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THE BLACK SASH

DEMOCRACY



LEGISLATION

ADMINISTRATION

JUSTICE

DIE SWART SERP

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The Great Betrayal

There was a time when South Africa was moving towards democratic government. Qualified men of all races were on the voters' roll in the Cape. For a period this applied also in Natal.

1910 — THE ACT OF UNION

The franchise rights of Coloured and African men were entrenched in the South Africa Act. The same rights were not extended to non-Whites in the other three provinces. This was the first betrayal of the non-Whites to serve White political expediency. This was the end of progress towards democratic government.

1936 — NATIVES REPRESENTATION ACT

Africans were removed from the ordinary voters' roll. As compensation they were put onto a separate roll, given three parliamentary representatives and many assurances.

1950 — 1954 CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

Attempt after attempt was made to remove Coloured voters of the Cape from the ordinary voters' roll. These all failed because of the vigilance of hundreds of thousands of South Africans and the integrity of the Courts.

1955 — THE SENATE ACT

The political device of packing the Senate gave the Government the necessary two-thirds majority to tamper with an entrenched clause of the South Africa Act.

1956 — SEPARATE REPRESENTATION OF COLOURED VOTERS ACT

Coloured people of the Cape were removed from the ordinary voters' roll. As compensation they were given four white parliamentary representatives and many assurances.

1959 — PROMOTION OF BANTU SELF-GOVERNMENT ACT

African representatives were removed from Parliament. As compensation the Africans were given many assurances.

AND NOW —

1968 — SEPARATE REPRESENTATION OF COLOURED VOTERS AMENDMENT BILL — THE ULTIMATE BETRAYAL

Coloured representatives are to be removed from Parliament. As compensation the Coloured people are being given many assurances.

1968 — IMPROPER INTERFERENCE BILL

All political contact across the Colour line is to be removed.

FOR THE RECORD

All non-Whites have been removed from the ordinary voters' roll. They have been deprived of parliamentary representation. They are now denied the right to join the political party of their choice.

All South Africans are diminished by this improper interference.

Constitutional entrenchments are wiped out.

Assurances are worthless.

Promises are broken.

Political opportunism is rife.

WHAT NEXT ?

Will your right to dissent be taken away?

WILL PARLIAMENT ITSELF GO ?

There is still time to call a halt.

THE TIME IS NOW.

“WAT 'N SKANDE! WAT 'N GRUWELIKE VERBREKING VAN JOU EREWOORD.”

(General Hertzog. 1950.)

ALAN PATON

Address to a Meeting of Protest at Johannesburg,

24th APRIL, 1968

This meeting was called jointly by the Liberal and Progressive parties, the National Union of South African Students, the Students Representative Council of the University of the Witwatersrand, and the Black Sash.

I have the honour today to be invited to speak to you at a time when the passing into law of certain Bills is imminent. The passing of these Bills will mean that the 115-year-old right of the Coloured people of the Cape Province to be represented in the Parliament of their country is to be taken away; that the right is to be replaced by an obligation, to be represented by a Coloured Council appointed by the Minister, with the power to do everything that it is told to do. The passing of these Bills will further mean that no political organisation may exist that does not confine its membership to one racial group. It becomes a criminal offence for any person to reach out to any person of another race, to co-operate with him in any organisation that seeks to promote common aims for our society, and to plan for its change and reform. The punishment is heavy and is of the order of the punishment meted out to thieves and robbers; it is even heavier than the punishment meted out for riding in a motorcar and shooting pellets at the passers-by.

THIS MEETING IS A MEETING OF PROTEST. Many people have grown tired of protesting to a Government that has virtually destroyed the function and meaning of political opposition.

But we are doing something more than protest, we are affirming our belief in the right of the Coloured people of South Africa to be represented in the Parliament that has all the power, all the money, all the machinery. We are declaring that we are ashamed of this final act of repudiation of the Coloured people as fellow-citizens in one common country. We are expressing the faith and the hope that one day the lamp will be lit again, and that sanity will return to a country whose Government makes a god of racial difference and makes mutual understanding and tolerance more difficult to attain.

We have in Natal a very intelligent man as our Administrator, who wants racial tolerance taught in the schools, but does not allow pupils to see or play or have anything to do with those they are being taught to tolerate. But anything — absolutely anything — can happen to an intelligent man who has taken, not Truth but the preservation of racial difference, as his absolute value.

May I recount briefly the history of the Coloured franchise? It was given in 1853 when the Cape Colony was given representative government and a franchise open to all who had certain qualifications. It was finally accepted by Onze

Jan's Afrikaner Bond. In 1892 Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, caused the property qualifications to be raised from £25 to £75 to still the fears of swamping. The immediate result of this act was that in 1893 there was a decrease of 3,349 non-White voters. In the meanwhile there was an increase of 4,506 White voters. There was no mention of colour in this act.

In 1930, when General Hertzog enfranchised White women, but no Coloured women, the value of the Coloured vote was halved.

In 1936, when the African voters were removed from the common roll, the assurance was given by General Hertzog that the Coloured vote would remain.

In 1956, the Coloured voters were removed to a separate roll and given four White members of Parliament. The Coloured people were later given the assurance by Dr. Verwoerd, to parody words, that he had no further electoral ambitions. In 1968 the Coloured parliamentary vote is to be abolished altogether. It is a shameful record, and it is because we think it is shameful that we are met together today. I do not expect it will add to our popularity with our rulers, but popularity with rulers is not an aim to be pursued by self-respecting people. I am reminded of the wonderful story of the member of the French underground who was captured by French collaborators; they put him up against a wall, and just as they were about to kill him, he cried

out at them "You fools, you fools, can't you see I'm dying for you".

The third of the Bills that will soon be law is called the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill, and I think it was Dr. Malherbe who said that in order to prevent improper interference, it would surely have been easier to amend the Immorality Act. In whose eyes is it improper for a White person and a Black person to join an organisation which cherishes ideals and principles common to them both? In the world community that is taken for granted; it is a view confined, I would imagine almost entirely, to White Supremacists. It is like the view of those who believe in the unity of Christendom, so long as it is invisible, and I might add that that view is held by White Supremacists too. I wish to say something later about the fact that when the Bill becomes law, the Liberal Party, if it continued, would become an illegal organisation, and that it felt unable to reform itself along the very lines that it has opposed from the beginning, and that it would have been false to its principles had it done so. When I say this, I am saying what was possible and what was not possible for the Liberal Party. I am not saying what was possible or what was not possible for other organisations.

There is only one way in which one can justify the removal of the Coloured vote and the forbidding of inter-racial politics, and that is to believe that something better is on the way. This something better is the freedom to be yourself, to stand up like a man, to have your own homeland, to have your own flag, your own National anthem, your own Chief Minister. It is called a separate freedom, because it is not like other people's freedoms. I, for example, am free to travel over all White South Africa, from Cape Town to Messina, to live where I like, to work where I like, to have my relatives visit me when I like, to visit them when I like too. Not everyone's freedom is like mine, but that is because everyone is not like me.

Some other man's freedom is to be forced to leave his home, to leave his acre for a piece of land 50' by 50', to leave his crop and his cattle, to be sent back to his homeland when he loses his job, to wait in his homeland until there is another job which may be very different from, and very inferior to, the one he was doing.

This freedom causes a sickness of the heart. It brings no happiness, only care and pain. It is a prostitution of language to use the word *Freedom* to describe it. This freedom is the Apartheid dream, the myth that sanctifies the callousness, the noble end that justifies the cruel means. It is not this kind of freedom that we affirm here today. We affirm the kind of freedom that Acton was thinking of when he said that the highest duty of the State is to make it possible for man to lead the good life. Our affirmation may bring no change whatsoever, but that we do not know,

it is not given to us to know. We cannot refuse to stand up for the right, just because we think it will not triumph.

Some of us have paid a heavy price for our affirmation. It might be said that some of us have lost the world but have kept our own souls. Others of us thought that we could keep both the world and our own souls, and in the end decided that it was more comfortable to keep the world and let the soul go. Do you want a proof of that? I tell you that if it were not so, there would be a hundred thousand people here this afternoon to protest against this further assault upon our liberty.

I myself bring a protest of my own here today, and that is against the use of the words "petty apartheid", as though such a thing really exists, as though there is anything petty about it at all. Big Apartheid is what you dream, Petty Apartheid is what you do. Big Apartheid is the freedom to walk the great windy hills of the Transkei, Petty Apartheid is being sent back there when you have lost your job, and leaving your wife and children when you are given another one, in Cape Town or Johannesburg or Durban, where you may dwell temporarily the whole of your working life. Big Apartheid is the emancipation of the Coloured people from their 300-year-old dependence on the Whites, Petty Apartheid is hanging yourself in a cupboard because you can't go to the same school as your brother.

Will there ever be a territorial separation to give meaning to the political and social and educational separation? Will the rags and tatters of Zululand, and the rags and tatters of the Ciskei, and the rags and tatters of many other places ever be made into self-governing and independent states? To me it is impossible, unless White South Africa is willing to make sacrifices on a scale hitherto undreamt of. Even if it were possible, as it is in the Transkei, will such places ever achieve an economic independence, or even a healthy interdependence? Will the Transkei one day parallel the wealth and activity of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Durban? If the State of Wyoming were given independence of the United States would it one day parallel the State of Illinois? The answer to all these questions is No. The people of the State of Wyoming owe their wealth and prosperity to the fact that their state is part of the United States. Most of us gathered here are not against, but heartily for, the development of all parts of South Africa, but we are not believers in the dream that all these parts can by some magic achieve a kind of self-sufficiency. Nor do we see any likelihood that all the temporary dwellers in South Africa will by some magical year of 1978 or 1979 or even 1980 be flooding back to their Homelands, to great cities and great industries and great expectations. Nor do we see any likelihood that White South Africa will let them go. But in the pursuit of

this dream, in the service of this myth, we break up families, we separate husband from wife and family, we ban and we banish, we send to prison, we howl against the agitators who incite race against race. In our country it is not the man who does a cruel act who is the inciter, it is the man who condemns it. Who destroys mutual faith and understanding — the people who expose the cruelty of Limehill, or the people who perpetuate it?

Separate Development is beautiful, provided you don't look at it. It is beautiful over a gin and tonic at Sunday lunchtime in Parktown, but not so beautiful in many other places.

Nightfall comes like
a dreaded disease
seeping through the pores
of a healthy body
and ravaging it beyond repair.

A murderer's hand,
lurking in the shadows,
clasping the death-dealing dagger
strikes down the helpless victim.
I am the victim

I am slaughtered
every night in the streets.
I am petrified by the freezing fear
gnawing at my timid heart;
In my helplessness I languish.

Man has ceased to be a man
Man has become beast
Man has become prey.

I am the prey;
I am the quarry to be run down
by the marauding beast,
let loose by cruel Nightfall
from his cage of death.

Where is my refuge?
Where am I safe?
Not in my matchbox house
Where I barricade myself against Nightfall.

I tremble at his crunching footsteps
I quake at his deafening knock at the door
"Open up!" he barks like a rabid dog
thirsty for my blood.
Nightfall! Nightfall
You are my mortal enemy.
But why were you ever created?
Why can't it be day time?
Daytime forever more?

That is "Nightfall in Soweto," by Oswald Joseph Mtshali.

That is a poem which makes one's heart ache. It is not written by an architect of Separate Development, it is written by a man who lives in the house. The essence of Separate Develop-

ment is not that it provides separate freedoms — that is the dream. Its essence is that it is something done by people who have power to people who have none — that is the reality.

In order to make real what can only be a dream, one has to use great power. The reality is so recalcitrant, so reluctant to take form, so stubborn to obey, that one has to bend it and break it and sledge-hammer it so that it may learn docility. The builders of the dream are working against time, they are fevered with impatience and angered by delay. Therefore let him beware who gets in their way, who proclaims publicly that he does not believe in the dream, who dares to tell the builders that their work is for nothing. Such a man will be broken so that others may be whole, his life will be made painful so that the life of others may be pleasant, present happiness will be destroyed so that future happiness may abound. One wonders often why such savage steps have been taken against people who are so weak by those who are so powerful. And the answer is that the anger is not primarily directed against those who do not believe in the dream; it is primarily directed at the reality that will not take the form of the dream, and at the dream that will not become reality. In fact, neither can ever become the other, yet it is in the belief that they will that our rulers pursue their policies of Separate Development.

It is because of this belief that our rulers have given themselves powers to punish, and to punish severely, those who oppose them, without recourse to any court of law. The State has given itself greater and greater power over our lives and has ended the Rule of Law. Faced by this ever-increasing power, we sometimes become victims of despair. But we have to learn to live with this power. And there is one thing that we need not despair about, but for which we should give thanks, that we have not given our loyalty to this political mirage, which for ever and ever recedes as we approach it over the desert of false hopes. And we should give thanks too that we have never consented to the belief that it is a justifiable thing to use cruel means so that a good end may be achieved. I read that Mr. J. van den Berg, M.P. speaking in Parliament, prophesied that in ten years time it would be an offence to oppose Separate Development. That may or may not come true, but one thing will be true, and that is that in ten years time it will be a still greater intellectual offence to believe in it.

I have used this time, Madam Chair, to give at this critical moment our reasons for refusing to make a god of the preservation of racial difference, and for being unable to give our moral or intellectual support to the doctrines and theories of Separate Development. We do not pretend that to achieve a common society will be easy, but we believe its achievement will become

more and more imperative, especially when Separate Development is seen to be the gigantic self-deception that it is. Membership of the Liberal Party was open to people of all races. Its committees, from the lowest to the highest, were representative of the multi-racial membership of the Party, and never once in the 15 years of our history did any committee or conference divide on racial lines. Our lives were enriched by these encounters, and our knowledge widened and deepened by our contacts with each other. We therefore find it impossible to believe that men, different men, are not meant to pursue a common purpose together. It is contrary to our own experience. It is commonly said that we are disbanding. That is not quite correct. On the day this Bill becomes law, we cease to exist. We could only go on existing as an illegal organisation which would be foolish and not in accordance with the liberal temperament. We could have reformed as separate racial Liberal Parties, each committed by law to having nothing to do with any other. We came into existence to oppose Apartheid and Separate Development. How then could we reform ourselves in accordance with them? Therefore we had no alternative but

to decline to reform, and we therefore say farewell to you today. I cannot speak any easy words of comfort, nor would you wish me to. But I can say this, that it is my firm belief that man was not born to go down on his belly before the State, that the ideal of human liberty can be suppressed and battered but it can never be killed, that the price of it is eternal vigilance, that sometimes one has to let the world go to save one's own soul, that in this strange country of ours, while authority is trying to prevent it and halt it, there persists a quite unpreventable and unhaltable process of integration, assimilation and acculturation.

I conclude with words that are not original on this occasion, but were spoken on another.

Stand firm by what you believe, do not tax yourself beyond endurance, yet calculate clearly and coldly how much endurance you have, don't waste your breath and corrupt your character by cursing your rulers and the S.A.B.C., don't become obsessed by them, keep your friendships alive and warm, especially those with people of other races, beware of melancholy and resist it actively if it assails you, and give thanks for the courage of others in this fear-ridden country.

JEAN SINCLAIR closed the meeting with these words :

ON THIS SAD DAY, one of the last occasions on which multiracial political meetings can take place, I am sure that you will all join with me in expressing our sympathy with the Liberal and Progressive Parties, both of which are so grievously affected by this legislation. It is a great sorrow to us that the Liberal Party is going out of existence. It was in the vanguard of organised liberal thought in this country and it awakened the conscience of many White South Africans. As a result many of us became actively involved in politics.

From its inception in 1953 the Liberal Party has had to combat the prejudices and the reservations of the White electorate as well as the wrath of the Government. Many of the leaders and active workers were arbitrarily banned without charge or trial. We remember the brave men and women today.

Dr. Paton, you and your Party will be remembered with gratitude and admiration.

History will reveal the great contribution you have made to South Africa in these troublous times.

The Progressive Party, at the request of its African, Coloured and Asian members will carry on as an all-White party, a party sadly emasculated, altered in character and deprived of much that was good and worthwhile. It can never be the same again and we mourn for what it has been forced to do. Our hearts go out to those members who are forced to sever their political association with the Progressive Party. They too, will be remembered with appreciation for their courage and their fortitude.

Before closing this meeting may I remind you that a demonstration will now be held at the University Fountain. The flame of freedom which has been guarded for nine days and nights in the vestibule of the Cathedral will now be moved to the Fountain. At sunset torches will be lit and the stand will continue until 8.30 p.m. when the torches and the flame will be extinguished and the demonstration ends.

Dr. Paton, in thanking you for this memorable address we would like to assure you that the organisations not as drastically affected as the Progressive and Liberal Parties will continue the struggle for justice. I shall end by quoting from the Dedication which you yourself wrote for the Black Sash thirteen years ago:

"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.

ALL OVER SOUTH AFRICA during April and May the Black Sash has been standing in protest against the introduction of the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill, which removes the Parliamentary representatives of the Coloured people of the Cape, and against the Improper Interference Bill which outlaws multiracial political parties and removes our right of free political association.

In 1955 the Black Sash came into being when the Nationalist government introduced the Senate Bill to pack the Senate with its own supporters and thus to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority which would enable it to tamper with an entrenched clause of the South African Constitution. The following year, this protection destroyed, the Coloured people of the Cape were removed from the common voters' roll.

Thirteen years have passed since then and the measure of South Africa's journey away from the principles of democratic government can be gauged by the difference in the numbers of those who protested then and those few who still register their dissent now. Tens of thousands of White South Africans cared then; now they accept whatever is done in their name to South Africa's people.

NEVER SEND TO KNOW FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS; IT TOLLS FOR THEE.

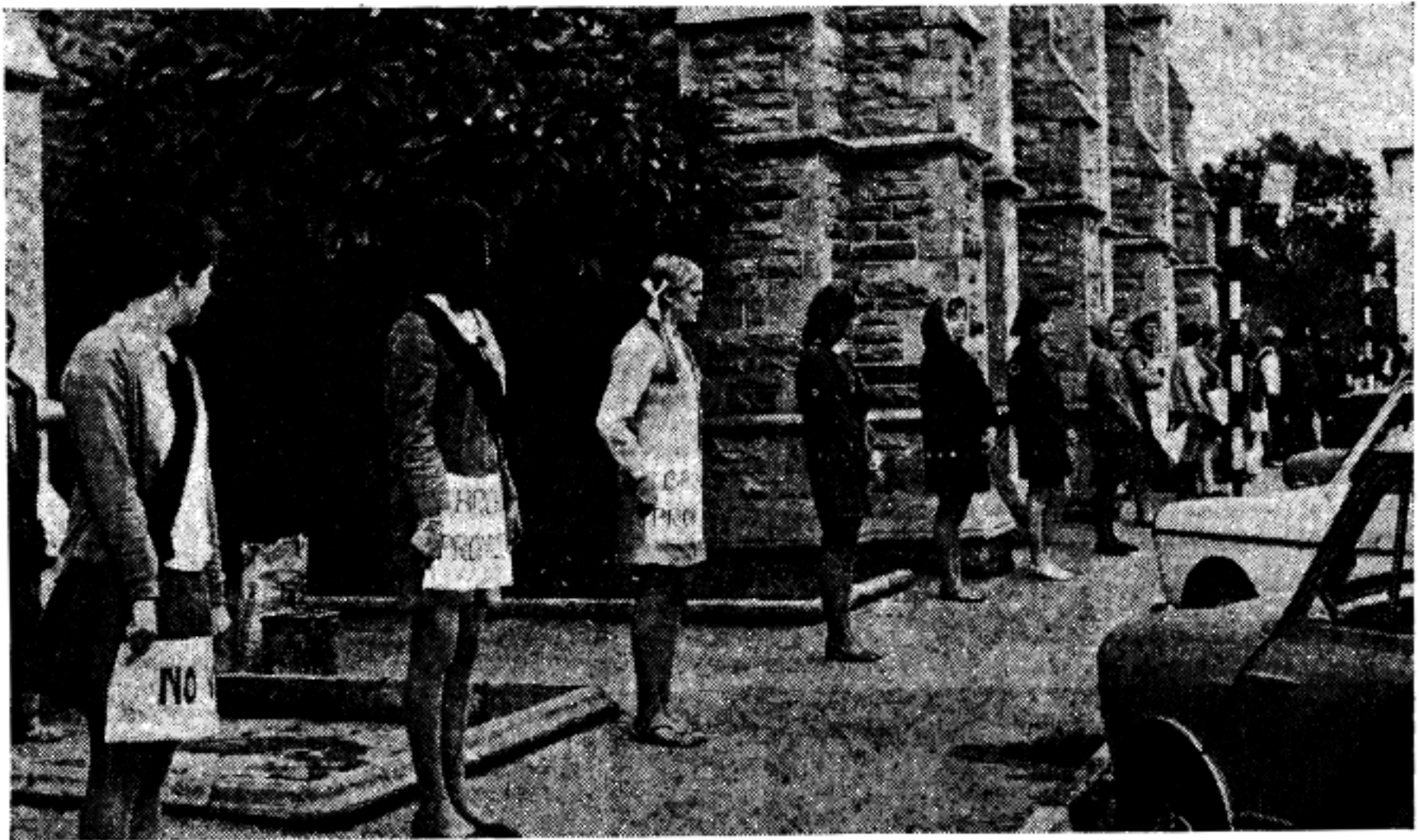
East London

PROTESTS



WE HELD a demonstration against the "Coloured Bills." We stood silently with posters on Friday, May 3rd in front of our City Hall from 7.45 to 8.30 a.m. and again from 12.45 to 2 p.m. on the same day. 30 stood in the morning and 18 at lunch time. ...We had no incidents though a police car with dogs sat and watched us from the other side of the road.

Grahamstown



We had a really successful stand on Friday, 3rd May. We met at the Cathedral porch and at eleven emerged to take up stations all round the Cathedral green. I seized an old friend and we made for the sheltered South side because it was very windy. Dozens of Rhodes students stood with us. Police cars soon appeared and began driving around. The town seemed full of people and hundreds of cars passed — some actually with their lights on. After more than half an hour I suddenly noticed a very large yellow car with a driver in police uniform and several plain clothes men in the back. It stopped and out leapt three men who dashed behind the Cathedral and emerged with two young men who were holding cameras; these men they pushed into the car and away — all more quickly than I can write or even tell.

I have never felt less tired at a stand because there was so much to see; the handsome lady with a white sash and beaming smile — the man with a poster "We protest against this protest", "We support the bill", and so on.

Jessie Richey.

Johannesburg

Short address made by Jean Sinclair at the University Fountain on Thursday 11th April, 1968, at the ceremonial lighting of torches at sunset at 6.30 p.m.

WE HAVE COME TOGETHER tonight to register our anger and our strongest disapproval of the Government for its decision to remove from the Coloured people of the Cape, their representation in Parliament and in the Cape Provincial Council.

In 1956, despite the fact that Coloured franchise rights were entrenched in the South African Constitution, Parliament, with the aid of the packed Senate removed the Coloured voters from the ordinary voters roll. As compensation

they were given a separate roll, four White parliamentary representatives and many assurances that this reduced representation would be respected.

Now we find the Government repudiating even its own legislation and dishonouring its own assurances.

In addition multiracial political parties are to be outlawed by The Improper Political Interference Bill. WHY? Because the Government fears that the Coloured voters will elect four Progress-

sive members to Parliament. This the Government cannot countenance.

We object strongly to Government interference with our right of free political association. The whole of South Africa will be impoverished by this isolating of people into political vacuums and the harm done to good racial relations will be immeasurable.

Our hearts and sympathy go out to the gallant Liberal Party. Their devotion, not only to their own political creed, but to the civilised standards and values in which we all believe, is a shining example of courage and steadfastness. We remember those brave leaders and active members of the Liberal Party who are suffering the restrictions of banning orders; not because they have committed a crime, but because they were true to their ideals and principles.

We salute you, Dr. Paton, and all the members of your party, for the great contribution you have made in creating an island where friendship and goodwill abound. We mourn your exit now, from the South African political scene.

The Black Sash came into existence in 1955 because of the anger of women all over the country on this same issue. I said in Cape Town when the Coloured voters were removed from the Common Roll that the Black Sash would go on protesting day in and day out, year in and year out until justice prevails — I re-iterate this promise.

Despite this abhorrent legislation the Government will not succeed in extinguishing the light of freedom which burns within us. We shall guard it and nurture it until the day comes when nothing can extinguish it.

The Flame Is Extinguished

Mr. Jack Unterhalter, Transvaal Chairman of the Liberal Party spoke as follows when he extinguished the flame.

SINCE THIS FLAME WAS LIT HERE, it has burned at the entrance to the Cathedral except for the period of Easter. It was guarded by members of the Progressive Party and of the Liberal Party and of the Black Sash as also by students of the University on behalf of the Students' Representative Council and of Nusas. The vigil went on day and night and it ends now.

For those of us who kept watch this has been a beautiful and moving experience, but also a sad one. It has shown us that there are still men and women who will follow, the one after the other, to remain at the flame as an act of dedication to the freedom of which it is the symbol. As one has gazed there has been time for thought, to reflect on those who suffer from the harshness of our laws and to brood on how the law may be changed. And to remember the promises that have been broken.

In a moment or two the flame is to be exting-

Port Elizabeth



uished. This act will have different meanings for different people. It will mean the removal from Parliament of the last link that the Coloured community had with the central sovereign legislature — a right once entrenched in the Constitution of the country and now finally abolished.

It will mean the extinction of the right to free political association and of the right to talk freely about political matters to any audience, no matter what its racial composition.

For me it will mean, in particular, the death of the Liberal Party, which will die when the

Improper Interference Bill becomes law. It will mean the disappearance of a non-racial political organization that sought the vote for all, irrespective of race, colour or creed, in the belief that those affected by the law must take part in making the law if their dignity as human beings is to be respected and safeguarded.

But, when this flame no longer burns, it will not mean that the hope of freedom has gone. The vigil of these last days is proof that there are yet zealous watchers over our liberties. Perhaps, for some who passed in the streets before the Cathedral doors and saw the bright torch, there was kindled in their hearts a resolve that freedom must be gained. Many people, although inarticulate and unorganized, are deeply troubled, and this trouble of the soul is a hope for freedom.

And, while there are brave women of the Black Sash to protest as they have now done and as they have done in the past, they will serve as conscience to awaken the indifferent and as spur to those already awake.

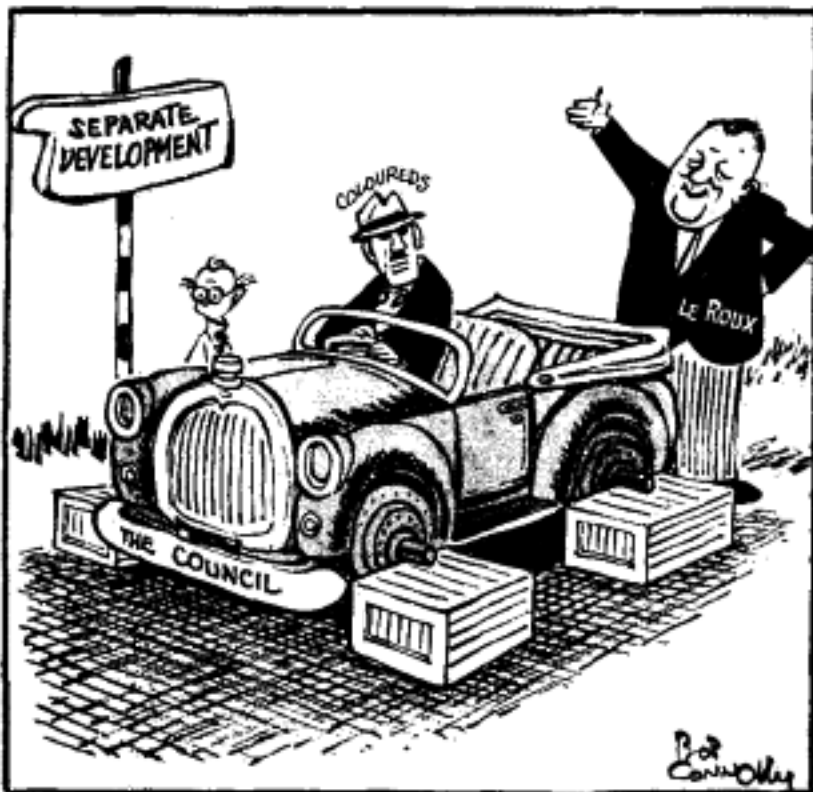
Chief among our hopes for freedom are the students of the University. They stood at the Cathedral through the dark hours of the night, and they stand before the future in these dark hours of our times. They have shown that they know the value of their heritage and that they have the courage to guard it.

So, though the flame goes out, the hope remains.

That hope will light the flame again, and it will burn in a sanctuary as a promise that one day all our peoples shall be free.

'BON VOYAGE'

By Bob Connolly



(Press Photographs on these pages by courtesy of the Evening Post.)

The Public Protests



The Special Branch Records



Who's intimidating whom?



An Exercise in Logic

By JOYCE HARRIS

THERE is a glaring illogicality about the South African scene today, that, if viewed dispassionately, cries out for comment. There is an irreconcilability between stated intention and observable action, between ends and means that demands elucidation. Such strange events are taking place before our very eyes that if we see at all, and if this causes us to think at all, we must sometimes fear for our very sanity. And, to compound the confusion, the public utterances to which we are subjected are made in such ambiguous terms, the use of language has become so utterly prostituted, words have been so entirely denuded of their accepted meaning that we are indeed floundering in uncharted seas.

There are those, and they are many, who believe in maintaining the "traditional way of life", that is the status quo. For what is tradition if it is not the retention of pattern and norms of behaviour and attitudes which are the harvest of the past? Yet, to the dispassionate viewer, it might seem that in pursuit of status quo, status quo is being destroyed. That which has endured no longer prevails. That which does prevail is not the neutral harvest of the past but a mutation artificially introduced. Africans have lost their representation in Parliament. Coloureds are to lose their representation. Fishermen may no longer live in Kalk Bay, nor Coloureds in District Six. Africans in Soweto may no longer own or build their own houses. Africans with long-standing domiciliary rights in urban areas are losing them. Urban African family life is being destroyed, as will be that in the homelands when universal labour registration and arbitrary allocation develop from intention to fact. Whole communities are being uprooted and shifted to some other place. Rural people are being urbanised. These are but some of the traumatic acts of change being implemented in the name of the maintenance of the traditional way of life, of status quo for the non-White people, who are now to develop separately in homelands where many of them are entirely alien, under conditions which to many are unfamiliar, with a promised but elusive industrialisation which to them is not traditional — and this, after all, is what the fuss is all about — subjected to governmental control which is not of their choosing and does not conform to their own culture. For those who advocate adherence to traditional patterns this is a strange plan being strangely implemented.

Nor are the non-White people the only pawns in this game of manipulation and change being played in the interests of status quo. The entire traditional democratic way of life is being subverted, and those who criticise the game do so at their peril. They are threatened, intimidated, banned, banished. The Courts of the land are being by-passed. Justice is no longer seen to be done. Government by directive is becoming the order of the day. The powers of local and Pro-

vincial bodies are being whittled away, and individual freedoms too. Parents may no longer choose the language medium in which their children are educated, an iron curtain of separation has descended between English and Afrikaans-speaking children. Entertainments and meeting places which once were open to all sections of the community are open no longer. Universities have lost their right of admission to students of their choice. Certain jobs are reserved for certain categories of people, and White and non-White people may no longer co-operate in what they believe is to their mutual advantage. All this is change, and it is effected to maintain status quo.

Industry may no longer develop at its natural growth points, nor are industrialists nor any employers of non-White labour allowed free personal choice of employees. Labour is to be allotted to them, and to be limited, too, if the industry is not sited in accordance with the rules of the game. In this way is it hoped to persuade industry to conform to the rules, to move, to set up elsewhere, or to accept the fetters now being imposed upon its development. This is, of course, traditional, as is the control on domestic employment and the inevitable curtailment of the rights of the employer to choose his own domestic servants.

What upheavals these are, engineered in the name of tradition. How the much-vaunted stability of the South African way of life is being churned up, presenting to the bewildered observer a seascape — ever-changing, never static, ebbing, flowing, undulating, unpredictable, moody, difficult. Yet the allegory is incomplete, for the sea has rhythm. There is order in its infinite changeability. True, there are those who see order in the South African scene, but rhythm there certainly is not, unless it be the rhythm of inexorably mounting momentum in the ever more inclusive kaleidoscope of change. Is this really status quo? Is this traditional? Is this the natural adaptation of any society to progress, maturation and growth or is it self-induced chaos?

The dispassionate observer may well be forgiven for wondering how it has been possible so

to manipulate the lives of men and to alter the face of society, administering plastic surgery without the use of anaesthetics. But his premise concerning anaesthetics would be wrong. They have in fact been administered, and very skillfully too, but not on the patient so much as on the onlooker. The patient suffers — there has been and is untold human misery, hardship and despair. But the onlooker, the large majority of White South Africans, has been so conditioned by the dehumanising process accomplished by the constant use of such phrases as “Black Spots”, “Bantu Labour”, “Redundant Labour”, “Labour Force”, “Surplus Bantu”, and all the other depersonalised methods of referring to people, that he has become as insensitive as any anaesthetised person. He does not even feel it when the operation is extended to include him. Thus is it possible to ring the changes.

The dispassionate observer might also wonder why all this is necessary. The reply will be that Apartheid and Separate Development are part of the traditional South African way of life, and it is essential that this be preserved even if it

means the apparent disruption of society. What looks like instability is really stability. What looks like change is really the maintenance of status quo. And out of it all, when the game has been played to its conclusion, will emerge a Black South Africa, a White South Africa, a Coloured South Africa, an Asian South Africa, all living peaceably, all neatly separated from each other, all stable, all with their own flourishing economies, all safe from any interference from each other. This, after all, is the traditional way of life. And if the observer thinks that this is cloud-cuckoo land then he is cuckoo. For it is the White man's instinct of self-preservation that is responsible for all this and his instinct is sure. He will brook no argument. Separation is the only hope for survival. The brotherhood of man is an outmoded cliché.

The theory is conceived to satisfy the instinct, facts are distorted to conform to the theory, and logic flies out of the window, together with those distasteful and “sickly” twins — liberalism and humanism — the very fountainhead of our Western, “traditional” way of life.

Hunger:

The Poverty of Pigmentation

By F. E. STREEK

A talk given at a Hunger Lunch in Queenstown.

I COULD SPEAK TO YOU TODAY as a journalist or as an economist. A journalist in a leading article makes a statement and builds a story around it. For example he might say that hunger and malnutrition are the same thing and develop an argument based on that assumption.

An economist assembles facts and after careful analysis reaches a conclusion from them.

It is easier to be a journalist, because like politicians one can use emotion in one's argument. I choose the harder task and present you with facts.

I am aware people are not persuaded by facts. They don't understand them. Or they don't choose to understand them. They are bored. Facts are strong medicine, as mine are likely to be today. I may not move you to action, of that I am aware.

I gather you had some political emotionalism at the last talk when someone played on your fears with the danger of Whites being dominated by Blacks with some quaint solutions to the problem, if it is a problem.

Facts about economics and malnutrition are difficult to find and not easy to interpret.

Definitions are important, so I shall talk of hunger, not malnutrition.

Hunger means an exhausted condition caused by want of food. Malnutrition means bad eating. If one ate cream cakes for tea, had a heavy rich meal laced with liquor, one would probably suffer from malnutrition. One would not be hungry.

Another reason for choosing the word “hunger” is that politicians avoid the problem of starvation by saying the poor have food but don't eat sensibly. One is led to believe malnutrition, not hunger, is the problem.

Marie Antoinette, when told her people had no bread, said "Let them eat cake", which is about the same as saying that starvation equals malnutrition. And equally ludicrous. Both assume that the means to avoid hunger exists. In fact they don't.

Starvation is the result of poverty. If you are too poor to buy food, you will starve. Basic needs have to be met. Clothing and shelter are needed for survival. The agonising choice of whether to be sheltered or hungry faces many South Africans.

I have extracted some figures, mainly from surveys by the University of South Africa's Bureau of Market Research. They are unbiassed economic data collected scientifically for businessmen. They cover many Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Whites living in urban areas.

Let us look at household expenditure and incomes. As you can see, urban Africans have small household incomes that do not meet expenses. Indians are 50% higher and have a small excess. Coloureds are from 50—100% higher. They just about balance out. The Whites are 640% higher and just survive. One sees the Poverty of Pigmentation.

| Period of Survey | Average Monthly Expenditure R | Average Monthly Income R | Excess Income over Expenditure | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|
| | | | R | % |
| AFRICAN | | | | |
| Pretoria 1960-61 | 48 | 46 | -2 | -3 |
| Benoni 1961-62 | 57 | 52 | -2 | -10 |
| Johannesburg 1963-63 | 63 | 59 | -4 | -7 |
| Cape Town 1963-64 | 65 | 62 | -3 | -4 |
| Durban 1964-65 | 67 | 60 | -7 | -13 |

| Period of Survey | Average Monthly Expenditure | Average Monthly Income | Excess Income over Expenditure | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|----|
| | | | | |
| INDIAN | | | | |
| Durban 1966 | 94 | 96 | +2 | +2 |
| COLOURED | | | | |
| Cape Town 1965 | 104 | 97 | -7 | -7 |
| Durban 1966 | 136 | 143 | +7 | +5 |
| Port Elizabeth 1967 | 99 | 108 | +9 | +9 |
| WHITE | | | | |
| Ten principal urban areas 1966 | 378 | 386 | +8 | +2 |

Let us examine the data a little closer.

I have extracted basic needs and the incomes of household heads. The household head should be able to support his household without help. In most cases he cannot even meet basic needs.

In none of the African surveys did the breadwinner earn enough to meet basic needs.

| Survey | Cost | R a month Breadwinner earned | Shortfall | % Increase Required |
|---------------------------|------|------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| AFRICANS | | | | |
| 1961 | 40 | 33 | 7 | 21 |
| 1962 | 46 | 40 | 6 | 15 |
| 1963 | 50 | 42 | 8 | 19 |
| 1963 | 53 | 46 | 7 | 15 |
| 1965 Durban | 51 | 42 | 9 | 21 |
| 1965 Port Elizabeth | 49 | 35 | 14 | 40 |
| Survey | Cost | R a month Breadwinner Earned | Shortfall | % Increase Required |
| INDIANS | | | | |
| Durban 1966 | 72 | 62 | 10 | 16 |
| COLOUREDS | | | | |
| Cape Town 1965 | 81 | 62 | 19 | 31 |
| Durban 1966 | 99 | 98 | +1 | +1 |
| Port Elizabeth | 72 | 73 | +1 | +1 |
| WHITES | | | | |
| Ten Main Urban Areas 1966 | 206 | 300 | +94 | +31 |

As you saw, in the majority of cases the household head is unable to support his household without help. Worse, and this is alarming, he cannot provide basic necessities from his income. He lives below the Poverty Datum Line — P.D.L. — i.e. the income needed to meet the basic necessities of food, clothing, housing, transport, tax and cleaning. You have these headings in front of you.

It is a dismal grey level of existence that does not allow for recreation, medical and dental expenses, insurance, alcohol, cigarettes, personal care, education or emergencies.

And the PDL is scarcely life as we in this room would regard it.

It is not surprising that as a result of social surveys in Cape Town and Durban the PDL has been rejected as the basic minimum for existence and the Effective Minimum Level is used. This includes minimum sociological necessities and is estimated at *one and a half times the P.D.L.* This puts my figures into harsher relief.

Rural figures are difficult to obtain. On some farms life is more cheerful than in the town, but poverty exists in the rural areas too. The much publicised Transkei, for example, has the lowest incomes of the Republic. It also has a high incidence of deficiency or hunger diseases, Kwashiorkor, T.B., plus a generous sprinkling of others such as typhoid.

Stated bluntly, the cause of hunger is that earnings are too low at the unskilled level, particularly among Africans. Why?

Bankers, industrialists and business spokesmen repeat that the answer lies in developing the skills of all the non-Whites, particularly Africans. But the problem remains. Sentiment is neutralised by politics. It is our political system which entrenches this Poverty of Pigmentation. Poverty in the Republic is inflicted in inverse proportion to the whiteness of one's skin.

In simple terms, labour cannot demand higher earnings if it is unable to bargain for them.

And many of the poor are debarred from using collective bargaining, an internationally recognised means of obtaining better working conditions.

They are prohibited from learning skills. They cannot be apprenticed. They cannot form unions. They cannot strike.

Small wonder that recently the Financial Mail wrote of the Steel Wages Scandal: "The exploitations concerned 150,000 Black workers. Most of them have been given ½c to 2c an hour, bringing the lowest grade to 19c an hour, which means they and their families will continue to exist under the P.D.L. . . ."

The PDL for a Soweto family in late 1967 was R53.32 a month. At 19c an hour, a breadwinner earns R49.60, R3.72 below the PDL.

In addition to the handicaps I have mentioned, many people are unable to offer their (*restricted*) skills to the highest bidder. Not only are they hampered by job reservations, but they are immobilised. They are often evicted — by politically, not economically, inspired laws.

Therefore locations become overcrowded, unhealthy and dangerous. Poverty and hunger thrive. Sadas spring up in isolated and semi-isolated places such as Whittlesea.

Instead of action one hears excuses and rationalisations that our people earn more than those in Malawi (R25 a year) or Nigeria (R50 a year), but this is irrelevant. The comparison that counts is how much people earn against living costs in their country, and as I have shown we have cause for shame, not pride. There is a big gulf between the rich and poor in South Africa — my figures confirm that.

Many South Africans are starving. Millions of them have to work in towns. They have to wear clothes, travel to work and keep clean. Soap, food and clothing cost the same to everyone.

The question is: Can our society afford to help its poor?

Any country that allocated R252,700,000 to defence in time of peace can do so.

Any country whose national savings scheme can whip up R70,000,000 in six months can do so.

Any country that can allow its building societies to pay R400 a year free interest on deposits of R6,300 can do so.

Any country enjoying a boom on its Stock Exchange, as South Africa, can do so.

Any country that receives a massive windfall from gold, of which it happens to have an abundant supply, can do so.

Although we are in a credit squeeze, our gold and foreign exchange reserves stood at a record R630 million at the end of February 1968. This at a time when many major countries are bedevilled with balance of payments problems.

Despite higher company taxes most companies report bigger earnings and satisfactory after tax earnings. On average these are only 1% less than a year ago.

We have the problem. We have the cash to solve it. Why do businessmen not increase wages to the poor?

(a) because they are unaware of the facts — or choose to ignore them.

(b) Because labour is emasculated.

As I have shown, many workers have no bargaining power. Therefore only charity is left.

It is too much to ask all businessmen to be charitable and copy the enlightened ones who pay the rate for the job.

They will pay higher wages and prevent hunger only if labour becomes more productive. But few try to train their staff to enable them to improve.

Businessmen therefore have to be educated to pay higher wages. Educated to prevent hunger. Educated to prevent hunger in times of stress —when the breadwinner is sick, when he dies, when he is a victim of some of our unrealistic laws, when he retires after a lifetime of work.

A great number of our old age pensioners are expected to live on less than R4 a month. So pension schemes and insurance must be provided. Employers should use industrial feeding schemes. They should organise committees of their workers and consult with them.

In the final analysis businessmen want a return on their investment. It is impossible to find a better investment than the removal of hunger. The converse is disease, crime, more hospitals, loss of production and higher taxes.

A poor return to the businessman and starvation for others.

Do you know that Soweto, the other Johannesburg, shown with pride to visitors, has 1,000 murders a year; that the Frere Hospital in East London and King Edward VII Hospital in Durban look like battlefields on Saturday nights when the assault victims are brought in? The cost is frightening.

A few weeks ago the Minister of Defence listed the weapons and devices produced in the Republic. He indicated that South Africa was well prepared for defence.

But well fed, well paid, healthy people are our best defence. They are not likely to listen to the specious pleas of agitators, neither would they murder to live.

Neither would they multiply as fast as they do. The poor are prolific breeders. Improve their living conditions and the birth rate will drop.

We can save defence expenditure. We can save hospitalisation expenses. We can save our consciences.

How can you save yours?

If you are in industry, commerce, or business, you have no excuse for not acting. *Because I and others throw facts at you* and you cannot plead you don't know.

If you are not in industry, commerce or business, persuade those who are to take action.

Persuade the politicians to set adequate minimum wages.

Persuade the politicians to relax or repeal the laws that entrench starvation.

If you have servants, insure them or open a savings account into which you both deposit money.

Encourage surveys. When surveys are made, conditions always improve.

My task as an economist was to extract the facts, analyse them and reduce them to an understandable message to you in twenty minutes. It is too short a time.

Nevertheless you have the facts of hunger. Do not ignore them. Do not ignore the hungry.

But why should *you*, having heard my arguments, do anything about it?

Why should you persuade others to help the poor and the hungry?

They are around you — White, Black, Coloured and Indians. Many are hungry, unsheltered, poorly clothed and condemned to a PDL life. This is indisputable.

Today you share their suffering — symbolically — as you did on previous Wednesdays. You denied yourselves a normal meal and it is significant that you chose Lent, a period of fasting and penitence.

I conclude not as an economist but as a journalist and I quote one of the world's greatest journalists. Aptly enough, he had written of hunger, thirst and sickness. It is an answer to the questions running through your mind, and is an admonition to those who ignore the economists and journalists. Read Matthew's words tonight: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

The Eighth Deadly Sin —

RACISM

By J. HAMILTON RUSSELL

IN THE SENSE IN WHICH I USE IT RACISM denotes a doctrine or dogma based on the irrational belief that one race in a nation — one race of the species *Homo Sapiens* — is, by reason of the possession of certain unique and providential mental or physical qualities, superior to another or other races and therefore entitled to rule and permanently dominate those inferior races who are its subjects. It also includes the resultant race hatred and discrimination.

IN our South African setting racism is to be seen in a somewhat narrower context. Here, race superiority or inferiority is overwhelmingly based on pigmentation. The white-skinned man considers himself a purer and therefore better breed of man and therefore, for that reason alone, entitled to dominate inferior non-White races. Our racism takes the form of depriving certain non-White groups of equal treatment and resultant equal opportunity and then presents their backward condition as a proof of their inherent inferiority. We also use government controlled mass media and a system of inferior education to perpetuate the myth of inferiority. We go further, and where, for historical reasons, certain race groups have had lower or no education, we condone or impose a system which ensures that their limitations are passed on to their children.

Of course, prejudice* of one people against another has existed throughout the course of history. No age or society has been entirely free from what one might call "group prejudice". The cause can be economic, psychological, religious, cultural as well as biological. Politicians and dictators have often cultivated and capitalized upon feelings of race superiority to gain political advantage. In modern times two examples spring immediately to mind. There was Hitler's use of anti-semitic propaganda to promote the Nazi cause and our National Party's successful "Swart

Gevaar" campaign which eventually induced people to opt for apartheid. South African politicians have found out and shamelessly exploited race prejudice whenever it has seemed necessary to combine Whites of different origins or classes into one pro- or anti-Government voting group.

I do not deny that those politicians who rely for their power on the stimulus of racial prejudice may genuinely, though hubristically, believe in the inherent superiority of a white skin and that the White man was born to be boss. They may believe sincerely that every individual African, and anyone who intermixes with him is biologically and mentally inferior to a White man. They may believe that this is so, regardless of the non-White's degree of education, culture or economic advancement. They may go even further and believe that this characteristic inferiority is permanent . . . "The leopard cannot change his spots nor the Ethiopian his skin". But they should be warned that the resultant feeling of White-race superiority, if fanned into an emotional obsession or translated into the political creed of racist apartheid, can fester into race discrimination and its concomitant, race hatred.

Because this widespread belief in the innate superiority of the white-skinned over the non-white species prevails and persists in South Africa, and is made the basis of national policy, it seems important and necessary, at this juncture, to explode the myth — to point to irrefutable scientific evidence of its falsity. Let us at least try to get the facts straight. Then we can make our decisions on the basis of the truth. It would be disastrous to our future if we were to condition our consciences by specious reasons and bigoted ideas, and accept national policy based on emotional misconceptions.

Before many more South Africans make an irrevocable choice to follow the course of apart-

**Prejudice I define as an irreversible judgement formed without adequate study of the facts. And for race or ethnic prejudice I accept the definition of Professor G. W. Allport, Professor of Psychology at Harvard, viz. "Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a group as a whole, or towards an individual because he is a member of that group."*

heid and White domination let us study the evidence contained in my summarised findings of the objective UNESCO Report on "The Nature of Race and Race Differences". (Confirmed by a 16 nation Committee of experts in Paris in September 1967).

1. Scientists (anthropologists, geneticists, ethnologists, sociologists) are generally agreed that all men living belong to one single species — Homo Sapiens; that they are derived from one common stock.

2. The division of the human species into 'races' is partly arbitrary, partly conventional. Nor does it imply any hierarchy. Englishmen are not a race: nor Frenchmen: nor Germans: nor South Africans: nor Afrikaners.

3. Anthropologists in classifying mankind do not depend on any single physical characteristic; nor does skin colour, by itself, necessarily distinguish one group from another. Nor is one group "superior" or "inferior" to another.

4. Even the major groups grade into each other (our Coloureds are the result of such mixture) and the differences among individuals of the same group can be greater than the differences between the averages of two or more races "within the major group".

5. Intelligence tests show that given similar opportunities, the average performance does not differ appreciably from one race to another.

6. It has never been scientifically possible to separate members of two groups on the sole basis of mental capacity.

7. Scientific knowledge available provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual development.

8. There is no evidence for the existence of the so-called "pure" races.

9. There is no biological justification for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different races.

10. There is no reliable evidence of disadvantageous effects produced by hybridization between the races.

11. In matters of race the only characteristics anthropologists have been able to use effectively as a basis of classification are anatomical and physiological (or physical).

12. Historical and sociological studies support the view that genetic differences (heredity) are of little significance in determining social and cultural difference between different groups of man.

13. There is no evidence that race mixture produces disadvantageous biological results. The social results of race mixture — whether for good or ill — can generally be traced to social factors.

14. Social and economic causes of race prejudice are particularly observable in settler societies where there is great disparity of power and property . . . in areas in which individuals are deprived of equal access to employment,

housing, political participation, education and the administration of justice.

I think I have supplied fairly conclusive proof that there is no acceptable scientific or biological evidence that one race of mankind is inherently superior to another. I also feel sure that no theologian* would ever assert that there is any Christian basis for the doctrine of White superiority. I surmise that Churchmen would regard the practise of racism as even deadlier than the "deadly sins". The attitude of the Churches to the doctrine of apartheid really warrants entirely independent analysis and consideration. There are, however, very many devout lay members of many churches who wonder why all too few, if any, Churchmen** and Christian leaders (in a community in which 94% of the White group claim to be church members and call themselves Christians and in which 75% of the total population claim to be members of Christian churches) seem to see any necessity to anathematize apartheid and lead or partake in a militant ecumenical crusade against a belief which must surely be repugnant to the pure teachings of Christ.

I humbly suggest this crusade will never materialize unless Churchmen and their Christian flocks live and practise the teachings of Christ as He Himself would have lived and practised and taught if He returned and were alive today to walk our land, our streets and our villages — if He were alive to live with and love the people of South Africa, Black, Brown and White and suffer their little children to come unto Him.

I have said that I know many sincere Christians who would welcome a crusade by their Churches against the doctrine of race superiority. I do so because we have always been taught that Christianity was never meant to be an entirely static or purely reflective religion. Surely it is dedicated to the practise of proselytism and propaganda. I submit, with humility, that many people are beginning to ask whether the Churches in South Africa are not neglecting their true

*Theologians do assert that prejudice (prejudgement) based on ignorance does not constitute a sin but that in prejudice held in deliberate disregard of evidence, sin is involved. If the scientific evidence such as supplied by UNESCO is known and ignored and race prejudice is persisted in — they should have little hesitation in calling it a "deadly sin".

**There have been very many individual exceptions — Churchmen in South Africa who have faced persecution and excommunication for standing by their consciences and their Christian principles. My appeal is that the Churches, as institutions, and if possible collectively, should intervene when Christian ethics are violated by State policy. They have a higher allegiance than that of the State to claim their devoted loyalty. The laws of God supersede the laws of man.

calling by failing to combat more openly and actively and collectively the evil spread of racism.

The Churches won a hold over the minds of millions in Africa by their missionary work. They brought Christianity to the indigenous population of South Africa. Are they continuing to practise Christianity for and with those who are descended from their original converts? Do all Churches and Church-men themselves practise living Christianity towards all of the indigenous people of South Africa today? Do Churches tolerate members whom they know are only nominal Christians? If so, is the Church only nominally Christian? Do the Churches accept too passively and perhaps even connive at a situation in which political interests trample upon the teaching of Christ? Do they welcome to their Church, without rebuke, people who are too race-proud to obey the injunctions of the religion they purport to practise? Do not some of the Christian Churches practise apartheid themselves in their Houses of God?

Are we not commanded to love our neighbour as ourselves? (or is it only our White neighbours?) Are not all men of all colours brothers and equals before the God we worship?

All the Black man and the Brown man wants is a chance to prove that he can attain equality with the White man. He rightly demands recognition of his human dignity. The average man of colour may be prepared to admit that, in many spheres and through circumstances beyond his control, he is not now equal in ability and culture and skill to the average White man. But, rightly, he will not admit that he is not potentially the equal of anyone. He claims the simple right to prove it. He wants his child to be given an equal chance to compete with the White child — in every sphere — on merit. What could be fairer than that? Give him equal education, training and equal opportunities and let him compete in equal terms. That is all he asks. He asks for nothing more but nothing less — than Justice.

If we do not grant this to the non-White we cannot call ourselves democrats, nor civilised beings, nor Christians. We Whites say to the non-Whites: "you are inherently inferior to us". But an entirely irrational fear makes us refuse to give him the chance to prove that he is not.

It is difficult for many serious minded laymen to understand how any Christian Church can condone in any way the actions or attitude of people who believe and practise the doctrine of White superiority. And knowingly accept to their Communion members who do not believe in the universal brotherhood of man. Members who do not respect the worth of every individual human being, regardless of colour: who shun the Black man and force him away and apart for ever. Who may, even if they go to Heaven, expect the Black man to live in a different mansion of the many that are there.

Churchmen of all denominations know of all the evils attending the practise of apartheid. They know of the cancer in the system of migratory labour, the cruelty of influx control; the fact that there are over four million displaced people in this country in Anno Domini 1968; that tens of thousands of women and children and old men exist now, hopeless and rootless, in resettlement camps — the helpless victims of an unchristian system. They know that millions of migrant labourers can never earn the right to live anywhere permanently: can never take a permanent job. That the Black man in South Africa is, in the main, a voiceless serf and helot. They know of the break-up of family life: the resultant crime and vice of overcrowding when thousands of married men live bachelor lives in cramped quarters in our cities. Knowing these wicked things why will they not combine in action to cure the minds and save the souls of those who suffer and those who cause them to suffer?

All Churches must have a clear answer to all of these questions and many people would be grateful if they gave a lead by at least making unequivocal official statements on all these issues. Would that they could see their way to combine to protest and proselytise; to crusade amongst their members; to lead a movement to cut out this cancer of apartheid, even though it may seem to lead to their martyrdom. Preaching patience, practising philanthropy, praising humility, dispensing charity to those who are denied justice is no substitute for justice. The Churches must insist on justice — and should fight the good fight for it.

Let me remind you that the Cape Synod Commission of the N.G. Kerk said in its Report of 1965: "The Whites will not, according to the laws of God, remain unaffected by the disease destroying the moral life of the Bantu".

Two ways only to eradicate Racism

The "Burger" editor, who is one who sincerely wishes to eradicate racism, in commenting on the ethical issues raised by the N.G.K. Commission's Report, put this succinct issue before us, thus:— "Either the incoming Bantu will have to be increasingly accepted as permanent in the 'White' areas, with all the implications of extending rights and integration, which such acceptance must inevitably bring or the conception of 'homelands' will have to acquire greater purport at a faster rate than has been possible up to now". He went on to say: "Separate freedom on a firm territorial basis is, in our opinion, the bitterly hard but only course". The course, I presume, which will lead to the death of racialism.

I hold a diametrically opposed view as to the cure for racism. I believe that even though it may be "bitterly hard" the "only course" is orderly integration of all our peoples into one common multi-racial fatherland.

In my opinion South Africa must face up now, immediately, to an inevitable and ineluctable choice between equitable partition and orderly integration. These are the only alternatives open to us if we would avoid virulent race conflicts. If we refuse to make the choice — if we go on existing in a race-ridden society in which the peculiar but profitable privileges of the White minority are temporarily maintained by force and fear — nemesis will overtake our children — if not us. Integration will inevitably come — but if too long delayed it may not come by orderly acceptance and arrangement — but with suffering and sorrow, if not by the sword.

But let us forget my personal opinions. Let us examine, as objectively as possible, the alternatives — partition or integration — each of which, it is claimed, would exorcise the curse of racism — of race discrimination.

We can assume that all thinking and serious-minded South Africans of all races realise that it is imperative to eliminate the cause of racism, of race tension, of race discrimination. We know from long and bitter experience that it corrodes the spirit and debases our sense of justice.

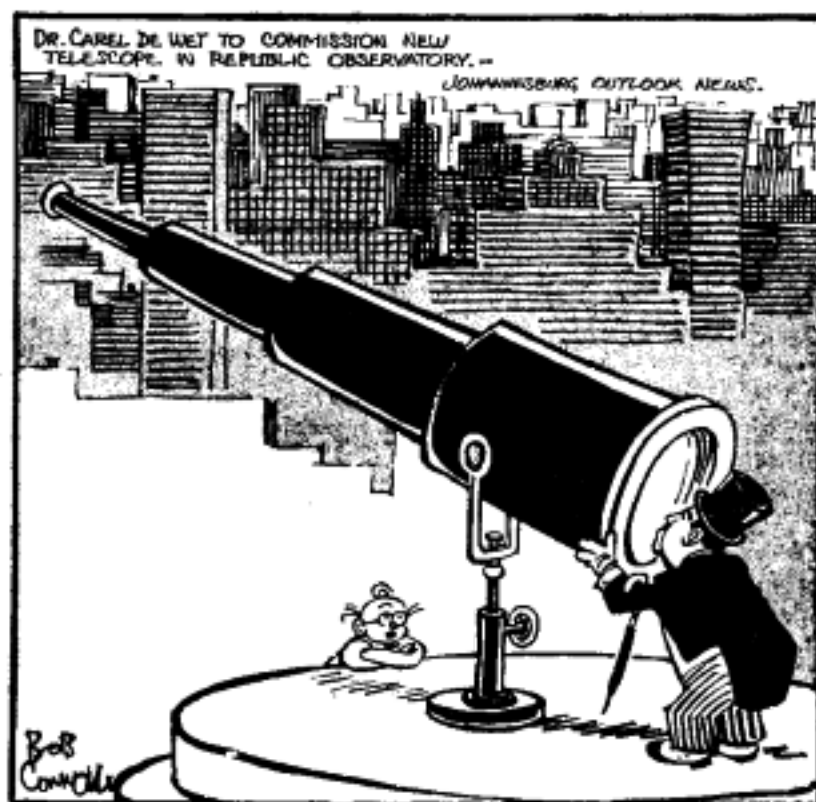
Mr. Lawrence Gandar, Editor in Chief of the Rand Daily Mail (in his outstanding contribution to our thinking on this subject entitled "The Politics of Indecision")* agrees with the 'Burger' Editor that . . .

"There are only two ways in which race discrimination can be avoided. The first (and the one Mr. Gandar chooses)** is by the thorough-going integration of the races, by the creation of an open society in which individual merit and not race is the criterion of ability and the key to rights and opportunities. The second is by the complete separation of the races in all spheres — "total territorial partitioning on a just and equitable basis." He goes on to say: "There is no third course, no middle way that can lead to our goal of ending race discrimination".

Each editor faces his particular language group with the same ineluctable alternative***. We must choose between an open, multi-racial society or complete separation. EITHER to avoid race friction by eliminating race contact through complete separation of the races (White, Black and Brown) socially, politically, territorially: OR to accept orderly economic integration with its inevitable consequence of social integration in a common fatherland.

Which will it be? Which plan is best? Separation or integration? If politics is the art of the possible, which course is possible? Which plan is impossible? I think we will all agree that it is fatal in the long run to pursue the third course which selfishly aims to give us the best of both worlds — partial separation (enough to keep us economically prosperous) with race

NO, THE OTHER WAY ROUND!



discrimination (to keep the White race pure). Yet that is just what we are doing.

The National Party Government is impaled on the horns of a dilemma. It craves total separation between the races yet knows that we cannot divorce ourselves from the non-Whites. We need their hands and skill to mine our gold; to till our fields; to work our factories; to keep the wheels of distribution and transport turning; to serve as minions in our homes and nurses to our children. In short, the Government knows the non-Whites are essential to our comfort and continued prosperity. And yet, with the exasperating ambivalence of all apartheid adherents, it wishes to banish them from our presence and sight. That is why the Nationalist Government refuses to accept either of the two alternative courses (complete territorial separation or integration) and drifts along on the dangerous third course of partial separation, bolstered up with rigid race discrimination.

It is right to reject complete partitioned separation. To make partition fair and lasting calls for liquidation and redistribution of land and assets and this is manifestly impossible.

It is wrong to reject the idea of gradual and orderly integration into an open multi-racial society. It only does so because of an unscientific phobia about race purity — an unreligious paranoia about White race superiority. The

*See 'The Black Sash' Vol. 11 No. 3.

**And I choose for I am a Gandar man.

***It follows as a corollary that the implementation of either plan should be carried out on a mutually agreed basis and in a just and orderly manner. Ideally it should not be imposed but accepted after full consultation.

Government feels unsure of the strength of the resistance of the superior Whites to racial mixture with inferior non-Whites if continued political and social contact were established. It feels uncertain of the strength of its own culture and civilisation.

Therefore the Government has chosen the third, the suicidal path — the path which leads to a perpetuation of racism — the path of apartheid, bolstered up by the “separate freedom in independent Bantustan” myth. This policy must fail because it has not only been imposed on a subject race without appropriate consultation but it is immoral and unjust. For the Whites have taken the lion’s share of the land (87 per cent) and all of the worth-while assets.

We need these assets and all the natural resources which nature has given us in abundance to produce the wealth to meet the colossal financial cost of keeping the races apart. But the necessity for maintaining maximum development in turn calls for economic integration — which leads to social integration. All the real power, economic and political is retained in White minority hands as a matter of law. And the laws which enforce apartheid all too often degrade the Rule of Law. Apartheid can only be enforced by the assumption of police state powers to deal with determined opponents. Such an arrangement can only be temporary. It is already crumbling and Mr. M. C. Botha, if no-one else in the Nationalist ranks, has woken up to the fact.

The Government has experimented unsuccessfully with its race policy for twenty years. It has been called by different names, gradually toned down in harshness to give it spurious respectability. Twenty years ago, the “Baas” bluntly called it “apartheid”. Then it became “segregation”, then “separate development” and now it is grandiloquently called “separate freedom”. But this conception places our rulers in another dialectic quandary, because there can be no territorial separation or separate freedom for the Coloured and Indian people. So National policy is “separate freedom” for the Blacks in seven Bantustans or “homelands” coupled with “separate development” for the Coloured and Indian in separate “home areas” (for they can never ever have a “homeland”). Whatever sweet-sounding new name is given to it apartheid remains offensive to those subjected to its virulence. The claim to accord Coloureds and Indians “separate freedom” seems to fall well within the ambit of what Mr. Vorster calls: “an ascertainable factual lie”*

*Last year at Koffifontein Mr. Vorster threatened the Press with legislation to prevent the publication of what he called ‘ascertainable factual lies’.

Put plainly the Government cannot do without the man of colour. Yet it regards him as an inferior who will never be fit to mix socially with his White superior. He must always accept the relationship of servant to a master, or worker to a boss. He must be excluded from White society — kept out of sight until he is needed. This is the background against which we should examine this cracking and creaking “separate freedom” Master Plan of the National Party.

The Master Plan for Race Separation

The Plan which over a decade ago the Government notified its determination to implement was frightening in its implication and improbable of implementation. The Government schemed:

1. To weld together more than 250 widely scattered Black reserves or Black “spots” into seven or eight clearly demarcated Bantustans.
2. To find and purchase sufficient land to make each Bantustan a contiguous whole.
3. To raise the finance to make each Bantustan economically viable — capable of supporting its expanding population and, in addition, of drawing off from White South Africa and absorbing additional millions of Black Bantustan nationals.

Now, the sole object of the Nationalist Master Plan; the impelling reason for its existence is to make South Africa an exclusively “White man’s country”. The eventual aim was a total elimination of social contact between White and Black, which our rulers find intolerable. Black servants were to go from our houses, Black labour to disappear from our economic complex. The impossible scheme, outlined in brief above, was to be completed by the end of the century. In 2000 AD White South Africa would reach the “Promised Land”. By that date the Bantustans would be established — independent sovereign countries able to support a minimum of 15 million people on the 13 per cent of land that South Africa has granted the Bantu for this purpose.

Progress to date must be dismally disappointing to the Government. At the present moment there is only one Bantustan in existence. It is still subject to Emergency Law control and it cannot economically support its own natural population increase. And there are signs that plans to establish any other Bantustans will be dropped.

Let us now project ourselves forward 32 years and examine what the factual situation will be in 2000 AD. At the turn of the century it is reliably estimated* that “White” South Africa will have 7 million Whites, 6 million Coloured and 1 million Asiatics, in addition to at least 13 million Africans. (In the meanwhile the total Bantu population will have grown to 28 million. By the year 2030 these numbers will have been doubled, but don’t let us look too far ahead).

If the incredible Nationalist race purification plan for "White" South Africa could reach its impossibly optimistic optimum aim by 2000 AD all that would have been achieved is that substantially the same, and to them intolerable, conditions of race mixture proportions would then prevail as they do today. At a minimum the Whites would be just as vastly outnumbered. Of necessity apartheid would have to be just as sternly enforced in White South Africa. There would be just as harsh and unfair race discrimination in housing, education and amenities in all spheres of economic and social life. The laws could be no less severe or oppressive. The police state would still be with us. We would still, as a White nation have to endure all the evil consequences of migratory labour housed in bachelor camps. None of the expensive and oppressive machinery of apartheid would be dismantled. There would be one important difference — the restrictions imposed on the Blacks would be imposed upon the nationals of a neighbouring independent state and a new sphere of friction and resentment would have been created.

Let us ask ourselves: what will have been accomplished after yet another generation of misery and injustice? Precisely nothing. And where will the 15 million new Africans be in the year 2000 AD? In Bantustans? In the one Bantustan? In the Transkei? Will they have been miraculously absorbed into this already overcrowded and underdeveloped* homeland? We must remember that in the improbable event of further Bantustans on the Transkei model being contemplated a major reapportionment of land would be essential. The Government, however, is committed to restrict Bantustan land to 13 per cent of the whole country. Thus, the best the Africans can hope for is the same sort of "freedom" which the Coloureds and Asiatics will get—a pseudo-homeland in a segregated area in which they can have limited local authority under an exclusively White central Government.

Botha Back-Tracks on Bantustan Policy

Faced with the irrefutable facts of life the Government has got cold feet and is starting to back away from the implications of its Bantustan programme. In a speech made a fortnight ago, on the 20th March — to the University of Potchefstroom — Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, has been forced to beat a retreat from previously conceived plans for 'separate freedoms' and 'separate nationhoods'. He has blown away for ever the Verwoerdian pipe-dream of separate, independent national homelands for the Bantu

*Figures projected by the Natural Resources Development Council; the Bureau of Statistics; the Industrial Development Corporation.

which would eventually be economically viable and able to support them and their increasing numbers as separate nations. Mr. Botha has also destroyed the whole moral content of the Nationalist Bantustan policy; removed all justification for enforcing apartheid on a territorial basis. It is clear that the Nationalists have now, after twenty years of endeavour and experiment, realised that their grandiose conception is impossible of implementation.**

At least five years ago it should have become obvious to the most blind and obstinate Government supporter that the Government, even if it did intend to create more Bantustans, could never set them up fast enough or develop them quick enough even to maintain a status quo in population proportions even in White areas, let alone reduce overwhelming African majorities.

A 1965 review of trends proved that the White population in a five year period had increased by only 207,000 — a 6 per cent rise — while the Africans increased by 1,235,000 — an 11 per cent rise. Commenting on these figures the 'Rand Daily Mail' pointed out that: "These statistics give added point to the simple but vital questions asked by those who query the justice and sanity of the apartheid policy. How much longer can it be argued with any pretence of reason or morality that the Africans — the great and rapidly increasing majority of the population — are only entitled to such basic rights as the franchise and freedom ownership of property in only 13 per cent of the area of South Africa? The blatantly inadequate "homelands" and reserves, increasingly over-populated and even more notably underdeveloped, offer little enough haven to the steadily growing African population . . . The figures make nonsense of the apartheid view of urban Africans as "temporary sojourners" in the White man's territory. Where are all these people, whose numbers are swelling rapidly for economic reasons as well as through natural increase, going when their "temporary sojourn" here in White South Africa

*I have said that the Transkei is underdeveloped. One example is enough to prove my contention. The Tomlinson Report recommended that by now a minimum of 80,000 new jobs should have been created in the Transkei. The recent figures given by Mr. Botha revealed that, in all the Homelands combined, jobs had been created for only 945 Africans (and 37 Whites) at a cost of R11,500 each. In the Transkei after 20 years of Nationalist rule only two industries had been established: a "Bantu" beer brewery and a furniture factory.

**Is it perhaps unfair to remind our friend the 'Burger' Editor of his statement which I can summarise as "Either extension of rights and integration or 'homelands' to acquire a greater purport at a faster rate"?

ends? The facts of population growth teach us that sooner than later we must face the fact that we live in a multi-racial society."

Now we have it from Mr. Botha that his Government is beginning to repudiate its plan of vigorous development of the homelands to economic self-sufficiency. He suggests that the Bantu people must depend upon their own initiative and resources for development. The Government is also easing out of its undertaking to move rapidly towards consolidation into Bantustans. It has come to accept the permanent presence of millions of rightless migrant workers in our cities.

Listen to Mr. Botha when he says: "The crux of the Government's Bantustan policy does not lie primarily in the spectacular removal of the people to their various homelands." This is interesting. "It lies", he says, "rather in the process of freeing the Bantu people from guardianship and anchoring them in their homelands, traditionally, spiritually and politically." To him the large scale repatriation of the Africans from the White areas to the homelands is no longer a matter of urgency. Now the aim is to 'anchor' those that are there spiritually and politically to their traditional "homelands". The millions of Bantu at present in "White" South Africa will not be sent to their "homelands" in a hurry. They can perhaps be regarded and treated as foreign migrants for ever.

Mr. Botha has at last realised, to quote his own words: "that the creation of a number of detached homelands alone is not the final answer". By implication he criticises institutions like SABRA thus: "Wishful thinkers and people who should know better should not call for spectacular applications of policy. Apartheid's policy, success or failure, does not lie in absolute geographical separation of the various homelands."

Consider his use of the words "various homelands". How many homelands has he got in mind? He has departed from the conception of 7 or 8 Bantustans. Are the scattered Reserves now to be considered the future homelands for the unwanted Bantu population? Apparently yes! What sort of separate sovereignty, such as was promised in the original Bantustan conception, can these "Pseudo-homelands" ever be given?

What of the Coloureds and Asiatics

So far — in contending that the Master Plan of 'separate freedom' was an elaborate and costly farce and failure — I have only dealt with the Africans. But we must not forget our Coloured people: and the Asiatics. By the year 2000 AD their numbers will have grown to 6 million and 1 million respectively. What separate freedom will they enjoy? Will they have better jobs, better amenities, or better living conditions and

if so, where? They have no Colouredstan or India-stan! The Group Areas Act and Job Reservation will still be enforced. They will have no proper Parliamentary representation. They will be worse off than they are now. In the last 20 years they have been deprived of their dignity, their economic stability, their recreational facilities and educational and political opportunities. None of these things are likely to be improved for them in the next 20 years. They are moving backwards and away from all the so-called benefits of White civilisation under this Nationalist Government.

Integration — a practical policy

It was inevitable that the apartheid — "separate freedoms" — myth would some day be debunked as a way to end race discrimination. Little did I think that it would be done in such a casual but unmistakable way by a Nationalist Minister who has now acknowledged that the only alternative to integration — namely "to give the conception of the 'homelands' a greater purport at a faster rate than has been possible up to now" (I quote the 'Burger' Editor again) is not now his Government's policy.

That leaves us with integration. Is it anything we should fear? I sincerely believe it is something we should welcome.

The ideal national racial policy for a multi-racial land must be based on the equality of opportunity with merit as the sole criterion for full participation in political, economic and social life. Every single man and woman, regardless of race, colour or creed should have right and access to equal opportunity to earn the privilege and learn the responsibility of full citizenship.

This Government is going to vicious lengths to cut all contact between the races. Politically it will be difficult for us to keep hope alive in the hearts of non-White South Africans. But other non-political organisations and institutions can strive to do so—particularly the Churches which can keep open channels of charitable and compassionate contact with the non-Whites. I have ventured to hope, earlier in my speech, that religious leaders will see fit to take up collective arms to fight against the deadly sin of racism — of race pride — of race discrimination.

We are not alone. We have substantial support. We have this strong incentive to continue our struggle against injustice and intolerance. We know our cause is right — politically and morally. In the end it will prevail. Even if some of us do not live long enough to see the day of attainment of our ideals, our children will. Let us continue to work together to keep a light alive to guide our non-White brother South Africans through the long night's march to a dawn of dignity, equality and freedom, in a land in which racism is outlawed — and with the help of the Churches is excommunicated.

DR. RAYMOND HOFFENBERG LEFT SOUTH AFRICA ON AN EXIT PERMIT ON FRIDAY, 29th MARCH 1968. MR. HAMILTON RUSSELL PAID THIS TRIBUTE AT A BLACK SASH MEETING IN JOHANNESBURG ON 2nd APRIL 1968.

Nothing illustrates more the senselessness of racism or the sadistic cruelty of our race laws than the unjust and infamous treatment inflicted upon Dr. 'Bill' Hoffenberg.

Only a few days ago, and in the face of widespread and influential protest (in which the Black Sash, of course, joined), Bill Hoffenberg, a distinguished and loyal son of South Africa, with his wife Margaret and two young children, were hounded out of their homeland by this Government.

What crimes did he commit? None. Requests and demands by his family, his friends, his University and professional colleagues to bring him to trial — to bring him to justice — and if found guilty to punish him — met with contemptuous Ministerial silence.

In the eyes of this Government he *had* had a fair trial — a trial in a secret ministerial court from which there was no appeal.

No charge was ever laid, no crime alleged. The Minister (of so-called Justice) was his prosecutor and his judge. Bill Hoffenberg had no legal representation in the "Court". No evidence was led against him that anyone has ever seen. In fact no evidence can exist or it would have been jubilantly paraded by the Minister.

But Judge-Minister Pelser, a fallible and biased man, condemned Dr. Hoffenberg without a true trial and sentenced him to civil death. Banned him. Told him he could only avoid living the life of a segregated 'un-person' by getting out of his motherland and staying out of it for ever.

An innocent man and his innocent family were hounded out of their homeland by arbitrary edict.

But perhaps I am also a fallible judge when I presume to judge and condemn the Minister's sinister sense of justice. Perhaps I am wrong. Perhaps after all Bill Hoffenberg *was* guilty of heinous crimes in the eyes of this Government.

Did he not feel deep compassion for all who suffer from the intolerably cruel impact of apartheid? And are not most of them that suffer Black or Brown? And is this not a crime in the Minister's eyes to oppose apartheid?

Did he not want to feed the hungry and cure malnutrition? Did he not collect money to do so? And are most undernourished people in South Africa Black? And is this not at least a "misdemeanour"?

Did he not sit on a Committee to collect money to see that the political prisoners were given a fair and just trial in accordance with the Roman-Dutch Law? And are not all political suspects either Black or Communist? Do they deserve a fair trial? Is it not a crime to try to get them justice?

Was it not his ideal to teach whoever might come to his classes — and might not some of them be non-White? And anyway is not anyone who believes in academic freedom a black-hearted political villain?

Was he not a Liberal, with a capital "L"? And is not a Liberal really a Communist? And does a Communist deserve justice?

In the absence of any other evidence these "ministerial crimes" must be presumed to be the sole cause of Bill Hoffenberg's banning and eventual forced self-eviction from the land of his love and his birth.

I ask you now to stand in protest to show your strong revulsion for this wicked act of injustice — this tyrannical condemnation, without even the semblance of a trial.

While you stand for a few minutes in silent protest against the gross injustice done to the Hoffenbergs, think of them all and wish them well. Pray for their eventual return, on some happy future day, to a reformed South Africa in which racism is banished, justice is restored and real democracy is practised.

Removal and Resettlement

By BUNTY BIGGS

THE UPROOTING AND RESETTLING OF FAMILIES and communities for whatever reason, is a matter requiring the most careful planning, imaginative preparation, ethical motivation and sensitive and efficient execution.

HAVE these considerations and principles been met in the planned removals of Africans from the areas around Washbank to the new settlement at Limehill?

After two visits and discussions with officials and observers on the spot, I think the answer is "no".

The planning has been uncertain and removal dates changed. The menfolk working away from home have neither been consulted nor given an opportunity to make representations.

It seems clear that the families concerned could either avail themselves of the facilities provided for their move, or remain in their homes illegally, under threat of future eviction.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that they availed themselves of the free transport offered; but the choice was hardly a free one, nor could their acquiescence be termed voluntary co-operation.

I am personally satisfied that the families did not want to move.

When we consider the actual mechanics of the removal of 1200 people to Limehill the facts show that it was executed hastily, inefficiently and without adequate forethought.

With more care and organisation those services which were eventually provided could have been in operation and established ready for the first arrivals. These include latrine pits, school and clinic buildings, supplies of building materials, food store, bus service.

In the event, all that greeted the first families was a $\frac{1}{4}$ acre plot each, a pile of tents and water for drinking, not even for building.

Administration of the camp was in the hands of someone too inexperienced to keep adequate records, so that free building materials were inadequate and were arbitrarily allocated, the free ration of mealie meal and dried milk and soup seemed to be haphazardly distributed.

Compensation for the demolished homes was paid to all the owners, but did not always cover the cost of paying for labour and materials.

The District Surgeon started weekly visits in his official and private capacity three weeks after the removal date; but there is still no nurse to run the clinic.

Undoubtedly the considerable press publicity given to the whole affair, the active persistent

concern, hard work and representations made by a group of Christian leaders, cleric and lay, did much to improve the facilities and provisions at Limehill and elsewhere in that area. It has been encouraging to see this ecumenical endeavour and to experience again, that a conscience in revolt can achieve something.

Economically the families are worse off in the new "closer settlement" than they were before.

They are 24 miles from their nearest labour market — a bus ride costing 40c or 50c. Previously they lived 3 miles away, which meant that some women could find work. All cattle and goats have had to be sold, only hens and dogs are allowed at Limehill. There are no longer any mealie lands, only quarter acre plots of poor soil in a low rainfall area.

No border industries are planned for this district, so the menfolk will always have to work away from home, and the women will have no opportunities to supplement the family income.

The future of such "closer settlements" should be a matter of grave concern to the country.

They are artificial communities of children, women, and old men.

School classes go as far as Standard V which means children will leave at the age of 13 or 14. What will they do then?

When the boys are 16 they will register for employment and be sent away to work; during the important adolescent years they will have to face life on their own.

The girls will not have any avenue of employment as they do not figure in the migratory labour system. What will happen to them; where will they find a husband and start a home of their own?

When the young men wish to marry where can they build a house for their bride? They cannot have them in the urban bachelor quarters, they may not erect another dwelling in the "settlement", only one per plot is allowed. Will the new generation just swell the numbers in the grandparents home causing serious overcrowding and slum conditions?

What constructive outlets for their energy will the children have after school closes at 12.30?

There will be complete darkness after sunset

throughout the whole area of 12,000 inhabitants. In a township it is usually thought that street lighting helps to contain crime and delinquency.

How will the mothers spend their time usefully? Already those who have finished their houses are asking "what do I do now?"

The adjustment from a rural type of life and economy to one in a township will not be easy. When communities are in the process of being re-established a good deal of help and guidance is needed if problems such as delinquency, illegitimacy and drunkenness, common in so many urban areas, are to be avoided.

These "closer settlements" are established in tribal areas or reserves and fall under the jurisdiction of a chief and his council. It is extremely doubtful whether they will have the experience and exercise the kind of leadership that will be so necessary. For them too it is a new, strange social structure.

There are a lot of questions that need to be considered and answered, and there is much constructive work that could be done if the Govern-

ment would give the whole matter the imaginative thought and practical guidance required.

The scope is tremendous and the need obvious, and there are people trained in community services, intensive horticulture, youth work and home crafts who could make a valuable contribution.

People are being uprooted in order that a plan for concentrating a particular racial group in specific areas shall be implemented.

Society, all of us, should at least try to ensure that the lives of those concerned are disrupted as little as possible and that adequate provisions are made, not only for their immediate physical welfare during the removal period; but also for their long-term economic, social and spiritual well-being.

Our consciences must not now go to sleep; we must stir others awake, and press the government to care about the future of these settlements, surely we owe this to these families who have no choice but to go where they are told and have to face a new life in a strange environment.

Emergency Camp

In Government Gazette Number 1952 of the 19th January, 1968, regulations for the "Administration, Maintenance, Sanitation, and Health for the Emergency Camp at Weenen" were published. Mrs. Doreen Patrick and Mrs. Mary Grice of the Natal Coastal Region of the Black Sash and Mrs. Roberts visited Weenen on 1st April, 1968, to find out the reasons for the setting up of an emergency camp, and to investigate the living conditions there. This is their report on this visit.

ABOUT 17 MILES FROM ESTCOURT is a small farming centre known as Weenen. It has been zoned for European, Coloured and Indian occupation, but not for African. The African community, which is in fact the life blood of this area, is being herded into a temporary location or "Emergency Camp" as it is officially called. It is "temporary" because the Municipal Authorities and the Government cannot agree where to put these people. The Reverend Father Paquette O.M.I., priest-in-charge of the Roman Catholic Mission at Weenen, reported as follows:

"Several years ago the Government began to insist that the Weenen Town Board build a location for its African residents.

When no action was taken, the government department concerned informed the Weenen Town Board that it had no right to demand rent from African squatters.

As a result, the Weenen Town Board, about two years ago, gave one month's notice to all African tenants, informing them they had to leave their sites and could go where they liked. There was no provision for new sites.

The people appealed to the magistrate, who contacted the government department, with the result that they were allowed to stay for a while longer.

In May, 1967, the Bantu Affairs Department began removing some of the people to Nkandla in Zululand. The movements affected people not employed in Weenen and were "voluntary".

The local white farmers became alarmed and launched a campaign to retain the Africans in the area for fear that they would lose all their labour reserves.

Late in 1967 the Weenen Town Board, in consultation with the government department, decided on an "emergency location". The Emergency location is supposed to provide a home for these Africans for the next two or three years."

The camp is approximately three miles from the centre of Weenen. Some of these Africans were squatting on neighbouring European-owned farms and have now been evicted and sent to this camp. Others owned land themselves and have been bought out. The plots are not less than thirty feet by thirty feet, as laid down in the

Government Gazette. One that we measured was thirty three feet by thirty three feet and had eight people living on it; another was forty eight feet by forty eight feet and had twenty two people living on it.

At present about two hundred people are there — no water, no sanitation. According to the Gazette, both should be provided by the Urban local authority (Paragraph 21 (1) and (2)). Water is far from pure and has to be fetched from the Bushman's River or from a furrow between half a mile and two miles away. Transport for water for building has to be paid for.

There is no sanitation. Fouling of the whole area is an obvious result. According to the Gazette this is not allowed. (Paragraph 33). It was also gazetted (Paragraph 4) that the Medical Officer of Health should report on the "health and sanitary" conditions of the camp every July. To date the M.O.H. has not visited the area.

Compensation is paid to land-owners, but all expenses of moving are borne by the families. No trucks to assist, no building materials, no tents or temporary accommodation were provided. While families build their houses, they live in the open or in small, quickly erected shelters. Sand for building is scraped off their plots. This is another offence, according to Paragraph 34 in the Gazette. The Superintendent is supposed to supervise the building and the materials, but there is no Superintendent.

The first people were sent to this camp in July, 1967 and they paid 75 cents per month rent. (R9 per annum) There is a daily bus — return fare 10 cents. In their previous homes rent was R6 per annum and they had no bus fares. According to Father Paquette, wages earned are very low — for women from R2 to R5; for men about R8 although a tractor driver would probably get about R12.

Since February the rent in the camp has been increased to R2 per month. The reason given for this increase was the provision of water, but no signs of pipes, or even digging for their laying, were visible on 1st April. These people, therefore, are paying R24 per annum for rent for a plot not less than 30 feet by 30 feet and for no amenities whatsoever. Where before they had stock, and land for cultivation, now they have nothing. They are faced with a possible further move in a few years' time.

The only building being erected by the local authority at present is a Beer Hall, we were told.

HAVING made some progress in its struggle to get more money for doctors from medical aid schemes, the Medical Association perhaps will find a moment today to wave a discreet goodbye to Dr. Hoffenberg.

(Harry O'Connor. Rand Daily Mail, 29th March, 1968).

DICTIONARY

By JOYCE HARRIS

(Continued from our February issue)

Independent, as in "Bantustans": dependent upon South African government for defence, external affairs, internal security, postal and related matters, railways, immigration, currency and banking, customs and excise, their own constitution.

Liberalism: sickly, unhealthy freedom of speech or action, freedom from narrow prejudice, leaning in the direction of democracy, unfortunate facet of Western civilisation which white South Africa is committed to uphold.

Mother tongue, as in education: that which the authorities decide the home language shall be in cases of genuine bilingualism, such additions to the vocabulary as are made necessary by the limitations of the vernacular or the various Bantu languages in which African children must be educated.

National: that which is "ones own", belonging to the folk, not to be confused with the nation.

Separate: see equal, separate exits and entrances, transport, beaches, park benches, residential areas, homelands, integrated economy.

Traditional: as in "way of life": Introduction of apartheid, Bantu, Coloured and Indian education, tribal universities, disruption of African family life, abolition or curtailment of Coloured representation in Parliament, Habeas Corpus, Rule of Law.

Voluntary: as in "voluntary Limehill removals. That which people do when the alternative is prosecution.

STEALING HIS THUNDER by Bob Connolly



Regional Reports

CAPE WESTERN

A new Sash year and a new Parliamentary session — with little to commend it, and with much to keep the Sash vigilant.

Education

We were delighted that Mrs. Robb was invited to give one of a series of lectures on Migrant Labour organised by the Institute of Citizenship. The subject of her talk was "The effects of Migratory Labour on the individual labourer". Her balanced presentation and her tremendous knowledge impressed all those present, and it is gratifying to see M.P.'s taking copious notes.

Mrs. Robb who keeps us well informed on the contents of Hansard, marks relevant passages to be placed for future reference in "the Book of Knowledge". The information so gathered can be invaluable for public talks and letters to the press.

Group Areas Pamphlets

Mrs. Willis, on behalf of the Christian Churches, Advice Office in Simon's Town has drawn up a pamphlet of outstanding clarity on this complex subject. A copy has been sent to each Region. Further copies are available, at 5c each, from Mrs. Willis, Boulders House, Simon's Town.

All Branches

The innovation of evening All Branch meetings every third month has proved rewarding in that they continue to attract larger attendances than the day meetings.

We have been most fortunate to have had three excellent addresses given by members during the past months. In February, Mrs. Coplans gave us her impressions of race attitudes and relations gained from visits to London, Paris and New York, where she happened to be during last year's race riots.

In March, Mrs. Beck made the intricacies of current and forthcoming legislation intelligible to us all in her talk entitled "The Troubles ahead". And in April, Mrs. Robb gave us her talk on Migrant Labour.

Branch Meetings

Mrs. Wilks recently called a meeting of Branch Chairs to discuss common difficulties, possible ways of overcoming these, and projects that could be undertaken at Branch level. Some of the projects branches hope to undertake involve, for example, specialised studies of group area removals, transport facilities for non-White people and the conditions existing in specific townships.

We are most grateful to Elgin Branch for again arranging a picnic for the Region. A

special thanks to branch members for delicious tea-time eats and much appreciated Elgin produce.

Athlone Advice Office

Our congratulations to Mrs. Versfeld who has taken over the running of the Advice Office with commendable energy and aptitude.

On April 10th the Advice Office celebrated its tenth anniversary. A small tea party for the staff and the workers was held and Mrs. Robb's resume of the history and accomplishments of the Advice Office received a measure of press publicity.

Relevant data have been supplied to Mr. Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town for a book commissioned by the Christian Institute on Migrant Labour.

Workmens Compensation enquiries and investigations continue but with little co-operation from employers. In an effort to combat this, Race Relations have been approached to assist.

Mrs. Versfeld has prepared a report on several cases of married couples who, in spite of being "qualified" have been unable to obtain accommodation. Information about nurses, nurse aids and teachers, "qualified" but unable to find employment has also been collated.

On the outcome of the Maria Xala case depended the future security of countless women and it is to be very much regretted that this appeal was not successful. Our grateful thanks to Professor Molteno for his help and advice throughout the handling of this case.

Stands

The public has been invited to join our last three stands, and for the "Punishment without Trial" stand we paid for a press advertisement.

15th March: From 50-60 people (including five clergymen) stood from 12.45 to 1.15 p.m. at the top of Adderley Street in protest against *Group Areas and Black spot removals*. The posters read as follows:—

1. "You must not try to take a man's home away from him." The Prime Minister, Windhoek.
2. Settled Communities destroyed.
3. Black spot and Group Areas removals create misery.

And a banner reading: "Group Area Removals unjust".

It was interesting to note the attention paid to the posters carrying the quotation from the Prime Minister's speech at Windhoek.

28th March: Again 50-60 people protested at the top of Adderley Street from 12.45 to 1.15 p.m. this time against *Punishment without*

Trial on the day the Hoffenberg family left Cape Town. The Dean of Cape Town's support was appreciated. The posters read as follows:—

1. Over 700 banned without trial.
2. Innocent or guilty the courts must decide.
3. No punishment without trial.

Using the same posters, a small stand took place alongside the road outside the airport. For the 13 members taking part this was an uplifting experience: to have endless car-loads and bus-loads of people giving encouraging support and approval made a refreshing change from the usual sneers and jeers, and it made one realise that there are still many who share the ideals of the Sash. Many Sash members were present at the airport itself to say farewell to Dr. and Mrs. Hoffenberg, whose humility and dignity and the response they evoked, made this a most moving experience.

22nd April: A continuous stand in protest against "The Improper Interference Bill" and the "Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill" took place at the top of Adderley Street from 12.30—5.30 p.m. This was supported by the public.

In addition Rondebosch Branch held a stand on Rondebosch Common from 7.15—7.45 a.m. A banner read: "Over 100 years freedom of political association destroyed". There were also four posters reading:

1. "Representation of Coloureds . . . will remain in existence as it is". Dr. H. F. Verwoerd 1962.
2. 1,859,000 Coloured South Africans unrepresented in effective government.
3. Division breeds mistrust.
4. Discussion brings understanding.

Letters to the Press

- 19.2.68 (Cape Times) on Limehill Removals.
19.2.68 (Cape Argus) on Limehill Removals.
11.3.68 (Cape Argus) on Births, Deaths and Marriages Amendment Bill.
11.3.68 (Cape Times) on the Banned.
19.3.68 (Cape Times) re press and radio reference to Sash stand — Rhodesia.
19.3.68 (Cape Argus) re press and radio reference to Sash stand — Rhodesia.
18.4.68 (Cape Argus) Separate Representation for Voters Amendment Bill.
18.4.68 (Cape Times) Improper Interference Bill.

Magazine Subscription

Owing to increased costs the Black Sash has, regretfully, had to raise the price of this magazine. Individual copies are now 30 cents each and the annual subscription is now R1.20.

CAPE EASTERN

As usual political interest flags during the Christmas recess, only to return with a vengeance when Parliament sits again at the end of January.

Mrs. Ursula Randall is the new Chairman of this region. Mrs. Bolton remains the Treasurer and Mrs. D. Davis the Secretary.

Headquarters have been forced to raise the Magazine subscription due to the rising costs of printing and paper etc., to R1.20 per year. You will all agree that the standard of the Magazine is high and at Conference it was agreed after discussion, that we must keep publishing at all costs.

Three delegates from this region went to the Conference in Johannesburg in October; Mrs. Wyndham Kelly, Mrs. Nance and Mrs. Betty Randall. There were two report back meetings in Port Elizabeth and one in Grahamstown.

(1) Our education project has taken a little time to get going as we felt that the candidates for help had to be carefully selected. We were very gratified at the response from members and others over this appeal. We are happy to report that two promising boys have been chosen. Daniel has jumped a standard and is now in Standard 8. Material, the son of an impoverished farm labourer, was last year top of 150 in Standard 6. We look forward to reporting their progress to you during the year.

(2) We have started a planned press campaign as a form of protest against injustices when we see them. A glaring example is the raising of rents in New Brighton, by anything up to 400% regardless of the fact that these people are those least able to meet added expenses in their day-to-day lives. One cannot stress too strongly the value of press support. One good letter deserves another even if it is purely an endorsement. We intend to write whenever there is something to blitz about, so when you see Black Sash, or our signatures, please add your voice. The Press is the *only* medium open to us.

(3) Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Davis have gone through all the Government Gazettes listing men due Workman's Compensation. Letters have gone to employers, *not* on the list supplied by the Midland Chamber of Industries, and when addresses are supplied we have written direct to the man concerned. We also hope members in other areas will help when possible.

The Transvaal Region has been protesting vigorously against the "Black Spot" removals being carried out in Natal. It was Natal Region who first heard about these and tried to inform the public about who was being removed, where and under what conditions. One of the best posters used in the all-night stand in February in Johannesburg was BLACK SPOTS ARE PEOPLE. We are all expected to keep our

eyes and ears open for similar removals in our own areas.

If the legislation under the Improper Interference Bill is passed in its present form it affects every one of us, and we intend to do a protest stand with posters at that time.

Grahamstown Branch have been active. They have an education project for which they have collected quite a remarkable sum; they also sent Christmas parcels to some of the people in the resettlement villages and for two banished men.

A multi-racial get together is planned for the end of the month. The purpose is two fold — a social event and also an educational fact-finding one. How many non-white children drop out of school early in the year? How many fail their Matric exams? Why? and what can we do to help. More about this in the next newsletter.

We are in need of money to keep this region active. We send a levy of 90 cents per capita to H.Q.; we now are to pay R1.20 for the Magazine for each member, which leaves us with a deficit of 10 cents per member! If you feel a bit generous please add a little to your normal subscription of R2.00 to help out. We did raise about R40.00 in November by means of a jumble sale.

NATAL MIDLANDS

At our Annual General Meeting held at the end of February, Mrs. Marie Dyer was elected Chairman, Mrs. P. Brown treasurer, and Mrs. Roberts secretary. Mrs. Webb continues as vigil organiser. We are very proud of our Chairman for, as well as being involved in many other activities and looking after four young children (and a husband), she was awarded this year her M.A. degree in English, with distinction.

Activities in this region have centred around demonstrations, our multi-racial tea parties, and visits to the Limehill and Weenen areas.

Demonstrations

Our policy regarding demonstrations has changed this year. In the past we have held monthly token stands with five people standing in protest against bannings and banishments. Full stands were called to protest against specific legislation. In reviewing the impact that these token stands made, we feel that they were probably too small and too frequent. We were becoming an ordinary part of the Maritzburg street scene — like the cannon in front of which we stood. The plan now is to hold demonstrations on specific issues with as many people and posters as we can muster. Unfortunately we have not been able to invite non-Sash members of the public to join us as the City Council has refused permission for this.

Demonstrations held this year have been: February 3rd — protest against arbitrary punishment; February 17th — protest against removals

to Limehill; March 15th — protest against removals in general; April 10th — protest against the Improper Interference Bill.

On Wednesday, May 8th at 5 p.m. a Public Meeting will be held on The Improper Interference Bills. Alan Paton has agreed to speak at this and so also have several Church leaders. A protest stand will be held for half-an-hour preceding this meeting.

Multi-racial tea parties

These continue to be held each month with increasing success. Last year we were worried that numbers were dwindling and non-white friends were showing some reluctance to attend. There seems to be a new surge of enthusiasm. Last week's group were shown the intricacies of Yoga.

Forced Removals

Our attention has been focussed this year on the tragic plight of people subjected to *forced removal* from their homes. Members from this region have visited Limehill and Meran on three occasions, and have attended meetings called by the Natal Coastal Region, under the Chairmanships of Archbishop Hurley, in Durban. Mrs. Biggs has drawn up memoranda on successive visits to Limehill, and has had interviews with the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Pietermaritzburg on the removals.

Our attention was drawn by Headquarters to the "emergency camp" at Weenen, and Mrs. Roberts, with Mrs. Grice and Mrs. Patrick from Natal Coastal Region, visited the area. They were accompanied by the Rev. Hopkins from Estcourt, and by the Catholic priest from Weenen. The conditions found at this "camp" made Limehill look well-appointed. Resettlement of families from the town of Weenen had been continuing since last July, and about forty to fifty families were already endeavouring to live there. They were unassisted by any of the amenities of civilization. There was no sanitation and no water within two miles. The District Surgeon, when asked about this, knew nothing of the place nor did he seem alarmed at any possible health hazard. He commented that Weenen was largely a farming community and the Town Board was unlikely to be too concerned or prepared to spend money on increased amenities.

Plans for this region for the coming weeks are: firstly a General Meeting to be held on April 29th when the Rev. Vernon Lund will lead a discussion on "The Value of Protest"; and then our Public meeting on May 5th.

TRANSVAAL

The first half of 1968 has been extremely busy in the Transvaal as in all the other regions.

Mrs. Bernard Price

The death of Mrs. Bernard Price in January was a great sorrow to us. She was a founda-

tion member of the Black Sash and a most kind and generous benefactor. She gave us unstinted support in all ways. We shall miss her greatly.

Meetings

We have had four general meetings since conference. The first one was a report back meeting and discussion of matters arising from Conference and was well attended. The second was an evening meeting when we were addressed by Bishop Burnett, Secretary of the Christian Council. His talk was most interesting and we were disappointed that more of our members did not manage to come. Allister Sparks addressed a crowded meeting in February and Mr. Hamilton Russell in March.

Demonstrations

On the 15th November we held a demonstration to protest against the re-imposition of banning and house arrest orders for a further five years on Helen Joseph and Lilian Ngoyi. We decided to try holding this demonstration in the evening instead of the early morning in an attempt to stress to the theatre-going crowds that these women have not been out of their homes at night for five years already. It proved to be a most fortunate choice of time. Many of our working members and many people who wished to show their support and sympathy for the two women, were able to attend and at one point there were over 100 people standing.

On 7th February we held a vigil all night from 4.30 p.m. to 9 a.m. to protest against the arbitrary uprooting of settled communities and in sympathy with those who had been moved to Limehill. On 15th March we again had a stand from 4.30 to 6 p.m. when the people of Maria Ratchitz were moved to Limehill.

On 25th March we stood in protest against the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill. On 11th April the fortnight of sustained protest against this Bill and the Improper Interference Bill began with a demonstration from 4.30 p.m. to 11.30 p.m. The flame was lit at 6.30 and was taken to St. Mary's Cathedral after the Easter weekend and was thereafter guarded by two people day and night until Wednesday, 24th April, when, after a public meeting addressed by Dr. Alan Paton, it was carried back to the University. It was put out at 8.30 p.m. by Mr. Jack Unterhalter, Transvaal Chairman of the Liberal Party. This long protest was organised by a combined committee from the Liberal Party the Progressive Party, N.U.S.A.S. and the Black Sash.

Saturday Club

In December the Saturday Club held a most successful Christmas party. 50 people were there and thoroughly enjoyed themselves. Mrs. Driver and Mrs. Carlson have worked extremely hard to keep the club active and they deserve congratulation for the great success they have achieved. Regular meetings have been held since the beginning of the year.

The Black Sash, May 1968

Discussion Groups

These resumed work early in February. The members of the original group were all eager to carry on and are now busy with a new programme.

New Members

We have had a small but steady number of applications for membership which has been most encouraging. We are delighted to welcome these new members especially as so many of them want to do active work.

Letters

A letter was written to the press on the banning of Mr. Roger Ragaven, a vice-president of NUSAS, late in December. Other letters and articles have been written for the press on "protest" in answer to a letter written by Archbishop Hurley; against the removal of house ownership (leasehold) rights of Urban Africans; on the moving of populations; on the departure of Dr. Hoffenberg.

Advice Office

The office has been very busy indeed during these months and since it opened on 4th January after the Christmas holidays the workers have been stretched to the limit to deal with the large number of clients who have queued up needing help every day.

Dear Mrs. Wood,

I know it was mainly because of your kindly interest that the Black Sash Women were so generous to the folk of the Mount Coke Old Age Clinic. So through you I would like to express my thanks to them all. Your gifts really made Christmas for them. They have never had such big parcels before and truly they were so grateful. They were so genuinely pleased that they just did not know how to express their gratitude. Several came to the house the following day to shake hands and cover their faces. Of course there were two complaints, but only two! One was "My husband did not get a jacket" and the other was "My husband she just wants very big shoes and a jacket". And who could blame them for wanting these things?

They had such a contented, peaceful, Christmas — no drinking or fighting at all, which was unusual. I think the contributing factor was that they had ample to eat.

Their very sincere thanks I pass on to you coupled with my own. I just wish I could make you realise the greatness of your gesture and What it meant to Planktown.*

Most sincerely yours,

(Signed) Edith M. Carter.

**It is known by this name by all the Africans because all the houses are wooden.*

A Brief Summary of the Regulations for Labour Bureaux at Bantu Authorities —

Published in Government Gazette No. 2029 on 29th March

This summary was prepared by Jean Sinclair

THESE REGULATIONS cover areas within the orbit of the Bantu Land Act, Trust Land and Homelands but exclude the Transkei and the area of jurisdiction of the Management Board of Sebokeng.

ESTABLISHMENT OF LABOUR BUREAUX

Labour Bureaux are to be established in the area of the Tribal Authority, the District Authority and the Territorial Authority and these bureaux shall have jurisdiction to the exclusion of any other labour bureaux.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS.

Tribal Labour Officer:

(a) To endeavour to place workseekers in employment. (b) To collect and correlate data and to furnish information to District or Territorial Labour Officers or the Director of the Bantu Reference Bureau as to vacancies or availability of workseekers. (c) To ensure that no workseekers leaves his area for employment elsewhere except in accordance with regulations.

District Labour Officer:

Responsible for the efficient running of the tribal labour office — he has access to all records, books and accounts. He must keep the Territorial Officer informed of the number of workseekers and he shall receive requisitions for labour from the Territorial Authority and allocate them to the Tribal Labour Bureau. He collects fees and will keep the Director of the Bantu Reference Bureau informed of the movement of Bantu workers in his area. He will be responsible for the registration and placing in specific categories of employment of all Bantu who are physically and mentally fit. He will also organise seasonal workers.

Territorial Labour Officer:

Has jurisdiction over District and Tribal Labour Bureaux. He will also receive requisitions for labour and allocate them. He will also rehabilitate and place in employment any Africans removed from urban areas who have been convicted under Section 10 or 12 of the Urban Areas Act.

EMPLOYERS TO BE REGISTERED

All employers must register at Tribal Bureaux and must notify vacancies and engagements with-

in 14 days; but registration of employees cannot be refused regardless of whether the employer is registered or not.

The Tribal Officer is to keep a record of all employers and their employees.

REGISTRATION OF WORKSEEKERS.

Every Bantu domiciled in the area of a Tribal Labour Bureau who is unemployed but is dependent on employment for his livelihood shall within one month of these regulations coming into force or within one month of becoming unemployed, or within one month of attaining the age of 15, or of ceasing to be a full time pupil or student, have himself registered as a workseeker.

The Tribal Labour Officer must classify every workseeker in a particular category of employment, (if possible according to the wishes of the workseeker) — record the information and inform the Bantu of any vacancies and endeavour to place him in employment either in the territorial authority or in accordance with requisitions for labour received. If the Bantu cannot be placed in employment, he will be asked to call at the office on specified dates.

The following people will not have to register as workseekers:—

- (a) Those under 15 years of age.
- (b) A female unless she wishes to work.
- (c) men over 65 years of age.
- (d) those who are physically or mentally incapable in (*in the opinion of the Tribal Labour Officer.*)
- (e) pupils or students
- (f) Casual labourers or independent contractors.

CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYMENT.

- (1) Agriculture.
- (2) Mining and Quarrying.
- (3) Forestry.
- (4) Fishing.
- (5) Domestic servant.
- (6) Manufacturing.
- (7) Construction.
- (8) Wholesale and Retail trade.
- (9) Accommodation and catering services.
- (10) Transport.
- (11) Other private business services.

- (12) Semi-government Institutions.
- (13) South African Railways and Harbours.
- (14) Local Authorities.
- (15) Government Departments and Provincial Administrations.
- (16) Open employment.
- (17) Unemployable.

EMPLOYMENT WITHIN BANTU AUTHORITY AREA.

Any person who employs a Bantu in the Bantu Areas, whether he is registered as a workseeker or not, shall, after entering into a contract within 14 days, record the fact in the Bantu's reference book of his (the employer's) name and address and date of engagement and within 14 days notify the Tribal Labour Officer.

These provisions shall not apply to Bantu who are working temporarily for less than 14 days, or casual labourers, or to independent contractors, or to those who have been registered to the same employer, have a valid contract and are working temporarily in another area or who are attested for employment at the same labour bureau as the one in which he is employed.

ZONING OF EMPLOYMENT AREAS

The Director of Bantu Labour may zone areas in which Bantu workers may be made available except those recruited under licence and then those workers may work in these areas only.

REQUISITION FOR LABOUR

Requisitions for labour may be forwarded to a Territorial Labour Officer who can enter and sign a written contract of employment with a Bantu as if he were authorised by the person who signed the requisition.

When he receives a requisition for labour the Territorial Officer shall enter it in a register and refer the requisitions to a District or a Tribal Labour Officer depending on the availability of workseekers.

A previous employer, approved by the Director of Bantu Labour can request permission to employ a previous employee.

RECRUITING OF LABOUR.

Workers can be recruited by a licensed agent even though the Bantu is not registered as a workseeker but then he must register at his Tribal Labour Office as a workseeker. He shall then be deemed to have been placed in employment by the Tribal Labour Bureau.

CONTRACTS OF EMPLOYMENT TO BE ATTESTED

A Bantu who accepts employment offered to him shall enter into a written contract and, unless exempted, make arrangements for remittance of part of his wages to dependents. A contract must be attested to by an attesting officer before the man starts work. At the attestation of a contract of employment the employer may be represented by a Labour Officer, and a Recruiting

Agent may be represented by an approved person with a special power of attorney.

Contracts under Regulation 8 above may be attested in terms of this regulation (12).

CIRCUMSTANCES WHEN A CONTRACT OF EMPLOYMENT SHALL NOT BE ATTESTED.

No contract shall be attested unless a contract is in proper form and fully completed and the Bantu has had the terms of the contract fully explained to him and he consents to work in the category of work offered to him; or if the contract is in contravention of any law; or if the contract is for a period of more than 360 shifts or 270 shifts for a Bantu under 18 years of age; unless he has a reference book or document of identification; or if another contract is still valid; Bantu under the age of 16 and women must have the consent of a parent or guardian; or if he is to occupy accommodation (other than on a farm) which is not situated in a Bantu residential area or an approved area; if he has not the permission to be in the area; and unless adequate arrangements have been made to transport him from his home to his place of work and to repatriate him at the termination of his contract; unless the officer is satisfied that adequate arrangements have been made by the Bantu for the refund of money advanced by his employer or for remittance of part of his wages to his dependents.

EXTENSION AND TERMINATION OF CONTRACTS OF EMPLOYMENT.

The Director of Bantu Labour may authorise a longer period of employment than 360 or 270 shifts provided that no contract shall be extended save after payment to the officer approving such extension as a credit to the labour bureau concerned of the appropriate fee. The provisions of regulations 7 and 8 of Chapter VI of the Bantu Labour Regulations, 1965 operate.

TRANSPORT OF WORKERS

The employer is responsible for paying for the transport of a worker to his home on the termination of the contract whether he recovers the money from the employee or not.

DISPOSAL OF CONTRACTS OF EMPLOYMENT

After the attesting of a contract of employment the labour officer shall send the original contract to the labour officer concerned, hand a copy to the employer or recruiting agent, send a copy to the Municipal Labour Officer where the contract is to be performed and retain a copy for the records.

ENDORSEMENT OF REFERENCE BOOK

The attesting officer shall forthwith (a) endorse the reference book or document of identification

"permitted to proceed to.....for the purpose of taking up employment (state category) with.....under attested contract of employment"; and sign and date such endorsement over his designation.

LABOUR BUREAU RECORDS TO BE ANNOTATED.

On receipt of a contract of employment the Tribal Officer shall make appropriate entries on the record card of the Bantu registered as a workseeker.

MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

If the employer or recruiting agent requires the Bantu to be medically examined a fee of 50c is payable by the employer if the Bantu is found to be fit. An attesting officer may, prior to attestation, order the Bantu to submit to vaccination. The employer is then not liable to pay the fee.

If the medical officer is satisfied that a Bantu is healthy and vaccinated he must endorse on an appropriate document, other than a reference book, but which may be the document of contract. If a Bantu requires to be vaccinated the medical officer must do so and endorse the said document.

No Bantu may enter into a contract in a category of employment for which he has been declared medically unfit, or if he is suffering from V.D. or T.B. or from any other illness dangerous to public health.

SEASONAL WORKERS

A Labour Officer shall organise teams of workers and shall encourage the engagement of such teams as labour units under a particular leader. The fee payable by an employer is to be paid in respect of the registered leader only. The leader is to be regarded as the employer of individual members of that team and members are to be registered in the name of the leader as contractor at the Tribal Labour Bureau.

IRREGULAR DEPARTURE FROM BANTU HOMELANDS

No Bantu may leave his homeland unless he is registered at a Tribal Labour Office and his contract has been attested. This does not apply to a Bantu proceeding to an attesting officer to have his contract attested.

DEPOTS

Depots for residence of workseekers are to be established in the area of a Regional Labour Bureau. The Regional Labour Officer is to be responsible for the supervision, conduct and control of depots. He may delegate his power to District and Tribal Officers or to a member of their staff.

The Regional Labour Officer is responsible for preserving law and order among inmates of

depots and offenders may be summarily ordered to leave.

No workseeker may remain for more than three consecutive nights in a depot without permission.

LABOUR BUREAU FEES

A fee of R1 is to be paid by an employer in addition to any other fees payable for each Bantu at the time of attestation of the contract. Where the contract is extended for a period longer than 360 shifts a further R1 is to be paid by the employer to the Bantu Authority concerned for every period of 1 year or 360 shifts or part thereof. No contract can be attested unless the fee is paid. The fee is not recoverable from the worker.

Fees are payable for every Bantu in the Bantu areas including casual labourers and independent contractors. If a contract is terminated through no fault of the employer, other than death, after investigation by the Director of Bantu labour, the fee or pro rata part of the fee shall be refunded.

FUNCTIONS OF DIRECTOR OF BANTU LABOUR

To ensure the efficient functioning of labour bureaux under these regulations.

APPEAL TO TERRITORIAL LABOUR OFFICER

There can be an appeal to the Territorial Labour Officer by any person aggrieved by any decision of the District or Tribal Labour Officer. The appeal must be in writing in the form of an affidavit and must be lodged within 7 days.

The Tribal and/or District Labour Officer shall within 7 days furnish the Territorial Labour Officer with the reasons for the decisions.

OFFENCES

Any person who contravenes the regulations 5(1) (Registration of employers), 6 (1) (Registration of workseekers), or 21 (Irregular departure from the Bantu Homelands) shall be guilty of an offence and subject to a fine of R25 or imprisonment not exceeding 14 days. Any fine to accrue to the revenue of the Tribal Authority.

These regulations are in addition to the regulations of 1965. If there is any inconsistency these regulations shall prevail.

"MY Department of Bantu Administration and Development does not deal with Africans, nor is this term used in any Act of this Parliament. If the information asked for is in respect of Bantu, the reply is as follows:"

—*The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in answer to a question in Parliament. Hansard 19th March, 1968 Col. 2390.*

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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 S. Duncan, of 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the Rand Daily Mail.

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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.