

5568

Vol. 18. No. 5

May 1976

Price 40c



SASH

The Black Sash magazine

CONTENTS

MAY 1976

The fourth report of the Christian Institute of South Africa on detention and trial under the Terrorism Act was declared undesirable under the Publications Act of 1974. Large extracts from this report have therefore regrettably had to be deleted from this issue of SASH.

Conference Edition

	Page
WE MUST GO ON	1
Shcena Duncan	
A LOOK AT THE FUTURE	5
Norman Bromberger	
HISTORY OF A LOST BATTLE	9
Rodney Davenport	
THE MORE THINGS CHANGE	11
Jean Sinclair	
THE COLOURED HOUSING CRISIS	15
Mary Burton	
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	16
Michael Bands	
WHERE 'MAID' MEETS 'MADAM'	17
Gita Dyzenhaus and Eileen Mendelsohn	
SECURING WHITE SUPREMACY?	19
Philip Black	
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND THE AFRICAN	22
PLIGHT OF THE PENSIONER	24
PEOPLE ARE LIVING THERE	26
Babette Kabak	
AROUND THE REGIONS	
headquarters	29
albany	29
border	30
cape western	30
natal coastal	31
natal midlands	31
transvaal	32

We must go on

SHEENA DUNCAN

The text of Ms Duncan's Presidential address to the Grahamstown Conference in March.

IT is with a good deal of trepidation that I stand here tonight. For so many years Jean Sinclair has inspired and encouraged us, goaded us on to greater efforts by the power of her personality and the drive which she is so well able to impart to others.

Not only can I not begin to measure up to the high standard she has set, but I must try to do so in circumstances where we, in common with all the people of Southern Africa, feel anxious and unsure about the future of our different countries and when we are sometimes fearful about our own personal safety in the times that are coming.

I do not propose to try to analyse the contemporary situation and the South African responses to it. People far better qualified to do so than I can offer us reasoned articles almost daily in the national Press. What I do want to do is to speak to you, the members of the Black Sash and to those of you who befriend and support us in our work; to try to think through what we can be and do now to forward the cause of peace and justice in this our beloved country.

For this IS our beloved country in spite of the attacks made upon us and upon others like us by both Black people and Afrikaners. Because we in the Black Sash are mostly White and largely English-speaking, our identification with South Africa and her people is questioned.

Many Blacks believe that White liberals will leave the country one by one if they have to live through a confrontation instead of the controlled changes they advocate — changes which Blacks see as designed to maintain Whites in their present comfortable prosperity, although hopefully allowing the majority of our citizens to gradually come to share in the power and the privilege.

Blacks feel that it is unrealistic to expect the radical change necessary to bring about social, economic and political justice to happen without enormous changes in the circumstances of life for

all Whites. They believe that we will go elsewhere rather than face fundamental changes.

We must recognise the degree of justice in this accusation and ask ourselves whether we are truly committed to the shared society of which we speak so often. We must ask ourselves if we really believe in the necessity for change and what we are prepared to sacrifice to bring it about.

Afrikaner nationalists are also reluctant to regard us as committed South Africans. The other day I had a meeting with the Chief Director of one of the Administration Boards. His first question was phrased like this: "I have a son-in-law fighting on the border; where do you come from?"

It is difficult to keep one's cool when faced with attitudes of this kind. We are in the Black Sash and have worked as we have done for the last 21 years precisely because we are South Africans. We are committed to this country and to her people.

But we must recognise this as well, that because we are English-speaking we do feel at ease in the outside world and the assurance which this gives us sometimes seems to others to be arrogant and expressive of divided loyalty.

Closely related to this accusation is another which I am quite sure we are going to need all our reserves of courage to resist in the coming months — that of being "unpatriotic" and assisting South Africa's enemies by voicing protest and criticism of the dreadful wrongs which are being perpetrated upon our country and its people by our Government.

To be a patriot is to be one who truly loves and serves his fatherland and the true patriots in South Africa are those who love and serve all its people, not just one group of its people. This is what we strive to do, to be loving and serving and caring and we must all remain firmly convinced that we are not guilty of the charge. On no account must we let it prevent us from doing

what we must do and saying what must be said. Should we be silent, then it is that we will betray our country and allow the forces of unreason and disorder to take over — surely the greatest treachery of all.

Dreadful wrongs are perpetrated every day. Those large promises to move away from discrimination have served one purpose — that of concealing from the outside world and our own White population just how terrible are the violent acts committed every day against people.

These people's lives are not altered one iota by the insulting and discriminatory permits which allow 10 per cent of a selected hotel's guests to be Black (provided, of course, that they do not sully the dance floor) or by any of the other window-dressing permissions which are, in fact, as degrading and dehumanising as anything which has gone before. The Government-initiated changes which have taken place merely entrench the status quo by drawing selected Blacks some of the way into the privileged White society.

No one of us who has ever worked in the Black Sash Advice Offices has any illusions about the daily violences to humanity. Wives go on being forbidden to sleep with their husbands — except by permit; men and women go on being forbidden to work — except by permit; children go on being forbidden to live in their father's households — except by permit.

One promise which would have meant something had it been carried out is the restoration of leasehold title for Blacks in the urban areas (excepting the Cape Peninsula) — title which was taken away by this Government in 1968.

This promise was made nearly a year ago and still the necessary regulations have not been published. Worse than this, it has been officially stated that people wishing to apply for a leasehold house will first have to apply for homeland citizenship certificates with the threat that this implies to the last remnants of their security.

Unless there are far-reaching changes in the Citizenship Act, people who do apply for homeland citizenship because they are forced to do so by their urgent necessity to have a roof over their heads, will find themselves foreigners in their own country as their particular homeland becomes independent. No doubt the Government will claim, as it has done so often before, that they "voluntarily" renounced their South African citizenship.

Even in the homelands there are the same kind of unacceptable conditions and controls as pertain in the common area. Hostels are being built in the homelands to house so-called "single" workers and the Advice Offices are increasingly being approached by people who are finding difficulty with the regulations which control them inside what are supposed to be their own areas.

For example, a man who lives in Mdantsane, a homeland town inside the Ciskei, was refused a

permit to work in the skilled job he was offered in East London. He was told he could not register because he was living in his brother's house and, as he is a bachelor, he was ordered to go and get himself a bed in a hostel before he would be allowed to work.

This kind of thing makes a total mockery of South African claims to be granting people freedom and independence through the policy of separate development.

One of the objects of the Black Sash, as written into our constitution, is "by non-violent and peaceful means to strive to secure the recognition and the protection by law of human rights and liberties".

South Africa has never been further away from these ideals than it is at present. There is no recognition of human rights and liberties let alone any protection in the law for such rights.

The independence of the Transkei which is presented by our Government to the world as being just such a recognition of human rights falls far short of being so.

There are hundreds of thousands of Black South Africans who value the territorial integrity of this their country above all else, whose opinions and desires have never been tested. Their only choice has been to co-operate in the fait accompli of separate development or to have it forced upon them. Their citizenship of their own country is threatened, whether they like it or not — and they will not lightly give it up.

All this adds up to a rapidly developing alienation of the Black community from our society and a serious and growing hatred of Whites by Blacks.

Recently, in a letter to his parishioners, the Dean of Johannesburg, a truly loving Black man, said this: "Deep hurts have been inflicted on Blacks and those of you who are White and who are striving to be disciples of our Lord have a very painful vocation ahead of you.

"All the bitterness and the hurt and the hatred in the hearts and souls of Black people will be directed at you who are wanting to be loving and caring and colour-blind.

"That is going to be your part in the Passion of our Lord. You are going to be clobbered by Blacks because you are White; you are going to be clobbered by Whites because you seem to be selling the White pass. Blacks are going to learn to be really forgiving, but they must get it all out of their systems first. We desperately need one another if we are going to be human together."

In this situation it is so obvious that what we have to fear is not outside the country, but is the direct result of what we do inside our borders.

The indications are that many Blacks support those whom our Government regards as being the external enemies of South Africa and that in any conflict, Black South Africans will identify

with any political movement or ideology, whatever its nature, if it opposes South Africa and our way of life.

When we talk to Afrikaner nationalists about doing away with influx control and allowing all our citizens freedom of movement, they more often than not say that this would be "national suicide". Which is the suicidal road — the one we are so far advanced on, or the difficult strong road which will take us towards true liberation?

With this serious threat to peace inside South Africa and the disorder and chaos which threaten to engulf us, there is a terrible temptation to panic; to grab the nearest gun; to seek escape routes; to join in the war hysteria which is evidenced all around us.

In our parish churches, where we have failed through the years to pray for those involved in the struggle against institutional violence, we are now exhorted to pray for our men on the border, who certainly need our prayers, but so do all Southern Africa's people of all political persuasions, whatever group they are fighting for or wherever they are suffering the depredations of war and terror.

Small White children are given Christmas presents of camouflage uniforms and lie on our suburban pavements aiming toy guns at passers-by. Newspaper headlines scream "State of War"; "White Women slaves strip for Frelimo"; "White Terror in SWA".

In the midst of all this, our primary concern must surely be to remain rational; to refuse to be stampeded by the forces of unreason; to strive to encourage rational thought and reasonable reactions to the pressures we must face, to meet hatred with love.

We must fearlessly continue to state the truth, secure in the knowledge that what we believe in is valid because it expresses the fundamental desire we share with all people for peace, justice and security.

In all this we have always been and are strengthened and supported by our belonging to a group of women whose ideals and attitudes we share. But now we may have to learn to do without even this.

The threat of PISCOM, the Parliamentary Internal Security Commission, hangs over us all. This is the latest weapon with which the Government seeks to destroy all those groups which advocate a different way of life for South Africa.

One by one over the years we have seen organisations, political parties and people put out of action by the succession of security laws which have turned normal political activities into crimes and destroyed all liberty. Whether it be by bannings, detentions without trial, or sophisticated smear techniques, opposition has been hampered and prevented.

But our strength lies in the knowledge that none of this can stop the struggle for freedom. It may be delayed or halted for a period, sacrificed and suffered for, but it cannot be destroyed.

If one is prevented, another takes over. If the forces of oppression seem to succeed for a year or a decade or a century, they will not prevail. The human spirit is indestructible and nothing can destroy us if we can only believe this. Nor can anyone destroy our own personal integrity unless we allow them to do so.

The truth of this has been demonstrated over and over again in this country, during the past 28 years. Wherever and whenever the victims of oppression have found the courage to meet attacks with integrity and faith, they and their ideals have remained inviolate.

We may have to do without the security of our group belonging and find the courage to continue with individual unsupported action.

We must plan as individuals to ensure that peaceful efforts towards justice will continue whether or not we at this moment can foresee any peaceful solution to our internal conflicts.

We all have the feeling that nothing we can do will any longer influence the course of events. I have no easy answer to this. We simply do not know what tomorrow will bring and whether what we do will change anything. There are too many imponderables.

Perhaps all we can do is to learn to live, with reason and personal peace, within events as they happen around us. At least in our local situation, the way we behave and speak is bound to affect those around us. It could be that just to refuse to give way to fear and panic will prove to be an achievement.

The way we each live is of great importance. We all have much to learn about showing in our own lives our rejection of violence, injustice and oppression and our total opposition to what is presently the South African way of life. As one of our members put it the other day, we can learn to step sideways out of the system and live in the way we say life should be lived in this country.

Whether the Black Sash is put out of existence or not, the past 21 years have not been wasted. We can be proud of what we have done and assured of the value of what we have stood for. We can ensure that our work will continue if each one of us acknowledges an individual and personal responsibility to continue to work and struggle for the things in which we believe.

If chaos overwhelms us, we will work for reconstruction, as so many Black people, whose condition of life has been chaos for a long time, are working for reconstruction.

I personally believe that one of our primary tasks as Black Sash in the next months, must be to encourage our members to become personally involved in at least one politically constructive activity outside Black Sash work and to use what they have come to understand through their membership of the Sash in all other groups and organisations to which they, as individuals, belong.

If we do survive as an organisation, the cross-fertilisation of ideas and stimulation we thus gain, can only strengthen, expand and enrich our work.

If we do not survive as the Black Sash, we will have laid the groundwork for our members to continue that work in other ways.

If we succumb to the temptation to say we have done all we can and can now opt out of the fight with a clear conscience because the Government has stopped us, then we will indeed be handing them a victory. We must recognise that we cannot be defeated if we refuse to concede.

After all, you do not need an organisation to seek out and expose injustices and violations of the human spirit. You do not need an organisation to seek reconciliation between Black and White. You do not need an organisation to speak

the truth. You do not need an organisation to work for peace and reconstruction.

You do need friends and love but these we have in plenty, whether or not we are allowed to remain bound together by a constitutional discipline.

The bonds which have grown between us cannot be severed by Government action nor can the bonds which bind us to all our fellow citizens, both Black and White, be severed because we and they share in the fundamental human aspirations for spiritual fulfilment, peace and freedom and these cannot be destroyed.

I don't know about you, but I feel an increasing sense of unreality at the constant repetition of words which express those concepts which now seem to have become unattainable in our lifetime.

Justice, the rule of law, liberty, freedom. These are our ideals and must be spoken to keep the ideas they enshrine alive. They are the goals towards which we strive and the ideas we hope our children will also understand and value. But, perhaps what we need to help us now are the small words, the ones we can do something about and these I leave with you now — hard work, truth and reason, a quiet will, to keep faith; love and joy and peace.

‘AS Shaw put it: “Poor people, abject people, dirty people ill fed, ill clothed people poison us, morally and physically, they kill the happiness of society, they force us to do away with our own liberties and organise unnatural cruelties for fear they should rise against us and drag us down into their abyss”.’

From “**BEATRICE WEBB — A Life — 1858 to 1943**”

Humane story

WESTERN COLOURED TOWNSHIP by Marianne Brindley (Ravan Press, R4,20)

MARIANNE BRINDLEY, a qualified social anthropologist, presents an in-depth analysis of the major problems facing the Coloured people in a Johannesburg slum.

The research is objective, compassionate, and takes account of studies conducted elsewhere in the world. It offers practical recommendations for community rehabilitation and examines problems of housing, productivity, social work, alcoholism, gangs, motherhood, family planning, the marginal father, and the identity crisis of the Coloured people.

The book should not only provide useful material for the social scientist, but should aid university students in the humanities and paramedical spheres in its comprehensive portrayal of life in a disadvantaged environment.

This is a humane story of a people in need which should have a wide appeal.

Available from leading booksellers or from Ravan Press.

A look at the future

NORMAN BROMBERGER

The opening address to the Black Sash Conference in Grahamstown, delivered by Norman Bromberger, of the SA Labour and Development Research Unit, University of Cape Town.

I am honoured to be here tonight. The Black Sash has survived in a time when the current of public affairs inside the country has flowed against it. To have survived in such a period is an achievement, to have adapted and found new and valuable social tasks to perform is an outstanding achievement, and one that gives others courage and hope.

I think it was understood that I was to be a little controversial. If one undertakes to speculate about the future in public one had better cultivate a sense of one's fallibility.

Reflection brings to mind the apocalyptic view: "South Africa has nothing to hope for except tragedy!" Against that view I want to assert a qualified optimism.

I want to look at the following aspects of the future: political arrangements, racial discrimination at the social level, inequality and civil liberties.

political aspects

THERE IS of course an immense number of things one might discuss under this heading. I shall concentrate on three. The political regime in South Africa is not likely to be overthrown by force. Given this premise, political arrangements are likely to retain features of racial and ethnic differentiation, but the degree of White political dominance will have been reduced. Within the area of what is today South Africa there will still be restrictions on freedom of movement and the right to work where one chooses, but I think we have good grounds for hoping that the restrictions will be less comprehensive and less productive of human suffering.

Against those who predict the tragedy of successful internal and external struggle which somehow sweeps away White domination and privilege, or a voluntary agreement by all important contending groups to found a "common society" which is constituted by individuals and ignores ethnic and racial groups I suggest we have grounds for hoping that in fact the central

political system in this country will survive the assaults against it.

Its leaders may insist that the package of arrangements and policies to be followed contain separatist elements (apartheid elements if you like), but will also accept (indeed may have little choice but to accept) progress in a variety of ways towards a fuller, less racially-oppressed life for all.

There is a widespread belief that things are very late, but I am doubting this kind of formulation. I have written elsewhere, "The South African system is not going to be overthrown — more properly, the odds against its overthrow are very high..."

"It is going to change... but it will not be overthrown... tanks will not roll into Pretoria, a political General Strike will not be followed by the storming by militant Black workers of army barracks and the establishment of the political and administrative authority of Black Soviets — or something similar; guerillas may penetrate in certain areas but they will lead a limited and constricted existence and will not proceed to establish growing "zones of liberation" South of the Limpopo.

"I take this as a fundamental proposition." (News Review Vol. 2, No. 18. P 306.)

Dr D. E. H. Russell, in her book "Rebellion, Revolution and Armed Force", made a study of a sample of 14 "mass rebellions" from the 28 cases she identified for the 20th century.

She concluded that "in no case of successful rebellion did the regime retain the loyalty of the armed forces", or, put otherwise, and more strongly, "if the armed forces remain loyal to the regime, a mass rebellion cannot succeed."

In the foreseeable future (in which the armed forces will be predominantly White), this means that a necessary condition for the success of a mass rebellion in this country will be missing.

We must be careful to distinguish between large-scale protests, boycotts, sporadic violence — small- or large-scale — and similar disturbances on the one hand and successful mass rebel-

lion on the other. It is for the latter I am saying the conditions do not really exist in this country.

In similar vein Franz Neumann wrote (Russell p. 83), "...there exists in modern history no example of a successful revolution against a halfway strong state... Every strong state can deal with its opposition."

Neumann had in mind here not simply the powers of physical coercion available to modern states but also "all instruments of economic power (the means of production, consumer goods, wages and power) and all psychological means of coercion (that is, propaganda and education").

There is confirmatory argument that we can produce from Professors Heribert Adam and Lawrence Schlemmer.

There is, however, an opposing argument that says that South Africa will get involved in war beyond her borders or will be attacked by a major power and that we then have a new situation. I am assuming that it will be possible for South African governments to resist such involvements.

In discussing the survival of ethnic and racial political separation (or pluralism) linked with a reduction of White domination, I take it that the "homelands" policy will be pushed further than it has yet gone — along the lines currently intended.

I take it also, however, that policies will evolve beyond and perhaps outside of current lines of Government intention. You will be aware of some of these possibilities.

Current boundaries are not immutable. Will Newcastle, Richard's Bay, Kingwillianstown eventually be transferred? Will consolidation of, for example, BophutaTswana (and other homelands), require incorporation of Whites? Will some of the current Democratic Party notions about enclaves or commune-states for Black towns in "White areas" eventually be pursued?

I do not imagine that these things successfully avoid the problem of central power. As Dr S. P. du Toit Viljoen said to the SAIRR, "Every form of decentralisation requires a corresponding form of centralisation; for the devolution of power must necessarily be associated with the maintenance of a centralised authority to ensure the harmonisation of and the balance of power between conflicting interests. The evolution of such an authority is a much more complex issue." (1975 Annual General Meeting.)

I do not propose to develop the argument about influx control and the pass laws here in detail. I list simply three factors which will be at work: very rapid population growth is going to make the effective policing of the internal boundaries increasingly difficult and costly; economic growth is going to increase pressures for the urban settlement in a family environment of a substantial part of the African labour force.

But so long as there are elements of ethnic and racial pluralism in the political system there will be grounds for some controls on movement and work-seeking.

racial discrimination

I THINK we can look forward to a very substantial reduction in enforced micro-segregation (or "petty apartheid") and legalised discrimination.

This may not be as important as used to be made out, but it is certainly something to look forward to and to work for. The reasons why I think we shall get progress in this area may be summarised as follows:

They have a symbolic rather than substantive value, and a relatively rational leadership under pressure will seek to make adaptations, as it already is.

The processes of economic growth (with their diffused social consequences) and the resources put into some forms of "community development" among Blacks will decrease "social distance" between Whites and Blacks (though I do not want to minimise the solid fact of group areas, nor other kinds of problems).

Insofar as capacity problems and overcrowding have been involved in the genesis of some forms of segregation, growth and intelligent spending will help. (But what if growth slows? And you cannot duplicate Clifton beaches!); there will be continued pressure on us — the clearest example is in sports policy.

I suspect there will be some positive demonstrative effects from Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, the Transkei and so on.

inequality

SOCIO-ECONOMIC inequalities exist in real income and wealth (with an effect on opportunities, absolute poverty, relative poverty by comparison with Whites), education, social welfare pensions, status and prestige, decision-making, language disadvantagedness, and "the hidden injuries of inequality". (Schlemmer)

I believe that some of these inequalities are currently being reduced and that the prospects for the reduction over time of several others are reasonably good. I look to the following factors: the overcoming of an historical "development-lag" on the part of Blacks. Economic growth will facilitate the process — though it will not be automatic.

Alongside, and indeed making it possible, will be continued economic growth (under capitalist auspices). In a variety of ways growth will cause the balance of social power to tilt in favour of Blacks.

In a variety of ways they will achieve increased social weight, increased social organisational muscle. Together with a degree of political power, though not preponderant power for it is White coercion which ultimately holds the "system" together still, the social power will manifest itself in lessened inequality or engage in conflict to eliminate discriminations and change "prices" (especially rewards).

Of course industrial action, and ultimately, trade unions, are the crucial example here.

Consider the Black unions as a countervailing force against White unions over questions like reservation, job hierarchies, access to training and so on, and, of course, wages. We have already seen the capacity for non-unionised relatively spontaneous action under the whip of inflation.

civil liberties

HERE I have least optimism. I expect that governments here will attempt to control the process of adjustment and potentially explosive change. I believe they will almost certainly be faced with violent (in the broad sense) resistance from right and left. Continually there will be the risks of polarised inter-group conflict escalating over time.

In such an environment I find it difficult to believe that individual rights and civil liberties will not continue to be moderately (at least) restricted.

Given such an account as this of some of those things we may feel we can hope for in the future, what, if anything, can people like you and me do to advance those causes we are attracted to?

In the political sphere there are two points I should like to suggest. Providing we are reasonably convinced ourselves about the unlikelihood of overthrow there are many others who will need to be, and who will benefit from being, similarly convinced — those who turn away from involvement in fear and despair, who leave the country or who turn ugly and become hostile to Black advancement.

On the other hand there will be a large group (predominantly Black I imagine) who continue to look to an overthrow in hope and anticipation.

We are going to need people who are willing, amid moving processes of political evolution, to settle for less than they would ideally like. This is not a popular message to bring to people who seek liberation, but I think it is our duty to stress it.

We must also be willing to get involved in the defence of our borders although we are quite clear, and proclaim our clarity, about the injustice of some central features of the system we are implicitly defending, and hence about the morally compromised nature of our stand.

I have said elsewhere, "... we have no choice but to defend the system against confrontational attack (in full consciousness of its moral deficiencies and of the compromised nature of our stance) and to work within it, trying to align ourselves with those creative forces which are producing a massive human transformation in the society and trying to do so with far greater imagination than we have employed in the past." (University of Natal Workshop on "Economic Growth and its Relation to Social and Political Change", 1974).

We shall probably have a system containing a substantial component of ethnic and racial separation. Groups will be represented, not just individuals in a common society. Group identities will be recognised and accommodated, and institutions will both legitimate and seek to put limits to conflict between groups.

"If we can manufacture a wide circle of material welfare, and if we can devise institutions which on the one hand recognise the awkward facts of separate ethnic identities and on the other hand recognise the claims to just group-shares in what is produced together, we shall have done our stint at the quarryface of the future." (SA Journal 11, The New Review, Vol. 2, No. 18.)

"Just group-shares in what is produced together" is the phrase I am wanting to emphasise. The American sociologist, Nathan Glazer ("The Universalisation of Ethnicity", Encounter, February, 1975), wrote:

"Perhaps the answer to multi-ethnicity in each country will be a situation in which each group has guaranteed rights and guaranteed shares in the economy, the politics, in social life.

It is possible to emphasise different parts of this solution, either guaranteed shares for each group, or guaranteed rights for each individual and each group.

The United States in the past seemed to find the approach in terms of "guaranteed rights" more congenial than the approach in terms of guaranteed shares; but recently Americans have begun to take individual rights less seriously, and to take group shares more seriously.

At present the Government and the promoters of "separate development" do not talk about "group shares".

Indeed it is arguable that the policy of homeland independence is aimed partly at avoiding this issue. Chief Buthelezi time and again returns to the question of why by accepting citizenship in an independent homeland, Africans should sign away their claims to the wealth or a share in the wealth they have laboured to create over generations in the economic heartlands of South Africa.

What are just shares and how does one set about allocating them? Attempts to be specific

have an awful ring for those of us brought up with ideas of a "common society" and ideals of non-racialism, but some, at least, of these conflicts over shares are going to be inescapable in any South African future.

The notion of "just group-shares" does give one a weapon to use in grappling with those politicians who duck some of the crying issues of inequality and deprivation.

The system of control over the right to move and work clearly imposes very large human costs. Over time the documentation of some of these, and their imaginative communication to public opinion and policy-makers, will have an effect.

Your work in Advice Offices would seem to me a substantive contribution to the reduction of human misery in this country. I wonder whether there is room for a very piecemeal approach to some of the problems posed by the pass laws and related legislation, or an approach which admits a great human harm, confesses itself bound by political constraints in attacking it head-on, but seeks to compensate or offset the harm in some measure?

In the sphere of racial discrimination in social life I expect that there will be substantial progress made over time in dismantling the extraordinary set of rules for social segregation which exist in our society.

An important factor is going to be public expenditure on expanding facilities, but spending money is always (at least on paper) an easy option. At large in our society we might find quite violent resistance, at least socially, to some of the changes we envisage.

I quote a friend. "Preparing Whites for change and Blacks for assuming more power requires a great deal of teaching, and there is the need for groups of people living out experimentally, and perhaps exemplary, cross-country relationships in sports clubs, task groups for local concerns, fellowship groups that do more than meet in a church building..."

We want to encourage the Government to set targets for itself in the field of inequality-reduction. Consider their publicly-expressed concern over the "wage-gap" and their desire to reduce it, and the current talk of a single consolidated pay-scale for all Government employees.

It may be possible to devise ways, by which "marginal redistribution" between Whites and others is built into the system — both at private and public initiative. Problems to do with poverty and inequality may press for action in the years immediately ahead of us.

I refer to the likelihood that at the same time as quite marked socio-economic progress takes place among a substantial stratum of Africans, Coloureds and Indians, rapid population growth, and perhaps some biases in our economic system, will ensure that a large proportion of particularly the African population remains unemployed and in poverty.

A lot of work needs to be done on these questions, and there may turn out to be conflicting objectives or values involved.

I can find less grounds for optimism in the field of civil liberties. It is almost a condition for progress on the political front, in the dismantling of discrimination and in the reduction of inequality that a certain constraint be placed on these processes, a restriction on the freedom to take certain options and move at certain speeds.

It may be said that change cannot be controlled in this way: the Government and Whites in general must be persuaded to gamble on freedom because the path to a better South African future via restrictions on individual rights and civil liberties is a mirage.

If you are convinced of that position you will continue to bear witness to the principles of a legal and political order which may not be soon achieved in South Africa but in terms of which what we now do must continue to be judged.

Wits honours Jean Sinclair

OUR Honorary Life President, Jean Sinclair, has had the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy conferred upon her by the University of the Witwatersrand "for her contribution to the stirring of the national conscience and the welfare of the less privileged groups of the community".

The University recognises her "as an outstanding citizen who forsook the comforts and tranquility of domestic life to maintain the spirit of protest in the interests of her fellow South Africans and their right to a decent family life and government under law".

We are in entire agreement with this assessment of Jean, who was our National President for 14 years, and extend to her and her family our warmest congratulations at this public recognition of her worth.

History of a lost battle

RODNEY DAVENPORT

Prof Davenport, Professor of history at Rhodes University and a former member of the Grahamstown City Council traces the story of the fight to save Fingo Village.

GRAHAMSTOWN'S unusual relationship to separate development created problems. It already had a radial town plan, excellent for avoiding friction, with White control of most of the central business area and northern and southern suburbs, looking across at the Hottentot and Fingo villages on the east side.

It also had Black property owners. Fingo Villagers, though Africans, could still produce freehold titles based on those granted by Grey "in the name and on behalf of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria".

These Black property-owners lived so close to the Whites that they could easily walk to work. Their homes could actually be seen from the White town. In an age when towns were supposed to contain only Black migrants, Fingo Village was a de facto homeland, and had been for well over 100 years — since well before any White man owned any land in the Transvaal.

Hence the decision by the Government in 1964 to get rid of Fingo Village simply by transferring the properties to members of another race group through the machinery of the Group Areas Act.

Grahamstown people, both the communities affected and the articulate White element, opposed attempts to change the status of the Village. One result of this was that there was no Group Areas proclamation until the Easter weekend, 1970, 20 years after the passage of the Group Areas Act.

Group Areas arrived in the form of a succession of proposals at intervals of one to five years. In 1957, in response to a notice by the Group Areas Board, the City Council proposed a scheme along existing lines, save for a few families who might have to move out of the proposed White and Coloured areas.

James Irving commented: "There is nothing in this scheme but raw pain, suffering and the loss of an integrated community". A public meeting overwhelmingly rejected the plan.

In 1958 the Board tried again, and in 1963 the Department of Community Development told Grahamstown to get on with the planning of

group areas, and convened a public inquiry on a new plan.

The Advisory Board protested: this would bring "distress and misery to many", the area contained "the location hall, the health centre, five schools, one creche, six churches, the Santa settlement, and our burial grounds".

The City Council again stood firm, and strong protests were made at the public inquiry. But by that time a group of Coloured people, backed by a Coloured representative in Parliament, began to support the Government plan.

Success in detaching a section of the Coloured people seems to have determined the Government's next proposal, in October 1965, to declare the proposed White/Indian area a Coloured group area instead.

There was another public hearing and onslaught on Government proposals. The Government retreated — for the last time.

At the Easter weekend, 1970, Fingo Village above the railway line was gazetted a Coloured group area, attached by a narrow wasp waist to the existing "Hottentot village", with a White-Coloured boundary. This cut right across the radial pattern of Grahamstown's development.

This move was not entirely unexpected, because of a new move within the Council to call a halt to opposition for the sake of getting official favours in other directions. It had come under new pressures, and was beginning to count on new hopes.

The Department of Bantu Administration was starting to make plans for the accommodation of Grahamstown's Black residents in the homelands.

In October 1969 "an ideal site on which we could establish a fairly big city with the water available" — at Committees Drift — was discovered by I. P. van Onselen.

There was an acute shortage of housing. When the Council requested permission to build it was turned down and Fingo Village was soon a "contrived slum".

The prospect of border industries was another pressure — the promise that if Grahamstown's Blacks moved to Committees Drift they would be the first in the queue for jobs in the new border industries which the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industries would try to entice to Grahamstown in the near future.

In November 1969, therefore, the Council agreed it would "co-operate fully in the movement of surplus Bantu population to this new township provided this is a voluntary movement induced by a better economic outlook and living conditions; that schools and health services are adequate; that the Department of Bantu Administration uses its powers and influence to promote the establishment of border industries on the site selected on the east side of Grahamstown in collaboration with the Department of Planning; ... and that this Council urges Bantu Administration to use its influence with the Department of Planning to grant interim border industry privileges utilising local labour on the understanding that when the proposed Bantu Township is ready this labour will be drawn from the new township on a daily basis".

The terms seemed attractive indeed, so attractive that when they were put to members of the UBC its members, though bewildered, nevertheless took the White councillors at their word. One said, "We believe that our Council will never mislead us under any circumstances."

But there was much wrong with the offer. It involved giving Africans work preference in a Coloured preference area.

How could Africans commuting from Committees Drift compete for limited jobs with Coloureds, for whom employment in Grahamstown's border industries would also be open?

Grahamstown's chances of actually getting border industries were minimal unless it could at least be declared a growth point, and the site for which permission was given — not the Council's choice — could only be reached by a rail siding via a military camp at enormous expense.

The group area pattern was completed in November, 1970, when an Indian group area was gazetted, thus transferring the whole of Fingo Village to other races.

There were problems of implementation. By 1971 the broad lines of Government policy were laid down, but it had to face a good deal of local protest.

It proved impossible to get from Bantu Administration a reliable timetable for the removal of Fingo Village residents to Committees Drift, for they were waiting in turn for information

from the Department of Water Affairs regarding Orange/Fish water. So African removals could not take place because no place was prepared for them to go.

In 1972 the City Council took steps to regularise Fingo Village titles for eventual compensation purposes in terms of the Bantu Administration Act.

The Department of Community Development later tried to make registration of these substitute titles conditional on an agreement to sell the property within a time limit. This time the Bantu Affairs Administration Board stopped them.

There were further difficulties. There was concern over the brackishness of the Fish River Valley. The cost of building a tarred road raised problems of financing. There was still no news of any new jobs for the Drifters.

Even if the Drift was to have flush sanitation, the question was still whether the new settlement would sustain life. The public was becoming conscious of "dumping grounds" and reacting.

The project was on and off and on again in 1975, with Mr Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei reacting adversely in public and the Bantu Affairs Department and the Bantu Affairs Administration Board in opposition to each other.

During 1975 a well-supported petition by Grahamstown people objected to the removal of Indians from existing shops to the lower end of Fingo Village.

Recently Mr van Onselen met the UBC, told them the scheme was still going on, invited a reaction from the Black leaders, and got it straight from the shoulders.

Should not a Government with a solution to a local problem in terms of a great national blueprint make quite sure that at the local level the blueprint makes sense?

This includes taking local susceptibilities into account. There is no doubt that local Blacks loathe the scheme.

How should a local community react? Grahamstown opposed the group area as an alien ideology and later as a highly suspect method of handling real estate. It later gambled on compromise in the hope of winning something that way. Neither policy worked. There were problems of secretiveness, of timing, of payment, of civil rights and of consent.

The more things change . . .

JEAN SINCLAIR

DURING these last months of great anxiety many South Africans must have wondered if Mr Vorster's alternative — "which is too ghastly to contemplate" is a reality and if detente which looked so promising 18 months ago, is now dead and buried.

In the 60s and early 70s the political scene was static and hundreds of thousands of South Africans, rootless, poor, malnourished and unemployed must have all but given up hope.

Despite all their misery changes were beginning to take place. To begin with, changes in attitude among young Black people.

The students of the tribal colleges found it almost impossible to maintain proper contact with Nusas and in December 1968 Black students formed a new organisation — the South African Students Organisation — Saso.

From this organisation the philosophy of Black Consciousness was born.

Black Consciousness is the phenomenon which more than anything else has been instrumental in bringing about what change there has been.

Whites are beginning to realise the injustice of apartheid and the immorality of migrant labour and the break-up of African family life. They have not, to date, seen fit to use their economic power or the weight of their public opinion to have these injustices removed.

The first manifestation of White willingness to make any change at all came as a result of the Ovambo strikes in South West Africa. These strikes were a protest against the contract labour policy, poor working and living conditions and poverty wages.

From December 1971 to January 1972 about 13 000 Ovambos went on strike and many thousands of them returned to their home to plant crops to make themselves as self-sufficient as possible.

The strikers achieved most of their demands. Swanla — the labour recruiting agency was abolished. On the contract form the words "master and servant" were removed and "employer and employee" took their place. The period of service was to be agreed by the employer and the employee and a basic wage was laid down. These were but a few of the benefits won by the Ovambos.

Wages in Natal were particularly low and in many instances working and living conditions were bad. The dockworkers went on strike at the end of 1972 and early 1973 there were widespread strikes in Natal which spread to other areas. The

gold mines were very badly hit and there were tragic outbursts of violence resulting in loss of life and injury.

A new bill, the Bantu Regulations Amendment Bill was passed in 1973 and replaced the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Amendment Bill. The new act covers all disputes in which Africans are involved. It provides for the establishment or election of various kinds of committees on which the representation of workers was improved. Workers were given the right to strike under certain conditions which in fact are so limited as to be almost valueless.

The Students' Wages and Economics Commission set up by Nusas in 1971 made a splendid contribution to the improvement in wages. They attended many sittings of the Wage Board and were accused of inciting workers to strike. As a result of their work a Parliamentary Committee of the British House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the wages paid and the working conditions of British companies operating in South Africa.

Intermittent strikes have occurred every year since 1972. Figures as to the exact number of strikes which took place are confusing, but one can assume that between 1972 and now the number must be somewhere between 300 and 500 involving some 100 000 workers.

The causes of the strikes varied but most were for higher wages.

This labour unrest has done much to influence the thinking of White employers. Foreign companies operating in South Africa have had pressure brought upon them not only to raise African wages, but not to facilitate the administration of apartheid.

In the public sector the Railways and the Department of Posts and Telegraphs inter alia have improved wages and they have made more jobs previously performed by Whites, available to Black people. There has been an improvement in the private sector as well.

The University of Port Elizabeth has published regularly the figures for the poverty datum line and the minimum effective level in all areas of South Africa. All these factors have led to an improvement in wages, in working conditions, holiday pay and pension funds.

However the wage structure can never be either adequate or satisfactory as long as the Government insists on the compulsory migrant labour policy. This policy in itself, depresses wages and inhibits the worker from insisting on better pay.

The absolute necessity for allowing Black workers to belong to trade unions is another imperative.

In 1972, Mr J. H. Liebenberg, retiring president of the Railway's Artisan Staff Association said: ". . . I know of no place outside the Iron Curtain where industrial peace has been maintained for so long with blocked avenues of communication and absence of basic rights of negotiation . . . I am leaving the trade union movement with the non-registerable workers in an equally bad or worse economic position than they were decades ago, and industrially completely unorganised and unrepresented.

"The principal reason for the wage gap, in my opinion, is the lack of even elementary machinery through which African workers can strive and improve their position."

Mrs Sue Gordon of the Institute of Race Relations has had spectacular success with her Domestic Workers and Employers Project — Dwep. She has secured better wages for many domestic workers; she has made the White employer more aware of the necessity to pay reasonable wages, to provide adequate comforts in their living quarters; to give adequate time off and to pay holiday leave.

The whole debate on the need for better wages has obviously had some influence on the thinking and the attitudes of White employers, but the actual improvements achieved have been brought about by the strike action of Black workers themselves. They have realised the power which they wield and the White employer has realised that the whole economy would come to a halt without Black labour.

With the shortage of skilled artisans many sectors of the economy found that it was impossible to observe the industrial colour bar and at the same time achieve the required growth rate.

In 1974 blanket exemptions from job reservation were granted in the Iron, Steel, Engineering, Metallurgical and Motor Assembly Industries. This meant that nearly 5 000 Blacks were employed in reserved occupations.

In commerce too, there has been a breakthrough in the employment of Black, Coloured and Indian women in supermarkets, departmental stores, smaller shops; mostly as shop assistants and cashiers. In many offices women are employed as typists and secretaries.

The Minister made it clear however, that should there be White unemployment in these industries job reservation would be re-applied.

It is gratifying to note that there is a move by certain industrialists to phase out migrant labour in their own companies and these employers have expressed the intention to build family housing for their workers.

In 1974 the Government passed the second General Law Amendment Act. The act repealed

the Masters and Servants Act in which was incorporated a number of laws dating back to 1856. It also repealed certain sections of the Bantu Labour Act of 1964 which dealt with provisions concerning labour contracts.

These acts were repealed because the American dock workers and miners were trying to prevent the unloading of coal from South Africa.

The Attorney General of Alabama and the United Mine Workers Union were bringing a court action designed to prevent power companies in the American South from importing South African coal on the grounds that it constituted a contravention of section 307 of the United States Tariff Act of 1930 which prohibits the importation of goods produced by indentured labour under the threat of penal sanctions. (IRR Annual Survey, 1974, p 337.)

The repeal of the Masters and Servants Act was of some benefit to farm labourers, but as far as the urban African is concerned it made little difference.

When the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards took over the administration of urban townships and the labour bureaux from the local authorities the public was informed that there would be more mobility of labour which would be beneficial both to the employer and the employee. In a limited way this is true, but since the take-over by the Boards the pass laws have been more harshly administered than before.

Because the Boards are responsible for their own financing of their area the residents of the townships have had to bear the brunt of the financial difficulties in which the Board now find themselves.

The rents in Black townships have been raised; lodger's permits have been increased in cost. The cost of trading licences have gone up enormously and with the rate of inflation still increasing the increase in wages has more or less been wiped out.

During the term of office of Mr Punt Janson as Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Black people in urban areas were repeatedly told that the whole fabric of the pass laws was being investigated with the object of removing some of the irritations. Mr Janson made many verligte speeches with some promises of action.

What has come of all this? Precisely nothing. We remain at square one. People are still being endorsed out; are being refused work permits; house permits; permits to remain with their husbands. Suburban midnight raids to smoke out illegal residents are continually carried out.

The Aid Centres which were introduced with such a flourish were established to help pass law offenders and to save many of them from being sent to prison. Those people who voluntarily went to the Aid Centres were never prosecuted.

In Johannesburg the Aid Centre did perform a service to individual Africans and many were given time to get their papers in order. This was not satisfactory to the authorities and now entry to the Aid Centre is restricted to arrested people taken there by the police.

It is not only Africans who are suffering because of apartheid, the Coloured people and the Asians are not having an easy time either. One wonders what the establishment of the Coloured Persons Representative Council and the Indian Council have done for the Coloured and the Asian people and for race relations?

There has indeed been change. There is confrontation in the CRC which has increased the bitterness of the Coloured people. It has encouraged a unity among all Black people and a growing hatred of White people. It has increased Black anger and made South Africa's problems infinitely more difficult.

The Group Areas Act is demoralising the Coloured and Asian communities and the housing shortage in urban areas is acute for all Black groups.

Mr Pik Botha's categorical statement in his famous United Nations speech in November 1974 that South Africa was moving away from discrimination now seems to have a hollow ring about it. If we are moving away from discrimination there is precious little evidence to prove it.

There have been improvements in the application of what is euphemistically called petty apartheid but the very relaxation in many cases and the way in which it was done is insulting.

For instance when the Nico Malan Theatre was opened to all races certain days were reserved for White audiences. Due to the protests this restriction was withdrawn.

The Johannesburg City Council and a very few other local authorities have removed "White" and "Non-White" signs from parks and park benches. Queues in the Rates Hall have been desegregated. Museums, art galleries, libraries etc., have been opened in some areas to all races, but in other cities such moves from discrimination have been prevented by the Provincial Administration.

The Johannesburg City Council has urged private organisations and individuals to provide better amenities, such as restaurants, for Blacks in the city centre. Trade unions were asked to make more employment opportunities available to Blacks.

In February, 20 hotels were given permission to admit people of all races, but the conditions attached to this concession are an insult to the dignity of Black people.

They may not dance, nor may the men have a drink in the men's bar adjacent to the dance hall and the hotel may not admit more than 10 per cent of Black guests at any one time. Nor may

a Black ask for a drink in an hotel unless he is going to have a meal.

White people must not be deluded by the relaxation of certain conventions, that is what they are. It is fallacious to say that the quality of life has improved for Black people. It has not.

Any hopes the Black Sash may have had of meaningful change coming about were completely shattered by the appointment of Dr Andries Treurnicht as Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education.

The sports policy is totally confusing but insofar as we have people of all races competing in international tennis tournaments, golf championships, bowls championships, boxing, there has been a degree of change.

All that the Government's sports policy has achieved is to insure South Africa's isolation from world team games; to cause a deterioration in the standard of play which in both Springbok cricket and rugby teams was acclaimed as probably the best in the world.

The result of the boycotts is that our best cricketers have emigrated to other countries where their aspirations will not be frustrated.

What change has there been in the drastic policy which the Government employs to maintain what it calls law and order, and to counter subversion?

There has been no relaxation at all either in the repeal of legislation or in its application.

The only change through the years is to enact further laws which destroy the rule of law. There are still many people who have been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act and there are those men who have served prison sentences and have been released, but without the sanction of the courts have been further punished by banning them and restricting them to an area which is usually far away from their homes.

There are about 86 people now detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. There are a number of trials being held now and to be held in the near future.

The Schibusch Commission has not yet published its full report, but the Commission managed to curtail the movements and activities of a number of students, Nusas itself and the Christian Institute.

We are now threatened with a permanent security commission composed of Members of Parliament who will have the power to accuse, judge and punish any persons whose opinions and beliefs are in conflict with the Government's.

The Government, finding itself the pariah of the world, first embarked on its outward policy which did not prove to be a success. However with his detente policy Mr Vorster had singular success, particularly among White South African voters and with other Black states in Africa.

He gave the impression that there was a change of heart in South Africa and his efforts with Presidents Kaunda and Nyerere in trying to bring Whites and Blacks to the conference table in Rhodesia looked for a time as though he would succeed.

Mr Vorster's handling of the Mozambique takeover was impeccable and he deserved praise for this.

Having established a promising foreign policy and having exhorted Rhodesia to come to terms with her Black people, Mr Vorster did not take steps to make changes in his own country which are so urgently needed.

It is important that we do not confuse the promises made in order to bolster our foreign relations with any sincere Government intention to alter internal policies.

There is no doubt that change is on the way and nothing will stop it, but at the moment it does not look as though it could come about peacefully.

In a highly emotional atmosphere the Government is sheltering behind patriotism. Any criticism of its actions and failures is deemed to be unpatriotic. This attitude reminds one of Dr Johnson's definition of patriotism in which he said that "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel."

The Parliamentary debates this session demonstrate that Members of Parliament are divorced

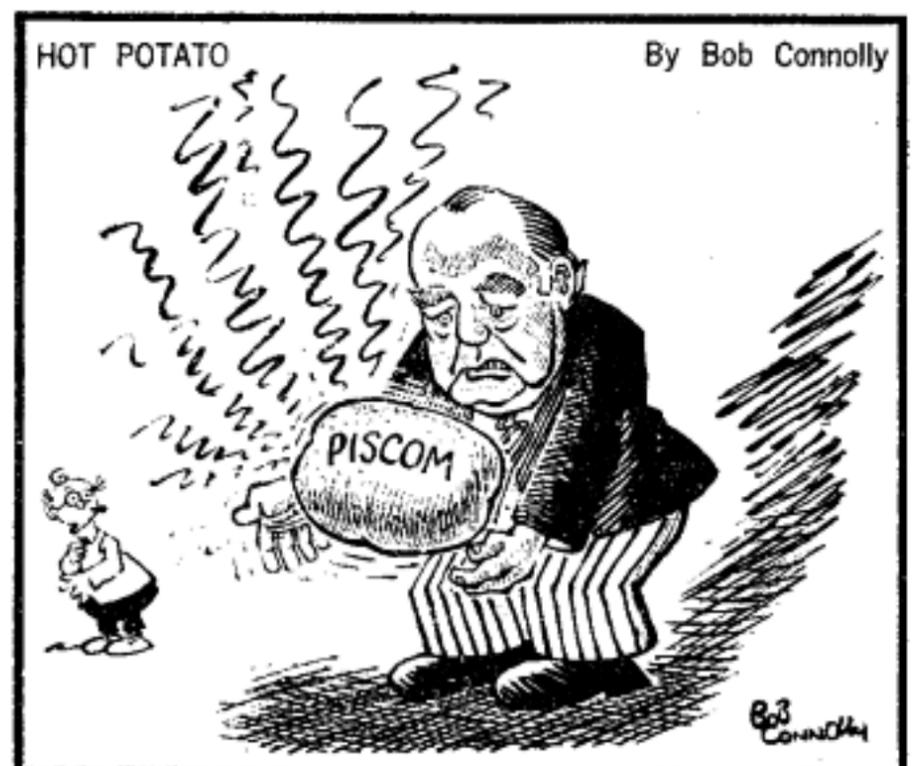
from reality. That despite the warnings of the Afrikaans Press and Afrikaner thinkers no heed is taken of the need for fundamental change.

They appear to be unaware, even after the Snyman Report, that Black people are bitterly antagonistic to White people and that if Afrikanerdom or South Africa is to survive the whole edifice of apartheid must be dismantled and it must be done quickly.

Mr Colin Eglin and others have explained all this in clear unequivocal language and the warnings must be acted upon now.

Any change which has taken place is due to the actions of Black people. Black consciousness undoubtedly has given Black people an awareness of their worth and ability. The only real change which has taken place is in the improvement of wages — inadequate though they are — of Black workers.

The fact of the power which Black workers possess certainly began to change the attitudes of White employers. But these attitudes are slow to change and the stage has not yet been reached where the average member of the public will meet the Black man on equal terms. The old Masters and Servants convention dies hard. There are those who believe that the changes in petty apartheid are the beginnings from which meaningful change will come. The time has almost run out and with it the misguided philosophy of gradualism.



The Coloured housing crisis

MARY BURTON

THE number of Coloured people living in the Cape Peninsula under squatter conditions is estimated at various different figures ranging up to 200 000.

The most recent figure given by the Minister of Community Development (Cape Times, March 6, 1976) in reply to a question in the House of Assembly on March 5, is 108 300.

In spite of 2 675 squatter families having been housed since August 1974 the number of such families has only declined by 100. At the end of 1975, said the Minister, there were 21 600 squatter families living in the Peninsula. (On September 6, 1974, the figure quoted in Parliament was 21 700.

A few days earlier (Cape Times, February 21, 1976) he was quoted as having said that by the end of last year there had been an estimated shortage of housing for 38 000 Coloured families. This presumably includes families now lodging with other occupiers of houses, but awaiting a house of their own.

The figures may vary, but it is very clear from the statistics, and even clearer if one has either any contact with squatter communities or any acquaintance with the waiting lists for housing, that the lack of adequate housing is acute. Last year Mrs Stott estimated that in the City Council area alone 35 000 houses were needed immediately, and another 1 500 for every year that passes. Some solution is desperately needed.

The two local authorities on whom the responsibility rests for solving this crisis are the Cape Town City Council and the Divisional Council of the Cape.

The Cape Town City Council has begun building houses at Mitchells Plain, 18km from Cape Town, near the False Bay coast.

This is a totally new development, planned as a complete town with all the services this implies. The first houses already built and ready for occupation are for home ownership.

The City Council hopes to make this a highly desirable residential area, thus attracting people who can afford it to move there from sub-economic rented houses in older townships and making these available for people on the waiting list. The cost of these houses will be between R10 000 and R12 000.

The Divisional Council is building a "Coloured city" — Atlantis — about 45km from Cape Town, which is expected to house half a million people by the year 2010. The Divisional Council has also embarked on a project aimed at rehousing an

entire squatter community at Elsie's River, without removing them from the area.

A few days before his answer quoted above, the Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn, said in the Senate that the backlog in Coloured housing would be wiped out within the next eight years (Cape Times, March 3, 1976).

In October 1975 the City Engineer, Mr J. G. Brand, estimated that all squatter families in the Cape Town municipal area would be housed by 1980. It was anticipated that from this year houses would be built in Mitchells Plain at the rate of 6 000 a year (Cape Argus, October 18, 1975).

These developments sound very optimistic, but on the same day that he forecast the elimination of the housing backlog within eight years, Mr Steyn confirmed that the Government allocation to the Cape Town City Council for Coloured housing was expected to be cut from R37 m to about R15 m.

It is not yet clear how this will affect the City Council's plan for Mitchells Plain, but it will surely seriously hinder its efforts to respond to the housing crisis with the hope of providing 40 000 homes in eight years.

It is to be hoped that progress will still be made — perhaps it would be the City Council's decision to build more and cheaper houses.

Up to now the response in terms of applicants for the completed houses has been slow. Possible reasons are that the distances from places of work are great and transport costs will be high. We now learn that no railway link will be ready before mid 1978.

Whatever the achievements may be in the future, the needs of those 100 000 and more people are urgent. Those who have put up shanties in various parts of the Peninsula without the sanction of the authorities live in daily dread of eviction.

Those who have had their "pondoks" officially numbered have at least secured some temporary recognition — 3 340 in Divisional Council areas, 6 800 in the Cape Town City Council area, estimated in October 1975.

Both the City Council and the Divisional Council have set aside an area where people have been allowed to put up wood and iron structures.

At Vrygrond near Muizenberg, the City Council has provided facilities for the people living there. These consist of roads, street lighting (along asphalt streets) water supply (communal taps), portable latrines and sanitary pails,

refuse containers and garbage collection. The levy for these services is R6,50 per pondok per month.

The Divisional Council has allowed people who have been evicted from other areas to move their materials and re-erect their homes on "Lourdes Farm" at Philippi.

There is one road into the area, a pipeline and several taps, a rubbish removal service and communal pit latrines have been provided.

Urban migration is a world problem and both this and the natural increase of the population are factors in the crisis facing homeless people in Cape Town today. Nevertheless, the real causes of this problem are the Group Areas Act and the denial of land to so large a part of the city's inhabitants, and the discrimination that conditions so much of all our lives.

As Professor Cilliers said in 1972: "While housing shortages also exist with regard to the

White population of the region, all indications are that it is not at present of a critical magnitude.

"Furthermore, in view of the fact that White people have effective political power, both in terms of a local and a national franchise, they are able to exercise this political power to ensure that their requirements are reasonably met. It is that section of our community who are excluded from sharing in this power whose interests merit our concern".

Another major factor and one which is part of our whole society, is the economic structure. Mrs Stott estimates that of the 35 000 families living in Cape Town City Council housing estates 26 000 earn less than R160 a month and only 1 300 earn more than R260 a month. While wages remain so low, and while land is not freely available, how can Coloured citizens of Cape Town be expected to improve their living conditions?

Community development

MICHAEL BANDS

The Rev Bands is Anglican Chaplain of Rhodes University and Director of Community Development in the Diocese of Grahamstown.

COMMUNITY development is a little-understood concept in South Africa where it is tucked under the umbrella of all sorts of inappropriate departments and disciplines.

It has come into other countries following their independence and it is a discipline that enables people to be what they have achieved, to be, in fact, independent.

There is a great deal of bitterness in newly independent countries against White experts. In Lesotho, for instance, inundated by do-gooders and well-wishers, the people continued to suffer under the neo-colonialism of good wishes.

Community development is that science which seeks to enable people to identify their own problems, see themselves where they are, why they are there and where they are going. To help them seek their own goals.

The key word is self-help, aided self-help. No community is self-sufficient, they need help from outside but it is the kind of help that is being considered.

It provides an opportunity of going against the common accusation of the liberal White who is very good at identifying the Black man's problems but not at doing anything towards helping to solve them. The only meaningful solution to any people's problems must come from the people who have the problems.

To pour good money after bad is to treat people as receptacles of some kind of misguided liberalism.

The handout system keeps people in a state of perpetual beggary and some of them thoroughly enjoy being there. In many instances, this type of "charity" is a kind of sop to the conscience.

"Stand aside and let me do it" has been too often the kind of pattern. If people are to be free and independent and self-respecting, they must come up with the answers themselves.

The clinics and the schools are never their idea and never seen by them as their need. The people set free seek the kind of values that they think the White man has. The most important role of community development is to help the people distinguish between what is a want and what is a need.

A project in Zululand was a pilot project for the church. A programme was recommended in which the different efforts that existed could be combined — for instance, centralisation of the effort of bead and basket makers whose products could be marketed more effectively.

Essentially, if projects are to work, goals must be achievable. People must be able to see that their dreams are realisable in terms they can understand.

(Continued on page 18)

Where 'maid' meets 'madam'

GITA DYZENHAUS and EILEEN MENDELSON

Report on the Domestic Workers' Employment Bureau, run jointly by the DWEP Programme of the Institute of Race Relations and the Black Sash.

THE Domestic Workers Employment Bureau was instituted on a small scale in 1974. The purpose was to uplift conditions of service of domestic workers and the standards of service offered. The bureau runs twice weekly at the Temple Emmanuel in Johannesburg. We are grateful to the Temple and its staff for their kindness and generosity.

Domestic service has always been a difficult and unrewarding task, and in a society where the difficulties are compounded by a racially prejudiced society with great cultural differences, the problems are multiplied.

Because of the present economic climate, it is a "buyers' market" for employers. Many people are out of work and many of them have little in the way of skills to offer. This is depressing salaries and making our task of bettering the salary structure more difficult.

One of the greatest problems a domestic worker has is the inability to negotiate salary or hours. We are now requesting a signature from employers on a "contract" which might afford some legal protection to employees with regard to salary and payment of notice.

The need for proper training centres for domestic workers is becoming more urgent. A trained worker would obviously command a better salary and would be more efficient.

Many efficient, highly-trained women are reluctant to divulge special skills, such as an ability to bake or sew or do kosher cooking, in case they are not paid adequately for these skills.

Another fear is that if they work efficiently and quickly the employer will load them with extra chores and cut down on their free time. We encourage people to state their skills and work efficiently in return for which we persuade the employer to reward skill and encourage efficiency by giving them more free time.

Despite constant Press publicity and the lectures given to women's organisations by Sue Gordon salaries offered are still far too low, especially with the current rate of inflation.

We reluctantly accept that we can only negotiate from R40 a month upwards. There is always some desperate person, possibly illegally in the area, who will work for much less than R40 a month.

Domestic workers who come in on a daily basis have their own problems. We have been able to influence employers to make the hours more realistic and to pay transport costs.

We interview an average of 28 new employees per session and only six potential employers. Including old applications, we achieve eight "marriages" per session, of which about six work out satisfactorily. This leaves us with vast numbers of workseekers returning week after week.

Obviously we send those in difficulties with reference books, housing and permits to the Johannesburg Advice Office. This averages out at approximately two a week. We reluctantly explain to those who have no rights in the area that we cannot help them and advise them to return to the areas in which they might obtain work. Many of these are women from the Eastern Cape who have all told us of the low salaries in the area.

We sorely need the help of a social worker, preferably a Black one. Because of our own shortcomings, we are unable to break the communications barrier.

It is an uphill and often unrewarding job to attempt to change White South African attitudes to domestic workers. While we believe in asking a fair return for a good day's work and efficient service, we are aware of the quality of service offered.

We feel that employers should put more effort into training and organising their domestic workers. Old attitudes die hard and are too easily assimilated by many foreigners living in South Africa.

Employers by and large expect an 11- to 13-hour day from live-in-workers. They do little to increase efficiency by rewarding skills and initiative. Many grumble that all servants are

dirty, lazy, dishonest and careless of the employer's property.

Few employers can give a proper job description and we often wonder if South African housewives actually know anything at all about domestic work.

Employers, by and large, bristle when they discover that they have to sit in a queue and answer a questionnaire; some, in fact seem to regard our service as a convenient cattle market.

By demanding that each employer be interviewed (we previously let them fill in their own forms) we are able to influence some, and certainly raise the awareness of all, concerning salary, the length of the working day, time off, hot water in the servant's bathroom, etc.

We suggest rationalisation of work in large households and encourage them to help their staff acquire skills. Naturally, we urge them to buy Sue's booklet.

We do not hesitate to refuse to help employers who have not complied with the terms of the agreements made in our centre, and to point out

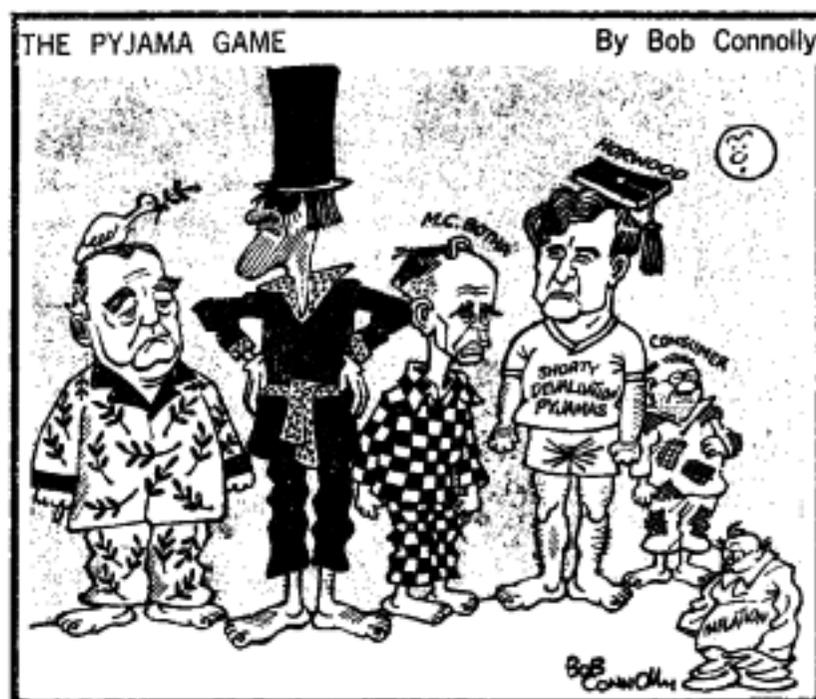
that we are not obliged to find a domestic for an unsuitable employer.

We push the neighbourhood Centres of Concern and point out the advantages of skill training, social contact and the general personal upliftment that comes from a break in the dreary round of domestic chores.

We unfortunately do not get sufficient feedback from either employer or employee, but a percentage of employers have proved amenable, friendly and willing to teach and learn and people placed with them seem happy. Improved attitudes may improve race relations one day.

We hope in the coming year to try to get a training centre established; to raise employer awareness for the provision of medical care; to better conditions of employment, wages and pensions schemes; to encourage workers to acquire skills and increase efficiency and to encourage frank discussion of conditions and service on an open and friendly basis.

We hope that mutual respect will improve the quality of life for all concerned.



(Continued from page 16)

One must hold out to people things that are achievable and things they can do themselves. We are concerned with people in their daily lives, with their problems and daily needs. We must show them that they have the power to be other than they are.

It is important that we as Whites from one kind of society approach Blacks from another kind of society with caution and respect.

People will continue to live in different worlds. Development is not imitation.

In many places, though the rot is too far set in. How are we going to deal with the kind of conflict that must exist in a society that has taken all the wrong things?

The easiest escape route is to point fingers, especially at the Government and say it is their fault. That may be true but community development is concerned with meeting people where they are not with the politics of the country.

The Government has enormous resources and is composed at field level of people who are anxious to do the right thing. It is important to recognise this and make use of the available resources and personnel.

Securing White supremacy?

PHILLIP BLACK

Mr Black, of the Department of Economics at Rhodes University, spoke to Conference on macro-apartheid and the socio-economic power of Whites.

MY task is to present a paper on the relationship between economic growth and apartheid in South Africa.

I want to do this by first looking at how others have interpreted this relationship; for our purposes, these interpretations may be classified into two broad categories, namely the so-called conventional wisdom and the revisionist school of thought.

Thereafter, I want to introduce the policy of macro-apartheid, i.e. the policy to develop the border areas and homelands, into the debate. This I feel is necessary in view of the fact that macro-apartheid has either been neglected or insufficiently dealt with in the literature.

The conventional wisdom school¹ asserts that there is an inherent contradiction between economic growth and the policy of apartheid in South Africa.

Continued economic growth, it is argued, depends upon the condition of "economic rationality", i.e. the condition that the factors of production should be used and combined in the economically most efficient way.

The attainment of this "rationality" is threatened, however, by such "traditional" apartheid policies as the restrictions placed on the geographic and occupational mobility of Black labour. These restrictions, if rigidly applied, may cause labour shortages and supply-demand discrepancies which would adversely affect the rate of economic growth in South Africa.

More important is the way the conventional wisdom school sees the future development of the relationship between economic growth and apartheid. Which one will eventually reign supreme? Some back the economic horse and others the political one.

Although I am not normally one for betting, at any rate not on such whimsical horses as these, it seems to me that both may have a point: it may be argued, for example, that economic growth has already adapted to the system of apartheid insofar as the policy of decentralisation represents a second-best solution to the problem of maximum economic growth.

Similarly, it is possible to argue that apartheid has already succumbed to the demands of eco-

1. This refers to the writings of W. H. Hutt, R. Horwitz, M. O'Dowd and others.

omic growth in view of the concessions which have been made with respect to the geographic and occupational mobility of Black labour.

The revisionist school² takes a directly opposite view to that of the conventional wisdom. To the revisionists, economic growth and apartheid are interrelated and mutually dependant; the one horse cannot win without the help of the other (and both horses are, of course, owned by the same owner).

In a challenging paper F. A. Johnstone sums up the revisionist view as follows: "The true rationale of apartheid policies is to maximise economic development both for the sake of White prosperity and for the material protection of White supremacy".³

Increased occupational mobility, far from being a step towards the dismantling of apartheid, serves to strengthen economic growth which is, in turn, both a necessary and sufficient condition for White prosperity and White supremacy in South Africa.

To see this one must look at the nature of those apartheid policies which operate at the "core" of the system: the denial of trade union rights to Blacks; educational discrimination; the unequal distribution of income; the systematic reduction of Blacks in the White areas and their continued status as rightless migrants; and the policy of border area development.

It is these policies, rather than the job colour bar, which limit the Blacks' access to the means of economic power in South Africa.

This "core structure of discrimination" is not only the result of apartheid policies, but it is also determined and sustained by the White owners of the means of production. And it is in this sense, Johnstone argues, that one should see the "collaborative nature of the relations between the economic system and White supremacy".⁴

More recently, Norman Bromberger⁵ launched a severe attack on the revisionist thesis in general, and Johnstone's presentation thereof in particular.

A large part of this criticism centred on the

2. This includes men like F. A. Johnstone, H. Wolpe, M. Legassick and S. Trapido.

3. Johnstone, F. A., "White Prosperity and White Supremacy in South Africa Today", *African Affairs*, vol. 69, 1970, p. 126.

logical structure of Johnstone's model and the facts used to support the basic hypotheses of the model. These criticisms generally appear to be of a sound logic, if not always relevant to the basic revisionist theme.

But there is one criticism which needs to be further explored, and that has to do with the policy to reduce the number of Blacks in the White areas (and increase the number in the homelands), i.e. the policy of macro-apartheid. Bromberger is probably correct in interpreting this policy, or at least Johnstone's interpretation of it, as being a means to increase the security of Whites and, hence, to secure White supremacy.⁶

He is probably also correct in pointing out that this policy has been applied in practice with some measure of flexibility, e.g. the reclassification of existing Black townships near White towns as belonging to the homelands.⁷ But he is on less solid ground when he argues, admittedly "in Johnstone's terms", that this flexibility in the execution of macro-apartheid is tantamount to a reduction in White supremacy:

"... I have been arguing that continued economic growth will increase prosperity but, via its effects on macro-segregation, will reduce White political predominance (or supremacy)."⁸

This is not the whole story, and it is also not the whole story as told by Johnstone. It implies the use of a rather narrow definition of supremacy — one which refers to "preponderant political power."⁹

The fact is that, in Johnstone's paper, White supremacy is defined as "the overall power structure in South Africa, which is partly maintained by apartheid policies."¹⁰

But even this needs to be spelt out more explicitly. A tentative definition might include not only the power to vote, but also the power to establish and expand any industry where, when and in whatever way possible, the power to employ and dismiss workers, the power to pay high or low wages, the power to oligopolise, the power to influence and manipulate people and, more generally, the power to determine the socio-economic structure of South Africa.

The crucial question is, therefore, whether a change in the prevailing socio-economic power structure or, more specifically, whether a reduction in the socio-economic power of Whites, is a necessary condition for the implementation of macro-apartheid; in other words, what is the

relationship between macro-apartheid and the socio-economic power of Whites?

One way of approaching this problem is to determine whether the re-allocation of resources from the White areas to the border areas and homelands, i.e. the policy of macro-apartheid, also amounts to a redistribution of resources between Whites and Blacks. The two are not necessarily the same.

Re-allocation without redistribution will indicate a non-structural expansion in the economy and, hence, a strengthening of the prevailing power structure.

Re-allocation with redistribution, on the other hand, is likely to reduce, or cause a less rapid increase, in the socio-economic power of Whites.

What we really need to know is whether the distributional effect of a given amount spent in the border areas and homelands, is significantly different from what it would have been if the same amount had been spent in the major metropolitan centres.

For this it is necessary to look at the type of industry which has been established in the border areas and homelands, the factor proportions of industry and the extent to which health and educational services are being provided in accordance with the socio-economic needs of the homeland people.

As far as the decentralisation of industry is concerned, it is well-known that the White border areas have attracted much more White capital than the interior growth points of the homelands; by the end of 1973, for example, the private and public sectors had spent a total of R660m in the growth points as a whole.¹¹

Of this amount, only R60m or nine per cent found its way to the interior growth points. More important, the capital-intensity of manufacturing industries in the border areas does not appear to be much different from that of manufacturing industry in the major metropolitan centres.¹²

These industries include the traditionally capital-intensive ones like metal products, machinery and equipment, chemicals, petroleum, coal, and rubber and plastic products.¹³

In the interior growth points, however, it appears that industries use less capital per labourer than industries in the border areas; for example, the estimated total current investment per additional manufacturing job for Blacks, was equal to about R6 200 in the interior growth points by

4. *Ibid.*, p 131.

5. Bromberger, N., "Economic Growth and Political Change in South Africa", in Leftwich, A. (ed.), *South Africa: Economic Growth and Political Change*, Allison & Busby, 1974, pp. 61-111.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68,

7. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

10. Johnstone, F. A., *op. cit.*, p. 124.

11. *Decentralisation Board, Annual Report, 1973*. Government Printer.

12. See Bell, T., "Some Aspects of Industrial Decentralisation in South Africa", *South African Journal of Economics*, vol. 41, No. 4, December 1973.

13. See the *Economic Review of the Bureau for Economic Research re Bantu Development*, Pretoria.

the end of 1973, compared to R11 800 in the border areas.¹⁴

Moreover, the total investment per additional job of industries initiated by the development corporations in the homelands, appears to be even lower than that of decentralised industries in the interior growth points.¹⁵

Industries initiated by the corporations include such small-scale ones as grain mills, bakeries, meat processing, beer breweries, furniture and weaving.¹⁶

Nor is it implied that the development of the interior growth points has caused a substantial relative decline in the socio-economic power of Whites. It merely indicates that a start has been made to supplement existing health and educational programmes with a programme to develop manufacturing industry in the homelands.

A next question is whether the existing health and educational programmes in the homelands are more directly adapted to the needs of the people than similar programmes in the White areas.

As far as health services are concerned, the data are extremely sparse. Even allowing for this, however, it appears that there is a growing awareness of the need to provide a more equitable and "relevant" health service in the homelands. This awareness is reflected in the growth of the number of clinics relative to large hospitals, the increase in the number of creches, children's homes and places of safety and the increased use made of medical and para-medical auxiliaries.¹⁷

A similar tendency seems to emerge from the reports of the Department of Bantu Education. In one report the Department states: "It is our task, by means of the school and the products of the school, to lead the various Bantu nations to independence and self-reliance".¹⁸

This is further seen in the fact that the curricula and syllabi of the primary and secondary schools appear to have struck some balance between the fulfilment of local needs on the one hand, and the fulfilment of the need to continue working as migrants and commuters in the White areas.¹⁹

14. See the reports of the Decentralisation Board for estimates of total investment and new job opportunities created in the growth points as a whole, and the surveys of the Institute of Race Relations for estimates of the number of new job opportunities created in the interior growth points.

15. See Rhoadie, N. J. et. al. (eds.), *Homelands — The Role of the Corporations*, Chris van Rensburg Publications, 1974, p. 101.

16. *Ibid.*

17. See Footnote 13.

18. Horrell, M., "Bantu School Education, 1955 to 1968: A Review and Assessment", paper delivered at Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRR, 1969, p. 21.

19. See Auerbach, F. E., "School Curricula in Relation to Community Needs", Conference on Bantu Education, SAIRR, 1969.

It is indeed significant that at a recent conference on Black education organised by the SAIRR, a plea should have been made for the inclusion in the school syllabi of European history and "the development of democracy from Athens and the Kgotla to Westminster and the White House and the Transkei parliament".²⁰

At the same conference it was also emphasised that recognition should be given to the fact that the large majority of homeland Blacks depend for their livelihood on work in the White areas: "They need fluency in at least one of the official languages well above the standard attained in lower primary schools, and knowledge of Western values and techniques".²¹

It seems reasonable to conclude that the policy of macro-apartheid has had some distributional effect on the allocation of resources in South Africa — however marginal that effect might be.

And if this is accepted, it must be further concluded that macro-apartheid has caused some relative decline in the socio-economic power of Whites — however marginal that decline might be; for if the amount spent on the interior growth points, health and educational services in the homelands, had instead been spent on the development of industry, Black health and Black education in the White areas, it is likely that the distributional effect, if any, would have been even less than it actually was.

At the same time, however, it is also true that much more money has been spent on health and education than on the development of industries in the interior growth points and other parts of the homelands. And the inevitable question arises: What is the use of improving health standards in the homelands, or of educating and training Blacks in accordance with the needs of the homelands, if those very men and women, healthy, educated and trained as they are, will have to work or seek work in the White areas of South Africa?

Does the reason for this lie in the preservation of socio-economic White power? Or does it lie, as Legassick seems to suggest, in the "reproduction of labour-power in the reserves"?²³ Or is it simply a case of bad planning?

There is clearly a need for a more balanced strategy of development in the homelands, one which would include the development of agriculture, manufacturing industry, service industry, health and education.

If this is ignored, I believe that my own generation will some day look upon the policy of macro-apartheid as yet another attempt to further the aims, influence and ideology of the White man in Africa.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

21. Horrell, M., *op. cit.*, p. 22.

23. Legassick, M., "Legislation, Ideology and Economy in Post-1948 South Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 1, No. 1, October 1974, p. 19.

Unemployment Insurance and the African

This Report is based on practical experience in a vast number of cases reported to the Durban Advice Office.

THE Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) (established by Act 30 of 1966) consists of the contributions of all contributors irrespective of race, their employers and the State.

However, vast numbers of people are excluded from enjoying the benefits of the Fund. Among them are agricultural workers, casual and seasonal workers, foreign Africans, domestic servants in private households, African miners living in compounds, permanent public servants, provincial employees, SAR&H employees, Africans earning less than R10,50 a week and anyone earning more than R6 760 a year.

The fund offers ordinary benefits to contributors during periods of unemployment when suitable work is not available to them, though they may be willing and able to work.

Africans should be allowed to qualify as do other races, without the minimum income proviso. Because of job reservation Africans can in no way "sell their labour" and have positively no choice as to whether a job offered to them is suitable or not.

Job reservation should be scrapped, both for economic and humane reasons, especially as most African workseekers are both willing and able to work.

Illness allowances are available to contributors during periods longer than three weeks when, by reason of a specified illness, they are unfit for work and have become unemployed.

They are also payable if contributors whose contracts of employment have not been terminated, receive from their employers less than a third of their normal earnings.

The biggest problem affecting African contributors is the difficulty in obtaining their UIF cards in order that they may apply for these benefits.

Invariably the employer has not applied for the cards, which is usually done on termination of employment, and therefore they have little or no chance of receiving these allowances while they are unable to earn.

The process of getting a card is tedious and decidedly long-term. It offers extraordinary problems for the contract worker, because he may only collect his UIF benefits in his homeland area and not in his place of employment, and contract workers make up the majority of the African labour force in South Africa.

Maternity benefits are paid to female contributors who are unemployed or who, though their contracts of employment have not been terminated, receive from their employers less than a third of their normal earnings during a period not exceeding 18 weeks prior to the expected date of their confinement and eight weeks after the birth of a live child, or four weeks after the birth of a still-born child.

In the case of African contributors, it is seldom that their employment is not terminated, and one of the main points of contention in this Act is that it does not cover domestic servants in private households.

With regard to payments to dependants of deceased contributors, dependant means the widow or invalid widower, dependant children under the age of 17 years, or any other person wholly or mainly dependent on the contributor for the necessities of life.

Here the biggest difficulties encountered by Africans are those of communication, distance and knowledge.

In the case of the African widow/dependant of a contract worker, for example, she lives in the rural area, and only sees her husband once a year. More than likely she does not know anything about the UIF or that such a card exists and that she can claim death benefits. Enlightenment on this does not easily come her way.

Although the Act specifically states that employers are required to ensure that every contributor in their employ has a contributor's card, in many cases this consideration is only implemented on the actual termination date of employment. Some companies employing large numbers of workers often use this fact as an excuse for their contravention of the Act.

The contributor's record card should be handed or delivered to the contributor without fail on the day that employment terminates, otherwise benefits from the fund cannot be paid.

Unless the African worker handed in his card on commencement of employment, it is more often than not only applied for after his services have been dispensed with.

When an African contributor becomes unemployed he should register for work immediately at the nearest labour bureau or at a magistrate's office. He will not receive any UIF money unless he is available for and capable of work; has con-

tributed to the UIF for at least 13 weeks in the year before becoming unemployed; and unless it is at least one week since application was made for benefits and the contributor is still unemployed.

There are three reasons for termination of service — resignation, reduction in staff and "other". For the first and third reasons a minimum penalty of six weeks could be imposed from the date of application for contributions. If the contributor is still unemployed after these six weeks he will begin receiving benefits.

This is where the contract worker could well benefit from the UIF. He must go back to his homeland area to register as a workseeker, and there he could remain unemployed for some months, as is the case in Natal. The problem arises if he has not got his record card. He has still to go home, as it is illegal for him to remain in a prescribed area while unemployed.

He should have been able to register for UIF benefits on the strength of a letter from his previous employer stating that his contributor's card has in fact been applied for, but this is another thing the employer does not do automatically.

Should the contributor have a six-week penalty imposed on him, he does have 21 days in which to appeal. But as the penalty notice served on him is incomprehensible, taking into account that a large number of Africans are unable to read English or Afrikaans or are illiterate, the chances of his taking action within the stated period are extremely remote.

If a six-week penalty is imposed on an urban worker, as he has to find employment within 30 days or lose his rights by endorsement out, he obviously cannot draw UI benefits.

The present UI Fund stands at R196,5 m.

In 1975 contributions paid into the Fund plus interest amounted to R39 m; 146 000 people of all races received benefits, but as approximately 1 000 000 Africans are unemployed at present it would seem that a very small percentage of contributors is benefitting.

Every attempt to get figures for comparative numbers in the various groups receiving benefits has been fruitless. The R200 fine or one year's imprisonment for the contravention of this Act by employers should be more stringently enforced.

It is recommended that as matter of urgency there should be an investigation into the administration of this fund in all areas particularly with regard to African workers, by virtue of the peculiar restrictions pertaining to them.

African contributors, besides being subject to the UIF Act, are also subject to Influx Control, which makes the UIF Act inoperable.

Furthermore there should be a nationwide campaign to educate both employers and employees regarding their rights and duties and all written material connected with the Fund should be published in the vernacular.

Failure to do this leaves the Act blatantly discriminatory on racial grounds. African foreigners, domestic and farm labourers especially, should be included. The Act seems calculated not to relieve pressure on unemployed Africans but, by its malfunctioning, precisely to maintain the pressure in order to maintain a vast reserve labour pool.

Blacks are obliged to accept any job at all no matter how low the wage. The UIF Act, as it now operates, is part and parcel of the low wages forced labour system peculiar to Africans in South Africa.

Obituary

VAL TURNER was a stalwart member of the Natal Coastal Region for nearly 19 years — from February 1957 until her death in January.

She was not an executive type, but one of the solid core of "backroom girls" on whom the region so much depends. What a wonderful person she was and what a privilege it was for us to have had her as a member of Sash.

She was always cheerful, even when she knew she was to die, and always ready to help anyone and to comfort the lonely and old.

In Sash we all knew Val would help if we were organising any function, and to aid her in catering for any of our Sash activities was a marvellous enjoyable experience; her sense of humour never failed and nothing was too much trouble. If we had problems we could always rely on her good sense and objectivity.

We miss her cheerful personality, but are all the richer for having had her with us for so long. We extend our sympathy to her family.

Plight of the pensioner

*MARY GRICE of Natal Coastal and the Evening Branch of the Transvaal
look at social pensions and the struggle to get them.*

HILLCREST is a White dormitory area, bordering on a large Black reserve going down to the Umgeni River. When kwaZulu came into existence in 1973, this Black area was placed in the magisterial district of Ndwedwe, which is only about 30km from the area. But there is no public transport prepared to risk the hazards of the direct route — a very steep, untarred, rough road down to the river where the causeway is frequently under water in summer.

Some people needing to visit the Bantu Commissioner must catch a series of buses through Hillcrest, Pinetown, Durban to Ndwedwe — a distance of about 100km each way and a return fare of R3.

Frequently the chief has to accompany would-be pensioners and they each pay him R2.

Visitors to Ndwedwe are advised to phone before they go, to make sure the officials are not out paying pensions, but there are only two phones in the area, it is difficult to get through to country places like Ndwedwe, and it costs money. Letters are frequently not answered.

Queries at the Bantu Commissioner's office are therefore extremely difficult. Apart from cost and time, many would-be pensioners are too old to undertake such a bus trip.

The Director of Justice, kwaZulu, has answered our pleas for help by asking the Ndwedwe Bantu Commissioner to send his officers to our area once a year to take applications for pensions.

This is a help, though the officers are not district surgeons, their decisions on ages are sometimes very strange, and up till now they have not been allowed to take fingerprints, making visits to Ndwedwe still necessary.

Problems in our area include: confusion between old age pensions and disability grants; apparently arbitrary decrease or stoppage of payments of old age pensions; wrong declaration of age in reference books; mistakes guessing of age by officers; loss of papers and payment vouchers; total inability to pay costs of bus fares and increasing numbers of grannies who support grandchildren.

MR W V is an old man who has been applying for an old age pension since February 1974.

He has been to Ndwedwe five times and has come back each time without having been fingerprinted which is the very first step towards a pension. And nobody tells him if his application is being accepted or not, though once they did tell him he was too young — they said he was only 21. We are still awaiting replies to our letters of October and November, 1975, querying his case.

MR G received three old age pensions and then payments stopped in March 1973. kwaZulu took over in April 1973, and we spent next year phoning, visiting and writing letters to Pinetown and Ndwedwe, Pinetown having been our former Bantu Commissioner's office.

Success and jubilation in May 1974 when we were visiting Pinetown with Mr G and all his pension vouchers, except two, were found. We were told that back payments were no longer made.

Pinetown welfare workers experience similar problems, though at least their Bantu Commissioner is easily accessible.

Mrs Ardington in Zululand reports that she has found that old age pensioners are no longer paid at 65 but only at 70.

"Out here the main problem as I see it is distance, added to the rigmarole of getting any pension. Anyone qualifying for a pension is presumably destitute and therefore does not have the necessary busfare.

We live 38 miles from the magistrate and no doubt thousands live further away. How is one meant to get to the magistrate, and having got there, where is one meant to stay, for the necessary procedures take too long and the buses are too few to enable one to finish in a day. I am sure if one slept outside the Magistrate's Court one would be had up for loitering."

Mrs Ardington suggests that post office and police stations keep forms for pensioners and others.

From the Tugela Ferry area we have confirmation of all we in Hillcrest area experience. Huge difficulties face a would-be pensioner from the point of view of cost and of distance.

Wheel barrows with iron wheels are used to transport the very frail — imagine the agony of a journey on steel wheels. In winter the

BAC office is not too far as the river can be crossed, but for three months in summer a journey of 28 miles each way has to be undertaken to see the BAC.

In this area, the Induna has to fill in a form for the would-be pensioner relating to his financial status. Both then go to the tribal authority to get it signed, and then they visit the magistrate.

Magistrates say that only about 10 per cent of applicants for pensions are likely to receive them and we can see that a large number of old people in the rural areas never even get as far as applying for pensions as they have no money for fares and are often too unfit and too old to undertake the necessary journeys.

One cannot but feel that all is done to discourage Africans from applying for pensions, and all is done to slow down and reduce payments.

Queries to officials take weeks to be answered and often are not answered at all. This is partly due of course, to the acute lack of trained staff and to the frequent changes in staff.

It seems that the kwaZulu Civil Service suffers greatly from competition for the more ambitious and intelligent young men by industry and commerce.

We know that Chief Buthelezi is very concerned about all these difficulties, and we hope that he will be helped to solve them by everyone in the service, both Black and White.

We especially hope that pensioners will find it easier to apply for, and receive, what the law entitles them to have.

The latest development in kwaZulu is the move of all offices from Pietermaritzburg to Ulundi where, at first, there were not even telephones. One hates to think how many more papers will get mislaid and wrongly filed.

WE have confined ourselves to an investigation of old age pensions and particularly old age pensions for Africans.

In a "memorandum on the Social Pensions Act, 1973, and the Regulations Framed Thereunder", by Mr B. A. Naidoo, published for the South African Council for Child and Family Welfare in August, 1975, the author says:

"There is a material difference in the extent of detail embodied in the regulations on aspects pertaining to forms of income, the extent of income, and the manner in which income is taken into account in determining the amount of pension that is awarded to an applicant in the regulations framed by the different departments."

It is our feeling, though we have insufficient evidence to present a fully documented and detailed report, that the situation in the homelands gives much cause for concern.

We have not always been able to establish

who pays the pension, The Department of Bantu Administration or the homeland government.

In certain homelands it would appear that the chiefs have the granting of a limited number of pensions in their giving, and it is possible that they are not entirely impartial.

A case has been cited where successful applicants had to pay the chief the whole amount of money received at the first payment for two trips to the magistrate in the chief's van. However in other districts all the applications are received without discrimination.

Our correspondent in one homeland said that the amount of money available for pensions is apparently limited and a pension is considered a privilege granted to few people.

Hansard of April 18, 1976, gives the replies of the Minister of Bantu Administration to several questions by Mr G. N. Oldfield.

At the end of 1974, 168 514 Africans were in receipt of an old age pension. Of these 57 803 received the maximum pension, the average payment being R111,03 annually.

From October 1975, the maximum allowable pension per annum for Africans rose to R180 and we assume that the average annual payments will have risen in line with this.

African pension applications in rural areas are frequently complicated by the inability of the applicant to furnish the necessary documentary proofs.

Decisions concerning their age are often arbitrary and at the whim of an official who might decide that they are not of pensionable age.

We have been told too of allegedly corrupt officials, and we believe that certain trials might come out of current police investigations.

It is interesting to note in the Annual Survey of the Institute of Race Relations for 1975 on page 278, that the Transkeian Government has adopted a different system for the payment of social pensions.

There is no scaling down of the pension as the free income rises above the asset allowance. A person either qualifies or does not qualify for a pension. In 1975 a uniform pension of R22,50 was paid to all categories of pensioners.

A survey on the plight of White old age pensioners was carried out last year by the Rand Daily Mail. It showed how inadequate the pension for Whites was to meet the rising costs of living essentials.

If White pensioners cannot come out on a sum four times that allotted to Blacks and double that allotted to Coloureds and Indians one can only imagine the sufferings of these more deprived groups.

The darker the skin colour the smaller the pension and free income or assets allowed. It is cruel in the extreme that only African children are expected to support their aged parents and that this support appears to be assessed as income.

People are living there

BABETTE KABAK reports on a conference on low-cost housing

MANY distinguished overseas and local architects, planners and concerned members of local population groups discussed views openly and frankly at the Conference on Low Cost Housing in October. It was held by the Institute of South African Architects at the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg.

Residential quality is not as important as was formerly thought, according to many speakers, including Prof. R. Marans of the University of Michigan. To most people family comes first, work and recreation second in priority over their dwellings.

Although very little research has been done on human needs related to environment, we do know that needs vary. There is a need to be with one's family and a need to get away from the home for recreation either with or without one's family.

Privacy (walls to prevent transmission of sounds) is very important. There seems to be a growing need for man to isolate himself from noise, crowds and pollution. High density may create emotional strain and mental illness, especially on higher floors. Privacy is especially a problem when one is poor.

There is an intrinsic need for natural environment. Proximity to nature is the single most important decision-maker in all socio-economic groups. Trees and grass are necessary to well-being and the cluster development and parks can achieve this. Cul-de-sac streets, enclosed neighbourhoods, are preferable to the straight linear pattern.

There is a greater need for population research than residential research. South Africa should evaluate the programmes already under way for the White, Black, Coloured and Indian groups. Research is needed periodically also as people change over time.

Architects themselves must understand users' physical needs and architects and social scientists should plan together.

It is possible we might learn that individual houses are not as important as the total environment. As a start in making the environment more interesting, residences should be mixed with shops.

An interesting sidelight were the findings of a Detroit survey that 60 per cent of people like neighbourhoods where people are similar in social class and interest, 30 per cent want different people and only 10 per cent want a fully integrated community.

In Sweden, architect and planner John Erskine told us, a concerted attempt is being made to mix social classes. In one town the mayor lives next door to a steel worker.

In Britain, said architect Theo Crosby, there

is a rejection of the idea that housing represents even affluence are considered a right not a privilege or paternalism. Today, housing, jobs, lege.

Since 1963 housing in the UK has been designed to fill a variety of needs, i.e. for single people, families and old people with a mix of shops, pubs, and industry nearby for employment.

In 1975, it was realised that there is a very small gap between the take-home pay of workers and management, so huge mass housing schemes that no one likes or would buy are now being abandoned.

Remedies for Britain are to use and rehabilitate old buildings and provide a variety of accommodation in each block, but kept very simple. Internal walls can even be plywood so they can be easily re-arranged. Tenants appreciate the variety and individuality of their flats, take pride in and thus look after them.

Governments are now realising that people must be consulted prior to building and remodeling. But it is acknowledged that participation is costly and time-consuming.

Squatting is the poor man's solution to the housing shortage. In Lusaka, the population increased three-fold in 10 years. In 94 per cent of squatter families there was a wage earner with a reasonable income so they put up their own houses.

Many people were self-employed as cobblers, dressmakers and small shop-keepers. People were left alone and they got on with building around them and then removing the old inner house, so new sites far away were unnecessary.

As it was illegal to squat and there were no government services the squatters formed their own service facilities. They ran self-help clinics, pre-schools and maintained and improved roads. Conditions were not good, roads were very poor when it rained, no proper water was available, gastric problems arose but it was reasonably clear of rubbish.

People had dignity, leadership and were well organised. They could pay for better dwellings but these were not available. Finally permission was granted to squat and local communities guided people in their construction.

The Zambian Government changed legislation concerning squatting and gave 30 year leasehold so every household can obtain a loan. Township plans and building regulations no longer apply. Planning is done by the people themselves who participate in construction work on houses and roads but the government helps.

Although there are problems in Zambia, Richard Martin, architect, explained, people are keen. Zambia's experience is only possible where there

is trust between the people and the authorities. Martin's suggestion was that research be conducted into each population group to ascertain who required government housing and then budget accordingly.

Instant homes

Prof. P. Land of Harvard University showed slides of the UN competition houses put up in Peru in 1969 and designed by architects from all over the world. These were high-density, low-rise urban houses for family incomes of \$60-\$135 (R52-R117) a month to cost \$1 800-\$3 800 (R1 565-R3 304) a house.

In Soweto today the cost of building a four-roomed house is about R1 200-R1 300.

In the competition there were 26 designs and 15 building methods. Two thousand houses of 80-150 sq.m. were built. Everything used was built on the site. The L-shape was the recommended plan.

One Finnish designer constructed a house in six days with materials handled by eight hands. Other designs used fork lift trucks.

Roofs were cast in a morning and demolded the next day and were lifted by four people. Modules were 18 per cent cheaper than any other construction. There were pedestrian ways, small gardens and patios everywhere.

In discussion it was pointed out that in South Africa there is a preoccupation with brick when concrete blocks might be better and cheaper.

Prof. Land has also supervised the construction of core, minimally habitable houses with the use of self-help in a fishing and agricultural community of 120 families in Peru.

They earned \$25-\$50 (R21,75-R43,50) a month, paid six per cent interest on houses that cost \$400-\$800 (R348-R695) to build. The UN provided the equipment tools and technical assistance. The men made their own concrete blocks, produced two at a time and built one bay or one room at a time, including a shower, WC and basin.

The group built the houses together and later houses were chosen by lottery so no one knew which house he would get till they were finished. In this way workmanship maintained a certain standard.

Prof. Prinsloo of the University of Cape Town spoke on the contemporary scene.

High infant and child mortality; substandard health and education; inadequate services and facilities; unplanned, unmaintained wasteland physical environment and the failure of planners to get users involved in their environment were preconditions for spontaneous civil unrest.

It is necessary to recognise the scale of South Africa's problem. Figures varied. It was stated that there were from 100 000 to 250-000 squatters in Cape Town alone.

One hundred and seventy-five thousand people moved out of slums to squat on the Cape Flats. Another figure was 300 000 to 350 000 inadequately housed in the Cape Town area.

In February 1975, the estimated shortage of Coloured houses (we can assume this means six people per family) was 50 000 in the Cape and 6 000 in Johannesburg. More than 35 000 people or roughly 10 000 families are waiting for economic standard homes.

Prof. Prinsloo advised that our goals should be integrated regions and rural development. Individuals and groups should be allowed to develop autonomously. To accomplish this South Africa needs decentralisation and revenue sharing.

Housing projects should be small so individuals can actively participate. No matter the programme, the ultimate occupant must be consulted. Unfortunately this concept is resisted in South Africa.

A panel of speakers produced many observations: that people live in a cycle of poverty and in circumstances which perpetuate this poverty. That neither residential facilities nor schools are the most important factor; That what is important is stimulation, motivation, a feeling of belonging in a society.

Houses for people

It was stressed that housing was a means of providing social upliftment.

On the other side were speakers who stated Coloureds could not afford the present houses the Government was producing. Bricks and mortar were too expensive and the challenge was to build cheaper exterior structures.

Opposed to this was a speaker who said we must link housing to social development. There was a serious mental twist, he observed, when we provided houses for people of different colours instead of houses for people.

Private agencies such as Garden Cities in Cape Town find that 46,5 percent of White families can get finance through building societies. Only 18 per cent of Coloured families can afford finance from these institutions.

Garden City can help income levels earning R229-R584 a month with purchase prices of R11 000-R20 000 a house. Garden Cities say 32 per cent of Whites and 82 per cent of Coloureds live below this level. Now nine per cent of Coloured families can enjoy home ownership but Garden Cities could help another nine per cent.

Others must depend on low cost Government housing. Garden Cities have already developed group and cluster housing for 2 500 families, 11 000 people.

Private initiative could develop low cost housing in the same way as Garden Cities and the City Housing League in Cape Town. The Government is now taking a new view on what these private agencies are trying to do.

The Minister of Community Development, The Hon. A. H. du Plessis stated at the conference that the Government recognises its responsibility to the tremendous demand for houses and ser-

vices with a population growth estimate from 21 448 000 in 1975 to over 50 m in 2000.

With 60 000 White, Coloured and Indian houses projected, annual production for these groups alone will increase three times in the next five years.

From 1957 to 1974, R775 m was spent on public housing but funds allocated to the White population group were double that for the Coloured.

Despite the gloomy picture that may exist in South Africa there are organisations deep into research on the squatter situation, on upgrading existing houses, on home ownership and private finance. Pilot studies are planned to show how private enterprise can help the Government to develop improvements for recreation and for dwellings.

University personnel and architects are asked to sit in on the National Building Research Institute's investigation to formulate the problems and the strategies.

In Umtata the Institute is helping the community make decisions based on needs. It was ascertained that Umtata people spend three quarters of their income on food and one quarter on other requirements.

Squatters

The conference was told that we must not think that all squatter settlements are outright slums. In the Free State, rural squatters on White farms have built themselves very decorative effective homes from dry clay bricks and mud with willow branch doors, tiny windows and corrugated iron roofs with large stones to hold them down.

But in Claremont, Natal, there is a squatter settlement that is totally inadequately serviced. There are 500 people per ha, 12 metres in the average house. Three-meter rooms average R10-R12 a month for a room that costs R80-R100 to build. The landlord's return on his capital outlay is very high indeed. Most of the tenants are transients awaiting better accommodation. Rooms are made of packaging material filled with earth, cans, stones with mud and cement dabbed on. The roofing is of sheeting material tied down with stones.

Food is prepared in the corners of the rooms. Water is inadequate, there are no taps, toilets are very primitive and there is no rubbish removal. But all these tenants need to make the places bearable, poor as they are, is Government-administered sanitary services. These would not be difficult to introduce.

There seems to be conflict in South Africa between the idea of building for oneself and Government providing everything. In 1953 in Soweto there was a site-and-service scheme where temporary shacks were permitted while men built permanent houses.

It was pointed out that it is a retrogressive step that this policy is no longer permitted. While it is acknowledged that improvements are needed in gates and fences, larger windows, stoeps and gardens, bathrooms, street lights, etc., the panacea is not to beautify but to get the Government go-ahead to encourage people to build for themselves.

If the Government would allocate land, people could do a lot for themselves as they do in every other part of the world. It is not the whole answer to the housing shortage but it is one of many answers.

Improvement

A group of architects and businessmen wish to improve Soweto housing, speed up and involve Government and private enterprise. Their pilot scheme proposes to improve 12 houses.

They have done research on improvements in decor, plumbing, electricity, kitchens, cupboards, gardens, variety, landscape, street improvements to turn a group of 12 linear Soweto homes into an attractive garden-type cluster group.

This team is part of a technical group that could provide modular units to provide self-help to people with limited skills. They emphasise that Soweto could become a town not a dormitory.

There are signs of urban culture and middle class individualism and self-respect. They could introduce self-help schemes if there was leasehold and this could upgrade the total environment. The houses could be expanded and the basic infrastructure could be improved without difficulty.

The new Black urban leasehold rights proposal that is bound to homeland citizenship was termed "blackmail" and a plea for a human rights charter for all South Africans was made.

The conference chairman, Revel Fox, questioned whether architects can effect change within the South African system and to what degree when all decisions derive from Parliament and all funds from the Treasury. Technical and physical problems could be surmounted but human and spiritual problems remained.

Many architects in other centres operated in oppressive systems and Fox concluded that architects could tackle the administration without threatening its status and dignity as he believed the administration would welcome help.

It is hard to change the socio-economic situation but adequate dwellings that people can afford are an inalienable right.

There must be a relationship between the user and the house he is going to live in. There must be security of tenure and a sense that the user can influence his environment.

Strategies to achieve these goals are difficult. South Africa must use self-help even if it means the acceptance of squatting and the Government must be called in to provide services.

Around the Regions

Reports from Regions have been considerably curtailed. In every Region much valuable work is done through the dissemination of information to the Press and the addressing of other organisations by Black Sash members. Prominent people and the appropriate authorities are approached on various matters. In addition to the national demonstration on "Detente at Home", Regions have protested against bannings and detentions, the Coloured People's Representative Council Amendment Bill; the Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Bill; the disabilities of women; the Terrorism Act and the expropriation of the Alice Theological Seminary. The Black Sash is deeply concerned about the present fluid and threatening circumstances inside and outside this country, and at its National Conference many suggestions and recommendations were made for projects and activities in the coming year. The following extracts from Regional reports to the National Conference in Grahamstown in March give an indication of the wide variety of tasks undertaken by the Black Sash.

headquarters

THE theme of the national demonstration, held in all regions on August 6, 1975, and using the same posters and pamphlets, was "Detente at Home".

We were probably the first organisation to emphasise the necessity for detente at home if detente outside the country was to succeed, and this is a theme now being increasingly adopted by others.

Two memoranda were written, to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development on the dependence of the Bantu Administration Boards on the sale of liquor; and on Rehabilitation Centres which was widely published and quoted in the local and overseas Press.

With the opening of an Advice Office in Pietermaritzburg during this year there are now seven Advice Offices functioning — in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, East London, Grahamstown, Pietermaritzburg and Pretoria.

Application was made for an increased grant from the Bantu Welfare Trust because of extra Advice Offices and rising costs, and an additional sum of R500 was received.

We are most grateful for this continued generosity, without which our Advice Offices would be hard-pressed indeed.

A series of teaching articles on the pass laws and related subjects prepared by Mrs Duncan in conjunction with Turret Correspondence College, has been published in Weekend World.

Cherry Michelman's book, *The Black Sash of South Africa*, has been published and is on sale in South Africa — a critical, interesting and valuable document on our history.

There have been numerous visits to the office from overseas travellers and Press representatives, a few interested local people and students.

We have been represented and active on the Johannesburg International Women's Year Committee. One of the objectives of IWY was the

compilation of a list of women's organisations for publication, and the Black Sash is included in this list.

We continue to maintain a relationship of mutual help and co-operation with the Institute of Race Relations. Mrs Duncan accepted an invitation to be a delegate to the conference organised by the Agency for Industrial Mission on the Church role among migrant workers.

She was also invited to address 12 organisations and gave 20 public addresses.

We have written to Mrs Helen Suzman and other members of Parliament on relevant topics; the Minister of Community Development; the Secretary of Bantu Administration and Labour; the Federated Chamber of Industries on migrant labour; the Minister of Foreign Affairs nominating Jean Sinclair as a South African representative to the Women's Conference in Mexico; Mr E Pavett on a public statement he made; and Mr Sonny Leon expressing our support for his stand.

Enquiries about the Black Sash have been received from as far afield as Japan, the USA, Australia, Switzerland and Germany.

JOYCE HARRIS.

albany

Paid-up members: 37.

THERE are a number of people in Grahamstown interested in Black Sash who attend our meetings and are sent a magazine. We hope they will become full members this year.

Nine committee meetings were held and six general meetings. We were addressed by Mr Noel Bartiss, vice-chairman of the Coloured Management Committee who discussed the working of his committee and the problems it faced.

June Chabaku and Lindy Myeza from Johannesburg visited us and we had a very successful, inspiring and most informative meeting. They discussed their work (community development) among Blacks, Black consciousness and their involvement in International Women's Year.

Mrs Sue Gordon from the Domestic Workers and Employers Project outlined the projects that had been organised and what they had achieved.

Mr V V Zondani who is the Fingo Village representative on the Urban Bantu Council as well as the representative of the Ciskeian authority for this area, discussed the elite African in Grahamstown as well as the plight of the Africans in this area. A stimulating and informative discussion followed.

Adv. J. Whitehead addressed a meeting on the Terrorism Act. He explained the common law procedures and pointed out the ways in which the Act departed from acceptable standards of the rule of law.

In August the national demonstration was held but there was a very poor attendance. Only 11 people stood. The pamphlets, "Who cares about detente?", were distributed.

As we still have to ask for permission to stand a month before the time, the region finds that protest stands lose their impact on the public. The whole issue of protest in this area will be discussed by the committee.

Magazines are still being placed in school libraries. We are now sending copies to all City Councillors.

The one project which has been completed, under the supervision and guidance of Jill Joubert is the booklet, "This is Grahamstown". We hope to sell copies to the public of the city.

We are glad to report that more members are taking an active interest in the Advice Office. This is necessary because of the increase in the number of cases being dealt with. We owe a dept of gratitude to Mrs Nancy Charton, chairman of the Advice Office Committee.

**GUSTA MACDONALD,
Chairman.**

border

Membership: 46.

DURING the course of the year we have held six general meetings, 10 committee meetings and one public meeting — this last being addressed by our National President, Ms Sheena Duncan.

In January, 1976, we organised a petition protesting against the action of the Administrator of the Cape in threatening to withdraw the subsidy from our local library unless the City Council rescinded their decision to open all sections of the central library in East London to all races. We urged the Council to stand firm and not to give in to this threat.

Over 1 000 signatures were obtained in four days, and here we must express our deep gratitude to the East London Daily Dispatch who gave the whole of their leader page over to our letter of protest, followed by the names and addresses of those people who had signed.

Unfortunately at the next meeting of the Council, it was overwhelmingly agreed to rescind the original decision and to request the Administrator's permission to open the first floor only to all races.

A letter has now been received from the Administrator granting this permission, but nothing can erase the bad feelings created in the Black community by the way in which the Council handled the matter.

One feature of this library issue was the regular attendance of Sash members at all open Council meetings, to keep up to date with all developments and to watch the actions and words of the various councillors.

It was felt to be unfortunate that ill-feeling is still caused by the use of words like "Bantu" and "Non-Europeans" in the situations vacant columns of the newspapers.

We approached the Marketing Director of the East London Daily Dispatch who has undertaken to instruct his staff to bring this matter up when accepting advertisements and to try to persuade advertisers to use less derogatory terms.

Although family planning clinics and facilities are readily available, there are many women, particularly domestic workers living in the suburbs, who desperately want information but do not know where to go. We are in the process of collating all the necessary information on times and places of family planning clinics.

We are concerned at the lack of eating facilities for Blacks in East London and are presently taking legal opinion to establish the possibility of interesting an entrepreneur in the idea of opening a restaurant for Blacks — the Mayor of East London has shown interest in this — and opening up a place like the non-racial Window Theatre during the lunch hour to be used as a venue for people to bring the food and where tea and coffee could be provided.

**VALERIE SULLIVAN,
Chairman.**

cape western

Membership: 434.

THE Regional office sees a weekly meeting of the Regional Council and a fairly steady stream of branch committee members keeping their branches in touch. Our All-Branches meetings have been held monthly, and most branches meet once a month as well.

The business of the annual Regional Conference was conducted in the afternoon after the morning was spent on a tour of Mitchell's Plain.

A coach was hired and Mrs Stott, chairman of the City Council's housing committee and a City Council official led the tour.

About 50 members learnt of the planning which has led to the start made on meeting the city's pressing needs for accommodation, and saw the

different types of houses already built and ready for occupation.

All-Branch speakers have been Dr van Zyl Slabbert, MP, on the franchise; Dr A. Boraine, MP, on detente; a group of residents of Crossroads; Shirley Turner on International Women's Year — "A step towards human liberation"; Prof. Ivor Prinsloo on housing and Mrs Ann Russell of Nicro. Twelve speakers have addressed branch meetings.

Our photographic exhibition, Focus on Housing, the photographs mainly taken by Caro Andrews and the accompanying information collected by Anne Finsen, was shown for three days in October 1975 in the Cathedral Hall, Cape Town.

The film, "Notice to Quit", was shown on the opening night and a variety of speakers on different aspects of housing were invited to address audiences during the other two days.

In February, 1976, the same exhibition was mounted in St Martin's Church Hall, Bergvliet.

Two of our members attended the National Convention of Women.

After National Conference we set ourselves some fairly high goals. Towards some of these we have gone a long way — the work on housing and squatters has been a strong thread running through the whole year's work, and the study group formed to look at African Nationalism has done some interesting reading, attended lectures by Prof. David Welsh, and produced a report for National Conference.

We paid our official visit to the University of the Western Cape and played our part in a large non-racial ecumenial service at St George's Cathedral on Mothers' Day.

The "literature table" held in Claremont on September 19, proved a valuable way to disseminate our publications, and we plan to repeat it.

We wrote 14 letters to the Press and held nine stands and walkabouts.

MARY BURTON.

natal coastal

Membership: 90 members, 4 honorary members — 7 new members.

MR EDDIE WEBSTER of the Sociology Department of the University of Natal, spoke on the making of South African racial capitalism; Mrs Fatima Meer spoke on the Sparks Estate removals.

The Rev Brian Brown of the Christian Institute talked about the findings and actions of the Schibusch Le Grange Commission, and the implications for the Christian Institute.

Mrs Jeanne Noel, Chairman of Save our Homes Association of Sparks Estate gave a talk on the proposed Sparks Estate expropriations; Mr Michael Nupen of Wits University spoke on "Increased detente — increased detentions"; Mr Walter Pople of Natal University on "a decade

of development — Ghana", illustrated with slides; Mrs Gill Natrass of Natal University gave a talk on her paper on new findings on migrant labour and Mr D. Mhlanga, a 5th year medical student and Chairman of the SRC spoke on "problems facing Black medical students".

In August, as well as the national stand, we organised our first "walkabout" which was a great success, and received good Press coverage.

We had four more stands and took part in a meeting and service of "witness and intercession" led by Archbishop Hurley and Bishop Russell. In December we took part in a prayer vigil for the detainees.

The Chairman made a statement to the Press on the rehabilitation centres and we associated ourselves with protest meetings at the University of Natal on the detention of two staff members and a law student.

In spite of strenuous efforts we have been unable to find a venue for the photographic exhibition. The City Library refused us as it was too controversial, as did 320 West Street, the Anglo American building.

Our school discussion groups continue and are expanding. We feel this is a very important part of our work as there is no contact across the colour bar left for children. We plan multi-racial pre-school groups for the future. Mixed school tours will also be arranged for mid-year.

We were invited to meetings arranged by the IWY Natal Committee and also attended the conference of the Women's Federation on "South Africa's Black families".

Several of our members continue to speak to various organisations about the Black Sash, the pass laws and influx control.

A second school discussion group has been started involving an Indian High School with the Africans and Whites. A Centre of Concern has been started in Hillcrest. Sash initiated it but eventually left the churches to run it.

The Advice Office continues well but lack of knowledge of the intricacies of the pass laws puts people off and it is planned to run a course on various aspects of Advice Office work.

CAROL LAMB.

natal midlands

Membership: 76.

EIGHT executive, three general and five public meetings were held. Speakers were Alan Paton, the Rev Bob Samson and the Rev Sol Jacob on the expropriation by the Government of the Alice Theological Seminary; Dr Beyers Naude, the Rev Mr Jacob, Mr Brian Brown, with Professor C. C. Gardner as guest chairman, on the naming of the Christian Institute as an Affected Organisation; June Chabaku and Lindy Myeza on "Women's disabilities: a Black woman's viewpoint".

Mrs Chabaku said in her very moving talk that she feared confrontation between Black and White

nationalism and asked, if this happened, "what of us in between?"

This led us to organise a discussion on "what of us in between?", led by Dr Manas Buthelezi. Discussion was frank and the many informed Africans present were insistent that those "in between" were in fact sitting on the fence and it was imperative that a choice be made.

This has been a year in which we have made contact with other organisations and bodies, and the image of Sash has been enhanced.

Sash was invited to take part in the all night vigil in St Mary's Cathedral organised by the Justice and Reconciliation Commission of the Catholic Church. We manned the vigil for an hour.

The Ministers' Fraternal, the Thursday Club and a Conference of African women at Edendale asked for Sash speakers. We took part in the exhibition, "Women today", organised by the National Council of Women to mark International Women's Year. Thirty-three women's organisations took part.

The Sash stall was very striking — and very political. We felt that this did not appeal to at least 30 of the other organisations! We were ignored in a very well-bred manner.

The Advice Office is a cause of concern because of the depletion of our little pool of workers. We are trying to keep the office going, even if it means opening for fewer days each week.

We have held six stands.

Eight letters were written to the Press. The Region asked Mr Jeff Wolfson to write an article on African education, which was published by the Daily News. Three of our members wrote in support of the article.

The Region records with regret the death of Miss Sue Judd, who had recently been made an honorary member of the Region.

MARY CORRIGALL.

transvaal

Paid-up membership: 325.

New members: 21, including three transfers.

EIGHT General Meetings were held and were addressed by Mrs Constance Khoza on African women; Dr D. F. Gowlett on "Communications"; Dr Zac de Beer on "Zambia"; Mr Harold Fridjohn on "Whether South Africa can afford higher wages"; Professor John Dugard on a "Comparison of race attitudes in South Africa and the USA"; Mr Malcolm McCarthy on "Why the Programme for Social Change Disbanded"; Mr Benjamin Pogrud on "The Press, its deeds and misdeeds"; Mr Merton Dagut on the "Politics of inflation" and Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo on "Community development".

Work was done on the housing problem; malnutrition and its relationship to the migrant labour system; social pensions; the inadequacy of legal aid available; procedures in the Bantu Commissioners' Courts and workmen's compensation.

Four stands and three walk-about were organised.

After Pretoria students had demonstrated at the Union Buildings we applied to the Minister of Justice for permission to do likewise. A very belated reply told us to take legal advice about where to apply for permission. An application to the Chief Magistrate to stand again on the City Hall steps was refused.

Twenty-two letters on a large variety of topics, two articles and a Memorandum on Rehabilitation Centres were published in the Press.

Three "Who Cares" pamphlets were written and distributed.

Our major achievement of the year was the holding up of some of the proposed rehabilitation centres in the homelands for the re-orientation of "idle and undesirable people" and those convicted of being illegally in the urban areas.

There were sinister clauses in the original Government proclamation. Sheena Duncan wrote a memorandum which received wide publicity, and the general furore appears to have persuaded the Government to think again.

Barbara Waite has been working on a most intricate and accurate map of South Africa showing all the population removals to date.

The committee of the Women's Hostel in Alexandra was assisted with its petition to the West Rand Administration Board and letters were written to influential people on their behalf.

The promised regulations giving 30-year leasehold rights to urban Africans are to be tied to compulsory homeland citizenship. We have pointed out the seriousness for urban Africans of the inherent possible loss of Section 10 rights.

As a result of sudden large rent increases in Soweto, made without any consultation with the residents, we decided to attend the monthly meetings of the West Rand Administration Board.

These meetings are closed to the public during the discussion and decision-making sessions. We have pressed for admission and written unsuccessfully to the Board.

An Employment Aid Centre for domestic workers was started last year in association with DWEP, which matches employees with employers, at the same time disseminating valuable information about the rights of domestic workers.

Relatives of detainees under the Terrorism Act formed the Committee for the Release of Detainees — CORD — and our representatives attended a number of meetings and helped with their petition.

Black Sash members, sometimes in their personal capacities, sometimes as official representatives of Sash, attended numbers of meetings and served on numerous committees during 1975 — International Women's Year.

We have written to the Minister of Community Development about housing; Mr Botes on the Alexandra Hostels; Chief Mangope on influx control; the Chamber of Industries on core housing; the Reform and Progressive Parties on the financing of the administration boards; and Mrs Helen Suzman on rehabilitation centres.

JOYCE HARRIS.

BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

HEADQUARTERS

National President: Ms S. Duncan, 45—22nd Street, Parkhurst, Johannesburg, 2001. Telephone: 42-9713.

National Vice-Presidents: Ms J. Harris, 29—5th Street, Lower Houghton, Johannesburg 2001. Telephone 728-2712.
Ms G. Dyzenhaus, 8 Cowie Road, Forest Town, Johannesburg 2001. Telephone 41-8188.

National Treasurer: Ms B. Beinashowitz

National Secretary: Ms E. Levitan

Magazine Editor: Ms J. Harris, 501 Lestar House, 58 Marshall Street, Johannesburg 2001. Telephone: 836-0789.

TRANSVAAL

Chairman: Ms J. Harris

Secretary: Ms E. Levitan

Treasurer: Ms L. Brand
501, Lestar House, 58 Marshall Street, Johannesburg 2001. Telephone: 836-0789.

BORDER

Chairman: Ms V. Sullivan, 3 Warwick Road, Vincent, East London 5201. Telephone 83720.

Secretary: Ms E. Johnson, 7 Devon Road, East London 5201. Telephone 82793.

Treasurer: Ms B. Sparg, 33 Elizabeth Court, Inverleith Terrace, East London 5201, Phone 25879.

ALBANY

Chairman: Ms A. W. Macdonald, 2 Park Road, Grahamstown 6140. Telephone: 2689.

Secretary: Ms J. Marsh, 22, Somerset Street, Grahamstown 6140. Phone 3076.

Treasurer: Ms R. Vaughan, 3, Gowie Street, Grahamstown 6140.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Chairman: Ms Doreen Patrick, 9 Dulwich Road, Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg. phone 5-6461.

Secretary: Ms M. Corrigan, 71 Derek Hall, 172 Loop Street, Pietermaritzburg 3201. Phone 2-3749.

Treasurer: Ms I. Friday, P.O. Box 1549, Pietermaritzburg 3200.

NATAL COASTAL

Chairman: Ms C. Lamb, 45 Edgecliff Drive, Kloof 3600. Telephone 74-1562.

Secretary: Ms A. Adams, 11 Caister Crescent, Berea, Durban 4001. Telephone 34-6238.

Treasurer: Ms S. Burns, P.O. Box 171, Gillitts 3603. Phone 74-1069.

CAPE EASTERN

Chairman: Ms A. Warren, 18 Salisbury Avenue, Mill Park, Port Elizabeth 6001. Phone 336242.

Secretary: Ms F. Hartley, Telephone: 335278.

Treasurer: Ms A. Bolton, 19, Linton Road Mill Park, Port Elizabeth 6001. Phone 336064.

CAPE WESTERN

Chairman: Ms M. Burton, 75 Sandown Road, Rondebosch 7700, Cape. Phone 6-4381.

Treasurer: Ms M. Graham, 55 Palmboom Road, Newlands 7700, Cape. Telephone 6-6915.

Office for correspondence: 5 Long Street, Mowbray 7700, Cape.

Office Secretary: Ms M. Gabriel. Telephone 61-8344.

SA ISSN 0036-4843

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

All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by J. Harris, of 501 Lestar House, 58 Marshall Street, Johannesburg. Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the Rand Daily Mail.

Published by the Black Sash, 501 Lestar House, 58 Marshall Street, Johannesburg, and printed by Messrs. Pacific Press (Pty.) Ltd., 302 Fox Street, Johannesburg.

Dedication...

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede...

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

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