

November 1979

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SASH



The Black Sash magazine

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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.

Toevlydingsrede...

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.



IT was at a function for Civil Engineers. The name-card of the portly man next to me read: Mnr B..., LV. Coward-like, I decided that

I was going to be a GOOD GIRL, and not ruin the evening for my a-political fellow-guests by talking politics. Also, to be honest, I don't argue well when I feel angry or hostile.

I succeeded in politely ignoring Mnr B. until he started expounding his views on Ulster to his courteously captive audience. Of course, he wasn't telling the Irish what to do, but the solution to the problem was that the British should get out, because Ulster and Eire were basically a homeland which should be united. The conversation then proceeded like this:

I: Well, the British couldn't do that because Northern Irish Protestants regard themselves as British, and don't want to lose their British citizenship, just as many blacks here resent having had their SA citizenship taken away.

He: I know the black man, his traditions and his gods. How many blacks have *you* spoken to?

I: Quite a few actually. I'd better explain that I am a member of the Black Sash. I've seen in the Advice Office the suffering caused by this country's laws.

He: (*Dismissively*) Oh, the *Black Sash!* (*Decides to proceed, nevertheless.*) Anyway, where were you people during the Soweto riots? Why didn't you go into Soweto?

I: You know perfectly well why not. Your government issued no-one with permits to go in.

He: (*On a different tack.*) Well, which of their seven wives would you let them bring into the cities?

I: That is almost a thing of the past. I've spoken to too many blacks whose monogamous marriages have been destroyed by influx control laws.

He: They *say* they only have one wife.

And so it went on — a bewildering succession of *non sequiturs* and racist myths, until:

He: Well, I hope you join the Nationalist Party before it's too late.

I: And *I* hope you join the Black Sash before it's too late. We accept men as members now, you know.

* * *

All this is part of the reason we in the Sash must go on, however 'irrelevant' we are made to feel. We must continue to stand for truth and justice. That is why this issue contains both a report on a visit to Soweto schools by one of our members and an interview with Mr Kam-bule. At Congress some delegates had reservations about publishing the former paper, in view the fact that the Sash must not give credibility to cosmetic changes, to a separated, inadequate educational system which needs radical change for all races.

This point of view is valid, but if we stand for truth then we cannot suppress the fact that some members, while obviously condemning Bantu Education, saw evidence of attempts at improvements. If we fear to listen to opinions different from our personal ones, then we are aping the SABC.

Blind Justice

A Pretoria Supreme Court judge said today he would have come to the assistance of an Indian family if he were not bound by the provisions of the Group Areas Act.

Mr Justice King today dismissed an appeal against the ejection of Mr Ahmed Nazir Adams, his wife and child, from Ellis Park Flats, Beit Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg — an area set aside for the white race group.

Passing judgment, he said an Act of Parliament created law but not necessarily equity.

'As a judge in a court of law, I am obliged to give effect to the provisions of an Act of Parliament.

'Speaking for myself and if I were sitting as a court of equity, I would have come to the assistance of the appellant. Unfortunately, and on an intellectually honest approach, I am compelled to conclude that the appeal must fail.'

The Star, 9/79

Where home is not a house

In April, two members of the Transvaal Region, JUDY VAN VELDEN and GITA DYZENHAUS, went on an investigative trip around Pageview and Newclare Coloured Township. This was part of a programme to highlight housing conditions in and around Johannesburg. What they found horrified them. They photographed both the interiors and exteriors of properties and sent pictures and details to the Minister of Community Development.

Two properties in Newclare in particular seemed to epitomise the worst of the slum conditions and the neglect of properties owned and administered by the Department of Community Development.

What follows are some of their findings and the ensuing correspondence.

NEWCLARE

74 Griffith Street

About 50 families live on this property. There are about nine blocks of rooms and house sections. There are four lavatories built by the city council, which appear to be fairly new but are said to be blocked frequently. The drains are constantly blocked. The ground is very damp.

One family of husband, wife and three small children live in two rooms. One room holds a family of 11. Two men sleep in an abandoned van. Nearly all the men are employed and there are some pensioners. Every family has a coal stove in the room. All water has to be fetched from outside taps.

The buildings are dilapidated and neglected and it seems that they are not waterproof. Steps up to the rooms lean at odd angles. I would think the buildings are unsafe.

most families have applied for new housing. They visit their Coloured Management Committee member, Mr Solomon, at his clinic at the Western Recreation Centre regularly but he fobs them off. There are many children who ought to be at school drifting around. The general air is of squalor and hopelessness though there are a few attempts at growing potplants or flowers outside individual rooms.

30 Steytler Street

This is a series of rooms around a central courtyard. There are two functioning lavatories erected by the city council. Water is obtained from one outside tap. Only two families have two rooms, the others live in one room. A coal stove takes up a big space in the tiny rooms. The description given is that 10 people live in two rooms and eight in another two. One room houses six people, another seven. The courtyard was filthy, the rubbish bins overflowing in the narrow passage entrance. Children swarmed.

All the tenants claimed to have applied for other accommodation.

8th May 1979.

The Hon Marais Steyn,
Minister of Community Development,
House of Assembly,
Cape Town.

Sir,

We enclose photographs of two properties owned and administered by your department. They are situated at 74 Griffith Street, Newclare, and 30 Steytler Street, Newclare. Explanatory notes are attached.

We are appalled by the conditions here and by the squalor in which these people are forced to live due to the acute housing shortage.

Surely the priority of your department should be to rehouse these people and not, for example, to prosecute 93 hapless Coloured and Indian families, victims of the Group Areas Act, who had no option but to find accommodation in the so-called "white" areas in Johannesburg or to live in conditions as shown in these photographs.

Most of the families living in these properties have applied again and again to be rehoused and can well afford decent housing.

Yours faithfully,

JILL WENTZEL (Mrs)

Transvaal Chairman, Black Sash.

1979-07-13

The Transvaal Chairman
Black Sash
56 Victory House
34 Harrison Street
2001 JOHANNESBURG

Dear Mrs Wentzel

COLOURED FAMILIES RESIDING AT 47 GRIF FITH STREET AND
30 STEYTLER STREET NEWCLARE

In pursuance of the acknowledgement by the Administrative Secretary to the Honourable the Minister of Community Development of your letter dated 1979-05-08 I wish to inform you that owing to there being insufficient housing available to meet all needs immediately the Department cannot offer alternative accommodation to the families residing at the above address at this stage. The dwellings are not capable of being restored economically and will therefore have to be demolished. In the meantime essential repairs are attended to.

Families in the economic group which are few in number will be accommodated in flats at Eldorado Park in the near future, whilst the remaining families will be rehoused once dwellings in schemes comprising 758 sub-economic units at Westbury and Klipspruit Extension 1 and 2 become available.

Housing provided by the City Council is at present being utilised to rehouse families residing under very unsatisfactory conditions in Kliptown where the clearance of slums is being afforded priority.

Yours faithfully

Acting Secretary for Community Development

The Minister,
Department of Community Development,
Private Bag X 149,
PRETORIA
0001

7th August, 1979.

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of July 13th.

I would like to point out in the first place that you have the address in Griffith Street incorrectly — it is 74 and not 47.

With regard to your claim that essential repairs are carried out in these properties, it is patently obvious that this is not so — windows are broken throughout the property — steps leading up to the rooms tilt dangerously — the roofs are in a state of disrepair and evidence of leaks is apparent in nearly every room.

We reiterate our stand that while little housing is being built is given to people adequately housed but removed under the Group Areas Act and genuine slum clearance is not afforded priority.

In addition, the new housing promised in Westbury which was to have been started at the beginning of June this year is delayed for some reason. This delay is causing further upset and anger and a degree of bewilderment.

The children growing up in the Griffith and Steytler Street properties are prejudiced from their earliest years by the conditions in which they live. We ask that your department apply itself with greater vigour and expenditure to the solution of this problem.

Yours faithfully,

JILL WENTZEL (Mrs)

Transvaal Regional Chairman.

PAGEVIEW

The Minister of Community Development,
Volkstem Avenue,
PRETORIA
0002.

3rd July, 1979.

Sir,

The Black Sash adds its voice to the Pageview Residents Association's plea to reverse your department's decision to make Pageview a white area.

Since the area was declared white in 1956, several thousand people have moved voluntarily but under pressure to Lenasia 35 kilometres from Johannesburg which is where they work.

In the name of community development a vital vibrant community is being destroyed and the delicate balance of sound community life has been disrupted.

The traders of the area have already been moved to the Oriental Plaza. Many thriving small businessmen either went under because of the rentals in the Plaza or because they couldn't compete in the new circumstances.

Some 3 000 to 4 000 people still remain and wish to remain in the area. It is close to town — the transport is excellent. The facilities built over the years such as school and mosques are dear to them.

Plans have been drawn up and indeed presented to you to make the area viable and pleasant again.

At the time of writing we can only condemn your department for creating totally untenable conditions — the area is a health hazard and a fire hazard and the safety of the residents is endangered too by the vagrants who shelter in the partially destroyed buildings.

As taxpayers the residents are aware of the world-wide trend to urban renewal where possible.

They are also aware of the costs of developing the infrastructure for totally new areas. They do not wish to be dumped in Lenasia. They are aware too of the commendable boast of your department that there is currently sufficient white economic and sub-economic housing and indeed that there is an oversupply in the Johannesburg area. Yet plans have been drawn and are being implemented to provide yet more housing for whites in this area.

It is not too late to review the 1956 decision and for the sake of peace and decent race relations in our country we ask you to consider the wishes of these people over whom you have in your several ministries complete control.

Yours faithfully,

GITA DYZENHAUS,

Regional Vice-Chairman.

Strategies in housing

Errol Haarhoff

This address was given at a photographic exhibition — 'Housing is where people are...' — organised by the 'Housing Co-ordinating Committee, Durban. Mr Haarhoff is a lecturer at the School of Architecture and Allied Disciplines, University of Natal.

ALONG with food and clothing, shelter is a basic and universal need. Suburban houses, township houses, flats, hostels, mud huts — all represent the variety of shelters to be found in most developing countries.

Although the variety of housing types reflect this common need for shelter, the diversity is a measure of the differing opportunities, circumstances, resources and needs of those who occupy them.

The Durban metropolitan region is the second largest in South Africa. Although it transcends the administrative boundaries of KwaZulu and Natal, functionally it is a single economic unit and cannot be conceptualised in any other way. Like many other cities in the developing countries, it is characterised by a dual economy; that is a sophisticated modern sector based on manufacturing industries, tourism, commerce and harbour activities, and an 'informal' sector operating on the metropolitan peripheries which provides both housing and informal employment to almost 1½-million people.

What are the essential characteristics of this population of almost 1½-million people? Since housing costs money, income is an important feature, and many writers have drawn attention to the skewed income distribution in South Africa generally.

Almost 60 per cent of all income is earned by only 10 per cent of the population (assumed to be all white), and although all black groups in Durban comprise 78 per cent of the population, they only earn about one quarter of the total income.

What this means is that the majority of the people, who are black, earn low incomes, and their ability to afford housing when compared with the wealthier minority, is constrained.

In addition to income constraints, residential location for the sector of the population is restricted by group areas legislation that defines where you stay on the basis of racial segregation. In general, the poorer sections of the population are located at the greatest distance from sources of employment, when compared with their white counterparts.

Because of their relatively low incomes and limited access to finance in the private sector, the responsibility for housing this large sector

of the urban population has been assumed by State authorities.

The result has been the ubiquitous 'townships' that ring the city (all too familiar, but seldom visited by whites). To their credit, the housing authorities have provided large quantities of houses for low income groups and, for example, have provided accommodation for 450 000 Africans.

However, if we consider that the total estimated population (quoted above) is 671 000 persons, and bearing in mind that actual population figures are substantially higher than the official figures (as high as 800 000), then it is clear that some 220 000 to 350 000 Africans are unaccounted for in terms of official township capacity. The question is, where do these people stay?

A conclusion all too often reached is to explain this anomaly in terms of 'squatters'. It is true that the most conspicuous manifestation of rapid urban growth, as experienced in Durban and most developing countries, is the so-called 'squatter settlement' found on the peripheries of urban centres. But can we simply say that people who are not housed by the State in official townships 'squat'? It is my view that not only is that notion positively misleading, but may be of little relevance to the pattern of settlement in the Durban region, if not in a wider context.

Furthermore, the description of 'squatter' and 'shack dweller' carries with it prejudicial connotations that are often not conducive towards the solution of problems that such settlements pose.

The idea that so-called 'squatter' settlements are dens of vice, areas of crime, disease and poverty are simply not supported by the facts emerging from numerous studies. Very often such settlements are areas that have relative stability, are developed at acceptable densities, are not overcrowded and have low crime rates when compared with townships. They largely house people who cannot find or afford shelter in official townships.

Let us examine the notion of 'squatting' more carefully. 'Squatting' literally means the illegal possession of land, a crime against property. No self-respecting person will tolerate this situation, nor can the illegal usurping of land be condoned.

But to the best of my knowledge nowhere in

Durban is land illegally usurped to any significant extent, and the press, in particular, who are fond of this description, are in fact accusing people of a crime never committed.

What is true, is that the houses that a large number of people live in do not necessarily comply with building regulations, but these would be more accurately described as unauthorised dwellings.

What is also true, is that large numbers of people live in houses located in areas where there are no building regulations and cannot be judged as being either 'squatter settlements' or 'unauthorised settlements'. I would suggest that they be called 'spontaneous' or 'informal' settlements.

If the range of housing options available to low income persons were listed it would include the following:

- Township housing (for families) eg, at Kwa Mashu, Umlazi, Chatsworth, Phoenix, Austerville etc.
- Hostel accommodation providing beds for Africans (sexually segregated), eg Kwa Debeka near Clermont.
- Domestic servant rooms in the backyards of suburban houses (some 30 000 in the Durban region).
- Unauthorised rented rooms, eg, in Clermont.
- Unauthorised boarding houses provided by private landlords, eg, Clermont.
- Spontaneous family dwellings, eg, Malukazi, Isipingo Farm, etc.
- Township Flats for families, eg, Sparks Estates and Chatsworth.
- Lodgings (both legal and illegal) in townships and spontaneous houses.

Housing need is generated by several factors, the most important of which are natural population growth, migration from rural areas, and relocation resulting from slum clearance and the implementation of the group areas legislation.

The first two of these facts is a problem in all developing countries, and in Durban the African population is growing at an annual rate of 7,2 per cent. Relocation resulting from group areas is of course peculiar to this country, but the consequences on housing provision is staggering.

Over a million persons throughout the country have been 'disqualified', thus artificially inflating the need for shelter.

Whilst acknowledging the fact that public authorities have provided a substantial quantity of accommodation for the low income groups in the Durban region, it is well known that the rate of supply is not keeping pace with demand.

Indeed, if a conventional township house is to be provided for all low income families in the country, Professor Maasdorp has estimated that this would mean that in the country as a whole roughly 9-11 townships the size of Umlazi would

be required immediately, and that some eight similar sized townships would be required each year to keep pace with demand. This staggering task that on the surface seems not only physically improbable, but financially impossible.

Nobody wants to live in a 'squatter' settlement, and equally nobody wants to inhabit the worst possible kind of dwelling. Everybody wants, and indeed demands, to have the best possible house that is within the means of the individual. Figures such as I have given above that measure the 'housing problem' in terms of a deficiency of township houses can be criticised in terms of concept.

What it ignores is that in the absence of suitable alternatives, people will, and in fact already do make their own arrangements for accommodation. In fact roughly one-fifth of Durban's population already house themselves in informal and unauthorised settlements at little or no cost to the State.

What is suggested is that the so-called informal sector could, and already does fulfil an important interim housing function, and that with positive support and judicious assistance from the authorities, it could go on a long way towards providing adequate housing without placing a heavy burden on public resources.

Let's examine briefly two possible strategies, namely, upgrading of an existing spontaneous housing area and a site-and-service option.

The concept of site-and-service schemes is far from unique or new, although it is relatively recently that this strategy has been adopted as an alternative way of providing housing for low income families in the Third World.

In South Africa, the idea of making available a building stand and service, such as water, electricity and sewerage by both the private and public sectors for the 'middle' and upper income groups, is far from new.

Many of the suburbs of Durban, such as Westville, the Berea, Pinetown, Gillits and Reservoir Hills have largely resulted from this approach. Less well known is the fact that in the 1930's site - and - service schemes were adopted in this country as a way of dealing with the post-war housing crises amongst low income Africans using the principle of self-help.

This was devised as an adjunct to township housing schemes in order to inspan all possible material and human resources, and one of the earliest examples was the Daveyton Township, outside Benoni.

Since then, official housing policy in this country has steered away from this approach, although there are indications that it is receiving serious consideration once again.

Site-and-service schemes devised for lower income groups do not differ in concept from those for higher income groups, but rather by degree. Income constraints clearly are an important factor and determine what a family can afford to pay for its building lot and services.

The question of appropriateness commensurable with household incomes is an important consideration.

Examples of such projects are those financed by the World Bank in Zambia which provides for a single communal tap serving about 25 houses, but with the option for individual households to make private connections.

Building plots and services are provided by a public authority, and this investment is recouped on an economic basis. Families either build their own house or employ others and are required to comply with an appropriate set of building regulations and certain other conditions. Assistance in the form of technical advice, cash and building materials loans are made available by the housing authority.

The upgrading of an existing spontaneous settlement involves the provision of basic infrastructural elements that will enable the settlement as a community to qualitatively improve their living environment. This usually includes a water supply, rationalising and improving pedestrian and vehicular paths and roads, and adequate sewerage and refuse removal services.

This is not to ignore the fact that many existing spontaneous settlements and unauthorised settlements have untenable living environments, largely resulting from a high degree of insecurity and inadequate services. The issue of 20 000 people having a single water tap in Maukazi is an example.

Upgrading and site-and-services schemes are too often seen as temporary or interim measures, as being controlled forms of 'squatting', or worse, as being a means of encouraging 'squatter' settlements. This is a serious misconception of their purpose and potential.

Given the appropriate forms of control, they are simple devices to ensure and encourage the orderly development of residential areas where inhabitants themselves provide their own accommodation.

From the administrator's point of view, they are a means for providing shelter commensurable with incomes, and in the case of upgraded settle-

ments, a way to conserve investment already made in housing stock and to encourage improvement.

For upgrading to succeed, it requires that the settlement be officially recognised, that security of tenure is ensured and, as in site-and-service schemes, that financial assistance and technical services be made available. In particular, the question of security is important because without this households would be unwilling to invest money and time in the upgrading and improvement of their dwellings.

Particular requirements, circumstances and priorities will differ from settlement to settlement, and there can thus be no general approach to upgrading. But experience in the Transkei and in Zambia has so far shown upgrading of existing spontaneous settlements to be a viable strategy.

A common objection to these options is that standards will be lowered. However, it should be remembered that standards very often are arbitrary and building regulations in this country often have been adopted from developed industrialised countries like Britain.

Standards often represent what authorities feel they ought to be, not necessarily what can be achieved and afforded by low income people.

Although it is not suggested that formal township building programmes should be curtailed, except that due regard should be given to the ability of occupants to afford the accommodation provided, it is felt that too little attention is being given to the potential contribution that people themselves can make in providing housing.

Experience has shown (in many countries) that where individual enterprise is identified and reinforced, spontaneous settlements can be upgraded, and site-and-service projects mounted, both ultimately capable of providing amenable living environments.

What is needed is a positive approach to promote and mobilise resources that already exist that will obviate the necessity for low income families to reconcile themselves to environmental deprivation in perpetuity.

Obituary

Professor Harry Wallace

HARRY WALLACE will be missed by everyone who ever met him. Of all his qualities I shall remember his quietness and sympathy, and his wonderful sense of humour and fun. It was always a delight to visit him and Doris and to be with two so very devoted and happy people. They had an enormous number of friends and were always ready to help anyone at any time and to listen to their troubles.

We shall all miss Harry and send our love and sympathy to Doris. We can only say with Dr Basil Edge, his partner, 'I am sure that the Almighty will be delighted to have him back'.

Mary Grice

Winterveld's tale

Mary Harrop-Allin

WINTERVELD is one of three squatter settlements in Bophuthatswana, with an estimated population of 800 000.

It lies about 30 km north of Pretoria and encompasses both Bophuthatswana and South African territory.

The situation as far as we can see it

Some people have lived in Winterveld for as many as 30 years. They were sent there after the removals from Eastwood (Pretoria East), now a white area, and Lady Selborne (near Atteridgeville), in the 1950s. We know one woman who, as a child, moved from Eastwood to Atteridgeville with her parents. When they died she was told she no rights to live there. She then went to Winterveld. There are probably many similar cases.

On the grounds that the congested shanty town areas constitute a health hazard and that they have no rights to live there, non-Tswanas resident in these areas are being harassed very severely. They are served with eviction orders, raided during the night (sometimes before the notice time is up) and arrested. The evictions orders give one or two months' notice. We have heard many allegations that bribes can halt this treatment.

No clear arrangements have been made either for alternative accommodation or for compensation. Ndebeles have been told to go to Kwaggasfontein near Groblersdal. We know of a *Mr S.* who was told he could buy a plot for R25 there and the removal would cost him R70. However *Mr Joubert*, of the office of the Commissioner for the Central Transvaal, told us that he does not know whether provisions for water and sanitation have been made there. Neither can he guarantee a plot for any refugee arriving in Kwaggasfontein.

Northern Sothos have been told to go to Lebowa. We know of *Mr M.* who has a good job in Roslyn, near his home. As he wishes to keep his job he will have to transport his family and effects to Lebowa, find some sort of accommodation for them and then return to Pretoria to live in a hostel. In effect the evictions will turn many men into migrant workers, with the serious social consequences of which we are already aware.

The legal position

In Article 7 of the Government Gazette of December 6, 1978, the South African and Bophuthatswana governments agreed that:

'South Africa would try to accommodate non-Tswanas who leave Bophuthatswana.

Bophuthatswana would warn South Africa in advance of any intention to evict non-Tswanas'.

However, although officials at the Department of Plural Relations (where the Department of Foreign Affairs referred our enquiries) are aware of the situation, no plans for alternative accommodation have been made (as far as we know) other than setting aside Kwaggasfontein for Ndebeles.

Thus there are still approximately 800 000 non-Tswanas in the Winterveld area who have no idea what to do when they are evicted. Many of them believe erroneously that in order to remain in Bophuthatswana they may take out citizenship. They have been sleeping and queuing on the stoep of the Odi magistrate's offices in a desperate bid to get citizenship certificates. The Chief Magistrate of Odi, *Mr P W Van Niekerk*, says it is unfair for the Bophuthatswana government to make unqualifying applicants believe they will be saved in this way. He says that according to the Bophuthatswana Citizenship Act which became effective from December 1, 1978, people who are not Tswanas by birth and who had not lived in the 'homeland' for five years or more before the territory's independence, do not qualify for citizenship.

Attitudes of non-Tswanas to citizenship

Even those who qualify have mixed feelings about taking out citizenship.

Reasons against applying for citizenship:

1. Non-Tswanas do not wish to be schooled in the Tswana language.
2. They wish to retain their family heritage.
3. They wish to retain South African citizenship.
4. They fear they will lose their jobs in South Africa.
5. They are not certain they will be allowed to remain in Winterveld even if they take out citizenship.

Reasons in favour of citizenship:

1. It is feared that non-citizens will lose 'privileges' like pension and UIF benefits.
2. There is fear that Tswanas will get job preference.
3. It is thought that non-citizens will qualify for menial positions only.
4. Teachers and students who are not citizens fear they may be chased out of their schools.

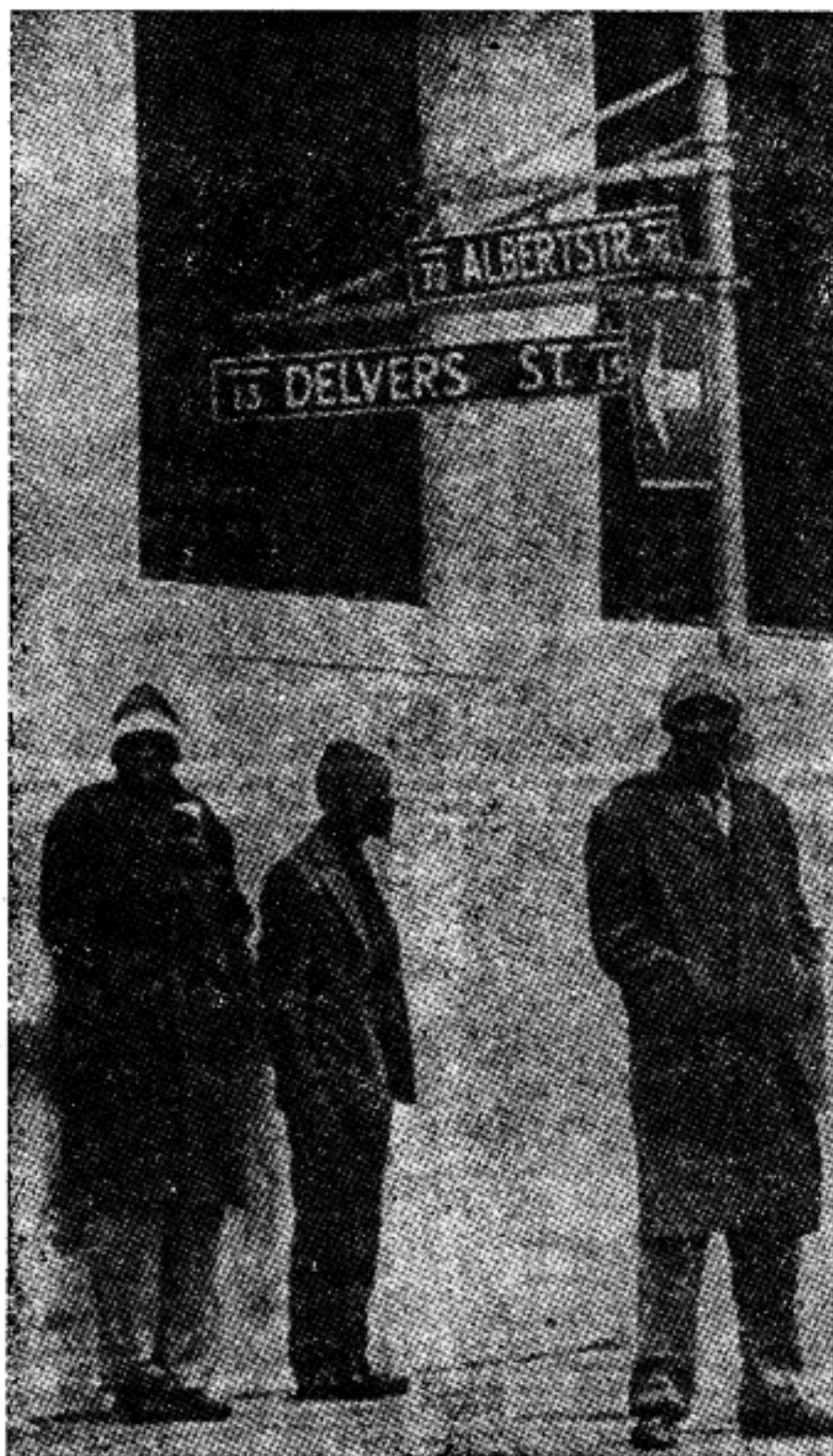
Individual cases

Mr E. (Ndebele). He was served with an eviction order for 1979-02-18 and offered a plot in Kwaggasfontein for R25. The authorities told him the removal would cost R70. Subsequently *Mr E.* and his wife were raided at midnight and slept in the veld. They refused to return home as they feared further police harassment. Mr Joubert at the Chief Commissioner's office said *Mr E.* must move to Kwaggasfontein, but there would be no assistance with the removal or plot expenses. There was no guarantee that people could build there and no information about facilities available at Kwaggasfontein.

Mr M. (North Sotho). He has been served with an eviction order for 1979-02-28. He and

his mother live in Klip-Pan and he works in Rosslyn. Although he was born in Winterveld, he has been given the choice of going to Lebowa or taking out citizenship of Bophuthatswana. As he wishes neither to become a citizen nor lose his job, he tried to buy a house in Mabopane East. This was refused although he has a 10(1)(a) stamp, because his reference book also has a stamp from the Bophuthatswana Government giving him permission to work in Pretoria.

Mr S. He works in Pretoria for a building firm. After being evicted from his home in January 1979 he is now squatting on a plot a small distance from his original home. He is not allowed to remain there but is afraid to spend time looking for alternate accommodation because he does not want to lose his job.



**Where no roads
lead to home**

Develop, don't disestablish

B. Melunsky

THE Black Sash wishes to draw the attention of the Minister to the unnecessary, unwise and immoral decision by the Administration Board for Cape Midlands to 'disestablish' Walmer Township and shift approximately 1 000 families to an unsalubrious area adjoining the present large African housing scheme at Zwide.

It backs the proposal made by residents that money available for rehousing should be spent on improving the existing township and that the houses to which they would be unwillingly moved be made available instead to some of the 11 500 people whose names are presently on a waiting list for accommodation for their families.

The Board's move towards consolidation is totally against the wishes of the residents of Walmer Township as expressed unanimously and with considerable feeling at a recent meeting addressed by the community councillor for the area as also in letters and statements by residents, some of whom are third generation in the location.

The only reason publicly advanced for the proposed move is that Walmer Township is ideologically unacceptable since it is 'an island' at the wrong end of town; that it would be in residents' interests to take part in the 'exciting development of the giant at the other end of town' and benefit from its facilities even if they feel disinclined to move; that the present township is 'old, uneconomical and unviable' and that the new Buffelsfontein freeway will go through the area.

These contentions are denied by the inhabitants of Walmer township and their publicly stated opinions may be summarised as follows:

- People's convenience should come before planning, and centralised administration should take second place to the uprooting of 6 000 people.
- Why should valuable land be lost to the African community?
- There is general scepticism about the 'exciting development' at the other end of town and people seem mystified at the mention of amenities and facilities. They say they can build up their own sports and community centre facilities in Walmer Township.
- Residents have expressed a strong desire to remain where they are (in spite of the fact that the local constable is instructing people to put down their names for houses in Zwide 4). They have expressed fear of moving to an area where there is a comparatively much higher crime rate.
- Their present rental of between R6,67 and R12,89 for private and Board-owned houses in Walmer compares very favourably with the R40

or more they will be required to pay in the new area.

- Busfare to present places of employment will be R1 a day, commuters to Walmer being required to take three buses each way, totalling between R22 and R30 a month.

- It is anticipated that there will be an increase in unemployment. Many of the residents are in domestic service and would find it difficult to find alternative employment if their employers found it more economical to relinquish their services rather than pay their busfares and subsidise their increased rentals.

Walmer Township, though dilapidated in parts, has a village atmosphere with trees and gardens and is regarded as 'home'.

The township is old, but no older than other areas. If the Chief Director's argument is valid, then Mill Park, an old white suburb should similarly be knocked down.

The township is considered uneconomical by the Board who have withdrawn a maintenance official and reduced the services of the superintendent from five days to two a week. This grudging attitude of the Board is in sharp contrast to the alacrity with which excess administrative staff are employed at the new ABCM headquarters in Port Elizabeth.

As the Board has neglected Walmer Township it has assumed a seedier, more 'old and uneconomical' appearance. For months street lighting has been cut off. Undoubtedly there is an overloading of domestic electricity, but the Black Sash believes the answer is to make provision for an increased flow of power, not merely to cut off essential street lighting.

The income to the Board from its bottle store in Walmer Township is considerable. According to established policy, a fixed percentage of that income should be ploughed back into the area. This does not appear to be done.

The claim by the chief director that the area is 'not viable' is incorrect. The township is a living, vital organism and is dependent for income on employment in the neighbouring homes, offices, shops, garages, etc.

There is interdependence between the white and black areas of Walmer and a spirit of mutual and long-standing co-operation prevails. If by 'viable' is meant self-sufficient, this is a term that would be better applied to Walmer Township than to Zwide 4 — which is at present a barren stretch of treeless ground next to the salt pans where the ground oozes mud.

Regarding the construction of the Buffelsfontein Freeway, according to information received

and maps given by the road planning department of the Port Elizabeth Municipality, only 17 houses would be affected.

Provision, moreover, has been made for a new access road to the township, contrary to information given by a responsible official in the ABCM.

The proposal has been made in the Press by

leaders of the Walmer community that the R3 million plus — the minimum cost of building 1 400 houses at Zwide 4 (present costs being R2 200 per house) — be spent instead on improving Walmer Township and that Zwide 4 be developed for some of the 11 500 families (about 60 000 people) who are already on the waiting list for housing in PE.

A visit to St. Wendolin's

ST WENDOLIN'S stands on a property originally owned by the church. It is in the Pinetown area and many of its inhabitants work there. Their forebears came in from the Transkei and are employed in the textile factories in Pinetown and as no accommodation was arranged for them they put up shacks or rented them at St Wendolin's.

From Mariannahill the road runs along the top of the mountain. Clusters of houses straggle down the slopes on either side. This road is tarred but rather narrow. Shops, mobile or otherwise, fruiterers' tailors' cobblers', and houses have been erected. It is a busy road, carrying buses, trucks and cars of all sizes.

Running parallel to the road is the only water supply for about 30 000 people. This pipe has six points at which double taps operate.

There are some 80 residents with freehold rights. They have divided their property into small units which they rent to others who build their houses on them. There were burglar guards on the windows of one woman who owned a number of plots.

The township is a collection of groups of houses with communal rubbish pits and toilets. These houses for the most part stand on sloping ground or roughly designed terraces.

The floors appear to be solid and the roofs sound. They are substantial buildings with an appearance of permanence.

The small outhouses are pathetic, patched together with anything, tumble-down and dreadful, but they are there. The bare areas round the houses are swept and clean; interiors looked spic-and-span.

The number of houses in a group varies widely, with some overcrowding in places and in others sufficient space for vegetable gardens.

These were a surprise, for every drop of water must be carried from the distant tap. Green beans, tomatoes, potatoes, sweet potatoes and pumpkin flourish. There were signs that the mealie crop had been good.

If a refuse collection could be arranged, a few more water points added and a bucket toilet system or ablution blocks installed, the improve-

ment would be incalculable.

The area has been called a slum which should be cleared. But what is a slum? It can be defined as 'an overcrowded and squalid back street, district, etc, inhabited by very poor people.'

True it is overcrowded in a sense, and undeniably poor. But fresh air sweeps through and across all the time. Moreover this township has a lively character. Walking through on a Saturday morning one sees housewives busy in and around their homes; lines of washing, incredibly white drying in the warm sun; stalls along the main road where women are offering produce for sale; numbers of children carrying water in humble containers or playing on bits of unoccupied ground. They look healthy and happy.

There is an atmosphere of self-respect and quiet pride. Many people greeted us or stopped to speak.

Many of the indigenous trees have been left, and provide a welcome shade where groups of the inhabitants rest and chat.

The township is run by a committee which has established a volunteer band of some 70 men of all ages who patrol at night to combat crime.

We met some of them and again were impressed by their inborn courtesy and natural dignity. They man the water - points and bus stops so there is no queue-jumping nor jostling of elderly people; they maintain law and order generally.

The latest development is the building of a nursery-school, now almost finished. The one need expressed was for a community hall or somewhere where the young folk could meet.

We left St Wendolin's aware that here was a township which had grown with the needs of the people; where ingenuity had overcome difficulties and where a community spirit was very much alive.

But we were conscious of the shadow of the threat of removal to a strange area of higher rents, increased bus fares and the loss of freehold rights, for which there is never full compensation. And above all of the breakdown of a self-reliant and self-respecting community which has grown over the years.

Cut them out

From the column 'My Eye' by ALEXANDER DE KOK

IT WAS over breakfast this week that I finally conquered my natural hostility towards censorship and decided to have the Publications Control Board ban the Government.

If you can't beat them, join them, I decided. If you have to accept the system, use the system. They keep on banning things I like; now it's way overdue they ban some of the things I can't stand.

So I decided to start at the top and kick off with having the Government banned. After all, they were responsible for the damn law in the first place.

A quick look at Section 47, subsection (2) of the Publications Act No. 42 of 1974, as contained in the Statutes of the Republic of South Africa — Censorship, showed me that I would be able to wipe our Nationalist rulers right off the stage.

The section defines how our censors should decide when something is 'undesirable'.

Clause (a) puts paid to anything indecent, obscene, offensive, or harmful to public morals.

Well, that pretty well finishes off the Government right at the beginning, I'd say. Even if one doesn't count the fact that Dr Andries Treurnicht said 'Bols'.

What could be more indecent and obscene than insisting that a perfectly natural act of love between two people becomes a crime because of the colour of their skins?

What could be more offensive than turning the human body and sex into such dirty subjects that even works of art and literature dare not deal explicitly with them?

What could be more fatal to public morals than passing laws that encourage people to spy on other's bedrooms and report them for colour bar sex or possessing a copy of Playboy?

That, as I said, is only clause (a). Now let's go on to clause (b), which demands actions against anything blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic.

Such as claiming that the Government has God's blessing for a policy that blasphemes against the Christian beliefs of large numbers of the country's citizens, for instance?

Such as refusing to let Rabbis conduct the epilogue on television because this is 'a Christian country'?

Such as forcing people of all religious beliefs to put up with the decree that Sunday is the official day of worship, like it or not?

And then we come to clause (c) — which won't permit anything that brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt.

Hah!

What else is it when you have laws that treat people like numbers, when you tell people they cannot ride in buses because they are Black, cannot stand in queues because they are Black, cannot sit on the benches, cannot go in doors, cannot enter parks.

Which naturally brings us to clause (d), outlawing that which is harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic.

But we have a system that encourages young men and women in uniform to round up people en masse for the sin of trying to earn a living in an area where they are not registered rather than expire in abject poverty in an area where they are.

We have a system that uproots people from territories they have occupied for generations and willy-nilly moves them elsewhere because their skins are the wrong colour. That tries pass offenders at the rate of one every two minutes; that declares people 'citizens' of a homeland they have never seen; that denies Blacks basic rights enjoyed by every white.

There is really no need to deal with clause (e) which rules out anything that is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare and the peace and good order.

If you are still with me, you will know that most of the things quoted above *do* prejudice the safety of the State, the general welfare and the peace and good order.

And that means that the Government deserves to be banned on just about every single clause in its own censorship legislation.

Acknowledgements to the Sunday Express, 29/4/1979.

The right to study

Dirk van Zyl Smit

The Prisoners' Education Committee was formed in Durban in response to the refusal by the Commissioner of Prisons to allow prisoners the right to study for post matriculation courses. Its aim is, through a national campaign, to secure again for prisoners the legal right to study. The following is the text of a speech delivered to a public meeting held by the Committee in June. Mr Van Zyl Smit is a senior lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand.

THE recent refusal by the Commissioner of Prisons to allow prisoner serving sentences for crimes against the security of the State to register for post matriculation courses has made it necessary for us to examine the question of whether prisoners have any right to education at all.

The Minister of Prisons announced this policy in reply to a question in the House of Assembly in February 1978. He gave three reasons for the decision:

- These prisoners do not qualify for such studies under Prison Regulation 109;
- They abuse study privileges by using study materials for incitement and for smuggling out information;
- Prisoners of this category continued their undermining activities upon release.
— (*House of Assembly Debates, Questions and Replies*, vol 76 cols 115-6 February 15, 1978).

Some criticism can be made of the specific reasons given. No-one who has done post matric study in jail has been reconvicted of a crime against the State (*House of Assembly Debates Questions and Replies*, vol 76 cols 919-20 (June 9, 1978)).

It is hard to imagine whom the prisoner-students are alleged to corrupt with their study materials. Surely it cannot be their lecturers at the University of South Africa?

What is apparently meant is that they might use study materials to pass notes to each other but this hardly seems to be sufficient reason for the action taken.

Criticisms of this kind are however of relatively little value for our factual knowledge of what actually happens in South African prisons is limited. Scraps of information which we may have can often not be published for fear of falling foul of the provisions of the Prisons Act concerning the accuracy of reports about conditions in prison.

We ought therefore rather to enquire what the law with regard to the education of prisoners is and then to consider what it ought to be so

that we can adopt a stand based on principle on this question.

The general legal principle that prison officials should attempt to rehabilitate prisoners is contained in the Prisons Act 8 of 1959. Regulation 109 issued in terms of this act deals more specifically with education. It provides that someone whose inadequate schooling could be a factor in causing crime should be encouraged to study and also that the 'Commissioner may, in his discretion, allow any other prisoner to embark on a course of study'.

Other subsections of regulation 109 deal with library facilities. The regulation also provide that [i] 'If any prisoner who was granted permission to study abuses such permission or his study material in any way or uses it for purposes other than study, such prisoner's study material and permission to study can be temporarily or permanently withdrawn'.

It is important to note that this clause refers to a *specific* prisoner who abuses his privilege. Other sections of Regulation 109 make it clear that permission to study or to use the library is subject to the discretion of the Commissioner.

The practical effect of Regulation 109 was recently considered by our highest court, the Appellate Division, in *Goldberg and Others v Minister of Prisons* 1979 (1) SA 14 (AD).

In this case the specific issue was whether the applicants, who were all serving long terms of imprisonment for crimes against the security of the State, were entitled to receive news of current events and uncensored magazines. [It appeared in evidence that even publications such as *Rooi Rose* and *Fair Lady* had been censored before the prisoners saw them.]

Goldberg's case is directly relevant to the question of prisoner's education, for not only did the court interpret Regulation 109 but it also dealt with the question of prisoners' rights.

The majority of the judges (4 out of 5) held that the prison regulations confer no rights on a prisoner. (The judgment of the majority is, of course, binding in law.) They held that a prisoner does have some basic rights, eg to food, clothing and accommodation, but that it was not necessary to define these rights.

They specifically found that news of current events was not essential for the maintenance of 'reasonably civilised' standards even though they conceded that the applicants were sophisticated men and the denial of news 'must result in severe hardship . . . in frustration and possibly in some degree of disorientation eventually'.

The majority refused to interfere with the exercise of the Commissioner's discretion, although they found the way in which he exercised it 'mystifying'. They felt that the issue was one of privileges and not of rights and that therefore they were not entitled to interfere. They were only prepared to intervene if it could be shown that the Commissioner's action was grossly unreasonable and did not find this to be the case.

The law as it stands is therefore clear. Prisoners have no right to news or, by extension, to education. The question, however, is: Is this law being justly applied and is it just in itself?

In respect of the prisoners who are now being prevented from studying one can argue that these are educated men who are serving long sentences. In their case the pains of imprisonment are unnecessarily increased by depriving them of mental stimulation.

Secondly a class or group is being unfairly discriminated against because of the alleged infringements of individuals. It is ironical that the authorities deny that a group of 'political prisoners' exists yet when it suits them, separate out such a group in order to limit their educational opportunities.

The justness of the law on education for prisoners is also open to attack. Professor van Rooyen of the University of South Africa has argued that a Christian philosophy implies respect for the dignity and integrity of man. Men are always to be considered to be open to rehabilitation and therefore arbitrary deprivation of rights to education is contrary to this philosophy. In a country which claims to be Christian this argument is important and I support it.

There are also humanitarian standards by which the present law can be judged. The Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners laid down by the United Nations in 1955 (and accepted in principle by the Department of Prisons) stipulate that 'provision shall be made for the further education of all prisoners capable of profiting thereby . . .' (Par 7). The present ruling is in conflict with the spirit of these regulations.

The ban on 'cruel and unusual punishment' found in the amendments to the American Constitution and developed by American courts would not countenance the restrictions of the rights of a class to education where this would result in hardship to innocent parties.

Similar humanitarian standards have been upheld by the European Commission and the European Court of Human Rights which as a supra-national body has used its powers to strike down prison practices which caused prisoners to be deprived of contact with the outside world or, as in the case of some practices of the British government in Northern Ireland, caused mental suffering to prisoners.

These parallels with policy in other countries are important if we wish to judge our law on this issue by 'civilised Western norms'. Furthermore from within South Africa itself standards have been set and evaluations made.

Academic lawyers have strongly criticised the judgment of the majority in *Goldberg's* case. Professor van Wyk of the University of South Africa, Professor Nairn of the University of Cape Town, Professor van Niekerk of the University of Natal and Mr Rudolph of the University of the Witwatersrand have all expressed their disquiet at the lack of concern for the rights of prisoners. (See the 1979 editions of the SA Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology and the SA Law Journal).

Professor van Niekerk says that the majority decision in *Goldberg's* case, 'reminds all who have ears to hear and eyes to see to which extent we have abandoned the crucial fibres of our Western concept of justice'. Nevertheless, he suggests that what he calls our 'common law' could still follow the 'Western judicial traditions of courts being real guarantees against abuse of executive power'.

This hope is supported by the impressive minority judgment of Mr Justice Corbett in *Goldberg's* case. Unlike the other judges he clearly considers the question of the rights of prisoners and starts with the assumption that 'fundamentally a convicted and sentenced prisoner retains all the basic rights and liberties . . . of an ordinary citizen except those taken away from him by law, expressly or by implication, or those necessarily inconsistent with the circumstances in which he, as a prisoner is placed'.

From this basis he arrives at an interpretation of the prison regulations which differs from that of the majority. He goes on to conclude that the discretion of the Commissioner of Prisons is not unfettered and that the courts have a duty to intervene if it is not correctly exercised.

In the course of his judgment, Mr Justice Corbett posed a hypothetical question which has assumed greater salience since the deprivation of educational facilities has become a reality:

'It is said that a prisoner has no right to study or to access to libraries or to receive books: that these facilities are privileges not rights, comforts not necessities. To my mind, this is an over-simplification. To test

the proposition, suppose that an intellectual, a university graduate, were sentenced to life imprisonment and while in goal was absolutely denied access to reading material — books, periodicals, magazines, newspapers, everything; and suppose further that there were no indication that this deprivation was in any way related to the requirements of prison discipline, or security or the maintenance of law and order, within the prison and that, despite his protests to the gaol authorities, he continued to be thus denied access to reading material. Could it be correctly asserted that in these circumstances he would be remediless? That all that he could do was to fret for his comforts which he was denied? I venture to suggest that it could not be so asserted and that he would not be remediless'.

As Professor Nairn has commented: 'This view was not followed by the majority, but is, with

respect, based on unassailable reasoning, and should be followed'.

What can be done to safeguard prisoners' rights to education?

As a lawyer it seems to me that the most practical change would be a change of attitude by our courts so that they would be prepared to pass judgment on the way in which the Commissioner exercises his discretion by demanding reasons for his actions and testing whether the discretion has been exercised in accordance with the fundamental rights of prisoners.

Fairly limited amendments to the Prisons Act and regulations, which clarified the objects of imprisonment and spelt out the role of the courts, could bring about such a change in attitude.

As a private citizen I would say that it is our duty to find out as much as we can about the treatment of prisoners and to show that we are concerned to ensure that this treatment conforms to civilised standards. A vigilant public can ensure the preservation of the rights of prisoners in all fields including education.

Requiem for the Orange, White and Blue

White South Africa!
Are you prepared to wriggle blissfully
In the mud of madness
That has made you bleed
And will suck you dry?

.
Apartheid is Dead
Long Live Apartheid!

Land of sour milk and 'Hallo Honey'
Covered by a stench so horrible
That not even the horseflies and tame cockroaches
Dare nibble at your platinum-god watchstrap.
Quo Vadis in a paradise of No Entry signs!

Bravely fighting a battle
With no care from a world
Or concern of a God
Even though He is assumed to be
Voorsitter of your Broederbond.

.
White South Africa!
What will you be able to tell your children one day
If they're still live enough to ask:
What did you do when you had the chance, Daddy
Or Mummy or Boet or Oom or Tannie?
With French and American and Spanish echoing round your ears
In other strange fosterlands
Because you forgot to become aware in time.

The Sunday Express, 26/8/79

Letter from Madukatshani

Neil and Creina Alcock

'AS regards agriculture, there has been a continual failure of crops in the Tugela Valley for several years; consequently large numbers of Natives have entirely left, others only for a time for the purposes of procuring food... a very little will be reaped by the few Natives left in the Tugela Valley. During the year there have been many deaths... chiefly children and elderly people, which may be owing to the drought and therefore the scarcity of good water.'

THAT quote comes from the official annual report on Msinga in 1878. Nothing has changed in 101 years, except the number of people that stay in the valley. There are no longer 'a few'. The landscape, however, seems much as it was when Mr Henry F. Fynn, a new Resident Magistrate, arrived in 1884. He was not impressed, 'Most of the surface is rocky and dry,' he said, 'and barren, and cannot be cultivated, and almost worthless, and deficient of water.'

But he had grudging praise for the vegetation. 'Some of the varieties of thorn trees are very handsome,' he admitted, 'of which are the Umqamazi, Saqawe, Msasane, the Umfa and Umkamba...'

Our own vote goes to the Msasane, *Acacia tortilis*, with curly clusters of brown pods which the children wear as earrings. The trees rattle their curly bunches every time the wind blows. Shake, rattle and roll — and gulp. As each cluster hits the ground, a waiting cow or goat swallows it. No pods are ever left lying for long. Especially this year, when animals have been elbowed out the way by little guys and little girls — and bigger boys and bigger girls, as well as aunties and mothers. Once the word got round that we were willing to pay 10 cents a bag, tree-shaking began in earnest, and soon there was not a Msasane tree on the lower slopes of Mdukutshani that had not been relieved of its load of pods. We met pod gatherers on footpaths, in the bush, on the roadside, bent double under the weight of their bags.

Although there is not much *Acacia* over the river, the tree shakers were busy there too, and throngs of children waited in the sunshine on the riverbank, leaning comfortably on bulging plastic cushions stuffed with pods until the ferryman arrived to cart their loads. One bag of Msasane seed, of course, looks just like another, and it did not take long for some of the smarter boys to take a chance on selling the same bag twice. We had to keep a tight watch on security — and of course we had a network of informers!

Over the past few weeks the pile of pods has grown and grown until we have an estimated two tonnes of Msasane seed in storage. STOP! we have cried to the district. This is only an experiment.

When we arrived at Mdukutshani in 1975 we came with some conventional experience and some very orthodox wisdom. For ten years we had been at work on an eroded farm, and in that time we had watched a transformation. Worn-out fields had been planted to love grass pastures. Fertilizer had been added, and the cattle had stayed sleek on love grass hay all winter. Our pastures and our haystacks were much admired. We never for a moment doubted that fertilized pastures were the way to success.

Our haystacks had to be left behind, however, the winter we came to the Tugela Valley. Our cattle had to rough it, browsing among the thorns, and they learnt to wait for the arrival of the truck that brought a daily load of cauliflower leaves gleaned from a Weenen farmer. As soon as we could, we ploughed the small strip of flat land along the river, planted lucerne, poured on fertilizer and admired the vivid green plants that sprouted so well under irrigation.

The beginning of this demonstration was quickly followed by the end. The price of fertilizer went up. Up and up. In four years the increase has been 11 per cent. One ton of fertilizer now costs R112,00, more than we can afford. Our lucerne-selling white neighbours cannot afford it either — and certainly it is a price no local black can pay.

As our lucerne dwindled without fertilizer, we began a search for a fodder crop to suit Msinga's needs. Flat land is in short supply, so we needed a wonder plant that could be grown anywhere among the rocks on our steep hills, a plant that needed no ploughing, no fertilizer, and no irrigation (most people live a long, long way from water), a plant that would not wilt in drought...

We began to look at the thorn scrub. Our part of Msinga is short of many things, but there is

no shortage of thorns. Thorns are legumes, legumes are protein... Just how much protein we did not know until we had sent samples of Msasane 'hay' to the Cedara College of Agriculture for analysis. The 'hay' came from twigs, leaves and thorn carefully trimmed from Msasane bushes and trees, pruned to encourage a canopy shape. The small green branches were fed to the hammermill and emerged as pale green shredded fibre which the cattle swallowed without too much coaxing. Every mouthful, according to the analysis, contained seven per cent crude protein, just half that of lucerne. For two winters Msasane 'hay' has been milled as stockfeed for our cattle. Good stuff, but hardly protein concentrate.

A few months ago a little bag of Msasane pods and seeds went to Cedara for testing. The result came back: 17 per cent crude protein. Better than lucerne.

We marshalled the children on the farm to collect those bags of Msasane twists. Our offer of ten cents a bag was an arbitrary figure — intended not only to be reward for labour, but good propaganda too. And there is no doubt the propaganda side of things has worked. The Great Msasane Pod Collection riveted the attention of hundreds of surrounding families. Everybody started talking about Msasane trees. Suddenly Msasane started to acquire value.

While the first experimental harvest was coming in, Neil became obsessed with plops. He followed the goats, and he followed the cattle, and he even followed the fowls, always scratching through their droppings. Always getting the same message. Acacia seeds may be protein, and they may be delicious to the animals that eat them, but they are certainly not digestible. The seeds are popped in, pass through and slip out with not a scratch on their shiny varnish to mark their intestinal journeying. Every cowpat is stuffed with seeds like a currant bun. Goat droppings are like chocolate nutties, each pellet enclosing an undamaged seed. The animal may get some benefit from the shells of the pods — but the seeds escape them. Seeds are winners all the way. They do not germinate until they are ready — and when they begin to grow they are surrounded by fertilizer.

It was obvious that if the protein in the seeds were to be made available to the animals, milling would be necessary. Some handfuls of pods were put in our grinding stone and crushed until the little bits looked like dirty sand. 'Fowl food' we called this unappetising stuff, and scattered it. Suddenly our birds started laying. Now for some time we had let our fowls scratch for themselves, African style, and eggs had been few

and far between. Since they began their diet of crushed seed pods, however, the fowls have been giving a dozen eggs a day.

We are pleased with these results. Any African housewife can grind her own fowl food at a cost of no more than some muscle power. Unfortunately a grinding stone is inadequate when it comes to the preparation of Msasane pods for cattle feed. Reluctantly we have had to use the hammermill — reluctantly because the milling then adds costs to an otherwise 'free' crop for local people.

Whatever the problems they are worth overcoming, for milk production has actually gone up since we took the cows off cowmeal. Now they chew nothing but crushed Msasane pods and hay, and the milk bucket is brimming. Handmills, we hope, are not impossible to make, and we are trying to produce a model to supply local homes. And because the clippers needed to clip the 'hay', are expensive too, we are also working on a design for clippers.

Of course the yield from thorn trees is fractional compared to the yield from a field of lucerne. But then so are the costs, and the thorn crop can be maintained indefinitely, whatever happens to the price of fertilizer and fuel.

Harvest time has meant grass bangle time. According to local beliefs, cut grass brings hail, so no grass may be cut until the reaping has been done. When the ban is lifted, the women have to rush to get the grass before the cattle do, so grass cutting season is only two months a year. The 1979 season, brief though it was, brought in 10 000 beautiful, delicate woven grass bangles. 10 000! Stop! Stop! we cried. In vain, in vain. We paid for the first few thousand — then we told the women they would have to wait until we had found customers. At 20 cents each the bangles are a bargain, but 20 times 10 000... (Prospective buyers should apply to the above address!).

While we were reeling under the deluge of bangles — peanut butter started coming in. Reverend Mnguni is entirely to blame. Last year he had a very successful crop of groundnuts, and asked if we could help him with a recipe. A few trial bottles of peanut butter resulted. This year, unbeknown to us, workparties gathered at grinding stones to produce bottles, and bottles, and bottles... of unadulterated peanut butter. Now while there is nothing as delicious as Msinga peanut butter, it is expensive. (What do factories add to their nuts, we wonder, to make their end product so cheap?) Again we have cried Stop! Stop! Again in vain. Peanut butter keeps arriving. (Prospective buyers should apply etc, etc, etc.)

BLACK EDUCATION—TWO VIEWS

A visit to the regional director

Jeanette Davidoff

There were doubts about this paper in view of the fact that the Black Sash 'must not give credibility to cosmetic changes' to a separated, inadequate educational system which needs radical change for all races.

IN November 1978 (with very mixed feelings) five members of the Transvaal Region assembled in the office of Mr Jaap Strydom, Regional Director of the Department of Education and Training for Soweto. We expected our tour of Soweto schools would be a traumatic and poignant experience. It proved to be exactly that.

Basically we were antagonistic to all that African/Bantu/Plural Education represented. Mr Strydom had addressed a Transvaal Regional Conference at which many searching questions were asked. Aware of this antagonism or suspicion he invited us to visit the schools.

Together with Mr Terblanche, his assistant, and Mr Motlaba, a black inspector, an hour was spent in their offices answering questions and providing background information. During the discussion Mr Strydom reminded us that he was 'not the Government, but only a civil servant'.

We learnt, *inter alia*, that:—

- Compulsory free education for blacks will be introduced in 1980 in Soweto and Alexandra, which is considered a disaster area. An announcement by Mr Janson, Minister of Education, has since postponed the date without stating the year of its introduction.

- 16 000 wrote matriculation examinations in the whole Republic in 1978. 5 000 wrote in 1975, 7 000 in 1976 of whom 84,4 per cent passed.

- In Soweto there are three white principals of the Industrial Training Centres; two at Secondary Schools and one at the Molopo Technical Institute.

- Many teachers are below average standard and those with qualifications are at a premium; they receive a salary increase for every qualification attained. Student teachers receive government bursaries while at the Training schools. Subsequently it was revealed that many did not have even matric, while half of those who did, had not taken any scientific subject. Teachers were encouraged to write the matriculation examinations and given special study leave, because this is the minimal entrance qualification for Teachers' Training schools. Mr Strydom said that widely advertised vacancies at these schools

brought only 52 applicants — 'a drop in the ocean'.

- Senior Secondary (High) schools have an average of 10 classrooms plus centres for library, laboratory and domestic science. Due to increased enrolment, 16 classrooms will have to become the norm.

We then set out on the tour of inspection. There was much to enter on the debit side.

1. Some of the facilities proudly enumerated proved to be inadequate, especially libraries and laboratories. There was a woeful lack of gymnasiums and sportsfield. What grounds there were, were bereft of grass, though in some schools there were flourishing small gardens outside the classrooms. There were no tuck shops. For a few rand a month 'concessions' to sell food at play-time were allocated to black women, whose wares consisted mainly of stodge.

2. At LePhensa in Orlando East, the oldest girls' school, there are 14 teachers of whom only six have degrees. All the pupils were in Standard VI and were provided with tables and stools instead of the more comfortable and practical desks. Grim looking steel doors or gates, like those in Alexandra hostels, were seen in several schools.

3. The oldest school in Soweto, Orlando High, where seven classrooms and the principal's office were destroyed in the riots, has not been repaired and will probably continue as a smaller edifice.

4. The stoves in one domestic science classroom were all in the centre of the floor, not plugged in. Some of the libraries contained very few books and very few, if any, current newspapers or periodicals and one was not yet in operation.

5. At first we were taken only to 'show' schools. When challenged by one of us on this issue Mr Strydom revised the itinerary. We saw that there were vastly differing standards of school complexes — the impressive Anglo American building, the prefabricated Star 'Teach' Schools and the bleak austerity of the older buildings. In all the schools the classrooms were bare and gloomy.

6. There is enormous difficulty with recruiting

more highly qualified white teachers who either do not want to become involved in Soweto, or 'take the bread out of black teachers' mouths'. There appeared to be no temporary replacement for teachers on study leave.

7. The absenteeism from the special science and electronics classes organised to train or retrain teachers during school hours stood at 33½ per cent, despite the fact that the Department of Education had seconded an able administrator to ensure that these classes help close the untrained gap.

On the credit side the tour revealed:

1. The neatness of the pupils; the discipline in the classrooms and attention to their assigned tasks even when teachers were on study leave; their pride in their work and in the articles they had produced in art, metal, wood-work, brick-laying and carpentry classes.

2. Strenuous efforts are being made to attract more blacks to the teaching profession and to raise standards and qualifications by converting academic to commercial and technical courses, for which there is so desperate a need.

3. The importance of preparing pupils for creative work, both technical and professional, is being recognised. The curriculum has been widened to include drawing, motor mechanics, electronics, typing, photography, bricklaying, gardening, woodwork, metalwork, domestic science and building. An additional fee of R10 a year is levied for practical subjects for which special material or equipment is required.

4. Some principals encourage their pupils to return to their classrooms for supervised study after hours.

5. In the Dobsonville High School and probably in others, there are three trends of training — science, commerce and general

6. There has been an extension of adult education classes, which meet in school premises after class hours. In effect these are separate schools with their own principal and teachers — only the premises are the same. There is an avid desire among adults to obtain matriculation and higher education and enrolment is high. Last year 564 adults from Soweto wrote the matriculation examination.

Conclusion

It must be remembered that the background information we received was not comprehensive and that our observation was confined to the few schools we visited.

The comparison with white schools was painful and poignant. Yet the director and his assistants appeared determined to ease tension and to introduce many improvements, upgrading what was and still is a low standard. Within the system, they appear to be trying to do their best for black education.

The undercurrent of senior pupils' unhappiness with the 'system' is, however, probably only out of sight ready to emerge should some spark ignite grievances.

A talk with a former principal

Janet Sahli conducted this interview with Mr 'Wilkie' Kambule, former principal of Soweto's Orlando High School

SAHLI: What motivated you to leave Bantu education after 12 years as a teacher and headmaster? Why did it take so long for you to make the move?

KAMBULE: When education for blacks collapsed in 1976, due to the intransigence of the authorities, the time was ripe for me to leave. Since I have been with the system, I have been very critical of it. With the schools boycott and the empty classes and buildings, we teachers felt the children had a case, and it was useless for us to remain and continue to be paid.

Had the Government removed certain people from Booyens [the education headquarters in Johannesburg] in '76, things might have changed. The only person to be removed was Ackerman, who was made a scape-goat. Ill-feelings against the others there still exists. The lull in Soweto is deceptive. There will be an explosion, as the

students are very unhappy. Also those people handled the issue of the teachers' resignations very clumsily. Five hundred teachers resigned. Eventually 200 went back. Some of those who did so were caught up by the system. 'Section E' stamped in their passes permits them to remain in the area only as long as they are teachers.

SAHLI: It's the same as the restrictions placed on farm labourers, which in my opinion constitute forced labour. To elaborate on my previous question: was your decision to leave Bantu education, then, one which you felt affected your personal integrity? Isn't any education better than none in the long run, whatever ultimately occurs in South Africa

KAMBULE: Admittedly. That's what we teachers said earlier — that we could keep fires burning — when some of our friends left. But

it turned out that our efforts were in vain. Over the years standards dropped markedly. We felt that we couldn't help prop up a system which had collapsed. If people like me remained it would give credibility to the system, and the system would use me to show that there was still something to hold up in black education.

But people have continued and are continuing. The fact that schooling takes place is very important. It is the only place where there is some form of discipline, and we were protecting hordes of children from other social dangers. The numbers meant that they could not be educated effectively and we realised that we had to find alternative means of keeping them occupied. Boredom is one of man's greatest enemies.

SAHLI: Have the children who have dropped out found viable alternatives?

KAMBULE: The children have sought such alternatives, but they have never really worked, thanks to the security police. At Wits, when the students promised them some form of schooling, the security moved in. I felt, anyway, that the University should never have allowed it. Only matriculants are allowed to study at Wits, and the students still had to write matric. Their hopes were raised only to be dashed — as they were doomed to be from the outset.

There is no alternative because we do not control the means of education which are vested solely in the Government. The laws are such that no other person can control education. This is made very clear in the new Draft Education and Training Bill.

SAHLI: What do you think of the Bill?

KAMBULE: We teachers don't feel it is anything new. Except for a few borrowings from the national code, it is still the original Bantu Education. Some of the clauses are sinister: no outsider will be able to go into a school. Even the

compulsoriness of education is not succinctly defined.

However, our resignations produced some good things. The State President has said that black education will get priority. The fact that education is moving is made very clear in official circles. We have made it clear that we will not tolerate differentiated education because it means that we are not receiving the same commodity as whites.

SAHLI: For me the Soweto Eleven demonstrate how Bantu education has failed in its original purpose. They are incredibly vital, aware, thinking young people.

KAMBULE: When the rebellion was in force I discovered how articulate the students are. They were quite aware of the cost of what they were doing. They registered the fact that the majority of blacks are not happy. They pointed out that this was not an 'overnight' thing. Bantu education had been in existence since 1955, before they were born.

SAHLI: It has been said that the root of the whole problem is the gross inequality in the amounts spent on black and white education. Do you agree?

KAMBULE: No. That is only part of the problem. The problem is the philosophy of the Afrikaner about blacks in general, which underlies Bantu education. From there flow the rest of the evils.

The philosophy will not be scrapped. The Government has made it clear that they will make money available — and they have been doing so since '71 — but that the systems will remain separate. They can try to make Turfloop like RAU, but then they fill it with lecturers from Pretoria and Potchefstroom. Most of the students speak English and resent Afrikaans lecturers.

Increasing finances does not take human potential into account.

Obituary

Gladys Griffiths

WE are very sad to hear that our dear friend Gladys Griffiths died a little while ago. To her daughters Gerry and Margaret and the grandchildren we send our affectionate sympathy.

Gladys, with her husband Tom, was a tower of strength to the Sash, and in particular to the Plumstead Branch, from the very beginning — when Marguerite Dreyer was our Chair and Gladys our Treasurer. She was always 'there' — on stands or for other calls — always the leading spirit in rummage sales and fund-raising efforts (and she never forgot the thermos of tea and the sustaining 'goodies' to cheer her co-workers). Morning markets relied on her heavily, and we lent her to the Regional Council as Treasurer for the whole Region for many years. Tom held the door at every rummage sale and after his death we missed him sorely, the more so as Gladys then moved to a flat in Rondebosch and gradually retired from active service to expend her energies for daughters in Scotland and Rhodesia and the grandchildren.

The Sash was built by the likes of Gladys Griffiths. May we always remember them with loving gratitude.

Mary Coke

Who's to pay?

An excerpt from an address given by DR DEREK HENDERSON, Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes University

SOUTH AFRICANS of all shades of opinion are becoming increasingly aware of the urgent need to move as rapidly as circumstances will permit from any form of discrimination based on colour alone. Already, not inconsiderable progress has been made in providing freer access to sporting, cultural and public amenities. Salary inequities, particularly in medicine and in university education have been ameliorated, or even eliminated. In the field of school education, however, stark and invidious comparisons remain. We probably have all been exposed to some of the facts but it serves us well to be reminded of them. A Survey of Race Relations for 1977 records the following statistics in respect of the years 1976 and 1977:

Population Group	Per Capita Expenditure	Teacher/Pupil Ratio	Total Enrolment
White	R644	1:20	942 000
'Coloured'	R140	1:30	688 000
Indian	R190	1:27	195 000
African	R 42	1:52	3 898 000

If all the school children in South Africa had the same level of education expenditure devoted to them as is the present case for whites, the expenditure would be at least twice that presently devoted to defence. This is clearly an impossible burden and will remain so for many years to come.

The necessity for a vast upgrading of black education can no longer be ignored.

It becomes more obvious by the day that South Africa's sophisticated and modern economy can no longer be manned by skilled white managerial and technical manpower alone.

In a widely acclaimed address delivered to the International Monetary conference in Mexico City in May this year, Mr Harry Oppenheimer

said: 'In 1970 there were 1 300 000 white-collar workers in South Africa of whom 875 000 were white and 425 000 of other races. It is estimated that by 1990 the demand for workers in this category would increase to 2 800 000 of whom at the very most 1 350 000 might be white.

This means that unless our economy is to stagnate for lack of skilled manpower more than 1 000 000 additional skilled black workers will have to be found by 1990. The need is brought into focus further by the very sharp decline in the number of skilled white immigrants arriving.

Provision for such vast numbers of skilled and semi-skilled people can only be met by devoting far greater resources to the schooling of race groups other than white. We cannot afford from public funds to bring all school facilities up to the level presently enjoyed by whites, and to level down the standard of white facilities is clearly unacceptable. The inescapable conclusion is that whites are going to have to pay for part of the cost of schools from their own pockets.

We could then evolve a system under which the State would provide a per capita sum, ultimately the same for all race groups, which it can realistically afford from general taxation. School by school the governing body in consultation with parents would lay down fees to meet the extra facilities desired. The financial discrepancies between private and government schools and between schools for whites and other race groups would ultimately fall away in an evolutionary manner.

We should be left with a fair, but non-uniform school system which the country could afford. This is essentially what happened in Kenya and is already happening to some extent in black education, where parents find the funds for extra staff which the Department cannot at present (if ever) afford.

'There is no such thing as a good censorship law — the better it is the worse it is.

'Censorship is a political weapon', Dr Coetzee said.

The Star, 30/8/79

What will we do?

Alex Boraine, MP

THERE are many white South Africans who are very bewildered, to put it no higher than that, at the attitude of the Western countries towards South Africa. They are bewildered and even shocked, because for so long South Africa has seen itself as part of the Western civilisation. Part of its history lends some credibility to that: part of its heritage, its involvement in conflicts on an international scale, its trade relations, its direct and indirect links with many Western countries, have fostered a self-image amongst many or most white South Africans, that they belong to that part of the world described as the West, that they have little or no contact with the East, and certainly do not expect any assistance or co-operation from the East. But the West — certainly they were our friends, they were our trading partners, they were the ones who would come to our rescue if we needed help. And all at once it seems that South Africa can no longer depend upon that. Instead, there seems to have been a decision not merely to be aloof from South Africa, but a decision to be (what many white South Africans would consider) hypercritical both of the basic policy out of which so much else flows and of many of the events which have taken place in recent days. And one has only to travel overseas to see the quite visible difference in the attitude towards South Africa of many people in high places, and to understand why there is so much bewilderment and so much shock in South Africa.

The direct result of this has been a further isolationism — I thought we had reached the absolute limit of that, but there seems to be no limit — and, more than that, an anti-Americanism such as we have never seen before in this country, a very real critical attitude towards Great Britain, and to a lesser degree, only because the contacts are not as great, towards Canada, Western Germany and France. Now many people will be saying that there is a misunderstanding here: that these countries are not really opposed to us; that they do understand the nature of our problems and, they are aware that they are very complex and difficult; that there are many good changes taking place in the land; that our critics are only a small group, Carter principally, Ambassador Young notably, and so on and so on.

But I think that anyone who has visited the US in recent days will know that this is simply not true. There is a marked difference in attitudes towards South Africa at a very high level and on

quite a wide base, and some of the events which have taken place in the last four years have led to this. Of course, when I talk about international relations, I naturally cannot exclude our relations with the rest of Southern African and with Africa. There is not a great deal to report on Africa, but it can be said that there is an estrangement which is very deep and real. And there are growing signs of tension, not so much with Swaziland, but certainly with Botswana, certainly with Lesotho, and for obvious reasons, certainly with Mozambique and Angola.

Our relationships with Rhodesia have always been special for historical and other reasons, and here we quite clearly see ourselves in a very ambivalent position. On the one hand, the South African government knows that what happens in Rhodesia affects and influences us very considerably. It therefore wishes to be seen to have some bargaining power here. One knows, too, that South Africa has put pressure on Mr Smith and members of his cabinet and government over the last few years, even concerning the release of political prisoners, like Joshua Nkomo, the Rev N. Sithole and Mr Mugabe. Thus South Africa's relationships are very ambivalent: on the one hand tremendously strong in favour of Mr Smith and his internal settlement and outwardly militantly opposed to the Patriotic Front — and yet knowing full well that in *Realpolitik* there is no way that peace will come to Rhodesia without the involvement of all those people I have mentioned. Therefore there is a behind-the-scenes movement which is quite different from the official open attitude.

And if that is true with Rhodesia we must expect it to be just as true in relationships with other countries. So one can find it very difficult to understand just what is happening between, for example, the United Nations and the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The dramatic and sombre and funereal statements which are made by Pik Botha must not fool you into imagining that he does not have quite a good working relationship with some of the people he criticises. But hostility from the international community and from our so-called traditional friends which has always existed, has come to a head with Portugal's movement out of Africa, the realisation by Kissinger and others of a vacuum which was very swiftly filled, and the US's great concern that Russia should not have a foothold in Southern Africa. Hence there was a strong protest at the presence of Cubans and a strong desire to become much more involved than ever before. That was

before Carter came into the White House. The change in attitude is not all due to the advent of the Democrats to power and this 'horrible' man Carter and those who serve him.

Then there were the events of 1976 which began in that fateful June and went on for so long and left so many people dead and so many homes smashed, so many people in gaol and so many becoming exiles, and a tremendous legacy of hatred, anger and fear. I was in the States for part of that time and saw the attention this received on a daily basis in the major newspapers, on television, on radio, in the universities and so on. There was a growing awareness that this was a *conflict area* similar to Northern Ireland, to Lebanon, and even to the Middle East, something which the US could not afford to ignore if it wanted to make plain its position as the so-called leader of the West. And this is the month to remember, of course, the death of Steve Biko: if ever a man had more influence in his death than in a short and yet spectacular life, it is Steve Biko. Strange how these things happen in history now and again — some moment, some event, some person becomes a symbol. And everything that happened to that young life has become a symbol of all that apartheid is about. To try and understand the grand design as an opportunity, as a method of resolving the conflict situation in South Africa, is one thing, but the story of Biko — the long journey in the back of a truck and all that went with it — the details published all over the world and in the most unlikely places, made the picture so graphic that people began to look at the policy in an entirely different light.

And this is something which the South African government simply has not come to terms with, even yet. They are angry with Kruger and think it was his fault but they do not realise just what this has done.

There are two other things I must mention. The first is that South West Africa is now trembling on the brink of independence. South Africa is doing as much as it possibly can in a bargaining position and is extremely anxious for the matter to be resolved. But some of you may recall that it was only two years ago that the Odendaal Report came out, according to which the solution was that South West Africa was going to be a carbon copy of South Africa — a whole series of homelands on ethnic lines. And this Report was deemed to be so important that it was produced typically à la Rhodie, in glorious technicolour on glossy paper with marvellous pictures, and widely distributed as a just and fair solution which the people wanted.

But it was out of date as soon as it was printed. Why was it possible for the South African government to change its mind so decisively on this issue, and do it in such a way that most people do not even know it changed its mind? I am convinced that the five Western

nations gave South Africa an ultimatum, and said: 'Either do it this way — and of course you'll negotiate and there will be give and take — or we'll have no alternative but to move into sanctions against South Africa.' And under that sort of pressure, there was a complete change of attitude on the SWA issue, a movement towards free elections on a non-ethnic basis with universal suffrage. What will happen in the end there I don't think anyone really knows, but it is a very interesting situation.

The other point is the last one I want to make. There are growing signs of a movement, a hardening, on the question of disinvestment. As far back as 10 or 11 years ago, there were small church and student groups, based mainly in New York and to a lesser degree in Boston, who were determined to press for American corporations operating in South Africa to withdraw. They got nowhere then, but some of these same people, older now, with considerable expertise and intimate knowledge, have pressed home their case in the boardrooms of the major corporations of the US. I shall never forget speaking in New York to a prominent member of a very large corporation with investments all over the world, including this country. We were discussing and debating the issues and suddenly heard this senior executive using an argument which I had heard used very convincingly by one of the leaders of the disinvestment movement. I asked, 'Have you recently talked with him? Has he persuaded you in this matter?' He replied, 'Well, I must say that the logic of it is unassailable.' The single most important issue on US university campuses in the spring of this year was South Africa and disinvestment. Lots of people will find this very difficult to understand when there are so many other enormous issues facing the world. The fact, however, is that it is happening, and although a number of universities have declined to withdraw their investments from corporations which have portfolios in South Africa there is no doubt that a number of them actually have withdrawn. There is also now a great deal of conditional investment: 'We will give you an opportunity and we will give you time, but if certain things don't happen then you will leave us no option but to withdraw.'

The late Pope John-Paul uttered one particular phrase which I think needs to be heard, to the effect that against a background of much progress in so many fields, the world desperately needs to be loved. Many people are horrified and shaken by the violence of systems and of governments, the implementation of crude and cruel powers and the counter-violence which has come as a result of that. And, somehow or other, some of us have a responsibility to work to achieve

what Helder Camora has called the breaking of the spiral of violence. Someone, somewhere has to do that supremely difficult task.

To conclude, South Africa has no credit in the East and apparently no friends of any consequence in the West. There is a growing hardening towards racism as it is practised in South Africa on an official basis. Anyone who imagines

that once the question of SWA/Namibia has been resolved there will be an easing up of pressure, is just not living in the world.

My forecast, then, is very much like a Cape winter — the outlook is dark, and it is going to be very cold and very lonely. Lots of people will leave, lots of people will give up. It remains to be seen what we will do.

The more things change . . .

THE CAPE PENINSULA NATIVE RIGHTS PROTECTION ASSOCIATION.

(Central Committee.)

OFFICERS:

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Vice Chairman, Mr. A. Yonana
Secretary, Mr. C. Kobus
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Assistant Treasurer, Mr. S. A. Jaylyn

All Communications must be addressed to the Secretary

P.O. Box 820,
CAPE TOWN,

.....15th. November.....1935

ORGANISING SECRETARIES:

H. J. Segie-Kekane—Joel Nduma

Dear Sir/Madam,

It is in an effort to safeguard the African's future as a people that we approach you to assist us in taking steps to combat several Legislative Measures which are directed towards robbing us of the few existing privileges granted us in the days of the Cape Government.

The Government's segregation Policy as outlined in the two Native Bills, and the Urban Areas Act Further Amendment Bill now in preparation, is considered by most thinking people to be an unjust imposition on the African.

Advocate Bowen's letter, as Parliamentary representative for our constituency, indicates the lines upon which we propose to act, and explains the reason for our approaching you for tangible assistance and moral support in our attempt to retain for the African some measure of freedom and responsibility.

The short period of time remaining before the Conference meets makes it impossible for us to raise sufficient money among our own people, and donations for sending our delegates to Bloemfontein for the All Bantu Conference, and for defraying the cost of legal assistance in framing counter-proposals to the Government Measures, will be appreciated, and acknowledged by the Secretary, P.O. Box 820, Cape Town.

Messrs Buirski & Herbst
148, St. George's St.
Cape Town. CP.

Chairman. *A. Yonana*

Secretary, *C. Kobus*

Foreign investment

This paper was compiled by Cape Western

FOREIGN investment in Africa and, particularly South Africa, today cannot be viewed in isolation. For any kind of true understanding, it must be placed within the historical framework of colonisation and the economic structures that this colonisation established. For this reason, the first part of this paper will deal with the economic patterns created by the colonisers, particularly through the kind of capital investment they made, or encouraged, in their colonies.

I. 1870-1939

Having participated in the 'Scramble for Africa', more because they didn't want to be left out than because they really wanted colonies, the European colonising powers lost interest. There were few parts of Africa then expected to produce immediate wealth, so that, although the hope of economic gain was a potent factor in the 'scramble', development of the regions and their resources was not, initially, part of the plan. Economic development and education was, therefore, left almost entirely to private enterprise and missions, while the colonial powers were confronted with the tedious problem of financing some kind of administration for their new territories. The general idea was that all that was needed was to provide political security and law and order, the administration of which was to be financed by the peoples of the colonies and not by the colonising powers themselves.

Unfortunately, except for some parts of West Africa, the native peoples were almost totally unaware of the concepts of production for exchange, and of accumulated wealth serving economic purposes, so that actually raising revenue from them became a problem. Three main solutions to this problem developed in the various parts of Africa:

- a) Dependence on peasant production — West Africa.
- b) Delegation of power to concessionaire companies — Congo/French Equatorial Africa.
- c) Private settlement/Chartered companies — Central and East Africa.

a) *Peasant production — West Africa*

Both French and British West Africa had had some 300 years of association with Europeans, through the operation of the slave trade, and so had developed a demand for European manufactured goods, for which they paid with the sale of cash crops. These were, therefore, self-support-

ing colonies economically based on cash crop production (ground-nuts, cotton, cocoa, palm oil, gold, timber) and this meant that revenue could be raised both by taxing imports and by imposing direct taxes. Peasant production was encouraged and revenue for administration fairly easily raised.

b) *Concessionaire companies — Congo/French Equatorial Africa*

These areas had little trade to tax, so that some capital investment had to precede any form of taxable economic development to raise revenue for military and administrative purposes. The European government were unwilling to incur the expenses for railways and other such projects and, instead, attracted private capital through massive land and mineral concessions. Concessionaire companies were formed with the objective of rapid return on investment and these utilised the one resource they found plentiful which was black labour. The only way to create wealth was through the organisation (usually forced) of labour and this led to investment on the basis of labour at artificially low wage rates. It also led to the assumption of a continuous supply of labour at these miserable rates and vested interests developed which made every effort to ensure this.

Dependence on cheap black labour comes out just as clearly in the third solution to the problem of obtaining revenue from African colonies —

c) *Settlement/Chartered companies — Central and East Africa*

These areas also had no trade on which colonial administrative revenues could be based, but (unlike the unhealthy Equatorial and Congo Basin regions) did have fine highland farming land. Colonial policy thus became one of limited white settlement by farmers acting as employers and organisers of African labour. In Central Africa this settlement was promoted by the British South Africa Company with land grants, while African title to the lands was ignored. In the Portuguese colonies, feudal estates emerged, one which the 'lord' had feudal rights and powers. Unlike West Africa, the peoples of Central and East Africa were not encouraged to develop cash crops (Shona agriculture was actually deliberately destroyed in Rhodesia), but were urged and often forced to earn the required tax money as migrant labour on white farms.

Obviously, these methods of raising administrative revenue did more than just that. They

actually established a basic economic structure, in each particular area, on which future economic development would take place.

Foreign Investment 1870-1939

Total foreign capital invested in Africa South of the Sahara in this period, has been estimated at £1 222 million (R2 444m), of which about half came from governments or public authorities. A large part of the other half was connected with mining and mineral exploration. Total capital invested in commerce and industry was minimal, as that in commerce was accumulated out of trade itself and there was little reason to start industry, given the availability of European goods. Capital invested in agriculture came out of the land itself.

A breakdown of public and private capital investment shows that the main spheres of investment were in mining enterprises and in railway construction. Mining attracted private capital, mainly in the form of equity capital, while government investment was mainly in railways, financed through interest-bearing foreign loans. This is an important point and one which does much to explain the present economic problems of many African countries. Equity capital is share capital and it does not need to be repaid. Loans from any source not only require repayment but also carry interest charges and the countries in which economic development was financed in this way found themselves burdened long after political independence with heavy external debt charges.

It is also precisely this difference in the kind of capital used for financing investment that does much to explain why South Africa leapt ahead of the rest of Africa in terms of economic development.

Of the total £1 222 million invested in Africa from 1870 to 1939, £941 million (77 per cent) was in British territories. The superior investment position of British Africa was not due to greater concern in development, but to the gold and diamonds of South Africa which alone received 43 per cent. The major part of the remaining 34 per cent went to Northern and Southern Rhodesia. In the light of these figures, it is not surprising that South Africa, with domestic capital released for industrial development, surged ahead to a position of economic superiority in the continent.

The first grasping years of occupation and exploitation were succeeded by a period of civil administration and the building of infrastructure. In South Africa gold and diamonds brought in massive amounts of equity capital, and financed rapid economic growth. In the rest of Africa, capital investment for development tended to be in a form which mortgaged the future to meet fixed-interest debt burdens abroad. The universal dependence on cheap, black labour created an un-

realistic and highly profitable investment pattern which was to attract foreign enterprises to establish themselves where they could take most advantage of it. Further, the neglect of education and health facilities left most African economies without the means to develop themselves fully. While foreign investment in this period certainly brought the technological expertise of Europe to Africa, it tended to do so in a way which ensured the prosperity of a small section of the population at the expense of the rest.

II. 1945-1970s

In this the last phase of colonial rule in Africa, attention was finally given to proper resource development — capital was invested in hydroelectric schemes, in construction, in the improvement of transport and communications and in the expansion and diversification of agriculture. Health and education services belatedly received attention, and missions were slowly relieved of being the sole source of African education. Post-war world opinion against colonialism forced the colonial powers to look at the future and to their place in an independent Africa.

During the 1960s, black nationalist movements gained political independence for their countries, but found that colonial rule had left a very definite social, political and economic legacy. Most new states faced their future free of alien rule, but as undeveloped countries. African poverty was a natural result of colonial concentration on production of raw materials for export, on imported European manufactured goods and on the related collection and distribution services. These sectors yielded the highest profit to the colonists, but scarcely affected the bulk of the population, which was engaged in low-productivity food- and handicraft-production. Belated and inadequate health and education investment meant that the African was limited mainly to unskilled wage labour, or to traditional agriculture and a skilled, educated labour force was almost totally absent. This lack was to cripple economic development in the newly-independent states and to force a continued reliance on the know-how of the ex-colonisers. In the last colonial years, efforts were made to create an educated élite to rule the independent states and this, too, was to set a pattern for the future. With a few notable exceptions, the colonially-educated élite took over the political and economic power and maintained the socio-economic systems they had inherited. In most cases, old economic ties with former colonial powers were maintained and new ones formed with those countries interested in investing in the new states. The USA, in particular, began to pay attention to Africa as an investment area and concentrated funds in ways it found most profitable, as did the other western countries attracted to African investment possibilities.

• *Economic aid, loans and investment from the major western industrial nations, therefore, re-*

inforced existing economic structures and thwarted efforts at re-construction by not making funds available for non-profitable ventures — however necessary these might be to the future development of the country.

This is the major reason that many African states turned to less profit-oriented sources for finance and have established economic relations with socialist states. Socialist technical development, precisely the areas ignored by other capital sources. Another important factor is that socialist loans do not lead to permanent foreign-owned private interests, but can be used to develop the public sector and African skill through the extension of educational facilities. Economic relations with socialist countries has meant new markets for exports and new sources of capital equipment, credit facilities and technical advice for many African states. Thus one should not be surprised at the sight of predominantly capitalist Ghana, or Nigeria, dealing with both East and West.

With socialist capital and technical expertise however, came socialist ideas and the movements that emerged, in opposition to the colonialism still in force in the southern parts of Africa, took on this new flavour. In Mozambique, in Angola, in Rhodesia and even in South Africa the relevant movements had a Marxist base. Tanzania had, of course, set an example by rejecting the old capitalist socio-economic system, but the 1970s have thrown up movement after movement doing the same thing. Given the economic history of Africa and the forces currently operating, it is, perhaps, not surprising that the West has a bad record, whatever one may think of the motives of the East.

South Africa

Except in not welcoming socialist investment, South Africa differs little from other African states. Economic development has certainly been more rapid and far greater industrialisation has taken place, but the basic economic structure established in the early days of settlement has not changed. Gold and diamonds gave both impetus to the economy and the means of financing its development, especially in the industrial sector, but the wealth and prosperity these generated are still to the benefit of only a small sector

of the population. South Africa is still not an industrialised nation (i.e. one producing its own capital goods, although SASOL and ISCOR are a start) and still depends, too heavily, on a few agricultural and mineral products, such as gold, wool, sugar, diamonds.

Foreign investment in South Africa comes only from the industrialised western countries and is, therefore, based on good profit expectation. This investment is mainly in the form of equity/share holdings in South African companies (usually gold) and interest-bearing loans. Only a small proportion of it is in the form of foreign-owned companies setting up operations within South Africa. Investment in non-profitable ventures, like the Orange River Project, is undertaken by the government and financed as it considers best.

It is from the political and not the economic aspect that South Africa is now a source of special attention and interest. Despite their independence from the original colonising powers, the growth of African socialist movements would seem to indicate another power struggle at some time in the future. Like Nigeria with its valuable oil resources, South Africa is rich in mineral wealth and a source of great profit to the countries with interests or investment in it. A socialist economic system in South Africa would mean the end of these profits and, possibly, of this source of minerals, especially gold. It would be very much against the interests of those with investments in South Africa to have a revolutionary socialist government in power.

South Africa provides high return on investment to foreign capital and has minerals much in demand by the West. This makes it almost certain that, in any power struggle against a Marxist opponent, the West will support the forces which guarantee it a continuation of the benefits it has received in the past. This stance was shown very clearly by events in Mozambique and Angola. The former was an underdeveloped agricultural country with little to interest outside investors. The latter has oil. Frelimo took Mozambique without anyone getting too concerned, but Angola erupted in civil war with active involvement by East and West. South Africa is like Angola. Everyone is extremely concerned with the outcome of any ideological power struggle, to the extent of actual participation.

He said it

Afrikaners have been overtaken by the past, and are hesitating to face the future.

Prof Floors van Jaarsveld, quoted in the Sunday Express, 23/9/79.

... the more they stay the same

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,
CAPETOWN.

1st November, 1935.

MR. ARIEL YENANA,
VICE-CHAIRMAN,

THE CAPE PENINSULA NATIVE RIGHTS PROTECTION ASS.
(Central Committee)

Dear Mr. Yenana,

With reference to the interview which I have had with the representatives of your Association, I would like to say that I most heartily commend their proposed efforts. I agree with your determination to do all in your power to make representations to the Government on the Native Bills which will be before Parliament during the next Session. I further agree with you that a defiant negative to these proposals will not assist your Cause, and that your decision to lay counter proposals of a constructive nature before the Parliament and Government is the only practical manner of ensuring a hearing for your case.

I agree with your decision to co-operate in the All Bantu Conference which is to be held in Bloemfontein on 16th December, 1935, when the Native Bills will be considered. I also appreciate the need for educated Natives from the Cape Province who have enjoyed the privilege of being granted the Citizen's Franchise to be there. The Native vote in the Cape has never been abused by the Native himself, though it is a fact that the various Political Parties have offered inducements for them to do so. This Vote in the Cape is your People's Birthright, and it is essential that you should attend the All Bantu Conference in order to make a strenuous effort to get a resolution in favour of its retention, if you cannot gain one in favour of an extension.

I wish you every success in your efforts, and I enclose a donation to help you defray the cost of sending your delegate to this Conference.

Yours faithfully,

WALTER BOWEN, M.P.



They have died in detention since 1976

JOSEPH MDLULI
MAPETLA MOHAPI
LUKE MAZWEMBE
DUMISANI MBATHA
CALEB MAYEKISO
EDWARD MZOLO
WILLIAM NAMODI TSHWANE
ERNEST MAMASILA
WELLINGTON MLUNGISI TSHAZIBANE
BEORGE BOTHA
DR NANAOTH NTSHUNTSHA
LAWRENCE NDZANGA
THELO MOSALA
ELMON MALELE
MATTHEWS MABELANE
TSWAFIFENE JOYI
SAMUEL MALINGA
AARON KHOZA
PHAKAMILE MABIJA
ELIJAH LOZA
HOOSEN HAFJEJEE
BAYEMPIN MZIZI
STEVE BIKO
BONAVENTURE MALAZA
LUNGILE TABALAZA
JACOB MASHABANE
FENUAL MOGATUSI

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