

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

- **The Proclamation of District Six**
 - **A Modern View of Legal Aid**
- **Mass Arrests and Crime**
 - **Literacy Campaign in Swaziland**
- **Implications of Separate Development in the Homelands**

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PSALM 94

1. O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth; O God, to whom vengeance belongeth, show thyself.
2. Lift up thyself, thou Judge of the earth: render a reward to the proud.
3. Lord, how long shall the wicked, how long shall the wicked triumph.
4. How long shall they utter and speak hard things? and all the workers of iniquity boast themselves?
5. They break in pieces thy people, O Lord, and afflict thine heritage:
6. They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless.
7. Yet they say, The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it.
8. Understand, ye brutish among the people: and ye fools, when will ye be wise?
9. He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see?
10. He that chastiseth the heathen, shall not he correct? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall he not know?
11. The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man, that they are vanity.
12. Blessed is the man who thou chasteneth, O Lord, and teachest him out of thy law;
13. That thou mayest give him rest from the days of adversity, until the pit be digged for the wicked.
14. For the Lord will not cast off his people, neither will he forsake his inheritance:
15. But judgment shall return unto righteousness; and all the upright in heart shall follow it.
16. Who will rise up for me against the evil-doers? or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?
17. Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul had almost dwelt in silence.
18. When I said, My foot slippeth; thy mercy, O Lord, held me up.
19. In the multitude of my thoughts within me thy comforts delight my soul.
20. Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with me, which frameth mischief by a law?
21. They gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood.
22. But the Lord is my defence; and my God is the rock of my refuge.
23. And he shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own wickedness; yea, the Lord our God shall cut them off.

PSALM 94

- God van wraak, o Here, God van wraak, verskyn in ligglans!
- Verhef U, o regter van die aarde, vergeld die trotsaards *hulle* dade!
- Hoe lank sal die goddelose, o Here, hoe lank sal die goddelose jubel?
- Hulle smaai, hulle praat onbeskaamd—al die werkers van ongeregtigheid verhef hulle.
- o Here, hulle verbrysel u volk, en hulle verdruk u erfdeel.
- Hulle maak die weduwee en die vreemdeling dood en vermoor die wese
- en sê: Die Here sien dit nie, en die God van Jakob merk dit nie.
- Let op, o onverstandiges onder die volk, en julle dwase, wanneer sal julle verstandig word?
- Sou Hy wat die oor plant, nie hoor nie, of Hy wat die oog formeer, nie sien nie?
- Sou Hy wat die nasies tugtig, nie straf nie—Hy wat die mens kennis leer?
- Die Here ken die gedagtes van die mense—dat hulle nietigheid is.
- Welgeluksalig is die man, o Here, wat U onderrig en wat U leer uit u wet,
- Om hom rus te gee van die dae van teëspoed, totdat die kuil vir die goddelose gegrawe word.
- Want die Here sal sy volk nie verwerp en sal sy erfdeel nie verlaat nie;
- Wie sal vir my optree teen die kwaaddoeners? Wie sal my bystaan teen die werkers van ongeregtigheid?
- As die Here vir my nie 'n hulp was nie, dan het my siel gou in die stilte gewoon.
- As ek dink: My voet wankel—dan ondersteun u goedertierenheid my, o Here!
- As my gedagtes binne-in my vermenigvuldig, dan verkwik u vertroosting my siel,
- Het die regterstoel wat onheil stig, met U gemeenskap; wat moeite versin teen die insettinge in?
- Hulle bestorm die lewe van die regverdige en veroordeel onskuldige bloed.
- Maar die Here is 'n rotsvesting vir my, en my God die rots van my toevlug.
- En Hy laat hulle ongeregtigheid op hulle terugkeer en verdelg hulle in hul boosheid; die Here ons God verdelg hulle.

WHY DISTRICT SIX SHOULD BE LEFT UNDECLARED

THE ARGUMENT against forcing the Coloured people out of District Six is fully stated in a memorandum by the Cape Town City Council.

The memorandum says: District Six has been the home of many non-Whites for generations and the people had long and traditional ties with the area. Their schools, places of worship, welfare centres, maternity homes and recreational facilities are there.

"It cannot be too strongly stressed that the proposal to move residents to other areas bears no comparison with the elimination of slum areas such as Cato Manor in Durban or Sophiatown in Johannesburg, which were squatters' settlements. It is no shanty settlement of homeless people seeking residence in a work-centre, but an established area almost as old as Cape Town itself, and its people are as indigenous to the area as those of any other part of the city.

"To remove them from what is traditionally and habitually their home will cause endless bitterness and social upheaval."

War interrupted

It was true District Six was overcrowded and had deteriorated over the years owing to circumstances beyond the Council's control. World War II had interrupted a programme of slum clearance, and after the war the country's resources were strained to catch up with the backlog of houses.

In recent years, with the increase in housing development, the prospects of a rehabilitation scheme became brighter. But the Group Areas Act had resulted in the displacement of many Coloured people from their homes and housing had to be found for them in the Council's new Coloured housing estates.

Where the National Housing Office at first compelled the Council to allocate 20 per cent of the houses built to Coloured people displaced from their homes by the Group Areas Act, the Department of Community Development now insisted on an allocation of as high as 100 per cent.

"It will be appreciated that in these circumstances there was little hope of being able to demolish homes in District Six and providing the occupants with alternative housing."

Nevertheless, in July, 1962, at the instigation of the Mayor of the time, Mr. A. H. Honikman, the Council decided to undertake a comprehensive and "most ambitious" scheme to rehabilitate District Six. Again its intentions were frustrated when it was informed that approval of the scheme could not be given till the zoning of the area in terms of the Group Areas Act had been determined.

It confidently expected that the major portion of District Six would be proclaimed for the non-White groups with possibly only the fringes, which had developed a commercial and industrial character, proclaimed for Whites. It accordingly did not make representations at the public inquiry in April, 1964, particularly in view of the support given to its pilot scheme of rehabilitation by the Department of Housing.

Work near centre

At present about 26,925 Coloured people, 1,220 Indians and 381 White people were living in the proclaimed group area. A survey had shown that 85 per cent of the breadwinners of these people — a total of over 8,500 — worked in the central business area of Cape Town and the area to the east as far as Observatory.

"The removal of a community of this size to the non-White townships of the Cape Flats will cause disruption of the greatest magnitude and will create a wave of disharmony and bitterness in the hearts of all the non-White people of the Cape Peninsula."

The Group Areas Act provided for the separation of the various racial groups and in determining what areas were to be reserved for the race, account was always taken of the group which predominated in a given mixed area.

Against spirit

"It stands to reason that by reserving District Six for the White group, the Department has gone completely against both the spirit of the Act, and the way in which it has been administered before. There is scarcely an area which is as predominantly non-White in character as District Six."

The argument had been advanced that District Six was not overwhelmingly Coloured because the non-White people owned only 44 per cent of the property there — and over 50 per cent was owned by the Whites.

"This is surely irrelevant to the main issue. The vital factor is not who owns the property in District Six, but who occupies it."

Throughout the world little slum property was owned by the people who occupied it.

Working-class ring

In every great city the central business zone was ringed with working-class residential quarters, many of them slums. But the redevelopment, which was known as the urban-renewal

process, never resulted in the elimination of the class of people who lived there. The land was "renewed" by building multi-storey blocks of flats to accommodate the traditional residents under clean, hygienic and more or less spacious manner.

The removal, it was stated, of 8,500 city workers from their homes close to the central-city area would have a severe impact on the workers and the economy of the city.

Transport — apart from great inconvenience and loss of time to the workers — would probably amount to between seven per cent and 10 per cent of their incomes — "a disproportionately high percentage"; and the relocation of the labour force would tend towards the establishment of industries outside the city and its environs to the detriment of existing industrial zones between the central city and Observatory.

White re-occupation

A serious problem would also be created through the process of re-occupation by Whites, which must overlap the relocation of existing inhabitants, if large untenanted areas were to be avoided.

Whites of the higher economic levels would be unlikely to move into the area before a suitably attractive environment had been created. This would necessitate prior removal of the bulk of the non-White inhabitants. Early investment of large amounts of public capital on facilities and institutions other than housing would also be required.

Social repercussions

One of the social repercussions of relocating some 28,500 non-White people was the disruption of the community and the disintegration of those social ties and obligations needed to keep social decay at bay. The essentials of community life must be retained and great pains taken in the relocation of displaced persons — for example, social and economic assistance provided to enable them to integrate into their new environment as smoothly and quickly as possible.

It is stated in the memorandum that the total backlog of non-White houses in the city alone, including the relocation of 5,700 families from District Six, would amount to 20,000. A further 1,500 dwellings would be required annually to accommodate the natural increase of the non-White population.

15 years

"It would take almost 15 years to work off the backlog even if our present rate of construction was increased to 3,000 dwellings a year. Moreover, during this period, it will be necessary to build and find land for at least 42,500 dwellings representing a population of well over 2,000,000 people. And such a programme would provide for only one section of the population in only one portion of the region of greater Cape Town."

"Clearly the achievement of even this goal may prove a task beyond the reach of our available resources — not only money, but also labour and materials."

While the Council opposed the proclamation of District Six for White ownership and occupation, it would also oppose its reservation exclusively for other racial groups.

Plea to Ministers

If it was declared for occupation by the Coloured group, while allowing accommodation of the bulk of the existing population, it would exclude the investment of capital from the White group, undoubtedly handicapping the general development of the area.

The City Council then asked the Minister of Planning and the Minister of Community Development to give "careful consideration" to these facts with a view to recommending to the Cabinet that the Proclamation be repealed and District Six be left as an undeclared area.

"Successive events that occurred both in the national and the local spheres have prevented the complete rehabilitation of District Six but there is now no reason why an intensified programme of redevelopment of the area cannot be undertaken.

Against investment

"The uncertainty of its fate for a number of years has militated against the investment of capital from the private sector in District Six. If this were removed, all groups would be able to participate in the redevelopment of an area which because of its situation alone, must play an increasingly important role in the growth and development of the City as a whole.

"The employment of capital from the private sector, coupled with an intensified rehabilitation scheme financed from public funds, would be the surest and speediest means of redeveloping District Six. This does not mean that it would develop into a multi-racial residential suburb as by a voluntary process of separation it has already become almost exclusively a non-White residential area and it could remain so.

Joint effort

"At the same time there should be a joint effort on the part of the Government Departments and the City Council for the housing in suitable areas and uplift of those who do not earn enough to afford homes of their own and who have to be moved.

"Should the Ministers agree to the Council's representations, the Council will give an unequivocal undertaking that it will proceed with a scheme of rehabilitation of District Six with the utmost expedition.

"The Council will be pleased to appoint a deputation to discuss the matter with the Minister should he so desire."

Reprinted from the "Cape Times."

DISTRICT SIX FITS CITY DEVELOPMENT

By ADELE MARIE NAUDE, M.Arch. (U.D.) Harvard

WITH the proclamation of District Six as a White area, a major change has been proposed in the use of an important part of Cape Town.

As a city grows, the different aspects of its life such as residence, commerce or industry become associated with specific areas best suited to their needs. Therefore the gradual emergence of a characteristic pattern in the use of land is a natural urban process. As such, any artificial change in that pattern will inevitably affect the functioning of the entire city. Consequently a change in the use is only warranted when the reasons for its location have lost their validity.

Work proximity

District Six was established on open land as a low-income residential area after freedom was given to the slaves in 1833. Light industries began to develop in the Woodstock-Salt River area benefiting from the labour force in the vicinity and from proximity to the city centre, docks and the railway line.

The growth of these industries caused those who could afford it to move to preferable residential locations, leaving the district to the lowest income group. This follows a general pattern of residential location where proximity to work increases in importance with the drop in wage-earning capacity. The lower-income group forfeits amenity for the saving in cost of travelling (which in Cape Town can reach 10 per cent).

Local Hillbrows

With the growth of the city's population and economy, the central area is expanding. Open land on the Foreshore affords Cape Town a unique opportunity to extend its business district and according to estimates will accommodate development for at least 50 years. For this reason, although District Six is adjacent to the centre, no pressure for central expansion is being exerted in its direction.

Warehousing at the edge of the district is not developing owing to better conditions available on the Foreshore and elsewhere. Drawn by the attraction of the seafront, high density housing (many-storeyed blocks of flats) has developed in the Sea Point area, detracting from the growth of residential areas closer to the city centre. When Sea Point cannot grow any further, the amenities of the Gardens area may cause it to develop as the Hillbrow of Cape Town.

Industries in Woodstock and Salt River are expanding. However, suitable flat land with ac-

cess to the railway line and trucking routes exists beyond Sir Lowry Road. Upper District Six does not enjoy any of these advantages and cannot therefore compete as an industrial location. In short, there are no external pressures to change its present use.

Unattractive

As a location, District Six has few of the attributes associated with a desirable residential environment. It is adjacent to residentially obnoxious uses such as industries and warehousing. Major roads such as De Waal Drive, Sir Lowry Road, the future ring road, surround it, and Eastern Boulevard will cut diagonally across it. Between 5,000 and 6,000 cars carrying persons foreign to the area are expected to pass through it during the rush hours, thereby effectively preventing residential seclusion.

Wind conditions are particularly bad and vegetation is virtually non-existent. The stigma attached to the area for generations will take time to eliminate. In a city well endowed with optimum residential areas, the only advantage District Six can claim is proximity to major employment centres, thereby meeting requirements of low-income working class people.

Residential districts for the lower-income groups stretch from District Six to Mowbray, north to Epping, Maitland, and Brooklyn and include parts of Oranjezicht, Tamboers Kloof and the lower Gardens. These areas provide greater opportunity for attractive development than District Six though they may not be as conveniently located in relation to work. As the least desirable area, only the lowest income groups live there for lack of choice. In Cape Town the lowest wage earners are exclusively non-White.

Development of District Six for white habitation will serve no purpose because areas of greater environmental potential already exist. High land values due to proximity to the city centre, would necessitate high densities, requiring anything up to 60,000 persons to be rehoused. It is doubtful that this number of low-income Whites could be made to move to the district where they would benefit neither from proximity to the industries employing primarily Coloureds, nor from improved environmental conditions.

Higher crime

The nature of the district has not changed for 130 years and to alter it now, apart from the human implications, will mean destroying the inter-dependence established over the course of time between the area, the city centre, and the light industrial belt. For example, 90 per cent of the workers in District Six are employed within a radius of three miles, and a high proportion of clothing and food industries are located in the area because they depend upon female labour.

Forcible clearance of a slum will not prevent its re-creation elsewhere. The deterioration of an area is only a physical manifestation of the social problems which, if left unsolved, will remain with the inhabitants wherever they live. Precedent has shown that relocation, in destroying established social relationships, can create maladjustment. This is expressed in the abuse of the physical environment and higher crime rates.

In each city at any given time a section of the population has always existed who could not afford to live in anything but slum conditions. Only through the social and economic advancement of the population can slums be eliminated.

Little development

The condition of the area is lamentable, but this does not prove that the *use* is wrong. Had the land been too valuable for occupation by a sub-economic group, pressure to replace this use would have been felt. The lack of renewal dur-

ing the past 40 years indicates that land values have not risen sufficiently to necessitate a more lucrative usage.

High density alone does not indicate that an area is a slum. The density of District Six at 113 persons an acre is lower than Sea Point or Hillbrow, Johannesburg. Successful environments have been established with densities of 400 persons per acre. What makes District Six a slum is the fact that high density is achieved within structures designed to accommodate less than one quarter of the population.

It must be emphasised that the deficiencies of the environment can be attributed almost exclusively to local factors, such as minimum ownership of property by Coloured people who comprise 94 per cent of the population but own only 25 per cent of the land. Very little development has occurred since the '20s, and there is no incentive for tenants to improve rented property. Moreover, development has been frozen for many years.

There is nothing wrong with District Six that comprehensive urban renewal cannot remedy. The reasons for its existence have not lost their validity; if anything, they have been strengthened by the expansion of light industry and central activities. Urban renewal, through good design, can raise the density to correspond to rising land values and can thereby provide an expanding economy with the labour it requires.

Reprinted from "Cape Times."

DISTRICT SIX "PLANNED SOCIAL SABOTAGE"

From BARBARA WILKS

THE decision of the Ministers of Community Development and of Planning to proclaim a large part of District Six a group area for Whites has been described as "quite a bombshell".

By those who care for the dignity and happiness of their fellow citizens, it could still better be described as "planned social sabotage". In whatever official terms and under whatever official initials the Ministers try to cloak their intentions the effect is plain: under the cynical disguise of slum clearance further to disrupt and dismember the community of Cape Town.

No one denies that the area has been in need of slum clearance, but it was the City Council's intention to rehabilitate the people in the area in which they lived — a far sounder plan than that of the Departments of Community Development and Planning of forcible removal. It has been found, not only in South Africa, but elsewhere,

that even *voluntary* break-up and removal of communities is often attended by worse evils than those it was intended to remove, and in this instance a settled community is to be transferred to a rootless, soulless environment.

Dreary tale

It is the belief of the Black Sash that from this ill-considered decision evils will flow which will not only affect approximately 30,000 people of District Six who are to be moved, but all the citizens of Cape Town — the evils of suspicion, dissension, hopelessness and hatred.

The dreary tale of sins committed in the name of *apartheid* or separate development is growing longer until even a lifetime of penance could not earn forgiveness for all of us who share in the blame of either actively helping or passively acquiescing in acts which are the real sabotage of peace and harmony in South Africa today.

Reprinted from "Cape Times."

THE MODERN VIEW OF LEGAL AID

By F. N. KENTRIDGE

HOW far is it the duty of society to provide legal aid for criminals charged in its courts?

America has recently decided the question by stating that all persons accused of serious crimes should be defended. The problem is of concern in South Africa because of the scale on which, at the present time, people are being tried on political charges. Even without this immediate relevance, however, the need for defence in criminal courts is one which should be recognised by a community.

In "Gideon's Trumpet", Anthony Lewis, a Pulitzer Prize winner and "New York Times" reporter, has dealt primarily with a particular case in which the American decision was made but, in doing so, he discusses American attitudes as a whole to the problem and the judicial process through which it was finally resolved.

In 1963, in the United States of America, a man named Gideon, aged 51, who had been convicted in a Florida State Court of housebreaking and been given a five-year jail sentence, successfully appealed to the Supreme Court to have his trial set aside on the grounds that he had not been given a trial according to "due process of law." The Supreme Court held that legal representation was an essential element in a fair trial: Gideon had not been able to afford legal representation and the State had refused to appoint counsel to assist him.

The decision of the Supreme Court was based upon the interpretation it placed on the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. This amendment provides that —

"No State shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

The conclusion of the court, was, therefore, one based on the written Constitution of the United States.

In South Africa there are no written provisions of this nature, but American law and South African law are alike in that their criminal procedure involves the presence of a prosecutor who is a trained lawyer, who presents the case for the state, a judge who is a trained lawyer to decide upon the issues, and in certain circumstances, a defender who is a trained lawyer, to present the case for the accused. In both countries anyone

charged with any crime has always been entitled to pay a professional lawyer to defend him.

Pressure

In America over the past 20 years there has been increasing pressure from the legal profession as a whole (judges, academic lawyers, lawyers in private practice and those in Government service) to take this right to a defence to a further point where it is recognised as an essential element to a fair trial, and therefore an element which cannot be dependent upon the means of an accused person.

It is felt that in every criminal trial of a serious nature there is as great a need for the defence to be conducted professionally as for the prosecution to be in the hands of a professional.

From this it becomes apparent that where the accused, through poverty, is unable to provide himself with skilled assistance, it is the duty of the state to provide such assistance for him.

This principle was finally accepted in Gideon's case. Gideon had been convicted of breaking and entering a billiards room. He was given the maximum sentence permissible because of his history of previous convictions.

Ran away

In a biographical piece which he was asked to prepare by the lawyer who eventually appeared for him, Mr. Abe Fortas (now himself a judge of

the United States Supreme Court) Gideon set out his previous history. "You will understand that owing to my limited education, and also to the utter folly and hopelessness of parts of my life, it will be doubtful if I can put it down on paper with any reasonable comprehension. I will not be proud of my biography; it will be no cause of pride."

Indeed it is a record of misery and crime. At the age of 14, Gideon ran away from home; by the time he was 16, he had served a year in a reformatory for stealing clothing from a store. Thereafter he was in and out of jail throughout his life, on charges of burglary, larceny and gambling. He developed TB. His children were for the great part dependent on welfare organisations.

In his original application to the Supreme Court for his appeal to be heard (an application which, of course, was drafted by Gideon himself) he wrote:

"When at the time of the petitioner's trial he asked the lower court for the aid of counsel, the court refused this aid. The petitioner told the court that this Court made decisions to the effect that all citizens tried for a felony crime should have the aid of counsel. The lower court ignored this plea."

Gideon was wrong in saying that the Supreme Court had, in the past, made a decision that all citizens tried for a felony should have the aid of counsel. But he had raised the issue which the Supreme Court not only was prepared to hear but was anxious to have decided. Should it make a decision to the effect that all citizens tried for a felony crime have the aid of counsel?

'Due process'

In the past the Supreme Court had decided each case where an appeal was based on the denial of "due process" on the special circumstances of the trial. It had paid regard to factors such as the colour, mental capabilities, age and education of the accused. Gideon made no special plea that his ignorance or his lack of education had precluded him from being able to defend himself properly. He raised the absolute issue of the right to counsel irrespective of the qualities and capabilities of the accused. He was a man who could be assumed to have knowledge of court procedure: he had in fact cross-examined the state witnesses at the trial and argued on his own behalf. Therefore, a finding that he had not had a fair trial through lack of legal assistance would amount to a finding that no trial could be said to have been conducted with due process of law in the absence of defending counsel.

Delivering the judgment of the court, Mr. Justice Black said:—

"Not only these precedents but also reason and reflection require us to recognise that in our adversary system of criminal justice, any person haled into Court, who is too poor to hire a lawyer, cannot be assured a fair trial unless counsel is provided for him. This seems to us to be an obvious truth. Government, both State and Federal, quite properly spend vast sums of money to try defendants accused of crime. Lawyers to prosecute are everywhere deemed essential to protect the public's interest in an orderly society. Similarly there are few defendants charged with crime, few indeed, who fail to hire the best lawyers they can get to prepare and present their defences. That the Government hires lawyers to prosecute, and defendants, who have the money, hire lawyers to defend are the strongest indications of the widespread belief that lawyers in criminal courts are necessities, not luxuries. The right to counsel may not be deemed fundamental and essential to fair trials in some countries, but it is in ours."

The Supreme Court, when it appointed Mr. Fortas to argue Gideon's appeal, specifically directed him that it wished to hear argument on the proper interpretation of the due process amendment. In addition to the argument prepared by Mr. Fortas, and quite independent of him, 23 attorneys-general from other states within the United States filed a brief *amicus curiae* in support of the proposition that due process necessarily involved legal assistance for the accused.

Majority

The decision of the Supreme Court was a legal interpretation of a written constitution, but it was also an expression of the view of the great majority of American lawyers as to what constitutes a fair trial.

Apart from the services of legal aid bureaux which exist in some towns, which by their nature are not equipped to handle long, intricate or controversial cases, there is in South Africa a system of legal aid dependent upon state money, whereby persons charged with capital crimes are assisted by counsel who appear for them *pro deo*. This system does not extend to the defence of persons charged with serious offences which do not carry or are not expected to carry the death sentence even though there is a real prospect of conviction, carrying with it life imprisonment, or a very long term of imprisonment, a person can be defended only if he pays for the defence himself or some other wellwisher pays for it. It is difficult to see the logic on which to justify such

● Continued on next page

discrimination. As Mr. Justice Clark said in Gideon's case:

"The Fourteenth Amendment requires due process of law for the deprivation of 'liberty' just as for deprivation of 'life', and there cannot constitutionally be a difference in quality of process based merely upon a supposed difference in the sanction involved."

There is no reason why South Africa should accept a lower standard than the United States in the conduct of its criminal courts. Recently the Minister of Justice has suggested that the various Bar Councils are the proper bodies through which moneys intended for legal aid should be administered. This suggestion is to be commended but the time has surely arrived when the necessary funds should be provided by the state and not through private charity. Only in this way is it possible to ensure that proper legal representation is available for every person charged with a serious criminal offence.

Reprinted from "Rand Daily Mail."



(By Permission Rand Daily Mail.)

AT A BLACK SASH PROTEST

(in Johannesburg opposite the University)

By ELAINE KATZ

No concrete corpse. Another freedom shuttered
 And obscured in negative. The obituary
 Banner swelled, taunting those doped
 By gold's narcotic into apathy.
 No students joined the mourners, even paused
 Their sauntering steps; blinds were opening
 In lecture halls. You motorists enlocked
 In funeral queue, where were your wreaths of
 smiling?

"You scum!" The lorry driver's hooter pealed
 Such splendid anthem. Momentarily
 The miasma of indifference lifted, focussed
 The security camera lens with clarity
 On thirty women sentinels black-sashed
 Each shutter click to blot out liberty.

IF I'D BEEN BLACK

By JEAN SINCLAIR

I AM A WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN. I belong to the privileged minority because my skin is fair. I am married and I have lived happily with my husband for well over 30 years.

We have brought up and educated five children in the manner we chose. They had their primary education in Johannesburg where they were born. The boys went to boarding school outside Johannesburg and all the children received either graduate or post-graduate education overseas.

None of them has had any difficulty in obtaining a passport and they were all free to come home and to find jobs in South Africa when and where they chose to do so.

Had I been a Black South African things would have been very different.

In the first place my husband was born in Britain and is therefore a foreigner. All foreigners, if they are Black, must be in possession of a "Section 12" permit. This allows them to remain in South Africa temporarily. It has to be renewed every six months.

The chances are that it will be renewed on application, provided that the applicant continues to work for the same employer. As my husband is self-employed it is most unlikely that he would have been able to obtain the six-monthly renewals of his permit. He would have had to go back to where he came from, with or without me and the children.

As he is a foreigner, not only would we not have been able to choose where we wanted to live, we would also never have been allowed to rent or own a home of our own. We should have had to live as lodgers in someone else's house.

We sent our sons to school outside Johannesburg. By doing so we would have forfeited their right to come back to Johannesburg to live at home, and our right to have them with us, once they became liable for general tax at the age of 18.

If they were given the opportunity of attending an overseas university (as many Black South Africans have), their chances of being granted a passport would be slight. They would almost certainly have been given an exit permit which would have allowed them to go but not come back.

Our daughters, who, as well as the boys, had part of their education overseas, thus breaking their domicile here, would have been allowed to come home to live.

An unmarried daughter may live with her parents in a prescribed area if the parents qualify

to be there, but the girls would have to prove that they entered the area lawfully.

As no African woman, today, can obtain permission to enter a prescribed area, they could not enter lawfully and thus would not be allowed to live at home.

Nor would they be allowed to stay in an area where they were at school as they do not belong there and have no ties or connections in that place either. So, in fact, they would be rootless.

The following are real-life stories in which the foregoing hypothetical miseries actually occur:

Mrs. Mogetle is an elderly woman who came to Johannesburg about 1915. She was married to a foreigner, who deserted her. She has been in employment for years, but from 1960 to 1965 she was ill and was able to do only casual work (a day's washing every now and again).

Despite the fact that during those years she was living in her mother's home in Soweto and was registered on her mother's housing permit, and despite the fact that there was proof from her church that she was in Johannesburg during the years when she was ill, and that she is now again in full employment, she has been told that she is not permitted to remain in Johannesburg.

Then there is Mrs. Tsamo. As a single woman she was working in Johannesburg from 1959 until 1965 when she married a man who qualifies by means of his long residence here, to remain in Johannesburg. He has a house and they have been living happily together for a year.

Suddenly, one day recently, Mrs. Tsamo was told that she would have to leave Johannesburg and her husband, and go back to the country. She is handicapped by the fact that she was born in a country district. Had she been born in another prescribed area there is a chance that she would have been granted permission to live with her husband where he works.

This policy is an offence against civilised standards. It is the cause of the deepest misery and hardship; it causes instability and insecurity; it induces the conditions where young men, in their desperation and frustration, are tempted to resort to crime and it instils in them a disrespect for the law.

Reprinted from "The Star."

HOLIDAY FROM APARTHEID

By NELL GREEN



Mrs. Green

FOR NEARY FOUR YEARS, from September 1961 to June 1965, my husband and I lived in Swaziland where he went as consulting engineer to the Swaziland Railway. After many years of planning, talk and survey the railway was at last being built to take the iron ore from the new mine at Ngwenya, near the Transvaal border, right across Swaziland to Portuguese East Africa to link up with the existing railway to L.M. Here the iron ore, sold on a 10 year contract, is shipped to Japan in huge ore boats. Other railway traffic is now developing, but only the ore made the building of the line an economic possibility.

We already had a small house in Mbabane so it was simple to settle down there and a week after our arrival, I was invited to a meeting called by Father Arden, now Bishop of Malawi, but then head of the Usutu Anglican Mission which runs St. Christopher's Boys High School.

A group of about 30 men and women of all professions, religions and race groups who were worried about the many unfilled needs in the educational and social life of Swaziland had been invited to attend and an organisation was formed called the Swaziland Sebenta (work) Society which would try to tackle at least some of the country's problems. One of the most urgent appeared to be the very high rate of adult illiteracy.

By talking too much at the meeting, a not unusual failing of mine, I came away as secretary of the new group and so found myself a most absorbing and stimulating voluntary job which gradually took up more and more of my time. My long-suffering husband was relieved that my energy was now taken up with non-political activity because in this territory, as opposed to some we know, teaching people is not considered a reprehensible and subversive pastime. In fact the Government authorities approved to the extent of giving the Society support which has grown steadily during the years from R200 and tacit approval in 1962 to R1200 plus the use of

some office accommodation and much active help from government officers in 1965.

The whole literacy project had to be started from scratch. Special primers had to be prepared in siSiwati, the language which people speak but which is only gradually becoming a written language. It is closely related to Zulu and in the schools Zulu is taught because school books are available in that tongue and it would be uneconomic to produce these for a small language group like the Swazis. As, however, there existed no adequate adult teaching primers in Zulu anyway, we decided to produce our own in siSiwati to make it as easy and quick as possible for men and women to learn to read and write their everyday speech.

The Bureau of Literacy and Literature under the directorship of Mrs. Maida Whyte guided all our efforts in those first years. A founder member of the Society, Mr. Simon Nxumalo, spent weeks working with the Bureau on the correct text and one of our Black Sash members, Mrs. Barbara Findlay from Pretoria came to Swaziland to do sketches for the illustrations for our 3 primers which she did under her professional name of Barbara Clark.

Money had to be raised for all this, partly by individual membership of the Society at 50 cents per annum and partly by straight begging for

donations which came in gradually varying from 20 cents to R20,000. Of those last, only one has so far come in, spread over three years!

For the first two years virtually everybody worked on a voluntary basis for the simple reason that we could not afford to pay any salaries. The Bureau sent full-time instructors from Johannesburg to train literacy teachers in the use of the books. The primers were specially designed so that the teacher, for whom we have in fact coined a new name in siSwati, 'umsiti', meaning helper, need not be highly qualified. Anyone who has passed Std. V or VI and can read and write his or her own language well, can be trained to be an 'umsiti' in a matter of days if not hours, and, provided their classes are regularly inspected and they are given a refresher course after a year; they manage very well.

In 1964 after our big grant came from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in London, we were in a position to appoint full-time instructors, hire an office, get a paid secretary and a vehicle and driver and expand the work.

We then also tried putting our part-time 'basiti' onto our payroll instead of expecting them to do all the teaching on a voluntary basis, working entirely for love of their fellowmen. The pay was small — 20 cents per hour per class and we kept this up for a year, but as the number of classes grew, the office administration needed to check and pay these small amounts of money became impossible. Miss Marion Halvorsen told us that in Tanzania where she had done literacy work in the Mission field for years, the learners all pay their teacher direct a small monthly sum and this idea we have now adopted and it appears to work reasonably well. In the rural areas it is often very difficult for the women to find ready cash for their own education; what there is, goes to the children's schooling and the umsiti is very often working for love again.

The big industrial concerns, sugar mills, estates and mines etc. are co-operating by appointing full-time literacy officers to their staffs and one company, Ubombo Ranches, now has 3 full-time teachers on its payroll. The Prisons are holding classes for long-term prisoners and from these captive audiences have come some of our quickest 'graduates' and many go on to English when they are literate.

For English classes we are using a set of books produced in Nigeria especially for adults and these seem to be answering well.

Since I left in June last year Mr. S. Nxumalo

has undertaken the job — at least temporarily — of Director and the work is going from strength to strength. There are now about 200 new literates, 800 in classes, about 70 part-time and 11 full-time 'basiti' plus our administrative and training staff of 8.

This growing organisation is going to need a great deal of money and our big donors, the Gulbenkian Foundation and the Anglo-American Corporation have reached the end of their promised 3 year support. However the King of Swaziland, Sobhuza II is convinced of the value of our work and has recently channelled a R2,000 gift from abroad to Sebenta. If the ordinary person could become equally enthusiastic and give widespread support, many a mickle makes a muckle and we could forge ahead with this absolutely gigantic task. A rough estimate of the number of adult illiterates is 90,000, so there is plenty still to do. We are realising that literacy must go hand in hand with other community development projects and we are in close touch with agricultural officers and other workers in this field.

I was heartbroken at having to leave Swaziland with so much still to be done under such pleasant circumstances but the Railway is completed and my husband's work has brought him back to Johannesburg and of course I follow. I am grateful for the comfort of the familiar Black Sash faces and the many demands on time and energy and compassion. These will ensure that I do not pine too much for the stimulating and challenging work in that freely developing little country, a country unhampered by the thousand and one rules and regulations by which South Africa attempts — without hope of success — to force a living, growing community into the cast iron mould of an ideology which, to the rest of Africa and the world, is not only unacceptable, but is a curious and rather horrible anachronism.

Yet, while I may be over-optimistic, I am convinced that common sense will prevail in South Africa and that Christian re-thinking of our so-called traditions as well as economic pressures will still bring about a peaceful toppling of our Apartheid idol. What fun that will be and what energy it will release for constructive co-operation, ignoring all the artificial and outdated barriers of colour gradation and working together as South Africans for South Africa's advancement.

MASS ARRESTS AND CRIME

By JOEL CARLSON

MASS ARRESTS and mass trials do not reduce crime. The mass arrests of Africans over the last four months have resulted in some 7,000 petty offenders being arrested. Yet a Police spokesman said after the last raid when more than 1,000 men and women and some juveniles had been arrested: "We have caught five or six housebreakers among the petty offenders". Any system which employs such large scale operations involving thousands of policemen, their vehicles and dogs, in apprehending half a dozen real criminals out of a thousand petty offenders is inherently bad and should not be tolerated.

Throughout the years half a million Africans have been arrested annually under the Pass Laws. This means that throughout South Africa some 1,500 Africans are arrested daily. What is new and startling about these arrests is that they are now carried out as large scale operations on a single day or night in a particular area. The present mass raids mean that the Pass Laws are being more stringently applied and that Pass Law arrests are taking place on an even greater scale than before.

To see these arrests in their right perspective it is essential to distinguish between criminals and petty offenders. It is common knowledge that real criminals have their papers in order. The authorities well know that this is the position. In fact the Department of Justice, the South African Police and the Bantu Affairs Department held consultations and issued a circular in 1954 stating :

1. It is common knowledge that large numbers of natives are daily being arrested and prosecuted for contraventions of a purely technical nature.
2. These arrests cost the State large sums of money and serve no useful purpose." (General Circular 23/1954).

It seems a blatant distortion of the facts when these same Authorities now say that arrests of petty offenders reduce crime.

Mass raids, mass arrests and mass trials have no place in civilised society. Laws in civilised countries are not framed with the intention of dealing with thousands of people at one time. Why then are mass pass raids being carried out on Africans in our Society? It is a fundamental principle of civilised society that the rights of the individual are sacrosanct. There are no individuals in a mass arrest. As people are arrested en masse there is no investigation of any crime or criminal as no attention can be paid to any individual case. It is therefore true to say with the authorities that these arrests cost the State large sums of money and serve no useful purpose.

The impression that mass raids have reduced crime may be illusory.

There are no published figures in South Africa to show that serious crime has decreased.

On the contrary, despite the number of petty offenders arrested, serious crime has increased over the years in South Africa, as in other countries overseas.

Fewer payroll robberies may have been committed in Johannesburg while police have been massed in the area, but then no real criminal would attempt to commit a crime under the very eyes of the police.

This means only that the criminals have scattered to commit their crimes elsewhere.

If the real robber is deterred from committing his crime by the presence of the police why is it necessary for them to arrest petty offenders?

Surely the answer is more policemen on the beat, all the time, everywhere.

These arrests do cause suffering and misery to thousands of people and breed contempt and disrespect for the law and the Police who enforce it. If the treatment meted out to black persons arrested in mass raids were ever to be applied to white people the country would burst with protest.

Who would tolerate the sight of batches of white people standing handcuffed together on street corners in the sight of the public for long periods without toilet facilities and without water or food? This is acceptable because it happens to black people.

Who would allow white people to be crammed into pick-up vans in such numbers so that all that can be seen are fingers clutching at the wire netting that surrounds the van. This passes unremarked because it happens to black people.

When prisoners arrive at a Police Station their personal possessions are normally handed to the Police for safe keeping and the prisoner is given a receipt. Is it conceivable that this proce-

sure can be strictly adhered to when dealing with hundreds of people at one time? Do the black man's possessions receive the same care as the white man's?

Do the Police take steps to inform the mother and father, the wife or the employer of the arrested man's whereabouts and can they do this for the hundreds of people imprisoned in a mass raid? If the Police cannot do this are any facilities provided to enable the black man to telephone his relatives or employer?

Crowded jails have suddenly to accommodate scores of extra prisoners. Can existing sanitary arrangements cope with the sudden influx? What provision is made for extra food and utensils? Are extra blankets available? Is there enough room in cells for prisoners to lie full length when they sleep? Prison Regulations provide for thirty-five square feet per person. Can these regulations be adhered to in conditions existing in a mass raid?

That mass arrests lead to mass trials is evident. Special courts are held in the cells of Magistrate's Courts and hard-worked officials have suddenly to cope with another one thousand cases. Is the accused given an opportunity of presenting his defence or communicating with his lawyer? Can justice really be done in twenty seconds?

Does this procedure instil a high regard for the white man's law and respect for the white man's justice?

It is clear that mass arrests do not reduce crime but they do increase suffering. Why then are mass arrests carried out? The reasons are by no means clear but white South Africa cannot justify them by claiming a mythical reduction in crime.

Are the mass arrests of Pass Law offenders designed to increase the supply of cheap labour to the farms? The Pass Laws undoubtedly serve this purpose and have done so for years. 1,500 Africans have been arrested daily and have always provided an adequate supply of cheap labour. Yet now there are mass arrests of Pass Law offenders. Do we need so much more cheap labour now or is there a need to convince an electorate now that crime has been reduced? Or is there some other reason so far unstated for mass raids, mass arrests and mass trials?

Are we being conditioned to accept this procedure as normal and regular? Will it then be extended to other sections of the community after it has been applied to Pass Law offenders?

For every injustice perpetrated in South Africa there is a rationalisation: Mass removal of people against their will is called slum clearance; Mass detention and banishment without any trial is said to be in the interests of State security or for the protection of the witnesses detained; And now mass arrests are carried out to reduce crime.

If justice is to be done mass arrests must be stopped.

Reprinted from "The Star."

FOLLY is a more dangerous enemy to the good than malice. You can protest against malice, you can unmask it or prevent it by force. Malice always contains the seeds of its own destruction, for it always makes men uncomfortable, if nothing worse. There is no defence against folly. Neither protests nor force are of any avail against it, and it is never amenable to reason. If facts contradict personal prejudices, there is no need to believe them, and if they are undeniable, they can simply be pushed aside as exceptions. Thus the fool, as compared with the scoundrel, is invariably self-complacent. And he can easily become dangerous, for it does not take much to make him aggressive. Hence folly requires much more cautious handling than malice. We shall never again try to reason with the fool, for it is both useless and dangerous.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT IN THE HOMELANDS EXAMINED

By CHIEF VICTOR POTO AND KNOWLEDGE GUZANA

(As presented to the Thirty-sixth annual council meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations)

WE WISH to thank the organisers of the Thirty-Sixth Council of the South African Institute of Race Relations for inviting us to address you this year in Cape Town on the subject of "The Social and Political Implications of the Homelands". It is with regret that neither of us is able to attend personally, but we have decided to place very briefly before your Council our ideas on the subject, in the hope that they will stimulate a healthy and objective discussion. It is not possible for us, two years after the establishment of one of the Bantustans, to deal with the subject scientifically and to provide the Council with statistical data, simply because, in the first place, not much has happened in the Transkei for one to be positive in one's deductions at its infant stage, and in the second place, any conclusions based on whatever data is at present available will be speculative. Our observations are, therefore, bound to be tentative and hesitant and will only serve to indicate fears, hopes, and doubts about the Homelands concept.

Let us state once and for all that the idea of Homelands raises in our minds the unwelcome prospect of the fragmentation of South Africa into "independent geographical hideouts" for ethnic groups whose isolation and concentration will breed a selfish and exclusive mentality, with one group growing more and more aggressively conscious of other ethnic groups which are "inferior" to it. This ethnic consciousness is altogether irreconcilable with the growing interdependence of races and nations in the modern world, when scientific developments and modes of transport have made nations in countries which are thousands of miles apart next door neighbours. This tendency of bringing nations, races, tribes or ethnic groups, whatever they are called, closer together is an inevitable consequence of man's conquest of distance, space and time with the result that no country today can claim that its inhabitants are of any one particular race. The Homeland concept in South Africa then seeks to unravel and sort out our mixed society despite modern trends to bring the races more and more together in a world of economic interdependence.

To our minds it is impossible for Homelands as such to satisfy economically, socially, industrially, educationally and politically those who live in them. Migratory labour makes the Homeland citizen spend a major portion of his adult

wage-earning lifetime outside the Homeland and he cannot therefore be said to live in the Homeland. Nor can he be said to draw satisfaction from the Homeland in which he resides only for short holiday periods. Is it not correct to observe that the "satisfaction" of his aspirations is derived from the society in which he leads a greater portion of his working lifetime outside the Homelands, no matter what is meant by "satisfaction"? If there is anything that destroys insularity it is efficient means of communication. It is only natural for human beings to long to follow the road beyond the horizon, and no artificial barrier will kill the urge to travel to "foreign lands", and even to the border industries. The border industries, intended to entrench the system of migratory labour travelling over a short distance between home and place of employment, ironically undermine the possibility of engendering any satisfaction with the Homeland as such in the Homeland dweller. Because the worker in the border industries must of necessity live at the place of employment with frequent visits to his home at the week-end or month-end, he spends most of his earnings, not in the Homeland to improve its economy, but outside the Homeland where he is temporarily resident for longer periods than he is permanently resident in the Homeland.

Thus the Homeland African grows into the urbanised African who finds social reality in the White areas. He becomes detribalised, and non-ethnic, fastens on to the social life of the towns where he becomes one with members of other ethnic groups, and has a free and satisfying life in this non-ethnic society. There is however the conservative African Homeland dweller who has not had contact with society outside the Homeland. He will be relatively happy to live in the Homeland.

It is impossible to imagine any cultural institution in the Homeland being other than Western in form. If an institution is cultural, it has to distil the best in society and present it to growing youth in concentrated form. Since Homeland society must of necessity change as its members become westernised by travel, by long residence in White areas, and by education, and society's moral codes must change through Christianity, indigenous cultural institutions will serve no purpose. The best of primitive society has no place in changed society. What is culturally indigenous will become through westernisation the new values and new cultural standards of a changing Homeland society. We have mentioned Christianity as an agent that will bring about a change in the cultural standards of Homeland society, for its teaching condemns some of the society-preserving cultural institutions of indigenous races. Happily the African who will be a Homeland citizen was in his primitive society not a worshipper of a visible god but of his invisible ancestors, and the concept of an unseen Christian God is easily grasped and accepted. Christianity, because of the African's spiritual background of worship of a non-visible ancestor, introduced no new concept of worship to the African and is therefore a powerful agent in destroying indigenous cultural institutions.

Homeland Governments will satisfy the permanent resident in the Homelands only to the extent that they will meet the desire of the African to regulate, control and direct those affairs which relate specifically to the Homelands — i.e. the location, the tribe, the district, the region and the whole Homeland. But we feel that the permanent resident cannot isolate himself from other Homelands and matters, national and international, which affect all persons irrespective of Homeland affiliations. He will therefore seek to have a word in the control of these matters. The Homeland citizen in White areas cannot be interested in the government of a territory in which he does not live although he is its citizen. His concern will be to control and regulate and have a say in the government of the territory in which he is permanently resident, i.e. the White area. This is clearly understandable as citizens of one country living in another take very little interest in the government of their country: government by remote control just does not exist.

As we see the future, our hope is that, since Homelands have come to stay, they should be regarded as provinces of the Republic and their governments should enjoy no more than provincial status. We also see the Homelands as geographical areas where all Republican citizens should enjoy equal citizenship rights.

A peasant population is characteristically conservative and Homeland peasant population is no exception. We do feel however, that western civilisation has already shaken the peasant population out of its unyielding conservatism and that it is ready to move, however slowly, with the changing times and its rate of social change will depend upon the extent to which it is exposed to agents of change such as religion, education, economic demands, legislation, etc.

The present political involvement of the Chiefs and Headmen is feared for the perpetuation of the chieftainship. At present the Chiefs and Headmen are legislators, administrators, and judicial officers and this to us is an unhealthy combination. Their political party alignment is bound to set them at loggerheads with those of their subjects who are of different political persuasion and this is bound to affect the Chief's administration. In a changing African society the Chief cannot hope to exercise the same type of authority formerly enjoyed by him over primitive society. The preservation of the institution of chieftainship will depend upon the willingness of the Chief to surrender his prerogative until he ultimately becomes a figurehead to whom the tribe clings sentimentally as a unifying head. It is only in this way that the institution of chieftainship is likely to remain — as the Chief surrenders his power to the democratic will of the people so will the institution of chieftainship continue to survive.

It has been a matter of surprise to note that in the Transkei Homeland the citizens are growing more and more politically conscious. The general elections held in November, 1963, showed a very much higher percentage of votes cast than expected, and two of the three subsequent by-elections have indicated a continued and increased desire to exercise the vote. As the people realise that their representatives shape the destiny of the tribe or race, so do they become more concerned with the representatives they elect. This has been the case in the Transkei and if the Homeland has done nothing else, it has at least taught the citizen of the Transkei the power of the ballot box.

We are of the view that where the citizens of a Homeland are of one racial group, the Government of that Homeland and will become more and more nationalistic and authoritarian. There will grow in the Homeland citizen a race mentality that will seek to preserve and protect the race

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as a group, to suppress individual rights and liberties if it is felt that the group will benefit by such suppression. Governments will rule and legislate for the good of the Homeland and not for the good of its individual citizens. This leads to authoritarianism. It must be conceded that at present the different racial groups of the Homelands are ethnically conscious although not to the same degree as they were, say, thirty years ago. Education, travel, social contacts are agents which have tended to destroy ethnic consciousness, but may well produce ultimately an African nationalism which is dangerous. Our hope is that such an African nationalism will grow in a liberal atmosphere of tolerance and respect for other races to the extent that it will be submerged by a loyalty to a country whose inhabi-

tants are of various racial groups bound together by that single loyalty.

The tribal structure is in the process of disintegration. Tribal institutions can no longer cope with the demands of a changing society that is moving away from primitive conservatism as a result of Westernisation. While originally the clan to which an African belonged was a matter of great significance, as for instance, in a prospective marriage alliance, today this is of secondary importance. Tembus, Pondos and Xhosas live under a Tembu Chief, a Pondo Chief, or a Xhosa Chief without uneasiness and do not miss the lack of association with their tribe, and while customs may vary, the law courts apply Tembu custom to a Fingo living in Tembuland. This has a tendency of destroying tribal structure psychologically. It is difficult in these circumstances to see the tribal structure surviving the stresses and strains of the African's changing society.

C O D E W O R D

The three clues are given in the first line across.
Fill in these letters in the correct numbers and
then deduce the others.

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Mrs. D. Grant

For the last few years Dorothy Grant and the Magazine have, to the Black Sash, been synonymous terms.

As Editor, Dorothy has been praised by our members and by subscribers outside our ranks and from all over the world — there is astonishment that a relatively small organisation should produce such a first class publication.

Magazine readers enjoy the finished product, but few realise the tremendous amount of work involved. The Editor is continually struggling to find people who will write articles and then produce the articles in time for publication. The Black Sash itself has to be bullied for news items. Dorothy has led a life of frustration and anxiety and her troubles have not been over when all is ready for publication, for then begins the "battle" with the printers.

Dorothy Grant has borne all these burdens for four long years and her efforts are deserving of the highest praise. Most of the time she has borne the burden single handed, for Dorothy is a person who likes to work alone, seldom asking for technical help, seldom complaining but becoming pale and drawn as the date of publication draws nearer.

We shall miss Dorothy as magazine editor but she can rest assured that she has earned the admiration and heartfelt gratitude of us all. She may rest on her laurels in the knowledge of a job splendidly done.

The Sash

IN 1965 the Black Sash celebrated its tenth anniversary and "Women Speaking" desires to pay tribute to that most courageous band of women who salvaged the white conscience in South Africa in 1955, and now enter on a second decade of work that must have its healing influence which history will justify and recognise. With the acceptance of the principle that "justice is indivisible and the loss of rights by one is the loss of rights by all" — to quote Mrs. Jean Sinclair in her presidential address at the eleventh annual conference — we are assured of their tenacity in the face of the present problems of their continent.

(from "Women Speaking")



Mrs. D. Grant

Retirement of Mrs. E. Fouche

Mrs. Ernestine Fouche who was a foundation member of the Black Sash and who has served on the Transvaal committee from the beginning, has now retired from the Committee for health reasons.

We shall miss Queenie very much indeed. Her wisdom, her forthrightness and her sense of humour were a joy to us; her judgement was invaluable. Many was the time she brought the committee back to reality when some of us, perhaps, had more enthusiasm than common sense.

Many of our members may not know and others may have forgotten that it was Queenie who originally suggested that, during demonstrations, vigils and "haunts", our members should wear a black sash as a token of mourning for the death of the South African Constitution.

We know that Queenie, as an ordinary member, will always maintain her interest in the welfare and the activities of the Black Sash. Sad as we are to lose her services on the Committee, we wish her well and we hope that she will have more time to enjoy a little leisure and relaxation.

BANNED

JEAN HILL

SERVED with a five year banning order under the Suppression of Communism Act on 27th September, 1965.

Jean was a foundation member of the Black Sash and her whole life has been dedicated to the principles of true Christianity.

RUTH HAYMAN

SERVED with a five year banning order under the Suppression of Communism Act, and confined to 12 hour house arrest, on Friday, April 22nd, 1966.

Ruth has been a member of the Black Sash, and one of our honorary legal advisers, since the movement began in 1955.

Their untiring work for other people can best be described by the following quotation from John Donne:

"No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a Manor of thy friends' or of thine own were. Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

M.W.C.

REGIONAL REPORTS

HEADQUARTERS

Activities already carried out

DURING the six months since conference was held Transvaal region has successfully taken up a number of issues, and has continued and extended its activities particularly in regard to the education of our own members and the general public.

- (1) Starting on April 20th weekly demonstrations were held, protesting against "punishment without trial". These demonstrations were against those unjust laws which isolate people as a form of punishment i.e., people have been banished, banned, placed under house arrest or 180-day detention; all without being charged or convicted in a court. In all, five demonstration will have been held. To date more than 50 people have participated in each stand carrying numerous placards setting out the facts pertaining to each demonstration. In addition a weekly hand-out was sent to members setting out facts and details of the number of people being punished and the type of isolation meted out to them in terms of these unjust laws. Research was done in each case and accurate information given to the public and the press. The press enthusiastically supported our efforts to bring these unjust laws to the attention of the public.

At the time of writing this campaign appears to be highly successful.

On the 4th April a demonstration was held protesting against the banning without trial of Defence and Aid. This stand was held four days after the election and was attended by fifty-five people.

- (2) During the third week of April a pamphlet entitled "Everybody's Guide to the Pass Laws" was produced and sold at 5 cents a copy. It was favourably reviewed in the Press and the demand for it was immediate. The compiling of this pamphlet involved a great deal of research and hard work.
- (3) As part of our educational work a training course in group leadership was organised and started in February. The course is instructive and informative and there is no doubt that it will prove a valuable contribution to our work.
- (4) In addition to the above the Johannesburg City Council was obliged to state its policy on hostel accommodation for women. This came about as a direct result of letters written to the press and a letter written to the

City Council on this subject by Black Sash members.

- (5) During March a hand-out was drawn up on "mass arrests" drawing attention to the injustices of mass arrests and mass trials. Should this unjust procedure continue they will certainly receive our further attention.
- (6) A letter to the press condemning the removal of the Coloured community of District Six was written by Mrs. Sincliar and her article entitled "If I Were Black" was published by the Star on its leader page. This article elicited much favourable comment in letters to the press and letters sent to Mrs. Sinclair personally.
- (7) A letter to Mr. Vorster on the banning of Jean Hill was sent and the usual unsatisfactory reply was received.
- (8) Two general meetings were held at which the speakers were Mr. Tyacke on TUCSA and Professor Birley on African Education. At this meeting an inscribed Black Sash brooch was presented to Mrs. Helen Suzman.
- (9) We are perpetually short of funds and fund raising activities have been started. A bridge drive and cake sale have been held. The sale of polish has been stepped up.
- (10) Our Saturday Club continues to function well, and a number of meetings have been held in private homes where swimming has been a popular activity.

Enrolment

We have enrolled a further number of new members and some women whose membership had lapsed have re-enrolled.

Activities planned for the immediate future

- (1) A series of public discussions and lectures on "The Roots of Prejudice."
- (2) An all-day student "teach-in."
- (3) The revival of two almost defunct branches.
- (4) Continuous cake and jumble sales.
- (5) Re-organisation of the contact system.

The Sub-committee system

The amount of work accomplished in the actual working time of three months (due to December and election recess) could not have been done without the efficient way in which the sub-committees have worked.

I. *The Publicity and Propaganda Sub-committee.*

Convened by Mrs. S. Duncan was respon-

CAPE WESTERN

sible for the work done on "The Homeless Servant" Act.

A special tribute is due to Mrs. Duncan for the pamphlet on the pass laws.

This committee is now being convened by Mrs. Harris, who is already hard at work on all projects.

II. *Demonstration Sub-Committee* was being convened by Mrs. Mindel who unfortunately is going overseas, and she has been succeeded by Mrs. Katz. Mrs. Katz is also doing the research and providing the necessary information in support of our demonstrations. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Mandy for her untiring work in drawing posters.

III. *Planning Committee* has been convened by Mrs. Davidoff and has been responsible for the leadership course and the plans for the series on Prejudice. Her committee has undertaken to revitalise the non-functioning branches. Reluctantly we accepted Mrs. Davidoff's resignation due to pressure of work, and this committee has been taken over by Mrs. Dyzenhaus.

Advice Office

The good work accomplished by this committee is more fully reported separately.

Fund raising

We are fortunate that this sub-committee has been taken over by Mrs. P. Duncan, who has already tackled this most important task.

Contact system

It is our intention to make strenuous efforts to contact every member in the Johannesburg area. A personal contact will be made and maintained with these members. This will be in addition to the newsletters and other written material sent to all members of the region. Mrs. Hacking has undertaken to establish this new contact system and we are most grateful to her for her efforts in this regard.

On our return from conference Mrs. Johnston took over the post of regional secretary from Mrs. Cluver, who was accorded a hearty vote of thanks for her work.

My personal thanks must go to Mrs. Johnston for her untiring work. The complex sub-committee system has functioned smoothly as a result of her efforts.

The amount of paper work has vastly increased in the last few months, and my thanks are due to the office staff who have coped most efficiently and pleasantly with all the demands made on them.

It with regret that we accept the resignation from the committee of Mrs. Fouche and Mrs. van der Veer.

JEANETTE CARLSON.
Regional Chairman.

Office Bearers

Chairman: Mrs. Barbara Wilks.

Vice-chairmen: Mrs. M. G. Roberts.

Mrs. Noel Robb.

Mrs. Moira Henderson.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. Jocelyn Morris.

Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Barbara Willis.

Asst. Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. Marie Green.

Regional Councillors: Mesdames Aitchison, Birt, Coplans, Digby, Misses Henschel and Henshilwood, Mesdames Marquard, Petersen, Ritchken, Russell, Schurr, Stott and Stoy.

National Conference 1966

A hall has been booked for the National Conference from October 17th to 19th inclusive. Dr. Robert Birley has agreed to speak on "Education in Africa Today" on the evening of the 17th when Mrs. Sinclair will deliver her presidential address.

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. It was decided to hold a Protest meeting but on learning that Dr. Wolheim, M.P.C. for South Cape, Coloured Peoples' representative had already agreed to convene one, it was decided to co-operate with him. The meeting on February 21st which packed the Drill Hall was most moving. The Sash was represented by Mrs. Wilks on the platform and Mrs. Mary Stoy was one of the speakers.

We 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 Ex-Chief Justice Centlivres, Mrs. Ballinger, Mr. Hamilton Russell, Councillor Norman Daniels and others. The Mayor has since refused to call a meeting.

We are also keeping in touch with the District Six Defence Committee and will consult with them on future action.

A Slide-show on District Six was shown to our friends on Tuesday, 19th April.

Athlone Advice Office

	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March
Men endorsed out	7	23	27	19
Women endorsed out	24	26	43	38
Miscellaneous	48	32	61	71
Old cases returned	86	84	136	165
Totals	165	165	267	293

Work here becomes more and more difficult owing to the non-co-operation of officials with our office, but we have made some successful appeals to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner through attorneys.

Our work also includes appeals against race classification, group areas problems, non-support cases and many other problems and is certainly an education to the workers themselves.

Workmen's Compensation Act

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

The Institute of Race Relations agreed to convene a committee to go into 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.

Multi-racial parties

A most successful party was held by the Rosebank Branch on February 28th. About 18 non-Whites were present and everyone voted it a most enjoyable evening.

All Branch 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 Mrs. 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.

Fete

Last year's Morning Market held in the Claremont Civic Centre was a tremendous success, but this year we are having difficulty in booking the hall, as the City Council refuse to book it unless we produce a permit from the Department of Community Development.

We are pursuing the matter as our legal advice is that no permit is necessary.

Statements and Letters to the Press

December 16th to Cape Times on Christmas and Beach Apartheid.

January 15th to Cape Times on Beach Apartheid.

February 14th to Cape Times on the proclamation of a large part of District Six as a White Group area.

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

March 28th to Cape Times and Die Burger on the banning of S.A. Defence and Aid Fund.

April 26th to Cape Times and Cape Herald on the banning of Miss Ruth Hayman.

CAPE EASTERN

OUR REGIONAL CONFERENCE was held on the 16th February, 1966. The Secretary read a letter from Grahamstown which stated that they reconstituted themselves as a branch subsequent to the National Conference, and already have 15 members. This is encouraging news. They have planned two projects: (1) to arouse interest amongst the University Students and (2) to make contact across the colour line with tea parties. This branch asked if there was to be a recess during the election period. The conference discussed this and decided that there would be no general meeting and no new projects until April, but that the ordinary council meeting would be held in March.

The Chairman then stated that the resolutions sent in by this region on the "Banished" would be delayed by the General Election, but she has high hopes of its succeeding when Parliament reassembles in July.

It was decided that this year we would try to have general meetings on the first Tuesday of every month at 8 p.m. to accommodate those members who work during the day.

The Treasurer, Mrs. Bolton, read her financial report. The levy per member has gone up from 50 to 75 cents which meant fund raising would be essential if we were to carry on our every day work. The National Conference had cost us very little, and had been of benefit to all members. It was decided that a letter of appeal, which had been suggested last year, should be sent out to a list of selected individuals. Cape Western had found this very successful. There was to be a cake sale in February. All members promised cakes or produce.

A system of sub-committees was suggested.

As far as fund-raising is concerned, Mrs. Bell suggested that each one of us who held to the ideals of the Black Sash should be prepared to contribute something each month to keep the organisation in funds. Mrs. Randall agreed that some sort of pledge should be given, as time and money were spent on cake sales which raised so little. This would be worked out at the first Council Meeting.

Mrs. Levey said that as far as she could see the work of the Sash was closely bound up with that of the Institute of Race Relations inasmuch as they produced the facts and references so often used in our work. They co-operated over the

Advice Offices in Cape Town and Durban. All in all it seemed vital that we work together.

Mrs. Penny then spoke on her work as the secretary of the Institute of Race Relations in Port Elizabeth and invited as many Black Sash women who were interested to come onto the Women's Committee of Race Relations.

Mrs. Melunsky suggested that members form a study group, to study all laws, past, present and to come.

Mrs. Shelagh Clarke, a Municipal Reporter, then came and gave us an interesting talk on the inroads made by the Central Government into the authority of local Government.

Just before lunch a resolution was read and discussed re the Government's interference in the barring of lawyers, etc. from practising if, in their opinion, the lawyer in question was "furthering the aims of Communism", or was a listed communist. It was proposed by Mrs. Tucker and seconded by Mrs. Elliot that the resolution should go to the press from this Conference as soon as possible.

"The Black Sash deploras the attitude adopted by the Association of Law societies of Southern Africa which had condoned the proposed legislation while admitting that it is undesirable. Such legislation might result in lawyers being deterred from defending persons charged with political offences for fear of being debarred. The courts should carry on having the power and discretion in admitting and removing attorneys and advocates from the roll — a task they have always carried out conscientiously."

The sub-committees for the letter writing campaign would first of all help over the official Black Sash letter or statement on a specific matter, this to start the ball rolling. Anyone could write at any time under their own name, or under a nom-de-plume and get other men and women to write as well, to keep the discussion going as long as possible.

The Chairman said that she hoped members would help over the collection of clothes for the parcels for the wives and children of political prisoners. This was work which was being done by the Relief Department of the Christian Council for Social Action.

Discussion Groups — Mrs. D'Altera Turner said that she felt that the small links and bridges built by us should be maintained at all costs. South Africa would, in fact, one of these days be accepted as a multi-racial country, and it was essential for the different people who make up this country to understand each other and be at ease with one another. Evening meetings during 1965 had been difficult and perhaps we could try Saturday afternoons, or 5 p.m. The first pilot gathering would include all members who wanted to take part and as many African and Coloured women as well. Thereafter the groups would

divide up into suitable sizes. An energetic organiser was needed for this project.

Mrs. McLachlan has resigned from the Council through pressure of work, and Mrs. Fogarty with regret would not be standing for Council this year. She was a founder member in Port Elizabeth and had been on the Regional Council for 10 years. The Council for 1966 comprises:

Mesdames: Bolton, Davis, Nance, Levey, Ardene, Allchurch, Andrews, D'Altera Turner and two valuable members returning, Mrs. Ida Bell and Mrs. Sheila Penny.

We are not restricted in the numbers of our Council and might co-opt to the number of 15. Mrs. Levey is standing down from the Chair this year, so it was decided that a Chairman be elected from the Council at its first meeting. Mrs. Davis passed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Levey on behalf of the whole Black Sash in this Region and from the Conference, for her work and inspiration and courage during the past two years. There had been a revival of interest in the Black Sash; numbers might be small but members were still keen.

Mrs. Rosemary Elliott of Addo branch made a strong and eloquent plea for positive thinking in the sphere of party politics — now and in the future. She cited (1) The Rule of Law (2) Freedom of Speech, as being the two basic principles of good government.

After an excellent lunch when members were able to mix and talk, half the record on the Protest Meeting against Proclamation 26 was played.

At 2.30 p.m. Mrs. Jourdaan spoke to us on the subject of "Fear". She talked about the fears of children and childhood, the fears of underprivileged people who had nowhere to turn for help and fear almost everything in their lives. And about the fear which sometimes acts as a spur to encourage one to do good and work. Mrs. Allchurch thanked her from the whole conference. The rest of the record was played during tea and the Chairman thanked all members for supplying tea and lunch, and the meeting closed at 4 p.m.

Mrs. Diana Davis agreed to take over the chair of the Region.

Mrs. A. Allchurch is the Vice-Chairman as well as Magazine Despatcher.

Mrs. A. Bolton is Regional Treasurer.

NATAL COASTAL

Meetings

Three meetings have been held during this period.

In October a closed meeting to report back from the National Conference which was well attended and the reports of delegates received with great interest.

In November the meeting was carried forward to the first week of December and was an open meeting. Our Guest Speaker was the Rev. Mr. A. I. Berglund, a rare and very wonderful person who spoke to us of the Zulu with all his beliefs, customs and legends of the past and his present desperate attempt to adjust to our Western society and the tremendous difficulties and often tragedies resulting. Mr. Berglund is with the Lutheran Mission in Mapamulu, Zululand.

In February an open meeting was a very well attended and an intensely interesting one. Our Speaker was Mr. Hilton Thorpe who is attached to the "Valley Trust", Botha's Hill, Natal where an amazing experiment was begun ten years ago and now can be called an incredible achievement in teaching the African how to conserve the soil, build dams, grow crops sufficient for his own needs and a surplus to sell, and in persuading him to eat the right foods, to observe hygiene and to look after his own sick. Only .6% of all the many thousands attending the Clinic here have been sent to hospital — all the others, with the help of a visiting Nurse have successfully been cared for at home.

Stands

We had Stands on 15th October and on 10th November to protest against the banning of Mrs. J. Hill. We would like to hold another one very soon.

Letters to Press

The Chairman wrote to both the morning and evening papers exposing the injustices towards Stall Holders in the Indian Market. These both were published prominently and gave rise to a lively correspondence. The Institute of Race Relations is carrying on an investigation and at the moment it looks very slightly more hopeful.

Workman's Compensation

Several of our members are working on these lists and we hope to extend this work in the future. We are working with the Institute of Race Relations who so far have done no tracing of the people involved and this we might later try to do.

Banished People

We contribute monthly a small sum to the Human Rights Committee. We tried, during the first week of January to get in touch with at least three of the local M.P.s to persuade them to raise the question of these forgotten people. We only managed personally to contact two — Mr. Hopewell and Mr. M. L. Mitchell both of whom promised to study the matter. Mr. Mitchell particularly was very interested.

Advice Office

Since 1st October we have had 58 interviews, for 16 of which we have opened a file. Only eight cases have been successfully closed.

New Members

We have been delighted to welcome three members who have come from other Regions: Mrs. Bysshe from Border, Mrs. Hopkins from Cape Eastern and Mrs. Matthews from Natal Midlands.

D. WALLACE.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Meetings

Two General Meetings, three Regional Committees, and the Annual General Meeting have been held.

Demonstrations

Demonstrations against Bannings, Banishments, and House Arrests were held on October 30th, December 4th and February 12th. On December 10th, Human Rights Day, we held posters in English, Afrikaans and Zulu, emphasising that Human Rights are the birthright of *all* South Africans of *all* races. Stands are well supported by both members and the insatiably curious Security Police. We have an enthusiastic and efficient Vigil Organiser in Mrs. A. Berthoud.

Inter-Racial Tea Parties

These are arranged irregularly and with some difficulty. However, renewed efforts are being made and we hope for more success in this important facet of our work.

Finance

Our vigilant Treasurer has kept us solvent. A small fund raising effort is in process.

Press Statements

Protesting against the exclusion of Non-whites from the December performance of the "Messiah."

At our request the National President's excellent statements on the Proclamation regarding District 6, and about the "Ghost Squad" of youths, were reported in the Natal Witness.

At our suggestion and with material supplied by us, the Political reporter of the Natal Witness wrote an article on Human Rights Day.

Tape Recordings

Some of these have been used by Church and other organisations and have been played frequently by the Chairman to varied audiences, some from overseas.

Groups

There is little, if any, activity in country districts, where assembly and organisation is difficult. Groups are sent Headquarter circulars and Résumés of the Region's activities.

Banished Africans

The Regional Committee decided to postpone approach on this matter until after the Election.

The Annual General Meeting

The annual general meeting was held on March 2nd. The following members were elected to office:

Chairman: Miss I. Friday, 320 Loop Street. Phone 23784.

Vice-Chairman: Mrs. M. Lyer, 8 Christie Road. Phone 29254.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. J. Hey, 20 Oriel Road. Phone 26201.

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

Sub-committee System

This been approved by the Regional Committee. Various adverse circumstances have prevented so far the formal convening and operation of these committees, but the system will commence as soon as possible.

In conclusion, activities receive good support from members but meetings are not well attended.

We appreciate the loyalty and enthusiasm of those upon whom our survival depends, and we are convinced our work must continue.

I. FRIDAY.

Vigil Organiser's Report

BETWEEN May and December of 1965 the Natal Midlands Region held eleven demonstration stands in Pietermaritzburg. Six of them were held in protest against banning and its related iniquities, house arrest and banishment. Five were devoted to extraordinary and incidental issues.

On May 25th, 1965, to mark the tenth anniversary between 12.30 and 1.00 p.m., the other between 4.30 and 5.00 p.m. On each occasion, about twenty members stood under a banner sary of the Black Sash, two stands were held, reading:

"We have protested against these — legal now, immoral for ever."

and at equal intervals beneath this banner individual members held posters which condemned the Nationalist Government's relentless onslaught against individual liberties for the last ten years. The following laws and enactments were exposed for condemnation:

- (1) The "Senate" Act, followed by the removal of coloured voters from the Common Roll;
- (2) The Criminal Laws Amendment Act; the Official Secrets' Amendment Bill;
- (3) The Group Areas Act;

- (4) Job Reservation; Race Classification;
- (5) The Education Advisory Council Act; the take-over of Bantu, Coloured and Indian Education;
- (6) The "Sabotage" Acts: bannings, banishments, and house-arrests;
- (7) The Bantu Laws Amendment Act;
- (8) The Urban Areas Amendment Act;
- (9) Press Censorship.

The weather was little more favourable to us than to the majority of the public: for example, our three caryatids holding the banner posts were nearly blown off their feet. We can claim, however, to have stood up to the elements as firmly as against Dr. Verwoerd, and in this respect it would be unjust of me to pass over Miss Morkel's resourcefulness without a special word of congratulation.

On June 26th, we held a stand protesting against banning. Two further stands followed closely, both organised by Miss Friday, who kindly substituted for me at a time when domestic illness made it impossible for me to assume my duties.

On July 10th, Family Day, we protested against the irony of such a celebration in a country distinguished for its record of home-breaking.

On August 14th, as a result of general allegations, particularly in the Johannesburg press, against South African prison conditions, we held a stand requiring the Minister of Justice to appoint a judicial commission to investigate these conditions.

On August 25th, we held another stand protesting against banning and house arrest, and once again asking the Government to return to the rule of law, by bringing the detainees before the courts. The immediate cause of this protest was the banning of one of our members, Mrs. Jean Hill of Durban; this was marked by the protestees wearing lapel cards bearing her name.

On September 25th and October 30th we held two more banning and house-arrest protest stands. In the latter stand was introduced a new poster reading "Banishment without trial means the banishment of justice". Another banning stand was held on December 4th.

On December 10th, Human Rights Day, we held posters in English, Afrikaans and Zulu emphasising that human rights are the birth-right of all South Africans of all races.

The most recent stand was held on February 12th, once again protesting against banning, banishment and house-arrest.

To sum up, an average of ten people appear at each stand. On extraordinary occasions, however, we have an average of twenty people. I would like to express a special word of thanks to all those who have supported these stands which are, after all, the justification of our organisation.

A. BERTHOUD.

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CAPE EASTERN

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CAPE WESTERN

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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.

Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the "Rand Daily Mail", J. H. Jackson and the "Cape Argus."

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.