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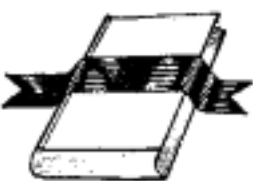
# SASH

**The Black Sash magazine**

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DECEMBER, 1971

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We have been assured by the Prime Minister, the Head of the Bureau of State Security, and various other official spokesmen that the recent activities of the Special Branch, police powers in general, and the provisions of the Terrorism Act in particular are proportionate to the dangers facing the country. (The only concrete evidence cited so far has been the "terroristic" action of a student writing a letter to a friend overseas discussing the proposed peaceful demonstrations about detention without trial.) Such symptoms of verbiage shown by Government spokesmen should be a cause for alarm. Meaningless cries of "Communist plot", "Terrorism", etc. provide a very thin smokescreen to hide the real violence going on in this country and the dangers inherent in such violence. But it is obvious, for example from letters to the Press, that even non-Nationalists are deceived by such propaganda into believing that threats to the country are great enough to justify any action by the police.

General van den Bergh predicts that those who have criticized the recent raids, detentions, and deaths in detention will have to eat their words when the detainees are brought to court; he also claimed that to date police actions have been vindicated in court. But some of those recently detained have now been released without any charge being brought against them; one is being charged with possessing banned literature; another was released after paying an admission of guilt on a drugs charge; the vast majority of those raided had nothing removed from their premises and have not been charged. So, no matter what those still in detention may have done, how can the above actions taken under the provisions of the Terrorism Act be justified or vindicated in court? A number of people arrested in connection with the Terrorism Trial in Pietermaritzburg have been released after periods of up to nine months without being charged or called as State witnesses. Are we also to eat our words of protest over "The 22" who were finally acquitted for the second time and released after seventeen months in prison, much of it in solitary confinement?

Nobody knows how many people have been raided, questioned, and detained by the Secur-

ity Police. As far as we are aware for the past seven years no-one has been convicted of the commission of an act of sabotage or political violence within South Africa. Yet we are asked to accept all the recent raids and detentions with blind faith in the infallibility of the police.

In a radio interview, General van den Bergh said that most people had nothing to fear. They are being protected by the police from the violence of Communists and Terrorists. But we are being protected from alleged violence by actual violence:

- \* To be forced under pain of arrest to carry a Pass, is to be subjected to violence;
- \* To be separated by law from your spouse and family, is to be subjected to violence;
- \* To be forcibly uprooted from your home, is to be subjected to violence;
- \* To watch your children die of malnutrition, is to be subjected to violence;
- \* To be detained without trial, is to be subjected to violence;
- \* To be banned, banished, or house-arrested, is to be subjected to violence;
- \* To be forced to sell your labour at a sub-human rate, is to be subjected to violence;
- \* To be interrogated for days and nights is violence.

The list could go on indefinitely.

Who has nothing to fear? Only those who wholeheartedly uphold the security, not of the State, but of the Nationalist Government, (a distinction which many people, including Government spokesmen, seem to overlook), and those who are willing to close their eyes to the methods used to maintain the apartheid ideology. Others in their apathy, may not have to fear any direct police action against them, but, in common with the avowed upholders of apartheid, they have to fear the loss of their own human dignity. Socrates pointed out over two thousand years ago that the perpetrators of injustice suffer more than their victims.

The injustices in this country are maintained by violent means. There have been numerous warnings that this can only lead to violent reaction. As long as there are injustices of the S.A. type everybody has something to fear.

# WHY DO DETAINEES DIE?

- \* SECTION SIX OF THE TERRORISM ACT MUST GO.
- \* DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL MUST GO.
- \* ALL ARBITRARY POWER MUST BE REMOVED FROM THE HANDS OF THE SECRET POLICE.  
WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND A POLICE STATE?

I T S H O U L D B E Y O U !

SEVENTEEN PEOPLE ARE KNOWN TO HAVE DIED WHILE IN THE HANDS OF THE SECURITY POLICE.

1. Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle
2. Suliman Saloojee
3. James Hamakwayo
4. Hangula Shonyela
5. Leon Yum Pin
6. Ah Yin
7. J. B. Tubakwe
8. Nicodimus Kgoathe
9. Solomon Modipane
10. James Lenkoe
11. Caleb Mayesiko
12. Jacob Monnakgotla
13. Michael Shivute
14. Mthayeni Cuthsela
15. Imam Abdullah Haron
16. What was his name? — Nobody knows.  
Where did he die? — Nobody knows.  
When did he die? — Nobody knows.  
Why did he die? — Nobody knows.  
WE ONLY KNOW HE DIED IN  
DETENTION.
17. Ahmed Timol — he died on Wednesday,  
27th October, 1971. — WHY DID HE  
DIE?

- \* One man was held in prison for two years. **NOBODY KNEW** — until he appeared in court at the end of that period.
- \* The Wilcox brother and sister were detained in February, 1971. They just been released after nine lost months — **WITHOUT** being charged with any offence  
**WITHOUT** explanation  
**WITHOUT** apology  
**WITHOUT** compensation.
- \* Remember the 22? Detained — acquitted — redetained immediately — acquitted — Banned.
- \* Remember 90 days? Remember 180 days? **FORGET THE TERRORISM ACT AT YOUR PERIL.**
- \* It is 8 years since the first known death of a man in detention.  
It is 4 years since the Terrorism Act became law.
- \* How much more time do YOU need?
- \* How many more deaths are needed to move YOU?
- \* Section Six of the Terrorism Act gives the Police complete power to detain anybody at all indefinitely without trial.  
**THEY DO THIS IN SECRET IF THEY SO WISH.**
- \* How many people are being held in South Africa's prisons without trial?  
**NOBODY KNOWS.**

You can —

Write to the Prime Minister demanding the recall of Parliament.

Write to your member of Parliament demanding that detention without trial cease.

Wear a mourning band in memory of the seventeen.

Mrs. Timol : "When can I see my son again?"

Police : "You won't see your son again."

Mrs. Timol : "Why won't I see him again?"

Police : "He needs a hiding."

Mrs. Timol : "We never hurt my son, so you must not hit him!"

Police : "Because you didn't hit him, we will hit him."

R.D.M., 29-10-1971.

In the office on the 10th floor there was the most relaxed atmosphere one can imagine in such circumstances.

Mayor General C. A. Buys, Chief of C.I.D. — R.D.M., 1/11/71.

# The Dilemma of Foreign Investment in South Africa

A TALK GIVEN BY JOEL CARLSON

*Senior Fellow, Center for International Studies, New York University, on  
April 1971.*

As the first speaker on this panel it is necessary to place squarely to you what the real dilemma is for any good man who asks the question.

Should I invest in South Africa?

Should I continue my investment in South Africa?

If the question only concerns the profitability of the undertaking no more need be said. There are few areas where more profit out of cheap labour can be made so obviously for a profiteer, in profit terms, the answer is simply "Yes". But I am not concerned with such exploiters.

Today the answer is not gained without an examination of the framework of South Africa.

In 1961 South Africa became a Republic. It is governed by a Parliament of 166 members — all white, elected by white voters in South Africa and South West Africa — Namibia.

The latest population of this area is just below 22 000 000. The voters on the roll number 2 028 000. In 1971, 1 495 000 voters voted for the 4 white parties.

96,5% of this electorate voted for apartheid or white supremacist rule. 3,5% voted for a few moderate changes within the framework, and returned one moderate conservative politician more on her personality than her party's platform. The whole electorate wish the status quo maintained but differ in details of the application of white rule.

White rule is enshrined not only in the Republican Constitution, race classification is part and parcel of the law and framework of society. Every person born, alive and dead is classified. Blacks are classified further according to race, tribal origin, place of resid-

ence, finger prints, etc. Even voting rights and a voting record is to be kept. The delay in implementing all this is that the Government has yet to computerize it. I do not know whether the computer will be supplied by English, French or American firms.

The residence and regimentation of Blacks as migrant labour units is enforced by Pass Laws. Pass Laws make crimes of a unique kind — crime relating to skin colour, crimes committed only by Blacks. Over a ten-year period, 8 000 000 out of the 15 000 000 Black population has been arrested and jailed under the Pass Laws.

Every day, 365 days a year, an average of 2 500 Africans are arrested under the Pass Laws and brought to an average two-minute hearing of their trial in Court. The yearly total is at least 750 000.

The daily average prison population on latest figures is 90 555. In Britain it is 38 000. Britain's population is 55 000 000; South Africa's is 22 000 000.

In 1969, 4 000 mothers with babies were admitted to prison — African mothers as Pass Law offenders.

25 000 lashes are inflicted as corporal punishment; 24 663 on Blacks.

47% of the world's hanging take place in South Africa, which for years has held the world's record in hanging people.

455 policemen have been convicted of assault in South Africa for 1, 2, 3 or 4 convictions and everyone of them retained in the police force. In Britain, 7 policemen out of 96 000 were convicted for assault over the same period and all 7 dismissed.

Punishment without trial, arbitrary arrest, and detention is an everyday occurrence.

That people should be punished without charge or trial is repugnant to all men in civilized societies. In South Africa it is necessary to uphold the society and an essential part of the framework. 1 000 people have been banned, house-arrested, banished without any charge or trial. After people have been punished by Courts, or acquitted by Courts, the Security Police still revenge themselves on these people, ban them, harrass and intimate them and try to destroy their morale. 17 people are known to have died while in detention.

Indefinite detention in solitary confinement incommunicado is imposed at the discretion of the Security Police. Detainees are questioned interminably and allegations of torture have been frequently made. It has been said by authority that 7 of those who died hanged themselves while police have said of the other deaths that "they slipped on a piece of soap", "fell down stairs", "slipped in the showers" and one we know jumped from the seventh floor window of his interrogation room. Ahmed Timol died in a fall from a 10th floor window.

In the richest land in Africa with a storehouse of mineral wealth making it a land of great promise, what has 50 years of economic development and growth achieved? In its great mining and industrial enterprise, what is the record?

1969 in mining, Whites received an average income pre month of \$416, Black miners earned an average \$25,20.

In 1969 in Commerce the same figures are Whites \$364 per month, Blacks \$66.

In Industry, in Mining, in Commerce, all show the poverty gap widening — the whites getting richer, the blacks poorer. Most Blacks live below the breadline today. All figures indicate an increasing deterioration of the position. Whatever the arguments that economic developments brings about improvement the facts show the reverse to be the case.

### *In Health:*

Infant mortality for Africans is shown as 124 per 1000, for Coloureds 132 per 1000 and for Whites 21,2 per 1000.

Kwashiorkor, a malnutrition disease, showed a 600% increase over a four year period in Port Elizabeth, where General Motors is established. In the neighbouring Bantustan of the Transkei, 40% of all African children die of Kwashiorkor before reaching the age of 10.

In some areas of the Transkei the incidence of tuberculosis is 20% of the population, and Health officers say that poverty and the disruption of family life caused by the migratory labour system are major elements in this high incidence of T.B.

And so on and on. This is the framework in which all investors must work and have worked. After all our development, this is the picture in 1970 after increases in the amount of Foreign investment. After the increases the position in South Africa deteriorated for the Blacks.

The Blacks, however, will not forever be without a voice and without power. The White South Africans can strive to keep the Black down and keep the structure a white supremacist one. Every investor has a stake in keeping the structure white. In order to make his profit he must support the structure, even improve its efficiency.

The African sees this. The African in South Africa recognizes it. The African outside South Africa recognizes it and of course, a change will come. The partnership of the White South African and the foreign investors will be recognized for what it is, a partnership inevitably resulting in the suppression of the Blacks in their struggle in South Africa for legitimate rights.

The foreign investors will therefore have a vested interest in the alienation of the rights of Africans in South Africa. They will lose the sympathy of Blacks everywhere. They will have to pay the price for such alienation and they may find that the profit now enjoyed by them is not worth the price.

# Where Does South Africa Stand?

BY DONALD MATTERA

*National Public Relations Officer of the Coloured Labour Party*

Throughout the land, in every institution, in every home, on every platform; the recent events culminating in the death of a fellow being, are causing grave concern. Suspicion, uncertainty and fear stifle the very air we breathe, all is not well.

Indeed, we live in befuddled and troubled times, when the forces of tyranny rise like tidal waves, to destroy the face of democracy.

Today, a man, a woman or even a child is nothing. They can so easily disappear at the whim of others, so silently be snatched in the dead of night, battered and bruised because of their love for justice.

Therefore, the challenge is greater now than ever before. Never have laws reached such perilous and satanic heights, never was democracy so bludgeoned by ideologies that contradict human freedom, never before such inequalities and debasements of law, never such insecurity, insult and injury; such fear . . .

God forgive them their trespasses!

The Terrorism and other Acts must die, to change them is not enough, for it would be like removing the monster's claws and leaving its teeth. Laws like these only flourish in Communist and totalitarian states, not in a Christian Society.

Where does South Africa stand?

We can no longer remain silent. Only when the cruel laws of discrimination have been removed, can we kneel in our churches, temples and synagogues and tell God that we love our neighbours.

Otherwise, it is better that we build a moat around our lives and place heavy locks on our hearts, for when chaos, confusion and collision rule the land, they may pass us by in their blind turmoil . . .



# Racial Attitudes in the U.S.A.

A TALK GIVEN BY MRS. SHIRLEY TURNER

*who is a member of the Rondebosch branch of the Black Sash*

I have been asked to speak about racial attitudes in the U.S.A. Obviously these are only my impressions as gained from a recent four week visit during which I attended both the World Federation of Methodist Women meetings and the World Methodist Conference in Denver, Colorado,—the latter having 6 000 delegates from nearly every country in the world. At the Conference I participated in the commission on "The Church and Race". In 1969, I spent 13 weeks in the States on what they call an "exposure tour" during which time I attended conferences and interviewed significant people in order to gain insights into the part women are playing in the Church, new forms of ministry, Christian Education and the racial situation in the U.S.A.

Many white South Africans believe that they have overcome all their racial prejudice, find they still have some lessons to learn when confronted by the attitudes of whites and blacks in the U.S.A., attitudes which have been developed by a society where more and more people are encouraged to "tell it like it is".

At the conference a film was shown on South Africa from the Black point of view. At the conclusion of the showing, I overheard a conversation between a white South African and a black American which went something like this:

White South African: That film was completely one-sided.

Black American: Is it true?

White South African: It showed nothing of what the church is doing.

Black American: But is it true?

White South African: I can show you mines in South Africa where people live together.

Black American: Do you mean Black and White?

White South Africans: No — husbands and wives.

Black American: And that is a privilege?

White South African: Not all white people in South Africa are prejudiced. Why I have even had a coloured person staying in my home.

Black American (too overcome to reply on hearing of this supposed great accomplishment, stares back incredulously).

White South African: You should come to South Africa and see for yourself that things are not as bad as they are painted.

Black American: I would like to, but I have been refused entry into your country.

White South African: How do you expect to

be allowed in if you show films like this? No further dialogue is possible.

For many of us there is a need to break out of the set patterns of our thinking, patterns into which everyday life in South Africa has conditioned us, before we can begin to understand the racial attitudes of the U.S.A., and to see ourselves as others see us.

One person in eleven in the U.S.A. is Black. With a history of capture and slavery, and years of legal disabilities now behind them, they are fighting a battle on two fronts. The first is a struggle for an identity, for an acceptance of self. Success on this front is giving them the weapons for success on the other — the battle for justice — a struggle which has already been won at the federal government level, but is still being fought in the law court — a fight for something which in theory is already there — but which in practice is too often denied by prejudice and selfishness. The first concerns the development of black attitudes — the second the development of white attitudes.

In South Africa the whites learn of Black attitudes mainly by hearsay, rumour and guesswork — in the States there are some Black attitudes which the white cannot escape. I was particularly struck by the change I could sense in the way in which the Blacks were making themselves heard. In 1969 the voices were harsh, the demands exaggerated and too often accompanied by violence and destruction.

In 1971, whilst some whites have been talking of the "cooling of America" and the falling off of the Black Power movement, Black Power is stronger than ever. It now speaks with more assurance, firmly and surely, knowing that it is a force to be reckoned with, and there is no longer any need to resort to violent means. It seems that the developing process of black awareness is coming to fruition.

In 1969, I heard a lot about Black history which the Blacks (and some Whites) were avidly swotting. Afro-American hairstyles and modes of dress were common sights and still are. The Blacks were withdrawing from whites and forming their own kind of apartheid in a mood of defiance. After years of meek acquiescence during which the inferiority attitudes of slavery were perpetuated, there came an over-reaction — perhaps inevitable — perhaps necessary — and a time when no one with a white skin could tell them any longer what they should do or be. "Black is Beautiful" was the rallying cry in 1969, and in 1971 it was my impression that this lesson was one that the Black people were learning fast. Many Blacks that I met, had learned it well and, secure in their own self-acceptance, could make themselves heard without shouting, and could laugh at the indignities which white prejudice still threw in their direction.

I am aware that I have probably exaggerated the degree of change that has taken place in two years, but there is no mistaking its direction. Black awareness is leading to Black assurance.

### **Total Acceptance**

Through this whole process we can see a people trying to prove themselves to themselves as well as to the Whites. As they have tried to do this, some forcefulness and defiance, whilst perhaps unnecessary, is nevertheless understandable. In many areas of life, Blacks tend to push as hard as they can in order to obtain full acceptance for themselves as persons, and will not be content with anything less than full acceptance, in their own eyes, and in the eyes of the Whites with whom they come in contact. For this reason they react sharply to any suggestion of racial discrimination against themselves or other blacks. It is also for this reason that they are very strongly outspoken against South African policies, deal harshly with anyone attempting to justify the situation, and hold in contempt both South

African Whites who hold power, and South African Blacks who tolerate the status quo.

Before leaving the subject of Black attitudes I would like to refer to an interesting point which was debated at the Conference. We were trying to establish whether there existed in any material form a Black racism, a prejudice amongst Blacks towards those of other races similar to the prejudice of white racism. In general, the Whites present felt that Black racism was a fact to be faced, but the Blacks contented that their behaviour was simply a reaction to White racism. I feel it goes deeper than that.

### **Paternalism**

I arrived at Denver airport at about the same time as a delegate from the Congo, in full national costume, and we were met by a welcoming committee which included a Black American woman. The delegate indicated that she needed some American money and was directed by the Black American. "Just go straight down this passage and at the end you will see a place with the letters B.A.N.K.; they will change your money for you." "Thank-you", said the Black delegate. "I can read English". As Eunice's footsteps faded down the passage, this fine example of Black American paternalism turned to me and said "Isn't that just wonderful—she can read English". The delegate is a university graduate from Washington D.C. where she had five years majoring in English and then spent two years in Geneva getting her French degree.

### **Black Power**

Black power, besides being the source of much of the new-found inner power of the Blacks and of some eruptions of violent power that occurred in the earlier stages, primarily means Black political power.

It aims to secure justice for the Black people by organising for voting, self-help, demonstrations, boycotts and political strategy. Compared with South Africa, the individual states and cities have more autonomy and the Federal Government less control over what happens at the local level, and it is here that power groups can and have been effective in bringing about change. It is here where the struggle will continue for many years to come, for in many States and cities, white prejudice is equally intent on maintaining the status quo. The

position varies from State to State, and city to city, with, generally speaking, greater freedom and opportunities for the Black in the north than in the South where the kindly attitude of the Whites towards the Blacks is dependent upon the Blacks "keeping their place".

### **Housing and Schools**

One of the problems in the cities is housing. In theory "open housing" is the law of the land, and anyone may live anywhere they choose. In practice difficulties are often placed in the way of Blacks wishing to live in certain select areas, and new road development seems to claim the expropriation of comparatively more Black property than White property.

In theory, schools are open to all races. In practice some school boards manage to keep Black scholars to a minimum, and in the south, private, "White only" schools have come into existence.

One of the main targets of Black Power is the police force, for it is here particularly, that differential treatment is given to Blacks and Whites, and this has led to some nasty incidents. The Black Power movement seeks to bring instances of unjust treatment to the notice of the public.

Black power has put considerable pressure on employers to provide equal opportunities for Blacks. Sometimes this pressure takes the form of organised boycotts of the company's products until such time as, the ratio of Black to White employees, unskilled to managerial, approximates to the ratio of Blacks to Whites living in the area or consuming the company's products.

Very often the demands of the Blacks for more power and a share in the decision making processes of commerce, government and the church, have compelled the appointment of what have been called by the Blacks "token niggers". Blacks not quite ready in terms of training and experience, to hold the position into which the pressures of Black power and White guilt has forced them. This can lead not only to some cases of inefficiency, but also to feelings of insecurity in those who hold such positions, knowing that they hold their position simply because they are Black and not on merit. To put the matter in perspective one must

ask why they are untrained, and realise that very often it is because Whites have not provided the necessary training, preferring to allow the token Black to fail on his own rather than enabling him to succeed. If he fails, it only strengthens the convenient excuse of the Whites "They aren't ready yet". If he succeeds the excuse is swept away.

### **White Reaction**

Let's look now at how the Whites are reacting to the situation. For many years the churches, for example, battled to persuade the suburban Whites to become involved in helping the Blacks in the city ghettos. Eventually, just as they were beginning to meet with some success, the Blacks themselves called a halt — White paternalism towards Blacks was no longer acceptable — and Whites who were concerned to be of some use in the situation, found it difficult to determine what role they could play. The advice of the Blacks was generally that Whites should give them the opportunity to help themselves, and that the liberal-minded Whites should concern themselves with eliminating the prejudice of white suburbia. A phrase was coined to indicate that the race problem was not a black problem. The situation was described as being of a "White problem and a Black condition", meaning that prejudice was a problem, but poverty and powerlessness was only a condition.

Sometimes bowing to the pressure of Black power, sometimes motivated by conviction, the Whites have been granting more power to black people.

However, there is still a reticence to give Blacks control over money, as if this is an area where they cannot yet be trusted. This feeling is probably inspired partly by feelings of guilt that this is the case, and also for the reason that money is power. The annual giving to the Missionary Fund of the United Methodist Church has dropped perceptively in the last two years, and some attribute it to the fact that large sums are being channelled to Black movements to be disposed of at the discretion of Blacks.

At the Church and Race commission there was at times open antagonism between Blacks and Whites. Many would find this totally out of place at a church conference, and there is a real query as to whether this is the only way, and that love can only be reached

through hate freely expressed. On the other hand, hate expressed is surely a lesser evil than hate repressed?

Of less significance numerically in the U.S.A. than the Black/White situation, is the position of the American Indian and the Spanish American. The American Indian, descendant of the race whose lands were plundered by the whites from Europe, has for long been ignored. However, their voice is also being heard today, although, because they are so few that they are moving to equality more slowly than the Blacks.

Many Spanish Americans face problems which are not unknown in South Africa. There is a constant flow of illegal immigrants across the border from Mexico where there are inadequate employment opportunities. In the south-western part of the U.S.A. they find employment illegally for very low remuneration, and live under the constant threat of being found and returned across the border by the lorry load.

### **Justice, not charity**

The speaker at this Conference on the subject of Church and Race was John Akar, until recently ambassador to the U.S.A. from Sierra Leone. He spoke strongly against what colonialism and church missionaries had done in Africa, and attacked what he called the American myth of Albert Schweitzer. He pointed out that in all his years of sacrificial work, Schweitzer didn't train a single doctor. Nor many miles from Schweitzer's hospital, an American woman doctor was at work, and when she returned to the U.S.A. she left behind her 30 trained doctors. This illustration emphasises the point which is ultimately the key to racial equality and justice. People need to be trained, not helped. Gifts in kind at times are needed, sometimes urgently, but if their situation is to change, people need to be enabled through education, training and opportunity to become full persons in society. The Black Power movement in the U.S.A. is involved with this enabling process, and it would seem that much in this area is being achieved in other countries.

At the World Federation of Methodist Women meetings I was tremendously impressed at how articulate were many Black women from the developing countries of Africa and learned that this was a result of a programme of leadership training which commenced only

six years ago. These countries are not only developing their industrial and agricultural resources; they are also developing the potential of their people.

As I understand the situation in the U.S.A. it is development that is bringing about an improvement in the lot of the American Black, and which will ultimately bring about social justice and racial harmony. Development is the new word for peace; the new way to social justice.

# Part of an Address given by Ian Thompson, Senior Lecturer in Philosophy of the University of the Witwatersrand to the Transvaal Roman Catholic Commission of Justice and Peace given on October 31, 1971

Let us all consider prayerfully what it means to stand under the Judgement of God, the Judgement of the God of Justice and Peace. These are frightening words and they are directed at us all, to our whole society, to the religious and political authorities. The Eternal Word of God, is addressed to us in the person of Christ, Our Judge and the Prince of Peace. What false securities do we place our trust in — for He says they will fall? With what self-deceptions and dishonest rationalizations do we defend injustice and violence — for they will be exposed in the searing Light of His presence?

We pray each day: "Thy kingdom come and they will be done *in earth* as it is in heaven". This conference can but begin — not in a spirit of self-righteousness, but in a spirit of honest self-examination and humble penitence. Do we really care for the Peace and Justice which Christ taught us to work for and pray for? Or are we more concerned about our own security, prestige and status? Do we really want the radical transformation of ourselves and our society, which we so glibly pray for, and which is necessarily entailed in the realization of the Peace and Justice which Christ offers us if we are obedient to His will, obedient even unto death? "He who would save his life shall lose it, and he who would lose his life for My sake and the Gospels', the same will save it".

We are obsessed with security, our own security and the security of the State. Even our so-called Security Police tell us what we must put up with all sorts of indignities and injustices "for the security of the state", for the "preservation of law and order". The notes which I originally prepared for this address were lying on my desk when our home was raided by the Security Police at a quarter past four last Sunday morning. Rest secure, therefore, as these notes were thoroughly scanned by the Security Police then; so, you have the benefit of hearing an address which has been previously censored by the upholders of law and order! (However, I am not sure how relevant what I have to say is, in the light of the events of the past week).

One question we have to ask ourselves is, what do we think we are really doing calmly meeting here to discuss the formation of a Diocesan Association for Justice and Peace when these things are happening around us? What ought the primary concerns of such an association to be, when we have a Terrorism Trial going on in Pietermaritzburg, when we await judgement in the trial of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, when thousands of people rot in re-settlement camps, when an undisclosed number of people are detained in solitary confinement under our Security Laws, when people are banned and house-arrested without fair trial, when scores of people are

raided and searched in their homes, when an undisclosed number of people were arrested this week, when 17 people have died in detention in mysterious circumstances in the last few years, when the evidence suggests that people are not only being interrogated but probably tortured in our prisons at the moment, when Mr. Essop lies in hospital in a conditions which suggests that he has suffered extreme brutality, when Mr. Timol is dead "having fallen from the 10th floor window of John Vorster Square in *this city, this week*"?

### Church in South Africa

One thing is clear — there is no Justice and there is no true Peace in South Africa today. Certainly not Justice or Peace as Christ understood it, nor as the Church understands it. "As a human person (a man) is entitled to the legal protection of his rights, and such protection must be effective, unbiased, and strictly just." To quote again Pope Pius XII: "In consequence of that juridical order willed by God, man has his own inalienable right to judicial security. To him is assigned a certain well-defined sphere of law, immune from arbitrary attack." ("Pacem in Terris" 27.) Let us then, in the light of the Church's teaching and in the light of the recent call from the Synod of Bishops in Rome, seriously consider what we can do to combat injustice and eradicate racism in our society.

We have not only to see South African society as standing under the Judgement of God and condemned in the light of the teaching of the Church; the teaching of the Council, the great Social Encyclicals and Pope Paul's New Year Message on Peace; but we have to consider very seriously the position of the Church in South Africa.

The Catholic philosopher, Jacques Maritain, has remarked that heresy and apostasy in the twentieth century does not so much take the form of the denials of articles of faith, so much as disobedience to the moral teaching of the Church, a kind of moral apostasy. The Catholic Church in South Africa is not immune from the danger of falling into such apostasy — the great pastoral letters of the Catholic Bishops' Conference notwithstanding.

a) It may be asked whether the South African Bishops are not in error in not having done more to implement what they have taught. (After all, Our Lord said: "Not they that say Lord, Lord, but they that do the will of my Father will know the doctrine" Matt 7:21. Jn 7:16-17.)

b) There are two opposite heresies which Catholics are likely to resort to in such a situation. (i) Either to escape into a pious otherworldly spirituality which implicitly denies the Incarnational basis of our faith and allows them to opt out of any serious social involvement (a sort of Manichaeism in politics). (ii) Or to surrender completely the eschatological hope, the super-natural foundation of the Kingdom of God and to opt for social welfare and purely secular politicking.

### Revolutionary Message of Christ

The danger facing all the churches in South Africa, as I see it, is that as Christians disengage from politics and refuse to accept social and civic responsibility and then rationalize this withdrawal by adopting a pietistic, moralistic, subjective and other-worldly theology, those who are seriously concerned about Peace and Justice (Africans particularly and intellectuals) write off the Church as irrelevant (which it is in the circumstances) and opt for purely secular utopias (failing to grasp the truly revolutionary message of the Gospel which undercuts the divisions between Sacred and Secular, healing the divisions of Spirit and Flesh, realising the Kingdom of God on earth).

### Corrupt Social Order

\* "Peace" and "Justice" are among those words "which need healing before they can be used for the healing of men.

\* The confusion about Justice and Peace are not just conceptual or semantic. The problem goes much deeper. Our experience of justice and peace is embedded in a social order which is sinful, corrupt, subject to structural distortion through the presence of the demonic in the Civitas Terrena.

\* Pope Paul said in his New Year Message in 1969: "When we speak of Peace, friends, we do not put before you a state of repressive, selfish inertia. Peace is not enjoyed: it is created. Peace is not a level that we have now reached: it is a higher level, to which each and every one of us must ever aspire. It is not a philosophy that lulls us to sleep; it is a philosophy of action, which makes us all responsible for the common good, and obliges us to dedicate all our efforts to its cause — the true cause of mankind."

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## **Chairman's Report to Cape Western Regional Conference 1st November, 1971**

Note:— I must point out that it is with the deepest repugnance that I have had, so often, to compartmentalise the people of our country. However, since the laws differ for the different race groups I have been forced, for the sake of clarity, also to differentiate. The sooner this state of affairs is brought to an end the better.

Parliament ended not with a bang but with a prolonged whimper of pain, brought on by the Angliotti affair.

Now, if our masters wish to spend public money with such lavish abandon why cannot they do so on projects for the community — the *whole* community — instead of on some 300 hectares of bare veld?

But is the whole community and its needs the primary consideration of the Government? Of course it always lays its hand on its heart and declares that indeed it is, and that anyone who dares criticise it is un-South African and unpatriotic and should go somewhere else if he or she doesn't like it here. And look at the lovely shiny white opera house — no detergent could ever make it whiter — that

the kindly Provincial Administration of the Cape has created out of, Provincial taxes, for a mere R11 million, for shiny white people. Have we no sense of gratitude?

I do not consider it unpatriotic or un-South African to suggest one or two ways in which public money could be better spent. Free and compulsory education for African children, and those Coloured and Indian children who do not have it for one thing — and if that had been introduced to celebrate 10 years of the Republic how wonderful it would have been. Homes for the homeless and the unhoused (there are now some 30 000 Coloured families in the Peninsula on the waiting list), a crash programme to combat the sinister and disgraceful spectre of malnutrition and infant

mortality, or an equalisation of Old Age pensions and disability grants.

We are all suffering from a spiralling rise in the cost of living, symbolically underlined by the rise in the salaries of M.P.'s, Cabinet ministers, senators and public servants. Rises in the prices of foodstuffs obviously hit the very poor hardest — and these are the people who have no voice in the House of Assembly, who suffer out of most peoples' sight, very much out of most peoples minds.

In the first quarter of this year the average wage paid to Africans in Government service, on a quarterly basis, rose by 2,8%, that of Coloured employees by 3,2%; the cost of living, in the second half of last year increased by nearly 5%, and between April and July of this year it leapt up by 6,5%.

While in certain areas of commerce and industry laudable steps have been taken to narrow the wage gap nevertheless I believe it fair to say that the vast majority of such workers have had no meaningful pay rise at all.

## Wages

The wage gap between white and black workers in the giant and prestigious mining industry is still far too wide. In April this year 20 000 White mineworkers were awarded wage increases of R8 to R12 a month. African miners will soon be receiving a rise of R3 a month. Actual monthly wages for gold mine workers, in 1970, were R354 for Whites, R17 for Africans.

Mr. Dudley Horner, in the September issue of Race Relations News calculated that payments in kind to African workers amounted to about R16.33 a month. This makes the Black/White ratio — at a generous estimate — 1:10. In 1944 the ratio (*excluding* payments in kind to African workers) was 1:10. During this session the Bantu Affairs Administration Bill, which will establish boards to govern African in the cities, became law. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, in introducing the Bill, listed only improved labour mobility and greater administrative efficiency as the reason for the establishment of these boards. But during the debate Mr. Bezuidenhoud, MP for Brakpan, in a moment of — was it truth? — declared that the real intention of the bill was to speed

the removal of Africans to the homelands; if necessary a transport system must be developed to bring African workers of the future from the homelands to the cities on a daily basis. As an example he suggested daily commuting from Mafeking to the West Rand, a round trip of some 480 kilometres.

In an article in New Nation this year, on Separate Development — some Basic Implication. Professor van As, head of the Department of Native Administration in the University of South Africa also seriously suggests "the introduction of express transport services, if necessary — even air bridges, between the non-Bantu industrial concerns in non-Bantu areas and the... Bantu townships in the Bantu areas." The Professor thinks this sort of action will result in mutual respect, equal human dignity and harmonious co-existence, the dread alternative being speedy integration...!!

In June a White Paper was published on the Riekert Report on Decentralisation, which specified conditions under which industrialists in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex could obtain additional African labour, and also the incentives offered to industrialists and manufacturers — at long last — about the serious manpower shortage — artificially induced — which, as we all know, is throttling South Africa's economy. While decentralisation is one of the answers — the abolition of enforced migrant labour and job reservation are the sanest solutions — the ultimate success of this White Paper's provisions obviously depends very largely in the manner in which recentralisation is implemented.

## Border-area Conditions

Up to now it would seem that this has not been very efficient. A company which had to move to a border area found, when production started, that there was insufficient power, water, roads and other facilities, and, over a period of four weeks, there was never more than three hours electricity a day. Some of the roads were not tarred, and when the rains came, the factory lorries were bogged down. Another company, operating in the Newcastle border area, found that there was still no proper sewerage system two years after the industrial sites were offered to manufacturers.

Meanwhile, the Xhosa Development Corporation has prepared a 3-year development pro-



gramme which will, it claims, provide 10 000 new jobs in the homelands at a capital cost of R37 million. (You will remember, according to Barbara Ward's calculations two years ago, that in order to make the homelands truly viable, some 80 to 90 000 jobs a year should be created, probably requiring an annual investment of 900 million rands.)

So where are we? At the very least a dangerously unhealthy and unsound state of affairs is being created, with the country becoming less and less capable of competing in world markets or sustaining future growth rates.

Father Cosmas Desmond and Mr. Justice Moloto, Secretary General of the UCM, have, among others, been silenced this year. At least 10 people were detained after the recent police raids and it was with a sense of sheer horror and outrage that we read of the death of Mr. Ahmed Timol. The apparent bland refusal of the Government even to be in the least bit concerned does nothing to allay our deepest fears and disquiet about treatment of the detained. As a direct result of the Rev. Bernard Wrangmore's courageous and selfless action there is *public* unease about the circumstances of the Imam Haron's death, and about the treatment of detainees. Two years ago we supported a call for a judicial inquiry into both these matters. But, as pointed out then, our deep and continual concern is also with the fundamental issue: the abhorrent principle of detention without trial.

## Detentions

Section 215 (bis) (the 180-day clause) was inserted in 1965 in the Criminal Procedure Act of 1955. It provides for detention for up to 180 days at one time of persons whom the Attorney General considers may be able to give evidence in serious criminal cases. Such persons can be held in solitary confinement, no legal advisers can visit them, and the court's jurisdiction to investigate the legality of the detention is excluded. Mr. Lenkoe, a Lesotho national, detained under this clause, died in Pretoria Local Prison on 10 March, 1969, having, according to the examining magistrate hanged himself. A state pathologist, under cross-examination, said he could not exclude the possibility that a mark on the toe of Mr. Lenkoe might have been caused by an electric burn.

Section 22 (1) of the General Law Amendment Act of 1966 provides for the detention of suspected terrorists for interrogation for periods of up to 14 days. The Commissioner of Police may, however, apply to a judge of the Supreme Court for an extension of this period but the detainee can appeal against this in writing. No court of law is competent to order the release of a detainee under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act which provides for indefinite detention in solitary confinement, with no access even by legal advisers. No court of law can pronounce upon the validity of any action taken under this section or order the release of a detainee. The Imam Haron was, of course, detained under this section at the time of his death.

Let me reaffirm here our total opposition to violence and terrorism. Violence and terrorism are bred of hatred and beget anarchy. It is *because* violence and terrorism are matters so grave and so terrible that we feel it is all the more necessary to adhere to the normal practice of *charging* those suspected of these crimes, when there are *prima facie* cases, and letting justice be seen to be done. Not only is the life and liberty of the individual at stake, but also the safety and honour of the State itself, and all its people.

**We urge every voter to press his or her member of parliament to demand, during the coming session, the immediate repeal of the security laws listed above.**

Out of an African prison population of 408 000 in 1970 more than 223 000 were in prison for a month or less, probably the vast majority offenders under the pass laws — even if that phrase offends Dr. Koornhof, who reproved Mrs. Suzman in Parliament for using it (“please, there is no such thing as a pass law any longer”). Now Dr. Koornhof has taken the 1964 idea of aid centres out of moth balls, but has given several assurances about them. They are *not* going to be administered by the police, they are *not* going to be detention barracks, the aid centre courts will be open, prisoners' aid will be incorporated, work will be channelled by the Labour Bureau, and the deputy minister wants to “circumvent, as far as possible”, the legislation of work — e.g. form work — in lieu of prosecution.

Is Dr. Koornhof really going to tackle the

matter *de novo*, as he says, really going to make an honest effort to reduce arrest and imprisonment, really going to try to apply the pass laws in as humane a way as possible? Or is all this just an endeavour to camouflage the shocking figures of our prison population? Dr. Koornhof is fond of Latin tags: let us give him one in return: *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. We remember all too well the treatment of Bishop Zulu, Dr. Nkomo, the delegates to the Synod at Welkom and the manner in which the provisions of Section 10 (1) of the Bantu Urban Areas Act are being circumvented. It is, however, naturally to the deputy minister's credit that he personally went to Sada, and that his initial reaction to it was one of shock.

I presume he is aware of the recent Government Gazette which laid down the fees for grave plots of children under 10 in the S.A. Bantu Trust/Territorial Authority?

In the year 1500 some Portuguese sailed into the harbour of Kilwa, an island about 200 miles south of Zanzibar, just off the coast of what is now Tanzania. They found, to their astonishment, fine houses of coral stone, many of them 3 or 4 stories high. "Those of the land," they reported, "wear clothes of fine cotton and of silk and many fine things." In Kilwa's great Mosque merchants from Arabia and India worshipped with local Africans, its royal palace was an enormous structure of well over 100 rooms with galleries, patios, elaborate washing arrangements and a freshwater bathing pool. Kilwa was ravaged by the Portuguese in the 16th century in their eager greed to secure the rich Indian ocean trade.

Between the 15th and 18th century Zimbabwe, the imperial capital of a large confederacy of tribes which extended some 500 miles over much of modern Rhodesia, was at the height of its prosperity. The curving granite walls of its great temple, skilfully fitted together without mortar, rose to 32 feet. Racial prejudice is not over-cager to credit Africans with this magnificent cultural achievement.

In 1811, while Europe was still Napoleon's battleground, two Afro-Portuguese traders published an account of their just completed 9-year trip across the greater part of middle

Africa from West to East and back again, a total of about 4 000 miles.

They noted that in the territory of what is now part of Katanga the way was easy enough to follow, provided proof of peaceable intentions could be supplied. The law at that time was on the side of travellers, and the law would prevail. Katanga, of course, subsequently became part of the infamous Belgian Congo.

African family life, traditionally, is highly developed, intensely warm, personal, closeknit and meaningful. The white man's laws have done their best to destroy this stabilising element. Separated all too often from wife and family, turned into a faceless and meaningless "boy", severed from the status he enjoyed in the close accord of his own village, the urban African is all too frequently to become a member of a rootless, unstable, amoral society, lacking economic stability and security at work, both long and short term. Is it any wonder, then, that there is increasing anger, bitterness and suspicion of White people? "For the fathers have eaten grapes which are sour, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Black power is a talking point among thinking people.

### Estrangement

A survey was conducted in March this year by Dr. Denis Worrall, senior lecturer in International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand and Mr. Bertlesmann, of the Department of Public Laws at the University of South Africa among 226 African newspaper readers who understand English. 90% said there was no goodwill between White and non-White. We have all taken cognisance, I hope, of the attitude and utterances of other informed, educated Africans who must surely be opinion makers. These attitudes, these utterances can come as no surprise to us; they cannot be lightly dismissed as hot air; they cannot be dismissed at all. For we are listening to the cold, clear, articulate voice of Black South Africa, which is a voice to be heeded here, now, in 1971 — and positive ameliorating action taken immediately in a sincere and wholehearted attempt to change its tone.

The evil progenitors of this voice are, I believe, arrogant White power, arrogant White man's laws, arrogant White attitudes. These must be re-examined humbly, honestly and

frankly — and rectified lest uncompromising crystallisation occurs.

The initial fault is, squarely, ours, the remedy lies, squarely, in our hands. The future of South Africa, the future of all our children, is at stake.

On the credit side a recent survey among matriculants or university students from English-language schools and universities revealed that white South Africans are becoming more liberal in their attitude to their fellowmen. Over half of them were prepared to marry a person of different colour, or entertain one as a guest at home. Only 32% wanted nothing to do with Africans, only 10% nothing to do with Indians and Coloureds. Attitudes were much harder in 1959 when a similar survey was conducted.

Further, strenuous efforts are being made to establish more educational opportunities and more bursaries for African scholars. It is to be hoped that other firms will follow the Polaroid example and quickly too. These are significant signs of a new awareness. But change must be rapid and widespread for "the hating to turn to loving".

Meanwhile the Nationalists are in a dither about what is called the "Coloured dilemma" — an artificial and unnecessary dilemma if there ever was one. As they see it, there is on the one hand "parallel development" (which means each group doing its own thing with the important proviso that the white man's thing is the agreeable and effective thing), and the other a "Coloured Homeland", none knows how or where. One must also add: Why?

Naturally, and as a step towards the total abolition of racial discrimination, we support the academics' call for integration of the Coloured people into the White group. This would see the end of the shabby and humiliating legislation which has been passed down the years: the Immorality Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, Proclamation R26, Separate Amenities Act, Proclamation R26, Separate Representation of the Voters Amendment Act, Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act, and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act. What a sordid roll-call! And what about at the same time abolish-

ing that rotten racial tag "Coloured" and substituting "South African" instead? (Obviously we look forward to the day when every citizen of this country is called purely and simply, South African.)

It is of course welcome that the Government has announced its intention of giving Coloured staff in the public services — including teachers, nurses, social workers, administrative officers and other professionals, equal pay with whites. But the gap between White and Coloured teachers' salaries has widened; even the 1964 ratio of 80:100 has not yet been restored, in spite of recent increases. We look forward to the Government correcting this — rapidly.

The Coloured Representative Council is flexing its muscles meaningfully, in spite of all the handicaps put in its way. But the juggernaut still crunches on. 27 918 Coloured families in the Cape — about 140 000 persons — have been "Re-settled" (that is, forced to move by the law of the land), and some 25 215 families, 125 000 persons at the very least, are awaiting their turn. District Six is dying a slow and heart breaking death, there are decaying and derelict cottages in Constantia, Simonstown and Claremont. Diep River is an "in" white suburb. What must be the feelings of the people who now live miles away in the sprawling and soulless housing estates on the Cape Flats?

And yet when Mr. Winchester, MP, asked "When last did the Group Areas Board adhere to the majority view of the people who gave evidence before the board", the Minister of Coloured Affairs said "I would say that that happened in most cases, in fact in nine cases out of ten." Is the Minister impartially, factually and fully informed by the Group Areas Board after each hearing? If not, why not? Or do we have the misfortune to be involved with the tenth case in every case? Or is the Minister suffering from an attack of Humpty Dumptyities: "When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean?"

In the first week of November the Local Authorities Voters' Amendment ordinance was passed by Cape Provincial Council. This ordinance has abolished the history municipal common roll franchise by making registration as a parliamentary voter an additional qualifi-

cation. This spells out, clearly and unequivocally, the automatic disappearance of Coloured city councillors. So the persecution is continued by removing right enjoyed since 1836 and by destroying the honourable — and honoured — multi-racial representation in the City Council. Smooth talk that this will be a gentle phasing-out operation, with Coloured municipal voters not losing their rights until Coloured management committees have been established in all Coloured areas, these management committees will be developed into fully elected management councils or village councils and eventually flower into fully fledged, autonomous municipalities is, of course, pure camouflage and must not be allowed to blur the cutting edge of this dishonourable piece of legislation. And even if these municipalities ever become viable and have meaningful powers (which is extremely unlikely) why, and to what good end should we all be inflicted with them? There have been serious disturbances this year at Gelvandale and Blou-punt; Elsie's River can hardly be described as a happy and contented suburb.

The Government appears to have forgotten the Prime Minister's sage observation: do not try to take a man's home away from him — or do those in power think that a man is not a man when he is not white? If so, they are indeed playing with fire. There is ever-growing — and to be expected — bitterness, distrust, frustration. Action is needed NOW to unite, not divide, this country, action is needed NOW to abolish the grotesque anomaly whereby an immigrant can enter South Africa, with his wife and family, and live and work with them wherever and however he wishes, a right which is denied to the majority of the people born here.

The shroud of South Africa is, in my view, being sewn by the policy of the Government. We urge it, yet again, to sit down, as equals, in discussion — *not* dictation — with leaders of African communities, with leaders of the Opposition parties, with leaders in the spheres of thought, administration, commerce and industry, to make meaningful and effective plans towards creating a policy which every citizen will have pride in supporting. For if discussion does not take place, if the Government persists in this policy of apartheid with its pass laws, enforced migrant labour, job reservation and group areas, then he is an optimist indeed who can view the future with equanim-

ity. Perpetuated separation can surely only lead to chaotic disintegration.

We want a recognition of the human rights and civil liberties of all inhabitants of this country; a recognition that the hopes, fears, desires and aspirations of each one of us are the same and based on the oneness of the fact that we are all human beings created by God, a recognition of equality of opportunity, and a road to the top for each individual, irrespective of colour, class or creed, with talent the only criterion. Above all, we want this recognition now. The need is very great; the hour very late.

Now any member of Parliament has the right at all times to put any question to any Minister in respect of any measure administered by him. But I want to tell the hon. member even now that when it comes to questions dealing with particulars in regard to the detention of terrorists I shall say each time that the reply is not in the public interest . . .

The Minister of Justice, The Hon. P. C. Pelser, Second Reading of the Terrorism Bill — Hansard No. 18, Column 7118, 1st June, 1967.

# Johannesburg Advice Office Report for August and September 1971

The "Urban African" is a phrase which is currently being bandied about by political leaders, the press and the public. The use of this phrase perhaps conceals the reality of the millions of people it is used to represent. These people are all controlled by Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act: "No Bantu shall remain for more than 72 hours in a prescribed area unless he produces proof in the manner prescribed that . . ."

These people all live with the humiliation of being unable to decide upon the course of their own lives. The power to do this lies in hands other than their own. They must carry a reference book from the time they turn 16. They must ask for permits to seek work, to work in a particular job, to live with their husbands, permits for their children to live with them, permits to occupy a house or to lodge in someone else's house, to have a bed in a hostel, permits to visit friends or relatives in another area. They have no freedom to sell their labour on an open market. They cannot own real estate, leave it to their heirs or provide security of tenure for their dependents. If they are permitted to occupy a house they cannot choose the house they would rent or freely alter or improve it. They cannot choose to have electric light nor indoor sanitation nor running hot water. They cannot even decide who will be allowed to live in that house with them.

Their employers have immense power to affect their future security. Simple procedures, like asking for a late registration of birth certificate, become hurdles to be surmounted with trepidation and effort out of all proportion to the desired end. Finding somewhere to live can be a matter for despair. Getting children a place in school is a matter of pressing anxiety. Boarding a train to get to and from work is a struggle to be fought twice a day. The simple mechanics of life in an urban environment can occupy a man's whole energies — because he is black. He is prevented from winning for himself a place in the sun because of the colour of his skin.

This is, above all, the evil which is perpetrated on these people. It is offensive that men and women should have to shuffle in long queues from one counter at the labour office to another; that their houses should be raided by police in the small hours of the morning seeking a son whose name is not on the house permit; that they should have to go cap in hand to previous employers to ask for a letter proving the employment; that an insult must be swallowed because an official has power to say yes or no.

It is offensive that this man will not accept my word — because I am black; that I must find a piece of paper to prove that what I say

is true — because I am black; that I must find many documents to prove that that stamp in my book is a mistake — because the man who made the mistake is white and I am black.

Workers in the Advice Office have been made very aware of all this because everyday everyone who comes for help is asking only for an eminently reasonable thing, whether it be permission to live with their families or to be allowed to work in their employment. It is an incredible system which prevents them from doing so.

The Advice Office welcomes visitors who wish to come and learn for themselves the implications and ramifications of the pass laws, some facets of the problem.

The cases reported briefly below illustrate

## CASES:

During August two cases were brought to a successful conclusion and during September five men and four women were able to obtain permission to remain in Johannesburg after this had been initially refused and one young man was issued with his first reference book after some difficulty.

Mr. D. H. qualified in terms of Section 10(1)(d) of the Act to remain in the pres-

cribed area of Johannesburg. He was sentenced to one year in prison. He appealed against his conviction and after being in prison for three months his appeal was upheld. He was discharged. His 10(1)(b) qualification was cancelled and he was registered in new employment in terms of Section 10(1)(d). This threat to his future security was a mistake on the part of officialdom. If his conviction and sentence had been confirmed he *would* have lost his 10(1)(b) right but his conviction was overthrown and he was entitled to retain his 10(1)(b) right. The trouble and inconvenience of having this mistake rectified was all his and he had to visit various offices with various documents to have the 10(1)(d) stamp cancelled and his 10(1)(b) right reinstated.

Miss H. M. who qualifies to remain in Johannesburg in terms of Section 10(1)(b) of the Act was ordered to vacate her house and told verbally to "go to the homelands". Her father bought this house but had not completed the payments when he died in 1961. Her mother then became the registered tenant until her death in 1968. Miss M. has continued to pay the monthly instalments but because she is a single woman has not been allowed to remain in the house. However, the Advice Office was able to reassure her that there was no question of her being forced to leave Johannesburg and go to an unknown homeland. She can continue living in Johannesburg but will have to find lodgings in someone else's house.

Mrs. T. G. SONO was born in Pretoria and came to Johannesburg in 1949. She lived and worked in Johannesburg until 1969 when she became pregnant. She wanted to leave Johannesburg to have the baby in the care of her relations. A clerk in one of the municipal offices told her she could stay away for 18 months without jeopardising her position. She had a difficult confinement and the baby was born by Cesarean section. When she returned to Johannesburg more than 12 months after she had left she was endorsed out.

Miss L. M. was registered in her last employment in Johannesburg and left the job in 1969 when she became ill. Her employers left Johannesburg to live in Natal and did not sign her off nor send her discharge card back to the Municipal Labour Office. When she recovered her health and tried to register in new employment, registration was refused be-

cause she had not been properly discharged. When she tried to explain the circumstances she was "jokingly" told to go to Natal to find her employers and get signed off.

Mr. and Mrs. M. have four children, three daughter, all under 18 years of age and a 9 year old son. These children were born outside Johannesburg and were cared for by their grandmother until 1968 when their parents were able to establish a home for them as lodgers in Soweto. They brought the children to live with them and applied for permission for them to stay. Officialdom investigated the application for approximately two years then informed Mrs. M. that her children must leave the area within 14 days.

Mrs. D. E. M. is a citizen of Swaziland. She became engaged to marry Mr. H. G. M. at the beginning of 1971. He qualified to remain permanently in Johannesburg. She obtained permission from her government to leave Swaziland to marry Mr. H. G. M. and live with him in Johannesburg. They were married in Johannesburg on 5th July, 1971, by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. She was then ordered to leave the Republic of South Africa for Swaziland on or before July 28th, 1971.

Mrs. J. E. T. is permitted to remain in Johannesburg in terms of Section 10(1)(c) of the Act. She is a business woman and bought a taxi but was refused registration as a taxi-owner by the Taxi Association concerned because she qualifies as 10(1)(c) and not as 10(1)(a) or 10(1)(b).

Mr. A. K. has worked for a small contracting firm for eight years but has never been registered by his employer. He and three fellow workers in the same position asked for more money and were promptly discharged. The employer concerned has refused to give him a letter testifying to this period of employment so he has an eight year gap in his record which cannot be covered.

Some of the saddest cases coming to the Advice Office for help are the people who are displaced in their own country. For various reasons they have lost their rights to remain in the prescribed areas where they were born and have established no right to be anywhere else.

Because of the rigid controls imposed on

every aspect of the lives of every African in South Africa a man or a woman who has no area in which he is permitted to register as a workseeker cannot earn a living because he cannot be legally employed. Nor is he allowed to live lawfully in a house or in a hostel anywhere at all. Many women who find themselves in this position have children who are also displaced people because their rights are largely dependant on their mother's position.

These people are displaced in every sense of the word. Many of those coming to the office have accepted that they will not be permitted to remain in any prescribed area in the Republic and therefore ask to be resettled in their homeland so that they may register as workseekers in a homeland area and try to establish some kind of home for their families even if it means that they must become migrant workers on yearly contract. They are finding that obtaining resettlement in accordance with government policy can be as difficult as obtaining permission to remain in a prescribed area.

Those people who have relatives in a homeland are in a stronger position because they go to an area which is already known to them and where the chief knows the family and will accept the new arrival as belonging to this area. But those people who are urban people and have no ties whatsoever with a homeland which they have never seen and where they are unknown, experience great difficulty. They spend many months going from one office to another in one area after another living in permanent danger of unrest and able to earn nothing. Many of them find it very difficult to get anybody to take any responsibility for them and are in a position where they are entirely unable to take any responsibility for their own futures. They are told in one office that they cannot be helped here and to go to another office in another area. When they get there they are told to go somewhere else. Many of them may not start off applying for resettlement in the correct office but no one ever seems to tell them where they should lodge the application.

There are many attendant difficulties for people in this dreadful position. The most urgent problem is the impossibility of finding legal employment. No African can be registered in employment even as a contract worker unless he has somewhere where he

may register as a workseeker. If he is not registered no application can be made for him by an employer. People in this position work casually from day to day for different employers and have to accept such payment as is offered to them: If they find an employer who is willing to employ them permanently unregistered they may well end up in the same position as a man who came to the Advice Office to complain that he had worked unregistered for a small contractor for eight years but had never had a rise or leave pay and was not being paid as much as the registered labourers.

Then there is the question of finding somewhere to live. It is an offence for the registered tenant of a house in an urban township to have anyone living in that house who is not enumerated on the permit. People are willing to take this risk for close relatives but are reluctant to do so for anybody else. The displaced people survive by moving from house to house, all the time. If a wife and children are involved this becomes an ordeal repeated almost daily.

## **Welfare**

Elderly and disabled displaced people cannot get pension payments or welfare help from the official welfare departments because they are not living lawfully anywhere. A displaced mother finds she cannot get birth certificates for her children because her reference book is not in order. Unemployment insurance payments will not be paid out to men who have no area to which they lawfully belong.

These displaced men who are given special permission to work in a specified area find that this temporarily solves their immediate problem of earning such to keep themselves and allowing them to occupy a bed in a hostel or as a lodger while they are so employed but if they leave the employment or wish to establish a home for a family this is no permanent solution and they find themselves going through the whole process again.

The cases reported below illustrate a variety of the difficulties involved for displaced people seeking some security and stability for the future.

Mrs. N. is a widow with 5 children. She had rights to remain in Johannesburg under Section 10(1)(a) of the Act but she married

a man who worked in the government service. They were transferred to a town in the Eastern Transvaal and all went well until her husband died. She remained in the Eastern Transvaal for a couple of years after his death and then returned to Johannesburg. She was refused permission to remain in Johannesburg or to return to the Eastern Transvaal town. She had nowhere to live legally. She applied for resettlement in the homeland of her ethnic group and was told her homeland was "full". She then approached the Advice Office. A letter was written on her behalf to the Territorial Authority and she has now been notified that a house will be available for her at the end of November.

Mr. M. J. H. was born in Belfast in 1948. He came to Johannesburg after both his parents died in 1959. He attended school in Johannesburg and lived here with his married sister. He was ordered to leave the prescribed area of Johannesburg in September, 1971. He returned to Belfast and tried to register there as a workseeker. Permission was refused for him to remain in Belfast. He is now hoping that his employer in Johannesburg will be allowed to make a special application for him to remain as a contract worker without any further necessity for him to travel backwards and forwards.

Mr. M. M. has been trying to obtain resettlement for over a year. He was born in Kimberley and has worked there and in Vryheid, where he took his reference book, and in Johannesburg. He has acquired no rights to remain anywhere and lost his right to remain in Kimberley by working outside that prescribed area. He was arrested in May, 1970, for being illegally in Johannesburg. He was taken under police escort to Vryheid. There the uBantu Affairs refused to allow him to remain and had him escorted back to Johannesburg immediately. In Johannesburg he appeared in Court and nobody seems to have known what to do with him. Kimberley refused to allow him to go back there. In November, 1970, he applied to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner for resettlement in his homeland. In that same month he was again arrested and sent to Vryheid. He was again refused permission to remain there. He went to the Rustenburg area and a Chief told him verbally he was willing to allow him to settle there provided he was legally transferred there. He explained this to the Bantu Affairs Commission-

er in Johannesburg. He was given a temporary permit to remain in Johannesburg while his case was investigated. In September, 1971, he was told nothing could be done for him. He has no means of livelihood and no apparent future security. He has now been to Hammanskraal and has been told verbally that he will be allowed to settle there if Vryheid will release him officially. This is necessary because Vryheid is shown in his reference book as his tax district.

Mr. D. M. P. has been working in Johannesburg lawfully since 1944. He is now 52 years of age and is asking for resettlement in his homeland where he wishes to start a business of his own. He approached the Chief in the area where his relatives live and asked to be admitted. He was told that he must first pay a sum of R60 for back payments of levies. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner concerned has confirmed that every married man is liable for a R1,00 tribal levy tax every year. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner has offered his assistance in sorting out this dispute.

Mr. D. P. M. born in Johannesburg in 1949 in a backyard and lived with his mother at her places of employment until 1956. He then disappeared and can remember nothing of what happened to him until he was found in Alexandra in 1967. He has a medical certificate testifying that he suffers from epilepsy. He was ordered to leave Johannesburg in June, 1970. There is nowhere at all in the Republic where he belongs. His mother and stepfather live in Soweto but he is not allowed to live with them. He cannot be registered in a job he was offered at Isando because he has nowhere to register as a workseeker and no place to which an application can be made for him.

Mr. S. B. K. was born in Johannesburg in 1950. His mother took him to Lichtenburg when he was three years old and he remained there until 1969 when he returned to Johannesburg. He remained in Johannesburg for two years until he was ordered to leave in April, 1971. He had established no right to remain in Lichtenburg and has no right to remain in Johannesburg. He does not know where he will be permitted to remain.

Mr. D. M. was born in Johannesburg and lived in the area until 1960 when he went to school in Brits. He remained at school there



until 1968 and unfortunately did not return to Johannesburg immediately on leaving school. He stayed in Brits illegally for another two years. He took his first reference book in Brits while he was at school.

He came back to Johannesburg in 1970 and was endorsed out. He went to Brits to try to register there as a workseeker. Registration was refused because they said he was only at school there. He then applied to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Johannesburg for resettlement. This was in June 1971. He was offered work as a farm labourer or a mine-worker. These offers he refused because he does not want to spend the rest of his life as a contract labourer either on a farm or on a mine. His education and ability would enable him to work in a more remunerative type of job. He has not yet been assisted in any other way to be registered as a workseeker somewhere. He is homeless in the land of his birth.

Mrs. M. Q. was born in Johannesburg in 1941. She lived in Johannesburg with her parents until 1963 leaving only to attend school in Zululand. During her schooling she returned to her parents for all her holidays and after she finished school in 1960 she lived permanently with them.

In 1963 she married a man in Johannes-

burg who took her to live with him in Zululand. She stayed with him there until 1968 when the Bantu Commissioner advised her to return to her parents in Johannesburg because her husband was drinking heavily and was not supporting her and their three children.

She did come back to her parents. Her husband died in 1969. She was ordered to leave Johannesburg in 1971. Her appeal to the Bantu Commissioner to be allowed to remain was refused. She cannot go to her husband's parents in Zululand because they are old-aged pensioners and cannot support her, and do not want the responsibility. She is not allowed to remain with her own parents in the place of her birth. She has nowhere.

Mr. S. B. M. is another displaced person who has applied for resettlement. His case is at present being investigated by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Evaton where he was born where he has no right to remain because he worked on contract in another area. His immediate problem is that he is destitute. His employment insurance payments were up to date when his contract in Johannesburg ended but payment was refused here because he was not lawfully here after his employment was terminated and he was also refused payment in Evaton because he does not belong there anymore. There is no other office to which he can apply.

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## Dedication . . .

**I**N 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 . . .

**M**ET 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 beloop 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.