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THE BLACK SASH

DEMOCRACY



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DIE SWART SERP

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National Conference

DURBAN — 1968

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY JEAN SINCLAIR

National President of the Black Sash

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING FEATURES of the twenty years of Nationalist rule is the change which has occurred in the South African personality. It is a distressing change and does not redound to our credit.

The change in attitude and behaviour has been gradual. We have dispensed with the need to live by the Christian and civilised values of our heritage and have adopted the new credo of "I'm all right Jack". Most Whites now, are not only complacent about the liberty which they themselves have lost through their negligence and apathy, but they are content to live their privileged and comfortable lives without concern for those whose lives are rigidly controlled and disrupted by the implementation of separate development.

THE unjust, discriminatory apartheid laws which control the lives of hundreds of thousands of South Africans, restrict the fulfillment of their aspirations and disrupt their families, do not so much as stir the consciences of their White brethren.

Even legislation which violates the rule of law, usurps the powers of the judiciary and denies the individual the right of access to the courts of law, brings forth only momentary protest and is soon forgotten. Our judgment has been eroded to such an extent that not an eyebrow is raised when people are detained in prison without charge or trial; when people are banned or put under house arrest or banished from their homes without the opportunity to prove their innocence; when people are forcibly removed from their homes, under the Group Areas Act, or Black Spot removals or endorsed out of urban areas; when wives are separated from their husbands and children from their parents and sent to homelands or to resettlement villages where employment is often unobtainable and the necessities of life become a luxury? How many of us give a second thought to the 60,000 people living in a homeland, 9,000 square miles of semi-desert in the Northern Cape where the mission hospital is grossly overcrowded with three or four children in a cot suffering from TB and other diseases caused by starvation, such as kwashiorkor, pellagra and scurvy?

Why have we become so callous and unconcerned? The once individualist, kindly and humane South African has become a blind, insensitive and intolerant person, steeped in racial prejudice, content to live in splendid isolation.

Let us look back to the first years of this régime and note what our attitude then was to authoritarian rule. In 1948 the Nationalists came to power with a majority of five seats in the House of Assembly, but with a minority of electoral support throughout the country.

It was clear from the start that the Government would implement apartheid without fear or favour and without regard to public opinion. Though the Government has retained the institutions of democratic government, its legislation and methods are totalitarian in character. As de Tocqueville said: "Rulers who destroy men's freedom commonly begin by trying to retain its forms".

In the first weeks of the régime separate entrances for non-Whites were instituted, Coloured people were stopped from travelling in railway coaches with Whites in the Cape Peninsula — a custom which had been enjoyed for as long as there have been trains at the Cape. Then came a flood of legislation in the next five years. Among the laws were the Population Registration Act, an amendment to the Immorality Act, the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, (thrown out by the Appeal Court), the High Court of Parliament Act, also thrown out by the Appeal Court, and a host of others.

Trade Unions were attacked; members of Parliament were unseated, the Coloured Corps was disbanded; Influx Control was introduced; passports were removed; English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking children were separated and many other totalitarian innovations were introduced.

Public reaction to all this was one of widespread protest, widespread unrest. There were strikes of African workers on the mines. There were mass meetings, marches, a passive resistance campaign. The African National Congress and the Indian National Congress joined to form the Congress Movement which later was joined by the Coloured people, the Congress of Democrats and some Trade Unions. The Torch Commando which in its hey day had a quarter of a million members, was formed to protest against the Separate Representation of Voters Bill. At that time a substantial proportion of the public was involved actively in extra-parliamentary protest.

Government Contempt

The Government's answer to the unrest and protest was contempt for public opinion and it continued to put the most authoritarian legislation on the statute book — the two Swart Bills, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953. These Bills passed through Parliament without a division to the everlasting shame of the opposition. This occurred just before the 1953 General Election and it marked the beginning of the end of public protest, because the Torch Commando, which had agreed wholeheartedly to support the United Party in the election campaign, regarded as a breach of faith the failure to oppose the two Swart Bills to the bitter end. This was one of the causes of the early demise of the Torch Commando.

With the Government's substantially increased majority in 1953, the first big change in public attitude took place. The United Party and its supporters were frustrated and depressed. People felt that protest was valueless and gave in to apathy. It was not long before the Torch Commando died.

Petition to the Prime Minister

In 1955 the Senate Bill was introduced. This marked the culmination of the long Constitutional Crisis. The intention to tamper with the South African Constitution to destroy the franchise entrenchments of the Coloured people of the Cape, rekindled a flame. It aroused widespread anger all over the country. Even the Nationalist rank and file were uneasy. This was the Bill which brought the Black Sash into existence. It organised a petition addressed to the Prime Minister asking that he repeal the Senate Act. A hundred thousand signatures of women voters were obtained in ten days. Yet again public opinion was ignored. These protests lasted for al-

most a year and from then on the attitude of White South Africans became more and more apathetic.

Non-White protest continued, however. In June 1955 a Conference of three thousand Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Whites adopted the Freedom Charter which was based on the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. In 1956, one hundred and fifty six people of all races were arrested on charges of treason. After a trial lasting four years, ninety one of the accused were acquitted and discharged and the charges were withdrawn against the rest. Then there was the demonstration of thousands of women of the Federation of South African Women who went to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against passes for African women.

The pass law protests of 1960 culminating in Sharpville, the disturbances at Langa, the famous march on Cape Town led by Kosana virtually marked the end of widespread protest. The A.N.C., the P.A.C., the Congress of Democrats were outlawed and many of the African leaders either went to goal or were banned.

The Government appears successfully to have killed all African protest by force. It is illegal for them to strike and they have no political organisations other than the political parties in the Transkei. Hundreds of people have been banned, many are under house arrest, and many more have been convicted of political crimes and an army of uniformed police, security police and informers ensure that no political opposition or unrest can occur. This year all non-Whites have been excluded by law from national political parties. The Government boasts that South Africa is a peaceful country.

In 1963 the unfortunate sabotage attempts were made when a number of young people in their frustration resorted to violence. It was a regrettable incident and brought forth yet another appalling law which resulted in hundreds of people being detained for questioning in prison under the 90 day detention clause of the General Laws Amendment Act of 1968.

Call to the blood

It is obvious that since the Government was determined relentlessly to pursue its policy and was prepared to be absolutely ruthless in the legislation it passed and in its implementation, non-violent protest has inevitably become increasingly difficult. The Government

was able to impose its will for various reasons. Firstly there was its growing power. It kept its own Party together with the emotional call to the blood. The security and the superiority of Afrikanerdom demanded absolute subjection to authority. The fostering of the exclusiveness of the Afrikaner volk is not a new phenomenon, racial exclusiveness has been used many times through history, most noticeably in recent times by Hitler's call for the race purity of the German nation.

The policy of exclusiveness has isolated the Afrikaner Nationalist from the world. It has inhibited thought and the search for truth; increased the fear of Communism, of liberalism, of the Black man, indeed of everything and everybody which or who could be construed as a threat to the superiority of Afrikanerdom. The attitude of 'topdogism', the sense of superiority, intolerance, contempt or even hatred towards other races is evident in public statements and private attitudes.

Luther and Calvin

This kind of attitude was common during the period of the Reformation. It was brought about by the change in the structure of society due to the introduction of the capitalist system in the late Middle Ages. Both Luther and Calvin mirrored the fears and anxieties of the middle and peasant classes against the growing economic power of the capitalist class. Luther sought, so says Fromm, to find "certainty by the elimination of the isolated individual self, by becoming an instrument in the hands of an overwhelmingly strong power outside the individual* — in submission to God. Calvin too, with his doctrine of predestination, preached that man was destined to salvation or damnation before birth and that there was nothing man could do to be saved. His philosophy "expressed the feeling of freedom but also of insignificance and powerlessness of the individual. It offered a solution by teaching the individual that by complete submission and self-humiliation he could hope to find new security."* Fromm goes on to say that the early Calvinists thought "that they were the chosen ones and that all others were those whom God had condemned to damnation"* Fromm further states that Calvin's regime was characterised by suspicion and hostility on the part of everybody against everybody else, and certainly little of the spirit of love and brotherliness could be discovered in his régime. Calvin distrusted and at the same time had little pity for poverty. In the

later development of Calvinism warnings against friendliness towards the stranger, a cruel attitude towards the poor, and a general atmosphere of suspiciousness often appeared".*

Only the other day, according to a press report, a Church-backed Calvinist organisation asked the Government for exclusive State schools to provide education according to strict Protestant doctrine. "Guidance would be provided against liberalism, Communism and national socialism". Such schools would also be against evolution as taught by modern science.

Such narrow mindedness can only produce bigoted and intolerant people without the capacity to judge or think independently.

Intolerance

Intolerance is part and parcel of the South African personality. The Government is intolerant of all political views other than its own and silences any dissenting opinions which it considers a danger to its authority. There is no dialogue between Afrikaans and English universities; between the Dutch Reformed Churches and the rest of the Christian denominations. Contact between White and non-White is frowned upon and is being steadily curtailed. There is intolerance towards immigrants of the wrong Christian denomination and against immigrant children who go to English-speaking schools. The SABC ensures that no views other than those acceptable to the SABC are broadcast, but frequently attacks groups and individuals who have displeased it.

The intolerant attitude of the Government is reflected in the intolerant attitude of the public both English and Afrikaans speaking. During the recent campaign on enforced removals the public was invited to sign a petition to the State President asking him to show concern for the people who are being forcibly removed from their homes. In contrast to the petition against the Senate Act when 100,000 women voters signed the petition, this petition was signed by approximately 20,000 men and women. Many people refusing to sign the petition displayed disproportionate hatred and shouted vitriolic abuse at those who were collecting signatures at the petition tables. It was distressing and contemptible. The mem-

* The Fear of Freedom — Erich Fromm.
Pages 66, 74, 76.

bers of the public who were guilty of this conduct are to be pitied. They have not only lost their sense of humour, but they have become unbalanced and bigoted. The attitude of the police was also surprising, from the taking down of tree posters to questioning workers engaged in perfectly lawful activities for which the police well knew permission had been sought and granted. It was pure intimidation to try and prevent people from expressing their opposition to a facet of government policy.

Prejudice

Cabinet Ministers too, are guilty not only of intolerance, but of racial prejudice. Recently the Minister of Labour, Mr. Viljoen, when opening a Youth Week organised by the Rapportryers, is reported as having stressed the importance of Black-White relations in the coming years and, almost in the same breath went on to say that Youth Week was taking place during the time when youth was very much in the news "from red Danny in France to pink Solly in Johannesburg". This remark could hardly have been calculated to engender racial harmony.

The attitude of intolerance stimulates prejudice. Prejudice bears no relation to reason. It excludes objective judgement and distorts the facts whether they concern people, racial groups or political policy. Race prejudice is prevalent in every facet of South African life whether it manifests itself in a refusal to admit Africans to skilled trades or prompts a town council to boast that Pietersburg will be the first town in South Africa to go "White and clean by night". A large majority of White South Africans are prejudiced and because of it they are unable to view objectively the pros and cons of government policy.

Fear

Much of the prejudice is governed by fear. Afrikaner Nationalists are afraid of a threat to the superiority of Afrikanerdom and afraid of the loss of power. Others, both English and Afrikaans-speaking who now vote Nationalist or still support the official opposition, are afraid of displeasing authority because it might affect their businesses and their prosperity. These are men and women whom, one would suppose, would be concerned about the injustices and the encroachment of authoritarianism in government policy. However, though in the past they were opponents of the Nationalist Government they now support it actively or implicitly. The incredible

statement of the South Africa Foundation on the Prime Minister's ban on the M.C.C. tour illustrates this.

Commenting on the cancellation of the tour the Foundation's newsletter says "If the M.C.C. tour with D'Oliviera had been permitted to take place, race relations in South Africa as a result of exploitation by politicians and the Press could have been seriously damaged". It would seem to me that the Prime Minister's ban is far more likely to harm race relations than the inclusion of D'Oliviera in the M.C.C. team.

The power of authority has wrought many changes in our attitudes. Fromm says that the simultaneous love of authority and the hatred against those who are powerless are typical traits of the authoritarian character.

Violence

Another example of the authoritarian character in South Africa is the reprehensible attitude to violence which finds expression in every facet of life today.

The use of violence against peaceful and legitimate protest is condoned by the authorities and the public's reaction to this use of violence is one of complete apathy.

In 1962 the Black Sash organised a silent protest around the flame of freedom to protest against the introduction of the General Laws Amendment Bill of that year. Women stood unflinchingly for five nights and seven days against a constant barrage of missiles in the form of tomatoes, eggs, fish. They had to put up with obscene language and on at least one occasion, physical assault. With the notable exception of one police sergeant and a constable who, when on duty, kept order and acted impartially in the traditional manner of the South African Police, no protection was forthcoming, despite the fact that repeated requests for protection were made.

Recently students from the Witwatersrand University who went to Pretoria to hand a petition to the Prime Minister, had their heads shaved by Pretoria students. Authority has taken no action in this matter and neither was there a public outcry. Similarly no action was taken by authority when Stellenbosch students went to the University of Cape Town to break up the sit-in demonstration against the Mafeje affair, or when the students of the Rand Afrikaans University pelted Wits Students, standing on their own campus, with eggs and tomatoes. The only reaction to these

incidents were threats from the Prime Minister to the English speaking students.

It is equally strange that the Security police should find it necessary to photograph every individual on every occasion when the Black Sash holds silent demonstrations for which permission has been granted by the City Council of Johannesburg.

The violent use of language is a common occurrence. We are constantly subjected to dire threats and warnings from the powers that be which contribute enormously to the general acceptance of violence as a social form. This violence of language is reflected in interpersonal communication, for instance when non-White people are denied the courtesy of a title and are indiscriminately addressed as John or Jane to say nothing of the aggressive attitude of authority towards non-White people in the administration of the pass laws and all other restrictive legislation. Violence in any form is undesirable in any society and its use can only worsen human relations to the detriment of the whole community.

Apathy

This tolerance of authoritarianism explains the present behaviour of many South Africans, but there are many other White South Africans who, though not authoritarian basically, feel the need to submit to authority for a variety of reasons. These people are apathetic and have made up their minds to enjoy their privilege for as long as they can, hoping that the status quo will be maintained for their life time.

A fundamental cause of this unhappy situation is the weakness of the Official Opposition. Since the day that it supported the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 it has seldom taken an uncompromising stand on even the most authoritarian legislation. It is true that it has fought vigorously much of this legislation at the first and second readings of the Bills, but in many cases despite its disagreement with the principle of the Bill, it has voted its assent at the third reading. I realise the Official Opposition is bitterly opposed to the harsh and cruel implementation of discriminatory laws; nevertheless, it is in favour of influx control and the pass laws; of the Group Areas Act and other laws. Its policy remains one of White domination.

Group Thinking

It is true to say that the vast majority of White people think of our non-White citizens

in groups, Africans, whom many continue to refer to as Natives, Coloureds and Indians. Until they begin to think of people as individuals, as Mr. and Mrs. Kumalo, Mr. and Mrs. Kajee, Mr. and Mrs. van der Merwe or Mr. and Mrs. Smith the attitude of White people will be either of paternalism or one of fear.

It is only when employers are deprived of the services of their competent nannies or cooks, or cannot obtain the labour they need in business, that they give a momentary thought to the hardship and plight of their own non-White employees. How many of us give a thought to the African and Indian waiters in hotels, restaurants or clubs, who at the end of a long day and a late night have to travel 17 miles home to Soweto or 22 miles to Lenasia? How many employers of labour, whether in commerce, industry or domestic service know the surnames, the marital status or the family conditions of their employees? How many White people realise that many married men are living in "bachelor" hostels with their wives and children living in a homeland or a resettlement village? This lack of concern for the well being of the people who contribute to White prosperity, privilege and comfort is one of the factors which makes South Africa the best hated country in the world. It avails us little to indulge in self-pity or self-righteousness; to moan about arms embargoes; to complain that the world is not concerned whether South Africa can sell her gold at 35 dollars an ounce or not; to blame what is called the introduction of politics into sport, when we find ourselves excluded from international competitions; almost to revel in South Africa's state of isolation in the belief that the whole world is out of step except the Republic. The fault is with ourselves and it can only be remedied by ourselves through a change of policy and a change of heart.

This is a depressing picture of South African attitudes. It is not without hopeful signs, however. The recent statement issued by the South African Council of Churches, "A Message to the People of South Africa" is the most encouraging thing which has happened for years. The Message draws to our attention the demands of Christian principle and an examination of this document reveals in how far South Africans have deviated from the commandments of Christian teaching. I quote from the Message: "Apartheid is a view of life and a view of man which insists that we find our identity in dissociation and in dis-

inction from each other. A policy of separate development which is based on this concept therefore involves a rejection of the central beliefs of the Christian Gospel. It calls good evil. It rejects as undesirable the good reconciliation and fellowship which God is giving to us by his Son It seeks to confine the operation of God's grace within the barriers of human distinctions. It reinforces divisions which the Holy Spirit is calling the People of God to overcome. This policy is, therefore, a form of resistance to the Holy Spirit" . . . "Christians betray their calling if they give their highest loyalty, which is due to Christ, to one group or tradition, especially where that group is demanding self-expression at the expense of other groups" . . . "If we seek to reconcile Christianity with the so-called 'South African way of Life'. (or any other way of life) we shall find that we have allowed an idol to take the place of Christ" . . . "we must ask ourselves what features of our social order will have to pass away if the lordship of Christ is to be fully acknowledged and if the peace of God is to be revealed as the destroyer of our fear"

One hopes that it will lead to the reawakening of the Christian conscience and that Christians will be imbued with the determination to practice their Christian duty.

It is encouraging to find that despite 20 years of being indoctrinated with the dogma of Apartheid and its accompanying acceptance of intolerance, prejudice and violence, the younger generation is setting the example for a return to the moral values in which we believe. These young people have a great responsibility and they will need courage and determination. It behoves us and our generation to give them all the help and encouragement that is within our power to give.

The future of our country is in the hands of youth and there are hopeful indications that the South African personality, which has deteriorated so badly and travelled so far from the ideals of brotherly love, will once again change direction and strive to achieve a just society where man can live at peace and in harmony with his fellow man.

THE TASK OF AFFIRMATION

By ALAN PATON

IT WILL SOON BE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY of the adoption by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration is based upon one tremendous assumption, that men are endowed with and have a just claim to certain inalienable rights, over their own persons, over their own freedom and their own security, provided that the exercise of such rights and freedoms does not prevent the enjoyment by others of similar rights and freedoms. There is a further assumption, namely that it is possible to construct an order of society in which all men may be able to enjoy these rights and freedoms in harmony together.

Let me first recapitulate briefly what some of these rights and freedoms are, before we consider the validity of these two tremendous assumptions, and the question as to whether the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms is indeed essential to the leading of the good and purposeful and human life.

NO man may be held in slavery or subjected to torture or to degrading treatment, nor may he be arbitrarily arrested or detained or exiled. If he is charged with any breach of the law, he is entitled to a fair and public hearing; he is presumed innocent until he is proved guilty, and he cannot be found guilty for the commission of an act which was not an offence at the time he committed it. No one shall be subjected to interference with his privacy, family, home, correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and

reputation. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and belief, to express his opinions and to persuade others and to refuse to listen to the persuasion of others, and to associate freely with others or to refuse to associate with others, all these freedoms, may I again remind you, to be exercised only if their exercise does not prevent the enjoyment by others

of similar freedoms. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, and to exercise through free elections the power to govern. Everyone has the right to the aid of the State when he is sick, disabled, handicapped, old, and cannot work or find work; everyone has the right to work, and to just conditions of employment, and to form unions for his protection. Mothers and children are to enjoy the special care of the State, and no child shall be denied protection, no matter what the circumstances in which he was born. Everyone has the right to education, or to be educated to the standard of which he is capable, and it shall be the task of education to promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations and groups. Finally these freedoms have no substance apart from the performance of those duties to the community and that obedience to the laws without which there can be no freedom at all.

No Freedom without Duty

I wish to stress this point that freedom cannot exist apart from duty and obedience, but the reason why I wish to do so is not because I think that this audience needs to be reminded of it. I do it because there are critics who will leap with cries of anger and horror on any liberal who talks about freedom and civil liberties without stressing duty and obedience. I can think of one good reason for sometimes not stressing this, and that is because the theme may well be — and indeed is tonight — the theme of freedom and justice and not the theme of duty and obedience. There is also a second good reason, and that is that I do not know any true lover of freedom who has not also a strong sense of duty towards his neighbour and towards society.

I believe that there is a clearly discernible reason for attacking speakers who talk about freedom without giving a parallel and complementary talk about duty and obedience, and that is because people of authoritarian temperament do not really care for the topics of freedom, and are made uncomfortable by any discussion of it, or even angered by it, because they regard forthright talk about freedom as a threat to law and order.

It has been my own experience that those who disapprove of forthright talk about freedom and civil rights are invariably those who enjoy them already.

Of course you cannot have freedom without obligation. You cannot have freedom without obedience. It is fascinating to note how it is impossible to speak of aesthetic freedom without using the language of bondage. When we hear a great speaker we say that he held us spellbound, or we say that he held us in the hollow of his hand. A great actress enthralls us, she holds us in thrall. A great book grips us, a story captivates us. There could be no freedom in the world of commerce if men were not bound by their undertakings. Nor could there be any sense of freedom in sport unless there were rules. Let us take it as axiomatic that there can be no true freedom for the member of any community unless he discharges his obligations to the community and is obedient to its laws. I myself assume that a member of the Black Sash finds her freedom in acts of service.

I shall note here that this last thesis, that there can be no freedom without duty and obedience to the laws, has a strong appeal for the authoritarian personality who on the whole is contemptuous of Civil Rights Leagues and of this Universal Declaration. *This thesis however appeals to him in one set of circumstances only, namely, if it is he who has made the laws*, and thus loses its cogency for those of us who do not worship authority for its own sake. There is a second point to note also, that while there can be no freedom without duty and obedience to the laws, mere obedience to the laws does not constitute freedom except in one other set of circumstances, namely, when the laws enshrine and are consistent with those freedoms that we have so far assumed to be essential to the good and human life.

Are these freedoms really essential to the good life? This question may well now be asked because in so many countries of the world many of them have been abrogated. If for example the right to life is acknowledged to be a valid right, then the right not to take life is equally valid. But all over the world millions of young men are being conscripted and trained to take life. Generals in the armies of what are often called the "developed countries" exhort their men to kill, and to kill fast, and to kill without mercy, the enemy wherever he is to be found. The conscience of the United States has been so powerfully troubled by the war in Vietnam that eminent citizens, including Dr. Benjamin

Spock and the Rev. William Coffin, the Chaplain of Yale University, have gone to prison for counselling young men to refuse the draft, for the reason that the United States has until recently persistently and implacably destroyed the very countryside and people that she is fighting to defend. In Russia some of the bravest and best writers have been sent to prison for daring to write what they think. In Britain, though you can write more or less what you like, you cannot enter Britain if you are an Indian British subject from Kenya. In our own country, if you are black and you go to work in a city, you have no right to take your wife and children with you, and if you do, they may be sent back home at any time, and if you visit them, you may lose your work in the city.

Freedom to be a man

Is it essential for the freedom and happiness and enjoyment of human life that men and women should have privacy, and be spared degradation, and take an active interest in the affairs of their country, and think deeply about its well-being, and make common cause with those who think as they do? To most of us who are here it is essential. That is what it means to us to be human. And the strange thing is this, that this is also what it means to my rulers; to each one of them these freedoms are essential if he is to be a man. But there the likeness between us ends, for while it is essential for him to have these freedoms he does not think it is essential for others, he certainly does not think it is essential for those who oppose him and cannot accept his ideals.

Why should this be so? I can think of only one answer. My ruler attaches no importance to the freedom of the individual as such; for him the individual derives his whole significance from his membership of the group, and he has no other significance. If the individual should cherish values other than the values of the group, then my ruler regards him as a lost soul, lost in a profound sense, loose, rootless, promiscuous, an abject creature, signifying nothing, owning nothing, belonging to nothing. So persons like Leo Marquard, Uys Krige, Beyers Naude—whom all of us regard as persons of substance and integrity and meaning — and what is more, persons with a concern for the health of

society, not mere individualists — are for my ruler persons of no account.

Man's Significance

This losing of one's personality in the group personality — and let me be just — this finding of one's personality, which way of life is so strongly believed in in this Christian country, is not specifically a Christian way of life at all. The emphasis of the gospel lies on man's relationship with God and his neighbour, and man derives his significance from his being a creature, and not merely a creature, but a creature on whom great value is set by his Creator. Nowhere does the gospel teach us that a Jew or a Roman or a Samaritan derives his significance from being a Jew or a Roman or a Samaritan. He derives his significance from being a man created in the image of his Creator. His greatest duty is not towards his group, but towards his neighbour. It disturbs my ruler to find that his doctrine of the individual and the group — which is not only his doctrine but is his supreme doctrine, to the overlordship of which all other doctrines are subject — it disturbs my ruler that this is not taught in the gospel. So what does my ruler do? He takes the boldest step imaginable. He fuses his supreme doctrine with the gospel, and invents a creed and a way of life called Christian-groupism, or Christian-Nationalism. Therefore a man to be really a man, and to enjoy that freedom that the gospel offers him, must first and foremost and last be a group-man.

It follows that if you believe that the individual finds his meaning in membership of a group, you must believe this to be true of others also. Therefore if you have the political power, it will be your duty to prevent men and women from weakening in any way their ties with the group, and you will make laws to prevent them from associating with members of other groups, in politics, sport, the schools and universities, in trains and buses, in cinemas and concert halls, at stamp counters and in telephone boxes, on bathing beaches and at picnic spots and in parks, and indeed in every conceivable place, unless they are associated — and this I think gives the key to the real nature of this doctrine of separation — unless they are associated as employer and employee.

Doctrine of Apartheid

This doctrine that the individual has no meaning apart from his belonging to the group therefore becomes the doctrine of Apartheid, and because Apartheid in its essence is something done by someone with power to someone without, it destroys civil rights, and all those freedoms which are listed in the Universal Declaration. If you have the political power, and are not hindered by the concept of human rights, then you are able to inflict hardships and suffering on those who do not have the political power. This is indeed the situation which brought the Black Sash into being — not an obsession with rights, but a clear and unequivocal understanding of the injustice that ensues when civil rights are denied.

How is one able to inflict hardship and suffering, and at the same time to believe in the ethics of Christianity, and to profess allegiance to them? Some people think that this is sheer hypocrisy, and that Apartheid is pure fraud. That it has hypocritical and fraudulent elements there can be no doubt, but Apartheid is a myth as well as a fraud, and its mythical elements enable its supporters to swallow the fraud. Apartheid has a strong idealistic element, and it is this idealistic element that enables its supporters to swallow the cruelties that are quite inseparable from it. Under the influence of the myth one is able to see the cruelties in a new and rosy light, and almost to welcome them, because each cruelty is a step to that high achievement where we shall all live in peace and harmony together. Individual man can be kind and considerate of others, but collective man can be cruel in the extreme, and the whole purpose of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is to protect individual man from the cruelties of collective man. Individual man in South Africa can be kind and considerate of others, but he can also be blind, and often wilfully blind, to the cruelties of collective man. The highest and noblest task of individual man is to open his eyes to the cruelties of collective man, and to devote his energies and his life to their amelioration and removal. I am not a member of the Black Sash, and it is not therefore improper of me to say that that is what you, its members, are doing and trying to do. You may not be successful in all that you attempt, you may at times be disheartened by your apparent lack of success, but even more im-

portant than your success is the fact that you are affirming the worth and dignity of individual man, who was born to be free and not the tool and slave of authority. And you arouse anger and resentment by your affirmations, and the ones who resent you are those who are wilfully blind, because you compel them by your insistence to open their eyes to the cruelties that they do not wish to see.

Are there Cruelties?

Are there really any cruelties? Or are you perhaps just imagining them? Are you eaten up with your zeal? Do you not perhaps invent cruelties because you are disappointed women, and are venting wrath on the authorities because you dare not vent it on your husbands? Would that explain away the story of Mr. Abraham Ngwenya, who had established a smithy in the Northern Districts of Natal, and who had as his customers many of the white farmers of the neighbourhood, because of the quality of his work. But Mr. Ngwenya was in a black spot, and at the age of 80 notice came to him that he was to be moved to a place in the veld 30 miles away. "I am told to begin again" he said. "This blow has knocked me down. I hope I may die before the day comes to move away". His wish was granted. Was that cruelty or was it another step on the road to that shining peace of which we are told so much?

Mrs. Clara Guzane lived for 30 years in Langa with her husband and five children. She supplemented the family income by working at white houses. In 1967 her husband died, and now she has been ordered to return to the Transkei, to a place she has not seen since she was a girl. She has no home to return to, no work to return to, and three of her children are still at school. She goes hopefully from one white employer to another, because she imagines that they have power to avert the disaster that threatens her. She told me that she did not laugh any more, that she would not laugh again until her security had been restored. Is that a cruelty, or is it not? Do those who are wilfully blind know that an African who was born in a town and who has lived there continuously for 50 years, and who left to reside elsewhere, even for two weeks, is not entitled as of right to return to the town where he was born for a period of more than

72 hours? Is that a cruelty, or is it not? The case of Mrs. Mapheele is known to you all. She lived with her husband in Paarl but was ordered to return to the district of Herschel with her children. Not only is she separated from her husband, but if he goes to Herschel to visit her and their children, he too cannot return as of right to his work in Paarl. And this is in the country that has set aside a special day and called it Family Day. These are the cruelties of the myth, but the fact that there is a myth does not excuse the cruelties.

Separate Freedoms?

And what about the myth of Apartheid under its grand name of Separate Development, or its even grander new name of Separate Freedoms? Is there a chance, as our Prime Minister assures us, that one day the world will come to South Africa to see the realised miracle of all the different peoples of South Africa dwelling side by side in amity, each pursuing its own course, each sharing — and in the myth they share alike — in the gifts and riches of South Africa? I myself see no chance of it whatsoever. The only place where it is geographically possible is the Transkei. But in what other way is it possible in the Transkei? None that I can see. As for border industries, all that they will do is to make money for a few white industrialists, keep wages depressed, and prevent young men and young women from using the gifts with which they are endowed. I know a young man, a matriculant, who lives in a border area, and has been denied a permit to seek employment in the city, and must accept work in a border factory at R4 a week. Of one other thing I am certain, that the Transkei will never enjoy an independence such as is enjoyed by white South Africa. The idea of the Transkei and white South Africa existing alongside of one another as equal and autonomous states is too ridiculous for consideration. One might as well give independence to the state of Wyoming, and expect it to become the equal of New York State, Illinois, and California. Its wealth and prosperity are part of the wealth and prosperity of the United States, and it will never know any other, just as the Transkei will never know any prosperity except in so far as it shares in the prosperity of South Africa. If the Transkei has no hope of achieving an independent prosperity, how

much less has the proposed Zululand, a country of rags and tatters whose people are utterly dependent on their white neighbours? And how much less still those scraps of reserves which are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Pursuit of a myth

It is the pursuit of this myth that has destroyed so many rights and liberties, and it is this myth that justifies, sometimes even hallows, the cruelties perpetrated in its name. Unfortunately a myth is much more durable than a fraud, but even myths are finally exploded — and many have been exploded in our own times — by the unwearying affirmation of the truth, and the values on which our civilisation is founded. That is the task you have set yourselves, and there can never be any reason or excuse for not performing it.

A Pastime of the devil

There is one important consequence of holding to the doctrine that man has no meaning apart from his membership of a group. It means that man's personal and intimate responses to things that have nothing to do with his group, his responses to art and music and beauty, his flights of imagination, his painting and writing and poetry, are things to be regarded with the greatest suspicion, especially when the one who responds, the one who imagines, the one who writes, does not use his gifts in the service of the group, and sometimes believes perversely that art and music and poetry exist in some kind of absolute right of their own. Therefore my ruler will never be a patron of the arts, except for the purpose of controlling them. He will never give a prize for writing, unless it is patriotic writing. As for imagination, he will regard it as a pastime of the devil, and a certain sign that the one who employs it, is, wittingly or unwittingly, furthering the aims of Communism.

In this climate, civil rights do not burgeon, and we must not expect them to do so. The whole concept of civil rights, the idea that man, individual human man, father, husband, lover, artist, writer, has rights that are beyond the control of the group, is not only alien, but also disgusting, to the authoritarian personality. When the authoritarian group has the monopoly of political power, when it in fact becomes to all intents and

purposes the State, then civil rights are benefits bestowed by the State, they are held at the pleasure of the State, they can be abridged even abolished, if that is the will of the State.

Liberties traded for security

That is the situation in South Africa today. It does not make one popular to say so. There are two kinds of people who will resent it. One is the totalitarian group which is in power, which is so far identified with the State that it never feels its own security to be endangered, and which indeed would consent to almost any curtailment of its own liberties because it has security, or should I say, it has what it believes to be security. I can well remember the frenzy which could be aroused in the thirties by the mere shouting of the word "vryheid", just as I can remember the anger which could be aroused in the fifties by the shouting of the word "freedom" and the contempt aroused in the sixties by the shouting of the word "uhuru." The second group of persons who are hostile to any advocacy of civil rights is composed of those who used to believe, how deeply or shallowly one can but guess, in civil liberty, until they realised that the price of expressing such beliefs was growing higher and higher, until it became so high that they were not prepared to pay it any longer, and then went through the sad experience of resenting, even hating, those of their ex-comrades who were prepared to go on paying.

Omnipresent power of the State

I suppose I should bring some evidence other than my own that in this country the power of the State is omnipresent, and I realise of course that it is easy to bring evidence for, and equally easy to bring evidence against, but one particular piece of evidence for this view is given so concisely and clearly that I thought it worth bringing forward. It is the evidence of some of the members of a group of 40 German economics students who have just completed a two-month period of working for South African firms. They belong to a non-political organisation known as the International Association of Students of Economics and Commerce, which draws its members from 300 universities. This is their evidence. They did not claim to have a thorough insight into the complexities of

our problems, but they felt that this did not preclude them from commenting on the unmistakable isolationism which seemed to have penetrated almost every sphere of South African life. They declared that in any country in which the State tended to dominate all spheres of life, the central authority was forced to concentrate ideology on a few basic principles or ideas, and this resulted in sterility of thought. New ideas thus immediately became suspect, and the inevitable result was physical and mental isolation from the rest of the world community. They reported that South Africans liked being told how wonderful they were and on meeting foreigners they soon badgered them into passing an opinion on the country. Our Durban morning paper reported "several of the students were absolutely flabbergasted when paid 'routine' visits by the security police". I conclude with this trenchant observation of theirs: "The over-riding influence and all-pervading presence of the State in South Africa creates an atmosphere reminiscent of that of the Communist countries of Eastern Europe".

A cynicism that passes for wit

That is what happens, ladies and gentlemen, when there is one over-riding doctrine to which all other doctrines are subject, when there is an authoritarian attitude towards the liberties of men and women. It does not matter whether this happens in a Communist or an anti-Communist country, the result is the same, a shrinking of human liberty, a merciless system of punishments often without recourse to any court of law, an abject fear of authority and the State, a lowering of voices in conversation, a cynicism towards life that passes for wit but which is in fact a surrender of one's independence, and on the part of the chosen, a rigid conformity, so that in a photograph of our rulers it is hard to distinguish one from the other — they dress the same, they look the same, they think the same. Yet this conformity is not dull — it is not characterless — it is merciless, and it is particularly merciless to those who assert their individuality in the presence of the power and majesty of the State.

It is a characteristic of the authoritarian personality that it is not given to mercy. It is suspicious of words like mercy, love, kindness, but it loves words like power, order, and of course authority. These immortal

lines of Shakespeare would never have won him a prize from the authoritarian state.

The quality of mercy is not strained,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath; it is twice blessed;
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes:
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest; it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown;

It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,
It is an attribute to God himself,
And earthly power doth then show likest
God's
When mercy seasons justice.

Could we not be merciful?

Are we not perhaps merciful after all? Are we not perhaps the most merciful people in the world? Is it not the work of our enemies perhaps, that we are not seen to be merciful? Could we not show it then, to Helen Joseph maybe? Or to Robert Sobukwe? Or to those men who come out of prison after committing one political offence, only to be sent back again for having committed another political offence which is substantially the same as the one for which they have already been punished? Could we not be more merciful than to take people away from their homes and put them into tents? Could we not be more merciful to those thousands of husbands and fathers who are kept separated from their wives and children, and to those thousands of wives and children who are kept separated from their husbands and fathers, so that our factories can keep manufacturing those goods that make this country one of the richest in the world? Could we not be more merciful to those 21 students who are not to be re-admitted to Fort Hare? Could we not do what other countries have done, and what we hope more countries are going to do in the future, and that is to appoint a high official who will see to it that the State in some circumstances tempers the power of the State, and corrects manifest injustices, and is merciful to the poor and the misguided and the young zealot and the hot-blooded rebel, even to those burning and tormented revolutionaries who are contemptuous of mercy? And would not these things make our country more righteous so that we could more richly deserve the tributes that we like to pay to ourselves? For the greatest

disadvantage of self-satisfaction is that it prevents one from ever becoming any better.

Inevitable destruction of the Rule of Law

There is another characteristic of the authoritarian society, whether it be Communist or non-Communist, and that is that it inevitably destroys the rule of law, for it is distasteful and intolerable to the authoritarian society to have any institution that is higher than itself and independent of itself. We congratulate ourselves on the independence of the courts and the independence of the judiciary, but this independence is not tolerable in the case of political offences which are not readily definable in terms of law. In other words, the authoritarian state decides, in view of the unprecedented emergency that has arisen, which unprecedented emergency will for ever go on arising, and indeed will never end, for it bears no relation to external reality, it arises only because the authoritarian state cannot function except in a state of unprecedented emergency, this authoritarian state decides to abrogate the rule of law. The authoritarian state cannot afford to be merciful for it is for ever subject to the relentless attacks of the wit and liveliness and courage and impudence of those of its citizens who will not go down on their knees or their bellies to worship it, therefore this wit and liveliness and courage and impudence must be curbed, and all the salt and savour and beauty must be taken out of life, and because my ruler cannot do this by ordinary legal process, because my ruler would make a fool of himself by trying to do it by legal process, he labels this wit and liveliness and courage and impudence with a new name and calls them the furthering, wittingly or unwittingly, of the aims of Communism, and gives to himself — by law — powers which have no relation to law, powers to inflict punishment on those who are not trying to overthrow the State by violence, but who are trying to change the Government by reason and persuasion. It is this wit and liveliness and courage and impudence, it is all these riches of personality and individuality, that the Declaration of Human Rights is intended to preserve and protect, and that is what makes it unacceptable to the authoritarian state.

There is no human right more important than the right to live under the rule of law. It is the right among other rights, if one is charged with any offence, to be brought

before a court of law, to hear the charges and to put forward one's defence, and to have one's guilt or innocence decided by a magistrate or judge who shall have no interest other than the interest of justice. It is one of the noblest and most majestic conceptions that man has ever achieved which takes into full account the interest of both person and society, and if it is tampered with, the life of both person and society is impoverished, and immeasurably impoverished, because life becomes uncertain and arbitrary and full of care. The moment that Parliament entrusts to any man, however wise and benevolent and noble, the power to punish and to punish with extreme severity, without recourse to any court of law, one of his fellow citizens because he is *deemed* to be committing an offence, at that moment the rule of law is destroyed. And this is what has happened to us.

An offence so vague as "furthering the aims of Communism" could hardly be dealt with by a court of law. Yet from time to time sensible suggestions have been made for the tempering of these arbitrary methods of meting out punishment. I repeat one of these suggestions this evening, namely that the final recommendation for these drastic restrictions on freedom should be made to the Minister of Justice, not by the Security Police, but by one or more judges of the Supreme Court. If such a change were made, not only would there be much less unnecessary apprehension, but some of the persons restricted would be immediately freed.

Is there any point in reaffirmation?

Now if it is true that civil rights do not flourish in an authoritarian society, and if it is true that South Africa is such a society, then one may justifiably ask what purpose there is in having a Civil Rights League, and in supporting it, and in holding meetings such as these. One may ask what purpose there is in observing the 20th Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights when in so many countries of the world these rights have been abrogated, including some countries whose authoritarian regimes have not prevented them from criticising our own. I have dealt with this question before, but I do not apologise for dealing with it again, because it is a question that is being continually asked by people like ourselves. Is there any point in reaffirmation? Is there

any point in affirming one's belief in civil rights when so many of them are denied, when our own Prime Minister said when he became Minister of Justice, that rights had got out of hand? And when so many people who used to believe in rights either don't believe in them any more or are afraid to believe in them or are beginning to doubt whether it is not perhaps a good thing to clamp down on some of them? And when so many people are really becoming afraid of freedom and would much rather have security? And when so many people are actually afraid to talk about freedom in case some one should say, "are you a Communist"? And when we might end up in trouble because we continued to make our affirmation?

Were we to cease dreaming

If we were to cease affirming, if we were to cease drawing up plans for a new society, if we were to cease proclaiming ideals which most certainly will not at this time be realised, if we were to cease dreaming, then we would be ceasing to perform a task that man has performed from his very beginnings, a task the performance of which has made him a man and not a slave, a task the performance of which entitled him to sit down with his fellows and to draw up the Declaration of Human Rights. For this Declaration of Human Rights is nothing more than a dream and it will never be realised; its power does not lie in the possibility of its realisation, its power lies in the grandeur of its conception. What less could we conceive for man, who has but one life to live upon the earth, and is born to live it free? And if this man who is born to be free is by circumstances forced to live in chains, that is not an ultimate tragedy. The ultimate tragedy is when he forgets what it is to be free. It is in order not to forget what it is like to be free that men drew up the Declaration of Human Rights. It is a dream of like substance with the dream of the Hebrew prophet, of the day and the place where the wolf would lie down with the lamb, and men will no more hurt and destroy in all that holy mountain.

Was it ever fulfilled? No it was not. But men went on dreaming it, John on the Isle of Patmos, and Thomas More in England, and Karl Marx and Engels in that most fantastic of dreams of the day when the State

would wither away, and now in our day the Declaration of Human Rights — the unattainable goal, the unfulfillable dream, the history of man's long and never-to-be-ended striving for something he has never achieved.

But if he were to stop striving for that unbelievable world in which the wolf lies down with the lamb, and in which the na-

tions of the world abjure the use of war; they would destroy the mountain itself, and the great adventure of man would come to its end. And we, as persons, would come to an end also.

Therefore we must at all costs and in all circumstances, continue our affirmations.

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

A paper presented to Conference

By MARY DAVIDSON

Dr. Davidson is a pathologist at Natal University Medical School. She is the daughter of Sir Basil Schonland and is, at the moment, engaged in an investigation into cancer among Africans and Indians of Natal.

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY is a concept which may be defined in various ways, and is in some respects synonymous with Academic Freedom. Let us say that when we speak of university autonomy we mean that we conceive of a university as a corporate body, established by law, which has the right to determine its own policies, and that it should have academic freedom — by which we mean that a university may decide for itself which subjects should be taught, how they should be taught, who should do the teaching and whom it should teach. Academic freedom implies the freedom to seek the truth without restraint, and to communicate acquired knowledge.

This is a broad definition, which by its very breadth is acceptable to men of goodwill; but so wide a definition is open to abuse, and could be interpreted to allow the establishment of an institution of a narrow and exclusive type, which might influence young people in a manner which was not intended in the first place by the broad and generous people in a manner which was not intended add some sort of rider to our definition, to the effect that a university should serve the best interests of ALL the members of the community, and that its policies should be shaped by loyalty to all humanity, and that sectarian interests should not be paramount.

A university in its essential form is a community of scholars searching for truth and instructing others. We have travelled a long way since Socrates taught philosophy in the market place, or Hippocrates instructed young

doctors under a figtree on the island of Cos, and modern universities are expensive places to establish and maintain. Today the imparting of knowledge requires books, buildings, teaching materials and a large staff of lecturers and administrative personnel. A very few of the older and most famous universities, such as Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Yale, are heavily endowed and hold extensive properties and investments which give them a considerable degree of financial independence, but most universities throughout the world are dependent on large annual subsidies, usually provided by the state, for their continuing function. There are sixteen universities or university colleges in South Africa, and they all obtain their finances in three ways:—

From State subsidies, from student fees and from private donations, bequests, and grants for research. In the case of Natal University, the proportion of the total budget contributed by each of these sources is approximately as follows:—

State grant — 65%.

Students fees — 30%.

Private Sector — 5%.

and in terms of actual money, the 1968 budget for Natal University was derived as follows:—

Money from the private sector and student fees — R1,299,000.

Money from the state — R2,155,000.

Making a total budget of — R3,454,000, or about 3½ million rand.

The figure of 65% being state subsidy,

quoted above, varies with each university, and is higher in the university colleges. It must not be thought that this is a high proportion, as the proportion of money provided by the state in America is 58%, in Britain 71% and in Australia 80%.

S.A. universities State-aided

South African universities are therefore state-aided, and it is the funds provided by the state which form the bulk of their monies. Students fees and private monies form a very small part of the university income, and it is unlikely that funds from the private sector could be increased to any great extent, with the object of making a state-subsidy redundant. Therefore whether one likes it or not the main factor in the continued existence of our universities is the expenditure of state funds.

This situation holds for British universities also. However the USE of state monies for university education is, in Britain, decided by a body, called the Universities Grants Committee, which is quite independent of party political pressures. This is because of the recognition there that governments are temporary bodies, sometimes with sectarian interests, while university education is a continuing responsibility. (This awareness may well be all the more acute because there is a viable two party system in Britain with frequent changes of the party in power). It is also recognised in Britain that state monies belong to the people of Britain, having been in the first instance contributed by them. The happy state of affairs exists there that money for higher education is available from the state, but the strings attached to it and the policies it supports are decided upon by educationalists and not by politicians.

In this country the situation is somewhat different. State subsidies to universities are discussed between the principals of the universities and their advisors and the Minister of Education and his advisors. Parliament then votes that the money should be given. This small difference in arrangement causes great differences in results. Many of our universities and university colleges now tend to conform to the philosophies of the present political party in power.

The present government has endowed several favoured universities heavily, and others not so well. It has created two new universities which further what one might call the Nationalist ethic — the new Rand

University and the new Port Elizabeth university. It has called into being university colleges which are devoted to the tribal separation of Africans. It has established a university for Indians only, and another for Coloureds only. It has supported a medical school which admits only non-whites. The government has also begun to express its wishes as to what subjects may be taught. The present government is therefore expressing its policies of apartheid and ethnic grouping in the sphere of university education, and these policies are not necessarily the policies of the whole South African nation.

I understand that, in the past, proposals towards setting up some sort of system similar to that in Britain have been mooted, but that feelers in this direction did not meet with success. We have the situation here, therefore, that people who are primarily politically motivated have control, quite directly, over educationalists.

State or Government?

In addition, I think we have all observed that a curious confusion now exists in this country between the idea of government and state, and government money and state money. Government and state tend to be equated, and the government regards the money at its disposal as ITS OWN MONEY and not as public money belonging to the people. This type of thinking is characteristic of paternalistic or totalitarian governments, whereas, in democracies, an effort is made to distinguish between the two conditions. One effect of this in South Africa is that when university teachers criticise the government, this is resented by the government because it regards itself as paying their salaries, and regards them as government servants rather than as state servants or independent intellectuals. It is not a long jump to a position in which the government might pay the salaries only of those who do not criticise it. It therefore might refuse to approve the appointment of those with whom it disagrees. This situation holds to some extent at the moment. We remember the recent "Mafeje affair" when Mr. Mafeje was appointed to a post at Cape Town University both by the Senate and the Council, but subsequently his appointment was rescinded because of pressures which were brought to bear on the university. What these pressures were we do not know. They probably involve financial consideration, but may in addition have incorporated a threat that other non-White staff members might lose their jobs.

The hold that the government has over our universities is primarily a financial strangle-hold. But even were the happy and impossible position to be achieved, by one or other university, of complete financial independence, the government has another and very basic sphere of control over universities. Our universities have been called into being by Parliamentary statutes enacted by parliament. Each university has a charter which was created by parliamentary fiat. These charters and statutes can quite easily be amended. A university cannot have powers greater than the power which called it into being. Our universities therefore have a subordinate position to parliament, and as they are creatures created by parliament, they can also be rendered out of existence by the same process.

If, for example, Rhodes university became independent financially, there would be little to prevent the government from revoking its charter, and converting the institution, say,

into a remand home for wayward girls, if it felt so inclined. The government has already exercised its powers to amend the original parliamentary statutes of universities. In passing the Extension of University Education Act of 1960, it prohibited the so-called "open universities" from admitting non-whites which they had done hither to, except under very limited circumstances, and then only with government approval and permission, and with the understanding that this was a temporary state of affairs. The provisions of this act were all the more severe because it is the student and not the university who is considered to have broken the law in cases of improper attendance at an open university.

One can see from this brief resume of the subject, that the concept of university autonomy is a very important one, with far-reaching implications, and that the autonomy of our universities is being eroded, by financial threat, by alteration of parliamentary charter, and in the way new universities are established.

"Of late we have become aware of disturbing signs that students at certain universities are wasting their precious opportunities of studying in peace and quiet by taking part in sit-down strikes and all kinds of funny processions and demonstrations. It is not clear what they hope to achieve by such actions: all they are doing is wasting their own time and their parent's money. They also make the work of their teachers most unpleasant. The longer they persist with these protests, the closer they come to a disastrous clash with the Government, and in such a clash the Government will certainly not be the loser. The university may well be closed temporarily and with this many a student's ideals will collapse in ruins. The valueless, good-for-nothing types will naturally not care one iota about this, but what of the better students who are destined for great achievements? . . . It will benefit us far more to work hard and make a success of our years of study than to expose ourselves to ridicule in the eyes of the public, who thought we were the cream of the nation . . ."

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BLACK SPOT REMOVALS IN NORTHERN NATAL

By DOREEN PATRICK

Mrs. Patrick is secretary of the Natal Coastal Region of the Black Sash. This paper was presented to the annual National Conference of the Black Sash in Durban in October 1968.

BLACK SPOT REMOVALS have been described as a giant game of chess. I should like to elaborate and say that this game is just as slow in its moves but it is far more lasting in its action and result.

Indeed these removals can have the most serious effects upon the lives and earnings of large numbers of human beings; and for this reason the Natal Region of the Black Sash has sought to distract the bureaucratic concentration of the only possible winner of this serious game, and then to induce him to move with humanity and compassion.

You may remember that at our conference last year in Johannesburg, Mrs. Bobbie Cluver delivered a paper on resettlement villages. Today I hope to give you some actual examples of the way in which this national chess game is being played in Natal. I would like to tell you about the removals presently taking place in the Dundee area of Northern Natal, and I shall have to deal with this in two parts. In the first place I shall discuss the government policy on black spot removals in Natal, and then I would like to tell you how the Black Sash has become involved.

THE TOMLINSON REPORT

The Tomlinson Report of 1955 recommends that there should be three types of Bantu centres: rural, village and town or city. I should like to quote from paragraphs 13 and 14 of Chapter 37 which deal with urban development.

"A village or town is a dynamic institution. It originates, grows and can also perish and like all living things it must have a foundation of forces of growth.

The mere assemblage of a large number of people and even the provision of residential facilities and certain basic services do not necessarily mean that a village or town has been founded — it is merely a camp. An urban centre can only evolve when an economic foundation promoting growth has also been provided; that is when permanent opportunities of employment have been furnished. The Commission therefore attaches particular importance to the fact that in establishing any Bantu village careful attention should be paid to its economic foundation. If such a basis is not present or if it is a false foundation, the town will never grow, or very little if it does, and it will then decline and disappear."

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON BLACK SPOT REMOVALS

The authority for the removal of black spots appears to rest upon two acts of parliament:

The Bantu Land Act of 1913, and
The Bantu Land and Trust Act of 1936.

These acts state that Africans may be moved from White rural areas into the following classes of settlement:

1. Agricultural:
In these settlements the African families are allowed to take their stock with them and to resume farming operations, much as they are doing at Vergelegen.
2. Township Settlements:
The acts refer to this as a "closer settlement", and in this case the African family is given a free plot of land about fifty yards square, which is roughly half an acre. This has been the pattern at Limehill.

The basis for the removal of "Black Spots" is prescribed by Law and the relevant provisions are as follows:—

FIRSTLY:

The Bantu must be compensated for his

land at fair market value, as also for all improvements thereon.

SECONDLY:

An amount for inconvenience and loss of amenities caused by removal added to the value of the land to a maximum of 20% of the fair market value.

THIRDLY:

The Trustee of the Bantu Trust must make available to every Bantu owner who owned less than 20 morgen, a free site in a Bantu township.

Equity and reasonableness are the very touchstones of the whole operation of removal of "Black Spots".

It has been traditional for the African and his family to keep a few head of cattle and to grow subsistence crops; and in this way they supplement the cash wages earned by the head of the family, who usually works elsewhere in commerce and industry, or on the mines.

But it is government policy to alter this mode of life and so in the Dundee district 1,500 people have been moved to Limehill, and no less than 4,500 have had their marching orders to Vergelegen.

Mr. Eric Winchester, who is the United Party member of parliament for Port Natal, asked some questions in the House in May of this year. He was then told that a total of 9,250 people are being moved in the Dundee district. We know that nineteen settled communities are being uprooted from four mission stations and eight Bantu farms. These farms have been bought by the government, perhaps because of their potential wealth in coal, minerals or even oil.

The present position is thus that two big moves have taken place at Limehill and at Vergelegen.

LIMEHILL

The 1,500 Africans who have been moved to Limehill are mainly women and children. The menfolk are migrant workers who are employed elsewhere. These have come from the neighbouring farm areas of Meran, Willem's Geluk, Lyell, Mooispruit and Evansdale. One group came from the Maria Ratschitz Mission Station.

Details of these moves have been published widely in the press, so I would like to concentrate on the ways in which the various communities have been affected.

The first and most important fact is that Limehill is situated 25 miles away from civilisation. The nearest railway station and public telephone are at Washbank, and most serious of all is the lack of domestic employment for the women. Formerly the majority were within reach of casual, or perhaps we should call it "togt" employment, and this was a most valuable supplement to the family budget. And work of this kind fitted in very well with the lives of those women with children.

But now the picture is very different. It is quite impossible for them to travel the round trip of 48 miles to Washbank — the bus fare of 40 cents return is not much less than the daily wage they are likely to earn. It is true that a sweet factory runs a subsidised bus service to Washbank for their employees, but I don't suppose that any of us here in this room today would like to be away from our homes and families from 5.30 in the early morning until half-past six at night. Finally and most important is the loss of income in kind from the crops that were formerly grown.

We have had discussions with the local Bantu authorities. They accept the Tomlinson Report and the fact that 40 per cent of the African population of South Africa will eventually reside in the Homelands. But it is important to note that the purpose of the Tomlinson Report was to maintain and keep the family unit intact.

Limehill has proved to us that the implementation of this particular aspect is difficult, and for two main reasons:

1. No border industry has yet been planned for Limehill, and so the menfolk must continue as migrant workers.
2. For the same reason young men over 18 years must leave home to look for work. It is true that he is entitled to his own plot, but how can an 18 year-old provide for himself without employment. And so once he has left home he becomes a squatter if he is unemployed. This completes the circle that this government policy is supposed to prevent.

At this stage we may well ask exactly what has been done by the government authorities for these people at Limehill. Two permanent school buildings, an upper and lower primary, are being built to take schooling up to

Standard 6. To date there are 430 children at school, but an increase is expected next year when many children will have finished helping their families to build their own homes. The brighter children may continue their studies at the High School in Toleni, two miles away.

I think we should ask ourselves what is happening to these children who are now living a township life. When they lived in a rural environment they used to go from school to help till the land and herd the cattle. They were usefully occupied. What now? It takes little imagination to see a new breed of delinquency and disorder being born. Associate this problem with the mother not returning home until after dark, tired from a full day's work and the result is alarming.

A clinic is being run with a qualified African sister and there are weekly visits by the district surgeon.

The Methodists are to build a church and so help to establish a more stable community. Other denominations hold weekly services.

Land has been set aside for community centres, but so far no building has been started.

The big question now is exactly that posed by the Tomlinson Report — how long can Limehill survive? Without an economic plan for local employment and industries it may yet become another government liability at considerable cost to us, the taxpayers.

VERGELEGEN

We find an entirely different situation here. The farm Boschboek has belonged to the Kunene tribe since 1870 when it was bought from a White farmer. The tribe consists of some 4,500 people living on 8,000 acres. Farming is good with an annual rainfall of 35 inches.

There has been considerable discussion on the legal position of this move, because the leaders of the tribe do not agree with the authorities about the conditions of sale of the farm. Unfortunately it is a black spot so the move is necessary. The whole question of the move was raised in parliament by Mr. Winchester on 7th and 14th May and again on 14th June. The farm Vergelegen to which they are supposed to move has an area of about 14,000 acres with an average

rainfall of 22 inches. The area has been planned with sections for communal grazing, arable farming and residence. Water has been laid on to the residential area and a large dam is nearing completion. Boreholes are operating for the livestock.

WEENEN

This black spot removal has taken place for different reasons. The removal really falls under the cloak of the Group Areas Act but the pattern is similar and the hardships if anything are greater. The whole question of the move is now in the hands of the Natal Provincial Council and so we are unable at this stage to report to the Conference.

INVOLVEMENT OF THE BLACK SASH

I should like to tell you how the Black Sash has associated itself with these events.

Last November a friend of one of our members spoke about the proposed moves and he expressed his deep concern at the lack of planning and preparation. At his request two of our members visited the Maria Rat-chitz Mission Station and the area in the Dundee district to which the first families were to be removed. Our chairman then approached Archbishop Dennis Hurley and asked him if he would take the chair at a meeting convened by him and the Black Sash. We suggested that the representatives of all churches in Natal should assemble on 5th December, and this meeting did indeed

SILENT WHITE NIGHT by Bob Connolly



take place. In addition to Archbishop Hurley in the chair, there were three bishops and over 40 prominent citizens and churchmen. The debates were of great interest and at the end of the meeting the delegates agreed to form a church committee representing all the denominations.

Events moved quickly. Three days before Christmas this new committee had its inaugural meeting and it decided to appeal directly to the Minister of Bantu Development, Mr. M. C. Botha. Letters and telegrams were sent to the Minister deploring the whole removal plan.

On 29th January Archbishop Hurley, Archdeacon Hopkins and two of our members visited Limehill to witness the first removal operation in this area. Further visits were made on 9th and 13th February by other Sash members and churchmen.

The second meeting of the church committee was held on 14th February and members were given reports on the two visits to Limehill. On the last day of February, Mrs. Biggs visited Mr. T. Coertze, the chief Bantu affairs commissioner in Pietermaritzburg. The next day we wrote a letter to the press.

We went to Limehill again on 18th March.

On 1st April Natal Coastal and Natal Midlands combined for the first visit to the orphan settlement near Weenen — a black spot of a special kind which demands our compassion and our aid.

On April 23rd we conducted Mr. Eric Winchester, M.P., and Mr. Duchesne Grice, husband of our chairman and himself chairman of the Natal region of the South African Institute of Race Relations, on a tour of the Limehill areas. About this time an excellent and impartial article on conditions at Limehill appeared in our Daily News, and Sash members themselves wrote to the papers on 17th and 27th June. Another visit was made to the Department of Bantu Affairs in Pietermaritzburg on June 24 when we were received with courtesy and consideration by Mr. Hastie, deputy Bantu affairs commissioner.

On Family Day in July the Natal Mercury published our chairman's letter about conditions at Limehill, and letters by members appeared in the local press on 9th and 12th July. The Daily News also carried a news

item about the proposed national petition on 15th July.

On 6th August we again made a combined visit to Weenen. This was followed by a visit to both Limehill and Vergelegen on 13th August when we had the company and enjoyed the ready comment and interest of Dr. Cyril Cochran, secretary of the Christian Council in Natal, and of Mr. Duchesne Grice.

An important milestone was the combined gathering of prominent churchmen and our members on 21st August. The whole position of black spot removals was thoroughly discussed and we decided to form a permanent group, the Natal Citizens Association. Black Sash was represented by the election to the interim executive committee of the chairman and secretary of our Natal Coastal Region.

Three days later an article by Mrs. Grice was published in the Daily News, and on 27th August the aims and objects of the Natal Citizens Association were formulated by its executive committee.

On September 21st two important men went to Limehill. They were Mr. Lawrence Wood M.P. and Mr. Kenneth Bassett, churchwarden in the parish of Kloof. Mr. Bassett went to obtain first-hand information in support of a parish resolution deploring black spot removals which he was to put forward at the Anglican Synod in Pietermaritzburg. I have since heard that as a result of his moving appeal for the government to exercise both compassion and understanding, the motion before Synod was passed unanimously by the 200 delegates.

I think you will see from this brief report that there has been considerable activity here in Natal, and this in spite of the great distances involved — for instance well over 400 miles for the return trip to Limehill. I do hope that delegates from the other provinces and regions of the Black Sash will now begin to realise how we in Natal have become deeply involved in positive action. We have enjoyed and indeed have greatly benefited from our associations with men of high purpose; and it would be ungenerous if we did not also record the considerable measure of understanding we have met in official circles. I think we should not forget that there are many government officials, saddled with the task of carrying out involved legislation, who would also like to lessen the hardships so often due to bureaucratic red tape. And so when they can, they help us to help others.

MEMORANDUM TO THE STATE PRESIDENT AND SUPREME CHIEF OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

This memorandum was drawn up by the Citizens' Action Committee and was handed to the State President's private secretary in Pretoria on Tuesday, 12th November, together with the signed copies of the petition.

THE CITIZENS' ACTION COMMITTEE is a group of citizens associated together for the purpose of drawing public attention to matters of national importance.

We respectfully wish, Mr. President, to draw your attention to significant facts about the arbitrary uprooting and removal from their homes of hundreds of thousands of defenceless South Africans who are thus denied the right to live together with their families; are expelled from urban areas where they have often been long established; are turned into displaced persons, forced to live in alien, inadequately prepared, inaccessible and often unviable areas.

We ask that your compassion be extended to the needless sufferings of these voiceless people and your attention be given to the impact of this process on their spiritual needs and material welfare.

We know that you are aware that what is happening to them has been through no fault of their own; that they have been caught up in the net of political policies, imposed upon them without consultation, which causes much suffering, degradation and, not unnaturally, eroding resentment.

We feel that if notice is not taken of their plight, tragic consequences for our whole nation will follow in the future.

We ask you to bring the facts which we set out below to the urgent attention of your Prime Minister and all Ministers of State to whom these matters refer.

SECTION 1. REMOVALS OF WHOLE COMMUNITIES

BLACK SPOT REMOVALS

51,123 Africans were removed from Black Spots up to the end of 1963.¹

1. *Institute of Race Relations Survey, 1965. Page 130.*

21,813 Africans were removed between 1963 and 1967.²

9,170 Africans were due to be moved in North Natal alone during 1968.³

645 African families were moved to a new area between Elands River and Pilanes Mountain between August, 1966 and March 1968⁴.

Originally there were 469 Black Spots.⁵ At the end of 1967, 276 Black Spots remained to be dealt with.⁶

The African people who have been removed have, for the most part, been settled for generations in their homes, sometimes on land held under freehold title registered in the Deeds Office. They are now being uprooted and forced to live where the government says they must live. In spite of the fact that the authorities declare that no one is moved without consultation the people are given no real choice about whether they wish to move at all or where they wish to live. Those who raise objections or refuse to move are eventually prosecuted. They have to give up their homes, their land, their familiar surroundings and whatever means they may have of supplementing their meagre incomes through subsistence farming or nearby employment. All who owned less than 20 morgen of land⁷ before removal are moved to closer settlements which often lack the barest essentials of existence viz: water, latrines, houses, shops, schools, clinics. The people must build their homes with a dearth of building materials;

2. *Hansard No. 3, 1968. Col. 833.*

3. *Hansard No. 13, 1968. Col 5049.*

4. *Hansard No. 4, 1968. Col. 1411.*

5. *Institute of Race Relations Survey, 1965. Page 130.*

6. *Hansard No. 3, 1968. Col. 833.*

7. *Institute of Race Relations Survey, 1965. Page 130.*

they are denied livestock or sufficient land to plant crops;

GROUP AREAS REMOVALS

Up to May, 1967, 1,000 group areas in 291 different parts of the country had been proclaimed. The proclamation of group areas in 102 other centres was under consideration at that time.¹

Coloured People

In Cape Town alone, out of a total Coloured population of 417, 881 (1960 census) 21,755 families had been affected by group area proclamations by 1967.² Market research estimates 5.8 persons per family. Assuming 5 persons per family this makes an approximate figure of 108,755 persons affected. These figures do not include places in the Cape Peninsula such as Simon's Town, Kalk Bay, Fish Hoek.

In the Transvaal, out of a total Coloured population of 119,700, 85% have been affected by group areas proclamations,³ that is 101,715 people.

In Johannesburg alone 45,800 Coloured people have been affected.⁴

Indian People

In Durban alone, out of a total Indian population of 236,477, 41,000 people have al-

ready been moved and an estimated 90,000 to 100,000 have still to be moved.⁵

Out of a total Indian population in the Transvaal of 99,000, 92.5%⁶ have been affected by group areas proclamations, that is 91,000 people, and in Johannesburg alone 37,300 have been affected.⁷

The Minister of Community Development said in Durban on 24th September, 1968 that since the Group Areas Act came into force 20,771 Coloured families (130,000 persons) and 17,800 Indian families (110,000 persons) had been rehoused.⁸

AFRICAN PEOPLE

In Johannesburg alone 133,000 African people have been affected by group area removals.⁹

Slum Clearance

It is often maintained that many of these group area removals have in fact been slum clearance projects, and there can be no denial of the necessity for slum clearance or of the fact that many people are now better housed than they were previously. The Citizens' Action Committee has no quarrel with slum clearance as such. But neither can there be any denial of the fact that thousands of people have been moved from their long-established homes, not to clear slums, but because their home areas have been declared white. They have lost freehold rights they once possessed; they have been moved much further away from their places of employment with consequent inconvenience and rise in transport costs; though many may be better housed there are also many who have had to lower their standards; by and large money has to be found for higher rentals by people who can ill afford it; fisher folk, whose livelihood is the sea, and to whom proximity to the sea is essential, have been moved away from their harbours; Coloured and Indian traders have lost their businesses; whole communities of

1. *Hansard No. 17, Col. 6741, May 26th, 1967.*

2. *Families resettled up to 1963 — 2,554:— R.R. /99/65.*

Families resettled in 1963 — 2,098:— JL2/8/65.

Families waiting resettlement in 1963 — 10,958:— JL2/8/65. Institute of Race N Relations.

District Six Proclamation — 5,495:— Institute of Race Relations Survey 1967. Page 200.

Fraserdale Proclamation — 150:— Institute of Race Relations Survey 1966. Page 189.

Claremont Proclamation — 500:— Institute of Race Relations Survey 1966. Page 190.

3. *Institute of Race Relations Survey 1966. Page 182.*

101,745 people.

4. *Introduction to South Africa — M. Horrell. Page 23.*

5. *The South African Indian — S.A. Institute of Race Relations. Page 15/16.*

6. *Institute of Race Relations Survey 1966. Page 182.*

7. *Introduction to South Africa — M. Horrell. Page 23.*

8. *Rand Daily Mail, 25th September 1968.*

9. *Introduction to South Africa — M. Horrell. Page 23.*

people have been subjected to the trauma and upheaval of mass removals with inevitable disturbance to their community life, their personal life, their family life and their security.

SECTION 2: REMOVALS OF INDIVIDUALS

ENDORSEMENTS OUT OF URBAN AREAS

86,186 African people were endorsed out of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Kimberley, the Witwatersrand, Pietermaritzburg, Durban (excluding women), Bloemfontein and Pretoria in 1965 alone.¹

9,377 people were removed under police surveillance to their respective homelands from Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban during the six months between November, 1967 and April, 1968.²

203,500 African people from white urban areas had been resettled in centres in the homelands by February, 1968.³

Since 1966 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development has refused to give the numbers of endorsed out people in answer to parliamentary questions.

Family Life

As a result of endorsements out of urban areas of people who are unable to establish domiciliary proof, of youths who have been to school in rural areas, of women who are widowed, divorced or deserted, of old people who are no longer able to work, of people who have been living and working in an urban area but who have in some manner infringed the Pass Laws, families are broken up, husbands separated from their wives, wives from husbands, children from parents, old people from their children.

Some of these people may have a familiar homeland to return to and some family member to welcome them, but very many become the displaced persons who help to swell the populations of the resettlement villages with which they are totally unfamiliar, where they are neither known nor wanted and where they are severed from their families.

1. *Institute of Race Relations Survey 1966.* Page 162.

2. *Hansard No. 13, 1968. Col. 4766.*

3. *Hansard No. 4, 1968. Col. 1173.*

RESETTLEMENT VILLAGES

49,299 Africans had been resettled in 24 resettlement villages by February, 1967. This figure includes women, children under 16 and males under 18 only.¹ No figures were given for men. These places were established for the displaced people of South Africa. Other displaced people have been settled in different types of new centres in the homelands. Conditions vary, and with the passage of time and by dint of the efforts of the inhabitants and by government assistance these villages become more settled and more established. but there is no guarantee that once moved the people will not be moved again. They are denied any security of tenure, they are denied the right to choose their way of life, their traditional way of life is forcibly altered, and they are removed from their long-established homes. Work opportunities are rarely available in the vicinity. Such opportunities as lie at hand are usually seasonal or agricultural labour. The men must leave their families and go far afield to the white areas as contract workers on one year contracts. The old, women and children make up the large part of the population of most of these resettlement villages. Women who are breadwinners are actually prevented by regulation from taking employment as contract workers in most white urban areas. Normal family life is impossible. In Sada, for example, which was established in 1963, although there are now schools, Churches and a clinic there is still almost no available employment. The men must go away as contract workers and the women have been employed from time to time at 25 cents per day chopping out noxious weeds and working on the land, but this is at best seasonal, and in the drought conditions which exist there, the work ceases. The majority of the people seem to live on old-age or disability pensions — a maximum of R44 per year. When pension and earned income total R65.40 per year the pension is cancelled entirely. There is little hope of these places becoming viable communities in the future under these conditions. No truly stable urban life can be established when there is no logical reason for the very existence of such a town. There is no future for the people who live in these rural settlements.

There is no future for the children who grow up in them.

1. *Hansard No. 5, 1967. Col. 1638.*

COMMENT

Hundreds of thousands of South African citizens have been and are being summarily uprooted, moved from their homes, resettled.

They are given no choice, nor is there any meaningful consultation.

No consideration is shown for their aspirations and security and for the suffering caused.

Scant provision is made for any of their needs, material or spiritual or for their means of livelihood.

Their family life is being disrupted, and the migrant labour policy ensures that this phenomenon can only increase.

Their rights, their needs and their human dignity are disregarded.

CONCLUSION

The Citizens' Action Committee, and the 21,937 signatories to the Petition, believe that justice and the need for stability in South Africa can best be served by having secure communities and stable family life and that the facts presented above strike at the roots of our society.

They believe that, irrespective of party affiliation or political creed, there are universal moral standards to which all adhere which cannot countenance the disruption of the lives of others or the denial to them of security and of stable family life.

Confident that this belief is shared by all who uphold the principles of democratic Western civilization, and that it is unawareness of the multitude of people and the magnitude of the disruption that has permitted the harsh realities of the prevailing conditions

MNGQESHA

to develop, the Citizens' Action Committee and the signatories appeal to you to exercise your powers and influence to stop these grave wrongs which are being perpetrated on non-white South African citizens.

THE PETITION

WE, the undersigned, ask you to show concern for the fact that in the name of the law and for the sake of ideology, hundreds of thousands of South Africans are being:—

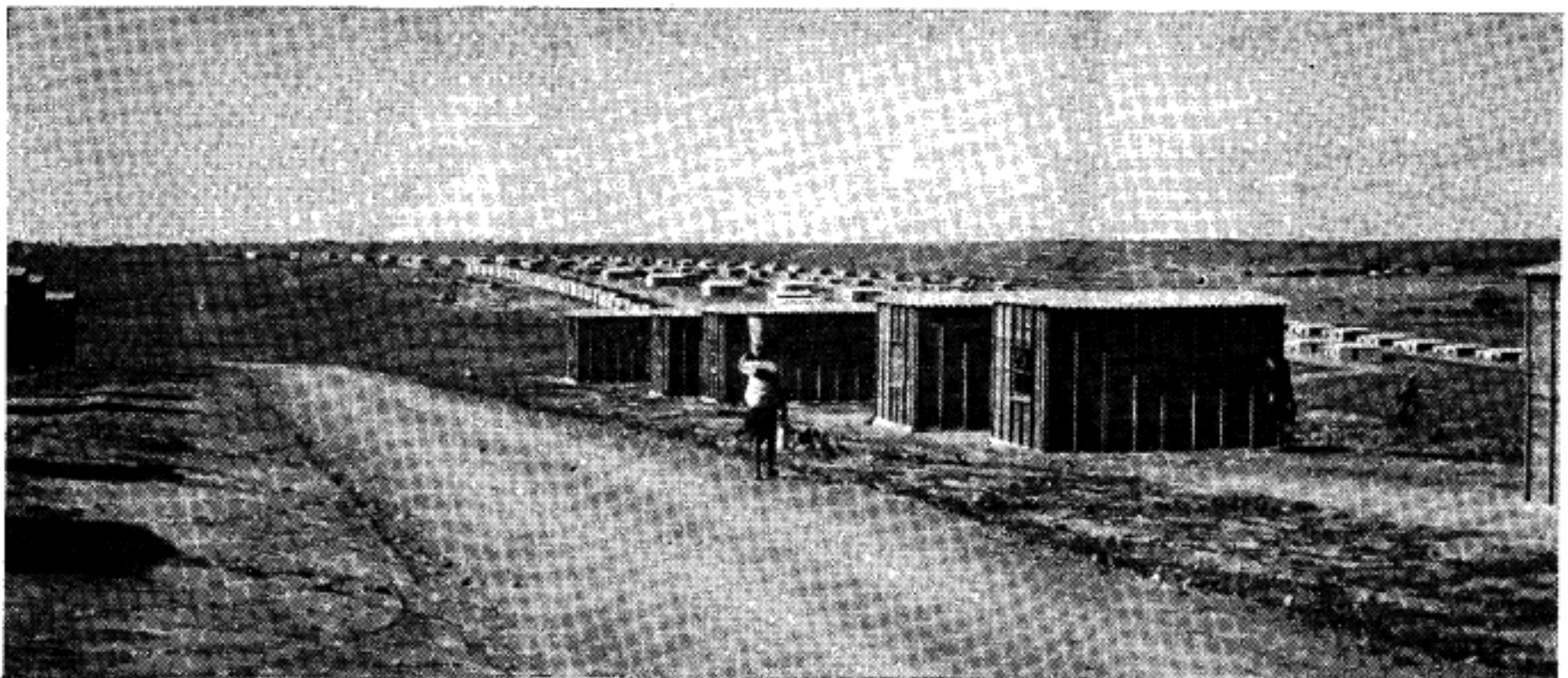
Arbitrarily uprooted and removed from their homes with disregard for their material and spiritual needs and their means of livelihood;

Denied the right to live together with their families.

Expelled from urban areas where they have been living and working and turned into displaced persons, without concern for their aspirations and security and the suffering caused.

We believe that justice and the need for stability in South Africa can best be served by having secure communities and stable family life and that the matters complained of strike at the roots of our society.

We urge you to exercise your powers and influence to stop these grave wrongs which are being perpetrated on our non-white fellow countrymen.



KNOW YOUR CITY.

EAST LONDON

The following extracts were taken from a booklet prepared and distributed by the Border region of the Black Sash. Although the survey was carried out in East London the facts and figures given are comparable to those in other centres in the Republic.

WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT?

The object of this book is to provide a service to our fellow East Londoners. It is to try and provide some sort of picture of what life might be like for the 70,000 Africans living in the same town as us; i.e. Duncan Village, not Mdantsane.

If at the end of this book we decide that life is good for them — that's fine. If we decide that it is not — then is there something we can do about it?

This is not a political book, nor is it written by sociologists from a University. It is simply a book from a group of East Londoners tackled in an amateur manner — but it is, we hope, a factual book with information collected from many people. Where possible we have quoted sources of information.

We would like to add that our picture cannot be a complete one, and may contain some inadvertant inaccuracies — but we hope it gives some idea of what life is like on the other side of the colour line.

POPULATION

Europeans	51,130
Coloureds	10,137
Asiatics	1,898
Africans	70,906
TOTAL	134,071

(Information obtained from Official South African Municipal Year Book 1967/8).

WHAT DO OUR MEN EARN?

(These are average minimum monthly wages, which vary in different businesses.)

	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN
1. High School Teacher (with a degree)	75.00	250.00
2. Primary school teacher	44.50	220.00
3. Male nurse	43.33	130.00
4. Bus driver	30.00	155.00
5. Lorry driver	47.66	110.00
6. Attorney's clerk (articled)	50.00	50.00
7. Policeman	41.00	85.00
8. Doctor (Houseman)	105.00	220.00
9. Anglican Church Basic stipend	68.75	105.00
Methodist Probationer Minister	47.33	86.50
Presbyterian Initial Stipend	66.00	134.00

(References: 1 & 2 (African) Race Relations Survey 1967é (European) Transvaal Education Department.

3. (African) Bantu Educational Journal 1963.

7. (African) Bantu March 1966.

8. (African) Natal Mercury 13.7.1968.

9. (European) Evening Post 29.4.1968.

EDUCATION

School is not compulsory for Africans, nor is it free — so, not many parents can afford to send their children for more than 4 or 5 years and few attain adulthood with any qualifications.

White men are lucky — all of them attend school until they are 16 — compulsory and free in State or Provincial controlled schools.

Schools in East London

For Africans: (Duncan Village)

There are 15 schools (12 of which are Primary).

There are 6734 pupils.

There are 103 teachers.

For Europeans: (excluding Technical College and Private schools).

There are 46 schools.

There are 11,255 pupils.

There are 488 teachers.

Total spent in South Africa on education.

(From a survey of Race Relations 1967).

In 1965 the approximate total spent of African education was:— R29,057,000.

In 1965 the approximate total spent on European education was :— R326,475,000.

Where do our children go for University Education?

The Africans of East London have freedom to apply only to Fort Hare at Alice — but need special permission for certain courses at other Universities.

The Europeans of East London can choose any one of 10 Universities situated in all the provinces of South Africa.

HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES AND INCOMES.

We have extracted some figures from Surveys by the University of South Africa's Bureau of Market Research. They are unbiased economic data collected scientifically for business men.

Let us look at household expenditures and incomes. The household head should be able to support his household without help.

Period of Survey

	Average Monthly Income R	Average Monthly Expenditure R	Excess Income over Expenditure R	%
AFRICAN				
Pretoria 1960-61	46	48	—2	—3
Benoni 1961-62	52	57	—5	—10
Johannesburg 1962-63	59	63	—4	—7
Cape Town 1963-64	62	65	—3	—4
Durban 1964-65	60	67	—7	—13

A Government survey showed:

EUROPEAN

Ten principal urban areas 1966	386	378	+8	+2
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In none of the African surveys did the breadwinner earn enough to meet the basic needs.

Unfortunately East London did not feature in the surveys, but it is safe to assume that similar conditions prevail here.

Is there something one could do about it?

One could try to persuade those in industry commerce or business to take action by persuading politicians to set adequate minimum wages.

House-holders could be more realistic when considering their servant's wages. (A wealthy Bunker's Hill resident pays her "Weeds 35c a day. When her busfare to and from Mdantsane is paid she has only 4c left).

One way of helping would be to insure ones employees, and/or open a savings account into which both the employer and employee deposit money.

RECREATION

African

- No cinemas in Duncan Village, but
- 2 non-White cinemas in North End.
- 3 badly furnished halls
- 4 Cricket pitches on an open piece of ground.
- 5 Tennis courts (2 unusable).
- 1 Boxing ring.

No proper golf course, 9 holes between shrubs where Coloured houses are now being built.

- 1 Swimming bath (for children only).

European

- 3 Cinemas.
- 2 Drive-ins.
- 2 Theatres
- Many Church halls.
- 3 Golf courses.
- 5 Sports clubs (bowls, tennis, squash)
- 8 Tennis clubs (approximately 50 courts).
- 14 Bowling clubs.
- 3 Social clubs.
- 5 Night spots.
- 1 Putt-putt course.
- 1 Public swimming bath (hundreds of private ones).

Numerous rugby, soccer, cricket and hockey fields.

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE CHILDREN WHEN THEIR MOTHERS GO OUT TO WORK?

AFRICANS

Duncan Village:—

- 1 Municipal creche catering for 70 and 120 pupils.

Mdantsane: —

- 1 small creche run by an African Committee.

7 sites set aside for creches.

European

- 3 creches catering for 100, 25, and 15 pupils.
- 9 nursery schools (6 non-profit making, run by Parents' Committees; 3 municipal).
- 7 private play centres.

HOUSING FOR SERVANTS

While the majority of homes have accommodation for their servants on the premises, many blocks of flats have none.

A municipal survey, undertaken in 1966, showed that 3,455 dwellings in the municipal area of East London did not provide toilet facilities for their African staff.

The latest amendment to the Municipal Health Regulations, which will shortly be promulgated, will oblige householders to build them, but no provision makes it necessary to provide showers, bathrooms, or even hand basins.

POSTSCRIPT

We are aware that many good people work for an improvement in the conditions of others, as individuals and as members of organisations.

They deserve the highest praise.

We are aware, too, that when surveys are made conditions improve. It is our hope that this small publication will achieve that end.

We are aware, too, that there are people who care but do nothing. We are sure they will examine their consciences.

We are also aware of many people who do nothing because many Africans in the Republic are better off materially than those in other parts of the Continent. This may be so, but what matters is how living standards of our Africans compare with the living standards of white South Africans. Should we not tackle the task of eliminating gross inequalities instead of boasting about how much better off our Africans are than those in Mauritania, Gabon or Chad?

A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

IN THE NAME OF JESUS CHRIST

WE ARE UNDER AN OBLIGATION TO CONFESS ANEW OUR COMMITMENT TO THE UNIVERSAL FAITH OF CHRISTIANS. THE ETERNAL GOSPEL OF SALVATION AND SECURITY IN CHRIST ALONE.

We are reprinting the Message in full because we believe it to be one of the most important and significant documents to be produced in South Africa for many years.

It is the work of the Theological Commission of the South African Council of Churches, and its publication was authorised by the Council.

1. What the Christian Gospel says

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

is the good news that in Christ God has broken down the walls of division between God and man, and therefore also between man and man.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that Christ is the truth who sets men free from all false hopes of grasping freedom for themselves, and that Christ liberates them from a pursuit of false securities.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that, in the crucifixion of Jesus, sin has been forgiven, and that God has met and mastered the forces that threaten to isolate man and destroy him.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that, in the resurrection of Jesus, God showed himself as the conqueror and destroyer of the most potent of all forms of separation, namely death, and he proved the power of his love to overthrow the evil powers of fear, envy and pride which cause hostility between men.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that, by this work of Christ, men are being reconciled to God and to each other, and that excluding barriers of ancestry, race, nationality, language and culture have no rightful place in the inclusive brotherhood of Christian disciples.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that God is the master of this world, that his is the mind and purpose that shapes history, and that it is to him alone, and not to any subsection of humanity, that we owe our primary obedience and commitment.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ

declares that we live in the expectation of a new heaven and a new earth in which righteousness dwells; that the Kingdom of God is present already in Christ and through the Holy Spirit; and that it therefore now demands our obedience to his commandments and our faith in his promises.

2. Our Concern

This, in summary, is the Gospel of salvation in Jesus Christ. It offers hope and security for the whole life of man; it is to be understood not only in a mystical and ethical sense for the salvation of the individual person, and not only in a sacramental and ecclesiastical sense within the framework of the Church; the Gospel of Christ is to be understood in a cultural, social (and therefore political), cosmic and universal sense, as the salvation of the world and of human existence in its entirety. Further, the Gospel of Christ is not only the object of our hopes; it should be experienced as a reality in the present.

For this reason, Christians are called to witness to the significance of the Gospel in the particular circumstances of time and place in which they find themselves. We, in this country, and at this time, are in a situation where a policy of racial separation is being deliberately effected with increasing rigidity. The effects of this are to be seen in a widening range of aspects of life — in political, economic, social, educational and religious life; indeed, there are few areas even of the private life of the individual which are untouched by the effects of the doctrine of racial separation. In consequence, this doctrine is being seen by many not merely as a temporary political

policy but as a necessary and permanent expression of the will of God, and as the genuine form of Christian obedience for this country. But this doctrine, together with the hardships which are deriving from its implementation, forms a programme which is truly hostile to Christianity and can serve only to keep people away from the real knowledge of God.

There are alarming signs that this doctrine of separation has become, for many, a false faith, a novel gospel which offers happiness and peace for the community and for the individual. It holds out to men a security built not on Christ but on the theory of separation and the preservation of their racial identity. It presents separate development of our race-groups as a way for the people of South Africa to save themselves. Such a claim inevitably conflicts with the Christian Gospel, which offers salvation, both social and individual, through faith in Christ alone.

This false offer of salvation is being made in this country in the name of Christianity. Therefore, we believe that the Church must enable all our people to distinguish between this false, novel gospel and the true eternal gospel of Jesus Christ. We believe that it is the Church's duty to enable our people to discriminate more carefully between what may be demanded of them as subjects or citizens of the State of South Africa and what is demanded of them as disciples of Jesus Christ.

3. The Gospel's Claim

The Christian Gospel declares that there is no other name than that of Christ whereby men must be saved. Thus salvation in Christ exposes the falsity of hope of salvation through any other means.

The first Christians, both Jews and Gentiles, discovered that God was creating a new community in which differences of race, nation, culture, language and tradition no longer had power to separate man from man. We are under an obligation to assert this claim and to live by it. We are under an obligation to assert that the most significant features of a man are not the details of his genetic inheritance, nor the facts of his ancestry. The most significant features of a man are the characteristics which enable him to be a disciple of Christ — his ability to respond to love, to make choices, to work as a servant of his fellowmen; these are the gifts of the grace of God at work in the individual person; and to insist that racial characteristics are more important than these is to reject

our own humanity as well as the humanity of the other man.

But, in South Africa, everyone is expected to believe that a man's racial identity is the most important thing about him. Until a man's racial identity is established, virtually no decisions can be taken; but, once it is established, it can be stated where he can live, whom he can marry, what work he can do, what education he can get, whose hospitality he can accept, where he can get medical treatment, where he can be buried — and the answer to multitudes of other questions can be supplied once this vital fact is established. Thus, we are being taught that our racial identity is the final and all important determining factor in the lives of men. As a result of this faith in racial identity, a tragic insecurity and helplessness afflicts those whose racial classification is in doubt. Without racial identity, it appears, we can do nothing: he who has racial identity has life; he who has not racial identity has not life. This amounts to a denial of the central statements of the Gospel. It is opposed to the Christian understanding of the nature of man and community. It, in practice, severely restricts the ability of Christian brothers to serve and know each other, and even to give each other simple hospitality. It arbitrarily limits the ability of a person to obey the Gospel's command to love his neighbour as himself.

Attempts have been made to support racial separation from Scripture. For instance, it is said to have the authority of an order of creation, which was divinely confirmed by the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel and emphasized again at Pentecost. The fact is, however, that the event of Pentecost asserts and demonstrates the power of the Holy Spirit to draw men into one community of disciples in spite of differences of languages and culture and it is thus the way by which the disunity of Babel is healed.

The Bible's teaching about creation has nothing to say about the distinctions between races and nations. God made man — the whole human race — in his image. God gave man — the whole human race — dominion over the rest of creation. Where differences between people are used as badges or signs of opposing groups, this is due to human sin. Any scheme which is proposed for the rectifying of our disorders must take account of this essentially sinful element in the divisions between men and between groups of men. Any scheme which is claimed to be Christian must

also take account of the reconciliation already made for us in Christ. The policy of separate development does not take proper account of these truths. It promises peace and harmony between the peoples of our country not by a faithful and obedient pursuit of the reconciliation wrought by Christ, but through separation, which, being precisely the opposite course, is a demonstration of unbelief and distrust in the power of the Gospel. Any demonstration of the reality of reconciliation would endanger this policy; therefore the advocates of this policy inevitably find themselves opposed to the Church if it seeks to live according to the Gospel and if it shows that God's grace has overcome our hostilities. A thorough policy of racial separation must ultimately require that the Church should cease to be the Church.

Everywhere, sin corrupts God's creation, particularly, it exploits differences to generate hostility. The policy of separate development is based on the domination of one group over all others; it depends on the maintenance of white supremacy; thus it is rooted in and dependent on a policy of sin. The Christian Gospel declares that God has acted to overthrow the policy of sin. God is bringing us from a living death to a new life; and one of the signs that this has happened is that we love the brethren. But, according to the Christian Gospel, our 'brethren' are not merely the members of our own race-group, nor are they the people with whom we may choose to associate. Our brother is the person whom God gives to us. To dissociate from our brother on the grounds of natural distinction is to despise God's gift and to respect Christ.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ declares that God is love. This is not as easy doctrine. It is not 'sentimental humanism'. It is far easier to believe in a god who is less than love and who does not require a discipleship of love. But if God is love, separation is the ultimately opposite force to God. The will to be separate is the most complete refusal of the truth. The life of separation is the most plain denial of life. The Christian Gospel declares that separation is the supreme threat and danger, but that in Christ it has been overcome. According to the Christian Gospel, we find our identity in association with Christ and with each other. Apartheid is a view of life and a view of man which insists that we find our identity in dissociation and in distinction from each other. A policy of separate development which is based on this concept therefore in-

volves a rejection of the central beliefs of the Christian Gospel. It calls good evil. It rejects as undesirable the good reconciliation and fellowship which God is giving to us by his Son. It seeks to limit the limitlessness of God's grace by which all men may be accepted in Jesus Christ. It seeks to confine the operation of God's grace within the barriers of human distinctions. It reinforces divisions which the Holy Spirit is calling the People of God to overcome. This policy is, therefore, a form of resistance to the Holy Spirit.

4. Our Task

People should be able to see the Gospel of Christ expressed in the life of the Church. They should be able to see in the Church an inclusive fellowship and a freedom of association in the Christian brotherhood. They should be able to see the power of God at work in the Church changing hostility into love of the brethren. We are indeed thankful for these signs of God's grace where they are to be seen in the life of the Church. But, even in the life of the Church, there is conformity to the practices of racial separation; and the measure of this conformity is the measure of the Church's deviation from the purpose of Christ.

Our task is to work for the expression of God's reconciliation here and now. We are not required to wait for a distant 'heaven' where all problems will have been solved. What Christ has done, he has done already. We can accept his work or reject it: we can hide from it or seek to live by it. But we cannot postpone it, for it is already achieved. And we cannot destroy it, for it is the work of the eternal God.

5. We must obey God rather than men

The Gospel of Jesus Christ declares that Christ is our master, and that to him all authority is given. Christians betray their calling if they give their highest loyalty, which is due to Christ, to one group or tradition, especially where that group is demanding self-expression at the expense of other groups. Christ is the master and critic of all of us and of all our groups. He is the judge of the Church also. If the Church fails to witness for the true Gospel of Jesus Christ it will find itself witnessing for a false gospel. If we seek to reconcile Christianity with the so-called 'South African way of life', (or any other way

of life) we shall find that we have allowed an idol to take the place of Christ. Where the Church thus abandons its obedience to Christ, it ceases to be the Church; it breaks the links between itself and the Kingdom of God. We confess, therefore, that we are under an obligation to live in accordance with the Christian understanding of man and of community, even if this be contrary to some of the customs and laws of this country.

Many of our people believe that their primary loyalty must be to their group or tradition or political doctrine, and that this is how their faithfulness will be judged. But this is not how God judges us. In fact, this kind of belief is a direct threat to the true salvation of many people, for it comes as an attractive substitute for the claims of Jesus. It encourages a loyalty expressed in self-assertion: it offers a way of salvation with no cross. But God judges us, not by our faithfulness to a sectional group but by our willingness to be made new in the community of Christ. We believe that we are under an obligation to state that our country and Church are under God's

judgement, and that Christ is inevitably a threat to much that is called 'the South African way of life'. We must ask ourselves what features of our social order will have to pass away if the lordship of Christ is to be fully acknowledged and if the peace of God is to be revealed as the destroyer of our fear.

But we believe that Christ is Lord, and that South Africa is part of his world. We believe that his kingdom and its righteousness have power to cast out all that opposes his purposes and keeps men in darkness. We believe that the word of God is not bound, and that it will move with power in these days, whether men hear or whether they refuse to hear. And so we wish to put to every Christian person in this country the question which we ourselves are bound to face each day; to whom, or to what are you truly giving your first loyalty, your primary commitment? Is it to a subsection of mankind, an ethnic group, a human tradition, a political idea; or to Christ?

May God enable us to be faithful to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to be continued to Christ alone!

ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE

ANNUAL REPORT

FUNCTIONS OF THE ADVICE OFFICE

After more than ten years of existence the Athlone Advice Office continues to offer useful guidance to Africans enmeshed in the inhuman technicalities of Influx Control legislation. Each client receives sympathetic attention and it is rewarding to note that, despite the inflexible fabric of the law, some real assistance is still given. Although major achievements, such as exemption permits, are rare, the majority of applicants benefit, at least in that they are referred to the most suitable officials and advised about their various documents and the best course of action in their individual circumstances.

A growing feature of the work is the number of employers who seek advice in such matters as: the correct procedure for registering African employees; the likely result of discharging an employee; what to do when an African employee goes on leave. As reported before, every employer has to obtain a clearance certificate from the Department of Labour before permission is given to em-

ploy an African in any capacity. This clearance certificate is only given if there is no suitable Coloured applicant for the job. This does not yet apply to the employment of casual daily labour for less than three days a week. The office is sometimes able to resolve misunderstanding and communication problems between employer and employee.

With individual case-work as the background the Advice Office has a second important function, namely the observation of trends in the application of official policy. Often the first evidence of new regulations is a sudden increase in the number of cases, all of the same type.

Records are moreover made available to experts for University and other research projects. We have nearly 12,000 cases on our files.

CURRENT TRENDS

Although no new legislation of any importance has been passed during the last year, there has been a steady increase in the techni-

cal rigidity with which the law is applied. The chief victims of this rigidity are African women who are almost all in a very insecure position. The failure of the Mary Xala appeal in March 1968 put an end to the general belief that women who could prove that they lived continuously in one area for over fifteen years qualified in terms of section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act to remain here permanently. The loss of this appeal confirmed the Cape Supreme Court decision that legal residence dates from the time specific permission is given to reside in any area.

No African women anywhere in South Africa can qualify on these grounds because nowhere were women required to register until about 1954 in the Western Cape and very much later in all other parts of the country.

After June 24th 1952 all Africans, who did not already qualify (by virtue of having been born in the area and lived there ever since, or by having already lived continuously in the area for 15 years or worked for 10 years for one employer) had to obtain permission to remain in the area within 72 hours. Failure to do this meant that their continued presence in the area was illegal. Legal residence therefore dates from the date when they first obtained permission and were registered as so doing. Since no woman in Cape Town registered before late 1953 or early 1954, no women qualify under Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act unless they have worked legally for 10 years for one employer. Exemptions on these grounds are being cancelled and the women are being endorsed out of the area after, in many cases, well over 20 years continuous residence — residence which they and the officials believed to be legal.

WIDOWS

Many women who qualified under Section 10(1)(c) of the Urban Areas Act while their husbands were alive, and who lost this qualification when the husband died, have been endorsed out on the grounds that they no longer qualify. Their own long residence — well over 15 years — does not count because it is not yet quite 15 years since they first "registered" — i.e. obtained official permission to be in the area.

Jostina Sizani registered for accommodation in Nyanga Location on the 8th May, together with her late husband and two children. The family was allocated a house in the Ny-

anga Transit Camp as they were from the Goodwood squatters area.

On 12th June 1962, Jostina reported that her husband, Spolden Sizani, had died in a fishing accident during 1961.

On 1st July 1962, the house was transferred into the name of Jostina, being the person responsible for payment of the rent.

On 2nd June, Jostina was interviewed in regard to the date of her arrival in the prescribed area and she then said that she had arrived in the area during 1945. On the strength of this statement, she was granted permission to remain in the area in terms of Section 10(1)(b) of Act No. 25 of 1945.

On 23rd August, 1967, however, the authorities at Langa notified the office of the Divisional Council of the Cape that Jostina only registered for a permit to be in the prescribed area on 9th February 1955, and thus does not qualify in terms of Section 10(1) of Act No. 25 of 1945 for permanent residence in the area.

Her permission to remain in terms of Section 10(1)(b) of Act No. 25 of 1945 was then cancelled and proceedings instituted to resettle her.

At this stage her case was referred to Mr. Blaar Coetzee then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, who confirmed the above and said in a letter received on 3rd October 1968 in answer to ours of 24th June 1968 :-

"On account of other more urgent cases and the fact that only a limited number of houses are available, it is unlikely that this woman will be settled in the near future. In the meantime, she is allowed to work."

When last we saw her in September she had been told that she would be given a rail warrant to Mngheshe Resettlement Camp, but we now hear that she has been given a short extension and permitted to work temporarily.

WOMEN BREADWINNERS

Many women who have worked in Cape Town for well over 15 years are being endorsed out when they leave their present employment. These women are often breadwinners supporting many children, either in Cape Town or up country. They are endorsed out to areas where there is no hope whatever of obtaining work.

A slight concession has been granted where such women agree to send their children upcountry. If they can produce written proof that the children are upcountry, they

may be permitted to work in this area, preferably as living-in domestic servants. These children having been born in Cape Town and having lived here since, qualify under Section 10(1)(a) of the Urban Areas Act and cannot be endorsed out. By sending them away in order to be allowed to remain here to work in order to support them, the mother is trading in their inalienate right to live and work in Cape Town in exchange for permission to accept work offered.

Triphena Kwaaiman was born in Willowvale but came to Cape Town in 1939. Like everyone else she first registered in 1955. She has seven children all born in Cape Town but because her husband left her in 1964 and refuses to return to her, she has been endorsed out to Willowvale where, it is said, an uncle will receive her. The four eldest children are working in Cape Town and the three youngest are all at school. When told she must leave she said if she had to go she would leave the seven children behind to be looked after by the authorities! After endless interviews she has been given permission to work for three months for an employer who has been indefatigable in her efforts to help Triphena employing her.

WIVES OF QUALIFIED MEN

Many wives of qualified men who entered the area as visitors some years ago but wish to remain to live with their husbands are being endorsed out on the grounds that there is no accommodation and that they have not "ordinarily resided" with their husbands since the latter have been paying rent in the bachelor quarters. In fact they have been lodging together for years but not with permission.

Rebecca Mqaname was born in Grahamstown in 1925 and came to Cape Town with her mother in 1950 and has lived with her ever since — at present in Nyanga. In 1957 she married, by Civil Rites, a man who has worked for one firm for more than 10 years, and therefore qualifies under Section 10(1) (b) of the Urban Areas Act. Unfortunately he lives in a compound in Hout Bay where she cannot live with him. She has now been told to go to Willowvale from where her husband came, but where he has no house, no parents, only a brother suffering from T.B. who lodges with a family in the location there.

UNQUALIFIED MEN AND WOMEN WHO ATTEMPT TO CHANGE REGISTERED EMPLOYMENT

All African men and women are endorsed out upon giving up employment unless they are qualified under Section 10(1)(a), (b) or (c) of the Urban Areas Act to remain in the area. Unfortunately few will believe this until it happens to them, in spite of the fact that for over a year we have been circulating pamphlets warning Africans not to change their employment until they have made quite sure that they qualify and will be allowed to take up a new job.

Jackson Mini came to work in Cape Town 24 years ago and has a very good record. He was very surprised when, after leaving an engineering firm in February 1968 he was endorsed out to report to the District Employment officer at Tsomo, where he was born. He queried this instruction and it was explained to him by the official that a job taken with the Cape Town P.W.D. constituted a break of four years in his record. Although he had signed on for this job in Cape Town, the actual work was on Robben Island, which at the time was not part of the Cape Peninsula area. Robben Island has been part of the area since August 1967, but the incorporation does not work in retrospect, so Mini must now become a contract worker and can never be a "qualified" man, able to seek his own job and remain in the area.

THE PRACTISE OF DEMANDING THE DISCHARGE OF WORKERS ON VARIOUS GROUNDS

The practise of demanding the discharge of workers on various grounds such as:-

- (a) Shortage of accommodation:
- (b) An alleged offence against township regulations or the common law for which the African has not been charged, let alone convicted;
- (c) That the employee is not qualified to remain in the area:
should be carefully watched and employers should not accede to such a request without taking advice as to their rights in the individual circumstances.

Once discharged the worker can be, and is, endorsed out and permission to re-employ her or him is always refused.

Jessie Patanzi is the breadwinner for seven out of her nine children. She was on unpaid

leave for the birth of her youngest child when her employer received a visit from a labour inspector who demanded that she discharge Jessie by handing him her employment card. His reason for the demand was that she had committed an offence against township regulations concerned with the illicit brewing of beer. She had not been charged with this offence, let alone convicted of it. The housewife employer was most unwilling to surrender the card so dismissing the maid, but the inspector insisted and she finally complied. She immediately set about trying to get permission to re-employ Jessie but this was refused. Jessie appealed to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner against this refusal to allow her to return to her previous employer, but her appeal failed. She had been here since 1952 but first registered in 1951, so does not qualify under Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act and has been told to leave the area. If only the employer had refused to discharge the maid the latter could not have been endorsed out.

Elsie and Washington Yoyo have been living together in Cape Town since their tribal marriage in 1948, first at Elsie's River then Kensington, then a pondok in Nyanga West, and finally a brick house in Guguletu. Both are legally employed, she as a daily maid in Parow and he in the Docks. Suddenly she received a notice to report to Langa from where she was sent to Department of Bantu Affairs. There on the back of an envelope addressed to Mr. Tennant of Langa was written "Furniture to be ready 29.3.68 at 7.40 a.m. They will leave 31.3.68". (We have a photostatic copy of this envelope).

The trouble would appear to be the fact that Washington was first registered as a permanent worker in 1954, although he worked on contract before that. This means that he does not qualify under Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act to be housed with his family, until next year. His wife has, therefore, been told to leave the area together with her two children, in spite of the fact that she is legally employed here. Her family, who have lived together for 20 years, will now be split up unless her appeal succeeds. We have begged her employer not to discharge her because while she is legally employed she cannot be endorsed out. That is why she was told to leave verbally and no endorsing out stamp was put in her book.

CASE OF DISMISSAL BY ORDER,

M.A. entered the Divisional Council area of the Cape Peninsula in 1963 from Lady Frere. Since October 1964 he has been employed by a local factory. At that time, 1964, there was an epidemic of bribery in Nyanga East and many persons who obtained permits illegally by paying for them have been traced and sent away.

During September of this year, A. was fetched by a constable and taken to the Registration Office. There he was told that he had bribed an official for his permit, solely on the grounds of the date that it was granted. He was endorsed out but not immediately signed off by his employers, whom we contacted when he came to the Advice Office. They had been instructed to discharge A. but were anxious not to lose a particularly good worker and agreed not to send in his card without legal advice. A. stated that he had lost his reference book a year after arriving in Cape Town, and that he was given a pink Temporary Identity Certificate when a friend from his home area took him to the office. He was adamant that he had not bought his pass. We sent him to our legal adviser who found his account reasonable and who wrote on his behalf to the Divisional Council authorities. A's firm also made contact with the lawyer, and vouched for his reliability. However, when the lawyer's letter had been received by the Divisional Council and before it had been answered, a Registration official went straight to the firm, complained that a lawyer should not have been consulted and said that unless the firm discharged this man in accordance with instructions, they would be refused new workers. The Director of the firm then decided that A. would have to be discharged, and his yellow card was regretfully sent in. The firm immediately found itself reinstated in good favour with the officials, who now said that of course it was in order to consult a lawyer about any problem.

Now A. may well be guilty of the offence of which he was accused but has lost his job and been endorsed out on a charge which was never even brought before the court. He has not even been charged with having obtained his permit illegally — let alone been found guilty. His employers moreover have found that it is absolutely necessary to comply with the instructions of registering officials in order to obtain even their legitimate quota of African labour. Other factories have had similar experiences.

YOUNG PEOPLE APPLYING FOR REFERENCE BOOKS

Young people applying for reference books are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain reference books when they reach the age of sixteen. The family background is screened at this stage, causing delays which not infrequently result in the arrest and conviction of the teenager on a charge of being without a reference book. Then a temporary certificate of identification is issued, and permission to be in the area is apt to be temporary only, depending not only on the young person's own record of continuous residence since birth but also the status of the parents.

Sidney Aries is the eighteen-year-old son of a Coloured mother and an African father. The father disappeared, and he lived with his mother until she took up with another man in 1963, since when she has lived at Elsie's River and refused to have anything to do with Sidney. He was looked after by friends and did odd jobs after reaching the age of sixteen but had no reference book. Twice he was arrested, found guilty of being without a reference book and goaled for six weeks. He traced his mother but she would not help him. The Advice Office made an appointment for him at Langa and from there he was sent to Elsie's River to get his mother's address. He returned to Langa with the address and was told that arrangements would be made for his mother to meet him at the Registration office, but he was not given any temporary certificate of Identification. He was arrested again the same day, charged with the same offence, found guilty and sentenced to a month's imprisonment at Pollsmoor. He returned to the Advice Office as soon as he was released and a fresh appointment was made for him at Langa. This time he was given a letter to Nyanga East, from where an inspector was to accompany him to trace his mother. It is hoped that this letter will have protected him until a proper document could be provided, and that by now he has a Temporary Identification Certificate.

LEGAL CASES

(a) Since the appeal of Mary Xala to the Appeal court was turned down, we have been unable to offer defence to women on the grounds that they qualify under Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act unless they can prove that they have been in registered employment for over 10 years. Continuous

residence of 15, 20 or even 30 years is no longer a ground for qualifications. They must have registered over 15 years ago when women were required to register anywhere in South Africa.

(b) If a man pays rent in bachelor quarters, however long he may have lived and worked in that area, he cannot claim ordinary residence with his wife, but once he is the registered tenant or a legal lodger in a house in which his wife is also staying, they can claim "ordinary residence" and even if his wife does not remotely "qualify" in her own right she may well have legal grounds for protesting against endorsement out.

As a result of the success of the appeal of Christine Nqwandi in 1967, cases against five women who were charged with being illegally in the area were withdrawn by the Prosecutor during the year. Three of these women were married to men who qualified under Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act and two to men who qualified under Section 10(1)(a). All were legally married and living with their husbands in lawful accommodation. We still cannot persuade the officials that it is quite wrong to refuse to acknowledge that these women qualify under Section 10(1)(c) of the Urban Areas Act and to force them to undergo arrest and often an appearance in court before they can prove their right to be given permits to reside with their husbands.

Orippa Ntleko is the legal wife of Julius Ntleko who has worked for Simon's Town Dockyard since 1952. They were given a brick house at Guguletu after their removal from Luyolo location, although she had twice been away from the area for over a year since she first entered Simon's Town in 1959. She was, and is, "ordinarily residing" with her legal husband and appealed against her endorsement out in September 1966 to Department of Bantu Affairs but her appeal failed. She did not leave, however, but remained obtaining extensions to her permit for medical reasons and had another baby in February 1967.

The last of her extensions expired on December 17th 1967 and in January 1968 the Advice Office telephoned the Assistant Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner who confirmed that the legal wife of a qualified man who lived with him in a house in which he was legally permitted to live would "in terms of recent judgments" be allowed to remain. She

was subsequently arrested, appeared in court. We arranged for her case to be defended and it was remanded and subsequently withdrawn by the prosecutor. Only then was she permitted to live with her husband.

Bracelet Matshoba, the wife of a man born in the area who qualifies under Section 10(1)(a) of the Urban Areas Act was residing in the same house as her husband where he was legally resident i.e. his parents' house. She was arrested and charged with being in the area illegally. She had made a number of unsuccessful attempts to have her permit, which was originally a visiting permit, extended, and as the office considered her case merited defence, this was arranged. As before the case was withdrawn by the prosecutor, and she was subsequently given an extension of a full year.

This is yet another example of the fact that officials do not accept that the legal wife of a qualified man who is living with him in a house where he is legally permitted to live, is herself qualified under Section 10(1)(c) of the Urban Areas Act and should have her reference book endorsed to this effect and is entitled to permanent accommodation with her husband.

Cecilia Mlengana the wife of Jack Mlengana, who has worked in Simon's Town Dockyard since 1952 and who was given a house in Guguletu in April 1966 after removal from Luyolo township, was told towards the end of 1967 that she was only a visitor and must return home. Jack was told to move into bachelor quarters. Her permit expired on 30th January 1968, she was arrested on February 28th when her case was remanded as she was to be defended. It was later withdrawn by the Prosecutor and she was given a permit until November 1968.

Government Policy has been to endorse out of Cape Town all those who do not qualify under Section 10(1)(a), (b) or (c) to remain here, to refuse to allow the wives of those who do not qualify to join their husbands or even to remain with them, and to try to persuade those who do qualify to go away taking their children with them. There is ample evidence that next Session will see the end of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act and we are very uneasy as to what will take its place.

Legina Sodladla arrived in Cape Town in 1964 and subsequently married Almond Madzibe by Christian rites. He had been here since 1945 and worked for the Simon's Town Naval Dockyard for over ten years. They lived together legally in Luyolo Location, Simon's Town, and were removed to Guguletu when the location was cleared in December 1965. They were allocated a brick house but her right of permanent residence with her husband was not acknowledged. In January she was refused a further extension of her permit and told that she was a "visitor". She remained nevertheless, and was arrested during February. Our legal adviser arranged a remand, she having pleaded "not guilty" on our instructions to the charge of being in the area illegally. The case was withdrawn by the prosecutor at this stage, and the couple were given permission to remain in the house which they had been told to leave by the end of the first week in March. Mrs. Madzibe was given a "temporary residence" permit, valid until November 20th 1968. She has lived with her doubly qualified husband (over fifteen years in the area and over ten years with one employer) ever since her marriage and can hardly be regarded as a visitor!

CONTRACT WORKERS

Contract workers suffer many disadvantages for which there is virtually no redress. In theory, both the employer and employee must agree if the contract is to terminate before due date. But what in practise is a labourer to do about a dispute? If his employer is not prepared to remedy his grievance he is obliged to "agree to terminate his contract", or he will be accused of having broken it, which is a punishable offence.

D.T., a man of about 40 who comes from Alice and in May this year accepted a contract for one year with a dairy. There was an argument in which the employer's wife was involved. Our client maintained that he was only trying to help by interpreting for another, less articulate, labourer, but by so doing he gave the impression of "cheekiness". There were angry words on both sides, the police were called in and D.T. was dismissed. The employer explained in a telephone conversation that D.T. had "willingly agreed" to terminate his contract and had in fact received four days pay out of sheer kindness because it was realised that, by the time the

fares down and back had been deducted from his wages he was due to receive just 11 cents. In fact he left the job with a ticket home and R1.68 to show for two months work. (His cash wage was R16 per month and quarters and basic rations). So home he went with nothing but disappointment to show for two months work, and then begins the wait for a fresh contract.

Although four copies of a contract exist the contract workers has no copy himself and this causes many problems.

Such a problem caused heavy losses to both firm and workers at a cement pipe factory recently. 23 men who were dissatisfied with their overtime pay would not believe explanations intended to convince them that it was correct. For three days they refused to work overtime. In terms of the contract signed by each the men were obliged to work 10 hours overtime per week. Finally the police were called and the men were charged with striking, which is the legal interpretation of refusing to obey a legitimate order.

These men were defended by their own privately engaged lawyer, who instructed them to plead guilty in order to mitigate punishment which might have been severe. He ably defended them on grounds of insufficient understanding of the terms of the contract. Thanks to his defence the men were not fined, but they were dismissed. All were given rail warrants by the firm concerned, and sent home and will have to start again as workseekers with a most unfortunate slur on their records.

CHARS

Chars in the City Council area must now have permission to do casual work. This new regulation has been in force since January 1968.

G.B. is a widow who went to Langa with a written offer of employment for two days a week. She was given an official form which her employer's name and address had to be entered. This form entitles the bearer to work for two days a week. Employers of such women do not require a clearance certificate from the Department of Labour, but this would be essential if the char were to work for three or more days.

CASES SENT TO MRS. SUZMAN AND MR. BLAAR COETZEE

During June, shortly before the end of the Parliamentary session. Mrs. Helen Suzman was criticised in the House of Assembly by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs for her statement that a very large number of African couples were being separated under the current application of Influx Control regulations. Mr. Blaar Coetzee complained that Mrs. Suzman had not cited any actual cases and undertook to attend to any individual instances of illegal separation or of excessive hardship brought to his attention. The Advice Office sent off a dozen cases to Mrs. Suzman and a letter was written to Mr. Blaar Coetzee stressing that, while Bantu husbands and wives were rarely separated *illegally*, the law as now applied makes normal residence together impossible except for a small minority of couples. The story of a widow, Jostina Sizani was appended and, as earlier reported, an answer has just been received.

INSURANCE POLICY PROBLEM

H.R. is a widow who was endorsed out of the area, like many other women in her position, at the beginning of this year. She had been in the area since 1942 but registered in 1954, so was not "qualified" (in terms of Section 10(1)(b) of the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidated Act as amended). Her story would be ordinary — she even had a "home" of sorts at Nqamakwe — but an insurance problem should be highlighted. She had paid her savings into Life and Endowment policies. The latter would only mature in 1976. She would not be able to continue payments in the Transkei, and would moreover need her money to live on. She asked to be allowed to reclaim the premiums which she had paid into the policies. But the Insurance Company said that nothing could be paid out until her death when her dependents would receive "pro rata" shares of the Life Policy, and in the case of the Endowment Policy, the amount would be paid out "pro rata" in 1976; under no circumstances sooner.

Surely Insurance Companies should take note of the special circumstances affecting the lives of their African clients, and adjust the regulations governing their policies accordingly?

THE FUTURE?

What lies ahead for all the Republic's African citizens is a matter for anxious conjec-

ture. The only realistic approach is to handle present problems in terms of present legislation and its current application. There have been repeated murmurs from high official sources about pending changes and further drastic erosion of the few remaining rights which residents of urban areas can claim. The Contract labour system must be expected to dominate the industrial and agricultural scene increasingly in the Western Cape, as the "Removal of Africans" means a shift from a community which was beginning to put down roots, to a rotational system of interchangeable labour-units, whose family life is confined to a few weeks a year for the whole of their span of physical usefulness.

The great and seemingly irrefutable argument (but, I maintain, not the real reason) for sending men, women and children away from Cape Town, and for refusing to allow the wives and families of even the most highly qualified men to join their husbands here is, of course, the acute shortage of accommodation. This shortage is the most striking feature of life in our townships. Four-roomed houses often accommodate two families and twelve or more individuals. Officials remind us daily that they cannot allow people to remain on extended visits, let alone grant permanent residential rights, because of this shortage. Where there is a country home, the wife must be sent to it. Where there is not, a resettlement area is selected. The officials do undertake not to send women away until they have evidence that there is a place for them to go to, but they do not undertake to allocate housing to couples unless their claims to be local residents are beyond reproach.

I should like to end by quoting from Page 10 of the General Circular No. 25/1967 (Head Office File No. V 164/1) issued by the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development to all offices of the Department and all magistrates and assistant magistrates employed by the South African and Transkeian governments (Argus July 6th 1968).

"It must be stressed here *that no stone is to be left unturned to achieve the resettlement in the homelands of non-productive Bantu at present residing in the European areas.*"

"The human factor must however never be lost sight of in the problem of resettlement. The people must be treated with due respect and sympathy towards their problems and the impression

must not be created that they are no longer welcome in the European areas. I would like to stress here that the Honourable the Minister has given instructions that the resettlement in the homelands of thousands of superfluous Bantu families at present residing in the European areas of the Republic must enjoy the highest priority."

Those classified as "unproductive" are classified as "the aged, the unfit, widows, women with dependent children". "Bantu on European farms who become superfluous as a result of age, disability." Now these people can be removed whether they like it or not but what is to happen to those who qualify to remain in European areas? The circular goes on to deal with these as follows:-

"If a person or family does qualify *they can only be settled in the homelands if they agree to it,*" and later "Persuasion must continuously be exercised by the district officials in collaboration with the responsible officials of local authorities *to persuade persons who qualify and are not prepared to accept settlement in towns in their homelands, to be settled in towns in their homelands or ethnical grounds.*"

And this is exactly what is happening; people who qualify and those in legal employment are verbally told to leave the area and if they have nowhere to go, offered a house in a resettlement camp. In many cases they qualify to remain, or are entitled to do so while legally employed, but so much pressure is put on them that they often leave only to return later in great distress. It is then much too late to do anything for them. If they come to us when they are first verbally told to leave we can often help them to prove that they qualify to remain, or explain that while they remain in their present legal employment they cannot be endorsed out — that is unless their employer can be bullied into dismissing them.

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Regional Reports

HEADQUARTERS

This has been a busy year for the Headquarters Executive and your National President and National Secretary have, as usual, borne the brunt of it. As in past years it is impossible to divide the work of Headquarters and the Transvaal Region, so that the two reports must be read together in order to get a true picture of activities. All press statements, letters and articles have been listed in the Regional Report and this report will deal only with special National projects.

Improper Interference Bill

At Conference last year it was decided that Delegates would consult with their Regions and inform Headquarters of the decisions of their members regarding the action of the Black Sash should they be affected by the Improper Interference Act. When the Bill was published and scrutinised by our legal advisers it was realised that the organisation as such was not affected. A demonstration against the passing of the Bill was held in Headquarters Region from April 11th to 24th in conjunction with Churches, University and political parties and was one of the most effective ever staged in spite of the fact that there was less co-operation than usual from our City Council.

The departure of Dr. Hoffenberg

The National President and the Regional Chairman saw him leave from the Airport and handed him a letter from the Black Sash. Letter to the Prime Minister on Family Day

The usual Family Day letter was sent to the Prime Minister. This year it elicited no acknowledgement whatsoever, showing that he abides by his reply of 1967.

Bantu Labour Regulations (Bantu Areas) 1965

These were summarised by Mrs. Sinclair and published in the magazine. Further regulations are being summarised by the Region at the moment.

Freedom of Movement

Arising out of last year's conference a steering committee was set up at Headquarters to investigate the implications of freedom of movement for all South Africans. The first part of this work culminates in the Symposium — "Manpower: Apartheid versus

Productivity" to be held on October 22nd in Durban. This has entailed a great deal of work on the part of both Headquarters and Natal Coastal Regions.

Removals

Much of our effort during 1968 has gone into the subject of Enforced Removals. The results of research by Natal Coastal, Natal Midlands, and other Regions will be given during Conference in Fact Papers.

In July this year it was agreed that the Black Sash would have a National Demonstration against all Removals, culminating in a Petition to the State President.

Regions were asked to form Citizens' Action Committees in their areas together with other interested persons and Headquarters after consultation with advertising experts, produced pamphlets and petition forms.

All Regions co-operated to the best of their ability and although all the signatures have not been counted, we believe there should be about 20,000 throughout the country.

Headquarters feel that this campaign was most successful in disseminating information but the cost in Rands was high. The Transvaal Region has collected R1500.00 towards the R3000 debt, and Natal Midlands have sent us R100.00.

We are most grateful to the press for their magnificent coverage throughout and for their willing co-operation with the Citizens' Action Committee.

The National President

Mrs. Sinclair, has this year sat on a Family Life Sub-committee of the Council of Churches. She was also invited to address the U.C.M. at Stutterheim in July and delivered one of the keynote addresses.

In May Mrs. Sinclair met with the Natal Coastal Region in Durban.

Jean has seemed indefatigable this year — Nothing ever goes by the board and we find it hard to keep up with her. We all owe her a deep debt of gratitude for giving the greater part of her time and energy to the Black Sash.

Our National President and our National Secretary must have our heartfelt congratulations.

M. W. CLUVER,
Vice-President.

TRANSVAAL REGION

Demonstrations

15th November, 1967 — Against the banning of Helen Joseph and Lilian Ngoye.

7th February, 1968 — All night vigil against Black Spot Removals.

15th March, 1968 — Against the Maria Ratzitch removals.

29th March, 1968 — Against the removal of the Coloured People's Representatives from Parliament.

11th April, 1968 — Demonstration and Torch lighting.

16th April, 1968 — Torch taken to Cathedral and Vigil kept until Protest meeting addressed by Dr. Alan Paton. Demonstration and torches extinguished. (AGAINST IMPROPER INTERFERENCE BILL).

8th July, 1968 — Members joined in all day vigil of prayer organised by the Christian Council.

11th September, 1968 — Demonstration held by Citizen's Action Committee against the widespread uprooting of people.

Discussion Groups

We have run into several difficulties with the discussion groups this year. Two successful ones are operating, one in Witbank and the other led by Mrs. Carlson in Johannesburg. This last is a group of young people and has been a very lively one. After the original group leader left to live in Britain last June the members of that group and several new people expressed interest in carrying on with regular meetings. We have tried to do this but have had indifferent success. It has been found difficult to run this without a trained leader who has the time to do the necessary preparation, and we are now thinking of attempting to start afresh in the new year with a paid leader and a new programme.

Saturday Club

The Saturday Club has grown and is still as successful as ever. Mrs. Carlson and Mrs. Driver have worked extremely hard to make it a going concern and have succeeded. The club meets once a month and the programme is varied and interesting. They have talks, lectures, discussions and try to ensure that the type of meeting changes regularly to maintain interest and to ensure that everyone enjoys themselves.

Speakers

We have been asked to provide speakers to address small groups on several occasions. Usually the subject asked for has been the pass laws, but recently several requests have been made for facts about the removals. We find that many people are genuinely interested if one offers facts and not rhetoric.

New Members

It has been most encouraging this year to find, on looking back over the minutes of committee meetings, that we have accepted an average of two new members every month. Several old lapsed members have rejoined.

General

We have had a very busy year. As usual with this report it is extremely difficult to separate those activities which are strictly regional from those which have been National efforts. Much of our time has been given to trying to get facts about the moving around of hundreds of thousands of South Africa's people and to present those facts to as wide a public as possible. For many years the Black Sash has been working on these figures but suddenly all of them came together, mostly from the filing of Parliamentary questions, and the colossal totals of black spot removals, group areas removals and endorsements out from white areas astonished and shocked us afresh. A great deal of information comes from the work in the Advice Office but in the Transvaal we have had no success in being allowed to enter the new settlements in the rural areas and have been forced to depend on meagre information which appears in the press from time to time. The outcome of all this resulted in the idea of the nation wide campaign on which the National President will be reporting in full.

In April two members attended some of the Group areas board hearings into the proposed proclamation of the Diagonal Street area as a white group area. This led to a feeling that we did not know nearly enough about Lenasia where most of the removed Indians of the Witwatersrand have been forced to settle. Mrs. Cluver will later be presenting a fact paper to this conference of her investigation there.

We have tried to vary the pattern of our public protests as much as possible because we find that a vigil or an all night stand, or using torches etc., means that far more in-

terest is expressed by both the public and the press if we are not always standing in the same place at the same time on widely differing issues. It has been difficult to do all we would have liked to do.

On several occasions we have been refused permission to hold marches through the streets of Johannesburg. There always seems to be a different reason given to us by the City Council. We feel that in the new year we must try to discuss with the authorities this limitation of our rights of demonstration.

The publicity sub-committee under the chairmanship of Joyce Harris has done an enormous amount of work throughout the year. They have been responsible for all the material written for, and published by the press. They have had a major part in the planning and carrying out of the big projects of the Sash such as the Symposium which preceded this conference, the campaign against the removals, all the demonstrations and all the research work.

On the whole we feel that we have had a good year, accomplished some part of what we set out to do and with many plans to be worked on in the year ahead.

SHEENA DUNCAN.

CAPE WESTERN REGION

"We feel that the greatest need is to bring home to the public the hardships and the break-up of family life": This, which so aptly describes the motives behind the recent campaign organised throughout the country by the Citizens' Action Committee, a campaign in which members of the Black Sash played their part, is a sentence which appeared in our Annual Report for the Cape Western Region in 1962! The next year we reiterated that "the vast majority of the whites remain unaware of what is happening and the Black Sash has worked to get publicity for the facts".

Should we feel disheartened at times that our efforts appear to have met with such small success, that our pleas for understanding begin to sound platitudinous, we must remember that indifference to the sufferings of others is neither exclusive to South Africa, nor solely of our time.

However, it is here and now that we are faced with the need to ask: "Are we getting

anywhere? Is ours only a cry in the wilderness?" Perhaps we may allow ourselves a ray of hope for despite the general attitude of indifference there are signs that gradually an awareness is awakening within the public at large with some slight stirring of the conscience. We of the Black Sash felt proud that in a thoughtful article in the "New Yorker" of February 1968 we were described as "a progressive South African organisation . . . the personification of the conscience of South Africa". More than ever then, we must carry on the task, making certain that we know our facts before we plunge into criticism, never allowing sentimentality or superficiality to shroud the stark outlines of truth. For this reason, in Cape Western we have reason to be grateful for those keen intellects among us who watch carefully to see that we tread warily among the pitfalls of intricate legislation. Their task is not an easy one as they have to enlighten most of us as well as the public.

Education

The following activities were all directed at increasing knowledge either for the public or of our own:—

Mrs. Robb, an acknowledged expert on the subject, gave a talk on Migratory Labour at a lunch hour meeting of the Institute of Citizenship.

Mrs. Willis' excellent booklet on the difficulties encountered by all those affected by Group Area legislation was compiled for the Christian Churches' Advice Office in Simon's Town. It was made available for distribution at 5 cents a copy and has been eagerly sought after, not only in the Peninsula but throughout the country, as it filled a great need.

Mrs. Marquard has drawn up a list of inter-racial contacts that are still permissible. This will be given wide publicity as too many people are ignorant of what may be done.

Various most interesting talks were given at All Branches meetings. Early in the year Mrs. Beck spoke on "The Troubles Ahead", referring to current and future legislation; Mrs. Y. Maytham spoke at another meeting on an unhappy group of bills (Prohibition of Political Interference Bill, Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill, and Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Bill). Mrs. Coplans gave us a comprehensive and interesting account of her

visit overseas and her impressions of race relations in Paris, London and New York. Mrs. Maytham gave a later talk on Group Areas Removals in Cape Town.

After a visit to an African settlement at Mngqesha in the Eastern Province, Mrs. Herbstein gave a talk to an All Branch meeting as well as sending a letter to the "Cape Argus", calling attention to the lack of facilities in this newly-created centre. Other interesting and informative speakers have given talks at many Branch meetings.

In keeping with the Sash's re-orientation towards positive thinking rather than mere protest, Cape Western Branches are undertaking various projects in which more members may share in the investigation of problems of interest to all e.g. Plumstead/Constantia Branch is working on the question of transport for re-settled workers and their families. Similar projects will be, or are being tackled by other branches. Many of these ideas were the outcome of a meeting of Branch Chairmen earlier in the year.

Stands

(For several of these the public were invited to join us).

11th November 1967: at Somerset West : Against Group Areas. Posters: "We mourn the loss of livelihoods and homes". "We mourn the loss of this old-established community".

15th March 1968: Against Group Areas and Black Spot Removals: Posters: "You must not try to take a man's home away from him". The Prime Minister, Windhoek. "Settled communities destroyed".

"Black Spot and Group Areas Removals unjust".

Our banner read: "Group Area Removals Unjust".

28th March: Against Punishment without trial. Posters: "Over 700 banned without trial.

"Innocent or Guilty, the Courts must decide".

"No punishment without trial".

22nd April: Against: "The Improper Interference Bill" and "Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill".

Banner: "Over 100 years freedom of political association destroyed. Posters: "Representation of Coloureds will remain in existence as it is". — Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, 1962. "1,859,000 Coloured South Africans unrepresented in effective government".

"Division breeds mistrust".

"Discussion brings understanding".

"Over 100 years freedom of political association destroyed".

BARBARA WILKS.

CAPE EASTERN

We have four branches including Port Elizabeth, Addo, Grahamstown and Alexandria.

The Regional Council has met at least once a month since January, and we have had three open meetings, one addressed by Mrs. Noel Robb, one by Mr. Atholl Fugard the playwright and one by Advocate Lionel Melunsky on "Law and the Individual in South Africa today".

We have written a number of letters to the press during the year on many subjects and all of Headquarters statements have been published either in full or in part.

Our education fund subsidises a number of African boy scholars through senior school. Mrs. Bolton and a sub-committee has either met the parents or gathered information from school masters as to the needs of each child. We must thank all members who contributed generously. Grahamstown also have a similar project.

Our efforts to trace men due Workmen's Compensation have not been at all successful. There have been two leading articles in the Evening Post on the large numbers of Africans untraced, one taken from the Athlone Advice Office monthly report.

A multi-racial get-together was held at the American consulate, where Black Sash members and their husbands met school principals their wives and social workers.

We held one protest stand in the Mayor's Garden against the removal of Coloured voters and the Improper Interference Bill. Nine Anglican and Catholic priests joined us bringing our number to twenty eight. This was most encouraging, with all of us carrying placards. A courageous stand in Gra-

hamstown numbered 200 — members, clergy, sympathisers and students — all made more difficult by the harrassment by police.

Thanks to the enthusiasm and untiring efforts of Mrs. Melunsky, we have new members here and new magazine subscriptions sold. New members have joined in Grahamstown many of them quite young. A meeting was held last month in Port Elizabeth to explain the aims and objects of the Sash to new and prospective members, and a sub-committee formed that afternoon to raise funds for various projects.

We found it hard to form a Citizen's Committee here, so our campaign against removals and resettlements, groups area etc., has not been very successful. The courage and fortitude of Grahamstown members have been an inspiration and example to us all. They really bore the brunt of police intimidation and interference. In consequence people have not signed the petition in numbers as we could have wished.

We sent three delegates to the National Conference in Johannesburg last October. After their return we held three report back meetings, two in Port Elizabeth and one in Grahamstown.

A. RANDALL.

BORDER REGION

Meetings

General — Five.
Committee — Six.

Talks

- a) Report-back on 1967 National Conference.
- b) African Transport difficulties in East London.
- c) Sporting Facilities for non-Whites in East London.
- d) Health Services for non-Whites in East London.
- e) Wage Discrepancies.
- f) Dental Services for non-Whites in East London.
- g) Local bye-laws re Toilet facilities for non-White staff in East London.
- h) African Schooling in East London.

(All researched and presented by Committee members).

Fund Raising

- a) Bring and Buy sales at each meeting.
- b) Donations — monthly pledges.

Transit Camps

Christmas parcels and clothing collected for Sada, and Mount Coke. Visit by two members to Mngqesha near King William's Town.

Press Publicity

Leading articles on Human Rights Day, Family Day; on Black Spot Removals after interviews with the Editor.

Demonstrations

Two Protest Stands on May 3rd, 1968, against Improper Interference Bills.

Petitions

Members obtained signatures against the unfairness of free education for whites only. 12,000 National Protest pamphlets against Black Spot Removals distributed. Over 500 signatures collected.

Project for the Year

1,000 booklets entitled "This is Our City — East London" produced and distributed free.

Difficulties

Advanced age of most members, apathy of others. Of those interested most work full time.

DEENA STREEK.

NATAL COASTAL REGION

Stands

22nd November 1967: Against the banning of Dr. Hoffenberg. Members of the public were invited to join us, and altogether 30 people stood.

11th April 1968; 24th April 1968; 7th May 1968:

All these stands were against the three "Ugly Sisters" and the last took place just before the closing of the Liberal Party.

Letters to the Press

We have had good support from one of the daily newspapers in particular, and have had all but one of our letters published and the reporters are constantly asking for news.

27th May 1968:

Following an article in the newspaper on Weenen Emergency Camp, they also published a letter by one of our members on the same subject.

24th June 1968:

Following an article by a reporter on the difficulties of a man endorsed out. The case was actually dealt with by the Institute of Race Relations, but nothing could be done to help him.

16th June 1968:

By one of our members asking that credit be given to the Back Sash for their help in opening the eyes of the public to the conditions at Limehill and Weenen.

27th June 1968:

By one of our members backing up the previous letter.

12th July 1968:

Following up the article on the man endorsed out.

6th July 1968:

Family Day. A letter was written to both papers in July asking for old stockings, scraps of material and baby clothes for the people of Limehill. One paper did not reply or publish the letter, the other one regretted they were unable to publish unless we had a W.O. number.

24th August 1968:

An article following a report to the Daily News on Limehill. A second leader on the same subject followed the report.

The petition also attracted publicity, especially when it was found that we had such difficulty in getting permission to have a table in West Street. There was a third leader on this subject following the reporter's article.

Indian Women's Group

Three of us and some visitors continue to attend meetings whenever possible.

Advice Office

This has not closed down, but no client has visited the office since June, apart from the one interviewed by the Institute of Race Relations. In the six months, December — June only 3 people came. I spoke to Miss Thorpe who said that no-one else had been to see them. It seems odd that there are no clients, and no-one to whom we have spoken

has given any reason, but we intend investigating the position after the Conference.

General Meetings

October 1967:

A report-back of the Conference was given by the delegates.

November 1967:

Prof. Dick Ford from America spoke on a comparison between the settler histories of South Africa and the United States.

February 1968:

Members who had been to Limehill reported on the settlement.

March 1968

Dr. Alan Taylor, retired Superintendent of McCord Zulu Hospital, spoke on the early days of this Hospital.

April 1968:

Mrs. K. H. C. McIntyre, a member, spoke about the anti-poverty campaign in the U.S.A.

May 1968:

Mrs. Mayat showed slides of their recent visit to Mecca.

June 1968:

Dr. Alan Paton gave his Day of Affirmation address.

July 1968:

Mrs. Eleanor Mathews, a member, spoke of her recent visit to Britain.

August 1968:

Mrs. Molly Reinhardt spoke on the role of the student and the importance of protest.

September 1968:

Arrangements for the Conference were discussed and finalised.

Youth Discussion Group

This has met twice every term and on the whole, has been a successful venture. One of the most popular speakers with the boys and girls was Archbishop Hurley, who spoke for only a short time, and gave the group questions to answer themselves. They split up and were in different rooms, and then reported back to us. We hope to have a similar evening in November.

Fund Raising

A member donated a picture to be raffled and this brought in R60.

A tea party was held at the home of Mrs. Eleanor Mathews and this raised R35 for Sash funds.

Private Jumble sales through the year helped to fill the coffers.

Pinetown Courts

Some members visited on several occasions, but found nothing to report. We shall continue to investigate.

Removals

These have been our great pre-occupation this year, and have led to greater interest being shown in the Black Sash, and have brought us three new members.

I will not report on the Removals themselves, as they will be covered in the Fact Paper.

Our Committee is considering hiring itself out as a catering body as they have had plenty of practise since December, and have all been wonderful in all the help they have given.

MARY GRICE.

NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

Meetings

A very successful public meeting to protest against the Improper Interference Bill was held in May. The main speaker was Alan Paton; he was supported by Miss Cheesman, of the Progressive Party; the Rev. Sampson and Canon Hallows. Mr. Paton gave a brilliant and moving address; the Supper Room was full, and the audience contained many unfamiliar faces. At one time we had believed that our public meetings would never again attract any usefully sized audience in Maritzburg; but our optimism in risking another one was well justified.

Six General Meetings have been held, the best ones combined with 'Bring & Buy' sales! Addresses were presented at these meetings by Mrs. Roberts on a visit to Limehill; by the Rev. V. Lund on the Value of Protest, and by Dr. Edgar Brookes on America in Travail.

We have had eight committee meetings.

Demonstrations

Were held in November, December and February on Bannings and Banishments. It was then decided to give up regular token stands, and to hold fewer and more impres-

sive ones, preferably with a poster for everyone standing. Larger stands were consequently staged, in March on Removals; in April and May (immediately before the Public Meeting) on the Improper Interference Bill; in July on Family Day; in September to support the Citizens' Action Committee Campaign. The demonstrations now look more effective; but we are finding the City Council increasingly difficult about them. They insist that permission should be asked each time, and sometimes refuse if the town is likely to be particularly busy, demand to see the wording of the posters, some of which they occasionally reject; and absolutely refuse to allow us to invite anyone who is not a member to join the stand.

Multi-Racial Parties

Our regular monthly tea parties are continuing successfully. They are extremely well attended and very enjoyable. We try to get speakers on interesting subjects.

Workmen's Compensation

Work has gone on slowly with this since we have found that a personal visit to the firms concerned is the only way to elicit a response. Several addresses have been found, and letters sent, but it is impossible to know with what success.

Removals

Two of our committee members, Mrs. Biggs and Mrs. Roberts have been members of the ad hoc removals committee, under the chairmanship of Archbishop Hurley in Durban; they have made several visits to Limehill and Weenen, and have kept members and others informed about activities there. The ad hoc committee has since been constituted into the Natal Citizens' Association, which Mrs. Dyer has joined as Midlands Black Sash representative.

Citizens' Action Committee Petition

We found it impossible to organise Maritzburg Citizens' Action Committee before the campaign was launched. People were reluctant to commit themselves to a campaign of which we couldn't give them the full details. In effect, our Black Sash Committee acted as agents for the main Committee in Johannesburg. We received a small amount of press publicity; and distributed about 5,000 copies of each pamphlet — largely through

the post. The posters were put up by a licensed bill poster, so these caused us expense but no bother.

We sent petition forms to all our members, many of whom filled them in; and also to other known sympathisers. We were not allowed to set up tables on any Municipal property — the City Council refuses to sanction any such controversial activities — and no business firms would allow us to use their entrances. However, we received great support from the churches, and three in the centre of town allowed us to put tables in their gateways or porches. Others in the suburbs took petition forms for their congregations, or allowed us to set up tables after some services.

We collected something over 1,000 signatures.

Youth Group

We propose next year to organise a weekend social studies course for school children during the Easter holidays, taking groups to visit various welfare projects in Maritzburg and the local townships. This is to be “non-political” so we hope to have it sponsored also by the Institute of Race Relations local committee.

Photographic Posters

Work has been started on assembling photographs and in thinking of ways and means of distributing them.

General

We suffer from a chronic shortage of active and leisured members. The above modest list of activities has pressed the committee to the limit; and there is not much prospect of a sudden or significant change in our circumstance.

However, one extremely hopeful sign for Maritzburg during the year has been the unprecedented willingness of churchmen to participate in political protests. Our two biggest projects — the public meeting and the petition — owed a great deal to the co-operation of the clergy: and this seems to me to be one of the most hopeful signs for the future, here and elsewhere.

MARIE DYER.

THE BADGE

How does one describe an action that was so simple, yet had so much meaning in it?

My friend had stopped and spoken to the old African tending a friend's garden.

“Robert M— comes over and helps me sometimes when he has a day to spare” she said. And added, “This is Miss Price, Robert. She is interested in gardens.”

“Ah”, said Robert with African courtesy, but not much interest. Many women were ‘interested’ in gardening. Most of them in the results of other people's hard work.

“She is . . .” my friend hesitated for the word, “sympathetic.”

He eyed me gravely. The word could mean much — or nothing. For some reason — perhaps to explain? — I fingered the Black Sash badge on my lapel.

It was obvious he had not noticed it before. He saw it now. The dark eyes brightened. In a swift movement his hand reached upwards and he had snatched off his old battered hat.

No further word was spoken. I could not have uttered one at that moment. As we turned away he was still uncovered. But I know what the Black Sash meant to one African.

PATTIE PRICE.

BANNING ORDERS

Banning orders still in force on the 30th August, 1968.

Under section 5(1) (e) of the Suppression of Communism Act — 39.

Under section 9(1) of the Suppression of Communism Act — 451, Total 490.

Of these people 59 are whites and 531 non-whites.

The names of people whose orders had expired before this date are not included.

(Govt. Gazette No. 2153 of 30th August, 1968.)

INTER-RACIAL CONTACTS STILL PERMITTED BY LAW

This summary was prepared in Cape Town by Mrs. Marquard in consultation with several lawyers.

ALTHOUGH recent legislation has considerably restricted contact between White and non-White, there is still scope for meeting between the races. Proclamation R26 of 1965, which re-enacted Proclamation R25 of 1960, substituting "place of entertainment" for "public cinema", and the recent Prohibition of Political Interference Act have made many of the public unsure of what is still lawful, so that they are hesitant to invite members of another race to their houses, or to arrange inter-racial meetings. It may therefore, be helpful to say what it is still lawful to do.

It may there be helpful to say what it is still lawful to do.

Generally speaking, while many contacts between individuals and groups of different races are still lawful, what is forbidden is mixed public entertainment, and eating or drinking together in a place of public entertainment. Provided these things are private they are lawful.

The following gatherings are "private" and therefore lawful:

1. A sit-down meal in a private home, or a social party or gathering such as a wedding, not open to the public, is lawful without a permit; so too, a sit-down meal in what is normally a public restaurant, provided that on that occasion it is closed to the public, that is, entirely taken over by the host for his multi-racial guests. But a racially mixed gathering cannot sit down to a meal in public, i.e. in a restaurant not closed to the public or in a club, whether as a member or as a guest.
2. Private gatherings or functions, open only to members or by invitation, are lawful. These include concerts and plays held in private places or in what are normally public places but have been taken over for the occasion by an individual, provided the guests are there by invitation.
3. The meeting of a society, even though open to the public, is lawful provided it is not an entertainment.

4. Cake sales and morning markets are lawful, although they may be open to the public, provided there are no sideshows for entertainment.

5. Private tennis matches, on private courts or courts hired for the purpose, are lawful, and so, according to a recent decision, are soccer and other matches played on school fields, if they are not intended for public entertainment.

Public multi-racial meetings are lawful except that where a meeting is in support of a political party or candidate, it will be unlawful to address such a meeting if the greater majority of the meeting belongs to race groups to which the speaker does not belong.

It is lawful to attend as a member of the audience, a political (or any other) meeting at which the audience is composed of one or more race groups.

It is lawful to have discussions and consultations with individual members of other race groups.

It is lawful to distribute printed matter on a multi-racial basis.

It is necessary to obtain a permit for any multi-racial form of entertainment that is open to the public, such as a fete with sideshows, a sporting event, parties, a circus or fair, and Carols by Candlelight.

REGULATIONS RELATING TO THE PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS BY BANTU TAX PAYERS

Government Gazette Extraordinary
No. 2195.

We hope that the persons mentioned in paragraph 1 have been informed so that a large number of unnecessary arrests will be avoided in the future.

1. All persons as are entitled under or in terms of section 7 of the Act to demand the production of tax receipts shall exercise their powers of demand and of arrest in a reasonable manner, and in accordance with these instructions.

2. If any Bantu is unable to comply forthwith with a demand to produce his tax documents any reasonable explanation furnished by him which can be readily verified by the person making such demand shall, before he exercises his powers of arrest, be investigated by such person unless such Bantu refuse to accompany him for that purpose.

3. Unless mala fides can be established, a Bantu from whom the production of tax documents is demanded shall not be arrested for failure to pay tax if he produces a reference book issued in terms of the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, 1952 (Act No. 67 of 1952), or a passport or other document referred to in the Admission of Persons to the Union Regulation Act, 1913 (Act No. 22 of 1913) which establishes that he is then in the employ of an employer whose name and address are recorded in such reference book, passport or document: Provided that such Bantu may at any time be summoned or warned to appear before a court in the manner provided in section 309 or 910 respectively, of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1955 (Act No. 56 of 1955).

4. No demand for the production of any tax documents referred to in section 7(1) of the Act in respect of any particular year's tax shall be made until after the 31st day of March of that year, nor shall the power, conferred by section 7(2) of the Act, to arrest a Bantu in respect of tax for any particular year be exercised during that day prior to the 1st day of July of that year.

LIMEHILL

As we go to press the newspapers are full of distressing reports of an outbreak of a virulent form of enteritis in the Limehill resettlement area in Natal. A number of deaths, caused by this disease, have already occurred and many people, a majority of them being children, are seriously ill.

For many years the Black Sash has been concerned and has protested about the conditions in many of the resettlement villages, and about the fact that the non-white people of South Africa are being arbitrarily removed from their established homes and dumped in places in the homelands which have no provision whatsoever for the health, employment and settlement of their new inhabitants.

As we reported in the February, 1968 edition of this magazine the people were moved to Limehill when there was nothing there for them at all except a few tents provided by the Bantu Administration department until such time as they were able to build their own shanties from such material as they had been able to salvage from their demolished houses in their home area, or, if they were more fortunate, from such materials as they were able to purchase. The water supply was completely inadequate, latrines were too few and not at all suitable for an urban community.

Many responsible people warned that epidemics were likely to arise in Limehill when the people were first moved there. When this epidemic broke out some weeks ago it took the courageous efforts of priests and lay people on the spot to persuade the authorities to admit that there was more than what they called a 'normal' incidence of disease and even then it took some time before action was taken to deal with it.

We hope that many people will now be moved to join the widespread demand that the Government appoint a commission to investigate conditions in Limehill and the reasons for these conditions. We hope that many will demand a complete rethinking of Government policy. The price our non-white people are being asked to pay for white privilege should not be asked of anyone for any reason; the price that the whites will eventually be called upon to pay in terms of spiritual and moral degeneration will prove to be insupportable.

SHEENA DUNCAN.

BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

HEADQUARTERS

National President: Mrs. J. Sinclair, 4a—2nd Avenue, Parktown North, Johannesburg.

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

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

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

Magazine Editor: Mrs. S. Duncan, 45, 22nd Street, Parkhurst, Johannesburg. Tel. 42-9713.

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

BORDER

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

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

CAPE EASTERN

Secretary: Mrs. T. Randall, 184, Villiers Road, Walmer.

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

CAPE WESTERN

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

Secretary: Mrs. D. Andrews, "Clouds", 6, Obelisk Road, Claremont. Tel. 66064.

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

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

NATAL COASTAL

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

Secretary: Mrs. D. Patrick, "Two Oaks" P.O. Hillcrest, Natal. Telephone 7-8421.

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

NATAL MIDLANDS

Chairman: Mrs. M. Dyer.

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

Treasurer: Mrs. Phoebe Brown.

TRANSVAAL

Chairman: Mrs. S. Duncan, 45—22nd Street, Parkhurst, Johannesburg. Tel. 42-9713.

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

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

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

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

All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by 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 geregtigheid 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.