of minor importance such as trespass or municipal by-laws concerning assemblies and demonstrations.

#### **"The Sabotage Act" (Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act No. 76/1962)**

This Act, like the Terrorism Act (which is more fully dealt with below) brings into the ambit of sabotage (or terrorism as the case may be) a number of deeds which by themselves constitute crimes. These two statutes, however, now provide that the commission of a number of acts constitutes sabotage or terrorism, although in the ordinary meaning of these terms these acts would not fall into either category.

In this discussion of these statutes the conduct which in any event would be frowned on by protesters is omitted and only those acts which would affect civil rights workers are dealt with.

Section 21(1) provides that, subject to the provisions of 21(2) any person who commits any wrongful or wilful act whereby he damages . . . obstructs, tampers with . . . the maintenance of law and order, or the free movement of any traffic on land, or in contravention of any law or upon any land or building shall be guilty of sabotage. The penalty provided is as on treason but where the death penalty is not imposed, the minimum sentence is five years imprisonment.

Notwithstanding Section 21(1) an accused person can be convicted of sabotage unless he proves "objectively regarded" that the commission of the alleged offence was not com-

mitted with intent to produce any of the following effects viz:—

To cause or promote general dislocation, disturbance, or disorder.

To seriously hamper or deter any person from assisting in the maintenance of law and order.

To further or encourage the achievement of any political aim including the bringing about of any social or economic change in the Republic.

To embarrass the administration of the affairs of the State. (Section 21(2)).

Thus a person trespassing or conducting an illegal procession which results in an obstruction of traffic could result in his being convicted under this Act unless the accused shows objectively that he did not intend certain consequences. As one of these consequences is the achievement of any political aim, including the bringing about of any social economic change in South Africa, the accused may be faced with an impossible task.

#### The Terrorism Act (No. 83/1967)

The offence of terrorism is committed when a person commits any act in the Republic of South Africa or elsewhere, with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic or any portion thereof, or encourages, aids or advises any other person to commit any act which will have that result. In a prosecution under this statute once the State proves the commission of the act complained of and that it had or was likely to have certain stated results in the Republic of South Africa or any part thereof the accused shall be deemed to have committed that act with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in the Republic unless the accused proves beyond all reasonable doubt that he did not intend any of the said results. The stated results include the following:

To hamper or deter any person from assisting in the maintenance of law and order.

To promote by intimidation the achievement of any object.

To further or encourage the achievement of any political aim, including the bringing about of any social or political claim, by violent or forcible means or by the intervention of or in accordance with the direction or under the guidance of or co-operation or assistance of foreign government or foreign international body or institution.

To obstruct or endanger the free movement of any traffic.

To embarrass the administration of the affairs of State.

In short once the Prosecutor proves that an act was committed with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order in any portion of the Republic of South Africa and that, for example such act would embarrass the administration of state, the accused is guilty of participation in terroristic activities unless he proves that he did not intend that, or any of the other stated results. The penalty is as for treason with a minimum sentence of five years imprisonment where the death penalty is not given.

This Act also contains the notorious clause enabling a person suspected by a Lt. Colonel or his senior in rank, to be a terrorist or of withholding from the police any information as to terrorists or to offences under this Act, to be detained until he has satisfactorily answered all questions put to him. Such person can be held indefinitely and the Court has no power to pronounce the validity of any action taken under this section or to order the release of any detainee. Furthermore no person other than the Minister or certain officials may have access to that detainee.

This section of the Terrorism Act removes the necessity for the re-introduction of the old "90 day Clause", (Section 17 of the General Law Amendment Act 37/1963) which limited the right of the police to detain persons for successive periods of 90 day periods but which power has been suspended. This section of the Terrorism Act and the 90 day clause must also be distinguished from the "180 day clause" (Section 215 bis of the Criminal Procedure Act 1955) as amended, which provides that the Attorney General may issue a Warrant for the arrest and detention of a person likely to give material evidence for the State in certain proceedings (for e.g., charges of sedition, contravention of certain provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act, the Sabotage Act) or if the Attorney General considers that such person may abscond or be tampered with or be intimidated. The person detained under this section may be detained until the conclusion of the criminal proceedings in question or for six months whichever is the shorter. No person, save a Magistrate not less than once a week, may have access to a detainee without the consent of the Attorney General. The

apparent object of this section, unlike other statutes mentioned above is not interrogation but the procuring of the witness for the trial at which he is required to give evidence.

### Conclusion

The review of these statutes is by no means exhaustive. They all contain further clauses and there has in addition been no discussion of Proclamation 400 in the Transkei, the Prohibition of Strikes by Africans, the use of the machinery under the Riotous Assemblies Act, the powers to declare organisations unlawful, the Provisions of the Native Administration Act 1927 concerning hostility between races, the right to remove people from one area to another under several statutes (for e.g., The Native Administration Act, General Law Amendment Act 8/1953) and other statutes.

What should however be clear is that the political opponent of the Government is faced with a number of laws which must severely inhibit the possible steps he can take in furtherance of his opposition and in the expression of his protest.

The civil rights protestor faces penalties where he commits no crime, and if he does commit any crime (however trivial) the context in which that crime was committed may result in him facing charges and penalties which his counterpart in a democratic society would not have to consider in the case of identical offences.

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## PIGMENTATION

Here was a man who spoke our language.  
Words kindled between us and took fire  
And lit a light of understanding  
That brought the syllables to life  
And gave the letters meaning as we spoke them.  
We sat there under the trees, drinking tea,  
Discussing many things — unselfconsciously —  
Which was as it should always be.  
And there was nothing but sight to signify  
That he was dark and we were light.  
His education was higher, his thoughts as deep  
As ours, his manners as fair  
Yet he could never occupy a chair  
Beside us in a public place, here,  
Nor share a meal, a concert or a play,  
Though any rogue with a white skin  
Would be allowed in.

— Dorothea Spears.

(Reprinted from the Cape Times.)

## ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE

Numbers, which fell off during the first half of December, rose sharply when the Office re-opened for the second half of January. The emphasis lies again on the problems of women who find themselves faced with repatriation or resettlement orders after some or many years of apparently fixed and accepted urban residence. This is the fifteenth year since African women began to register at the Registration Offices in this area. Few as yet can establish their qualifications to reside in the area under Section 10 (1) (b) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, as amended. As the months pass, however, a large and ever-growing number will be in this more secure position. It would appear that technically "unqualified" women are being hurtled out with all speed before they qualify, and that those who do actually qualify (usually under Section 10(1) (c) of the above Act, as the legal wives of qualified husbands with whom they reside with permission) are, in many cases, exhorted and cajoled verbally into "voluntarily" accepting repatriation, or resettlement in one of the new areas established as "homelands" for the officially homeless.\*

This technique of applying Government policy was explicitly recommended on p.10 of General Circular No. 25, 1967, Head Office File No. V 164/1, issued by the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development and quoted in the Cape Argus, July 6th 1968 as follows:

"The Hon. The Minister has given instructions that the resettlement in the homelands of thousands of superfluous Bantu families at present residing in the European areas of the Republic must enjoy the highest priority . . ."

These 'unproductive Bantu' include 'the aged, the unfit, widows, women with dependent children . . . If a person or family does qualify, they can only be resettled in the Homelands if they agree to it . . . . Persuasion must continuously be exercised by local authorities in collaboration with the responsible officials of local authorities to persuade persons who qualify and who are not prepared to accept settlement in towns in their homelands, to be settled in towns in the homelands on ethnical grounds."

\*cf. page 36.

It is clear that the phrase "women with dependent children" includes *both* women without menfolk who are supporting their children *and* the wives of men working in the urban areas, even wives of qualified men who have been ordinarily residing with their husbands and whose legal rights of residence are indisputable.

The cases cited below illustrate the principal categories of people affected, as currently noted by the Advice Office.

#### A. Breadwinners

(1) F.S. supports at least six children and pays her rent by charring. She has a chequered past and no husband. She has been instructed to go to her uncle at Lady Frere, as she has not been registered in this area for fifteen years, although she came here in 1950. Her uncle does not work, except on his own small plot. In fact, she occasionally sends clothing to *his* family, she says. She expects a chilly welcome from his wife.

(2) E.M. has been a widow and family breadwinner for over twenty years. She came to Cape Town in 1940 and registered in 1954. Owing to illness, she was discharged from her registered job at the end of 1968. The employer now wants her back, but she has been told that she must be resettled at Mdantsane, and refused permission to return to her previous work.

(3) M.S. lived in Cape Town from 1939 until March 1968. Her husband died in 1966. She was legally employed from June 1959 to February 1968 by a lady in Crawford. An exemption permit in her book, dated 6.9.1960, was cancelled in 1967 and after investigation she was told to leave her job and go to her brother in Qumbu. She was still legally employed (whether working full-time or not) when she was endorsed out, to leave by 22.2.1968. Because of this, her employer reluctantly signed her off on 20.2.1968. She left during March, taking with her her youngest child and a grandchild, and went to live in her brother's hut in Qumbu. He finally turned her out in November, saying he could no longer support her. The magistrate refused to allow her to build her own hut, so she went to live on a farm at Maclear. There she became very ill, and was attended by a doctor who gave her a letter referring her to Groote Schuur Hospital. She returned to Cape Town and reported to the Outpatients' Department on 27.1.1969. But she has no permission to be here and can get none.

This woman was supporting her three child-

ren and one grandchild when she was forced to leave her job and live on the charity of her brother. Now she will apparently have to live on charity for the rest of her life.

(4) E.M. was born in Cape Town in 1918 and left for Herschel in 1929, where she was married in 1937. Her husband died and she returned to her own relatives in Cape Town in 1946. She was given an exemption stamp in 1962, but beer was found on her premises on three occasions and she was told to go to her mother in Herschel. She said that her mother would be unable to provide for her large family consisting of herself, 8 children aged 27, 24, 18, 16, 14, 11, 9 and 7, and 5 Grandchildren aged 11, 5, 4 and 3 years. The officials made no enquiries to see if they would be accepted but issued rail warrants for every member of the family and the household furniture.

This mother and grandmother was not the sole breadwinner in the family. Two sons and two daughters are working in the area. Only the sons are to be allowed to remain, the daughters being sent to Herschel with their mother.

B. (5) L.M. and her husband J. have been living together with permission in a brick house in Guguletu, with a false sense of security because J. thought that he was a "qualified" man, and so did the firm which employs him. He carries a certificate given in good faith by this firm, stating that he has been in their employ for over ten years. The records had however not been checked with accuracy, and it was discovered in his file at Langa that he had worked elsewhere between 1961 and 1963. They were told that they must leave their house and that Mrs. M. must return to Mount Frere, where she and her husband were both born but where they have no home nor living relatives.

Once this couple had accepted the inevitability of their separation, her permit was extended for three months. Her husband must arrange to take leave and go with her to establish a home for her and their two children. He may then return to his job as a "bachelor."

(6) M.M.'s husband is not a "qualified" man either, but they live together with permission as lodgers with her parents in Guguletu. She came to Cape Town in 1943, aged 5 years, and registered at the age of sixteen in 1955. Now she has been told that she must go to her husband's family at Engcobo, but as

he has a tribal wife there would she prefer divorce.

**C. Wives of qualified men who have until recently been residing with their lawful husbands:**

(7) P.M. came to Cape Town from Grabouw, where she was born, in 1947 at the age of seven years. She was married here in 1962. Four children were born here and the family lived together with permission until 1968, when their temporary hut at Guguletu (allocated to them in 1965) was demolished. At this time, her husband was six months short of his fifteen-year qualification. The authorities said that she must go with the children to her father-in-law in Lady Frere. Her husband duly went into the Zones, while she and the four children shared a hut with nine others at Lady Frere. In December 1968 she returned to Cape Town without permission, alarmed because the children had become ill. Although her husband is now a "qualified" man, they can no longer be said to be "ordinarily residing" together and she may not remain in the Area. Her husband has applied for a site of his own at Lady Frere on which to build a hut, but this has not yet been allocated.

**Conclusion**

(9) The last case for this report, which has selected only a handful of samples from the most recent records of the Office, is that of a middle-aged white-collar worker who was endorsed out to Cala last year after being discharged from employment with a watch company. Mr. M.S. has twice written to the Advice Office, begging for assistance in finding fresh employment in this area. Each time we have replied, explaining that he must follow the normal procedure of registering at his local labour bureau as a work-seeker and wait for a suitable contract. No suitable (or apparently even unsuitable) contracts have been available. Last week this man appeared at the Advice Office in person, proudly displaying in his book an endorsement signed by the magistrate at Cala stating that he has "Permission to proceed to Cape Town to consult the Athlone Advice Office re money owed him. To report to the labour bureau on arrival"! The money referred to is in fact owed by him to his former employer, and all the Office could recommend was his return to Cala.

This tragi-comedy is part of the almost wholly tragic picture of repatriation and re-

settlement in the Eastern Cape "homelands" of Africans from the Western Cape.

The worst feature of the whole inhuman system is the lack of employment in the rural and resettlement areas. This problem is of even greater urgency than the break-up of families. For the sake of conforming to "Policy", people are being herded away from established homes where they are constructively employed, usually doing useful work well and supporting dependents as well as themselves, also having their children educated, to places where their only prospects for the visible future, perhaps for the rest of their lives, are of subsisting on very small State grants, or for the tiny and lucky minority, of earning a fraction of their former salaries in inferior jobs. Even then, much of this fraction will go back into transport to and from their homes in resettlement towns such as Mdantsane. This state of affairs is by now widely known and is causing grave concern among a more representative cross-section of politicians and voters. Informed Members of Parliament, as well as leading Churchmen and other prominent individuals belonging to all political parties are calling for investigation into and the improvement of conditions.

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## From HANSARD

Dr. The Hon. P. G. J. Koornhof, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education:

Since hon. members do have these facts before them, I want to ask how much progress we have made in respect of the implementation of that aspect of our policy i.e. the elimination of the redundant, non-economically active Bantu in our White areas. In this regard I want to mention the following figures. Approximately 900,000 Bantu have been settled elsewhere under the National Party regime over the past few years since 1959. Surely, this is no mean achievement; on the contrary it is a tremendous achievement. Over the same period at least 216,000 have been resettled under the National Party regime in terms of the Group Areas Act in the Johannesburg area alone. Approximately 75,000 have been moved from the so-called black spots. Hon. members should merely think of how much it would have cost if they had not been removed. A moment ago I pointed out how, in terms of the United

Party's policy, it would have cost at least R1,000 million per annum to settle them in the white area. At least 220,000 have been resettled in a few white metropolitan complexes alone. Does that look like a policy that is falling through? In only five years' time approximately 203,000 Bantu from the white urban areas have been resettled in their own respective homelands.

**Mr. T. W. Webber:** Where have they been resettled?

**The Deputy Minister:** They have been resettled at various places. Mr. Speaker, do you know why the United Party is casting so much suspicion on Limehill, Stinkwater and Klipgat? It is because each of those places is a manifestation of the successful implementation of the policy of separate development. That is the only reason for their trying to cast suspicion on those places. However, their allegations cannot stand up to the test of the facts.

**Mr. J. O. N. Thompson:** Mr. Speaker may I put a question to the hon. the Deputy Minister?

**The Deputy Minister:** No, my time is extremely limited. Here in my hand I have the graph of the male Bantu employed in the Port Elizabeth area. Hon. members will be able to see how the graph in respect of male Bantu employed in the Port Elizabeth area, has, as a result of the implementation of the Physical Planning Act, reflected a marked downward trend since 19th January, 1968. The number of male Bantu employed there has shown a marked decrease from 41,500 to well below 40,000, and in Port Elizabeth we are not dealing with a National Party City Council. Does this bear testimony to a policy which is not being implemented successfully?

Now I come to the Western Cape. In the past year a daily average of four Bantu families voluntarily boarded a train here in the Cape Peninsula on their way back to their Bantu homelands.\* Many of them were section 10 cases. Four families and more have left the Cape Peninsula daily and gone back to their homelands.

**Mr. S. J. M. Steyn:** Is there employment for them there?

**The Deputy Minister:** Yes. Now I come to the position in the Northern Transvaal. According to the figures supplied by the Chief Bantu Commissioner in the Northern Transvaal approximately 20,000 Bantu per month have

\* (cf. *Athlone Advice Office report, Page 33*).

over the past year applied for resettlement in the Bantu homelands in the Northern Transvaal region. This is a policy which is not being implemented successfully! This comes to between 4,000 and 5,000 Bantu per week. Do Hon. members know what has become our greatest problem in the Department? Our greatest problem at the moment is to stay ahead in the provision of housing in our Bantu homelands, as well as the provision of water, in order that we may in fact settle those Bantu who wish to be settled there. This is as true as the fact that I am on my feet now. That is our greatest problem in the Department.

Looking at the position in the Western Cape where the Government has made it its stated policy to replace annually 5 per cent of the Bantu labour here by Coloured labour, we see that the Government has had major success. It would give me great pleasure now to tell hon. members a success story in this regard. Hon. members will recall what scorn, ridicule and derision came from that side of the House when we announced that we were annually going to replace 5 per cent of the Bantu labour in the Western Cape by Coloured labour. Here are the figures in this regard: In 1967 the Bantu population in the Cape Peninsula numbered 113,337. On 31st December, 1968 the Bantu population here numbered only 109,153. That means therefore, 4,184 fewer Bantu in the Cape Peninsula as a result of the implementation of the National Party's policy. Is this a policy which is a failure, which is not being implemented successfully? But let me furnish a few other figures now. I see the hon. member opposite laughing. Let me show how successful it has in actual fact been. You will recall that we said 5 per cent. In 1967 there were no fewer than 44,567 Bantu children here in the Peninsula and on 31/12/1968 there were only 33,320, a decrease in the number of Bantu children in the Peninsula of 5,256, or more than 11 per cent, and that was done in less than 12 months. Is this a policy that has failed?

(*Hansard No. 1, Col. 137, 4th Feb. 1969.*)

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# SPRINGFIELD FLATS – A TOUR OF TIN TOWN

ANN K. COLVIN

*Mrs. Colvin is a member of the Natal Coastal Region of the Black Sash*

On Wednesday, 5th March, Mary Grice, Doreen Patrick, Adele Keen and I were privileged to be given a personally conducted tour of Springfield Flats by Mrs. Fatima Meer. Mrs. Meer is a lecturer in Sociology at the University of Natal and did a survey of this area two or three years ago. Her trained eye, her knowledge, experience, understanding and humane approach were of inestimable value and revealed much to us that we might otherwise have missed or overlooked.

**SITUATED IN THE LOWER REACHES** of the Umgeni River valley, Springfield Flats is a settlement of tin shacks probably totalling between three and four hundred. (It is difficult to give a closer approximation as the figures divulged ranged between 271 and 400.) Their occupants are drawn from the lowest income group of Durban's Indian community, many of whom, prior to their establishment at Springfield, had been living in various parts of the city in dwellings which the authorities had deemed to be illegal. For this reason the City Council sought the Administrator's authority to apply the provision of Section 24 of Ordinance 10 of 1953 to house these people, following the demolition of their homes, in this one location in houses of sub-standard construction as approved in terms of the Building Bye-laws. This was in September, 1957 at which time it was envisaged that this purely temporary measure would be replaced within the space of a few years. Its unfavourable features, however, which at the outset were recognised by the Council, are still there and are as undesirable today as they were ten years ago. Indeed the position at present is being exacerbated by the injection of about two hundred additional families who are being evicted from their homes in the Bayhead area in accordance with the City Council's undertaking to the South African Railways Administration. In this respect the relentless machinery of apartheid should be apportioned its share of the blame—but for its discriminatory legislation many a family would still be in secure possession of a perfectly adequate home that, once vacated, has since been left to rot. Other people have been ejected from homes affected by road development works.

A first inspection of Springfield Flats' original shacks confirmed their sub-economic construction. Shabbily built and for the most part merely patched up with plywood, tin and corrugated iron, they have, on an average,

four or five small rooms. These can and do house anything up to seventeen and more persons. Often three generations are herded together under one roof, which sometimes means that a family unit of as many as seven occupies a single room.

## Unemployment and poverty

As these shelters have been built and are owned by the occupiers rent paid is for the land only. The plots are small in extent, 40 feet by 60 feet, which is hardly adequate space for even the cultivation of home-consumed produce, although in many instances we noted that efforts had been made to beautify the exterior of some houses with a diminutive garden. This, of course, depended entirely on the owners whose attitude of mind was also reflected in the degree of cleanliness and tidiness of each property which varied considerably. Around some homes there was a very noticeable air of listlessness and apathy. This could in part be accounted for by the high rate of unemployment evidenced. We saw groups of young men and women standing idle, who, when questioned, admitted that they were unemployed. Children, too, we saw loitering aimlessly, some of whom were clearly of school-going age. This emphasised the dire poverty of some families, for it could only be assumed that they were too impoverished even to supply the necessary school clothing.

## Rent

The rent charged for each small stand is R2.30 per month, which is disproportionately high considering the paltry wage of some workers (R5 per week minus anything up to R1 for transport), and the numbers dependant on them for support. Nor can it be inferred that the public services rendered give real value for money. Twenty one communal street water taps exist, approximately one for thirteen houses; the garbage is cleared thrice weekly as is each outside latrine's bucket. The

earth roads are grossly inferior and there does not seem to be any satisfactory drainage system whatsoever, although we understand that this urgent matter has been under discussion by the Council. Public transport does not operate internally which necessitates a walk of some considerable distance for the majority of the shanty dwellers in order to use the municipal bus service that runs on the periphery of Springfield Flats. The fact that the township, although initially created as an emergency camp only, has acquired a semblance of permanency should surely be sufficient justification for the provision of some recreational facility. No amenities of this definition are in existence. Nor is there any municipal clinic available locally, and all medical treatment has to be undergone at Beatrice Street, free of charge for those who qualify as destitute, or at King Edward VII Hospital which is several miles distant and where the minimum fee is 60 cents per visit.

### Schools

A school on the outskirts of Springfield Flats caters for Indian children up to Standard VI, but with the influx of so many additional families it is debatable whether there will be accommodation commensurate with the total number of potential scholars. We visited a kindergarten school built of corrugated iron comprising one tiny room and an open verandah on which, except in inclement weather, lessons are conducted. The children, all neatly attired in school uniform, looked happy, responsive and eager; so eager in fact that, although they greeted us warmly, they seemed equally impatient lest we monopolise their pretty young teacher for too long. Both the teacher, who had a basic training in pre-school teaching, and the school itself had been provided and was being maintained by the David Landau Trust. The waiting list for this solitary kindergarten is proof of both the need and desire for further facilities of this nature.

### Depressing aspect

Our brief inquiry brought us finally to the area allocated to the Bayhead families. A veritable desert in appearance, it was discernible even at first glance how crude and ill-prepared the place was. From every aspect it is a depressing situation. Trees, shrubs or vegetation of any description are conspicuous by their absence. This arid, stark region is entirely exposed to the elements, while its barrenness highlighted a singular lack of con-

cern for the well-being of these people.

We questioned some of the first of the families to arrive, and heard repeated the same distressing story of how reluctant they had been to abandon their homes. One to whom we spoke had lived all his life in the Bayhead area and naturally regarded his birthplace as his rightful home. Another had had his life disrupted three times, and certainly did not appear to have welcomed this last upheaval. Little wonder, for the prospects both immediate and for the future hardly looked inviting — neither for him and his family nor for any of the other displaced families.

### Corrugated iron structures

Half a dozen barn-like structures of corrugated iron had been erected to house, for one week only, the in-coming families. These were served by three latrines, one of which was not functioning and no attempt had apparently been made to put it in order. A few street water taps were accessible. During this one week each family was expected to re-build its own house on an allotment 40 feet by 40 feet. The cost of transporting the dilapidated material as well as themselves, their dependents and meagre possessions had to be born by each family. According to our information no financial or any other scheme had been devised to assist these people, nor, it would seem, had much foresight or discretion gone into the planning of two earth roads that we saw. Both are raised above the level of the land, and it requires little imagination to realise the damage that could ensue in rainy weather, and indeed, the recent heavy rains had not only held up building operations generally, but, as one unfortunate householder complained, his property had been flooded out to a depth of several inches, with consequent destruction to much of his equipment.

### Psychological hardship

Another disturbing factor — common to all enforced removals — is the psychological hardship entailed for each uprooted family. Two answers given us by a couple of men can probably be taken as fairly indicative of the general atmosphere of malaise and unhappiness that exists — will continue to exist for as long as the needs of South Africa's underprivileged are given so little consideration. One man, with obvious anxiety, told us that he had always been a fisherman by trade but that as the sea was no longer within easy access he would have to search for a different means of livelihood. He did not appear



young, and his nervous state of health made one wonder just how easy this would be for him. Another spoke of having to quit an eleven rand a week job where he has been employed for seventeen years, as he was the only member of his large family competent enough to re-build their new shelter. It was made manifest that no compensation whatsoever was being paid to these poverty-stricken Indians for the loss of their homes, nor were they helped in any way in the erection of new houses. Furthermore, the monthly cost to them in rent would henceforth be more than double. Previously they had only been charged R1 for the use of their land but now they were having to fall into line with the established houseowners of Springfield Flats.

Despite the glaring symptoms of poverty, of squalor and of over-crowding evident throughout the area and the deplorable living conditions which constitute a health hazard to those who live there and to the adjacent suburbs, it seems that few positive steps have been taken towards slum clearance. The civic authorities are aware of the need for it — the location is still under the direct control of Durban's City Council. They claim that there is a backlog of housing requiring prior attention and restrictions imposed on funds available for this purpose. But it is hard to equate so pressing and imperative a problem with such an apparent lack of any sense of urgency.

## GRIM FAIRY TALE

Forgive me for referring to what has happened on my own farm. My son's garden boy died round about December. He was in his employ. He was a man who had a large family. He left a wife and children and some of his older daughters already have children of their own. He was the only breadwinner of that family. That woman cannot go to any municipal area now, because no municipality wants to or may build a house for her. Where is she to go? The other day I asked my son, "where is old Sophie" and he replied: "She is still here, Dad." I then asked him what she was living on, and he replied: "I still pay her wages, and I still give her rations, but I cannot go on doing so. Something has to be done. Settle her somewhere."

*The Hon. A. H. Vosloo,  
Deputy Minister of Bantu Development.  
Hansard No. 1. Col. 106.*

## CAPE EASTERN REPORT

Our only delegate to the National Conference, Mrs. Shirley Moulder, had to go to hospital on her return home. This was a blow as she had been a wonderful representative for our Region.

In November we held our Regional Conference. Mrs. Deena Streek flew down from East London at a moment's notice and gave us an excellent report back on her impressions of the Conference in Durban. After lunch the Rev. James Moulder gave us his interpretation of the Church's message and its implications. This was well attended by members and guests. Mr. and Mrs. Moulder have since left for Australia, much to our regret.

Soon after the conference some energetic members collected signatures from ratepayers in an endeavour to petition the Mayor to call a public meeting to explain to us the reasons for raising African rents. The required number of ratepayer's signatures was achieved and some publicity, but *no* satisfaction, *no* meeting and the rents have been raised.

In December we helped to run two film mornings for children, which raised R260 for the African School Book Fund, and Fees. Mrs. Randall wrote to the Evening Post on December 14th, pointing out that people who were no longer obliged to pay for school books for their children, might consider helping African children instead. This letter brought in R100. It also triggered off other letters and more donations went to Child Welfare, who help indigent parents in the same way.

This education and book project has not only acted as a catalyst for others, but has provided interesting contacts with informed and concerned Coloured and Indian opinion. The statistics provided by these people on the drop-out in African schools is a very significant comment on Bantu Education. A total of 137 African pupils in P.E. and Uitenhage in Standard 8 drops to 35 in Standard sidise all pupils in St. 9 and 10 at the Newell High (Bantu) School to the tune of R1,800. This guarantee increased the enrolment to 82 pupils — showing the inhibiting effects the high cost of text books etc. has on African parents. Mrs. Bolton has so far paid out subsidies this year from our funds to 10 boys and girls. Alexandria Branch support 2 and Grahamstown Branch indirectly several more.

Our General Meeting held in February was

well-attended. The speaker, a missionary from the last stronghold in Biafra, gave us a most comprehensive picture of the war and its historical background.

In January Mrs. Randall and Mrs. Hall of Grahamstown, together with Professor Irving (Professor of Sociology at Rhodes) and Father Edmonstone (Roman Catholic chaplain to Rhodes) made a tour of the two resettlement villages of Ilinge and Sada near Queenstown. In her report back on this tour Mrs. Randall stressed the point made by Professor Irving, that one could no longer regard these camps particularly Ilinge — as an academic question. The need for food, blankets, clothes and employment is so great — the poverty so stark, that this Region felt forced to undertake a welfare project of raising money on a fairly large scale, to enable us to buy blankets and warm clothing for distribution by Inter Church Aid. Thanks to the energy of one of our members, a large amount of new (reject) clothing is on its way.

All the Banished men received a Christmas Parcel in December.

We would like to hear from other regions if they too experience our constant dilemma of welfare versus protest? The need for the first becomes more and more difficult to ignore. It is something all members can do and it revitalises a branch. On the other hand we admit that this is not the true function of the Black Sash. How then can we protest on certain highly sensitive matters without harming the very people for whom we are protesting? And how do we define either politics or welfare work under these circumstances?

## CAPE WESTERN REPORT

### Group Areas

Our original application to the City Council to hold a stand in protest yet again against District 6 was turned down. The slogan submitted was "A White District 6 — a Shameful Memorial to the White Man's Greed". We also were refused permission to man a fact table with reference to the stand. After re-applying, about 60 people stood at the top of Adderley Street under a banner reading "District Six" and with posters reading: "We mourn the loss of livelihoods and homes"; "We mourn the loss of Churches, Mosques and Schools"; "We mourn the loss of this old-established Community."

On April 1st total bus apartheid comes to Cape Town. On that day we shall hold a

stand with posters reading: "Total Bus Apartheid Forced on Cape Town" and "Total Bus Apartheid — an Insult and Inconvenience."

We at present are negotiating with the City Council to get permission to put up a plaque as a memorial to all those people who have suffered under Group Area Removals. The wording on such a plaque would be: "Remember the many thousands who lived harmoniously among the people of the Cape Peninsula for generations but were cast out because of the colour of their skins and forced by law to leave their homes. Erected by the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash. Dated....."

The pamphlet on inter-racial contacts still permissible by law, which was drawn up by Mrs. Beck, is proving an invaluable source of information to us and, we hope, to the numerous organisations to which copies have been sent.

Branches are being encouraged in their individual projects to keep scrap books of relevant press-cuttings — for their own and general information and to be used as sources for fact papers. This should prove an ideal means of involving members unable to participate in a more active way.

### All Branch Meetings

Each month at our All Branch meetings we continue to have talks of topical and general interest. Mr. Hamilton Russell's paper entitled "Twenty Years After" was read. Mrs. Burton has talked to us about the multi-racialism of The Argentine and Brazil, two countries in which she has lived; and Father da Costa has told us about District 6 and its present heartaches.

### Letters to the Press

"Cape Times" — 3.12.1968 — Declaration of Human Rights.

"Cape Argus" — 9.12.1968 — Beach Apartheid.

"Cape Times" — Dec. 1968 — Christmas and Migrant Labourers.

"Cape Times" — 5.2.1969 — "The African Dilemma" and removal of Africans.

"Cape Argus" — 18.3.1969 — Enclosing copy of "Inter-racial Contacts."

"Cape Times" — 24.3.1969 — 2 letters on Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

According to Hansard on Tuesday, 4th February, the Deputy Minister for Bantu Affairs quoted at some length in Parliament a letter written to the paper by our Chairman, Mrs. Barbara Wilks, which shows hopefully that a letter is sometimes read!

# BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

## HEADQUARTERS

*National President:* Mrs. J. Sinclair,  
4a—2nd Avenue, Parktown North,  
Johannesburg.

*National Vice-Presidents:* Mrs. M. W.  
Cluver, 21A, Argyle Street, Wa-  
verley, Johannesburg. Tel. 40-1306.  
Mrs. J. Harris, 29—5th Street,  
Lower Houghton.

*Hon. National Secretary:* Mrs. R. M.  
Johnston, 37, Harvard Buildings,  
Joubert Street, Johannesburg. Tel.  
Office 23-1032. Home 40-1973.

*National Treasurer:* Mrs. D. Hill, 41,  
The Valley Road, Parktown, Jo-  
hannesburg. Tel. 41-1832.

*Magazine Editor:* Mrs. S. Duncan, 45,  
22nd Street, Parkhurst, Johan-  
nesburg. Tel. 42-9713.

*Office:* 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert  
Street, Johannesburg. Telephone  
23-1032.

## BORDER

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77-3329.

*Secretary:* Mrs. D. Andrews, "Clouds",  
6, Obelisk Road, Claremont. Tel.  
66064.

*Treasurer:* Mrs. B. D. Willis, Boulders  
House, Simon's Town. Tel. 86-6182.

*Office:* (for correspondence): 1 and 2,  
Atgor Chambers, Ralph Street,  
Claremont, Cape. Tel. 66-827.

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*Secretary:* Mrs. D. Patrick, "Two Oaks"  
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Tel. 88-1068.

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burg.

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## TRANSVAAL

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Street, Parkhurst, Johannesburg.  
Tel. 42-9713.

*Hon. Secretary:* Mrs. R. M. Johnston,  
37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert  
Street, Johannesburg. Tel. Office  
23-1032. Home 40-1973.

*Treasurer:* Mrs. L. Brand, 3—7th Ave-  
nue, Parktown North, Johannes-  
burg.

*Office:* 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert  
Street, Johannesburg. Telephone  
23-1032.

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

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

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## Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

## Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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