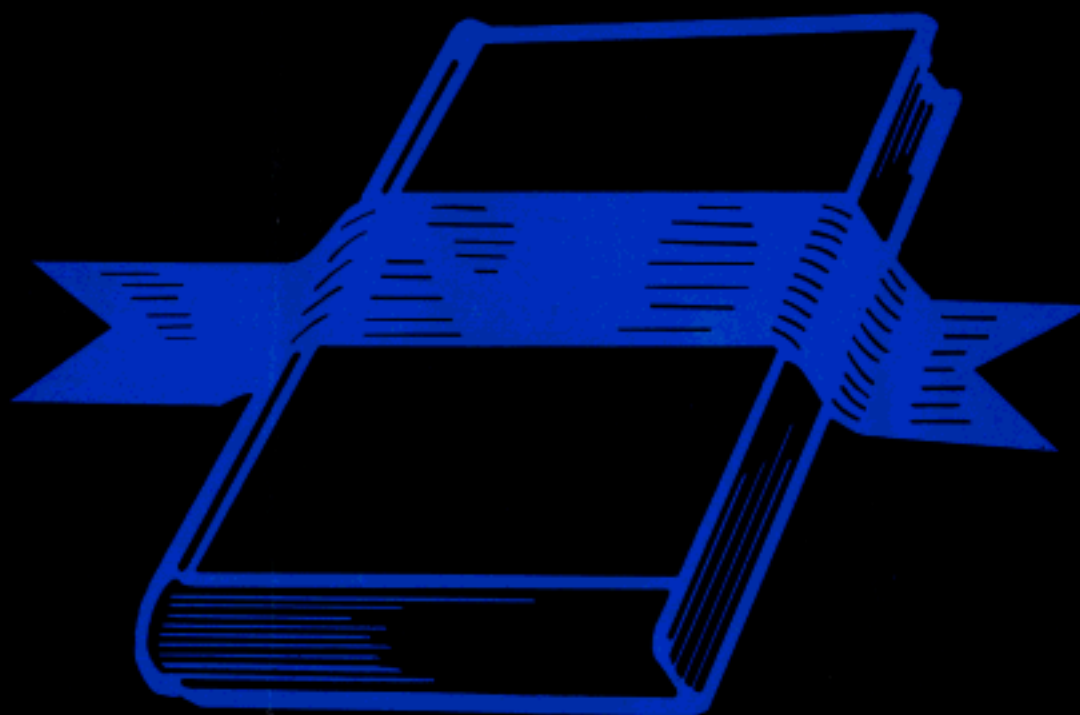


November 1981

SASH

***European
Perspectives
of South
Africa**

***Nyanga**



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RECENTLY the South African Institute of International Affairs held a conference on 'Southern Africa in the World' in Johannesburg. Among the speakers were the Rt Hon Edward Heath, former Prime Minister of Britain, and Marion Countess Doenhoff, editor of the German newspaper, 'Die Zeit'. Abridged versions of their papers appear in this issue.

Both spoke with great courtesy and restraint, underlining their awareness that they were outsiders and stating their desire not to be presumptuous.

Both analysed the Russian expansionist threat to South Africa, although Countess Doenhoff felt that it was less threatening than did Mr Heath. Both gave credit for the progress which has been achieved here, although here again their emphasis differed, Mr Heath finding it slightly greater than did Countess Doenhoff. Mr Heath did, however, stress that such progress was simply not enough.

Mr Heath's speech received great publicity in the media. General Black reaction was that its contents were simply what Blacks had been trying to tell Whites for years. White reaction was, on the whole, predictably defensive. The general tenor of letters to the Press was that Mr Heath should leave South Africa to solve her problems in her own way.

But the ugly truth is that we are **not** solving our problems in our own way. In fact, we are continuing to aggravate them in our own inimitable fashion. Our leaders and a large section of the White public are shutting eyes and ears to what our own countrymen are telling us, never mind foreign visitors. The authorities are using jargon like 'agitators', 'self-determination', 'total onslaught' to camouflage the vicious shambles of their system. In Parliament recently an Opposition MP pointed out the absurdity of including both the West and the Communists in the total onslaught. Mr Heath pointed out that actions like the eviction of Nyanga squatters from their shelters into a bitter Cape winter speak louder than any words.

Both Mr Heath and Countess Doenhoff were statesmanlike. The lack of jargon in their language was refreshingly noticeable. Like many people in Europe they are genuinely worried about the success with which the Government has taken South Africa out of the world since 1948. The Germans particularly are chillingly aware of the havoc racist isolationism can wreak.

The Government and the White public's vituperative reactions to any form of criticism only underscore Countess Doenhoff's contention that while South Africa has lived in an almost forgotten niche of history since 1945 the world outside has changed more thoroughly than in the whole of the preceding century.

Illegally at Home

ROB MEINTJIES

On August 31 in Parliament Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, said his Department had processed 922 squatters out of the Peninsula 'after assessing each case on its merits'. One of the cases was that of Mrs J N Velemana.

JULIA NOWINILE VELEMANA, born Rylands Estate, 1940, has always regarded the Western Cape as her home.

She grew up in Cape Town and started work here as a nanny at the age of 15. Here she learnt to wash, cook and iron for a living, married when still in her teens, packed fruit with her husband on 'Baas Gan's' farm, had four children, and suffered the pain of separation from her husband.

In August this year Government officials told her she was mistaken. The Western Cape was not her home, they said, but the Transkei.

So they 'repatriated' her to the Transkei under police escort, together with about 1 000 homeless people arrested on the desolate squatter site between Crossroads and Nyanga.

Mrs Velemana still does not understand why the officials insisted that the Transkei was her home.

In the mid-1970s they said her home was the Ciskei and sent her to Sada, on the grounds, she says, that her mother had been resettled there and her rightful place was by her mother's side. But that is another story, with a tragic sequel for the Velemana family.

Left stranded in Umtata in August, Mrs Velemana, who had never set foot in the Transkei before, could only think of her children, grandmother, sisters and brother in Cape Town.

She boarded a bus back to Cape Town and successfully ran the gauntlet of police road blocks erected to halt the flow of squatters back to the Peninsula.

She united with her family in Cape Town. Mrs Velemana told how she came to throw in her lot with the Nyanga squatters in a desperate bid to regain legalisation of her presence in the place of her birth.

Mrs Velemana says she once possessed a pass qualifying her to live and work legally in the Cape Town area, but officials took it away during the 1970s. Since then she has lodged illegally with her brother in Nyanga.

Years of tension and fear of arrest as an 'illegal' drove her to join the homeless Nyanga squatters gathered near Crossroads. She had been told the squatters presence in the Cape was to be legalised and hoped to once again obtain a reference book.

In fluent Afrikaans she told how the Velemana family first lived in a pondok in Rylands Estate:

'I grew up there among the Moslems. Then we moved to Sakkitsdorp (Nyanga) so that my father could be near to the quarry where he broke stones for Baas Hennie. Like other people in Sakkiesdorp, we made a house with mealie meal bags which we bought from the China's shop across the road from the quarry.'

When it rained the people of Sakkiesdorp kept dry by lighting fires inside their huts and clouds of steam would rise from the town made of sacks.

When Julia turned 15 she was given a 'paper pass' and found work as a nannie near Sakkiesdorp. She married a couple of years later and moved with her husband, Simon Velemana, to a farm at Somerset West, where all her children were born. Julia worked in the orchards helping the Black and 'Coloured' workers pack fruit. In her spare time she caught the bus to the Peninsula to cook, iron and tend children for Nooi Petersen. Then the young couple moved to Kuilsrivier.

About five years ago her mother was 'resettled' in Sada, Ciskei, together with four of Julia's siblings.

'They said it was a place for old people who could no longer work. People from Guguletu, Nyanga East and Stellenbosch were sent away on the trains. Then they caught me and said I must go to my mother. I thought that was strange because I could still work and I had children.'

After three weeks at Sada, Julia returned to Cape Town to find that her husband had disappeared with her children. She eventually traced

him to Crossroads where he was living with another woman. From then on Mrs Velemana lived with her brother as an 'illegal' lodger in the Nyanga single quarters.

With the threat of arrest hanging over her head she eked out a living cooking, ironing and charring.

'I worked for Kraaifontein people for three years. I was a sort of house mother. The baas and nooi were good to me and I worked well there. But I had to leave because my book was not right and the nooi was afraid. The baas said I could come back if my pass was right.'

Three years ago Julia's mother was murdered.

The old woman, poverty-stricken in Sada, had travelled to Durban to get money from one of her sons. She needed the money to support some of her daughter's children, who were living with her in Sada. Unbeknown to her the son had left Durban for Sada with the money. In Durban her son's neighbours gave her enough money to catch the train back to the Ciskei.

'The skollies got her in the toilet. They took the little money she had and pushed her off the train just before Queenstown.'

The old woman was still alive when railway workers found her lying next to the track at daybreak. She died in hospital. When news of her mother's death reached Julia she borrowed R600 and brought her mother's body back to Cape Town to be buried.

'I don't think my mother would have died if she was not sent away. The same could happen to me. I want to live in Cape Town with my children.'

'We do not come right with the people of the Transkei and Ciskei. We don't like their food. I was brought up with the 'Coloureds'. We worked with them on the farms, talked their language. They taught me how to cook. We do not say they belong to one nation and us to another nation.'

Despite repeated attempts to legalise her presence in Cape Town, Julia failed to obtain a reference book. She said this year she went to the labour bureau accompanied by her husband, who told officials that Julia had been his first wife. She was given Transkei papers on the strength of her husband's Transkeian origin. But her residence in Nyanga remained illegal.

'My heart was sore because I wanted to stay with my family. I saw other people who had come to Cape Town after I was born here, were given passes.'

'It is difficult for me to get work without a pass. My brother and my sisters look after me but I do not want them to struggle with my children, buying food and clothes. I am not happy that they cannot go to school because children must learn. I am not learned, my children are not learned. I do not know what that means. But if you are learned you get a good job, so that the nooi can leave notes for you.'

One day Julia noticed that people were gather-

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THE CHANGING WORLD AROUND SOUTH AFRICA

Rt Hon EDWARD HEATH, MBE, MP

Mr Heath, former Prime Minister of Britain, made this speech at a recent conference held by the South African Institute of International Affairs.

THERE are three features of the international environment which have a particularly profound impact on South Africa's domestic situation and on her options abroad. The interests of the West are vitally affected by all these features and by the capacity of South Africa to respond to them.

The **first** of these features is the relentless geopolitical onslaught of the Soviet Union. Subversion by the Kremlin — through local Communist parties or labour movements, through support for other radical forces, or through its ever more sophisticated techniques of propaganda — is in many cases far more dangerous and threatening than the Soviet military machine itself. In addition, the new tendency of Moscow to use proxy troops around the world enables the Soviet Union to gain direct military leverage over conflicts to which it would never dare to commit forces of its own.

No continent knows this better than Africa. Recent history shows that Soviet diplomacy has hardly been a triumph in Africa. But subversion and military intervention by proxy have reaped their dividends in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and across the Red Sea in South Yemen.

All this is underpinned by the increasing strength and geographical reach of the Soviet Union's own military power. Here, the most remarkable advances have been made by her navy. Before 1972 the Soviet Navy had undertaken regular operations in the North-West area of the Indian Ocean and around the coast of West Africa. But it kept above the Equator. After 1975, on the other hand, its progression below the Equator began.

South Africa and the West are both gravely endangered by this situation. It threatens them in three ways:

- The first is by contributing to a pincer-like strategy by which the Soviets hope to dominate the Gulf and the vital Straits of Hormuz.

- The second way in which the Soviet Union's presence in Africa and in the waters surrounding it threatens the interests of the West and of South Africa is by the danger it poses to the Cape route.

- Third, these advances by the Soviet Union directly endanger the security of South Africa itself. This inevitably affects the interests of the West, if only because at present we are heavily dependent on a range of essential minerals which no other power sympathetic to the free world can adequately provide.

This is why for better or for worse the destinies

of South Africa and the West are intimately intertwined.

The **second** feature of the international environment which is profoundly important for South Africa is the emergence of Black rule in Angola and Mozambique and, even more so, the birth of Zimbabwe. The emergence of a prosperous Black-ruled nation on South Africa's doorstep has created a new economic pole in the region towards which South Africa's other Black neighbours may increasingly gravitate. This, too, will give psychological reassurance to the Black population throughout Southern Africa, even if the great economic power of Zimbabwe remains potential rather than actual for some time to come. The impact which that will have on the stability of South Africa and of the region is of great concern to the West. For additional instability will further threaten our markets and our supplies of raw materials in addition to providing fresh opportunities for Soviet advance.

There is a **third** feature of the international environment which, like the second, will inspire Black people everywhere who feel downtrodden and depressed. It is the slow, but marked, progression towards more free and responsive government on the African continent. This is by no means confined to Zimbabwe. The last few years have seen the eclipse of three of the continent's most bestial dictators: Amin of Uganda, Bokassa of the short-lived Central African Empire, and Francisco Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea. At the same time, Senegal and Tunisia have opened up their political systems; Ghana and Nigeria have abandoned military rule for constitutional democracy; and the Organisation of African Unity has substantially increased its concern for human rights and its disapproval of their violation by some of its member governments.

These three features in the international environment all point inexorably to one common conclusion. This is the need eventually to grant full political rights to the non-White population in South Africa itself.

First, the fury and the frustration of the non-White population in South Africa, which are born of the system of apartheid and fanned by the emergence of Black majority rule elsewhere in Africa, constitute one of the greatest opportunities for Soviet advance in the world today. The longer their bondage lasts the more they will resort to the

armed struggle which the Soviet Union is only waiting to sponsor, and the more they will seek comfort in the historically inevitable victory which is promised by Marxist ideology.

Let no one imagine that repression of Black militancy will deny the Soviets this opportunity for geophysical advance in Southern Africa. At best, repression will serve only to push the focus of the conflict outside the borders of South Africa itself and thereby to suck its already vulnerable neighbours into the conflagration.

Nor should anyone believe that the West would step in on behalf of South Africa in a moment of such national peril. Neither in peacetime nor in war would the West stand in strategic alliance with South Africa as long as she pursues a system which it considers to be profoundly insulting to the rights of the overwhelming majority of her population. The Angolan civil war provided clear evidence for this. The United States was unable at that time to join South Africa in the war against the Marxist MPLA and their Cuban supporters; and under no conceivable circumstances would she have done so even had the will of her people not been sapped by the crises of Vietnam and Watergate.

It is absolutely true that the West has co-operated and continues to co-operate closely with other governments which shamefully violate the rights of their citizens. **But what makes South Africa so unique in the modern world is that the debasement of human rights has become institutionalised, enshrined in law, and even sanctified by religious doctrine.**

To support such a system would not only violate our most deeply held principles: it would also have unimaginable consequences for racial harmony at home. It would turn allies and friends throughout the world against the West. It would bitterly divide the Alliance at a time when unity has never been more important. And it would portray the Soviet Union as the friend of the oppressed in Southern Africa, and the West as their enemy.

Unless and until the dismantlement of apartheid is assured, it would be a grave mistake for South Africa to base her strategy on the assumption that when the chips are down the West will stand with her. Without the system of apartheid in South Africa, we would be natural partners, wedded in common cause against the Communist onslaught in Southern Africa itself and around the world. The loss to our common security which results from the impossibility of consummating this potential partnership is inestimable.

This leads me to the second major feature of the international environment to which I referred earlier. This is the emergence of Black majority rule in South Africa's three most important neigh-

bours: Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The birth of Zimbabwe is by far the most significant of the three for South Africa. Alone of these countries it has a constitutional democracy and a well-functioning economy. It could become, and indeed to some extent has become, a spiritual and economic magnet for the whole region. It is already taking the lead in creating an economic regrouping of nine Black states in Southern Africa. It has every prospect of becoming a major exporter of agricultural produce, including grain. And in time it will also grow in importance as a producer of the manufactured goods which the region requires. This is inevitably going to undercut the economic dependence of the region as a whole on South Africa, and therefore the growing leverage of Pretoria over her neighbours. The result of this will be to erode further the prospects for the establishment of a 'constellation of states' based on growing economic co-operation between South Africa and her neighbours. In fact, any plan of Pretoria to develop a more structured economic partnership in the region is doomed as long as she pursues a domestic policy of racial discrimination which Black leaders find insulting to the dignity of their own kind. But just as a full partnership between South Africa and the West would be impossible until the dismantlement of apartheid is assured, so the great fruits of co-operation between South Africa and her neighbours will be denied until that objective is finally in sight.

But the greatest impact made by the recent movement towards Black majority rule in Southern Africa will not be on Pretoria's options for **foreign** policy, but rather on the consciousness of Blacks in the towns and heartland of South Africa itself as well as of Namibia. For the victory of the Patriotic Front parties has convinced them above all that militant nationalism can triumph against the heaviest odds, if it perseveres. It would be shortsighted not to acknowledge the inspiration which this will inevitably have given to those Black South Africans who have hitherto sought peaceful change for their country.

Nor should we ignore the other lessons of Zimbabwe. Foremost amongst these is that guerilla movements which profess a radical, or even Marxist, faith, can rapidly shed the more extreme elements of their ideological clothing once they are given responsibility in government. Such responsibility can give them a vested interest in moderation at home and abroad. Zimbabwe is not the first example of this. The experience of Kenya has also been testimony to this reality. **But what these countries have also shown is that the longer freedom fighters are isolated and suppressed the more they will resort to violence, to extremist ideo-**

What makes SA so unique in the modern world is that the debasement of human rights has become institutionalised, enshrined in law and even sanctified by religious doctrine.

logies, and to the patronage of radical or anti-Western nations.

This is why it is essential that in bringing Namibia to independence, SWAPO be recognised by South Africa as a full and legitimate participant in elections, just as the outside world should recognise the full legitimacy of the DTA. Any idea that the DTA can successfully bring about the eclipse of SWAPO if that organisation is excluded from an election in Namibia is without foundation. To isolate SWAPO because it has links with Moscow is only to give it no alternative but to strengthen that relationship. The failure of the Internal Settlement in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia demolished whatever credibility an analogous scheme for Namibia might have had.

To an outsider it is increasingly clear that the quest for political change within South Africa is manifested in far more than just bitterness and resentment on the part of the non-White population.

In the first place, there appears to be a growing, even if reluctant, acceptance that an equitable political system will come about only through violence. This is particularly true amongst young Black South Africans, whose alienation is deepening at an alarming pace. To ascribe Marxism's popularity entirely to subversion by the Soviet Union is to shut one's eyes to basic changes in Black consciousness.

But militancy by itself does not lead to change. What makes it effective is organisation; and here too profound changes are occurring amongst Black South Africans. One of the most significant of these changes is the incipient growth of Black trade unions. Today, only about 2% of the African workforce is unionised; but the trend towards greater organisation of labour in the future is clear. Already now, Black workers are coming to see strikes as a weapon for achieving economic and social demands outside the shop floor, as well as on it.

Subsidiaries of foreign companies have shown that they can make a major contribution to an improvement in the conditions of Black workers by pursuing fair employment practices, including more liberal standards of labour relations, in their South African operations. Although direct foreign investment accounts for only a small proportion of total Black employment, it sets an example which the less enlightened South African firms may find increasingly difficult not to follow and which Government will find increasingly difficult to ignore. As the Wiehahn Commission write in 1979: 'The presence of subsidiaries of multinational enterprises within a country's borders creates a conduit through which strong influences and pressure can be exerted on that country's policies and practices'.

The increasing organisation and political awareness of South African Blacks is also nourished by a constant improvement in the education and skills of a growing number of their workers. There can have been no society in history in which such a development did not lead to the emergence of an

organised and influential middle class. Yet it would be a fatal mistake to believe that a new bourgeoisie will remain co-operative and quiescent if it feels itself and its kin to be effectively excluded from the political system of the nation.

One revolution after another in history has shown that it is the middle classes which spearhead revolutionary change, and which provide its philosophical and organisational basis. This was so in the Russian Revolution, in the Civil Rights movement in the United States, and in liberation movements throughout Asia and Africa. There is no compelling evidence that South Africa would be an exception to this rule.

Indeed, to the extent that it has been pursued in South Africa, a strategy of co-optation does not appear to have paid dividends. The most favoured of the non-White racial groups, the Indians and the 'Coloureds', have generally refused to acquiesce in the role of a second-class ally of the White man, despite their relatively privileged status. On the contrary, they appear to have become very much more militant over precisely the period during which the most strenuous efforts have been made to woo them.

Underlying all these trends will be the inexorable growth in the proportion of Blacks to Whites in South African society. In 1980 Blacks outnumbered Whites by five to one. By most forecasts the ratio will be seven to one in the year 2000, and nine to one by 2020. Even if jobs can be provided for all these people, will they be satisfied with the status of indefinite subjugation to a dwindling minority of Whites?

Viewed from abroad, Afrikanerdom appears to be in a ferment of change unparalleled in the history of the Republic. This is not just at the level of attitudes and rhetoric. Black trade unions have been recognised. Statutory job reservation has been substantially removed. Progress has been made towards permitting anyone to establish a commercial enterprise in an industrial area. Advances have been made in the removal of statutory provisions on the mobility of labour. And a number of regulations on 'petty' apartheid have been abolished.

I am confident that this process will continue as a growing proportion of the Afrikaner population becomes urbanised. The prospect of living in a state of growing conflict with the majority of South Africa's labour force is likely to become less and less acceptable to the Afrikaner nation as a whole. In short, the prerequisites of economic and social stability will increasingly conflict with traditional concepts of Afrikaner nationalism.

There are those who say that the abandonment of some of the more peripheral aspects of apartheid by the present Government of South Africa is merely an exercise in political window dressing. Even modest reforms, such as those to which I have referred, tamper with the psychology of apartheid in a manner which is replete with political significance.

But this does not mean that the reforms which

The notion that the West's economic interests in SA give us a stake in the status quo is old-fashioned and dangerously misleading.

have been made so far to the system of apartheid are even remotely adequate; nor does it mean that they will in any way defuse the growing forces for change to which I have referred. Not only are most of these reforms peripheral to the experience of a great proportion of the Black population, but they offer no hope whatsoever that the **core** of apartheid will be removed. This is the denial to the Black population of an equitable role in the central governance of South Africa. **No formula for a constitution will successfully defuse the growing forces of unrest if it does not provide for a universal franchise at the national level.** The franchise may be qualified or not; the State may be federal, confederal or unitary; Blacks may live apart from Whites; but the election of the central government must be by universal suffrage. It would be irresponsible and cowardly for any foreign politician to skirt around that point or to hide it in complicated constitutional argument.

Although the political restructuring of a complex society can never be a process which is wholly tranquil, it will be as nothing compared with the tempest of a revolution, should it be allowed to

occur. This, I believe, is increasingly understood by political and business leaders in the West. And there is a growing recognition amongst our public opinion that the economic stake in South Africa of countries like the UK and the US is best preserved by political adaptation which will help to avoid the upheaval which would otherwise lie ahead. The notion that the West's economic interests in South Africa give us a stake in the status quo is therefore old-fashioned and dangerously misleading.

It would, I believe, be foolish for a foreigner to predict when the forces for change in South Africa will make the transition to an equitable political system the only way of avoiding revolution. The opportunity for dialogue and for political reform without revolution still exists. That this opportunity should be seized will remain the fervent hope of all those who realise the immense political, human and economic contribution which South Africa could make in shaping tomorrow's world. If it is seized, then at last it will be possible to construct the great and natural partnership between the Western World and South Africa which remains an objective of profound common interest.

Open Letter to the Government

THE LAW will not be applied harshly', says the Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, of the Labour Relations Bill.

Which is nice. But is there a hint that Mr Botha suspects the law to be harsh in itself and will therefore appear harsh in its application? If so, would he not consider a new Bill which he is certain is good and therefore in no need of being applied either harshly or leniently?

DO YOU KNOW WHAT, you men of power, you presidents and prime ministers, you gentlemen who love to say 'No', you minions and remoras and underlings, you Heads of Departments who claim you do not know what your Department doeth?

DO YOU KNOW WHAT, you gentlemen of whereas, of 'not in my lifetime', of heretofore and hereunder, you pushers around of people, you 'qualifiers' of other men, you users of Section 10 (1) (a), (b), (c) and (d) which can make or mar a man's whole happiness, you turners of a rugby game (game!) into an Armygeddon, you issuers of a thousand Commandments when the great prophet himself found ten enough?

THIS IS WHAT: You will suffocate us (and your-

selves) with all your law-making and your fierce threats. But before you suffocate us you will turn us, even your most obedient citizenry, even the timid titmousest of us all, into criminals who break the law just for the hell, or rather the very heaven, of it. So watch out. Get out your dogs and your batons and your teargas because here we come. We'll nautch dance in the nude in Church Square on Sunday morning, we'll nick ice-cream cones from toddlers in parks, we'll yap up the neighbours at midnight, we'll give you the razzberry as you pass in your great cars, we'll fling an empty sardine can into a leafy, expensive boutique-lined Mall. So there!

Can't you relax now and then? Can't you smile a little, boys, in the style we used to know? Can't you melt down the old iron fist into one of those natty ploughshares so much in vogue today?

What is it to you if, when you've invited your mother-in-law and other favourites to Sunday tea, a Black man is enjoying a bit of family life, too?

It is TIME, GENTLEMEN, to let South Africa be a happier land, and it is in your power to let this be so.

ELEANOR ANDERSON

SOUTH AFRICA: A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE

MARION COUNTESS DOENHOFF

Countess Doenhoff is internationally known as editor, publisher and author. In 1971 she was awarded the German Publishers' Peace Prize. This paper was delivered to the conference held by the South African Institute of International Affairs in September.

South Africa — a European View . . .

LET ME BEGIN by saying a few words about Europe, because I think it has changed a lot over the past few years. After having been the Eastern appendage of the United States for quite a while, Europe has lately become slightly more self-confident and to a certain degree more independent. And if I am not mistaken this trend will continue into the future. One reason for this development has to do with President Carter's lack of concept. This forced the Europeans to take a number of decisions by themselves. Another reason is the growing polarisation between the two superpowers; it threatens to destroy the basis for détente from which the Europeans — unlike the Americans and the Russians — have profited quite a lot and which they are therefore trying to preserve. Millions of West Germans may now travel every year to East Berlin and East Germany. Families who had not seen each other for years can now meet, and they can now telephone from one side of the city to the other which was practically impossible before.

Our relationship with Eastern Europe has also improved during the détente period. There is no doubt that without such improvement the Poles would never have dared to stand up against the Russians as they did during the last twelve months.

A distinct difference between Europe and America has developed in evaluating how to deal with the East. Strangely enough, the further away people live from Communism the more dangerous it appears to them. To the Americans every Communist seems to be ten feet tall, as George Kennan once put it. That is the reason why they consider military strength to be more important than a political concept in coping with them. We, who live next door to the Communists; who have 17 million of our kin under their regime; who have many millions in our country who were driven from their East German homeland by Communist suppression — we have no illusions about Communism. Yet we believe in political negotiations more than in an arms race.

One more preliminary remark about the Germans, because it is an important point: the young generation is very different from their parents and grandparents, whose main concern had been to rebuild Germany. They had learned to believe in output, performance, activity and their priority

was efficiency. The new generation's concern is very different. They worry above all about social justice, quality of life, ecology, preservation of nature and resources. For my generation — the generation that lived through the Nazi period — the first priority is freedom. For the young today it is social justice. While our primary concerns were the State and the nation, their's is society.

European Views of SA

This is why the image of South Africa as seen in my country varies with the observer's age and social group. Grosso modo one can say that most of the young, by which I mean those up to the age of thirty-nine, as well as the majority of the intellectuals, are highly critical of the country that practises apartheid. They are inclined to support all international proposals to fight racial discrimination that seems capable of bringing about change.

Others—amongst them most of the industrialists—on the contrary, admire the growth rates and all that has been achieved in South Africa. Indeed, everybody who comes here is stunned by what he sees: the energy, vitality and efficiency, the sophisticated industry and the modern agriculture.

It must be mentioned, however, that the Bonn Government is also reluctant to identify with a country that believes in apartheid, the reason being threefold:

- First, after all that happened, any form of racism makes Germans shudder.
- Second, with respect to the Third World and for domestic, political reasons the Government has to beware of too close a co-operation with South Africa.
- Third, our experience is that any form of discrimination invites Communism to infiltrate.

SA's Self-Deception

It is often felt in Europe that the South African policy is counter-productive, not only in the social sector, but in the economic field where it has led to a shortage of skilled labour. Also it appears that people here are inclined to deceive themselves. They deceive themselves — to quote just one example — when they imply that because South Africa provides more material advantages for the Blacks than most of the Black African states, there is no need to worry about injustice.

Or, because every comparison with the neighbouring states favours South Africa, the Government points out that without the Whites and their law and order the Black people would suffer more. Thus the argument is put forward that apartheid is not only beneficial to the Whites but also to the Blacks, and this is frequently followed by the assertion that since the police and the military guarantee continuity of the existing policy there is no need for major changes.

The Polish Case

But there is no continuity. All ruling classes which have tried to preserve their privileges without compromise have been punished by revolutions. The fate of the French aristocracy at the end of the 18th century is proof of that. To take an example from our own times: look at what is happening in Poland right now. I was there just a few weeks ago. Nowhere else can one study better the failure of a ruling class that has tried to perpetuate its régime against the will of the majority. I came away from Poland very pleased with our own pragmatism which allows for constant criticism and correction and thereby provides the framework for change. Consequently our policy remains more or less in accordance with the people's consciousness, while in Poland the gap between the dogma and the will of the nation, between theory and practice has become so wide that an explosion seems very likely.

Poland proves at the same time that neither political domination nor military power — not even both together — are able to guarantee security. Although no regime is able to provide more of both than that of the Communist states and although nowhere in the world are citizens equally powerless, revolution is afoot in Poland.

Power

It seems to me that most of us do not give enough thought to the meaning of power. It has changed enormously in our lifetime. We have only to remember Vietnam, where a superpower was defeated by a small underdeveloped Asian nation. Or Teheran, where 50 American diplomats were abused and occasionally tortured over a period of fifteen months, a humiliating sight which the Americans had to watch on TV every night without being able to change the fate of their countrymen.

And once again Poland: there the Eastern superpower has to put up with the fact that at the periphery of her empire the Communist dogma gets ridiculed by secret ballots, and the sacrosanct leadership of the polit-bureau was castigated and dismissed like a servant who had stolen his master's purse.

It is dangerous to rely on raw power alone and not to have a political concept that reconciles the desire for change with the need for stability. Equally dangerous is a great disparity in power between the rulers and the ruled, because it first makes the rulers over-confident, and then makes them reluctant to apply their power. Of course, the

Americans could have ended the Vietnam war within two weeks by bombing the dams in the North or destroying Hanoi and Haiphong, but they knew they could not fight an all-out war. It had to be a limited war, which nobody can win.

And, of course, the Israelis could wipe out Beirut completely, but that would have so many catastrophic repercussions that they would not dare to do so. In our day and age, too much power tends to become transformed into weakness.

The effect of Zimbabwe

I should like to turn now more concretely to the situation in this part of the world. I will do so as a European and as a political observer, who has travelled extensively over the last 30 years in East and West and in the Third World.

Last time I was here, a year ago, I came from Zimbabwe which then was celebrating its independence. I found the atmosphere in the Black community here even more changed than after Soweto in 1976. People seemed reassured and full of unreal expectations. There was more conscious and deliberate opposition than ever before, and also I sensed real hatred. The Blacks were, I felt, no longer seeking discussion with the Whites, they were no longer asking to get a share of power, but rather they were insisting on a change of power altogether.

It seems to me that Zimbabwe and the end of Portuguese colonialism have changed Black consciousness much quicker than that of the Whites. While in earlier days the majority seemed inclined to put up with the situation as it was, now I felt it is different. If I had to describe the atmosphere I would say there is total resistance among the Blacks.

Everything that is proposed is considered to be only in the interest of the Whites and must therefore be refused — the President's Council, the idea of a constellation of states, or whatever. According to the Blacks every reform is only meant to delay real change, to cement the status quo and to prevent any sharing of power.

The two super-powers

This country and Europe are both in the same position. We depend to a high degree on the two super-powers, on their bilateral relationship and on their view of the world. Therefore, let us turn to this subject for a moment.

First, the Soviet Union. In Europe we know how dangerous the Soviet Union is as a military power, but we also know how weak she is in all other fields. In technology the Soviets are far behind. In the socio-economic sphere they are incapable of competing with us. They cannot even provide sufficient food and adequate accommodation for their people. Young couples have to wait up to seven years for a flat of their own.

But, worst of all, the Russians have hardly a friend left. The Chinese, although Communists, have become their most menacing enemy; the Islamic states detest the Soviets because of

Afghanistan; the Third World turns to Moscow only where there is an enemy or a suppressor on the spot.

Gone are the days when, in Europe, huge Communist parties in Italy and France looked in pious belief towards Moscow as their Mecca; in all the poor countries of the Third World the feeling prevailed that the future belongs to socialism as a glowing alternative to want and misery, because capitalism had not succeeded in overcoming poverty.

Today, I think one can venture to say that the fascination of Communism has evaporated both for the intellectuals in Europe and within the economically underdeveloped countries all over the world. It has brought no comfort to the poor countries and it has revealed its fallacious character to the intellectuals. The Soviet Union has become imperialistic in its hegemonic ambitions and repressive in its methods. It is certainly no longer the fountain head of a world revolutionary drive.

There is only one continent where Communism still has a stronghold: Africa, although in constantly changing regions. Changing regions means that also in Africa Moscow has no reliable friends. As soon as possible they all try to emancipate themselves from Russian support, because this always implies political domination. Even Neto of

It would mean that the measures taken by this Government, instead of improving the situation, make it worse, because they provoke those who find themselves repressed to look to the Russians, who are defined as their paramount enemies by the Government, as their true protectors.

Russia's aims in SA

I now come back to the question: What is the two super-powers' aim with respect to South Africa? Usually it is assumed that one of Moscow's most intensely pursued goals is to get influence over South Africa because of the strategic position of that country and because of its great variety of rare metals.

If you ask the generals — whether they come from NATO, USA or South Africa — they will certainly confirm this theory, because that is the way of military thinking—but their case does not seem that convincing. The West's oil supply could much more easily and much more effectively be interrupted at the Persian Gulf. Anyway, no valid scenario of World War III is based on the expectation of a war long enough to allow supertankers to get to Europe before the conflict has been resolved in one way or another.

Equally disputable is the argument that South African minerals, especially the enormous resources of chromium and other valuable raw materials,

Too much power tends to become transformed into weakness.

Angola, before he died, was keen to make contacts with the West. It is only for the first phase of liberation where revolutionaries need arms that they turn to Moscow. For the next they need economic aid, and that they can only get from the West.

The honeymoon with the Russians lasted long nowhere, be it in Egypt, the Sudan, Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea, Ghana or Mali. After a certain period all these countries found Russian diplomats interfering and their trade deals exploitative. As far as Angola is concerned, South African troops moved into the country to help Savimbi in the civil war in June 1975. The Cuban troops were only committed to Neto's side in September of that year. It must not be forgotten, however, that before that, in March 1975, a huge amount of Soviet arms arrived in Angola. But again before that, America had given 300 000 dollars in covert funds. Cause and effect are often difficult to detach.

Why always Africa It cannot be proved, but one is tempted to speculate that the reason why Africa still offers an opportunity for Moscow is the existence of apartheid. Any disappointment of the Blacks and their growing distrust offers new possibilities for Russian influence and decreases Western credibility.

Should this speculation be correct, it would mean that Pretoria's policy is counter-productive.

are indispensable to the Western world and therefore the Russians would try at any cost to disrupt the supply.

The findings of Dr Karl Sames, head of the mineral division in the Economic Ministry of the Federal Republic, were summed up by himself some months ago. Having been invited by the South African Foundation, he spent two weeks in South Africa in order to look into the mineral potential and activities of the South African mining industry and to study South Africa's position in world mining, and as a supplier to Western Europe and Germany in particular.

'To put it in perspective', he observed, 'I would say that Germany depends on your minerals to a high degree, but it is not a crucial dependency, that means a disruption of your supply would not result in immediate collapse of our economy'. While alternative suppliers would not come up the same day there would be replacements, he said. Dr Sames went on to mention that Germany presently has contracts with the People's Republic of China, which wants technology. The only way China could pay for this technology was in raw materials: 'And it happens that some of the Chinese raw materials are the same as those that South Africa and Russia supply'.

If one assumed that both statements are valid,

What is not negotiable today will be negotiable tomorrow.

the one on the strategic position as well as the other on the resources, then one comes to a different conclusion. Namely, it might well be that Moscow is quite happy with apartheid, since it is precisely apartheid which gives an excellent reason for the Black states to look for support in Moscow.

US attitude

And what about the United States? There is a lot of talk that Reagan's policy vis-à-vis South Africa will be different from Mr Carter's. I think that is only partly correct. Reagan may differ from Carter in his approach, but surely not in substance.

By approach I mean he disapproves of the continual carping, the constant criticising and interfering in South African affairs, which used to prevail. Verbally and practically they will be much more positive and affirmative, but with respect to apartheid there can be no change. Why not? For three reasons, I think:

● **First**, Americans are pledged to live according to their constitution, which ranks very high in every citizen's consciousness, and in the constitution human rights and equality are top priorities.

● **Second**, they have to keep in mind their own Black minority.

● **Third**, their main concern is stability, and therefore they must give no cause for complaint, either to the Black states in Africa or to the Third World at large. Also, it should not be forgotten that the United States have 4,5 billion dollars in direct investment in African countries other than South Africa, and 13,7 billion dollars worth of annual trade. The respective figures for South Africa are only 2 billion dollars direct investment and 3,4 billion in trade.

Concretely speaking, Washington will never participate in sanctions against South Africa and will never back liberation movements against South Africa. On the other hand it will surely support the Black request for full political representation and put up neither with apartheid nor with expatriation of the Blacks. In other words, **Washington stands for sustained and orderly change towards a non-racial system.**

In short, the interest that America takes in South Africa is basically impersonal. It is concentrated on power politics and therefore changes according to circumstances. Europe, in contrast, takes a genuine and human interest in South Africa's White community which originates from its own stock.

European attitudes

This is the reason why Europeans tend to follow events and developments in this country with some concern. They would like to think of the South Africans as their friends and natural allies on the

Southern outpost of civilisation, but then they often find themselves wishing to dissociate themselves from specific acts or policies. For moral and for political reasons they do not feel able or willing to participate in the defence of apartheid.

The first things that spring to mind when people in Europe talk about South Africa are the Soweto events of 1976, Steve Biko's death, the fate of all those who have been imprisoned or banned without trial.

Moreover, some salient facts and figures are engraved in people's minds: 13 percent of South Africa's land area belongs to 20 cillion Blacks — 87 percent to the four million Whites. On an average, 600 Rand are being spent annually for the education of a White child — 60 Rand for a Black child.

Many people have heard about the Group Areas Act. They wonder why even today, when the atmosphere is extremely tense, the Government continues moving thousands of protesting Blacks or 'Coloureds' forcibly from one area to another — only to fulfil some strange theory. Nobody can understand such acts of national self-mutilation for the sake of an abstract dogma.

I have seen an analogy to this only in Russia, where after 60 years of failure in the field of agriculture the rulers still cling to the kolkhos-system because of the Communist dogma, although it has led to insufficient production and thereby makes the Government dependent on capitalistic states.

It is not difficult for Europeans to understand that the White community here is in a unique situation that cannot be compared to that of any other nation in the world. What Europeans find hard to appreciate, however, is the way these problems are being dealt with.

SA incomprehensible

To a European living in the last quarter of the 20th century the Verwoerdian ideology is absolutely incomprehensible. While South Africa since 1945 has lived in an almost forgotten niche of history, the world outside has changed more thoroughly in all the preceding hundred years. South Africa's domestic colonialism is the last remnant of all forms of colonialism on this globe, and human consciousness has changed everywhere.

Black South Africans have become increasingly aware of the discriminatory effects of all those laws and rules that govern their lives. Consequently, for the first time solidarity amongst them has become stronger than the dividing lines between the different groups. Under the burden of apartheid, which is becoming heavier every year, the Blacks view themselves as one community; no matter that every now and then ethnic trouble occurs at the mines or elsewhere. Even the 'Col-

oureds' and the Indians are now inclined to feel themselves as part of a common Black cause.

Now, of course, one also knows in Europe that a lot of progress has been achieved in South Africa with respect to labour conditions. Wages were increased considerably, the training of apprentices was improved, Black trade unions with legal competence are now recognised. Petty or social apartheid in urban areas has been abolished to a degree which many consider revolutionary, but which to the opposition and the Blacks appears to be only cosmetic.

The grand or territorial apartheid, however, has been revealed meanwhile as both an economic failure and a political error. Economic failure, because unemployment, hunger and poverty prevail in the homelands and will prevent them from ever becoming viable entities. And political error, because the cornerstone of it all, the policy of confining Black citizenship rights to tribal homelands, cannot last. It is simply too artificial to be plausible or credible.

Some time ago I met a Black African who had been given a South African passport in order to be able to go abroad. In other words, for the duration of a fortnight, South African citizenship had been bestowed on him, then it was withdrawn again. In any formal understanding of constitutional law this is an absurdity. It is out of the question that Western states will ever grant diplomatic recognition to the homelands.

I do not want to give the impression that the Germans or the Europeans have altogether lost faith in South Africa or could not care less what is happening here. On the contrary, we intensely hope for evolutionary change as distinguished from revolutionary uproar. It is only that we, the much afflicted Europeans, know how quickly time runs out, and that opportunities, once missed, can never be restored again.

It would be a disaster if the Government were to rely on power only; if it felt in a position to suppress the majority once and for all; if it took for granted that it would always be able to punish those neighbouring countries who tolerate guerrillas on their territory.

There are many reasons why all this will not be possible.

● **First**, the escalation that is bound to develop between territories and the police, between guerrillas and the military, will tend to get out of hand. It will become a process that goes on for ever, and which in the end cannot be controlled by anybody.

● **Second**, this process is a very expensive one. Your defence budget has been constantly in-

creased over the last few years. In 1980/81 it went up by 15 percent, while the expenditure for police rose by 25 percent. For 1981/82 defence will be increased by nearly 400 percent, as the Minister of Finance has just announced.

There is one other aspect which should be remembered: the way radicalism gathers momentum and adherents in any escalation. How well-meaning and forgiving was the first generation of Black opposition! I was here for the first time in 1960, in the days when good old Luthuli as President of the ANC was preaching Gandhi's non-violence. But Luthuli was banned. Then came Sobukwe, who was less compromising and founded the more radical PAC. He spent nine years in prison, and after his release, he was banned. Then came the much more radical Nelson Mandela. He was sent to Robben Island, and though he never came back, he is today more in people's minds than ever before.

Anger and fury meanwhile have built up to such frustration that the young refuse to believe any longer in non-violence. To them co-operation is nothing but treason. According to the Minister of Justice, by last summer 600 000 youths had clandestinely left the country. The vast majority of them now undergo guerilla training in various Black countries.

Of course, the guerrillas will never pose a military threat to South Africa. But looking at terrorism from a psychological aspect one has to admit that terrorism can harm a society very severely. The erosion of confidence which takes place can fatally undermine the state. After all, neither the French in Algeria nor the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola had been defeated militarily.

South Africa's case is different, I know. But one day, no matter in how distant a future, all the various groups will have to come to some sort of arrangement.

One of the Black leaders said the other day with great confidence: 'What is not negotiable today will be negotiable tomorrow'.

Political observers in Europe understand the South African predicament. It is no less complex than that of the Middle East. In South Africa, too, all the ingredients of a major crisis are present. There are no easy solutions. The Blacks must get a genuine share of political power, the Whites must be guaranteed that they will not be outvoted by the overwhelming number of Blacks and subjected to a kind of reversed apartheid.

As long as the governing National Party treats survival and White domination as synonymous, Europe will not be able to stand by Pretoria.

Nobody can understand such national self-mutilation for the sake of an abstract dogma.

Advice Office Reports

The flow of information in our Advice Offices is two-way. We give advice to clients and in return we receive the information that confirms and backs up our unyielding opposition to apartheid.

ATHLONE

THIS has been a turbulent year for Blacks in the Western Cape:

- the school boycott resulting in the closure of all the high and higher primary schools in the Black townships;
- the bus boycott;
- the unsuccessful strike of Black meat workers, aimed at obtaining recognition of their trade union rights;
- the deliberate exclusion of the Western Cape from the post-Riekert moratorium for registration of illegal workers;
- the continuing Crossroads registration difficulties.

All these pressures have been reflected in the longer queues of people coming to 5 Long Street in search of help. Attendance figures have jumped by more than 1 000 over last year's total and in all we conducted 4 662 interviews in 240 working days. This in spite of a significant drop in attendance during the height of the bus boycott when punitive action was taken against the unlicensed taxis that were filling the transportation gap.

These specific crises have added to our daily work of helping people to deal with the mass of restrictive legislation and regulations which face Blacks in the Western Cape. The problems, amongst others, of influx control, residential rights, unemployment, contract labour, wage disputes, housing and pension difficulties — all of which are intensified in the Western Cape by the Coloured labour preference area policy — are what bring streams of people to the Athlone Advice Office.

The lives of Blacks in 'White' or 'prescribed' areas are gov-

erned in particular by Section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945.

Family Life

Many people come to us seeking the permits that will enable them to live normal family lives. The major issue is that of qualified men attempting to gain 10 (1) (c) permits for their wives. This will be dealt with under the legal section of this report where we record the success of Mr Koman's appeal on behalf of his wife. But it is not only wives who are affected — every family relationship can be prevented or interfered with under the Act. We see

- children forbidden to live with their parents;
- daughters whose marriages have disintegrated unable to return to their parents;
- elderly parents refused permission to live with their adult children;
- orphans unable to live with sole remaining relatives.

In all of these cases, if there has been some infringement of the stringent conditions set out in Section 10, or if these conditions cannot be met, or be **proved** to have been met, the individual is endorsed out of the area and consigned to an impoverished existence in his or her 'place of origin' or in a 're-settlement area'.

Situations such as these involve a great deal of hard work and the documentation of special circumstances on the part of the Advice Office and are sometimes resolved on compassionate grounds. But why should this be necessary? The existence of such laws rigorously applied

makes a mockery of family life and creates untold resentment and unhappiness. How can any society render the individual's normal family desires and aspirations illegal?

Mr R W Silwana has lived and worked in Cape Town since 1939 and therefore has obtained 10 (1) (b) qualification. In 1955 he was married in Salt River by civil rites but his wife, a Transkei citizen, can only join him for legal visits — although they have been trying since 1965 to get permission for her to join him permanently. His appeal was finally taken to Dr Koornhof himself, but was refused because 'as far as the Western Cape is concerned, a Black who qualifies for accommodation on a family basis can only be allowed to bring his wife provided accommodation is made available by his employer in an Urban Black residential area'. His employer was willing to provide the worker with a housing loan but unfortunately Mr Silwana is three years over the age limit for such loans.

Dr Koornhof's refusal seems to be based on policy rather than legal considerations.

Employment

The second aspect of permit difficulties includes those people coming to us wanting permits to work in Cape Town. Many of these have found jobs, but have been refused permission to take them as they are illegally in Cape Town. There is nothing to be done for most of these people. We advise the men of contract labour procedures, as it is only as a contract worker that a man from outside the prescribed area

can be permitted to take up employment in Cape Town. For women the situation is hopeless as there is no recognised contract procedure for them.

This situation is again the direct result of the 'Coloured' labour preference area policy and any would-be employer of Black workers has to have a permit from the Department of Manpower Utilisation to employ Blacks, having satisfied the Department that 'Coloured' labour is not available.

Domestic Workers

The Riekert Report laid great stress on relating work permits to the availability of jobs and housing, yet live-in domestic workers — many of whom had been with the same family for ten years or more — were being denied work permits.

Fortunately there has been some relaxation recently, and women who have been illegally in full-time, live-in employment for over two years with the same employer now stand a reasonable chance of being given a permit to work for that employer. The longer the service the greater the likelihood of the permit.

However, this concession does not apply to charwomen. The large fines for employers have caused many to dismiss their illegal Black employees as they feel the financial risks are too high, and we have had many tragic cases of long-service chars being refused permits and now being totally without means of livelihood.

Protecting 'borners'

Administration Board spokesmen try to justify the policy in terms of protecting Section 10 (1) (a) ('borners') and 10 (1) (b) local people from 'unfair' competition for jobs and the depressing of wage levels, but their viewpoint finds little support from the Chambers of Commerce and Industry in the Western Cape.

Black Labour Regulations

Amendments gazetted on June 13, 1980 remove some obstacles

to mobility of Black workers and work-seekers. Those qualified under 10 (1) (a), (b) or (c) can change their employment without having to report personally at the local labour bureau. The notification is returned to the employer who keeps one copy and gives the other to the employee to use as proof of employment, when necessary.

Further, Blacks who qualify in one prescribed area cannot be refused permission to take up employment in another prescribed area — provided the authorities are satisfied that adequate housing is available.

This post-Riekert concession is welcome but virtually meaningless in the face of a 1 500-family waiting list for houses in the Cape Town prescribed area.

SQUATTERS

The permit problem is also central to the squatter issue, as the squatter communities have arisen in response to the acute housing shortage (brought about by the unwillingness of the authorities to erect more Black housing in a 'Coloured' labour preference area) and to the large-scale presence of illegal Black workers. The squatting community includes those illegal workers as well as a large number of illegal families of legal workers.

Crossroads

The Advice Office closed its extension office in Crossroads in November last year as it did not wish to become embroiled in the internal disagreements of the community. The extension office was re-opened at the end of April this year at the request of the community. The office was asked to assist in compiling a list of those Crossroads residents who for various reasons had missed the Administration Board survey of July 1979.

What started as a trickle in May became a flood in June, and the extension office moved back to the Advice Office where we could offer better facilities for interviewing the 600 people who came forward in that month alone. After a great deal of work,

a list of over 900 people was compiled alphabetically and handed to the Crossroads committee as a basis for hearing the applications for permits. This time four selected members of the committee worked in conjunction with the Western Cape Administration Board, and after some initial teething problems, the re-survey seemed to proceed satisfactorily. It was an unenviable job, as the many genuine residents had to be distinguished from those desperate people with no claim to Crossroads residence who saw this as a badly-needed opportunity to gain a coveted residence permit with which they could work legally. (Crossroads residents have been granted 10 (1) (d) status).

Hout Bay

This year also saw the dismantling, amidst great publicity, of the Hout Bay squatter community. Here the Administration Board, thanks to the intervention of concerned Hout Bay residents, eventually acted with some compassion, arranging contracts for the illegally employed men, and visiting permits for the wives and families in need of medical treatment. The other families were endorsed out, with assistance in removing their belongings.

Here again the issue of housing is critical: the community arose through lack of black family housing in Hout Bay for men who work on the boats and in the fish-processing plant on the harbour. To commute daily by train and bus from Langa, Nyanga or Guguletu is impossibly time-consuming and expensive.

CONTRACT WORKERS

Contract workers (migrant workers) come to us with a variety of complaints from ill-understood conditions of employment to premature cancellation of contracts. As contract workers do not receive individual copies of their contracts, misunderstandings over wages and deductions often arise. These could be obviated by more careful explanation at the time of recruitment and by the provision of individual contracts — as was cal-

led for by the 1979 national conference of the Black Sash.

Premature cancellation of contract on unfair grounds is sometimes reversed with our assistance, and some workers whose contracts were cancelled for unavoidable reasons were transferred to other employers.

Unemployment is a major problem, accounting for 739 (22 percent) of our new cases. Many of those who come to us are contract workers who have not had their contracts renewed. After waiting for months in a rural area they are driven by desperation to come to town in search of work. We explain contract procedures to would-be employers of such work-seekers, but many are reluctant to become involved with the complexities of the system.

Owing to mechanisation and other factors, the authorities are cutting back on contract workers in the Western Cape — now only 18 000 compared with some 40 000 a few years ago (Argus, 1 December 1979).

The contract labour system is rigidly controlled, and as of April 1979 contract workers can be dismissed for not occupying their hostel beds. This is a direct attempt to prevent contract workers from bringing in their families and living with them in squatter housing. Thus, consonant with the Riekert Commission recommendations, the main core of qualified workers is to be protected at the expense of the peripheral but economically essential contract worker, and influx control is to be all the more strictly applied.

Mr A L S has been a contract worker with Royal Dairies for seven years. His contract was prematurely terminated because, after repeated warnings, he was not occupying his hostel bed. He and a fellow-worker were dismissed as an example and warning to the other workers.

Finally, contract workers from 'independent homelands' such as Transkei do not have the benefit of any social security protection as a result of their

employment in South Africa. They cannot contribute to unemployment insurance or derive any benefits as a result of loss of employment, nor can their widows claim any benefits.

Mr F H D, a 27-year-old contract worker, died suddenly of natural causes. His wife received only those wages due to him, in this case R10. She is left, a young widow with two children, with no possibility of any widow's benefits. The firm carried no insurance for its contract workers.

MISCELLANEOUS

This category comprises wage disputes, housing and pension difficulties, Unemployment Insurance Fund and Workmen's Compensation claims.

Wage Disputes

Wage disputes and complaints from domestic workers are frequent, and we note a hardening of attitudes amongst domestic workers who are no longer prepared to submit to the arbitrary withholding of their wages by irate employers. Common law requires that employers pay for work done and that reasonable notice of termination of employment be given, but there is no legal framework for minimum wage or fringe benefit demands. We encourage domestic workers and their employers to draw up a written agreement of working conditions.

Miss C M was dismissed, and her employer refused to pay her wages for work done. She obtained legal assistance through the Advice Office, and as a result her employer paid her wages plus two weeks wages in lieu of notice.

Housing

Housing problems are legion and are all related to the acute housing shortage in the Peninsula. No significant building programmes for Blacks have been undertaken for over ten years. The current conversion of bachelor quarters into married quarters has produced an additional 700

or so units, but this in no way meets the need. The new Crossroads housing project, when completed, will only be used to rehouse Crossroads residents (but by no means all) and will not affect the majority of those suffering conditions of gross overcrowding.

Mr N W S is qualified under 10 (1) (a) for permanent residence in Cape Town. His wife is qualified to live in Port Elizabeth, another prescribed area. They found accommodation in Cape Town, and Mr S applied for permission for his wife to join him. This was refused by the authorities on the basis of 'the acute housing shortage'.

We also hear of people driven by desperation over the housing situation in Cape Town who apply for 'repatriation' to a rural Black area where they are promised a house, thereby forfeiting their own and their children's rights to live and work in Cape Town.

Old Age Pensions

	New	Old
White	R109	R97
Coloured	R62	R54
Black	R33	R27,50

Pensions

Old Age Pensions have been increased as of October 1, 1980 to R33 per month payable every two months. The administration of the pension system is, however, very slow and cumbersome, and leads to much hardship.

Mrs E N is a 77-year-old pensioner. In January she did not receive her usual pension, as her name had been removed from the roll following a report that she had died. The pension is to be restored to her, and arrears paid, but by August she had still not received any payments. She was told to wait until the next two-monthly payment date.

Old age pensioners who qualify to live in Cape Town have to surrender their pensions if they decide to leave Cape Town and go to live in the Transkei or Ciskei. They then have to re-

apply locally, and face very long delays before payments can be resumed.

LEGAL WORK

The bulk of our legal work is performed on a roster basis by a panel of 20 legal firms. Most of the work is in the Langa Commissioner's Court, but our lawyers also appear in the Magistrate's Courts, work on Section 10 claims, write letters of demand, and generally advise and assist us in our daily work. Many of our cases are also referred to State Legal Aid.

Langa Commissioner's Court

Influx control — the pass laws — is enforced through a network of Administration Board inspectors (who have draconian powers of entry and inspection without benefit of search warrants), the Department of Co-operation and Development's Commissioner's Courts, and the South African Police. The charges fall under Section 10 (4) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (remaining for more than seventy-two hours in a prescribed area without permission) and Section 15 of the Black (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No 67 of 1952 (non-possession of an identity document). The penalty attached to the first charge is usually R60 or 60 days for a first offence with R10 or 10 days on the second charge. **This represents roughly a full month's salary for many workers.**

Despite the Viljoen Commission into Penal Reform having recommended in 1976 that influx control should be depenalised, the Langa Courts are full, and we have repeated reports of massive pass raids in the townships and in the White residential areas.

This year our lawyers represented 129 people in the Commissioner's Courts, a minute proportion of the cases heard. (In 1979, 9 755 people were arrested in the Cape Peninsula on charges under the influx control law, Hansard 1980, Vol 17, p 855). Nevertheless, the work done by our lawyers is significant and valuable: 48% of the cases

were successfully defended, and many of the others resulted in reduced fines following pleas in mitigation.

The court proceedings remain a source of extreme distress, a daily South African tragedy. Most people are undefended, and are shunted through the Court at the rate of one case a minute. In many cases those who attempt their own defence are remanded in custody while their stories are checked by the authorities. This checking can go to extreme lengths.

Mrs E K was arrested on suspicion of being illegally in the area but allowed out on bail. An inaccurate fingerprint identification was supplied by Pretoria. The case was remanded six times, with the State being prepared to fly a fingerprint expert down from Pretoria. When our lawyers were prepared to produce their own expert, the State finally withdrew the case.

Retreat Magistrate's Court

Our lawyers appeared 12 times in this court, defending men accused of 'harbouring' or 'illegally introducing' their wives into the area (Section 11 (1) of the Urban Areas Act). All of these appearances were successful, the accused being either acquitted, cautioned and discharged, or having the cases against them withdrawn.

Claims for Section 10 Rights under the Urban Areas Act

These appeals often drag on for many years, as they are vigorously contested by the Western Cape Administration Board. This year, three such appeals were successfully concluded, two of them having been in process for five years.

Supreme Court Appeal

The appeal against sentence of **V Kohlakala** who was charged with harbouring his wife, was successful, and the fine was returned. The court made a widely publicised statement about the lack of justice in the Langa Commissioner's Court.

Appellate Division of the Supreme Court — Mr and Mrs Komani

On 19th August 1980 the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa upheld the appeal of **Veli Willie Komani** that his wife be considered qualified to remain in the prescribed area of the Cape Peninsula in terms of Section 10 (1) (c) of the Bantu Urban Areas Act, 25 of 1945. The court held that Mrs Komani was so qualified and ordered the defendant (the Bantu Affairs Administration Board, Peninsula Area) to pay costs.

In the course of the judgment, the court declared Regulation 20 (1) of the regulations governing the control and supervision of an urban Black residential area ultra vires. This regulation stated that in order to live in a Black residential area, a Black had to be in possession of a site, residential, accommodation or lodger's permit. These permits were given by Administration Board officials, and could be withdrawn, thereby negating the right of said Black to remain in a prescribed area. It was the withdrawal of Mrs Komani's lodging permit which led to this case.

Mr and Mrs Komani were married in Willowvale in 1953 and lived together in Dordrecht location until Mr Komani came to Cape Town in 1958. Mrs Komani came on legal visits from 1962 onwards but could not get permission to stay permanently.

Her last legal visit was from May 1974 to January 1975 when her lodging permit was cancelled and she was told to leave. After several attempts to persuade the authorities to allow Mrs Komani to remain with her husband as a 10 (1) (c) qualified wife, the Advice Office instructed their legal representatives to obtain a declaration of rights for Mrs Komani from the Supreme Court.

This was later converted to an appeal to the Supreme Court which failed on the basis of the regulation requiring lodging permits. The case was then taken on appeal to the Bloemfontein Appellate Division. The Appeal Court found that this regulation

was in conflict with the intention of the legislature in Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act.

Thus, it is now only necessary for a wife to enter a prescribed area legally and to be 'ordinarily resident' with her qualified husband in order for her to qualify to remain. She does not have to pass the additional hurdle of obtaining a lodger's permit.

This case sets a precedent which could dramatically affect the lives of the many illegally resident wives of qualified men in Black townships around the country.

Legal

There has been considerable Press publicity recently for two important legal cases. **Mrs Virginia Yapi** was found guilty of being illegally in the prescribed area of the Cape Peninsula when she appeared at the Langa Commissioner's Court on 9th February 1981. Her case was remanded for one month for sentencing. Mrs Yapi is the wife of a qualified man, and has tried for the past 14 years to gain permission to live legally with her husband in Cape Town. Mrs Yapi married Mr Yapi in 1962 and has been living in Cape Town with him since 1965. Her five children were all born in Cape Town.

Apart from being the wife of a qualified man, Mrs Yapi entered the area legally and ordinarily resides with him. She has been granted legal aid and is appealing to the Supreme Court against the Commissioner's Court finding of guilty under Section 10 (4) of the Urban Areas Act.

The second major legal case was that of **Mrs Harriet Mtyingizane**, a woman qualified to live in Stellenbosch, but refused the permission to do so. She has been ordered to leave the area, but brought an urgent application before Mr Justice Baker at his home, and was granted a ruling that she be allowed to remain until 18th March by which time the Administration Board must show cause why her book should not be endorsed to allow her to stay permanently.

In both these cases it has been necessary to take the drastic step of an approach to the Supreme Court in order to try to establish the right of the women involved to remain with their husbands in the area where they live and work.

Permits

We are now seeing the bitter fruits of the 'Breadwinner's Concessions' granted to women in the 60s and 70s. These concessions are permits granted to women who are endorsed out of the area as they did not quite qualify. They were then allowed to return to work on six-monthly permits provided that their children remained up-country and did not try to re-enter the Cape Peninsula area. Some of the children were already qualified when they left with their mothers. Many of the children are now adult and desperate to work, and many returned to Cape Town after very brief absences. When the authorities discover that the children are here they cancel the mothers' permits.

Mrs L L M first came to our office in 1963, having been endorsed out of Cape Town. She had first come to Cape Town in 1953. She received numerous extensions because her children were ill but was finally resettled in 1966. She returned after three months as she had to support six children and was granted a six-monthly permit to be employed on contract.

Mr Bezuidenhout, Chief Commissioner of the Western Cape, wrote: 'Enquiries were made from time to time whether the children were still in the Homeland and until recently this was confirmed. During April 1979 it was established, however, that certain of the children had returned to this area and that they had obtained Transkei Travel Documents. The Labour Officer then warned them to leave the area.

'Representations were again submitted to me but on the facts disclosed and statements made by the two daughters

and the mother, I had no option but to confirm the decision of the Administration Board. I had, furthermore, decided that if the instructions were not adhered to, the permit of the mother had to be withdrawn also.

'In the circumstances, I am unable to retract from my previous decision'.

Mrs M no longer has permission to work in Cape Town and her two daughters are here illegally. One of the daughters is married to a qualified man and may not be able to claim 10 (1) (c) rights.

CONCLUSION

Our thanks go to everyone at the office: our interpreters and case workers — Mrs Lettie Malindi, Mr David Viti and Miss Nomahlube Nabe; our voluntary case workers who give so generously of their time, energy and sympathy; and the legal panel who provide essential service on a roster basis. We were sorry to lose Sue Philcox at the end of last year, but are grateful for her continued interest and assistance. We wish to thank Barbara Versfeld for her assistance throughout the year as a leave replacement.

R. N. ROBB, Director.
V. L. WEST, Organiser.

KEITH COLEMAN

THE BLACK SASH wishes to express its deep sympathy for Audrey Coleman and her family on the detention of her son, Keith.

The Black Sash never forgets the numbers of men and women detained and banned, and thereby placed beyond the protection of the rule of law.

JOHANNESBURG

LAST YEAR we reported as follows: 'Another very significant change in the statistics which are attached at the end of the report is the number of new files opened compared to the number of people who came to the office for the first time but for whom no files were opened because there was no point in doing so'.

This trend has accelerated. It is a reflection of the greater severity with which influx control is now being enforced and of the increasing exclusion of Black people who live in the Bantustans from participation in the economic development of the so-called White core.

In 1978 2 038 new files were opened and 2 811 other people were dealt with in one interview only. No file was opened for them because nothing much could be done to assist them in getting the necessary permit to work in their jobs, to be where they want to be, to live in security with their families or to retain their South African citizenship.

In 1979 2 138 new files were opened and 5 837 other people dealt with in one interview only.

In 1980 1 919 new files were opened and 7 582 people fell into the second category.

These cold statistics are the measure of the tragedy of Black existence in South Africa at the present time. The 7 500 people can be roughly categorised as follows:

Those who have jobs but are not allowed to work in them

Approximately 20% of the people in the queue every day fall into this group. They are people who have come to town from rural areas in order to work to support themselves and their families. Nearly all of them are landless and have no other means of survival. All of them come from places where there are no employment opportunities. Nearly all of them have dependants. They find a job, go to the Labour Bureau to be registered and are endorsed out.

The only way in which a person from a rural area can obtain legal employment is to wait at the Labour Bureau in his home area until a requisition is received or a recruiting agent arrives. If he is lucky enough to be chosen from the hundreds of unemployed job-seekers waiting to be requisitioned he will be permitted to leave his home area after he has signed a contract and he will be registered in his job for one year only. According to all reports there has been a cutback in recruitment as was recommended by the Riekert Commission. Employers are being told that they must use 'local' (ie Section 10 qualified) labour. Labour Bureaux in the Bantustans are being closed down and recruitment is being centralised at Bureaux just inside or just outside Bantustan borders (assembly points as recommended by the Riekert Commission). This makes it almost impossible for those people who live far inside the Bantustans. They have to travel many miles to the Labour Bureaux and there is nowhere to stay while they wait and hope for a job offer.

Mr L D R was endorsed out on 15th January 1981 when he tried to register in a new job in Johannesburg. He has been working on annual contracts here since 1972 but was retrenched from his last employment. His wife and four children were all born in Johannesburg and live legally here. He is supposed to go back to the Potgietersrus district and wait there until some job is offered through the Labour Bureau. If he is lucky enough to get offered a job he has no guarantee that it will be in Johannesburg. He may never again be able to live legally with his family.

Mrs T N is a widow from Msinga. Her husband died six years ago leaving her with five children who are now between 18 years and 6 years old. None are at school because

she cannot afford to send them. Her brother who is old and unemployed shares his pension of R33 per month with them. When her husband died his only property was one cow which she sold and lived on the proceeds of until they were exhausted. Then in 1976 she came to Johannesburg. She was endorsed out when she tried to register in 1977. She has had work, illegally, and managed to earn until the R500 fine was introduced in July 1979. This is the fine which can be imposed on any employer of an unregistered Black worker. Now prospective employers insist that she be registered before she begins work and registration is always refused so she cannot work.

There are so many more like them and what is one to say when they tell one: 'My children are hungry', 'What will my children eat?'

'Farm Labour Only'

Black people who have grown upon White farms are not allowed to work in town. They are categorised as farm labour and whether they are employed on a farm or not they will not be registered in any job they find in town.

Mr X was born and grew up on the farms in the Krugersdorp district which is part of the West Rand Administration Board Area. When he left school he worked for one year on the farm where his father had been employed. He was paid R10 per month. He now has a job in Johannesburg at R35 per week and is refused registration. He has been told he must work on the farms.

The problems of these people who are condemned to do farm work was illustrated dramatically as the registrations made at the time of the moratorium expired. When the fine of R500 was gazetted on 4th July 1979 there was an immediate panic by employ-

ers and large numbers of workers were discharged. Dr Koornhof announced a moratorium which lasted from 13th July to 31st October 1979. During that period workers who had been illegally employed in one job for one full year or in several jobs for three years were registered in their employment for one year. At the end of the year they had to return to their home area with a Call-in-card to renew their contracts. (This can only be done if they are attesting a new contract with the same employer. Those who changed jobs could not register in a new one). Many of those who had originally come from 'White' rural areas were not allowed to attest a new contract or to return to their jobs because they are 'farm labour'.

Mr M J N was born and grew up on the farms in the Ermelo district. He came to Johannesburg in 1971 but was never allowed to register until the moratorium. At the beginning of November 1980 he went back to Ermelo to attest a new contract with the manufacturers for whom he worked. He was refused a new contract and was told that he must work on the farms.

The Categorising of All Migrant Workers

Migrant Workers who are caught up in the annual contract system are placed in categories of labour and are not allowed to change those categories. Apart from 'farm labour' domestic workers must always be domestics. Cleaners must always be cleaners. Building workers must always work as building labour and so on.

In the West Rand Area a contract worker who is retrenched before his contract expires may work out the contract in a new job provided that his first employer agrees but only if the new job is in the same category. This puts strict limits on the upward mobility of workers as they acquire new skills.

Foreigners

As 'White' South Africa no longer needs so much labour

from other countries as she has in the past she is jettisoning those who have contributed so greatly to her wealth. There were 100 000 fewer foreign Black people registered in employment in 1979 than there were in 1970 and 46 712 less in 1980 than in 1979. (Hansard 26/2/81).

Foreign Black people have no legal rights and never acquire them however long they may have lived and worked in South Africa. They are always here by permit only.

Last year we reported on the plight of Lesotho citizens who, even if they were born in, and have always lived legally in, SA, have to travel to Maseru to get the passports they are compelled to carry.

In recent months it has been Zimbabweans who are coming to the office to seek help. Many Zimbabwean workers were registered in their employment in terms of an agreement between the Rhodesian Government and South Africa. Now all those who were registered on one-year contracts are being refused re-registration even when they are still in the same job. They are being ordered to return to Zimbabwe.

Over and over again Black people, both South African citizens and foreigners, contrast with great bitterness the way they are treated compared to the encouragement and welcome laid on for White immigrants.

Housing

These complaints occur every day. The officially acknowledged waiting list in Soweto is now for 34 000 family housing units. The real need is very much greater. During 1980 the West Rand Board built **no** houses in Soweto. 420 houses were built by private owners. People come with documents to show that they have been on the waiting list since 1970. Even those who can afford to buy a house under the 99-year leasehold scheme are told that there are no houses. Complaints about bribery and corruption are rife. People say that you will never get a house unless you pay some official.

Citizenship

Since 1976 over 6½ million Black South Africans have ceased to be South African citizens through the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda and a further one million will, in all likelihood, be deprived of their citizenship when Ciskei becomes independent on 4th December this year. The horror of what this means is brought home to advice office workers every day as people come in to ask for an explanation of why they are refused Reference Books and are compelled to carry passports. It is bad enough having to tell a man whose family has lived on the Witwatersrand for as many generations as family history can relate that he is now no longer a citizen of South Africa but legally belongs to some place he has never seen. It is worse to have to explain to him that, in terms of the 1978 amendment to Section 12 of the Urban Areas Act, his children who are born after the date of independence of the Bantustan to which he is assigned will have no legal rights in 'White' South Africa but will be allowed to remain by permit as if they were 'proper foreigners' from neighbouring countries.

This has been a year of frustration where, contrary to Ministerial statements and many promises, things have become worse for the majority in every way.

The June 13th Amendments

On 13th June 1980 amendments to the Black Labour Regulations were published which allow those people who have Section 10 (1) (a), or (b) or (c) qualifications to work in the Administration Board Area where they qualify without being registered and to register in another Administration Board Area provided they have a job and accommodation to go to. These amendments are welcome but have considerable negative effects on the majority. Employers now tend to tell job seekers that they are only interested in those with Section 10 qualifications. The so-called 'freedom of move-

ment' conferred does not help the family man who has no hope of finding family accommodation. It does help those single people who qualify in platteland towns and who can now move to the big cities where there are employment opportunities, but this movement is at the expense of rural people.

There is no free labour market in South Africa and it is nonsense to talk about a free enterprise economic system. We do not have one and will not have one until all restraints on freedom of movement are removed.

Even those who have Section 10 rights do not find it easy to take advantage of the amendments.

Mr V G L has a Cape Peninsula 10 (1) (a) endorsement in his Reference Book dated 20/1/1981. He has a job and accommodation on the East Rand. The East Rand Administration Board, having sent him on the long journey to Cape Town and back to get the endorsement, then required him to go back again with forms to be filled in by the Labour Officer, Cape Peninsula, stating his qualifications.

The reluctance of the authorities to recognise Section 10 (1) rights is pronounced. They are never proffered and must be proved and fought for. Sometimes they are inexplicably denied by officials. The West Rand Board's bureaucratic obstruction as detailed in our last annual report continues unchanged, in spite of representations to the Chairman of the Board and to the Director of Labour.

Mr P was endorsed out on 15th January 1981, in spite of the fact that his 10 (1) (a) qualification was endorsed on his birth certificate in 1978 since when he has been registered in Johannesburg employment. His name is listed on his family's house permit in Soweto.

The Komani judgment was handed down by the Appeal Court in August 1980. In effect this judgment means that any wife, unmarried daughter or son

under the age of 18 years who is in fact living with a Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) qualified husband or parent in a Black township has a Section 10 (1) (c) right to be in the area concerned.

The joy with which we welcomed this long sought judgment was short-lived. In practice the administration is frustrating the judgment. Every case has to be fought through all the administrative procedures, ends up being referred to an attorney, and is only won when Supreme Court action is threatened.

The same technique is being used on the issue of Section 10 (1) (b) rights for migrant workers who have been continuously employed by one employer for ten years. 10 (1) (b) rights have been denied because officialdom maintains that because a new contract is attested every year as required by the law the employment is not continuous. Many workers have been in the same job for ten, twenty or more years. They and their employers have regarded the employment as being continuous and regard the attestation of a new contract each year as an administrative formality. This matter needs to be tested in the Courts and literally hundreds of people on our files are waiting for it to be so tested.

However, the technique being used by the Boards and the Department of Co-operation and Development appears to be to let the person concerned battle through all the administrative procedures and then to give an individual the desired endorsement when Supreme Court action is threatened.

The issue of Section 10 (1) (b) rights is of particular importance to **Johannesburg Municipal Workers**. As detailed in our report of 14th August 1980 many of the workers who were said to be on strike in July last year had been working for the Council for many years. They were discharged, endorsed out and transported to the Bantustans, irrespective of their legal rights when the Council broke the strike.

In December 1980 the Magistrate at Umzimkulu in Transkei

sent out a message that Johannesburg Municipal Workers should return to their jobs. Many came back to Johannesburg. Some were re-employed but many were not. They had travelled to Johannesburg at their own expense and those who were not reinstated were then stranded without money to return home and they were refused registration in other jobs they found. Many of them had worked for the Council for more than ten years, or had lived lawfully in Council compounds for more than fifteen years, and are now fighting desperately for their Section 10 rights so that they can remain in order to work and support their families.

Section 10 rights are now of over-riding importance.

The Black Community Development Bill published by Dr Koornhof in October 1980 has been withdrawn and is to be re-drafted. This Bill removed all possibility of acquiring permanent rights in the future but allowed certain exemptions from prosecution to those who had Section 10 rights when the new legislation was to have come into effect. Many people will await the new draft Bill with great anxiety.

Mr K M N is a skilled technologist working for a giant South African manufacturer. He began working for them in 1968 but they could not register him because he came from a Bantustan and skilled workers were not to be recruited. They organised a fiddle and had him registered as a cleaner by the service firm who clean their buildings. In 1975 they transferred the contract to themselves and he is now registered to them as a cleaner. They want to help him buy a house but he cannot do so unless he is 10 (1) (b). He has officially only worked for them since 1975 and cannot qualify until 1985 but if Section 10 is abolished he will never qualify, never be entitled to a house or to have his family live with him and never be able to change jobs.

Mrs N J N is the sole breadwinner for four children in KwaZulu. She has been registered in her present job since 2nd September 1971. She is paid R50 per month and when she asked for an increase was told to stay on at that wage or leave. If she leaves she may not be allowed to register in a new job. If she stays she will qualify for 10 (1) (b) on 2nd September 1981. The election has probably saved her. The chances now are that she will qualify before any legislation removing Section 10 can be promulgated.

The denial of Section 10 rights can be illustrated by many other cases in our files:

Mr N P S has worked for the GPO in Johannesburg since 1968. He was refused a 10 (1) (b) because he was transferred to Kempton Park for **one week** in 1978 as a relief postman. The Labour Officer then said he had not been continuously employed **in one town** for one employer for 10 years and instructed him that he must in future work on annual contracts. Fortunately, he was successful on appeal to the Commissioner.

The Promises

Among the many promises that have been made was one that if a man bought a house his wife and family would be allowed to live with him in town.

Last year we reported on the case of a man, **Mr L**, who bought a house in Tembisa. He has twelve children. Five of the twelve were refused permission to live with him. One year, and much correspondence with the Department of Co-operation and Development later, we are able to report that his 14-year-old son and his unmarried daughter have now been permitted to live in his house. (They have Section 10 (1) (c) rights so it is not a concession but a recognition of their legal position). But his three eldest sons aged 22, 20 and 18 are not to be permitted because they are over 18 years and have no rights. Mr L first applied for

a house in 1968 when they were 10, 8 and 6 years old but was refused a house because his wife was 'not permitted' in the area. The Minister is unmoved by these arguments.

CONCLUSION

We have never experienced a worse year than this one. It is useless to go on and on warning White South Africans of what they are doing.

We can only watch the anger and bitterness growing as promise after promise turns out to be hollow, as economic boom brings no hope to the majority, as people are deprived of land and citizenship and of all legal rights to participation in either the political or the economic structures of their country. It will give us no pleasure to say 'we told you so', when the inevitable happens.

We could not cope with the ever increasing numbers of people who come to the office each day were it not for the dedication of the many voluntary workers who so selflessly give of their time and concern or without the dedication and uncompromising service of the office staff headed by Margaret Kirk. They have all given of themselves and have risen to meet every emergency without reward or recognition. Their work often goes unacknowledged but we could not do without them or without those many Black Sash members and supporters who work long hours to keep us going.

SHEENA DUNCAN

NATAL COASTAL

PENSIONS

THIS YEAR our pension cases have doubled. This is not surprising as the situation has deteriorated drastically since last year. The days of applications have been further curtailed and 100% disabled people constantly have their applications refused.

The Benso figures for Kwa-

Zulu pensioners in fact estimate a drop in the number of people receiving pensions. Payouts have not improved and no one can be certain that his or her pension will be paid to them at the next payout.

The District pension officers working for KwaZulu have the greatest difficulty getting any response from their head office at Ulundi when they send up problems. In fact they wait for anything up to three months and longer for replies to their correspondence.

State Magistrates have similar problems of communication with Pretoria. One Magistrate in fact seemed quite grateful to Black Sash for making such a fuss that Pretoria actually heard and responded.

Mrs Tshabalala lives in Hammarsdale. She has a deaf and dumb daughter to support. In August 1979 she applied for a pension for herself. She attended all the payouts thereafter and rejoiced when her application was finally approved seven months later, in March 1980. But in May there was nothing for her. Something had gone wrong in Ulundi, she was told. For the rest of the year she waited for the wrong to be righted. When we saw her in November her whole family was starving. Legal action was taken for her and she was paid again in January. The KwaZulu Government requested to pay her arrears in two monthly instalments.

Mrs Zwane lived alone in Inanda. Sometimes one of her grandchildren came to stay with her. Her son and daughter-in-law lived in a township about 20 kilometres away. In July 1980 there was no money for her at the payout. She was told to go to the Commissioner's office where she was told her file had been lost. In August she was told to go to Verulam to re-apply. She did this and went to the next payout in September. There was nothing. She went again to Verulam only to be told to try

at the payout in November. Mrs Zwane was a frail lady and could not walk the distance to the bus stop. Her son always paid for a taxi to take her to the payouts and to Verulam. By the time the taxi brought her to the November payout her son and his family were desperate. They had paid out R90 in taxi fares (this was confirmed by the taxi driver himself). Mrs Zwane had been given no 'poor relief'. Her frail condition had deteriorated drastically over the months when she lived on nothing but the charity of others. When she was not paid in November but told once again to go to Verulam to be paid 2 weeks later both she and her family said that another trip was impossible.

The day that Black Sash got her money for her, Mrs Zwane died.

Telling people to come back in 2 months is a standard reply to problems which officials cannot be bothered to look into. It is extremely cruel as it falsely raises hopes where no hope should exist.

200 Files Lost at Inanda

In October last year four pensioners from Inanda came to our office. They wanted someone to be with them on the day that pensions were being reviewed for their area. They explained that they were worried about having to put their thumb prints down for a pension they had not received since May 1980.

After visiting the people at the review and the local Magistrate, we began to understand what had happened. Although the area did not fall under KwaZulu, the files of the pensioners had been transferred from Pretoria to Ulundi in 1979. In 1980 Ulundi officials passed them back saying they were not their responsibility. In transit they were lost. When this was discovered the pensioners were told to make a trip to the Magistrate and re-apply for their pensions. They were not offered food parcels; nothing was done to speed up

their new applications. They were simply told to wait.

By the time of the November payout 20 new applications had come through and those 20 could expect to be paid in November—but **no arrears**. The others would have to wait until January.

We took legal action for the four pensioners. This took the form of an application to the Supreme Court for an order to pay all the money due to them and to continue to pay regularly. The State paid the day before the case was heard. It was made clear to the Magistrate that similar action would be taken for anyone who was not paid. Ten days later R206,50 was paid out to approximately 137 people. About 54 were not paid. Some had their second applications refused, some who had been getting OAPs were told they were suddenly not old enough.

Monitoring of Payouts

The idea behind this is to have independent people at the payouts to observe the way they are conducted and to help where possible with problems. There is always a noticeable reduction in corruption when payouts are attended by outsiders. It also provides an opportunity to discuss with pensioners their rights and the possible ways of insisting that these are observed. At present roughly 20 people from various organisations have indicated their willingness to help and a workshop is to be run for them before they start.

Legal Cases

We are very grateful to a group of lawyers from Lawyers for Human Rights, who assist us with pension cases. They are at present working on 14 cases, some against the State and some against KwaZulu. It is clear that legal action succeeds where all else fails. However, it is for each individual that it succeeds and the system remains unmoved.

Correspondence

Apart from our detailed and lengthy memorandum which went to Dr Koornhof, we have

written eight other letters to the Ministry of Co-operation and Development and to the KwaZulu Government on the matter of pensions. All have received totally inadequate replies. The futility of such correspondence is obvious and we do not intend continuing it.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND

Transkeian Workers

Although no unemployment benefits are paid out in Transkei, many firms are still deducting UIF contributions from Transkeian contract workers. They should have stopped on the 26th October 1976. Some firms react indignantly to the suggestion that they refund their workers; maintaining either that the fault is with the Pretoria office to whom contributions are sent or with the worker for allowing the deductions.

Mr Nquleka, a Transkeian, had contributed 26c per week to the Fund since 1975. When his employer was approached to refund the illegal contributions, he at first said he did not have to pay him anything, but finally agreed to give him 'the few rands' owed. Mr Nquleka was due R52,72.

It would seem necessary for the Commissioner of the Unemployment Insurance Fund to once again bring this matter to the attention of the employers.

Reason 3 and the 6-Week Penalty

The manner in which six-week penalties are imposed on applicants for benefits has long been a source of conflict. Most workers believe that Reason 3 on a Contributor's Record Card automatically means a penalty for them and a problem with a new job, as Reason 3 is a bad reference. Theoretically this is incorrect but the belief is perpetuated by the officials who impose the penalties. When a claims officer makes a decision to give a six-week penalty he has often never given the worker the opportunity to reply to his employer's allegations regarding his dismissal. He

may or may not hear the worker's reason for his dismissal but he obtains a written statement from the employer. He then makes a highly prejudiced decision.

Mrs Msomi was not asked why she left her job. Her employer was asked and she received a notice informing her that she would suffer a six-week penalty because she lost her job through her own default. Instead of appealing to the Unemployment Benefit Committee, Mrs Msomi's lawyers decided to challenge the manner in which the Claims Officer had made his decision. They argued that he had not applied the rules of natural justice or allowed Mrs Msomi the right to be heard.

The review was heard in the Supreme Court (Case No M23/80) and the judges found that 'there had been a failure to observe the principles of natural justice amounting to a fundamental irregularity in the decision of the Claims Officer'.

The effect of this judgment against the Claims Officer means that everyone claiming benefits has the right to a proper hearing before a penalty is imposed. The previous practice of withholding all the employer's allegations must stop. The worker must now be confronted with these allegations and reply to them before a decision is made. For the Unemployment Committee this means restructuring their system to accommodate a much more substantial interview with the worker, enabling him to reply to all allegations against him.

Officials reacted with anger and disbelief when the judgment went against them and it would seem they have no intention of applying Mrs Msomi's case generally. Each case will have to be fought on its merits.

HOUSING

Inanda Site and Service Scheme

Last year people living in the Inanda area began to die of typhoid. They had only two taps between 100 000 people. The Government finally agreed on a site and service scheme in the

area, to be established by the Department of Co-operation and Development. The scheme provided for 5 000 plots of a minimum size of 200m² with a tap in the road serving six plots. People moved into tents provided for them until such time as they erected more substantial homes. Stands were sold on a guaranteed lease system but until the time of purchase R2,60 was charged a month.

It was emphasised that movement to these sites was voluntary but it seems from cases in our offices that many people were not clear at all about this.

People started moving in July last year and at present about 2 500 plots are occupied. Roughly half of these plots still have tents on them. About 100 sites have brick and mortar houses and the rest structures of varying degrees of adequacy.

Living in tents is impossible. They cannot be locked during the day while the occupiers are at work. They are stifling when the sun shines and sodden when it rains. People complain that financial assistance with building is slow in coming.

The Urban Foundation has an office there and has an advisory function. People can make their own blocks but there have been financial problems with the scheme.

Two main factors militate against the viability of this scheme. Firstly, people are being encouraged to purchase land in a rural area where they have no job security whatsoever. With the steady tightening up of influx into the Durban area the prospect of work for Inanda people becomes dimmer. Apparently the Chief Commissioner has said that every effort would be made to obtain work for these people but what Influx control official is going to find out whether someone from Inanda lives on the site and service scheme?

Secondly, if the Government has accepted the inevitability of informal housing then instead of asking people to demolish their homes and transport them to a site that is serviced, why should they not be provided with water

and roads at the places where they initially lived?

Hostels

The Social Studies set book for Black children in Standard 5 states: 'The Administration Boards build homes for families and provide hostels for those who are unmarried'.

The following is a description of the hostel in Mooi River which houses approximately 1 000 workers. There are three baths and fifteen showers. Four men sleep in one room. Four rooms share two bucket toilets. It is impossible to walk into the toilet without getting one's feet wet with urine. The buckets are emptied twice a week. Each man has a small locker which holds his food and clothes.

All the coal stoves in the kitchen are broken and there is no room where wives may stay if they visit.

Whether you are single or married your hostel accommodation forms say 'single'.

The place is never inspected and the health hazard, particularly for children, is very high. As one man said: 'We are supposed to be fit for work yet we have to live in this place which is no better than a pigsty'.

Other abuses which hostel dwellers have to endure is the constant invasion of their privacy. In the Clermont Hostels the manager has keys to all the rooms because: 'I have a right to check whenever I please in case there are foreign Bantu being housed here'.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT

Company Doctors

The majority of our WCA complaints this year were about the doctors used by firms, injured workers are refused the right to second opinions outside the firm. If they do go independently to another doctor his report is not accepted by the firm. Workers put off work by an independent doctor are not paid sick leave nor is a claim put through for them on the basis that the firm's

doctor said they were fit for work.

We have had cases of men with broken arms, ankles and even thigh bones being told to go back on duty.

Perhaps the Medical Council should appoint an inquiry into the agreements that appear to exist between some doctors and firms, and into that section of the Act which provides for a rebate for an employer who reports less than the average number of accidents in his firm. This is wide open to abuse.

Unclaimed Money

Chris Carlisle has worked timelessly on the monotonous but valuable, job of trying to trace those people whose names appear in the Gazettes as having compensation money due to them. 'Ilanga' and Radio Bantu have assisted in getting the names to the public. It is difficult to estimate our success as claimants are told how to claim their money and they do not have to reply to the letters Chris sends out. However, from the numbers of phone calls and those who do come into the office it would seem to be a service which is most definitely worth continuing.

OFFICE ADMINISTRATION

As always, we thank Ezekiel Mbele for his hard work and for remaining calm no matter what the crisis; and our voluntary workers for their help and support.

We are grateful to FOSATU for the use of their facilities.

JILLIAN NICHOLSON

PIETER-MARITZBURG

1980 WAS A YEAR OF CHANGE for the Pietermaritzburg Advice Office. In June the office was moved from the Trade Union offices to new premises in St Saviour's Church Hall, Loop Street.

At the same time, the office's

name was changed from the Black Sash Advice Bureau to the Pietermaritzburg Advice Office. The administration of the Advice Office has also been changed: financial decisions are now taken jointly by the local executive of the Black Sash and the SAIRR. The general administrative and policy decisions are taken by a management committee of Advice Office workers.

A look at the statistics shows that the move did not cause a dropping-off in the number of cases. The only change in the pattern of attendance has been an increase in clients during the week and a decrease on Saturdays. The reason for this is so far unclear.

Sheena Duncan held a training course for Advice Office workers during the year and this was followed up with some informal evening training sessions which were fairly well attended.

It has been a real problem to find workers with the time to do research as this is a badly neglected aspect of our work.

CEP

GRAHAMSTOWN

IN SPITE of the fairly marked fall-off in attendance figures during July, our case load for the six months under review continued its upward climb, with the familiar problems of unemployment, pensions, and maintenance/child support predominating. Unlike the larger centres, the incidence of cases concerning residence permits and endorsements out of the townships is very small, probably due to the fact that Grahamstown offers few incentives to workseekers. The figures for UIF and labour disputes do not necessarily reflect a vast increase in new cases but rather the tedious and time-consuming processes adopted by the bureaucracy.

A case in point is that of **Mr John M.** This man had worked at the Municipal Quarries from

January 1975 until July 1980, earning R51 per fortnight. After losing his job he registered for UIF benefits on 16/7/80 and continued signing regularly, but when by October he had received no benefits he approached the office for assistance. Our interviewer noticed that the Contributor's Card he had been given at the Bantu Affairs office bore an incorrect ID number which in no way matched his own, so she sent an affidavit to the Department of Manpower to this effect. In spite of this, cheques made out to Mr M began appearing at the Bantu Affairs office still bearing the incorrect ID number, so that the client was unable to sign for the money. Although he then filled in a form from the Department the situation persisted, and in fact we had a sharp letter from Manpower insisting that payments **had** been made, and that the statement by Mr M was therefore incorrect. The matter was only resolved after a worker from the office had interviewed the Bantu Affairs Commissioner here and discovered that a letter from Manpower to the Commissioner was still reposing on his desk, a letter requesting that cheques with the incorrect ID be returned to Port Elizabeth. This man has had to wait for almost six months to receive the benefits due to him.

The Manpower Department is located in Port Elizabeth and a team of officials comes up once a month to deal with local problems. They used to meet with us regularly to discuss and clarify cases we had written about, but the official dealing specifically with UIF queries no longer comes, so these cases must all be dealt with by correspondence and the Department is not noted for the speed of its responses. These delays involve our clients in repeated visits to our offices in search of news, and our workers in 'jogging' letters to Port Elizabeth. We feel that a local branch of Manpower

could be put to good use, and could serve the areas of Port Alfred and Alexandria as well, since the Manpower men who come from the Department once a month are now having to include these in their day's schedule anyway. We find that our meeting with them now takes place at about 5 pm, at the end of their day's work, when they are understandably tired, pressed for time, and anxious to get back to Port Elizabeth. This does not make for a calm or thorough meeting.

The fall-off in the attendance figures for July reflects the conditions prevailing here during the period of greatest tension and violence in the months covering the schools' boycott. Our office had continued to function in Fingo Village until the middle of July, when on one particular Saturday it was thought advisable to close down in order to reduce the risk of involvement, of both workers and clients, in a highly emotional funeral procession which was to be routed past the office. This funeral, unhappily, led to further violence and confrontation and yet more deaths by gunfire, so that by the following weekend there were to be three funerals in the township. At this point we decided not to close again, but to move our files and continue to operate from a church hall where we had worked previously. Thankfully, this was only necessary for one Saturday and since then we have been back in the Gadra/Cripple Care premises in Fingo Village. Attendance at the office picked up in August, and we dealt with several cases concerning people affected by the riots.

June to November 1980

Our concern about the Pension queues continues. In October we interviewed our MP, Mr Olckers, about the unsatisfactory conditions at pay-out points and were shown a letter he had been sent from Pretoria to the effect that a communication had been received from the AO (this, presumably, Rosemary Smith's letter of December 1979!) and

that the matter was under consideration. Mr Olckers then referred us to the official recently appointed to Grahamstown from the Department of Co-operation and Development, and one of our workers did contact him during the November pay-out period, when he agreed to go and look at the conditions at the Fingo Village Hall. However, as his official designation is 'probation officer' one feels that he has very little actual answer to effect changes in the system. The problem did receive good Press coverage, with photographs and stories, in both the EP Herald and the local Grocott's News. We must persist with our protests in this respect, as also in the areas of Pauper Rations (which are totally inadequate) and the backlog in Maintenance cases at the Magistrate's Court.

There has been a disquieting development concerning Disability Grants in the past months, in that Pretoria has been refusing applications that had been assessed at between 80 and 100% by the MoH here, who is certainly not noted for a soft line in his assessments.

One such case is that of **Mr Y**. In September this man came to us for advice after his Disability Grant application had been turned down; he had been assessed as 80% disabled. He was in arrears with his rent and faced eviction. He also has three children aged 7, 10 and 14. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner wrote to Pretoria to query this decision, and we heard nothing further for two months, when he informed us that the application had again been refused. We then applied to him for Pauper Rations for Mr Y's family, but he had to tell us that his quota of money for these had been exhausted by June! We then sent Mr Y to the Child Welfare Society for aid, but there he was told by the Black social worker that they could do nothing for him. We have now asked Gadra to provide the family with rations as a temporary measure while

we continue to work on the case. A letter has been written to our MP, asking for his assistance in obtaining some ruling from the Department of Welfare and Pensions on the whole area of Disability Grants, and we feel that the Child Welfare should be challenged to apply for support for the children.

We held a workshop in July at which Professor Davenport covered aspects of the Bantu Urban Areas Act, and Sarah Christie dealt with the amendments to the Divorce Laws. We also had a very welcome and useful meeting in September when Sheena Duncan visited us. Another workshop will be planned early in 1981 when we will be joined by several new volunteer workers. We have lost the services of some of our experienced members this year for a variety of reasons, and would like to place on record our gratitude to them all for their dedication and hard work, and wish them well as they move away from Grahamstown to take up their careers in other spheres, hoping that they will continue to respond as generously to the needs of their community as they have done here. We think with particular affection of Guy Berger and Chris Watters, currently detained. We are fortunate in having others among us who are ready to fill their vacant positions, and welcome them all as co-workers.

No report would be complete without mention of our interpreters, Mrs Mary Kota and Mrs Quennette Ngugu, without whose able assistance we simply could not function adequately. We thank these two women for the diligent and regular service they provide in the running of the office. I would like to thank all the Advice Office volunteers, too, for the support and advice I have received from everyone this year, particularly Nancy Charton and Rose Smith who have always been willing to step in and hold the fort in times of stress or difficulty, Shirley Mac-

● Continued on Page 27

Book Corner

WORKING FOR BOROKO: THE ORIGINS OF A COERCIVE LABOUR SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA, by Marion Lacey.

Ravan Press — R9,50.

WHAT IS APARTHEID and when did it begin? What are its motives and purposes? Is it a controlling ideology or a 'civil religion' that has emerged from our past — and especially from the Afrikaner Calvinist frontier experience? Or — as the radical historians and economists argue — is it a logical, airtight technique for the 'super-exploitation' of Black labour to swell the profits of capitalism?

Will this cruelly repressive instrument of White tyranny and supremacy yield before market forces? Or is it so pervasive and profitable that it can survive 'cosmetic change' until overthrown by external assaults and internal revolution?

These are some of the questions which the critics of apartheid now pose in thousands of articles, speeches, and rhetorical or detailed onslaughts.

What is lacking is a clear sense of the origins and structure of apartheid and of its overlapping meanings and functions. The great value of Marion Lacey's penetrating and exhaustive study — **Working for Boroko: The Origins of a Coercive Labour System in South Africa**, is that it explodes the myths, and separates the strands of apartheid in its most important formative phase.

The dividing points are not the Nationalist victory of 1948; nor, at the opposite extreme, the planting of Jan van Riebeeck's famous almond hedge to achieve physical segregation; but the Hertzog and Fusion period from 1942 to 1948.

Before this crucial time apartheid existed as a network of historically shaped attitudes and practices. But what Marion Lacey disproves is the popular myth that 'the predominantly Afrikaner National Party was wholly responsible for the segregation scheme and that 1948 was the magic date when the apartheid State began.'

Lacey takes her title from the evidence of a Black witness to a 1922 Native Affairs Department investigation: 'An African is not allowed to hire a White's farm for money, except by working for nothing, "Boroko".'

She shows that one vital aspect of apartheid was inspired by the much-misunderstood Glen Grey Act of Cecil Rhodes, when he was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1894. Rhodes divided the traditional Glen Grey area into four-morgen plots which could not be sold. Contrary to African practice, these plots would not be divided after death, or shared by the family, but were inherited by the eldest son.



This meant that the surplus population had no alternative except to go out and labour for mines or farmers. Secondly, and even more significant, the Glen Grey plots, though held in individual tenure, did not qualify the occupants for the 'colour-blind' Cape franchise, shared by Whites, Blacks, 'Coloureds' and Indians alike, and subject to a low property and educational test.

Thirdly, a labour tax was imposed on any Glen Grey peasant who did not go out to work for three months a year for White employers — a clause which was in fact inoperative because poverty compelled such labour-migration.

Finally, a distinctive system of local and district councils was introduced; a system that was creative in providing an opportunity for limited local self-government, but was destructive in that it spelt out an alternative to the deeply valued citizens' right of the franchise.

The characteristic 'colour-blind' Cape franchise was protected in the Act of Union by special entrenchment and was destroyed by the partnership of Hertzog and Smuts in the Fusion Government.

Their reasons, as Lacey makes clear, were not primarily ideological. After Union, a repressive and coercive system of labour control was imposed on Blacks in the other provinces to force them to work on farms and mines. The Cape, however, remained immune: nothing could be done to interfere with the individual's right to buy or hire land outside the 'scheduled' reserve areas, as this would interfere with his opportunity to qualify for the franchise. Even the pass laws could not be applied in the Cape. In short, the Cape could not be assimilated into the general labour pattern of the Union.

The first national labour priority was the drafting of Black labour to serve farmers as paid tenants (politically farmers dominated both the earlier Botha and Smuts governments, and the Hertzog Ministry).

Secondly, and in rivalry with the demands of the capitalist farming sector, the mines could not use the 1913 Land Act — so hated by the Blacks — within the Cape to expand their recruitment of migrant labour.

The third priority was not directly relevant to the Cape, but was to solve the poor White question, which Smuts had signally failed to do.

Hertzog's plan was to replace Black labour in the public sector of the State and in the growing urban industries by 'civilised' White labour. (He would thus effect two purposes simultaneously: he would split the threatening non-racial labour front, of which there had been ominous symptoms between 1920 and 1922 in Black industrial unrest followed by the violent 1922 White strike, and he

would find acceptable work for poor Whites at the expense of the 'super-exploitable' Blacks).

Another myth that Lacey demolishes is that Hertzog was the father of the homelands. On the contrary, he did not wish to enlarge the reserves, and thus restrict the labour available for farmers. His tardiness threatened to destroy the over-populated, impoverished reserves altogether.

It was only with the combination of economic depression and mine labour shortage — to solve which the reserves were indispensable — that Hertzog in effect gave way to Smuts, and accepted the Smuts policy of slightly enlarging the ludicrously inadequate reserves. These were still not in any sense intended as future 'homelands' but as a pool for migrant labour: thus freeing the mines of the cost of paying family wages and side benefits to the elderly.

Finally, the abolition of the Cape Native franchise was already agreed on by 1931, though the compromises on the parcel of Hertzog Bills were not complete till 1935. The abolition was not therefore ideological — another myth — but was directly related to the search for an extended system of labour coercion.

The gist of Lacey's argument is that 'trusteeship' — the new formula which replaced 'segregation' and preceded 'apartheid' — was 'not only compatible with economic growth but designed as a coercive labour system geared to ensure capitalist profitability.'

There is, however, nothing doctrinaire or dogmatic about her carefully mobilised factual arguments. She shows, too, the revival of what was then an almost defunct system of chieftainship, and the growth of repressive laws — for example, a pass law which forbade farm Blacks to leave their employment either for mines or cities, and which tied them down not to three but to six months of compulsory labour. Her conclusion is that by 1947 'the main struts of the modern apartheid State had emerged.'

This invaluable study is bound to influence history students and lecturers at universities and even to percolate down to some schools. It is so cogently argued and clearly presented that one is amazed to discover that it was prepared as an MA thesis (for Rhodes University), as the usual weighty detail that makes theses heavy reading is so skilfully and readably handled.

There is, however, one omission. If new editions follow, a full index should be seen as indispensable — the absence in the present volume is undoubtedly a defect.

And secondly, Lacey could move back in time to the earlier geographic and social manifestations of ethnic hostility and geographic encroachment; and in regard to the Cape, go deeper into the history of segregation, laying less stress on Rhodes's Glen Grey Act, which was in many respects symbolic and part of an existing tradition, not a starting point.

Phyllis Lewsen

Acknowledgements to the Rand Daily Mail.

LOOKING THROUGH THE KEYHOLE, by N. Chabani Manganyi, Ravan Press.

PROFESSOR MANGANYI has written a fascinating selection of 'dissenting essays on the Black experience,' situated in a wide magnetic field of psychology, literature and philosophy.

The first is his almost audio-visual interview with Professor Ezekiel Mphahlele. In it both indeed zig-zag their way 'through township life, the promise of African humanism, the nightmare of exile, the predicament of White South Africans, education, Black literature and many other related themes.'

These themes are developed in subsequent essays on literature and censorship, architecture, migrant labour and Soweto. The keystone of the structure is African humanism, and Professor Manganyi emphasises the need for Whites to become authentically African, to progress from being merely students of Africanism.

He often looks at known sociological facts in a new light, both compassionately and dispassionately. Of one of the chief problems of a migrant worker he writes:

'Erotic impulses, the human need for intimacy, must cease being experienced as legitimate where there is a constant incongruity between supply and demand.'

Professor Manganyi's empathetic objectivity — and in these essays the paradox holds — more than validates his over-modest claim to be 'an adult concerned with the problems of authenticity and alienation.'

JS

RENDER UNTO KAIZER: A TRANSKEI DOSSIER, by Barry Streek and Richard Wicksteed.

Ravan Press — R9,95.

THE TRANSKEI is held out as a carrot to other homeland leaders to take independence. In this riveting book the authors demonstrate just how rotten the carrot is in their analysis of the Transkeian feudal fiefdom.

The authors aptly term Transkei 'apartheid's spoilt child'. They trace the history of how public consent to the taking of independence was engineered. With inexorable clarity they describe the extent of Transkei's dependence on South Africa, its bizarrely draconian security legislation, financial double-dealing and graft, political sleight-of-hand and the sinister relationship between Transkei and Pretoria.

Politically the situation is one of black farce. For a time the leader of the Opposition was actually a Government stooge. In 1979 organisations as diverse as the SA Society of Journalists, Bishop Muzorewa's UANC and Inkatha were banned. At one point some 34 organisations in all were banned, some of which did not even exist.

Expediency seems to be the guiding principle in the government of the Transkei. The Matanzimas have variously used Black power, the release of Mandela and the demand for Queenstown to suit their purposes. All this is related in detail, and the authors pungently comment: 'These calls, which may be dropped as soon as they become inconvenient or less popular, are not part of a Matanzima ideology; they are the currency of expediency, issued by a régime bankrupt in firm political ideas'.

This immensely readable, thoroughly documented book, is highly recommended.

A SHANTY TOWN IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE STORY OF MODDERDAM, by Andrew Silk.

Ravan Press — R6,95.

ANDREW SILK is an American journalist. In this book he chronicles his eye-witness account of Modderdam's fight against destruction, charting the squatters' campaign from legal appeal to public protest to civil disobedience.

In addition he provides an easily digestible history of influx control in South Africa and compares

it with other African, Asian and Latin American ways of dealing with the world-wide problem of squatting.

Mr Silk juxtaposes the dicta of officialdom with the reactions of the squatters themselves, allowing the former to damn themselves. I quote only one priceless conversation between the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner and the squatters:

One of the squatters then protested that he had been born in the Cape and did not know the Transkei. 'But while I qualify under Section 10 to stay here, my wife is from Lady Frere and does not qualify. What must I do—divorce her?'

'You should have thought of the consequences before you married her', Mr Botha responded.

'But love is love'.

Another squatter then asked whether a three-month extension would be possible. Mr Botha said no. 'I suggest that you start moving out from tomorrow; then you will not have to face the bulldozers. We'd like to get it done nicely'.

This book will be of great value to those who need knowledge to debunk Nationalist propaganda about squatters as law-breakers and layabouts.

J S

● Continued from Page 24

lennan who is our filing guru and who compiled the statistics for this report, Florence Bandey who took over our books when

Patricia Kelly left for the UK in mid-year, Janine Bekker and Marianne Roux who deal with the Manpower problems, and Priscilla Hall who acts as our

secretary. It has been a privilege to work as a member of a team such as this, and I am grateful for the experience.

Peggy McCoy

● Continued from Page 2

ing on the plot of barren land between Crossroads and Nyanga. A passerby told her the people were from Langa and were to be given passes and 'blyplek'. Julia joined them, without much hope.

'We were just sitting there. But I took a chance so that if they got boekies I would also get a boekie.'

Julia was arrested and appeared in the Langa Commissioner's Court together with hundreds of squatters. Her case was remanded, she was released on bail and returned to the squatter site.

She claims an official told people gathered at the site that they were to be given passes the following morning. Before dawn a man came to tell them vans were lining up at the adjacent Administration Board office.

'But I did not take it kop toe. Other people believed we were going to be caught. I stayed there because I did not think a White man would not tell the truth. I went back to sleep. At six the vans came. I did not run away because I thought they were coming to put our books right.'

Mrs Velemana was grouped with the 'Transkei people' on the strength of her Transkei papers and given back her R30 bail money. One sympathetic

official suggested that she be discharged, but another official remained adamant that she board one of the buses taking squatters back to the Transkei.

After being dumped in Umtata, she went to the bus terminus hoping to buy a ticket to Cape Town with her R30. She was warned by a bus driver that police were manning road blocks along the road to Cape Town.

'I was heartsore because I thought I would not see my children again. But faith came into my heart. I said to the man I would try (to reach Cape Town) and see what happened to me.'

Police stopped the bus after it crossed the Transkei border. Her heart pounding, she watched while police boarded the bus, studied the reference books of several men and then allowed the bus to continue. Mrs Velemana prayed throughout the long journey to Cape Town.

'I can believe in God because I came back to my children. They were very glad to see me. My grandmother said she had been very worried. My brother said die Here het baie goed gewerk.'

But Julia Nowinile Velemana remains an 'illegal' in the place of her birth.

Rob Meintjies

● Acknowledgements to the Cape Times

Obituaries

MAIMIE CORRIGALL

HER FRIENDS had for some time known in their hearts that Maimie was going to die as they watched her enduring ever more frequent spells of pain and acute discomfort, but her indomitable spirit and abundant life made the knowledge seem quite unreal, so that when death came and word of it spread among those many people all over South Africa who knew and loved her it was shockingly unbelievable.

Maimie was a rock, a seemingly indestructible source of strength to everyone who ever worked with her in the Liberal Party and in the wider Pietermaritzburg community.

Through all the years of her active work which continued until her death she held steadfast to those values of freedom and justice, public and private integrity, and the infinite worth of all human beings, which values have been so assaulted and diminished in our country. It is because of people like Maimie and those others with whom she worked so closely that such ideas have survived at all. It has taken great courage to continue to state such convictions in the face of Government action, public unconcern and the ridicule of those who no longer understand that just and peaceful societies can only be built on such foundations.

She was one of the founders of the Black Sash in Natal. She took part in its first and most striking national enterprise: the convoy of cars converging on Cape Town to demonstrate against the Senate Act — and returned to take the lead in the Natal Midlands. Besides working in Pietermaritzburg, during those early days of widespread and heady enthusiasm she travelled all over the area, starting or visiting branches in such unlikely or remote places as Matatiele, Kokstad, New Hanover and Cramond. But these and other country branches could not survive the Black Sash's growing recognition that political logic and political idealism in South Africa demanded more than a general adherence and loyalty to the terms and spirit of the 1910 constitution. Maimie was a vigorous advocate in the Black Sash of the pursuit of the most uncompromising principles; and when this resulted in the gradual collapse of most of her work in the country branches, she was disappointed but not deterred.

Maimie was a legend in the Black Sash, a leader whose wisdom and wit and acerbic style had much to do with the overall growth and development of the organisation from the beginning and whose strength and steady determination had everything to do with keep-

ing us alive during the long, dead political years of the nineteen sixties.

She was beloved. Her monument will be the truth she held and handed on, and we will keep faith with her. **Marie Dyer**

MARY BURT — A Tribute

BEREFT is probably the best word to describe how Mary's many friends felt on learning that she had died. She had meant so much to so many — always there, ready to listen, totally discreet, with that rare gift of leaving her friends free in their relationship with her. The way she faced up to and handled her last years was typical of her — no moaning, no pity permitted, she just made it part of the great learning process of life and was determined to pass on to others anything that might benefit them. She died with the full dignity we all hoped for her.

Mary's influence will never be measured. She just quietly got on with living life according to the high standards she set herself. A member of the Black Sash since its inception, she was probably the strongest influence in recruiting young members in the late 60s and early 70s, and getting them to accept responsibility and positions of leadership.

To watch her with her grandsons was a joy — she had a rapport with them which was typical of all her relationships. Anne and the three boys will have lost a marvellous influence in their lives, an influence which all of us who knew her well are also lucky to have enjoyed.

M HENDERSON

MARY BURT — A Memory

TO work for growth from within and to communicate this in her many pursuits is what distinguished Mary most. She was able to examine long-held and cherished beliefs, and if found wanting, to jettison them with neither fear or apology.

She exercised this unique ability throughout her life and her ensuing breadth of vision attracted the young, to whom she was both friend and mentor. Her courage and intellectual integrity was of benefit to the Council of the Sash when it was in its infancy. Each obstacle was carefully examined and the problems tackled with patience and intelligence.

When she knew she had few years to live she met her imminent death in the same resolute and intelligent manner she had brought to bear in her life span. She continued to grow. Death was not to be feared, but to be met as a new and meritable experience.

Her friends, and they were legion, were embraced and drawn to share the experience.

At the end, she left all in order. Even her wake was planned by her, so that it could not fail to be a tender, loving and joyful sharing with her family and her friends. **D BERMAN**

NYANGA...



● A HOUSE IS BUILT



● A HOUSE IS INHABITED



● A HOUSE IS DESTROYED

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