

Vol. 10. No. 4.

November 1966/January 1967.

THE BLACK SASH

- Sanctions Challenge to S.A.
- Human Rights Day
- Mass Arrests

- Group Areas Anniversary
- The Role of the Opposition
- Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill

DIE SWART SERP

Published Quarterly

Price: 20c.

CONTENTS

November 1966/January 1967

	Page
THE SANCTIONS CHALLENGE TO SOUTH AFRICA	2
By Donald Molteno Q.C.	
SUBMISSION BY THE BLACK SASH ON THE PROHIBITION OF IMPROPER INTERFERENCE BILL	4
GUARD YOUR BRIDGES — KEEP THEM IN REPAIR	6
By Dr. Edgar Brookes	
HUMAN RIGHTS DAY 1966	7
By Marq de Villiers	
RUTH	9
By Nell Green, M.B.E.	
INCITEMENT TO A POET	10
By Pattie Price	
GROUP AREAS ANNIVERSARY	11
By Brian Barrow	
MEDITATION AT A VIGIL	13
By Stanley Motjuwadi	
MASS ARRESTS	15
By Elaine Katz	
WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION	17
A LETTER	18
By Tarantula	
SOME THOUGHTS ON THE ROLE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN OPPOSITION	19
By Rosemary Elliott	
REGIONAL REPORTS	23

The Black Sash Die Swart Serp

At the beginning of this New Year it behoves us to make some assessment of the mental attitudes to which white South Africa has become gradually accustomed.

For years a high standard of living and comfort has resulted in the true facts of our situation being buried deep enough to preclude any exhumation. South Africa now suffers from a state of grand delusion. It is fooling itself. The phrase "Separate Development" is eagerly accepted as the answer to all the problems of our multi-racial nation, despite the incontrovertible fact that it does not and cannot, work in practice, neither economically nor socially.

Our country is proud of its prosperity. Indeed, White South Africans enjoy a large measure of economic privilege whilst remaining indifferent to the vast numbers of their non-White countrymen who have to exist below the breadline.

South Africans are quick to claim that more and more Africans are being educated but will not appreciate that until there is compulsory free education for all people in the Republic they will not have done enough. When two hundred children can gather on a farm on the strength of a rumour that a school has been opened there; when education for the great majority is elementary only; when those who could benefit from higher education must relinquish their ambitions for financial reasons; and when technical education for the modern state is denied by apartheid legislation, then can South Africa boast of her educational achievements?

The enforcement of ever more rigid security laws is endorsed by White South Africans who accept without question the sacrifice of freedom in the name of necessity. That these laws are contrary to all concepts of justice seems to be of no consequence. It is comforting for White South Africans to pretend that the 180-day detention clause is for the protection of state witnesses although it is obvious that its application has been extended far beyond its avowed purpose.

A fanfare of publicity has attended the welcoming of an African leader from outside our borders. This has been lauded as a breakthrough in our relations with the rest of Africa and may indeed be so. Meanwhile the non-recognition of Africans within our own borders, which precludes any consultation or co-operation is ignored. Can we form any true relationship without when we have none within?

● Continued on page 9

Dit is passend om aan die begin van die Nuwe Jaar die denkwyse waaraan blanke Suid-Afrika stadigaan gewoond geraak het te probeer omskryf.

Jare van 'n hoë lewens- en gemakke standaard het die gevolg gehad dat die werklike feite van ons posisie diep genoeg begrawe lê om enige opgraving te voorkom. Nou ly Suid-Afrika aan 'n groot skaalse illusie. Sy bedrieg haarself. Die frase „aparte ontwikkeling” word gretig aangeneem as die oplossing vir al die probleme van ons veelrassige nasie, tensypte van die onomstotelike feit dat dit in werklikheid, nog op ekonomiese, nog op sosiale gebied, 'n sukses is, of kan wees nie.

Ons land is trots op sy voorspoed. Wit Suid-Afrikaners geniet 'n hoe mate van ekonomiese voorregte, terwyl dit hulle min kan skeel dat groot getalle van hulle nie-blanke medeburgers onder die broodlyn moet bestaan.

Suid-Afrikaners wys geredelik daarop dat meer en meer Bantoes opvoeding ontvang, maar wil nie begryp, dat daar nie genoeg gedane is nie totdat daar verpligte vry opvoeding vir almal in die Republiek is. As 200 kinders op 'n plaas kan vergader as gevolg van 'n berig dat daar 'n skool gaan geopen word; as opvoeding vir die oorgrote meerderheid net elementêr is; as diegene wat van 'n hoër peil van opvoeding kan baat, hulle ambisies vir finansiele redes moet verbeur; as tegniese opleiding vir die moderne staat hulle ontsê word deur apartheids wette; kan Suid-Afrika dan trots wees op haar opvoedkundige prestasies?

Die toepassing van meer en steeds meer veiligheids wette, word bekragtig deur blanke Suid-Afrikaners, wat sonder twyfel aanvaar dat vryhede geoffer mag word omdat dit noodsaaklik is. Dat sulke wette indruis teen alle begrippe van geregtigheid, skyn van geen belang te wees nie. Dit troos blanke Suid-Afrika om voor te gee dat die 180 dae klousule vir die beskerming van staatsgetuie is, tensypte daarvan dat dit heeltemal duidelik is dat in die uitvoering die wette baie verder gegaan het as die uitgesproke doel voorgegee het.

'n Bantoe leier van buite ons grense is, as besoeker, met trompetgeskal verwelkom. Die optrede word geprys as 'n deurbraak in ons verhoudings met die res van Afrika, en dit is moontlik dat dit so is. Intussen sien ons die nie-erkenning van die Bantoe binne ons grense, waardeer enige samesprekings of samewerking uitgesluit word, glad nie raak nie. Kan ons enige gesonde verhoudings met die buiteland aanknoop as ons nie sulke verhoudings binne ons grense opbou nie?

● Vervolg op bladsy 9

SANCTIONS CHALLENGE TO SOUTH AFRICA

By DONALD MOLTENO Q.C.

This article examines South Africa's international obligations in the light of the United Nations Security Council's debate on sanctions against Rhodesia.

WHEN Mr. Smith published his UDI in November, 1965, the late Dr. Verwoerd reacted by issuing a public statement defining his Government's attitude towards the unlawful Rhodesian regime. That it is unlawful I take to be common cause, since I have not yet heard an intelligible claim by the Smith "Government" to the contrary, which means that, in law, an informal committee has assumed power, including control of the armed forces, and indicated its intention of maintaining itself by force, if necessary.

How exactly such conduct differs from treason I should like any fellow lawyer to explain to me, since I am unable to perceive it.

I appreciate that, thus far, this has been of little practical importance, since, for reasons that are familiar, the British Government has not been in a position to enforce the law. But it has become of cardinal importance now on the question of a threat to the peace, discussed later.

The general tenor of Dr. Verwoerd's policy statement will be well remembered, especially his announcement that South Africa would not participate in any "boycott" (presumably meaning sanctions). In terms of established principles of international law, in the circumstances then prevailing, the policy reflected in this statement appears unexceptionable.

UN obligations

Now, however, the Security Council has been debating the British request to impose *mandatory* sanctions.

The crucial question here is: do South Africa's rights and obligations in international law remain the same as in November, 1965, or has the whole situation radically altered?

As a signatory to the U.N. Charter, South Africa unequivocally and solemnly accepted Art. 2(2) thereof, whereby: "All Members . . . shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter."

Chapter VII includes the Articles imposing the relevant obligations.

Solemn treaty

Art. 39 empowers the Security Council to "determine the existence of any threat to the peace",

and to "decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 to maintain . . . international peace and security". Art. 41 empowers the Council to prescribe economic sanctions for the latter purpose and to "call upon Members . . . to apply such measures."

Art. 48 stipulates that such measures must be applied "by all the Members . . . or . . . some of them as the Security Council may determine". And Art. 49 obliges Members to "join in affording material assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council". It follows that we are bound by solemn treaty to impose on the Smith regime such sanctions as the Security Council determines.

Peace threat?

It must be realised by the public that repudiation of this legal obligation would amount to a very different matter from flouting U.N. Assembly resolutions, as South Africa has habitually done in the past, and to which South Africans have grown accustomed. For such resolutions have the force of mere recommendations (see e.g., Art. 10) and do *not* impose legal obligations such as do Security Council decisions of the nature reflected in the Articles just referred to.

I can envisage, however, the contention being advanced that the Security Council's decision imposes no obligation, because the Smith regime presents no threat to the peace.

Even on its merits, I find difficulty in understanding this. Surely it is inherent in any situation in which an unlawful junta, sufficiently powerful to defy the legitimate authorities by force if necessary, and asserting its determination to do so, must present such a threat. Potential repercussions abroad, justifying measures to

maintain international peace, are a question of fact to which an affirmative answer must surely be obvious to anyone who cares honestly to face the facts.

But, in any case, the merits are irrelevant, since the decision rests not with any individual Member but with the Security Council alone.

No escape

It is quite clear, moreover, that the Council's decision is final and binding in law, and no appeal lies to the International Court of Justice, which has no interest, but only consensual, jurisdiction, i.e., where the parties refer a case to it, either *ad hoc*, or where a treaty between them so provides (Art. 36 of the Statute of the Court).

Here the only relevant treaty is the Charter, and it does not so provide. Again, according to Art. 34 of the Statute, "only states may be parties in cases before the Court". And the U.N. is, of course, not itself a "state".

Nor can I perceive a way of escape by South Africa from its international obligations through withdrawal from the U.N., assuming the Government were prepared to consider so extreme a step. The Charter, indeed, makes no provision for withdrawal, involving as it would, repudiation of contingent obligations. Assuming, however, that such a right may be implied, it is surely quite clear that it cannot operate as a release from obligations that are no longer contingent, but have already matured. Ordinary juristic principles, as reflected in the domestic law of states, permits no such easy release from contractual obligations.

First time

But, in any event, South Africa's withdrawal from U.N. membership would not assist her in this case. For, according to Art. 2(6), the U.N. is pledged to "ensure that states which are not Members act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security". Since the Security Council will have already decided that a threat to the peace exists, warranting measures to maintain international peace and security, it follows that "these Principles" include participation of non-Members in sanctions.

It is suggested that, whether the views on the law, supported by reference to what seem the relevant texts of the Charter, expressed herein are correct or not, the Government and the enfranchised public would do well to devote earnest attention to the juristic position. For this is the *first time*, in the 20 years of the UN's existence, that mandatory sanctions have been imposed by the Security Council.

A major purpose of the U.N. is, therefore, at stake. Whatever the cost, every effort to make them effective must be expected.

Disturbing

It seems clear, moreover, that our disregard of the Security Council decision, and consequent interference with the operation of economic sanctions, would be interpreted as identification with the authors of the threat to the peace and be held to require the extension of such sanctions to ourselves.

It is somewhat disturbing, therefore, at this early stage, to find Mr. Vorster declaring that "sanctions do not offer a solution for any problem and . . . we, as a matter of principle, could not take part . . . of our own free will or under compulsion".

Pledged word

I agree about the undesirability of sanctions. But this view of Mr. Vorster, myself and others who share it is quite irrelevant to the legal issues I am discussing. In that regard, objection to sanctions can hardly be a question of "principle", because every system of law, though resting ultimately on general acceptance, must have some sanctions.

International law is still relatively undeveloped, and legitimate objection to its sanctions is rather, as Mr. Vorster himself implies, to their efficacy than to the legal principles on which they rest.

But there is, indeed, a *real* question of principle here. This is that, whether sanctions are capable of raising issues of principle or not, we have in fact, with open eyes, signed the Charter, which not only provides for them but obliges our participation therein in circumstances that the text clearly defines. Respect for our pledged word and concern for our national honour, therefore, are surely the relevant overriding principles.

And, having regard to the risks to our national security involved, support is surely lent to these considerations by the hard-headed advisability of observing our legal obligations, whatever these may be.

Reprinted from the Cape Times.

STATEMENT OF THE YEAR

"The Honourable Member for Point has Churchill's figure, but I have his brains."

Mr. Blaar Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration.

SUBMISSION BY THE BLACK SASH
to the
COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO
IMPROPER POLITICAL INTERFERENCE
AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE
VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS

The Black Sash makes the following representations with regard to the principles underlying the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill:—

"Whereas the traditional way of life of the Republic of South Africa requires that every population group shall develop independently within its own group, but with mutual co-operation and assistance;"

The Coloured and Indian peoples are citizens of the Republic of South Africa and are subject to the laws passed by the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. They should therefore be entitled to select their representatives to this Parliament, exercising free choice in the accepted democratic way.

For one hundred and six years the Coloured people responsibly exercised their vote on the common voters' roll. The Separate Representation of Voters Act, 1956, removed them from the common roll and gave them communal representation in Parliament by White members.

This limited franchise they continued to exercise with responsibility, choosing their representatives freely.

These representatives have always been entitled to belong to the existing political parties.

Since the Coloured voter can only elect a White representative he should be particularly entitled to know the political views of all the existing political parties as well as those of independent candidates.

The Coloured voter is expected to elect White representatives without access to white political views, and he is expected to function in a white Parliament in a manner which does not conform to normal democratic party political procedure.

The cessation of discussion across the colour line will make it impossible for the different political viewpoints to be presented to the Coloured people who cannot therefore make a meaningful choice.

The Bill will prohibit all political communication between the different races despite the fact that Whites make all the laws for the non-whites.

The title of the Bill, which includes the phrase, "and to provide for other incidental matters", presumably refers to other clauses in the Bill which affect multiracial organisations, some of whose aims might be "to propagate, discuss, study or encourage political views." The term "political views" can be used to cover such a wide field of human existence that it will effectively destroy all contact across the colour line.

"And whereas every population group has an inalienable right to live and to strive according to its own traditional way of life, as being the only foundation for ensuring lasting peace and good order;"

The Black Sash challenges this statement. "Traditional way of life" is a concept subject to abuse. It is difficult to define, and the constant emphasis on "tradition" denies the fluidity and dynamism of change and growth which are essential to progress.

We submit that the fragmentation of a population into isolated, exclusive racial groups creates antagonism, destroys unity and dissipates loyalty to the country as a whole, to its inevitable detriment.

"And whereas the whites as the guardians of the other population groups accept their mission to lead the non-white population groups to self-realisation and to safeguard them against political exploitation by others as the sole guarantee for the continued existence of both their own and the other population groups;"

The Black Sash questions the possibility of the white group "leading" the non-white groups without "interference".

We suggest that it is improper for the Government to imply that the activities of lawful political parties is political exploitation of the non-white population.

The preamble to the Bill defines "the whites" as the "guardians" of the non-white population groups. It does not define those "others" whom it accuses of political exploitation of the non-white population groups.

We submit that it is improper for the National Party Government to imply that it equates itself with "the whites" who are the "guardians", and the other political parties with the "others" who are responsible for political exploitation.

The Black Sash submits that the Coloured and Indian people are deprived of direct participation in the Parliament which rules their lives and that their rights should be extended and not further curtailed.

We call upon the Commission of Enquiry to recommend that this Bill be withdrawn and that no further Bill incorporating the principle and intention of this, the Bill to Prohibit Improper Interference, 1966, be introduced.

15th November, 1966.

ELLEN LOUISE AIMETTI

Mrs. Aimetti died this month in Johannesburg in her ninety third year. She was one of the original members of the Black Sash and although she was over eighty when the Black Sash was formed she attended every stand and vigil for several years.

I have known her all my life and shall always remember her with affection for her great kindness, her courage and her sense of humour.

J.S.

Rulers who destroy men's freedom commonly begin by trying to retain its forms — and so it has been from the reign of Augustus to the present day. They cherish the illusion that they can combine the prerogatives of absolute power with the moral authority that comes from popular assent.

— Alexis de Tocqueville.



The Border Region vigil against The Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill.

GUARD YOUR BRIDGES — KEEP THEM IN REPAIR

By Dr. EDGAR BROOKES

No one knows what will be the future of the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill, whether it will be drastically amended, withdrawn altogether, or re-enacted in something like its present form. Whatever happens to it it is indicative of the tendency to make all contact between whites and non-whites difficult except through approved and "safe" official channels. Many of us are convinced that this is a mistaken policy, and that from motives of South African patriotism, of Christian duty, and of common humanity we should preserve our friendships with members of other racial groups. These contacts need not be on political lines or for political purposes, but it is important that there should be contacts.

I do not propose in this very brief article to summarise the ways in which the bridges between the races may be kept open. My main object is to urge that we do keep them open by whatever means suggest themselves to us in our particular locality, with our particular friendships and with our own individual gifts. Everyone will, of course, agree with this in principle, but we shall have to do more than agreeing in principle. It is becoming more and more hard to make these contacts and if we are not careful we, in our busy lives and many engagements, may fail to take the active steps to maintain contact which may become necessary as existing opportunities are closed to us.

There is a point beyond which even in our legislation-ridden country, the law cannot go. We all of us have certain natural contacts, for example with our own servants, and others which are relatively easy to maintain. Not one of us who feels the necessity for these friendships across the colour line will fail to find a way of maintaining them if we set our hearts and minds resolutely to the task of doing so. That welfare work, which we undertake not from political or social motives, but from the prompting of our own hearts and consciences, will give us some opportunities of this kind. Government Departments may take over institutions, but they do not and cannot interfere with educational or social grants made to individuals. We may have church connections which we are maintaining, not for the sake of integration or any other political aim, but because it seems right to keep in touch with our fellow Christians of another colour. Here too is a golden opportunity for service. It would amaze most people if they sat down to think about it, to realise the extent of contact which is still available and practicable, even in this present era of restriction. Keep these bridges in repair. See that they are crossed from time to time. Unless this is done we shall find that every man is an island and that between islands flows what Matthew Arnold has called "The unplumbed, salt, estranging sea."



The Cape Western vigil against The Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill.

HUMAN RIGHTS DAY 1966

By MARQ DE VILLIERS

Human Rights Day fell last year in the same month that Blaar Coetzee demanded the "ge-suiwering" (purification) of the white cities and a five percent drop in African employment in the Western Cape. That'll teach the U.N. to have a silly day like that. But Human Rights Day had already long gone — gone a long way — in South Africa. That demon called Banning, prompted, it is said, by the ogre Communism, made its commemoration a faint-hearted thing.

The product called Human Rights, then, has vanished from the stores, and the customers don't even know. Listen to the friend of a friend of a friend, who said of these things: "Parallel with Nazi Germany? No-one believes that here. No-one listens to the word "a solution to the problem" and takes heed of what they mean.

"No-one believes we are in disease, that a cancer has eaten our soul. No-one listens to modern Germans saying "but we didn't know, or we would have fought this evil" and no-one hears the echo.

"No-one knows of the hundreds — yes hundreds — removed from the cities like cattle to atrophy and die a hundred intellectual deaths in the reserves, to which they are alien.

"No-one really believes — though they hear it told — that men are banned on a triviality, uprooted from their homes, jobs, families, by government decree. No-one sees the parallel.

"No-one cares, until his servant is removed, and then it is terrible — for a while.

"No-one will listen to this if you use it, no-one will see that it's true. No-one will have time to feel it, because the price of a phone call is filling their minds.

"We are still sailing on a sea of trivialities, while this reef has taken the heart from our ship."

How did he come to feel this way, this friend? He had a friend whose friend was banned, and he heard tell.

Many people have such friends: at last count (probably inaccurate, for the list keeps changing) 647 South Africans were "banned" and 308 were "listed" under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Six hundred and forty seven South Africans, to spell it out again, are "banned." Six hundred and forty seven people and 647 families. All these 647 people — and they ARE people — have to go through something like this.

They are forbidden to attend any gathering (three or more people) to teach, discuss politics, or "talk socially."

They may not leave the magisterial district in which they are confined or sent.

They may not go into any town, compound or any other area in which they might meet people in numbers (which makes it difficult even to take a bus through a town, for instance.)

They are forbidden to enter the premises of any factory.

They are not allowed to have anything to do with any publication.

They are not allowed on the premises of any organisation the government might consider suspect.

If white they may not visit any place set apart and segregated for Coloured people, Asiatic people or African people.

They may not be present at any trial in which they are not taking a part.

They may not in any way whatsoever communicate with any other banned, restricted or banished person.

They may not go onto the premises of any place which has anything to do with any publication and they may not have anything to do with any publication which (a) mentions anything to do with politics; (b) mentions any banned organisation; (c) mentions any suspect organisation; (d) mentions anything which might "engender feelings of hostility between the white and the non-white" people.

Banning orders are served by the Minister of Justice and the duration of the ban is usually set at two or three years. They can, of course, be renewed.

Banning orders are also, except to those on whom they are served, scraps of paper and, like statistics, unemotive in themselves. They are words, phrases, paragraphs, not people.

Only when you talk to those whose vocation is to care, or to friends of the victims, does the barbaric cruelty of the system emerge. As one man said: "If this were truly Western civilisation, then I for one would want nothing further to do with it. Fortunately it is not."

Take stories like the following, and multiply them by hundreds: There was one man who had lived in Cape Town for 22 years. He was banished to a Transkei village after serving a jail sentence — a village he had left at 18 and where he owned no property, knew no people.

He was refused permission to return to Cape Town to fetch his car, which had represented a major capital investment.

He was also refused permission — though he was ill — to enter hospital at a certain date because the magistrate who could grant such permission had asked the Special Branch for its advice and the Special Branch had not made up its mind.

He has no job, no money, no opportunity to get money other than labouring jobs for which he is not physically fitted. He also has a family to be fed, and he has no idea of how to feed them.

Or another man, a former garage employee, who, a social worker said, was banished "to a strip of bare veld with a few huts" in the Transkei. He had also lived in Cape Town for more than 20 years.

He too has no money. And he has to report once a month to a police station some 35 miles away. So the equation: no money = no bus = walk there and back.

Or another man (the examples could go on and on), also in the Transkei without money or job. He has to report to a police station 25 miles away.

The bans affect South Africans of all shades: Black Africans, White Africans, Coloured, Asiatic Africans, all appear on the list. All suffer.

Physically, as is the South African custom, whites suffer least. In other ways they suffer as much, but more subtly.

They are at least not banished to an area they do not know and where they have no desire to be; but many close friendships are broken because a friend's name may be on the list and banned people are prohibited from communicating.

They at least are usually able to find some alternative employment if they are forced to leave their jobs; but they have to go through the strain of not greeting a friend on the street because that friend's name *MAY* be on the list.

They at least usually have some, if limited, means at their disposal; but they must suffer the loneliness of seeing old friends drifting away because truly social intercourse is impossible.

They at least can usually leave the country if they wish to — but only on an exit permit, and many are true patriots who have no wish for an unlovely exile.

Coloured and Asiatic citizens suffer more; many of the banned people were teachers and banning orders invariably forbid teaching. This Cape Town man is typical: as a senior English teacher he had been earning R208 a month when he was banned. He is now earning R32 a month as a casual labourer with the City Council.

He served six months for refusing to give evidence against another man. When he had served his sentence and paid his debt, he was banned and was thus unable to teach again.

Oh yes, Coloured people suffer too. But what of the Africans, the rung of the ladder upon whom all others step to climb? Helen Suzman has put their case in terse parliamentary style:

"These people have already (in jail) paid the penalty for whatever crime they have committed. I want to point out that these are not crimes of anarchy because such crimes carry long sentences. They are crimes connected with the distribution of pamphlets, attending meetings and things of that nature, not revolutionary activities *per se*.

"These people have served sentences of two or three years at Robben Island or elsewhere for offences against the state, and when they come out, the first thing that happens to them if they are urban Africans is that they are endorsed out and sent back to the Transkei or to a native reserve which most of them have not lived in at all because most of them were born in the urban areas, and there they are dumped with literally no means of subsistence, unable to leave the areas to which they are banished.

"They are banned, in other words, under the Suppression of Communism Act and restricted to a certain magisterial district in the reserves, absolutely unable to resume any form of normal life."

She then goes on to quote some "really quite pathetic" letters from banned Africans. Newspapers and magazines are forbidden to reproduce these quotes, for banned people are unpeople and so unquotable.

Africans are thus banished to the "homelands", which should always be written in quotes. They are taken, as a social worker put it, "into the bare veld and told 'this is where you have always lived'." Many are not allowed to return to the cities to collect their belongings; some that are allowed back briefly are forced to kick their heels in the locations while the authorities make up their minds on their affairs.

Many men go to the reserves without their families. "You can't blame the women," said a man who has had much to do with these things. "They are forced to choose between losing their way of life or their man. Many choose to live."

This kind of thing is happening more and more: governmentologists are getting the impression that the men jailed after the Pogo trials a few years ago are being banned in batches on their release.

And, of course, it is not just banned people who are sent to their "homelands" — influx control is part of the same system.

As for the "homelands" themselves, one African said in bitter sarcasm: "Homelands? No. We call the Transkei the Kruger African Park."

RUTH

By NELL GREEN, M.B.E.

About twenty years ago when I came back to live in Oaklands I met a slight vivacious young woman called Ruth. She was a housewife, South African born and bred, a qualified lawyer, mother of two young children and she showed a keen interest in and compassion for a far wider circle of her fellow creatures than merely her friends and neighbours.

In an unsentimental but sensitive and practical way she tried to help with the educational, social and political problems which cried for attention and she was a real inspiration to many of us. Her self-imposed tasks became much more difficult and frustrating when a government came into power which was diametrically opposed to the deep humanity of Ruth's belief in equality of opportunity and equal justice for all South Africans.

Then her legal training became of the greatest value to hundreds of people. Ruth competently and courageously undertook the legal defence of people whose deeply held political beliefs resulted in actions or even attitudes and words which the Nationalist Government tried to curb by new and repressive legislation or arbitrary Ministerial action.

By dint of intimidation and veiled threats the number of lawyers who were prepared to defend those who were involved in causes unpopular with the Nationalists dwindled considerably but Ruth was amongst those who carried on fearlessly defending the victims of our repressive laws often *pro deo* and giving legal advice as she did to the Black Sash.

Then on 22nd April, 1966 Ruth herself suffered the terrible, soul-destroying punishment without trial of receiving banning orders and house-arrest.

Please picture her life in the last ten months. She had to report to the police station every week. She was allowed to go to the office and back during weekdays but confined to her home all weekend.

● *Continued from page 1*

The greatest delusion of all is that South African policies offer the solution to the Colour-problems of the world; that South Africa is setting the example; that South Africans are the guardians of Western democracy and the custodians of Christian thought.

White South Africans have become divorced from reality, have relinquished the processes of reasonable thought in favour of the comfort and seeming security of being told what to do, and have refused those responsibilities which are a necessary part of the rights of men living under a democratic system of government.

No friends were allowed to visit her at home.

She was to attend no gatherings (special dispensation was granted for her to attend the wedding of her own daughter!).

She was not allowed to defend or speak to anyone banned.

She was not allowed to move outside the magisterial district of Johannesburg even on professional business.

As a result of all this her legal practice has suffered irreparable loss.

And all this has been done to Ruth without her ever having been accused or convicted of any crime or misdemeanour whatsoever in any court of law! This is South African justice!

Is it any wonder that her health has suffered and that the family has decided to leave? Her husband gives up an excellent job, Ruth has to close her office and on 1st February South Africa loses a group of absolutely first-class top-grade citizens.

Our loss is Britain's gain and we can only be glad that there are still places in the world where people of Ruth's calibre are welcome and where the standards of Western civilisation are being kept alive in order that, when better times come, these standards will be reintroduced to South Africa. Maybe then Ruth and her family will be back to help establish those standards so firmly in the hearts and minds of all South Africans that they cannot be destroyed by a temporary change of government.

To this end all those of us who cherish the rule of law and the principle of justice for all must work unceasingly, with imagination and energy, with courage and prayer, and above all with the confidence that commonsense, decency and justice will come out on top if all do their share. Then the suffering of the thousands of banned, imprisoned, banished and exiled citizens will not have been in vain.

● *Vervolg van bladsy 1*

Ons grootste illusie is dat die Suid-Afrikaanse beleid 'n oplossing bied vir die kleur probleme van die wêreld; dat Suid-Afrika die voorbeeld stel; dat Suid-Afrikaners die bewaarders is van Westerse demokrasie en Christelike denke.

Vir blanke Suid-Afrikaners bestaan die werklikheid nie meer nie en hulle het beredeneerde denke veruil vir die makliker, en oënskynlik veiliger, sisteem van aanneem wat vir hulle voorgesê word. Hulle het ook geweier om die verantwoordelikhede te aanvaar wat 'n noodsaaklike deel is van die regte van mense in 'n demokratiese regeringstelsel.

Incitement To A Poet

By PATTIE PRICE

"Do not Cry Now. There will be plenty
of time for tears tomorrow."

Poem: Dorothy Spears, Cape Times, Nov. 2nd.

"But she was lonely, and often wept."

*"Loneliness and Poverty of the
Banished." Cape Times, Oct. 13.*

Poets have words
And rhymes, and melting phrases
To give thought vivid form;
While I,
I who have only words,
Tempered by pity,
All I can say is:

What? Leave in tomorrow's silence
All that our yesterdays
Have wrought in grief and misery to millions?
No! Let us weep *today!*

Weep for the lonely banished, untried and
isolated,
Living a life-in-death
In arid spot unknown.
Weep for the banned, the cruel smear unproven,
Weep for the 'House-arrested'
In their prison-home!

Weep for ten thousand indignities and
frustrations;
The soul-destroying hopelessness
Of voteless people,
Who, strangely enough, are our fellow-
countrymen—
'People', like us,
And as sensitive to insult.

Weep for the miseries of thousands
Of the mass-ejected,
Moved, without consent or even consultation
To treeless spots in Townships
Far from the city.
(Have you, who move in cars,
Ever imagined
The wearing hardship
Of that pre-dawn queue for transport?)

Weep for our coloured fisher-folk
Thrown out from harbours
And from livelihood,
From villages they made themselves
Near seas they know,
Just to make way for yachts
And mansions of the mighty.

And weep the broken homes
And cruel separation
Enforced by laws that tear a family apart.
In far-off Transkei
A child is crying for her father,
A woman weeping
For her husband's arms.

Then weep our children,
And our children's children, weep
Their betrayal.
It is they must reap
The harvest of our blind self-ridden
Self-destructive yesterdays—
If we shall fail
To bridge the racial gulf
In time.

Where is our poet, then,
With heart courageous,
Dipping his pen in fire to point a way,
Taking the theme:
"If tears bring pity
Ah, Heaven,
Oh, let us weep *today!*"

GROUP AREAS ANNIVERSARY

By BRIAN BARROW

Four years ago this week an elderly Coloured couple were ordered under the Group Areas Act to leave their 150-year old family home in Newlands. The offer of a "nice new home" did much to lessen the shock of removal. But what actually happened to them? Here is an investigation into the lives they led before their removal and what life has meant to them since.

GROUP Areas is not really apartheid; it is merely separate development. And separate development is not really so bad; it is the best possible thing for everyone concerned. "They", that is, the people who are mostly affected by it, are not considered inferior, but only different. Removal does not bring hardship or suffering; rather the opposite: it gives "them" a new chance in life. So in the long run, you see, everything will be for the best. Mark my words, soon the day will come when no-one will even think about it.

This is the kind of facesaving rationalisation of *apartheid* that seems to be gaining currency these days, the sort of thinking that many people in high and powerful places are trading as the truth; and if the truth is what you *want* to see or think then in all fairness it must be conceded that, to them, it is the truth.

But what of Mr. and Mrs. Janey? To them the truth happens to be something rather different. It certainly is not what they *want* to see or think; nor is it something that can be hidden behind euphemism. To them the truth is something real and inescapable — a now arid and empty life moving to its rather soulless end after a shattering blow struck in the name of the Group Areas Act.

These people in high and powerful places might even think of asking: But who on earth are Mr. and Mrs. Janey? They are not in the telephone directory! In any case, it is no longer Group Areas; it is the Department of Community Development.

In fact, Janey is not their real name, which is being withheld at their own request. But their first names are Christine and Seyster; and these are real. Today they would be living out their lives in contented obscurity if it wasn't for two things: first, an act of God—the colour of their skins; second, an Act of Parliament — Group Areas.

Mrs. Janey's family lived in a small cottage in Newlands for more than 150 years. Her mother was born in it and so was she. She con-

tinued to live in it after her marriage to Seyster 47 years ago. She was one of eight children, all of them brought up within the bosom of the church and a strict but happy home.

Her elder brother who is still alive — in Kimberley — was the manservant of Cecil Rhodes. He was at Rhode's death-bed, cooling the empire-builder's last hours with a large ostrich-feather fan. As a young woman she and her friends used to collect wood on the slopes of Newlands Ravine and it was there that she met Smuts on several occasions. "He got to know us and often stopped to talk with us, always advising us to work hard."

And this the whole family did. The sons soon went to work and got married. Most of the daughters got married too. Christine stayed at home to take care of her aging parents in the same little cottage where eventually both parents died. She and her husband then took it over to make it a home for their children and for themselves when they grew old.

It was still their home exactly four years ago this week. She was then 70, he 69. He worked as a liftman in Cape Town earning R12 a week. They knew many people. They felt safe and happy in the security of a large circle of relatives and friends. The prospect of old age held no fears for them.

"You see, gentleman, we were lucky, we had everything we could wish for," Mrs. Janey says. "It was not a large home but after those many years and events it had become a very intimate part of our lives. Yes, we loved it; it was our world, you might say.

"Everything was close by — shops, trains and buses not far away, our own telephone and only 10 minutes' walk to St. Paul's church. And we had friends all round us. Most of our neighbours were white and we lived in the greatest harmony among them. Another near neighbour was the State President but, of course, we did not know him. Yes, we were not far from Westbrook.

"We had a lovely garden, gentleman, full of shrubs and flowers in the front and the back; japonicas, hydrangeas, vine, loquats, guavas,

peaches, roses and pomegranates, all planted by ourselves.

"Friends used to come and go at all times and we never ever had any trouble with our European neighbours. We never borrowed or interfered or did anything like that. We were always taught rather to go without than to borrow. But we had many friends and wonderful parties at night with coloured lights and lanterns hanging in the fruit trees.

"Somehow there was no feeling of time. The days and the weeks just flew by but we never seemed to grow any older."

Christine Janey could reminisce for hours about the days in the Newlands cottage, a place that was so meaningful to her that it became almost an extension of her own being. They did not own it, but spent all their savings maintaining it. Seyster did all the patching, plastering and painting. He installed electricity and made other improvements which cost him in all R200. She did the gardening and kept house. There was not much furniture, but what they had was simple except for a huge four-poster double bed, made of wrought iron and with big brass knobs on. The rent was R6 a month.

"The joy of it was that we were free. Day or night we came and went as we pleased. No one would have dreamed of interfering with us. We knew every face and almost every flower in the neighbourhood."

Then suddenly, four years ago this week, that life of theirs in Newland's ended; not by death, war or disaster, but by a knock at the front door. It was a man from the Group Areas office. He had certain information for them. He told them what it was, and they stared at him in anguished disbelief, overwhelmed and speechless.

The Group Areas man came again and they prayed and begged and pleaded. But it was no use. "I am only the man they send to tell you," was his reply. "I can do nothing." Nor could anyone else do anything because there was nothing anyone could do. This was the law.

And today Mr. and Mrs. Janey are in Bonteheuwel.

I found their small, dust-blown house after some difficulty. The first thing I saw were two frightened, old faces at the window and their hesitancy to open the front door was the first hint that fear and isolation had become the essence of their lives, fear of practically everything: their neighbours, the people who pass by in the street, fear of venturing out of the two small rooms that now confine them, fear of their loneliness, fear of losing their last hold on respectability, fear of looking too far into the future or even back into the past, even fear of nothing.

And the next strongest emotion is, ironically, gratitude; gratitude for having a roof over their heads and simply being able to live.

This is what two old people have been reduced to in four years. How did it happen? Mrs. Janey told their story.

The Group Areas people promised them a "nice new home", but the house they moved into at Bonteheuwel was surrounded by sand. It came up to the front doorstep and started again when they opened the kitchen door onto the back yard. The floors were of cement and walls were white-washed brick. There was a sitting-room, a bedroom, a kitchen and a bathroom without a bath. There were no inter-leading doors. There was no room for all the furniture, or for the piano they had had at Newlands.

The bathroom had no ceiling. Wind and dust blew in from under the eaves. Worst of all there was no communication. There was no telephone and suddenly there were no friends or familiar faces. The shops were far away and there was no church. There were no trees or flowers, but only great expanses of emptiness between rows of uniformly built hutments. There was in fact nothing left of the life that they had been accustomed to.

There was not even a doctor and Seyster's health had been broken completely by the shock of their removal. He had to give up his job and their income was reduced to the R2 a month they receive as a dual pension. The friendly and peaceful atmosphere in which they had once thrived was gone.

Most of the people who lived in the neighbourhood were roisterous. Scores of skollies walked the streets which were dangerous by day and places of terror by night.

"We have lost all touch with the world we knew," said Mrs. Janey. "Our only pleasure is the wireless and visiting the grave of our daughter in Maitland where we sing hymns and pray together. Many a night and day we just sit and look at each other. I have not been out of here for two years, not even to Cape Town. I dare not. We're afraid of having to come home in the dark.

"We have had one burglary already, gentleman. We have nothing to do with our neighbours, we dare not. If we did we'd lose the last little independence we have and that we must hang onto at all costs.

"Somehow everything seems to have been shattered. We have lost all touch with all our old friends. Some of them have moved away; others have promised to come and see us, but they can't

find us in this place. It all looks the same. They don't know where we are. They don't know how to get here, and they're also afraid of the skollies.

"I'm afraid to go out. My grandchildren come and see us sometimes and that we always look forward to. They want me to go and see "The Sound of Music" in Athlone. But for three weeks I've not been able to make up my mind to go. That's when the skollies wait for you, gentleman, they wait for you to come out of the bio."

"If you knew what we had had before you would realise what we go through now, gentleman. I long for trees and green grass. But look out there. It is all sand and wind and dead bush. Nothing will grow here. We brought as many plants as we could from our home, but everything died. Only a rose tree survived and it got its first flower the other day, the very first; and you know, one of these ruffians walking past just tore it out. I saw him do it. But what could I say. If I'd opened my mouth we would have been for it."

In the four years they have been there three murders have been committed in broad daylight within a stone's throw of their house. Every day they wait alone. Every night they are terrified. Their only companions are a cat, a dog and a rooster whose unearthly crowing seems to spell out the desolation of their lives.

"The cat and dog sleep with us in the house, we feel safer when they do," Mrs. Janey said. "But we are still grateful. Things could be very much worse. At least we have a roof over our heads and . . . well, we are old and we cannot

have everything. Time goes on and as you wait to die the world changes."

Yes, time does go on and the world does change. When we left the Janey's we went to see what had happened to the cottage they once lived in in Newlands.

It wasn't there. It had been bulldozed out of existence. One of the loquat trees was all that remained on a stretch of steam-rolled rubble.

Cement-mixers were at work and the air was full of the blasphemous clatter of pneumatic hammers. Obviously the area must have been zoned for flats. The new block will probably be ready in about six months time. It promises to be a rich, spacious, gleaming structure of glass, face-brick and steel, a splendid example of community development; another euphemism, this time in concrete.

The small Newlands cottage has been pounded to dust beneath it. Operation Group Areas is nearly complete. The wound is being sewn up and will now begin to heal. Before long there will be no trace of it. No one will even remember it. No one will even think about it anymore.

And those people in high and powerful places will be able to say with their own kind of logic: "But what are you talking about. Such things never happened in South Africa. Just go along to Newlands and see for yourself!"

*Reprinted from the Cape Times.
(26th Nov., 1966).*

MEDITATION AT A VIGIL

By STANLEY MOTJUWADI

Some time ago during my rounds as a reporter I attended a vigil of the Black Sash on the City Hall steps. I was one of the reporters who stood outside the City Hall cursing our luck because of the slight but persistent drizzle.

You might be wondering what I am driving at, seeing that there can be little excitement in a vigil except, of course, when a youth full of beans decides that choosing an old woman as a target for a rotten egg or some such missile is a form of sport. (What does it matter even if the woman is old enough to be his granny. Makes it funnier maybe.)

With the team of reporters was a rosy-cheeked youngster you could smell out as a rookie a mile

off. Determination to make good on his big assignment was written all over his face; just as naive as all rookies who tragically think that it is possible to please a member of the editor breed.

So in his resolve to get "that angle" our rosy-cheeked friend edged up towards a grey-haired old woman with a slight stoop when the vigil broke. The old woman had braved the drizzle for an hour.

The young reporter asked the old lady, quite innocently, if she were not afraid of catching pneumonia by daring the rain for an hour.

I thought the old lady would snap at the brash young intruder, but in a motherly, clear voice she answered him.

"I am afraid, son. But I'm much more afraid of catching worse things, that is why I stood in the rain."

What "worse things" was the old girl referring to, I wondered.

While thinking this over, my eyes caught the inscription on the steps where the vigil had been held. The letters read — "Lest We Forget."

Was one of the "worse things" the old lady meant the disease of apathy. How prone we South Africans are to the habit of forgetting and closing our eyes to the sufferings of our neighbours when things go smooth sailing for us?

At this point it might be worthwhile quoting Pastor Niemoller.

"In Germany, they first came for the communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a communist.

"Then they came for the Jews and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew.

"Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up, because I wasn't a trade unionist.

"Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a protestant.

"Then they came for me — and by that time no one was left to speak up."

Well, we have pneumonia. We have apathy, but what other diseases is a South African susceptible to? In the old lady's words, what other worse things are there?

Yes, there is a type of jaundice called race prejudice. The virus has hit many South Africans, clouding their judgment, reasoning and sense of values.

Maybe the old lady believed that standing in the rain for an hour cleanses one of this affliction.

Like all terrible diseases race prejudice has complications. It results in some people being forced to carry passes on pain of imprisonment. With the pass the man is then restricted to some area, never free to sell his labour where he wishes.

Because of race prejudice Whites have seen it right to reserve certain kinds of jobs by legislation.

It's a contagious disease, this race prejudice.

It does not only cripple those who have caught it. It affects those with whom they come in contact.

When a race prejudice bug bites a man, he gets an inordinate desire to grab everything for his kind. This results ultimately in his kind clashing with the other kind, because the other kind rightly feels cheated.

Some Whites refuse to admit that by being anti-Black they are breeding and nurturing an anti-White sect. They baulk when they see the Frankenstein monster they have created.

Another disease that results from race prejudice — but its virus goes for people with a black pigmentation only — is bitterness.

Bereft of means of righting what they think is wrong, Africans out of frustration sometimes become utterly bitter. Acid bitter. Corrosively bitter. And a bitter man is a dangerous man.

Its maybe difficult to put across what I'm trying to say. At times one gets the feeling that writing on some subjects is like an author trying to write truthfully, sincerely and put all his soul into his work, but is nagged all the time by the thought of the Board of Censors.

I'm still wondering if the rosy-cheeked reporter really understood the old lady. I hope he did.

But all the same I think we South Africans might benefit if we all took the old girl's prescription:— To stand in the rain for an hour to cleanse us of this dangerous malady.

My memory of the old lady is still vivid. I can see her still, talking to the young man.

". . . But I'm much more afraid of catching worse things, that is why I stood in the rain."

MARJORIE USSHER

It is with deep sorrow that we heard of the death of Mrs. Marjorie Ussher on January 9th, 1967, at her home on the Isle of Man.

Marjorie Ussher was a foundation member of the Black Sash and she worked actively in the organisation until she and her husband left South Africa in 1963 to make their home on the Isle of Man.

Despite the fact that for a long time before Marjorie left South Africa she was far from well, she carried on doing whatever she could, often from her bedside.

We shall remember her for the wonderful person she was, for her kindness, for her enthusiasm and for her devotion to the principles and causes in which she firmly believed. A person of sterling worth, she will be greatly missed by her many friends inside and outside the Black Sash.

To her husband, to her adopted daughter and to her sisters we give our deep sympathy.

MASS ARRESTS

(A REPORT PRESENTED TO NATIONAL CONFERENCE)

By ELAINE KATZ

Mass arrests began on the Witwatersrand on 7th December, 1965. This was a Friday. 2,500 policemen arrested 1,247 Africans. After a weekend in jail these Africans were tried the following Monday morning for offences ranging from "minor offences to serious crimes". After this raid, Brigadier Steyn, Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Reef, said, "I will not be satisfied until not one case of armed robbery is reported in Johannesburg. Until that day arrives we will repeat Friday's exercise again and again". The ostensible aim of these mass arrests was clearly stated — to cut down crime.

In this article I propose to investigate the incidence of mass arrests (despite the fact that sources of information are not easily accessible or available), the effects they have had on the people concerned and whether mass arrests, themselves, have helped to cut down the crime rate.

From November 1965 until October 1966 newspapers reported 20 similar raids on the Reef. They also took place in other major cities, viz., Bloemfontein, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town as well as outlying areas. At first these raids were accorded great prominence in the newspapers. But as they became a regular feature and consequently less "newsworthy" they were relegated to small columns on less important pages.

Not all the raids involved the arrest of thousands of people. There were smaller raids. For instance, in a series of 6 raids conducted from June 24th, 1966, to August 19th, 1966, 80, 52, 106, 116, 54, 88 Africans were arrested on each occasion respectively. Mass raids have become so much a part of life on the Witwatersrand that more recently there has been a tendency to report the occurrence of a mass raid without even quoting the actual figures. Examples of such reporting are "large scale blitz" took place, or "many were arrested."

This country prides itself on its high judicial standards and its adherence to the "Rule of Law". But the trials of the persons charged as a result of the mass arrests were quite alien to these concepts, most particularly, in that the principle, that justice must not only be done but must also be seen to be done, was observed more in the breach. Special courts were established to cater for the trial of the large number of accused; special courts were held, often in the cells or the basement of the magistrate's court in Johannesburg; Spectators were barred from these courts because, as some anonymous official declared, "hearings in the normal court room would take too much time. We haven't the

facilities to keep such large numbers in custody for long". Another official declared that spectators had to be barred from the cells because with such large crowds, some of the accused might intermingle with the jostling spectators and thus escape.

On 4th March, 1966, after approximately 1,000 African men and women had been arrested in the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg, "The Rand Daily Mail" indicated that each person was given a hearing lasting 20 seconds. On 16th August, 1965, 5 magistrates imposed 1,123 fines and jail sentences in one day. Bearing in mind that the bench hours of a magistrate are at most 5½ hours a day each of the accused, on an average, could have had a trial lasting only 1½ minutes.

What were the kinds of charges preferred against the accused? Most of them seemed to be of a minor nature such as vagrancy, trespass, tax offences, influx control infringements. Others mentioned during the hearings were for being in possession of dagga or dangerous weapons. The following three examples illustrate this point.

(1) A mass raid involving at least a thousand people took place at Alexandra township on 5th August, 1966. 14 of those charged had not paid their taxes. Several were charged with being in possession of dagga or dangerous weapons. Most of the others were charged with being in Alexandra township without permits. The sentence in the latter case was R2 or 4 days imprisonment. 1,123 fines and jail sentences were imposed; 90% paid their fines.

"The number who had serious charges preferred was small".

(2) At Jeppe, 29th July, 1966, 1,158 people were arrested and charged with vagrancy, trespass and influx control infringements. Again a special court had to be established. Most of those found guilty were convicted and paid fines of R4.

(3) After a raid on the Northern suburbs of Johannesburg (March, 1966) 993 people were arrested mostly for trespass. Most of these persons paid fines of R10 rather than spend 20 days in prison.

The police did not always conduct these raids in a dignified way. Householders were frequently awakened and on 15th February, 1966, the police stormed through flats in Hillbrow and smashed down doors of the servant's quarters in order to gain access to these rooms.

It is difficult to ascertain how many of those arrested were released without charges being preferred. Hansard figures indicate that of the 496 people arrested in the series of 6 raids (quoted earlier) 21% were released on this basis. This figure has been borne out in the rare cases where figures have been given in the press, although on one occasion, at Vereeniging, 50% of the persons arrested were released without being charged.

Have the mass raids really helped to cut down the crime rate? I have doubts about the efficacy of such a system, especially when a police spokesman, himself, can say, after a raid involving the arrest of at least a thousand Africans (3rd March, 1966) that only 5—6 housebreakers had been caught amongst the mass of persons arrested. If the rationalisation for mass arrests is to cut down serious crime the experiment has clearly failed in so far as most of the persons convicted were convicted of offenses no more serious than those of the 1,500 persons daily arrested in the Republic for having contravened the pass laws and its attendant regulations.

Early in 1966, the Transvaal Region of the Black Sash issued a brief "hand-out" dealing with mass arrests. In it some very pertinent questions were asked, as for instance; Is there sufficient accommodation in prisons to cater for such large numbers? Are there sufficient blankets? Is there enough food? Is it not humiliating for men and women to stand for hours in the streets whilst others are being "rounded up". Are there any toilet facilities for them as they wait in the streets? Are there adequate toilet facilities for such large numbers in the prisons? I shall now try to indicate, very briefly, the official police point of view. Before the raid on Soweto, Brigadier Steyn was reported to have said "The police campaign might inconvenience the law-abiding citizens" . . . but that was the price that must be paid.

After the Soweto raid, Col. Buys, a senior police officer on the Witwatersrand, said, "These operations will be repeated both in the townships and in the city — without warning of course. They are welcomed by the general African population. Yesterday we were greeted with smiles". On 20th March, 1966, in a broadcast speech, General Kevvy said that the "large scale clean

up of the huge complex of Bantu villages on the south-western outskirts of Johannesburg" had led to a "marked decrease in serious crime in Johannesburg and Pretoria" and that "most of the inhabitants of the Bantu townships were extremely thankful for the peaceful Christmas the police made possible for them to enjoy". But what about the 20% who had no charges preferred against them? Did they enjoy their Christmas? Or was this the "inconvenience" that the "peaceloving, law-abiding and happy" Bantu were "prepared to suffer . . . in order to go unmolested on their lawful occasions".

No-one can deny the fact that the majority of the Africans in the townships would welcome police protection to rid the townships of the predatory and violent elements. But again I ask, will mass arrests get rid of serious crime? A competent criminal will usually have his papers in order and is not likely to be picked up in this kind of raid, and as I have tried to show, these mass raids, in the main seem to have resulted in the arrest of petty and pass offenders and a large number of innocent people who have to endure the humiliation of being arrested and the discomfort of a weekend in jail.

Is it cynical to suggest that these mass arrests have resulted in swelling the state coffers considerably? A very rough and ready calculation leads one to the conclusion that on the 29th July, 1966, the State derived approximately R3,680 and on the 15th August, 1966, a further R2,220, to quote only two instances.

On Wednesday, 4th January, 1967, "The Star", in an article headed "Reef police on top in fight against crime", reported that Brigadier Steyn had said "We are well on top at the present in our campaign against crime . . . Two of the most effective police weapons last year were the massive sweeps through selected areas, flushing out petty criminals and hardened lawbreakers and the use of thousands of police to patrol the city on paydays."

Logically it is the presence of policemen "on the beat" which deters criminals rather than this indiscriminate "picking up" of masses of technical offenders. In this very article a police officer is quoted as saying, "There can be no more effective deterrent for a pay-roll robber about to strike than the sight of a police uniform on the next corner".

The police must be assisted in their fight against crime. This is a truism. No-one can or will deny it. When a problem like "crime" has such obvious sociological roots the police force's reserves are severely limited. If efficacious methods can be superficially applied to solve this problem let us by all means support these practices; but the practice of Mass Arrests has nothing to commend it. It cannot even dent the hydra of serious crime.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

A report presented to National Conference in October 1966

On 28th February, 1966 a meeting was called by the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash to discuss forming a working committee to trace those persons who have unclaimed monies owing to them under the Workmens Compensation Act.

It was attended by representatives from Institute of Race Relations, National Council of Women, Civil Rights League, Athlone Advice Office and Black Sash. Representatives from various commercial and industrial bodies declined the invitation to attend.

It was decided to ask the Institute of Race Relations to convene another meeting in the hope that it would be more representative and that from this meeting a working committee would be formed. Unfortunately the Institute of Race Relations have been unable to call this meeting so the Athlone Advice Office has carried on trying to trace these people.

On 10th May, 1966 Mr. D. Welsh from Institute of Race Relations and Mrs. S. Parks of Athlone Advice Office attended a session of the Cripple Care Association's Regional Conference which was addressed by the Workmens Compensation Commissioner. In reply to a question by Mr. Welsh the Workmens Compensation Commissioner assured us that every effort was made to trace the *claimant*?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

29th August to 2nd September, 1966

30th August, 1966, Col. 1669.

UNCLAIMED AWARDS UNDER WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

27, Mr. J. O. N. THOMPSON asked the Minister of Labour:

- (1) How many persons in each race group were listed in the *Government Gazette* in 1960, 1964 and 1965, respectively, as having failed to claim money awarded to them under the Workmen's Compensation Act;
- (2) whether he will give consideration to steps which will in future reduce the number of cases in which money remains unclaimed; if not, why not.

the MINISTER OF LABOUR:

- (1) Separate statistics are not maintained in respect of Whites, Coloureds and Asiatics. However, the combined figures in respect of these three race groups, and the separate figures in the case of Bantu were as follows:

Year	Whites, Coloureds and Asiatics	Bantu
1960	3,559	5,100
1964	1,367	4,607
1965	1,511	4,505

- (2) The problem is confined largely to Bantu claims and steps have already been taken to introduce a system whereby the number of unclaimed Bantu awards will be reduced. The proposal is to arrange with employers to make direct and immediate payment to injured workmen of monies due in respect of temporary total disablement. These amounts will be refunded to employers by the Commissioner. A pilot scheme in respect of employers who employ more than 100 employees, has reached an advanced stage of planning. Several of the larger employers have been contacted and have indicated that they would co-operate. Speedier methods for the payment of awards in respect of permanent disablement and fatal accidents are also under consideration.

On 19th August, 1966 Mrs. Parks had a telephone conversation with Mr. Worrall of Langa. He stated that they have their own tracing department at Langa. Mrs. Parks told him that the Athlone Advice Office had succeeded in tracing 11 workmen. At his request the names and addresses of these 11 men were sent to him together with a list of 53 names of those we had been unable to trace. We have received no acknowledgement.

In the Government Gazette of 17th December, 1965 the majority of unclaimed monies is owed to Africans (113 Whites, Coloureds and Asians and 1,119 Africans are listed). The reasons for so much of this money being owed to Africans must be:

1. Ignorance on the part of the worker, due to lack of information supplied to him by his employer, medical practitioner or Bantu Commissioner;
2. Being discharged by his employer when he is injured and then being endorsed out to his homeland on recovery and therefore not being on the spot when the claim is paid out. Very few employers seem to have their African workers domiciliary addresses in their files.
3. Full name, and number being taken at the time of the claim. Innumerable men are listed as Tom, Dick or Harry in the Government Gazette. There is improvement in the last issues in that a number of National Identity numbers are now being published.
4. Lack of trade union protection.

On a number of occasions when men have been traced by the Athlone Advice Office it has been found that they have been paid out by their employer at the time of the accident and that the unclaimed money is owed to the employer and not to the workmen as advertised. We have been

able to inform the employer that he should claim his money — this information has been received with appreciation by most employers.

This year we have written to employers asking them to assist us in tracing over 50 workmen who are owed money. In the majority of cases we have received courteous replies and many employers have either paid the workmen at the time of the accident or have endeavoured to trace him through local Bantu Administration offices but without success. In some cases the employer has no record of ever having employed the man and consequently no knowledge of any accident.

It is interesting to note in the Government Gazette of 21st January, 1966, Volume 19, No. 1346 the scale of fees and charges for medical aid as laid down in the Workmens' Compensation Act. For consultation in his surgery a General

Practitioner may claim R1.90 for "non-Bantu" and R1.30 for Bantu.

To remove foreign body in finger — R6.90 for a White or Coloured hand and R4.60 for a Black hand — plus the consultation fee.

To set simple fracture of White or Coloured Tibia and Fibula R37.40 and for Black Tibia and Fibula R25. Other treatments have the same discrepancies. Radiological examinations are the same for all workmen.

This work on Workmens' Compensation is an enormous task if it is to be tackled properly. There are numbers of people who are only scratching the surface. If all these organisations could come together, join resources and form a lively working body a great deal could be accomplished and an enormous amount of idle money could be handed to the rightful owners and also put into circulation.

A Letter Addressed to all the Citizens of all the World Outside the Republic of South Africa

Dear peoples of the 'outside world',
The reason for this letter
Is this: our own Prime Minister
Has stressed it would be better
That all the world should know the truth
About us — wise precaution! —
Let facts explain and truth erase
Much ignorant distortion.
Thus, to the questions always asked,
I shall forthwith reply,
As, without quibbling, I explain,
Enlarge and clarify.

Are folks condemned without a trial
And gaoled for ninety days?
*It's double now, but please accept
It's just a passing phase.*

Are all your laws completely just
To Blacks as well as Whites?
Does colour really play no part
In basic human rights?
*We all believe in human rights,
Untinged, unsmirched by colour,
And should this sound ambiguous,
Complain to Dr. Muller.*

Can those with skins brown, black or yellow,
Travel as they please,
And, like the Whites, come, go, or stay
With friends and families?
*Some rest at home, some work afar,
The choice is theirs. It's true
Men can't be with their families
And hope to feed them too!*

Is it not true that countless Blacks —
Say five in every nine —
Must live below the thing we call
The poverty datum line?
Is exploitation by the Whites
In truth an idle myth?

*Come! come! This country's not Rhodesia,
Vorster isn't Smith,
And Wilson needn't counsel us
To love our dusky neighbour,
Don't ever think that we exploit
His colour for his labour.*

But that's no answer. Is it true
Most live below the bread-line?

*Ask Muller! But it's surely just
A lying banner headline.*

Are all facilities the same
For work and education?

*Not quite! Most Blacks reach standard one
And hence — job reservation.*

But, do you assert all this is just?
— Perhaps I seem a dud —
But how can an image be improved
By staying clear as mud?

*I've done my best, but now I know —
As heaven is above us,
That those who can't tell black from white
Will NEVER learn to love us!*

TARANTULA.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE ROLE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN OPPOSITION

By ROSEMARY ELLIOTT

The South African opposition to the present Nationalist regime represents something. It is this 'something' that I have tried to define, because I believe it is in re-aligning the opposition on the basis of a common Ideal and common principles that the salvation of South Africa lies. I have accepted that there are deep and basic differences in outlook and thinking amongst the different opposition parties, and I do not advocate that these should be abandoned for the sake of political expediency. I do believe, however, that in looking deep within ourselves, our heritage and traditions, we can find that the total opposition can unite for something vital and positive.

During the past 18 years, the Nationalist party's devotion to the twin ideals of Apartheid and maintaining itself in power at all costs have meant that they have progressively abandoned the highest and best traditions of the past. They have progressed fairly far along the downward path to far lower standards of government procedure. This reversion or descent is clearly seen in the standards of justice and truth upon which they govern. *Habeas Corpus* was established as a principle of justice in Britain seven centuries ago. For ever larger numbers of South Africans this is no longer a principle upon which they can count. In order to force an objectionable ideal on the country, they tore apart certain entrenched clauses of the constitution, for which act they had to resort to very questionable means. They have, in fact returned to the very outdated method of governing by might.

It is extremely important to take into account this reversion, since it means that while the standards of government have deteriorated drastically, large numbers of the governed have kept the standards of the mid-20th century. Others while not supporting the Nationalists, have at least partially accepted this descent and while yet trying to play by the rules, find themselves outmanoeuvred and at a great disadvantage by men to whom Might is increasingly synonymous with Right. This deterioration from the hardly won standards we inherited is one of the greatest aggravating factors for the disunity and confusion amongst the opposition.

The roots of Western civilisation

I believe the opposition parties in South Africa stand in the best of the broad traditions of Western civilisation. But we did not invent this civilisation, it is our inheritance which we have come to accept as if it was ours by right. In times when forces of destruction and disintegration are at work, it is vital to examine these unseen elements of our being, because in awareness of what we are and what we stand for, we find purpose and direction in times of doubt and confusion.

Our Western civilisation was not invented by any one person. We did not invent the wheel, nor money, nor the alphabet, nor any one of a thousand things essential to the everyday functioning of modern society. Looking back down the long avenues of time, we can see the endless rise and fall of different civilisations. Out of the confusing multitude of past ages there is however, clearly discernible, an overall progression, often followed by centuries of regression, (which are often if not always attributable to the failure to solve a crisis point creatively). Someone has likened it to the ascent of a spiral staircase with windows only on one side. You go from light into darkness, but even in the darkness you are ascending, and at the next window the view is wider and more extensive.

Man has been walking the earth for about one million years, yet it was with the coming of urban civilisation approximately 7,000 to 8,000 years ago that the temperature began to rise and man began to progress at every level of his being at an ever increasing rate. The technical problems involved of large numbers of people living in close proximity required dynamic new thinking in every field, from agriculture and town planning to the political organisation of the people and their moral responsibility for one another.

With the tremendous upsurge of the past centuries, with knowledge expanding in geometric proportions, our own experience confirms that the development of mankind is very uneven, and in some ways as man's advance goes forward the disparity between one group of men and another becomes more marked. Stone-age man lives alongside of space-age man. Yet we are learning to

marvel at the efficiency of the stone-age man to survive in incredibly adverse surroundings, just as we marvel at the wonders of modern science. WE have advanced from the early settlers of the 19th century who sought to eliminate the primitive peoples. The important point is that the higher civilisation can accommodate the lower and provide the medium in which both are mutually enriched.

What is the lesson we learn from the past? I think it is this, if man is to advance to a higher standard of civilisation, at each moment in time certain basic problems must be solved. When tension has risen to a certain critical level, the problems thus generated are either solved the right way, or society deteriorates or more drastically, disintegrates. That there is a marked deterioration in South Africa is plain, that we face disintegration is the underlying fear which has conditioned us to accept the deteriorated standards.

From age to age it is the spiritual values men hold that gives their society meaning and direction.

To function at his best, man needs a balance and relationship between the spiritual, mental and physical aspects of his being. He needs an Ideal to strive for, means to develop his own capabilities, and sufficient freedom at least to try and fulfil himself. This is his level as an individual. As a social being the situation is more complex. The Social Sciences show us that the methods of social and political organisation of man are without number and run through every possible combination of relationships. But history shows that some organisations are more efficient than others, and although some individuals can function in some societies better than in others, yet it is still true to say that there are some ways of social and political organisation that have been and are, proving more efficient and more creative than others. Again I repeat, that where a Right solution is found, the whole moves forward but at the same time, certain basic patterns have to be followed in order to reach a certain level. So that in Russia today we see the liberalisation of certain aspects of the agricultural system, because, it would appear, man farms better when he farms for himself, but at the same time certain major industries in western nations are being nationalised, because this is more efficient at a certain stage in economic development. Leaving these details on one side, there still remains the fact that those countries which combine the maximum stability of political organisation with the maximum freedom of the individual, are in advance of those who do not. Phrased in this way it is possible to see that one can trace the rise of civilised values to the phenomenon of freedom of the individual within the framework of the Rule of Law.

With this freeing of the individual within a stable political and legal set-up, has come the incredible achievements of the West. One can point to Britain and the Industrial Revolution as the birth place of this new beginning. That it happened in Britain, although much of the thinking and philosophy was done in other European countries, was because the British political and judicial system was not rigid and totalitarian on the one side, nor fragmented and unstable on the other. It changed and adapted to meet changing needs, and in the end, in spite of many set-backs, it was the *only* country in the world of that time, which combined a highly stable government with maximum freedom of the individual. It was this combination which enabled individuals to think and experiment, to try out and reject, and in the end to progress. There was tremendous social and political tension during this period (from mid 18th century) but alone out of all the major powers, Britain did not have a bloody revolution, nor did it have the problems of trying to weld one country out of many small principalities like Germany and Italy.

The foundations of a new world were laid during this period. Steam engines rather than water and wind power, revolutions of technique in manufacturing and agricultural processes, railways revolutionising transport and so on. Coupled with this was a tremendous upsurge in spirit which saw the great reformers trying to improve the human condition and seek solutions to the complex problems of their changing world. The abolition of the slave trade, the reform of prisons, the revolution of working conditions, the reform of the nursing profession and so on. Each advance, whether technical or moral is associated with a specific person. (A pattern we can find repeated during all the most creative periods in history.) It was not the state that achieved the advances, it was individuals labouring long and hard — failing and starting again, working in the teeth of the establishment of the time, only to be proved right a generation later.

What relevance has this for us? The primary relevance is, of course, that this was our inheritance, and although it was not perfectly suited to our conditions (no system is ever perfect because new situations always confront it) the necessary conditions for it adapting and growing to meet the challenge were there. However the whole has been corrupted in order to preserve the power of the part. The Nationalists have not only tampered with the constitution to bend it to conform to their ideal, they have tried (and are succeeding) to force conformity on every single individual, according to his group. They have set out with the deliberate intention of maintaining themselves in power and everything is sacrificed to this end. Justice, truth, freedom of the individual, everything is bent to their main intention.

What is the role of western civilisation in South Africa?

Seen against the backdrop of history, Africa, south of the Sahara has, for the first time, been brought into *effective* contact with the wisdom of the ages. Whether we intend it or not, we are in the process of acquainting the many less advanced peoples of Africa with a new and drastically different standard of civilisation. Such tension as results can be appallingly destructive or conversely incredibly creative. The basic problem involved for the African is one of adjustment and development. The basic one for the peoples of European descent is a spiritual one involving a growth and adaptation no less drastic or fundamental than those which the African has to face.

When people loosely speak of it taking 2,000 years for us to reach our present level of civilisation they mean precisely nothing. Many of the most crucial elements of our civilisation are far older than this. Also not one of us is 2,000 years old and the techniques of modern education and communication make its transmission increasingly swift. In fact our own society has undergone such incredibly swift transformations that our grand-parents would not recognise life as we live it. Transport, communications, education, changes in social structure and acceptable behaviour patterns, everything contributing to the immense pressure of change, growth and tension. For the first time in history, man is virtually able to control his environment yet, as is often remarked, he is not able to control himself. The exploding world populations, the world food shortages which result, these two alone exert an increasing pressure on all political systems to work out and evolve a satisfactory way of directing man's spirit into bending itself to search out the answers. The increase in immorality in the young and the increase in crime are but two symptoms of a world-wide tension that is building up towards a critical point.

Indications of a growing response by man to meet the spiritual problems which face him are evident in the coining of the expression 'Dialogue' and the coming together of men like Kennedy and Khrushchev as representatives of the two very diverse systems in an attempt to understand and communicate with each other. Another example is the attempt by the Catholic Church under the inspiration of Pope John to re-organise itself to modern life in order to respond to the problems man is confronted with. There are many other examples at every level but it is also indicative of the growing of this new consciousness that in spite of all the failures, there is an increasing attempt to find non-military solutions to international tensions, and pacifism, long the belief of a few cranks, is gaining ground on a world scale.

All this is hardly the 'African' scene, but it is

the background against which we must see our own environment. The African peoples have tremendous vitality and in coming into contact with a vastly different civilisation they will inevitably seize what attracts them in this new life, reject parts, amplify parts and create something new. It is impossible to forecast the direction events will take because they depend so much on the level at which the participants of all groups seek to find solutions. There is only one test of civilisation and it is not skin colour, nation, race or creed. It is the individual and the groups with which he associates, and the quality and attitude of mind he brings towards the problems he faces, which in the end make or modify existing tensions or contribute to finding solutions to them. Civilisation is really a state of mind, since it is in the power of us all to revert to barbarism and destruction, just as it is in our power to respond creatively and positively.

The situation which confronts us in South Africa is extremely complex and involved. Somehow we have got to untangle ourselves sufficiently to see the creative way forward. Somehow we must bind together all the diverse elements which at present appear to be at loggerheads with one another, and find a common direction in which to go.

The obvious direction in which we must go is towards the drawing out of the best in all the available material which lies so richly around us. The creative spirit which is so rigorously suppressed by the present government needs to be set free to work on the multitude of problems before us. We need a philosophy of excellence to give the necessary impetus and in seeking after the best of which we are capable, we must consistently refuse to accept the expedient and less good. There can be no advance in any field whatever without tension. For it is tension that provides the raw power which mankind needs to progress. So instead of muzzling and frustrating the creative and the positive, they need to be freed to think and act. We need a revival of the spirit which delighted in dragon slaying as a form of chivalrous endeavour. Human beings *can* solve the problems which confront them, only they must bend mind, body and soul towards confronting the problem and consciously using every means to raise the level on which solutions are sought and found.

It is time the whites realised a great deal of African political thinking finds its motive power in the innumerable personal slights and hurts they have received at the hands of the whites. Anyone in South Africa who has tried to assist an African through the intricacies of red tape which control his living, moving and being will know something of their frustrations. Their grievances are real and often without redress.

The initiative in South Africa is with the whites. Let the opposition seek to use it while they have it to establish a different pattern of

political thinking. We need to ditch the conception of black versus white once and for all and see the problems which confront us in human terms of effort, maturity, hard work and good will.

A politician speaks on behalf of the inarticulate masses. Insofar as he is successful, it is because he draws upon the various and often ill-defined aspirations of man for himself. In each person selfishness and hate joust side by side with charity and the desire to think well of himself. Tragically the past eighteen years have seen the successful calling out of man's worst half. The vital point for the opposition to grasp is that we can set the pattern for the future. If we choose race as a standard then racialism will continue to be an issue. If we choose other qualities then these will become the vital issues. It is up to us to find issues which are creative. Fear, selfishness and hate have been the foundation stone of the Nationalist might. The opposition has even more powerful tools if it chooses to call them out — goodwill, mutual enrichment, and the common striving for common goals.

The tragedy of the black/white tension is that while the blacks wait for the whites to overcome their emotional immaturity and natural conservatism, their own lives are often wasted and frustrated. A man has but one life to live and for him to be told he is 'not ready' to enter into some aspects of living, because someone else is not ready to let him, is the ultimate irony. I am thinking of Africans who are frustrated by race laws from receiving specialised training in many fields. We know these laws are to protect the white position of privilege and not because of an inherent inability on the part of the Africans to do these jobs.

If a man is normal and mature he is ready for responsibility. The problem which faces the builders of a new South Africa is not to decide on behalf of a fellow being — be he black or white — whether he is 'ready' or not. But to open to him ways of rising to responsibility.

The whites need to accept that votes for Africans are inevitable. What counts is not that Africans vote, but what they vote for. Votes for women have not materially affected the relationships between men and women, they have however 'drawn the teeth' of many aggressive females. In other words by accepting votes for women as part of the landscape we can get on to dealing with the real problems which face the nation. In this I do not intend to imply that the problems and tensions between racial and cultural groups will magically disappear. I mean that we can get on to the essential problems which face the country, and before we can go forward the thing must be solved creatively. If the political opposition can bring themselves to face this issue and resolve it satisfactorily then the way will open out immediately for the chan-

nelling off of practically all the frustrated African political aspirations.

Western civilisation as such is an ill-defined concept. The role it has to play in South Africa is not that of a citadel in imminent danger of being over-come, but to those who have been nurtured in its highest and best traditions, it brings a quality of mind and spirit with which to face up to and resolve new situations and new tensions. Where this quality of mind and spirit is held in check and frustrated then the forces of destruction are gaining ground. The strength of our inheritance is in its power to go forward and break new ground, accommodating by peaceful evolution, new situations and change of all kind.

The role of the political opposition in South Africa

Essentially the political dilemma is to unite many diverse elements into an *effective* entity for the purpose of restating an alternative ideal to the Nationalist one. Where do we search for this unity? And when we have perhaps gone some way towards achieving it, to what do we direct it?

Firstly, we need to define on behalf of all the elements which make up the opposition the concept that the opposition stands *for* something positive against the continued deterioration in the political structure of the country. Basically, the power the Nationalists have drawn out of the tensions within the country have been based on fear and hate of one people for another. (The positive side to the Nationalist Ideal is the perfectly legitimate one of wishing to build up and define an Afrikaner consciousness, so long as the group does not become the substitute for the nation.) By underlining this fear and producing a dynamic policy (which has had the varying names of Baasskap, Apartheid and now Separate Development) they have been able to retain the political initiative. Because the fear they appeal to is present in us all to a greater or lesser extent, they have left the nominal opposition half in sympathy with such policies. The resulting confusion amongst the opposition has been at the root of their lack of appeal and dynamic leadership.

I would suggest that the underlying concept for which the opposition needs to strive is towards the freedom of the individual within the rule of law, where no man's privilege and security is based on the exploitation of his fellow man. This is a very sweeping and fundamental ideal and we are very far from realising it. Nevertheless we need to set ourselves something to strive for, because an ideal gives purpose and direction to guide man. We need to define clearly for our own benefit the exact nature of this confrontation between the forces of white extremist nationalism on the one hand and black extrem-

ist on the other. That it is the same horse with a different owner there can be no doubt, and that the horse is vicious and unpredictable no matter who the owner is also indisputable. What is the nature of the creature we have? Peaceable, hardworking, willing and friendly.

Having found a common ideal we need to define the immediate practical results this implies. Obviously certain laws become wholly untenable and can be contested with united vigour. Obviously too, a common policy can be worked out in the light of this Ideal. However, those who can see further need a generosity of spirit and patience to keep on trying to express their ideal at a level where it means something to those whose vision is blurred and confused.

So I believe that there are three things the opposition must do to find itself again. Firstly to find its Ideal based on the highest and best in our traditions. Secondly, to find a common policy which springs naturally from such an Ideal. Thirdly, to face up to the critical point with which we are confronted — the need to take the emphasis off race as a criteria of human development. We have four years before another General Election, this paper is not a political blueprint for the opposition, it is an effort to set the ball rolling, and stir men out of their apathy and low-spiritedness.

"I said to the man who stood at the gate of the year — 'Give me a Light that I may tread safely into the unknown!'

"And he replied 'Go out into the Darkness and put your hand into the hand of God. That shall be to you better than a Light and safer than a known way'."

GLADYS HEPBURN

Mrs. Gladys Hepburn died in July, 1966. Mrs. Hepburn was one of the foundation members of this Region and we have the happiest and fondest memories of her. In the earlier days meetings were often held in her beautiful home and Morning Markets in her lovely garden. Mrs. Hepburn was the devoted sister of the late Dr. Killie Campbell who died only last September. One felt the loss of her beloved sister was a blow from which Mrs. Hepburn did not truly recover. Mrs. Hepburn was 80 years of age but seldom if ever, missed a Stand; she stood with us on the 6th May and that is the first time any of us remember her being unable to stand for the full hour. We remember her being one of those who braved the torrential rain and cold winds in June, 1965, and also remember all being taken to the Victoria League afterwards as her guests for a late warming lunch. That was one of her many kindnesses, inviting as many as would come to be her guests for lunch after a Stand. Just a very short time before her death Mrs. Hepburn not only gave us a very generous donation herself, but also the proceeds of the sale of some valuable Venetian glass which had belonged to her late sister, Killie Campbell. Mrs. Hepburn was a loyal, hardworking and generous member of the Black Sash. Everyone loved her and we shall miss her sadly.

REGIONAL REPORTS

Annual Reports as presented to National Conference

BORDER

I have pleasure in presenting to you my Report for the year October 1965 to September 30th, 1966.

Again we have survived — and I say this in no light measure. For an organisation such as ours still to be intact in the face of legislation aimed at silencing all protesting bodies, I feel that this is no mean achievement. That some of our members have been silenced does mean that the Government has a plan for us, as it has had for the Liberal Party, of slowly, deliberately banning some, warning others, instilling fear until, they hope, we will be ineffective. It is with pride that I say that we *are* still effective, that our voice is still being heard, and that

we are opposing discriminatory and immoral legislation in every way we can. I confess I am using the royal "we", basking in the reflected glory of the achievements of our Headquarters Region and the Cape Western Region; but we need not be ashamed of the little bit we have been able to do too and I thank each and every one of you for being loyal and helpful members. That we should have the strength and courage to carry on is more important now perhaps than it has ever been before — because you know how much more frightened and how much more apathetic even your own friends are.

Membership

Our membership to date stands at 44. (It is almost impossible to believe that it was over 1,000

eleven years ago.) During the year 5 have resigned — only one of them because she does not think as we do any more, the others because of illness or transfers. We have had the great pleasure of welcoming one new member who came voluntarily saying she could not live with her conscience any longer unless she did something concrete like joining the Black Sash!

At the beginning of this current year we planned to have our General Meetings quarterly, unless anything urgent occurred. This we have done successfully in November, January, April and July with good attendances each time and kept in touch the rest of the time by sending all circulars out on round-robin bases. Your Committee have met on 3 other occasions.

We pestered the S.A.B.C. in February, March and April by complaining bitterly each week about their Current Affairs Programmes. I suspect we irritated them but their programmes are still as bad!

At this time too most of us were deeply embroiled in political work for the General Election.

Protest Stands

We have had two Protest stands — on the 18th May on Arbitrary Actions by the Government and again on the 26th September against the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill. The stands themselves were not large but the resultant publicity was excellent.

In July we listened to a most interesting talk by an African woman who had been allowed to visit her husband imprisoned on Robben Island.

Youth Project

We had a most successful inaugural "Current Affairs" Meeting for teenagers in August when over 50 girls and boys attended and asked for more. Unfortunately Matric trials and other exams have made it difficult to arrange another yet but plans are afoot to do so.

Banished people

We contacted our local M.P.'s and asked them to bring up the plight of the banished in Parliament. They both said they would.

Workmen's Compensation

We have written many letters to many firms about Workmen's Compensation Claims, have had some replies, but no successes, though I have had two other Africans come to see me in connection with claims because they had heard we were investigating cases and I am happy to say that so far one of them has been paid out.

Transit Camps

Perhaps our most noteworthy success this year has been our part in helping to get the transit camp SADA exposed and here and now I would like to record my thanks to the Editor

of the Daily Dispatch who at all times is most helpful and sympathetic.

I want too to thank very sincerely my Committee who have at all times rallied to my assistance whenever I have appealed to them — Mrs. Whiting, Miss Garcia, Mrs. Orpen (whose failing health has forced her to do less and less and who now feels she must resign her position on the Committee). I thank her for being the recipient of dozens of Government Gazettes, and for combing them for likely items of interest for us; Mrs. Rice who, at her own expense, folds, addresses and posts our quarterly magazine to us. (You will be sorry to hear that she is just recovering from a nasty kidney operation.) Mrs. Curry, Mrs. Duncan-Brown, Mrs. Sparg our efficient keeper of the budget who has an onerous job in sending out accounts and chasing up subs and who was of great help to me in roneoing all the notices for today's Meeting and the Minutes and the Resolutions and who also addressed the envelopes and posted them all to you; and finally Mrs. Jackson who, under great pressure, manages to do our Minutes at each Meeting and writes the Border Reports which go to all the Regions. She is the great purveyor of ideas here and keeps us from slacking off. To each and everyone I am most grateful for helping me to keep the Sash on the Border alive. Thank you.

D. STREEK.

NATAL COASTAL REGION

REGIONAL REPORT: 1965-1966

Membership

Our membership happily has increased a little this past year; we have lost one member by death; have had no resignations and have gained eight new members, of which four are by transfer from other Regions; one is a former member who has returned to us and three are entirely new to the Black Sash. This brings our roll up to 97 of whom 78 are paid up members. Three are Honorary Members, leaving 16 who have not yet paid their subscription. It is our aim constantly to recruit new members but it is very slow work and we find many who are sympathetic and interested but apprehensive.

Demonstrations

10th November protesting against Mrs. J. Hill's banning. 17 present. This was our second stand against this particular banning.

6th May protesting against four bannings, i.e., Mr. and Mrs. Hill, Miss Ruth Hayman and Miss Heather Morkill. 14 present among whom we were proud to count our National President who was briefly holidaying at the Coast.

18th May. A protest against all Punishment without trial in general and also the banning of Ian Robertson. Four students in their gowns stood with us that day. 16 present.

Letters to Press

Four letters were sent to the Press and published by both morning and evening papers with good headlines. One exposing injustices to Indian Stall Holders in the Market; one on the banning of the Defence and Aid Fund; one on a recent banning in particular and one on banning in general and punishment without trial. In addition we sent a copy of our National President's excellent challenge to "Current Affairs" on the Congo hangings, which was also published.

Banished people

We continued our small contribution to the Human Rights Committee for most of the past year but are holding it over at the moment as we have had no acknowledgement for the past few months.

In January and again in July we approached three members of Parliament on behalf of the Banished and were assured by all three that they would bring up the matter at the appropriate time.

Indian Women's Cultural Group

Four of us continue to attend these meetings as members of the Group. It is a very happy association and we are made very welcome, but we feel a growing reluctance on the part of our delightful Indian friends to attend our meetings or even social functions now and we realise that it probably is that association with the Black Sash would not help them when they apply for passports, etc., in which they have enough trouble and delay. This is sad but understandable. Fear stalks the Land these grey days.

Fund Raising

"Jumble" still continues to bring in a large part of our income; a recent sale held in Pine-town by two members — Mrs. Wauchope and Mrs. Aitchison — realised the sum of R52.40. At our open monthly meetings we hold a "Bring and Buy" before the meeting and usually make a small sum per month of R4.00 to R7.00.

In June Mrs. Eleanor Matthews again held a morning Garden Tea party in her lovely garden, which has a view to make one forget all the miseries of our world! This was a very happy and pleasant social event. Many members whom we had not seen for some time renewed their acquaintance with and interest in Sash and there were two very interested overseas visitors. The result in hard cash was R44.00. We also have had generous donations and so manage to end the year without undue financial worries.

Advice Office

This continues to function once a week through the kindness of the Institute of Race Relations, who fit two of us in every Friday morning and provide us with an interpreter. During the past

twelve months we have interviewed 155 people, opening files for 31 of these. Out of the 155 only 11 were closed successfully, which is a little less than 1 out of every 15 people coming to us — we feel this is far from encouraging but still well worth going on. Admittedly there are a fair number who we think we may have helped but as they have not returned to us they certainly cannot be counted as definite successes. Most of our work is disheartening and distressing. There are so many for whom we can do nothing at all and one seems never to get used to that mask of despair, drooping, disconsolate shoulders and lagging, unwilling feet as they leave us.

Meetings

In the past year we have held nine General Meetings, eight of which were open meetings and all of which were very well attended, with the exception of the July meeting, which had been badly timed for school holidays, etc. We have also had an Executive Meeting every month except for the month of January. In March we held only an Executive Meeting as so many members were involved in pre-election work.

Guest Speakers during the past year were:

Rev. A. E. Berglund, a saintly man with nevertheless a most practical approach to the Zulu people in general and to the Zulu students in particular, whom he teaches in Mapamulo in Zululand. Seldom, if ever, have we been held more enthralled. We were also particularly interested as so many of those attending our Advice Office come from Mapamulo.

Mr. Hilton Thorpe, who is attached to the "Valley Trust", Botha's Hill, Natal, where an amazing experiment was begun over ten years ago and is now an incredible achievement. Everyone was interested in the excellent talk and in the slides shown and there was a flood of questions.

Mr. Dowley, Student Adviser at Natal University, spoke to us on "Education in Rhodesia". Mr. Dowley had been Minister of Education during the Federation. Again interest was aroused, as was evident by the many questions.

Mr. Basil le Cordeur of the Department of History, University of Natal, spoke to us on "Some Impressions of the American Liberal Arts Colleges" and of Pomona College, California in particular where he had spent one year teaching under the exchange system. This too was a very interesting talk and it was intriguing to compare the systems and problems and approach to the latter in the two countries. Again many questions and much discussion.

Prof. Tony Matthews of the Faculty of Law at Natal University spoke to us on the 180 Day Detention Law. Prof. Matthews is a particularly gifted and sincere speaker, which only made the monstrous facts he had for us more dreadful to accept. The questions and discussion went on beyond our usual closing time. We had only

one or two visitors. This is the sort of meeting at which we fain would include the whole of our apathetic city.

General

Students. Last February we were approached by the then Chairman of N.U.S.A.S. by letter about the possibility of students and ex-students becoming members of the Black Sash. We welcomed this approach and had much correspondence and several telephone calls. Four students stood with us on 18th May and we talked with them and later arranged that we should come to the University during the lunch hour on 12th August to speak to all the students at an open meeting. However, at the last minute they cancelled this as there had been a double booking with a visiting speaker. We intend to persevere with this, however, as we feel it to be of the utmost importance and we have agreed to arrange another meeting at the University at the beginning of the New Year's term.

Many of us had the privilege of hearing first Senator Robert Kennedy, and later Pastor Niemöller, when they spoke respectively at Natal University. Such experiences give one a feeling of new life and fresh spirit to carry on with what so often seems like a hopeless effort.

Department of Community Development. An account appeared in our daily papers of a Chinese family who had lived in Point Road, Durban, and carried on business there for 40 years and who were now given six months to find other accommodation although only one road in the whole city was open to them, where there were only two properties available, one valued at R8,000 and one at R10,000, for which they were being asked R30,000 and R40,000 respectively. Moreover, apparently Mr. Song (the head of the family) had originally been classified as White. There seems to be some inconsistency here, so we have written to Mr. Song asking him if he would like us to interest ourselves in his difficulties if no one has done so to date. We shall report on the result at Conference.

We again wish to record our continued admiration for our National President, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, for her clever and beautifully timed letters and articles to the Press; for her tirelessness and ability to seize the moment and never to let anything slip her notice, and for her courage which is an inspiration to us all.

We would like to thank other Regions for their Reports and congratulate them all on the amazing amount of work done. In comparison we seem to be doing so very little in Natal Coastal Region, but we have kept alive an interest in the Sash; have friendly and enthusiastic meetings with usually one or two visitors and have gained a few more members.

Finally we would like to thank Headquarters once more for their patience and co-operation throughout the past year.

D. E. WALLACE.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Meetings

Regular General Meetings and Committee Meetings have been held throughout the year. General Meetings, usually fairly well attended have been either addressed by a speaker, or heard Tape Recordings of interesting meetings or on appropriate subjects. Members of the Region are held together, and kept in touch by attending these meetings.

Membership

Membership stands at 111, including 37 country members, who receive magazines, reports and various literature. Howick Group still meets and at present have several of our tape recordings to play to their members. There have been seven resignations, for various reasons, such as banning, going overseas, and transfers to other Regions. We have two new members, including Mrs. Dugmore from Cape Western, who is an invaluable asset in painting our posters and banners. There is a plan to recruit young women from the University, but this has not, so far, born fruit.

Sub-Committees

During Miss Friday's Chairmanship the sub-committee system was organised and is working well. Reports as follows:

1. *Publicity and Propaganda:* This has been renamed "Planning Committee", with Mrs. Corrigall as its Convenor, and Mesdames Dyer, Webb and Hey as members. Many Press statements have been made and letters to the Press written. These have been reported in detail in quarterly Regional Reports. During this last month the Planning Committee initiated plans for a public protest meeting against the Improper Interference Bill, but a General Meeting on September 26th, decided to cancel the meeting as the Bill had been withdrawn.

It is planned to arrange a public Symposium to discuss the terms of the Bill, when these are known.

A Press statement was made to the Natal Witness on this Bill.

2. *Non-White Affairs:* Multi-racial Tea Parties are held regularly, if possible, once a month on Saturday. A small nucleus of friends attend. Our African friends attend spasmodically, but we realise that they are extremely busy and mostly involved deeply with their own local affairs such as Parent-Teachers Associations, Church Guilds, and Womens Institutes. It is a happy occasion when they are able to join us. Our guests like to 'do' or to 'learn' something when we meet. This year we have had folk-singing, several cooking demonstrations, a "Batik" afternoon, and

flower arranging. We hope shortly to arrange an embroidery demonstration. It is felt strongly that these meetings are a vital part of Black Sash work. If the Non-Interference Bill is passed next session this may be our only means of communication with and meeting the good friends we have made across the colour line — an activity we consider very important.

We approached the Manager of the local Bantu Administration Department to discover what amenities were to be provided in the new B.A.D. building. According to plans produced, these appeared to be a great improvement on those in the present premises. When the building is completed this will be followed up.

Investigations are proceeding into Workmens' Compensation amounts unclaimed. As a result of many letters and appeals, several employees have been traced.

Transport facilities and conditions for Africans have also been investigated and we are keeping in close touch with the Municipal Transport Manager.

Demonstrations

As the need for bearing public witness becomes more necessary, this Region regards Vigils as one of its most important activities. Stands are usually well supported by members, and the Special Branch.

We have held 10 demonstrations against arbitrary punishment including two special stands protesting against the banning of Jean Hill and Heather Morkill.

We joined in a protest march against the banning of Ian Robertson and held a special vigil on Human Rights Day. Following is an extract from our vigil organiser's latest report, quoted verbatim in her own characteristic style: "The last two stands took place not without a sense of bereavement, for our former leader, Miss I. Friday, who had resigned after receiving a magisterial warning, was of necessity absent. The place usually occupied by her was uneasily filled by one or another of the remaining members. We can only offer Miss Friday one of the few consolations that remain to us: that she need now no longer expose the back of her head to the mouth of the gun barrel concerning which, after all, we only have the assurance of his worship the mayor that it is not loaded."

The demonstrations of July and August concerned arbitrary banning and its significance.

The protest of September 27th was provoked by the infamous "Improper Interference Bill" of the Vorster government. Although by then the Bill had been postponed, we decided to emphasise the fact that it had not been dropped. This point was proclaimed by a hastily but competently executed poster in red letters. At each side of it were disposed the following announcements:

- (1) Interference Bill means a one party state.
- (2) Interference Bill means the end of democracy.
- (3) Interference Bill means a primitive South Africa.
- (4) Interference Bill turns citizens against each other.
- (5) Interference Bill betrays our traditions.
- (6) Interference Bill turns free men into yes men.

This demonstration was very well supported.

This Region compliments the National President on her ceaseless vigilance and persistent press campaign, and all other Regions for their work towards keeping alive the spirit of democracy at a most difficult and dark period in our history. It is more imperative than ever that the voice of the Black Sash is heard firmly and frequently, and we are anxious to play our own small part as well as possible, despite the impact of bannings and warnings.

P. REID.

CAPE WESTERN REGION

Membership

Paid-up members as at 31st March, 1966—508.

Branches

Town: Claremont; False Bay; Gardens; Pine-lands; Plumstead; Rondebosch Rosebank; Simon's Town; Wynberg.

Country: Elgin and Somerset West.

At first sight each of our Annual Reports must seem little different from those that have gone before. There are the "Protest Stands" and letters; the various ways of making money to enable us to do our work; the Advice Office and the problems that are brought to it. And yet it is chiefly because of these last that the report can never be the cool, calculating one of a business firm. We are dealing with human beings whose lives are affected, not merely by the normal vagaries of fate, but to a large and increasing extent by the dictates of a Government that is obsessed with a consciousness of race. The warp and woof of fear and sorrow, darkened sometimes by tragedy, lightened occasionally by a ray of hope, form the pattern of life of those we try to help, either by protesting against a law, or by the practical work of the Advice Office.

All those who believe in the dignity and worth of every man were greatly heartened by the stimulating visit in June of Senator Robert Kennedy who emphasised that many of our problems are not ours alone. We were left with a feeling that all we attempt is a worthwhile contribution, however small, towards the improvement of race relations throughout our troubled world.

Expansion of interests

In an attempt to enlarge the scope of our work there have been formed a number of Sub-Committees which, it is hoped, will bring new life into the Sash. Several members have already given good ideas for consideration. The following sub-committees are in action:—

A. EDUCATION. Convenor: Mrs. M. Petersen.

Two public meetings in St. Saviour's Minor Hall have been held to date. Professor Reinart spoke at the first meeting on "Cities, Housing and Race" and Dr. O. D. Wolheim at the second on "Can Welfare Work among Non-Whites survive!" The latter, from our point of view, was particularly successful inasmuch as an interesting cross-section of the public attended.

A most enthralling and stimulating course on "Group Leadership" was held in September for those who would be prepared to inaugurate study groups of people, not necessarily members of the Black Sash, who wish to make themselves better acquainted with current affairs, the problems of our country etc. Such study groups with the resulting dissemination of information, could be a defence, if not a counterblast, against the gradual erosion of the public's critical powers through the steady "brainwashing" of the S.A.B.C.

B. PROPAGANDA. Convenor: Mrs. J. Digby.

A record was made from the tape recording of our highly successful protest meeting against Proclamation 26 (April 26th, 1965). This somewhat abridged recording has resulted in a two-sided long-playing record "People in Protest", which has been widely distributed. Altogether 350 records were produced of which 53 were sent as complimentary copies to various people who have shown interest in our work. Two issues were made and we have all but 16, which are still available for sale.

C. PHOTOGRAPHIC. Convenor: Mrs. M. Birt.

It is still too early to make a full report.

Questionnaire

A wide-ranging questionnaire has been sent to every member with the idea of finding out if members can or wish to be more involved in Sash work than they already are. The result is eagerly awaited.

Multi-racial parties

Everything points to the growth of interest in and response to the parties given in turn by different branches. Not only have the numbers of guests increased but appreciative visitors have stressed the pleasure the parties have given them. Rosebank and Gardens, Claremont, Rondebosch and Wynberg and Plumstead have been hosts this year.

Young Black Sash

A party of a different kind was given by Mrs. Robb on 16th May in an attempt to interest young

people in the work the Sash is doing. A number of young married couples were invited and it was noted that several husbands expressed interest after hearing Mrs. Roberts' excellent talk on "Why the Black Sash?" The speaker was given an eager hearing and many questions were asked.

Family Day

Space was booked on the leader page of the "Cape Times" on Family Day for a notice inviting the sympathy of all people for those who "by the laws of the land cannot live with their families while they work."

Group Areas

The Proclamation of the major portion of District Six as a White Group Area on February 13th was the heaviest blow yet dealt to the non-White citizens of Cape Town under the Group Areas Act. Dr. Wollheim, M.P.C. Coloured representative for South Cape convened a protest meeting. The Sash was represented by Mrs. Wilks on the platform and Mrs. Mary Stoy was one of the speakers.

We, as citizens of Cape Town, also organised a petition and collected about 130 signatures of prominent citizens of Cape Town asking the mayor to call a meeting to discuss the proclamation. This was presented by the late ex-Chief Justice Centlivres. The Mayor agreed to call such a meeting which had to be postponed owing to the sudden illness of the late ex-Chief Justice. The Dean of Cape Town kindly agreed to take his place and we are awaiting information from the mayor as to when the meeting is going to be held.

On Friday 24th June the area of Claremont above the Railway line was proclaimed as a White group area and a stand in protest was held in the pouring rain. A week later the area along the Black River from Park Road, Rondebosch to Maitland (known as Fraserdale) was also proclaimed for Whites only, and a stand was held against this as well.

Banning of N.U.S.A.S. President

For two days the Black Sash assisted NUSAS by manning tables in Cape Town where citizens were asked to sign a petition that Mr. Ian Robertson should be charged or released. A protest march of students and staff was organised by the S.R.C. at which the Black Sash was represented. Three tickets for the Kennedy lecture at U.C.T. were given by NUSAS to the Chair and two Vice-Chairs.

Stand on May 18th

We held a stand at the top of Adderley Street from 1—1.30 p.m. Our banner and posters read: "Punishment without trial is not justice"; "Innocent or Guilty, the courts not the Minister must decide." 54 women stood.

Workmen's Compensation Act

The Black Sash convened a meeting on February 28th attended by representatives of the Institute of Race Relations, Civil Rights League and National Council of Women to discuss this.

The Institute of Race Relations has agreed to assist in investigating the workings of the Act. In the meantime the Sash is continuing to trace men with money owing to them under the Workmen's Compensation Act with some measure of success.

Reservation of Separate Amenities Bill

We have convened a meeting of all interested bodies to discuss the implications of this Bill and the Universities Bill which we felt spelt the destruction of inter-racial communication. The outcome of the meeting was an article explaining the provisions of the Bill on the Leader Page of the "Cape Times". Subsequent action has been temporarily suspended owing to the withdrawal of this Bill until the next Session.

"Exclusion Bill"

We planned to have a continuous stand during the second reading of this Bill; it was impossible to arrange a lunch hour protest meeting as no hall was available in the central city area, and two evening protest meetings in the suburbs were scheduled. In the event we stood from 2.30 to 3 p.m. on the afternoon of Monday 26th and then cancelled the rest of our stand.

A brilliant article by Mrs. Roberts outlining the enormities of this Bill did not appear in the Press owing to the postponement of the Bill.

Morning Market

The annual Morning Market in November was opened by Mr. Gordon Bagnall. It raised a very satisfactory amount of money.

All Branches Meetings

At the December meeting Father McBride gave a very interesting talk on "Reconciliation" and the need to overcome evil with good in a spirit of love. This talk provided much food for thought and subsequent discussion.

At the February meeting Ms. Stoy read a paper written by Chief Victor Poto and Mr. Knowledge Guzana on "The Social and Political Implications of Separate Development in the Homelands" written for the Institute of Race Relations Conference in Cape Town in January 1966.

The April meeting was convened as an Extraordinary Regional Conference at which our Regional Constitution was amended to bring it into line with the National Constitution.

At the May All Branches meeting we were given a most illuminating talk on conditions in a Mission Hospital in the Ciskei.

At the June meeting Miss Elsie Rowland told

us about the origin and work of the Citizens' Advice Bureau.

Statements and Letters to the Press

16th November, 1965: To the Cape Times on the banning of Mrs. Hill.

7th December, 1965: To the Cape Times on Taxi Apartheid.

25th January, 1966: To Cape Times on Beach Apartheid.

14th February, 1966: To Cape Times on the proclamation of a large part of District Six as a White group area.

9th March, 1966: To Cape Times on District Six in reply to a Mr. Wille, explaining that the Sash today stands against unjust legislation and not against individuals.

28th March, 1966: To Cape Times and Die Burger on the banning of S.A. Defence and Aid Fund.

26th April, 1966: To Cape Times and Cape Herald on the banning of Miss Ruth Hayman.

12th May, 1966: To Cape Times, Cape Argus and Die Burger on the banning of Ian Robertson.

16th May, 1966: To Cape Argus on Punishment without trial.

10th June, 1966: To Cape Times on Deputy Secretary of Justice's speech to the students of Wits.

20th June, 1966: To Cape Times, urging employers of African labour to note the circular sent out by the Langa Registering Officer.

27th June, 1966: To Cape Times on the zoning of Claremont above the railway line as a White group area.

4th July, 1966: To Cape Times and Cape Argus on zoning of Fraserdale as a White group area.

7th September, 1966: To Cape Argus on death of Dr. Verwoerd.

19th September, 1966: To Cape Argus on death of ex-Chief Justice A. v.d.s. Centlivres.

26th September, 1966: To Cape Times and Cape Argus on the "Exclusion Bill."

B. WILKS.

Editor's note:—

ADVICE OFFICE. The advice office annual report appeared in the last issue Vol. 10, No. 3 of The Black Sash.

CAPE EASTERN

The number of paid up members throughout the whole region is approximately 100.

Having the National Conference in Port Elizabeth last October acted as a shot in the arm to this Region. Unfortunately the effects did not last. The summer recess came and we found it hard to get started again. We held our regional conference in mid-February 1966. This was well-attended, but the only country branch to come in was Addo. Instead of a report back

this conference was in the form of planning for future action. The sub-committee idea was fully explained under headings. We had speakers on (a) Government interference in Municipal Affairs; (b) the meaning of fear and how to combat it. Two members spoke on (a) how Black Sash could find satisfying work with the Institute of Race Relations and (b) how to influence Political Parties whether for this election or future ones, into re-thinking their attitudes to the whole subject of good government for South Africa. The conference passed a resolution deploring the Bill which threatened to remove lawyers from the roll if they were, in the opinion of the Minister, either "communists or furthering the aims of communism". It was decided to go into recess for the election period, to allow members to work for the party of their choice.

In the middle of March Mrs. Levey handed over the Chair of the Region to Mrs. Davis. It was considered good policy to endeavour to change the Chairman of the Region every two years. It was imperative to have people trained among the members and able to take the chair apart from an obvious fresh approach to the job.

Letters to Press

We have had published in the Press almost every Headquarters statement or letter, including one which they copied themselves from the Sunday Times. We have written several letters ourselves and had our own statement re the banning of Ian Robertson in the Evening Post. This is the work of one of the sub-committees.

Study Group

A study group has at last got underway, with some excellent people, including non-members. It looks as if this may go from strength to strength. Discussion started with a study of the Rhodesian 1961 Constitution and situation today. Our multi-racial parties have ceased for the time being. Intimidation and transport difficulties have been the cause.

We receive translations of the leading articles from the Afrikaans Press. These are circulated to branches and to members. It was felt that we should make ourselves aware of what is being written and read by the Nationalists. Some of the articles were quite sickening, and some might have been written about some other country, not South Africa at all!

Meetings

We attended a small meeting at Addo with several non-members present. The Chairman spoke about the necessity for carrying on however few of us, Mrs. D'altera Turner talked about the biased history books and Mrs. Penny on the work of Race Relations in this area. The Chairman had a small meeting with some of the members in Grahamstown.

We have had a General Meeting every month, held in the evening. These have had an average attendance of 16 and some guests. Speakers talked on various subjects: (1) Why the Government acts as it does against its critics; (2) the bias in the teaching of history and how to combat it; (3) Impressions of Sen. R. Kennedy's visit; (4) the role of the Coloured people in Politics.

Contacts

We had one very interested visitor from Denmark, who attended a meeting and took pictures of our protest stand. She knew a great deal about the Sash before she came here. I do think it is our duty to meet as many foreign visitors as we can for discussion and explanation, of the role of the Black Sash and our view of the South African situation.

We have kept in close touch with the Institute of Race Relations whose secretary has kept us supplied with information and publications. Some members helped in a small way at the stall at the Agricultural Show and the Ideal Homes Exhibition, and sold Christmas Cards last year.

Beach Apartheid

During January a statement went in from Mrs. Levey protesting again about beach apartheid. Die Oosterlig interviewed Mrs. Levey and they published her picture and her attitude to the concept of beach apartheid.

Banished

The story of the banished was explained to two of the M.P.'s in this Region. Both knew little or nothing of the subject and appeared shocked and have agreed to follow this up in Parliament.

Magazine

The Magazine goes to all members, and some non-members here and overseas. A copy is taken personally to the two Editors of the local papers with specific articles pointed out to them. We find that if we post the Magazine it goes unread. To our shame we have only supplied one article but have tried to keep up to date with Regional Reports.

Newsletters

The newsletter from the National President went to Branch Chairs and was read in whole or in part at most Council and General Meetings. We find this a good link with the rest of the country and wonder if it should not perhaps go to all members? All Regional reports have been read at meetings. We were all impressed with the activities of the Transvaal Region and the lovely presentation of their reports; and find the report from Natal Midlands on their demonstrations grimly humorous. We definitely feel that we know much more about what is going on this year in other regions. We are planning to revive interest in the Knysna area, through one of

our members living there. Difficult as it is 150 miles away we hope to start a small group again, to hear records or tapes.

Protest Meeting

Mrs. Allchurch, the Vice Chair, was instrumental in organising a Citizens' Protest Meeting against the Interference Bill. This was on Tuesday, September 27th; Mr. J. Hamilton Russell flew up from Cape Town and spoke to a meeting of about 100 people.

It is no good pretending that we have hundreds of active members. We have a few loyal ones, and even, fewer onto whose shoulders fall all the burdens. The problem is attracting new members. Ten have joined this year in this region, but several resigned. The Press is kind, interested and co-operative. The public generally dislikes us or believes we are defunct. We have a few male admirers who help us tremendously with advice, money, ideas etc. We do not seem to have achieved much, and our image, to say the least, is poor, but we still survive; and I think perhaps the article of Dr. Birley's in the Magazine gave us a pointer, "this is the time for sowing and not the time for harvest."

D. DAVIS.

TRANSVAAL

The Transvaal Region has had a busy and active year.

After careful consideration of the year's work it is my opinion that the most important part of our activities in the coming year is to keep our members and other interested people factually informed and up to date on South African and world affairs.

Our other work must obviously continue. Advice offices, protests against unjust laws, the enrolling of new members, raising of funds, maintaining contacts made with other groups; these are all activities which must not diminish.

I say that the intensive education of ourselves and others is the most important part of our work because we have not concentrated on this aspect sufficiently in the past. The pressure to conform is increasing, radio propaganda is more blatant and more persistent, factual information is sadly lacking (even in the English speaking newspapers which are our main source of opinion and information) and the isolation of South Africa from all modern liberal thought and influence is the apparent aim of the present government.

It is extremely difficult not to succumb either consciously or subliminally to the conditioning and brainwashing to which we are constantly subjected. The only way to maintain a balanced viewpoint which we can communicate to others is the steady and continuing search for the truth of each matter and the gathering and appraisal of relevant facts and information.

To this end we have expended a great deal of thought and time on our discussion group which has been in operation since February. I do not intend to evaluate this group in this report as it will be fully discussed during conference under items for discussion. It is sufficient to say that most of its members found the course extremely valuable and wish to continue next year. It is our intention to enlarge this group and if possible to run more than one.

Other ways in which isolation can be combated are

- (a) articles from newspapers and journals;
- (b) selected books or extracts from books (which could be taped thus saving expense);
- (c) more of our own factual hand-outs;
- (d) planned listening to overseas radio broadcasts.

I am quite sure there are numerous other methods which we could adopt and I think it would be very useful if this subject could be fully discussed at Conference. It is important to realise that the methods mentioned above are not mass media but are particularly suited to our needs.

ACTIVITIES FROM OCTOBER 1965/1966

Demonstrations: Convenor: Mrs. E. Katz

8th December: 180 Days.

4th April: Banning of Defence and Aid.

20th April: Banning Without Trial.

27th April: Banning Without Trial.

4th May: House Arrest Without Trial.

11th May: 180 Days Detention Without Trial.

18th May: Punishment Without Trial.

8th July: Family Day. Break-up of African Family Life.

26th September: March through Braamfontein and mass open air meeting on Improper Interference Bill.

We have found it most effective to send factual handouts to members and others before each demonstration. This practice considerably increased the turn out of supporters and kept them informed about each demonstration.

Where possible, our demonstrations will be held in a weekly series as this focuses more attention on the subject and also seems to attract more supporters.

Mrs. Katz has proved a hardworking and efficient convenor and as she is also chief contact has to a large extent been responsible for the excellence of this year's demonstrations.

Meetings

16th November: Mr. Tyacke — T.U.C.S.A.

8th December: Professor Birley — Education.

7th June: Professor Birley — The Value of Protest.

2nd August: General Meeting — Witbank.

9th August: Mr. Rene de Villiers — The Press in a Democracy.

27th August: General Meeting — Rustenburg.
14th September: Pastor Niemoller.

Publicity and Propaganda Sub-Committee:

Convenor: Mrs. J. Harris, (who took over from Mrs. S. Duncan).

This committee has been vigorously and enthusiastically convened and has been responsible for a flood of letters, articles and ideas.

1. Mrs. Duncan produced the pamphlet "Everybody's Guide to the Pass Laws" with a cover design by Mrs. Barbara Findlay. It was well reviewed in "The Star" and reprinted in "Post". The office has been inundated with requests for the pamphlet, and Mrs. Katz organised their sale in Rosebank, where 200 were bought in a morning. She has agreed to repeat this exercise.

2. Initial plans for a photographic exhibition were formulated.

3. Planned a fund raising and prestige celebrity dinner.

4. Revision of Mrs. Sinclair's "Memorandum on the Application of the Pass Laws and Influx Control."

5. Planned for an overseas visitor.

Letters and Articles to the Press

May: Arbitrary Punishment (letter to Star).

June: Pageview Removals (letter to Rand Daily Mail).

July: Break up of African Family Life (letter to Religious leaders).

Various hand-outs on different subjects.

Fund Raising: Convenor: Mrs. P. Duncan.

Although Mrs. Duncan was away for some time throughout the year, during the short time she has convened this committee they have raised the very useful sum of R370.00. We are very grateful to her as fund raising is an arduous and thankless job. Our thanks are also due to Mrs. Cluver who ran the cake sale during Mrs. Duncan's absence. Mrs. Sinclair has continued to make furniture polish. Thanks to her, supplies never run out and this is a small but constant source of revenue.

Planning Committee: Temporary Convenor:

Mrs. Carlson.

We have had difficulty in finding a convenor for this committee as Mrs. Davidoff was unable to continue due to pressure of work and Mrs. Dyzenhaus was not well enough to take over. However, plans are being formulated for the coming year and we hope a permanent convenor will be found.

(1) A series on prejudice.

(2) Campaign against Pass Laws.

(3) Formation of discussion groups.

(4) Information, Selection and distribution to country members.

Membership

Greater interest has been shown in our work this year.

New members: Twelve.

General

1. Mrs. Sinclair has compiled a lengthy memorandum on "The Application of the Pass Laws and Influx Control." This is a document of great value and importance as the material is all original and the information contained in it will not be found in this form anywhere else. We have planned intensive distribution of this Memorandum.

2. The contact system has been revised and is working satisfactorily. Thanks are due to Mrs. Hacking and Mrs. Katz.

3. Saturday Club continues to hold its meetings monthly. It is a most successful and satisfying group although it has proved impossible to achieve our aim of starting others from this one.

4. Mrs. Driver has given up the Chair of the Waverley Branch after many years of outstanding service. There is no doubt that it is due to Mrs. Driver and her committee that Waverley remained the one functioning branch in the urban area of this region. Mrs. Stucken who has been on the Waverley committee for many years has taken over the Chair. We are sure that Waverley will maintain its record under her able guidance.

I wish to tender my sincere thanks to all members of our most hardworking committee. It is obvious that what has been achieved could not have been done without their willing co-operation. I would also personally like to thank Mrs. Sinclair who, busy as she always is, always made herself available for discussion and has greatly assisted me in my duties as chair.

The office staff have had to produce almost double the amount of printed material and have worked with speed and efficiency and are always pleasant and co-operative. We thank Mrs. Kirk and Mrs. Radale very much for their efforts.

In conclusion I would like to say that we were all very impressed by the valuable lesson learned from Professor Birley in his talk "The Value of Protest". "For I believe strongly that any movement of protest ought to do some very clear thinking both on what it stands for and what it wants to have in the place of what it protests against."

We in the Transvaal feel that the Black Sash must give more attention to this matter. As stated before an important part of our work is protesting against unjust and immoral laws and acts, but it is now time that we start thinking in positive terms of the sort of South Africa we would like to live in and how adjustments to that Society can be encouraged and fostered.

J. CARLSON.

BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

HEADQUARTERS

National President: Mrs. J. Sinclair, Santa Margherita, Eighth Street, Killarney, Johannesburg. Tel. 41-1062.

National Vice-Presidents: Mrs. M. W. Cluver, 21A, Argyle Street, Waverley, Johannesburg. Tel. 40-1306. Mrs. J. Carlson, 13, African Street, Oaklands, Tel. 728-1492.

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

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

Magazine Editor: Mrs. S. Duncan, 45, 22nd Street, Parkhurst, Johannesburg.

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

BORDER

Chairman/Secretary: Mrs. D. Streek, 22, Turnberry Avenue, East London.

Treasurer: Mrs. B. Sparg, 33 Elizabeth Court, Inverleith Terrace, East London.

CAPE EASTERN

Chairman/Secretary: Mrs. D. Davis, 196 Main Road, Walmer, Port Elizabeth. Tel. 51-11618.

Treasurer: Mrs. A. Bolton, 19 Linton Road, Mill Park, Port Elizabeth.

CAPE WESTERN

Chairman: Mrs. B. Wilks, Goring, Rhodes Drive, Constantia. Tel. 77-3329.

Secretary: Mrs. Jocelyn Morris, 37a Albion Hill, Main Road, Newlands. Tel. 69-4060.

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

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

NATAL COASTAL

Chairman: Mrs. M. Grice, P.O. Gillitts, Natal. Tel. 7-7507.

Secretary: Mrs. D. Patrick, 19, Intengu Avenue, Kloof, Natal. Tel. 7-7762.

Treasurer: Mrs. E. Langly, 11, Highbury Court, Ridge Road, Durban. Tel. 88-1068.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Secretary: Mrs. J. M. Hey, 20 Oriel Road, Town Hill, Pietermaritzburg.

Treasurer: Dr. J. Hugo, University of Natal, P.O. Box 375, Pietermaritzburg.

TRANSVAAL

Chairman: Mrs. J. Carlson, 13, African Street, Oaklands, Johannesburg. Tel. 728-1492.

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

Treasurer: Mrs. K. N. Gaynor, Box 154, Randburg.

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

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

All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by J. Sinclair and S. Duncan, both of 37 Harvard Bldgs., Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

Published by the Black Sash, 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg, and printed by Messrs. Pacific Press (Pty.) Ltd., 302 Fox Street, Johannesburg.

Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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