

THE BLACK SASH

NATIONAL CONFERENCE - CAPE TOWN.

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BY

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My theme for to-night is an ambitious one. It clamours for thorough research and investigation by teams of experts and I am not one. Their findings would be invaluable in assessing where we have come from at this moment in time and evaluating where we should be going. I refer to the Cost of Apartheid.

There is no simple way of measuring this. Our country ^{has} had paid and is paying directly and indirectly, tangibly and intangibly across the entire spectrum of economic, political, social and human affairs for the implementation of a policy to which only a small percentage of the total population subscribes.

In May 1978 the Government celebrated 30 years of National Party rule. In its blinkered and unwavering pursuit of apartheid it has embarked upon the balkanisation of our country, muzzled us, banned us, detained us, abrogated the Rule of Law, subjected us to stringent censorship, deprived millions of South Africans of their citizenship, stunted the economy, controlled industrial growth and the labour supply, created a burgeoning bureaucracy, and woven so many tangled webs of controls and restraints around our black brethren that their lives have been effectively reduced to permits, passes, little bits of paper they require simply to prove their very existence, while their human needs and aspirations are crushed by a juggernaut over which they have no control whatsoever.

Our country is fractured. Internally we are in a state of potential and sometimes actual disarray and externally we are threatened not only militarily but also economically.

These are the broad and immeasurable costs of Apartheid, for they are all the direct and indirect, tangible and intangible results of the implementation of the policy of Apartheid, and in estimating the cost they must all be taken into account.

The accounts can never be accurate and the books can never be made to balance. After all, if one little section of the Government, the Department of Information, was unable to account satisfactorily for its expenditure, how much less can the whole country?

The Department of Information debacle was itself one of the results of the policy of Apartheid, for the attempts of the Department to influence public opinion both inside and outside the country would have been unnecessary had it not been for a policy whose effects require justification. So here we already have an amount which seems to be anything from R30 million upwards of tax payers' money which has been lost or misused, the blame for which can justifiably be laid at the door of Apartheid.

Some cost figures are available in some areas of Government. At best they are sketchy and fragmentary, but they do provide an indication of the cost in rands and cents of the implementation of the policy.

But perhaps before I quote figures/---

But perhaps before I quote figures I should first concede that the Government itself has found the word "Apartheid" sufficiently unpalatable to ditch it and replace it with such euphemisms as "Separate Development" and now "Plural Development" or "Pluralism", but these are just a stinkblom by another name, for the fundamental ideology of separation remains intact. I shall therefore continue to refer to it as "Apartheid".

The Pass Laws and Influx Control are probably the most obvious and glaring examples of Apartheid in action. Most South Africans must surely be fairly conversant with the implications of the Pass Laws - that every black (in this context African boy and girl of 16 years of age) must apply for a Reference Book; that this book must carry authorised stamps indicating ethnic group and rights under Section 10 of the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945 as amended, which include the fundamental and all important rights to live and work in a particular area.

Nearly 10 million Africans carry Reference Books, each of which costs about R10 to produce - a total of R100 million, to which can be added R4 million a year for new books and a further R20 million for keeping these documents up to date. Professor Barnard quoted these and other figures in the Rand Daily Mail on 27th November 1978, from a study in 1977 by a sociologist whom he does not name, but whom I believe to be Dr. Michael Savage

He quoted further that the Pass Laws resulted in nearly 6 million prosecutions in a decade, more than half a million in one year at an estimated cost of R1,5 million. The cost of imprisonment was estimated at R18,7 million of prosecutions at R1,7 million, and of patrolling and policing the system R11,5 million. The time lost by people arrested amounted to 12,3 million productive man-hours - the equivalent of losing R7.7 million

About R35 million a year is spent on contract labour documents and another R12 million on the operation of the labour bureaux which help to administer the Pass Laws and the Migrant Labour system - both integral aspects of the policy of Apartheid.

The survey estimated that South Africa spends about R112 million a year simply operating the Pass Laws, an amount more than the total moneys allocated for the 1976/77 budgets for running the now re-named Department of Bantu Education, the Department of Labour, the Department of the Interior and and the operating costs of Paliament!

Professor Barnard quotes a top South African financier, who pointed out that South Africa's gross national product would be about 50 per cent higher without the Apartheid bleed-off, an amount of R28,800 million in 1976 instead of R26,700 million. The survey quoted the direct cost of Apartheid at about R13,000 million a year! On 28th Feb this year, Mr. Alf Widman M.P. estimated it at R18,795 million (Star 28-2-79)

These figures are staggering, and/---

These figures are staggering, and I make no apology for quoting them in such detail. They were used in a book launched by France's anti-apartheid movement in a bid to mobilise public opinion against French loans to and investment in South Africa, (POST 14.11.78) with obviously grave implications for the economy of our country.

But Apartheid has not only to be administered through the Pass Laws - the infrastructure has also to be created. This has been, and continues to be an on-going project for the Government, and a costly one, though comprehensive figures are not readily available, if at all.

The Government has employed such methods as the entrenchment and extension of the Migrant Labour System ; continuing, systematic and large-scale removals ; and the fragmentation of our country into non-viable, non-consolidated so-called Homelands.

The compulsory Migrant Labour Policy has been designed to ensure that the maximum number of black workers employed within the white economy shall be rooted in their homelands and shall spend their entire working lives as migrants. In his book "Migrant Labour in South Africa", published in 1972, Dr. Francis Wilson estimated that no less than 51 percent of all Africans registered in employment were oscillating migrants. Prof Jill Nattres estimated it at 43% for men plus 260,000 women from 1974 figures. In any event as more homelands take independence, this percentage will inevitably escalate with the implementation of the new citizenship laws. Having lost their S. A. citizenship fewer and fewer children born in the urban areas will be able to achieve Section 10 rights, and as industry will presumably still require their services there will be more and more migrants.

Migrant labour policy is expensive to implement. I have already mentioned the cost of administering the Labour Bureaux. At its most basic level the provision of accommodation under two separate roofs for members of the same family must be uneconomic. For instance in Alexandra, on the outskirts of Johannesburg, the Government has embarked on a scheme to demolish existing family housing at a cost to date of R100,000 (Financial Mail 23/6/78.) Admittedly much of it is in poor condition but nevertheless it provides accommodation for family living at a time when the housing situation for black people has reached crisis proportions. In its place gigantic, barrack-like hostels are to be built to accommodate so-called single men and women, the country's workers, while their families must return to the homelands.

According to the Financial Mail of 23/6/78 Alexandra is to be divided into seven areas with up to eight hostels in each. The first two hostels, one for 2,600 men and the other for 2,600 women were opened in 1972. A third hostel to house 3,000 men is due to be built this year. The West Rand Administration Board estimates its cost at R7 million. The cost per bed is about R2,300, amounting to an estimated total of R57,5 million for the whole Alexandra complex, and these hostels have then to be administered and maintained at an extra annual cost.

In the meanwhile /---
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A mating of the figure R2,300 for a hostel bed with the figure 1,305,000 oscillating migrants as given by Dr. Wilson in 1972 gives a mind-boggling total of over R3 ^{000 million} billion for housing migrants. Admittedly this is not a fair figure. Many hostels and mine compounds are already in existence. A percentage of oscillating migrants are accommodated on their employers' premises while others are lodgers.

The standards of accommodation differ, though there is little to commend that provided by the Alexandra hostels. But on the other side of the coin this is a policy being studiously implemented by the Government, which has every intention of expanding it, so that the 1972 figure of 1,305,000 migrants is already out of date and if the economy were to expand the demand for labour would grow commensurately.

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In the meanwhile the spouses and the children of the 'single' inmates of these hostels, and many others like them all over the country, have to be accommodated in the homelands where, theoretically, housing must be provided for them at further cost. Government expenditure on housing is both justifiable and essential, but the policy of Apartheid which demands separate housing for members of the same family and the demolition of existing family housing is obviously costly and totally uneconomic.

While on the subject of housing I should like to digress briefly to mention the 99 year or indefinite leasehold for blacks in urban areas which was introduced last year and for which the Urban Foundation has arranged the inflow of millions of Rands from overseas. I readily concede the desirability of home-ownership, while opting for freehold rather than leasehold, but feel it is absolutely essential to point out that the Citizenship Acts for the independent homelands, while allowing for the inheritance of such property, make the occupation of such property by the legitimate heirs dependent on permission, for eventually the heirs will no longer be in possession of the Section 10 rights which are a compulsory qualification for occupancy of a house in an urban area. If they wish to sell such a house in order to realise their assets they are likely to face a constantly dwindling market as more homelands opt for independence and Section 10 rights are denied to more and more people. This scheme may therefore also eventually prove to be an exceedingly expensive venture, both for those who provide the financial backing and for the actual purchasers. *The recent clarification by Dr. Koorhof is encouraging but still unsatisfactory in view of the conflict between his statement and the as yet unaltered laws on the statute book.*

The systematic and large-scale removals of black people are costly to implement. In its pursuit of the policy of Apartheid the Government embarked on nothing more nor less than a giant redistribution of the population and a major plastic surgery operation on the entire face of South Africa.

In its determination to separate the Government has created 9 separate homelands in approximately 61 ^{pieces} places - some of which have still to be amalgamated.

There are presently problems with the Ndbele people who are demanding separation from Bophutatswana and their own own homeland.

Massive removals have been necessary in order to achieve this. Together with removals under the Group Areas Act just over 2,115,000 people have already been removed, all but 7000 of them black. 1,727,000 people have still to be moved, all but 1600 of them black - 3,842,000 in all. This costs a great deal of money, though the final arithmetic has still to be done.

The Star reported on 7/4/78 that more than 86,000 people had been resettled from April, 1976 to March, 1977, and money spent on transport, temporary housing, compensation and initial development involving these people totalled R5,517,000. If it costs R5½ million to resettle 86,000 people, how much will the final accounting be for 3,842,000 people? My short-cut arithmetic yields an approximate figure of R246 million! This could instead have provided the minimum of/---

have provided the minimum of R200 million which the Economic Research Bureau at Stellenbosch University urged the Government to invest in low-cost housing in order to be effective. (IRR. 1977).

On 29/6/77 the Star reported Mr. Marais Steyn as saying in the Assembly that it would cost the Government something like R23,133,274 to resettle 591 Indian traders in 21 platteland towns under the Group Areas Act. On 2/6/78 it reported him as saying that the Government would spend R29,5 million to move 398 Indian traders in terms of the Group Areas Act between now and 1982, affecting Indian traders in Natal and the Transvaal.

Mr. Abram Mayet, of the Indian Reform Party, stated that up to June, 1976, the Government had spent more than R29 million to build 852 Indian shopping units. It had resettled 1300 traders in shopping complexes including the Oriental Plaza, Fordsburg and the Orient Bazaar, Pretoria, at a cost of R31,5 million. Mr. Mayet quoted other figures and said "We have estimated that it is going to cost the taxpayer more than R200 million by 1980 to resettle all the Indian people".

Land has had to be acquired in order to implement the colossal removals project. The total expenditure on the acquisition of land during the year 1976/77 was R32,875,991. The sum voted for this purpose for 1977/78 was R50 million. (IRR '77) Dr. Hartzenberg, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations, said on 22/1/79 that the remaining land still to be bought would cost between R400 million and R700 million. (Rand Daily Mail 23/1/79).

All this in the name of Apartheid - to give the Government the opportunity to deny blacks all political rights in 'white' areas in exchange for political rights in their own areas, to deny them citizenship of South Africa, to create a vast labour pool, and to present what it considers to be an ethical justification for its policy of divide and rule.

No doubt there is a degree of overlap in some of the figures I have quoted. It would be surprising if there were not, for all the various aspects of the implementation of Apartheid - the Pass Laws, the Migrant Labour System, the Removals Schemes, the Homelands, Group Areas - mesh neatly into each other providing a colossal machine geared to achieve the Government's final aim which is to have its cake and eat it - to disavow its responsibility for black people by making them non-citizens while utilising their labour and making it readily available, using the concept of independent homelands to provide an ethical veneer.

However the fact that these figures run into millions, tens of millions, hundreds of millions, billions, is undeniable. Had all this money been spent creatively on housing, education, vocational training, upliftment; had the manhours of those employed in the burgeoning bureaucracy the system demands been used productively; and had all the millions of people whom the system has mercilessly shunted around been permitted to live secure working lives in secure family units, resources - rich South Africa could have forged

ahead into peace and prosperity/

ahead into peace and prosperity instead of being the sanctions - threatened polecat of the Western world plagued by endemic internal unrest.

These are some of the directly observable costs of Apartheid, approximately R600 million for land purchase still to come ; a very conservative R246 million for resettlement, if Indian removals alone are to cost R200 million ; R3 billion for housing migrants - a total of R3,846,000,000 to which must be added R112 million per annum for operating the Pass Laws and R47 million per annum for labour contracts and the labour bureaux system.

I do not pretend that these figures are either accurate or complete. I am no economist and no statistician. I have simply combined some of the figures others have estimated. Of course they require expert handling, and I use them merely to demonstrate that Apartheid is an expensive Government indulgence in terms of - rands and cents.

What of all the indirect costs, for the effects of Apartheid permeate throughout the entire fabric of our society affecting every aspect of Government of the economy, of politics, of our every-day lives?

Geographically our country is being carved up. Borders are being created within borders and the South Africa we have known and which we love has already ceased to exist. Practically speaking its borders requiring protection have been enlarged to such an extent that they are virtually unguardable, as recent events on the borders of Bophutatswana and Botswana have clearly indicated. And this is just the beginning.

The unpopularity of the policy of Apartheid in the countries bordering South Africa coupled with the incipient threat from within have necessitated a virtual military explosion with more and more young men - and women too - being drawn into the Defence Force with a consequent loss of countless productive manhours, and more and more of the exchequer being diverted to the Department of Defence. The total estimate of expenditure on Defence from the State Revenue Account for 1977/78 was R1,700,082,000, 18,1 percent of the total budget. (I.R.R. '77). In the U.S.A. it was 23,7% in 1977, with all their sophisticated hardware, and in Britain 8,59% for 78/79 budget. In this acquisitive world every country needs a defence force, but ours has grown out of all proportion. For how much of this additional cost is Apartheid responsible?

Internal security has also taken its financial toll. As with the Defence budget it is impossible to assess the percentage of the annual Police and Prisons budget which is diverted to the Security Police. We do know however, that during his premiership Mr. Vorster found it necessary to create a Bureau of State Security and that the activities of the Security Police and, no doubt, its manpower, have escalated over the years. Since the 1950's 1,373 people have been banned ; at mid-December, 1978, 153 people were in detention (Rand Daily Mail 20/12/78). No reason is given for bannings and detentions, but presumably people are considered to be security risks if they oppose the establishment, and the policy of the establishment is Apartheid.

It is costing our country dear/-----

It is costing our country dear to maintain internal and external security. The riots of 1976, the causes of which have still to be satisfactorily resolved, were costly. The Cillie Commission into the cause of the Riots was costly, and its findings have yet to be tabled.

The Erasmus and Van Der Walt Commissions are costly. The duplication of services for whites and blacks is costly, though unequally so. The ethnic universities are costly. Separation is costly.

Raising loans in an inimical foreign climate is costly. Oil from unwilling suppliers is costly. Resistance to South African exports is costly. The list is endless and all-pervasive, and the cost is incalculable.

I have deliberately refrained from discussing the human costs of Apartheid, but cannot conclude without referring to them for they are, perhaps, the most expensive aspect of all though they can never be measured.

Our regular Advice Office Reports paint a graphic picture of the toll in human misery paid by the black people of our country as a result of the implementation of this inhuman policy. They present an endlessly repeating kaleidoscope of broken families ; of husbands begging for the comforting presence of their wives and children ; of wives seeking to live with their husbands ; of endorsements out of urban areas to homelands which are often remote and totally unfamiliar to those being sent there ; of evictions from houses ; of the inability to acquire family housing ; of labour problems ; of the often fruitless endeavours to obtain permits - work permits, housing permits, living permits ; of the desperate struggles of ordinary men and women to acquire what should be the basic human rights of family life and the freedom to seek work and accept employment.

There are the growing numbers of migrant workers who are condemned to spend their entire working lives in single-sexed hostels, without privacy, without security for their belongings, without adequate cooking and ablution facilities, leading an unnatural existence in close proximity to each other and often seeing their families only once a year for three weeks. The structure of black society is being torn asunder with immeasurable costs to the total society in terms of the destruction of mores, which are the kingpins of stability, and the failure to replace them with even reasonably minimum living conditions.

There are the millions of people who have been and are still to be forcibly uprooted from their homes, where generations of their families might have been established, and removed to distant and alien places where they are dumped in the veld - sometimes with alternative accommodation provided, sometimes with nothing more than tents - often with inadequate water and hygiene facilities and a dearth of shops, clinics, transport and employment opportunities. There the women, children and old people must fend for themselves while their menfolk must seek employment elsewhere as migrants, if they are fortunate enough to be requisitioned by visiting agents to their local labour bureaux.

There is the misery and insecurity/---

There is the misery and insecurity of the squatters whose sin is that they seek family life in the place where they work and whose shacks are mercilessly demolished and front end-loaded while they desperately scuttle still further into the bush like hunted animals.

There are all those members of the Coloured and Indian communities who have been shifted under the Group Areas Act - deprived of their homes and often of their very livelihood and moved to out-lying areas where totally insufficient provision has been made for their accommodation and their needs.

Lives have been disrupted, settled communities have been uprooted, the fabric of a large section of our society has been destroyed and replaced with alienation, loneliness and despair.

The creation of the homelands, which are now being referred to as self-governing black states though non-independent ones are no more self-governing than are the provinces of South Africa, and the arbitrary deprivation of their South African citizenship of millions of our citizens have been severe blows to them which fill them with anger and resentment. They are being cheated of their birthright and their share in the wealth of the whole country which they have helped to build up, in exchange for citizenship of small, fragmented, non-viable homelands from which vast numbers of them have been totally divorced. South Africa is losing its unity and the majority of its citizens are being converted into bitter and frustrated aliens.

The constant emphasis on ethnicity, on identity, on separation has reinforced the natural inclinations of people to gravitate towards those with whom they are familiar and is creating in-group loyalties and out-group hostilities which are fragmenting our people and which bode ill for the future peaceful evolution of our country, as do the growing anger, bitterness, frustration and resentment being generated by the implementation of the laws of the land. The Security Laws could well be included in the cost of Apartheid for it seems a fair deduction in terms of cause and effect to find that Security legislation is a direct by-product of Apartheid. Total rejection of the policy has given rise to opposition and eventually to unrest which has, to date, been contained by the costly security measures designed for this specific purpose.

But this is not all. To the hopeless, helplessness and suffering of those who are arbitrarily arrested, banned, detained under this legislation with no access whatsoever to the due process of law, must be added the disastrous loss to society as a whole of the right of habeas corpus and the abrogation of the Rule of Law.

The failure to prosecute General Van Der Bergh compared with its swift action against the Rand Daily Mail, is an indication of how far the Government itself has strayed from respect for its own institutions.

The moral fibre of all South Africans is being undermined, and they are experiencing the inevitably brutalising effects of brutality - whether it be physical or psychological. I challenge any South African to deny

the difficulty of retaining sensitivity/
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the difficulty of retaining sensitivity, humanity and a yardstick of values within the framework of our society which does such violence in the name of an ideology..

Apartheid has brought South Africa nought for its comfort. The cosmetic changes the Government has recently introduced, mainly as a result of outside pressure, are all within the broad framework of Apartheid, as is its proposed new Constitution with its three separate ethnic Parliaments and the total exclusion of the African people.

A Government which has evolved its entire policy upon the separation of people, and whose most prominent representatives have stated publicly on innumerable occasions an absolute determination never to share power, cannot be expected to devise a scheme wherein power is actually shared.

Unless the National Party has undergone a very real reversal of the principles and beliefs which have governed it since its inception it is reasonable to assume that its built-in numerical control of the Council of Cabinets, combined with the powers of the Executive President, will be sufficient to ensure that the real power to be wielded by the three Ethnic Parliaments will be marginal, and that they will be little better equipped than the existing Advisory Councils to exercise meaningful control over matters affecting the lives of the people they represent.

White opposition political power will become increasingly irrelevant, as the opposition is not even to be represented on the Council of Cabinets, which is to initiate legislation affecting all three Parliaments, nor will its loss of power be counter-balanced by any meaningful increase in black power.

Finally any constitution which totally excludes 18 million of the 24 million people it is designed to govern is little more than a sick joke, nor is it cured by making non-citizens of them. They will still be living and working within what most of them know and recognise as their country, in which they were born and to whose wealth and prosperity they have contributed. The Homelands were thrust upon them. They are not of their choosing. Those which have already opted for independence have done so without the support of the vast mass of the people.

In terms of costs no mention has been made of the inevitably escalating expense of maintaining three separate governments, and this in a country which is already over-burdened with a non-productive bureaucracy. With three Parliaments, three Prime Ministers, three Cabinets and three organisations which must be staffed the costs will be astronomical, as will be the demands made on tax-payers. This top-heavy Government contrivance will not resolve the racial dilemma in our country, nor can the country afford it.

No-one will deny the necessity/---

No-one will deny the necessity for a new Constitution. It is freely conceded that the old, Westminster type system might well be inappropriate to a non-homogeneous South Africa. But in order to be effective a Constitution must be acceptable to the broad mass of the people it is designed to govern. A Constitution unilaterally devised by the National Party can never fulfil this requirement, for the National Party is still entirely dedicated to the concept of Apartheid.

Apartheid has already cost our country dear to the point of social disaster, economic distress and moral bankruptcy. Apartheid must go, or it will cost South Africa its future.

JOYCE HARRIS
NATIONAL PRESIDENT
THE BLACK SASH.

March 1979.