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CONTENTS

NOVEMBER, 1972

	Page
AN UNJUSTIFIABLE SYSTEM Jean Sinclair	1
“WE MUST TAKE ACTION” Geoff Budlender	6
EDUCATION IN DANGER Professor Phillip Tobias	10
SHARING A COMMON HOPE Dr. Alan Paton	17
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN	19
A UNIQUE ORGANISATION Moira Henderson	20
ORWELLIAN CONCEPT Joyce Harris	22
DIALOGUE Eleanor Anderson	25
FINDING A LAWFUL LOOPHOLE	26
REGIONAL ROUNDUP	29
OBITUARY — SUZANNE STEPHEN	Inside back cover

An Unjustifiable System

JEAN SINCLAIR

The National Conference of the Black Sash was held in October. This is the text of Mrs. Sinclair's presidential address to the Conference.

If we were not so concerned with the injustice and the inhumanity in the South African system perhaps we could view the political situation dispassionately. But our daily work brings us into personal contact with the people whose lives are ordered, restricted and deprived by legislation and Government decree.

The deprivation is so all-embracing that it amounts to a denial of their humanity and a denial of the most fundamental human rights which are the birthright of mankind. In this situation it is difficult either to be dispassionate or indifferent.

Public opinion is being sidetracked into discussion on subjects, many of which, if they are not irrelevant, are remote from reality or are of a minor importance and which have no bearing on the future wellbeing of the country and all its people.

When one considers reality, what is the purpose in endless discussion on whether urban Africans are permanently in the urban areas or whether they are temporary sojourners: We know from the facts of our economy that Africans will be permanently in the urban areas.

One asks why a rootless migrant should be preferable to a settled worker living under family conditions. It is unrealistic to discuss whether Africans should be allowed to perform skilled work when we know that there is a shortage of skills and that the economy will eventually collapse if Africans are not allowed to do any work of which they are capable.

We are given the impression that it is better to die for want of a White doctor or nurse rather than to accept with gratitude the services of Black doctors and nurses — and live.

We spend hundreds of millions of rand on defence to protect the country from outside attack and the infiltration of terrorists. Yet inside the country we create the situation in which terrorism can flourish by disrupting family life and discriminating against Blacks in every sphere of life.

We profess to be a Christian country, but arrest, detain, charge, ban, house arrest and deport Christian clergy who in all humility are trying to put into practice, their Christian principles.

The Government is hurriedly establishing more homeland authorities to implement its Separate Development policy, but is denying them adequate land on which to support their populations.

The Government has not devoted its energy or its resources to achieving any meaningful development in the homelands. It is surprised and angry when certain of the homeland leaders ask for more land and more power.

The National Party, which last year appeared to be making some progress with its *verligtheid*, took fright when it seemed to be losing ground in the political field.

The fear of the *Herstigtes* and the pressure from within the party led to a change of direction and a return to *Baasskap* and *Kragdadigheid*. The call to the blood and the raising of old bogeys like "*boerehaat*" and the flag were revived.

The *Broederbond* appears to be in the driving seat once more and key breeders occupy key positions both in the Cabinet and in Government departments.

From all this we observe that the more opinions seemed to be changing, the more they remain the same.

Issues which are in need of urgent attention in the interests of the country such as how to make the best use of our manpower resources are being neglected. The country needs the institution of compulsory free education for all; the establishment of technical and agricultural colleges to train Africans, as well as others, in skills to meet the new needs imposed by a rapidly industrialising economy; the recognition of trade unions whose membership will represent all workers; to remove the factors which lead to an increase in crime, such as the pass laws and influx control, and

instead to build family housing and grant home ownership and freehold title to Africans in the urban areas; to stop enforced removals and abolish the migrant labour system.

The migrant labour system is one of the most disruptive and evil features of present Government policy which affects the lives of hundreds of thousands of Africans all over the country.

The use of migrant labour is not peculiar to South Africa, nor is it a new phenomenon in this country.

It was employed in the Cape as early as 1707 and the Coloured people have been migrant workers on White farms for over two centuries. Migrant labour has been used by the mining industry since the discovery of diamonds and gold.

Many other countries including those of the European Common Market make use of migrant labour. Migrant workers from the member countries go to work on a voluntary basis in a country where additional labour is required.

They have trade union rights where they work; in many cases they may take their families with them and after a specified period, may apply for citizenship of the host country. Seasonal migrant labour is widely used in the agricultural industry in many parts of the world.

Nevertheless, in principle, migrant labour is undesirable and is accompanied by many problems. Migrants are discriminated against in many spheres. They are given the most menial jobs, often live in poor housing, and they lack social security and community relationships.

The Church in these countries is making every effort to help them with their problems.

The migrant labour system in South Africa works on a totally different basis. It is enforced by law. The workers are not foreigners, they are South Africans, but they are Black.

These men must live the whole of their working lives in a state of migrancy. They may not have their families living with them in the place where they are sent to work. They have no trade union rights and no bargaining power; their wages are depressed; they have no choice of employment; no domiciliary rights in the White areas; their service contracts must be terminated annually and they

are forced to live in "bachelor" hostels. This, in fact is worse than slave labour.

The Government, in trying to implement its policy of Separate Development, is adamant that no more Africans will establish permanent rights in the White areas. It insists that the African's home is in a Bantustan and that therefore, the families of workers required for the White economy must put their roots down in these areas.

The Government is trying to have it both ways. It demands that the country's African labour force must settle in the Bantustans and at the same time insists that the economic growth rate must increase. The two policies are incompatible and cannot succeed.

The Government is determined that the system will be made to work, consequently the African people are suffering the greatest deprivation and disruption of their family lives.

After nearly a quarter of a century of trying to reduce the number of Africans in the White areas, there are today many thousands more Africans in these areas than ever before. This is a measure of the failure of the policy.

We are told that in the magic year of 1978 the tide will turn and a flood of Africans will stream back to the Bantustans. In the unlikely event of this happening, it is difficult to understand how the underdeveloped and impoverished Bantustans will be able to absorb and support so great an influx of people.

It is completely illogical to demand African labour in what is an integrated economy and at the same time to insist on a separated society.

The African is a temporary sojourner in the urban areas. He may only remain there as long as his labour is of use to the White economy. He is regarded as a "labour unit" and may not be in a prescribed area for more than 72 hours without permission.

In 1948 the Government inherited from the previous administration a considerable number of Africans whom, it was accepted had become urbanised and belonged in the White towns. In 1952 the Natives Urban Areas Act was amended by the addition of Section 10 which provided for certain exemptions to cater for those settled urban Africans.

By virtue of their birth and/or long residence in an urban area they were granted domiciliary rights; the right to have their families with them and to remain in the area.

This now famous Section 10 has become an embarrassment to the Government because it did not envisage the magnitude of the natural increase.

For this reason the Act has been amended, new regulations promulgated and directives issued, which make the pass laws ever more restrictive and onerous. They are implemented with the greatest severity with the result that it is difficult, if not impossible for an African to keep his family together. There are thousands of families which have been broken up and the wives endorsed out to a Bantustan.

There is now a total embargo on the entry of country-born women into the metropolitan areas, so a wife who has to prove that she entered the area lawfully cannot do so, and so she cannot live with her husband in the place where he works and has rights.

There are numerous other restrictions on children of qualified persons, on widows, divorced or deserted women who may not retain their homes when they lose their husbands.

In 1968 the Government introduced new labour regulations for the tribal areas. They are designed to ensure that all new labour will be migrant and will never be able to acquire Section 10 rights.

In terms of these regulations every male African living in a Bantustan has to register as a workseeker for employment in the White areas when he reaches the age of 15 years.

He is placed in a work category in which he remains for the rest of his life. After registration he will wait to be recruited by a recruiting agent. He then enters into a service contract with a White employer.

The duration of the contract may not exceed the period of one year, when it must be terminated and the man must return to his home to go through the whole process of being recruited again at the end of his annual holiday.

There is no guarantee that employment will be found immediately for him — in fact it has come to our notice that recruiting agents do not go to some areas. A man who came to our advice office for assistance said he had been waiting since March to be recruited and he had not yet been given a job.

He had to pay R8 rent per month for his house and he could not do it without being in employment. We confirmed what he told us and discovered, too, that even had we been able to find him an employer who would be willing to put in an application for him the

application would not be allowed because increasingly no applications for individuals go through.

Recruitment must be done in bulk by agents on a completely impersonal basis. If a man is not actually at the labour office the day a recruiting agent arrives he has no chance of getting employment.

Migrant workers who come to town to take up their employment have to live in hostels for "single men." They cannot acquire Section 10 rights; they can never bring their families to town and they can never rent a house or choose where they would like to live. They are forced to go to a hostel where they have to share a dormitory with up to seven other men. For the whole of their working lives they are denied the right to a normal family life and they are condemned to live in a hostel.

In Johannesburg 66 000 men and 3 000 women live in hostels.

Many of them are married. In addition 92 000 men and women are living in single accommodation on the premises of their employers.

All over the country whole communities of Africans are being moved out of White towns to be resettled in the Bantustans. In at least 82 towns adjacent to the border areas African families have been resettled in resettlement villages.

It is true that there are a number of large cities where the adjacent African townships are actually within the borders of a Bantustan. Pietermaritzburg is one of them, similarly Durban and Pretoria.

The people who live in these areas are fortunate as their families can live together and home ownership is permitted. In 43 of the border towns hostels have been built to accommodate the men as the distances from the Bantustan resettlement township is too great to commute daily.

Thirty-two of the towns are up to 30km away from the resettlement townships; seven are between 30 and 40km away and thirteen are between 40 and 40km from the townships.

Those men who can commute daily have to spend long hours in fatiguing travel.

Those men whose work is too far away from home for them to travel daily may see their families weekly, monthly or yearly.

There are 84 000 men living in hostels in these border towns alone and thousands more

in cities in the rest of the Republic. Hostel life on a permanent basis is most undesirable and it must have a deleterious effect on those men who are forced to live it.

The herding together of large numbers of men in a confined area to live in dormitory accommodation which denies them privacy and provides only minimal facilities is not conducive to physical and mental wellbeing.

Deviant behaviour, moral deterioration, mental and physical wellbeing, all are the undesirable results of living under these conditions.

The psychological effects on the residents can be severe. Psychologists say that "through a number of direct and intervening factors, forced residential shift, may lead to changes in orientation towards work, lessened loyalties to family and kin, thereby creating a 'rootlessness' which is directly related to such socially deviant behaviour as promiscuity, delinquency, together with increased mental illness, physical malfunctioning and psychosomatic illnesses."

Again, "The humanness of human beings can be gauged in terms of the extent of their socialisation.

"That is how much and what they have internalised and integrated of their cultural mores and values. In most societies it is the family that inducts the novitiate into socially accepted behaviour.

"It is also the influence of the family that maintains such socially appropriate behaviour through its continuous guidance, approval or disapproval. The family is the society in microcosm. A stable family provides maximal opportunity for the individual members of that family to learn adequate social skills.

"Such skills ensure the adjustment of the individual to exigencies within the society, and indirectly guarantee the perpetuation of his society. Identification with, and loyalty to the family become transferred to the society: belongingness to the family becomes patriotism to the society or state. Break down the family and you will eventually destroy the roots or foundations of society."

"The separation of the individual from his family, and persons or friends of his choice. . . together with the limiting factor of hostel buildings can cause severe disorientation and dislocation of the individual, possibly resulting in mental breakdown and suicide in some cases."

By insisting on the migrant labour system this is what we are doing to the African people. This is how we are using and abusing the workers on whom our comfort, our privilege and our prosperity depend. We should pray for mercy.

We now turn to examine the conditions under which the wives and families of these migrant workers have to live. Thousands of them are in resettlement villages in isolated areas where employment is almost non-existent, the wages of those in employment are pitifully low and poverty and malnutrition are widespread.

These closer settlements have the most rudimentary facilities. They are places like Dimbaza, Illinge and Sada, Stinkwater, Morogat, Limehill and the new one Ekuvukeni near Limehill where the inhabitants have to erect their own dwellings and where the only facility within walking distance is probably water.

The people who live in these areas are the families of migrant workers, old age pensioners, the families of ex labour tenants, ex political prisoners, squatters and people removed from "Black Spots."

At the end of a month living on Government rations issued to the destitute in resettlement areas, I wrote an open letter to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

The Deputy Minister replied to my letter and sent me a press release setting out the work opportunities in Dimbaza, Illinge and Sada.

They are follows. Work opportunities have been provided for 550 people (300 at the handcraft centre and 220 at the clothing and carpet factory at Sada, 30 at the beadworks at Dimbaza.) A handcraft centre is in the process of construction and will eventually provide work for another 400 at Illinge.

Other schemes under consideration at Dimbaza will in the future provide work for another 250 people and the Ciskeian government is also planning a handcraft centre at Dimbaza and Illinge which will some day, it is hoped, provide employment for a further 700 to 800. In the future, which may be many years, jobs are planned for 2 000 people. This for a population numbering approximately 40 000.

Mr. Raubenheimer says in his press release there are 1 309 men and 1 306 women — a total of 2 615 unemployed.

The rest of the population of some 35 000 we assume consists of migrant workers, old people and children.

The old age pensioners live on an average pension of R5 a month. Women who are fortunate enough to be in employment earn from R5 to R7 a month. The few men employed either within the settlement or in adjacent border industry earn about R20 per month. The destitute are issued with rations to the value of R2,55 a month. Maintenance grants worth R2,50 are available in some areas for destitute people but if a person receives a maintenance grant rations are automatically withdrawn.

In the year June 1, '71 to May 31, '72, 115 children died in Dimbaza mainly from gastroenteritis — about nine per thousand of population. The Deputy Minister wrote: "It is difficult to understand on what grounds it can be stated that the deaths were due to malnutrition." I leave it to you to consider these figures.

The people in these resettlement areas are suffering great deprivation in every way — poverty, the break-up of their families, the lack of employment, the starvation wages of those who have work, and the hopelessness of their situation.

Many of the depressing aspects of poor health and the social ills which obtain in the hostels are evident in these resettlement villages as well.

It is the migrant labour system which is responsible for so much misery in African society. It has deprived hundreds of thousands of families of what is their birthright — the right to secure family life and the pursuit of happiness.

It has impaired their mental and physical health, removed their security, their freedom of movement and employment. It has deprived them of sound education and technical training, depressed their wages, prevented their development to their full potential.

We shall not be deceived into believing that this evil system can be justified on the grounds that Africans can develop to their full potential in their own "homelands". The system cannot be justified on any grounds, economic or moral. It is a crime against humanity.

We call upon the Government to take heed of the warnings which are given daily from all sections of the political spectrum, both inside and outside South Africa.

We do not accept that such measures are necessary for our survival. As William Pitt said in 1783 "Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed of slaves."

The time has come for all of us who are worried about the future of South Africa to demand a change of policy. Here, I would like to pay tribute to the students and young people of this land, who have never known any other administration of government. They have been bombarded all their lives with apartheid propaganda on the radio, in some newspapers and in the schools and despite all this they think for themselves and they fight for the principles of justice and decency.

They are the hope of South Africa and it behoves us to show our appreciation by giving them our support and by doing all we can to insure that South Africa will be a better place for them and for our grandchildren.

We appeal to the section of the community which wields economic power to use its power to bring pressure on the Government to abandon its policy which is causing irreparable harm to our country.

We want a system of government in which all South Africans can make their contribution for the good of all, both in the economic and the political field; a system in which racial discrimination will play no part; and a government which will govern all of us with the same set of rules.

South Africa is part of the world community, but she is being excluded from full participation in world affairs because of her policies.

When most countries of the world are trying to root out racial discrimination, we are entrenching it in what the Nationalists believe to be the only hope of survival of the Afrikaner Volk. We believe this premise to be false and that instead of ensuring its survival, it will inevitably lead to its own destruction.

If African men and women wanted to live together with their children as a family they would have to do so in the homelands, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Mr. T. N. H. Janson said yesterday. — RAND DAILY MAIL, October 13, 1972.

“We Must Take Action”

GEOFF BUDLENDER

With this speech Mr. Budlender launched Civil Rights Week at the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand. He is immediate past SRC President at UCT.

There is one thing we should understand about civil rights, before we even begin to discuss their absence in South Africa. It is simply this: in South Africa, it is Government policy to remove civil rights.

This may sound like a gross exaggeration, but it is true: civil rights, essentially, are about freedom. And freedom is more than the right to see uncensored films, to make political speeches, to associate with people of one's choice, or to have an “open” university.

Cicero understood what freedom was — he said “freedom is participation in power”. It is clear that any government which has as its basic policy the retention of power in the hands of a small elitist clique, is totally opposed to freedom; that the only so-called “freedom” that such a government will allow is freedom that does not threaten its own power — in other words, no freedom at all.

It may be prepared — even keen — to create the impression of freedom — but it will create this impression only to consolidate and legitimise its own power.

The record of the Nationalist Government is quite clear in this regard. The last 24 years have seen the systematic removal of the few civil rights remaining to the majority of South Africans — in other words, have seen the few remaining roads to freedom and power destroyed.

We should not be surprised by this. The Nationalists made their intentions quite clear before they ever reached power. Their support of the Nazi regime was only one example of this. Today they are embarrassed by any reminder of their past — but they cannot escape it.

In 1940 Mr. Ben Schoeman, then MP for Fordsburg, put it this way:

“The whole future of Afrikanerdom is dependent on a German victory. We may as well say that openly, because it is a fact.”

Mr. B. J. Vorster put it more explicitly in 1942:

“We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany German National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism.”

Today, these men are not entirely unrelated to the South African Government — and I would suggest that their policies are not entirely unrelated to what they said when they were still seeking power.

What have the universities to do with this? It has been suggested that the universities must be non-political, and non-partisan. What this argument ignores is that it is only in a spirit of free enquiry, and in a free society, that a university can function properly.

The argument ignores the fact that universities are a real source of power in any society — and that they inevitably perform a political role in that society. Universities provide the knowledge and trained manpower for the society.

The university serves society and it must choose, in a country like South Africa, whether it is to serve the whole society or a small ruling clique. The university is involved in society's problems and it must help to solve those problems. It must make knowledge a real source of power, and hence a means of overcoming human powerlessness.

Sadly we must admit that our own universities have often failed in this regard. We must admit that they have tended to see their social function as the production of a managerial elite — and have used knowledge to bolster the power of that elite.

Their educational methods, for example, have perpetuated the values of the status quo. They have promoted schooling before educa-

tion, authority before learning, discipline before freedom.

And what have they taught? They have directed the attention of their students to the problems of the elite industrial society: engineers for the super highways which serve the White suburbs; commercial practices to ensure a safe continued profit: industrial psychology to fit the man to the job; surgical operations to treat hearts that have failed from over-eating.

But we know that the real problem of South Africa is poverty and powerlessness, not small profits; under-eating, not over-eating. Yet our universities continue to produce people and knowledge to fit into the slots created by our repressive society — complaining bitterly all the while about how repressive the society is.

Why do you think the Government pays 70% of your university fees, and of mine? Not because they are dedicated to the pursuit of truth — that's not their usual motivation. Not because they like the things we say — they have made that clear enough. They support us because they like the things we *do* — and that is consolidate their power and the system of White supremacy.

I say these things not because I get any enjoyment out of it. I say them because I believe it is time the universities seriously re-examined the role they are fulfilling in our society. Because the universities must see whether they are really supporting freedom and civil rights or whether they are just talking.

And it would do them no harm to examine the practices within their own institutions. It would do them no harm to discover that at one of "liberal" universities, at least four categories of Black workers have a *maximum* wage which is below the poverty datum line.

That at another university, a committee investigating conditions of service for Black workers within the university has representatives from academics, administration and students — but not from Black workers.

It would do them no harm to discover that at our universities, there are many facilities reserved for Whites only; that their leave conditions discriminate viciously against Black staff — that at one university three categories of Black workers have to work for 20 years before qualifying for the annual leave of one

month that all other full-time employees receive.

They might look at the system of university government and ask themselves how they can reconcile their own decision-making process with the principles they apply in scholarly contexts — open inquiry, reasoned justification of conclusions, and the submission of findings to public evaluation and criticism.

They might look, in other words, at civil rights within the universities — because this is also important, even if slightly embarrassing.

Despite all this, however, we are now in the midst of a campaign against the universities as a whole proportionate to the extent that they permit dissent.

This campaign is not to cripple so vital a national resource as the universities — only to render them docile and powerless.

There is little point in adding much to the volumes that have already been written about the recent speech by the Minister of Police. It is, after all, the sort of disastrous blunder that we have come to expect from this man.

It has been said, with some justification, that the first thing he does on opening his mouth is to change feet. But all the same, is it too much to expect that if he really insists on giving cheap political thrills to a capacity audience of 80 somewhere in Pretoria, he should check his exciting revelations with those unfortunate things, the facts?

He is not really hostile to the facts — it's just that he is apathetic about them.

Of course, no-one takes him very seriously any longer. And his speech was, from his personal point of view, very successful — he seems to have embarrassed the Prime Minister into retaining him in the Cabinet for a little longer. He would now seem to have assured for himself at least another year in the Cabinet, before being offered the post of Consul-General in Outer Mongolia.

And so now we must act — because we know that as Martin Luther King said, "to ignore evil is to become an accomplice to it."

There will be many people who will oppose us if we act — and they will raise various objections to our action. Their basic objection, however, will be simple — it will be that we are acting, that we are doing something.

There will be those who object to what they call street politics — they will say that we

must work only through White political parties. We should remind them that a certain White political party — now allegedly in opposition — nearly came to power through the activities of the Torch Commando, which employed street politics, about 20 years ago. They didn't seem to mind then.

They will say that we are communists — and we should then remind them of what was said by Dr. Malan and General Hertzog, then both members of the National Party.

In 1919 General Hertzog said the following:

“I say that Bolshevism is the will of the people to be free. Why do people want to oppress and kill Bolshevism? Because national freedom means death to capitalism and imperialism. Do not let us be afraid of Bolshevism. The idea itself is excellent.”

In 1920, Dr. D. F. Malan put it this way:

“The aim of the Bolsheviks was that Russians should manage their own affairs... This was the same policy that Nationalists would follow in South Africa. The Bolsheviks stand for freedom, just like the Nationalist Party.”

Then they will say that we are unrepresentative, that we are only a small minority. Now firstly, this is a strange allegation from a government which represents about eleven per cent of the people it rules. But our answer to this allegation is quite simply. With Henry Thoreau, we will say that “any man more right than his neighbour constitutes a majority of one already.”

Then they will tell us that we will antagonise some of our supporters if we continue, because this will lead to a confrontation. First, I will admit that at UCT we did lose some White public support when we continued to protest after the police riot at the Cathedral. But what sort of supporters are these, who support you when you are hit on the head once, and then disown you because you are hit on the head a second time? This is not support at all.

Support is no good at all to us unless it implies something more than sympathy — it must also imply action. And let us not fool ourselves that by protesting or not protesting, we are going to persuade the majority of White

South Africans to take action that will eliminate their privilege and White supremacy.

Then they will say that some people have broken the law while they protested. The first thing we should do is remind them of the difference between justice and the law. Then we should remind them — and particularly a certain B. J. Vorster, who was a general in the Ossewa-Brandwag during the last war — of certain things. Again, Dr. Malan provides the answer. In 1941, Dr. Malan said:

“If the O.B. decides on passive resistance and refuses to be disbanded, this is a matter for its own decision. I will share the consequence with the O.B.”

Later that year, he made the following revelation:

“The O.B. leaders were openly talking about obtaining a republic by rebellion, and storm troopers have been told to prepare for it. There were whisperings throughout the country that the storm troopers had rifles, cannons and even aeroplanes. The O.B. was responsible for Afrikaners being interned.”

That was Mr. Vorster's organisation.

So we must act. And I would suggest that our action should be based on a careful analysis of the structure of our sick society, and that we should learn to hit where it hurts. We should not rush into a particular form of action simply because it is legal, or illegal, or what we usually do. Let us for once take action because it is effective — because that is what counts.

Let us take radical action — that is, action which gets down to the roots of our society. This does not necessarily mean illegal action, it means effective action. What Cosmas Desmond did in exposing conditions in the dumping grounds was not illegal but it was radical. That is why he was banned.

What David de Beer did in Ovamboland was not illegal but it was radical, it was effective, it got to the roots of an evil system. That is why *he* was banned.

The time has come in South Africa when each man and woman must publicly declare his or her interests — must take sides. We cannot afford to have fence-sitters because in a crisis fence-sitters are worse than useless. In a time of crisis, no man can remain neutral and only a fool and a coward will try to.

It is up to each one of us to *decide* — what am I prepared to do? Am I prepared to suffer for my beliefs? On which side do I really stand? Those questions must be answered and they must be answered now.

When the police baton-charged on the steps of the Jameson Hall a few weeks ago, about 400 students stood their ground on the steps. They were warned to move, but they said to the police it is a simple right to sit here, and it is a right you are not going to remove easily. We will not be moved.

And the police gave them a number of warnings, and told them that they were acting illegally. And the students said this is our right, neither you nor your Government will force us to give it up willingly. We will not be moved.

And eventually the police charged, with batons and police dogs. And while the 400 sat on the steps, refusing to move, about 1 200 students stood at the side and hissed, shouted "Sieg Heil", and generally expressed their support for the 400.

But what sort of support was this? Verbal. Where they prepared to take any action? No. It was with some justification that one of the 400 later told me that he wished the 1 200 had not been there — that what had made him frightened and sick was not the police advancing up the steps, but the 1 200 students standing alongside, verbalising their support.

He was right. It was sick. One felt immensely proud to be at a university where 400 students had brought themselves to defy ille-

gal and immoral force in this way — and ashamed of the 1 200 who did not have the guts to support them — to *act* in support of their friends, with whom they apparently sympathised.

And it seemed to me then, and still seems to me, that that scene on the Jameson Hall steps symbolised quite a lot.

The forces of Government violence were there with their powerful and frightening threats.

There was a small group of people resisting, refusing to bow down — the 400. There were people trying to persuade them to bow down — notably, certain senior members of the university administration, trying to avoid a confrontation at all costs — and not realising that the confrontation was already, and permanently, with us.

And there were the sympathisers — the 1 200. Who agreed with the 400, but ... Who were opposed to the government, but ... Who felt that by shouting Sieg Heil, they were doing their bit, and supporting the 400.

Their shouts of "Sieg Heil" were ironic for did they not realise that what they were doing, was what the majority of good Germans did under Hitler's regime? Did they not realise that it was precisely this sort of passive "opposition" that allowed Hitler to rule, and allows our government to rule?

The question each one of us has to face this week is simple — am I one of the 1 200 or one of the 400?

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Education in Danger

PROFESSOR PHILLIP TOBIAS

The 1972 National Conference was opened by Prof. Tobias, Professor of Anatomy at the University of the Witwatersrand. Here is the text of his speech.

A creeping illness is eating away relentlessly at the body of South African education — at all levels, including higher education. The history of the attacks on freedom of thought in modern times, when it comes to be written, will devote an especially sombre chapter to South Africa.

There are societies and nations abroad that have never known the kind of academic freedom, with which we have been so deeply concerned in South Africa. For such countries, double-think, the re-writing of history, the suppression of opposition by intellectuals, the imposition of a rigid party line on innumerable issues, the consignment of recalcitrants to mental hospitals — are tragic enough setbacks in mankind's long struggle for freedom of thought.

But, in South Africa, another series of infringements is, if anything, all the worse, because academic freedom has once been known here, and because every single action in a long campaign against academic freedom has been taken despite warnings of the harmful effects it would engender.

Always, there have been wise words from educationists and brave student leaders and others, drawing attention to the dangers in each proposed move. Yet, always, doctrinaire ideologists of fear and separation have gone blindly ahead, despite the warnings.

That, I believe, is one of the greatest tragedies of educational policy in this country for the last quarter century: the warnings have not been heeded and the country, as forewarned, reaps the predicated rotten fruits of a rotten system.

The happenings of the last 24 years may seem to some like an isolated series of events — a lecturer banned here, a mission school closed there, a threat and an intimation, a withdrawal of passport, a separation of universities for men of different colours, and of schools for children of different languages.

Carefully analyse these seemingly isolated and random actions and they add up to a sinister pattern.

This pattern was laid down in broad outline, and spelt out in considerable detail, in a pamphlet entitled "Christelik-nasionale onderwysbeleid" (Christian-National Education Policy) issued in February, 1948 by the ICNO of the FAK.

This policy led Professor M. C. Botha, the former Rector of the University of Pretoria, to say:

"The total impression which I have . . . is that an attempt is here being made to place us, as far as church, religion and education are concerned, back in the Middle Ages. If these people succeed in the attempt, we will get a twentieth-century Inquisition".

In the 24 years since, almost every tenet of that Onderwysbeleid has been put into effect — ranging from the Transvaal Language Ordinance of 1953 which instituted a cardinal CNO principle; no mixed schools — and by this they meant, no mixing of Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking White South African schoolchildren — ranging all the way to separate universities for students of different races and chiefdoms — and the attempts to control thought at universities, Black and White.

In no branch are the stunting and stultifying effects of South African segregated education more dramatically apparent than in medical education.

A careful study of the available facts and figures shows that medical education for Africans in South Africa has failed to advance numerically with the growth of the population; indeed, it has not even kept pace, but has moved backwards.

In saying this I wish to give full credit to the staffs of the medical schools of the Universities of Natal and the Witwatersrand for their superb achievements despite difficulties not of their making.

Between 1946 and 1971, these two medical schools produced 252 African medical graduates; 103 of these graduated from Wits Uni-

versity during the years when it was legal for African students to study at Wits — from 1946 until the last African graduated in medicine in 1966.

The other 149 African medical men graduated from the University of Natal between 1957 (when that university's first intake of medical students successfully completed their final year) and 1971.

We may divide the 25 years that South Africa has produced African medical graduates into three periods: from 1946 to 1956, when Wits alone was graduating Africans as doctors — the average annual output was 6,3; from 1965 to 1966, when Wits and Natal were both graduating Africans as doctors, the total average per year was 13,2; from 1967 to 1971, when Natal alone was graduating African medical men, the average was 10,2 a year.

In other words, there was an appreciable slipping back in the absolute number of Africans graduating each year in medicine, when the State closed the doors of the Wits Medical School to Africans. This despite one of the world's highest annual increases in population.

But the absolute numbers do not tell us very much. If we compare the number of doctors graduating annually in each sector of the population, some most critical and alarming statistics are revealed. In 1967, all South African medical schools combined turned out 328 White, 17 Coloured, 31 Asian and 11 African doctors.

That is, for every million Whites, 92 White doctors were produced; the corresponding figures were 55 Asian doctors per million Asians; nine Coloured doctors per million Coloureds; and 0,9 African doctors per million Africans.

Or, of the combined "Black" population, there graduated four doctors per million, as against 92 doctors per million of the White population — proportionately 23 times as many!

Bad as these figures were in 1967, by 1969 they had worsened further. While the output of White doctors had risen from 92 to 98 per million Whites, the output of African doctors had dropped from 0,9 to about 0,5 — or one whole African medical man per 2 million of the African population! The total annual output of "Black" doctors had fallen from 4 to 3½ per million "Blacks" in the population.

In other words, between 1967 and 1969 the output of White doctors not only kept pace

with the increase of the White population, but the ratio improved. Over the same period, there was a small improvement in the ratio for Asian doctors but the ratio actually dropped for Coloureds and for Africans.

Thus, for Africans, the already dismally low output of doctors dropped both absolutely and in relation to the size of the African population.

The picture is even worse if we consider the output of Africans as medical men over a longer period. In 1950, the average annual number of African medical graduates was 6,3, that is about 0,75 doctors per million Africans in the total population.

By 1960, this figure had risen to an annual average of 13 African doctors, or 1,2 doctors per million Africans. Alas, the improvement was short-lived. By 1970, another decade later, the average yearly output of African medical men was 9,8 or 0,65 doctors per million Africans.

Relative to the total number of Africans in the population, the output of medical men was less in 1970 than it had been in 1950. This drop occurred, despite the fact that South Africa opened three new medical schools between those dates (Stellenbosch, Durban and Bloemfontein), for it is unfortunately true that the increase in the number of South African medical schools from three to six had been accompanied by legislative enactments (in 1959) which restricted the medical educational facilities available to Africans to a single school, that of the University of Natal.

Yet another indication of the neglect of medical education for Africans in South Africa is provided by the annual proportions of medical graduates stemming from the various ethnic groups.

Roughly 400 doctors were produced each year from 1967 to 1969: while the percentage of them who were Whites rose from 84,8 to 86,7, and the percentage who were Asians remained more or less constant at 8,0 — 8,5.

The Coloureds dropped from 4,4 to 2,9 per cent and the Africans from 2,8 to a meagre 1,9 per cent. That is, less than 2 per cent of all the doctors produced in South Africa each year are Africans.

This figure is certain to fall further as the number of graduates produced by Wits, Pretoria, Cape Town and Stellenbosch rises steeply towards the goal of 200 per school, and as Bloemfontein — in a few years' time — adds

its all-White need of new doctors to the non-African total.

In other words, South Africa is seriously neglecting its duty to provide anything like adequate opportunities for medical education to Africans. The doors of every medical school in this country should be opened to Africans from within South Africa and South-West Africa.

Not only that, our doors should be opened — as once they were at Wits — to Africans from neighbouring territories. Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Malawi do not boast their own medical schools and it is shameful that South African medical schools are debarred from opening their doors to Africans from these areas.

Once, Malawians and Swazis were a part of the medical student body at Wits, and on my visits to these territories in recent years, I have seen that a fair proportion of the medical men in practice there are proud to call themselves Wits graduates.

Wits University would gladly extend the facilities of its medical school once more to suitably qualified students from these territories. But for those who believe charity begins at home, we should be equally glad to have restored to us authority to admit Africans from within this Republic as medical students — an authority that Wits once possessed and exercised smoothly, responsibly and effectively.

The relative decline of medical education for Africans is all the more striking when viewed against the background of what has been happening in other parts of Africa.

In 1961, at the beginning of what I said then was going to be Africa's decade, I reviewed the number of medical schools in Africa. There were just 15 of them to serve 240 million people: five were north of the Sahara and, of the 10 which served Africa south of the Sahara, five were in the Union of South Africa. And two of these five had chosen not to admit Black students, while the South African Government had just removed from another two their right to admit Black students. Thus, there were six medical schools whose doors were open to the 160 million people of sub-Saharan Africa.

So the ratio was one medical school to every 16 million Africans on paper, but, in fact, only one medical school to every 27 million Africans!

This was the measure, a new and unusual measure, I suggested, of what a developing part of the world really meant. For in developed countries, there was one medical school to every two million people. That was in 1961.

In the decade which has elapsed since then, 26 new medical schools have come into being in Africa. Fifteen of these are in countries which previously had no medical schools. Now, we have 41 medical schools in 23 African countries, serving a population of about 375 million people.

So, in 10 years, our continental average has dropped from one school to every 16 million people, to one school to every nine million people.

That is a decade of progress: it is most significant progress when one considers that large segments of Africa's population have at present the world's highest rate of natural increase.

By world standards, Africa still has far to go. In India there is one medical school to every 5,6 million people, and in Pakistan one to 8,6 million; but for developed nations, the average hovers about one to every two million, as in Japan, the United Kingdom, Italy, Holland, Belgium, both Germanies, the U.S.A. and Mexico; while it is down to one to 1,5 million in Australia and France, 1 to 1,3 million in Canada, 1 to 1,2 million in Brazil, and 1 to less than 1 million in Israel and Ireland.

Against this world background, South Africa in 1961 had one medical school to every 3 million people; now it has dropped back to one to every 3,7 million — for the one new South African school in that time has been unable to keep the national average apace of the country's population growth.

This would be a pretty serious position if all six schools in the country were open to all parts of our 22 million population. The fact that five of the six schools are not allowed to open their doors to the Africans, who comprise over 70 per cent of the total populace, makes the position far graver.

The number of medical schools as such is not an awfully important figure: but what this number stands for is important. It stands for the degree of development of the medical services available to a community; it reflects the degree and quality of hospital services, the number of clinics, the qualified medical personnel to keep down infections, to combat, or, better still, prevent epidemics, and the number of members of the allied medical profes-

sons — such as dentists, nurses, health assistants, physiotherapists, hygiene teams, health educators, nutritionists, occupational therapists, optometrists, radiographers, orthoptists and so on. All this reflects the state of development of any community in the modern world.

If Africa were blessed as one of the great health-spots of the world, this shortage of health personnel and medical services would not be so serious a matter; but it so happens that our continent is a prodigious reservoir of many and varied diseases.

Leprosy, yaws, yellow fever, malaria, bilharzia, hookworm, elephantiasis, sleeping sickness and kwashiorkor, these are but a few of the scourges Africa still harbours as a supreme challenge to medical science, to medical administrators and to medical educators.

A few years ago, Dr. J. R. van Heerden, Medical Officer of Health of East London, stated that South Africa needed 6 000 African doctors to serve the needs of the African population. Against that we have the ridiculously low figure of less than a dozen African doctors we are now producing annually.

Where does the remedy lie? There is little doubt that the system of Bantu education introduced in 1953 has a lot to answer for. The selectors and teachers at Durban Medical School find themselves fatally hampered by inadequate schools for Africans. This affects quantity — in 1970, for instance, fewer than 3 000 pupils were in matriculation classes at African schools, according to the Bantu Education Journal.

Economic factors, implicit in the country's socio-political structure, are manifestly a most important cause of the fantastically high drop-out rate between lower forms and higher, and between primary and secondary schools.

A rise in the general standard of living of the African population would undoubtedly lower the phenomenally high drop-out rate. Until that comes about, there is a crying need for a generous system of bursaries, scholarships and loans — simply to keep more children at school for longer, and so increase the number of children qualifying for entrance to universities and, in particular, medical faculties.

It is not quantity alone which is at fault. On all sides we hear from educationists the cry that "Bantu education" is inferior. The very stated policies of the Bantu Education Department are inimical to a general rise in

the educational level of the Black population: we need much more emphasis on "education" and far less on "Bantu".

Until the handicap of "Bantu Education" is alleviated, it is difficult to see how the tempo of feeding adequately qualified Black matriculants to medical faculties can be stepped up at all meaningfully. The discrepancy between the numbers of Whites and Blacks receiving medical education is bound to get worse and worse for some appreciable time to come.

Part of the solution to the parlous state of medical education for Africans lies, I have suggested, in re-opening the Open Universities of South Africa. This leads me to consider the whole place of segregated universities in the modern world.

The problem has become acute during 1972: with the events at Turfloop, Fort Hare, Westville and, most recently, the University of the Western Cape.

When first these separate tribal colleges were mooted, many of us opposed them strongly. We believed in the virtue and inherent excellence of the Open University, such as we knew it at Wits and at Cape Town.

We saw no valid, no educationally sound reason to terminate the system.

We pointed to the good that had flowed from the years during which Cape Town and Wits were open.

We declared emphatically we considered that we, as a university, had sufficient ability and experience to be able to select from all comers those who were academically suited for admission.

Indeed, we insisted that that right of choice was an integral part of academic freedom, and a legitimate part of the field within which a university was entitled — by tradition and by the very university concept itself — to exercise its autonomy. We still believe those things.

We shall not rest until the legislation is repealed and the universities once more have restored to them the right to choose whom they wish to teach.

I would go further and claim that no South African university should be deprived of the right to admit students of any racial, national, geographic, religious, linguistic or even sexual origin! I believe that the doors of Turfloop should be opened, just as the doors of Stellenbosch are now to be opened to Coloured and Asian dental students.

At the same time as the universities were deprived of this freedom of selection, Black students and would-be students were deprived of the right to attend any university other than the tribal colleges which that legislation established.

This was and still is a shameful piece of discrimination against Black students: for whereas Whites can attend any university of their choice, Blacks do not enjoy that right. They are forced to attend the tribal university apposite to their "national group" — except where the relevant tribal institution does not offer the courses desired.

Already, in saying this, one has drawn attention to a grievous inequality — irrespective of the facilities actually obtaining at the tribal universities.

It is important to observe this for advocates of separate university facilities for different races often assert that, if separate facilities were provided which were substantially equal, the exclusion of Black students from the open universities would involve no clash with academic freedom.

The Minister of Education said this in April, 1954; the Holloway Commission even said it. Yet, the very system of compulsory separation infringes one of the components of academic freedom (irrespective of facilities): the freedom of the student to choose the university he wishes to attend.

Most of the discussions on academic freedom have hinged on the freedom of the academy — to teach whom it wishes, to appoint as staff whom it desires, to teach what and how it considers appropriate.

Some of the discussions have gone further and considered the freedom of the academic — and that covers two groups — the slightly older academics, who are (generally) the staff members, and the somewhat younger academics, who are (most commonly) the students. (Though I must say its getting a little harder to distinguish between some of our new young professors, and some of our more hoary-headed students!).

But little discussion seems to have been devoted to a third big sub-division of educational freedom: the freedom of the would-be academic to apply and be admitted, academic merit permitting, to the university of his choice. Here, the opportunities available to Black and White potential students are pathetically unequal: for the Whites there is a range of magnificent institutions, several of

them internationally recognised academic standing.

For the Blacks, there is no choice at all.

It is the firm conviction of many university men in South Africa that there is no place for difference in codes of conduct and discipline between the Black universities and the others.

Black students at the ethnic universities should enjoy the same rights to organise and conduct their affairs; to affiliate to student organisations of their choice; to invite speakers of their own choosing; to communicate with the Press, if so they wish, through their properly constituted and duly elected representative bodies as do the White students at the older established universities in South Africa.

Yet, in all of these respects, the authorities of the tribal universities have imposed their will upon the Black students — in a way which would be totally unacceptable at White and Open Universities.

Indeed, the whole system of control of the tribal universities should be critically re-examined. Universities are universities, whatever the colour of the students, and it is clearly educationally desirable that the ethnic universities should fall under the same state department — namely the Department of National Education — as do the other universities of South Africa.

It is certainly not in the interests of higher education — nor does it enhance the image of the tribal universities — that they should fall under a variety of ethnocentric state departments, such as Bantu Education, Indian Affairs or Coloured Affairs.

Then, too, if they are to be properly run as a part of the country's higher educational structure, the rectors of the ethnic universities should be members of the Committee of Principals (from which at present they are legislatively excluded).

To the public, it is often a source of irritation that students at our large metropolitan universities seem to spend so much of their time engaged on things other than their studies.

Such irritation overflows into the public media, more particularly when it involves protest, demonstration, exposés of injustice, inequality and it has been fanned lately by ill-informed and misleading whiskey advertisements.

Yet, it must be admitted that the public objections are not at all evident, when it comes to such extra-curricular activities as the work of students at the Riverlea Clinic, the Rag and its beneficiaries, the cultural domain and the sports field.

I cannot too emphatically state the point that student extra-curricular activities, no matter which category they fall into, are a necessary part of their education.

Universities educate for future leadership of the community, of the professions. In such education, student discussions and activities of an extra-curricular nature are the most important single mechanism at any university.

I need not bore you with examples — such as the large number of South African cabinet ministers of a variety of persuasions, who won their political spurs at the old Nusas Parliament; of leaders of the legal, medical, engineering, architectural and other professions — who learned their leadership through membership of the Students' Representative Council or the Students' Medical Council or the Students' Engineering Council, or whose baptism of fire was undergone in student debates.

All these things that students find time to do, apart from their studies, are an absolutely indispensable part of a student's education. Despite the public's fears, perhaps one can offer this reassurance — that campuses where the student body is most alive, active and articulate are often those where the level of scholarship is highest, where the output of research is greatest, where the social contribution is most meaningful.

I would go further and claim, from my experience of student affairs over some 25 and more years, that the student leaders who are most vocal, whose statements are most often reported in the Press, who have led their student bodies to some of their more memorable achievements, have frequently been students of superior intellect and more than average ability.

No, one can reassure the public of South Africa that student activities on a campus, whether protest meetings and demonstrations, or charitable and social, sporting and cultural, are a sign of health on that campus.

One may go so far as to say that any university, any campus, on which a full range of extra-curricular activities is not given free rein, is lacking in a most vital respect; such a university denies its students an essential

part of their education, education for leadership, for citizenship, such a university is not equal to one where these activities are not merely tolerated, but indeed are encouraged.

To the extent that students at the tribal universities are not allowed freedom, freedom of organisation; freedom to constitute and run their Students' Representative Council as they wish; freedom to meet and discuss problems; freedom to criticise and to protest — to that extent such a university is lacking in part of the vital freedom of the academy.

To the extent that the academic staff members of the tribal universities are still not allowed to criticise Government acts in any field, under pain of heavy fines or dismissal, to that extent such a university is trying to function under the heavy burden of another essential freedom denied.

To the extent that a university can so over-react to student representations, students demonstrations, as to expel the entire student body, to that extent has that university shown itself insensitive to the meaning of academic freedom, and unable to appreciate the legitimate rights of students in a higher educational institution.

Indeed, it is no over-statement to claim that such an action lets down the entire body of universities in the country, for this is an example where a properly constituted university authority has itself thrown academic freedom overboard.

Until recently, most of the infringements of academic freedom in South Africa have come from the State, from Governmental actions. Until recently, with hardly any exception, the university authorities have been on the side of academic freedom; have opposed the State authority which was trespassing in areas where the modern governmental machine does not venture lightly.

Now the academic structures have been badly let down — for university authorities at these tribal universities have themselves given a lead in opposing academic freedom; have aided outside authority in suppressing freedom inside their own institutions.

We have all been let down by these short-sighted repressive policies; academic freedom for all of us has been dealt a body-blow. Because academic freedom is one and indivisible. Take away *one* freedom from *one* of our institutions — and *all* of our freedoms at *all* of our institutions are to that extent in jeopardy.

Once show that some university authorities themselves are not aware of the importance of maintaining academic freedom, and the very concept of academic freedom has been seriously weakened for all of us.

That is why what happens at Turfloop or at Fort Hare or at Westville or at Western Cape is not just a local happening of no particular moment outside the local scene. It is something rather that concerns and affects all of the rest of our universities, whether Wits, or RAU, whether Cape Town or Stellenbosch.

That is why it is not in any sense of inter-

fering in the activities of other universities that I have spoken on these matters today for there is a kind of corporate responsibility among all universities in this country.

If there must be separate higher educational institutions for our disadvantaged fellow South Africans then let them at least be universities in the full sense of the word; and let their students and their staff members enjoy the full rights proper to a university community. Without such rights they are a university in name only. And all of us are the poorer, for among universities, as among human beings, we are all our brother's keeper.

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Sharing a Common Hope

DR. ALAN PATON

I

This address was given by Dr. Paton at a hunger supper held in Kloof, Natal, during the week of compassion in August.

I

This observing of a week of compassion, this eating together of a hunger supper, this sharing of a common hope, often with people whose lives are so different from our own, raises tremendous difficulties in the minds of many of us, indeed perhaps all of us. I should like speak about them tonight.

I am not here to instruct or preach. These are my difficulties too. I am talking to myself as well. That is why I accepted this invitation with much difference. What right have I to speak on the tremendous issues that are raised by a week of compassion and a hunger supper and the sharing of a common hope?

What is the meaning of a week of compassion. In itself, it means exactly nothing. What could be more absurd than to say "I have just observed a week of compassion, and next year I am going to observe another"? So therefore it must have some far deeper meaning that just itself.

We are not like the passengers on a train who get off at a station called Christianity, and stay there for the rest of their lives, while the train goes on with its journey. We are travellers ourselves, on a journey that never ends, and the week of compassion is a resting-place on the journey, and it can have only one meaning, that we rest there to fit ourselves for the next stage of our journey.

A week of compassion can have meaning only if it is a stage in a life of compassion, if it helps us to think more deeply and more seriously about what we are doing and where we are going.

The same is true of a hunger supper. It has no meaning in itself. To have a hunger supper between a good lunch and a good breakfast can have no meaning unless it has a meaning beyond itself.

It is therefore in a way a sacrament. It is a sacrament in which we are partaking. In partaking of it, we are repenting and promising to amend our lives, and to use them bet-

ter. No matter whether we are old or young, that is what we are doing, because this journey that we are taking does not end.

It is therefore not an absurd and meaningless thing that we are doing. We are tonight confronting, not just the poverty and hunger and incessant struggle of so many of our fellow-South Africans, we are also confronting ourselves, and asking ourselves what is the use and purpose of our lives. And these two things cannot be separated from each other.

If our lives have nothing to do with those of so many of our fellowmen and women, and their children, then there is something very wrong with us. And if there is something wrong with us, this week and this supper are the opportunities to make amends and to begin to use our lives better.

What we are doing tonight is nothing less than confronting the two great commandments of our Faith, that we should love the Lord our God with all our heart and soul and mind, and our neighbours as ourselves.

It is not just a hunger supper, it is a judgment also. We are judging ourselves in the light of these two great commandments. And we may not like very much what we see.

We may find that there is too much luxury and selfishness, too much indifference and coldness in our lives. We may remember times when we have said, "Well, I couldn't do anything about it, could I?". We may remember times when the sudden intrusion of someone else's troubles into our own well-ordered lives has filled us with anger or fear. We may remember times when the tempter's voice has said to us, "Surely you're doing enough; surely no one expects any more of you than what you are doing; surely you have a right to a life of your own". And perhaps we listened to it.

There is certainly one way in which your life ought to be your own. But there is another in which it can never be your own. Indeed that is part of the meaning of being

a Christian, that your life is not your own, that it belongs in fact to God and your neighbour.

It is necessary for us to balance these two demands — the one that our lives should be our own, and the other than our lives should be given to others. None of us can follow the example of Francis of Assisi, who renounced the world and all possessions, and even stripped himself of all his clothes so that he could yield everything given to him by his father.

Yet on the other hand, we do not wish to achieve that kind of living death of those who keep everything to themselves. Lucky are those whose lives and homes are happy, and who can therefore go out and give themselves to others and get everything back again.

That is what our Lord said: Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down and shaken together, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that you mete shall it be measured to you again.

There are sad persons in this country speaking often of their servants who say "Look what I did for them, look what I gave them, and look what they did to me". One may be sure that almost always such persons never gave themselves with their gifts. They give a gift, some thing, some money, and their giving does not evoke the response that they think they deserve.

But when we give ourselves with our gift, we are often over-whelmed by the response in some other person who at that moment gives himself or herself to us.

There is one last thing to speak about, and that is our common hope. All Christians have a common hope, an expectation of present good and future life, because they have been made anew.

That it is possible for me, a White man, living in comparative affluence and freedom from material anxiety, to have a common hope with a Black man living in comparative poverty and struggling to live, is I know true, and one has only to go down to the Church of the Holy Spirit or to meet people from that Church in a common service of worship at Hillcrest, as we did some time ago, to know that it is true.

But it is a miracle. It is a miracle to go there, me the lord, the ruler, the maker of cruel laws, and to feel the warmth and love

that comes from fellow-Christians who have so little, who make no laws, whose only duty is to obey them. It is a miracle of Christian love and common hope, and I would be blind to doubt it.

But it raises another tremendous difficulty in our minds. One can experience this miracle in one's personal life, but can it ever be experienced in the life of our society? Can White people make common cause with people whose average wage is one fourth, one tenth, one fourteenth, of the average White wage?

If you will allow me to make a political observation. I do not see any hope for the Nationalist dream of separate and self-respecting homelands, or for the United Party dream of a confederation, or for the Progressive Party dream of a common society, so long as there exists this shocking disparity in income.

You may experience the common hope in the Church of the Holy Spirit, but that's not enough. This hope must be found somewhere, sometime, in the larger society.

I know there are some of you on whom the realisation of Black poverty is like a burden on the soul. We White people can try to be just to our servants, and try to pay them better, and give them time off and paid holidays, and a decent room and food and hot water for a bath. But what about their other life, the cost of clothes and schooling, the cost of travelling, the cost of some crisis unforeseen?

Will an affluent society ever share its wealth with a poorer? Harder still, will an affluent group ever share its wealth with a poorer? Hardest of all, will an affluent race group within a society ever share its wealth with a poorer race group within that society, especially a race group which outnumbers it?

Has economic change ever been brought about by spiritual forces, or is it only brought about by economic, even military, forces?

There is one thing we cannot say, and that is "Well, I couldn't do anything about it, could I?" If I am right, our White society is more aware than it was of the wealth gap, and is more aware that it is dangerous to itself.

All of us, members of church groups, of groups concerned with school feeding and service of any kind, members of Black Sash and Rotary and Lions and Jaycees, teachers and writers, employers of workers both domestic and industrial and commercial, employers of Government and provincial and

municipal labour, must go on hammering on the question of Black education, Black wages, Black poverty.

The more we do that the greater our common hope will be. We shall not change the world, but we might change some part of it. Do you remember Reinold Niebuhr's prayer —

"God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to know the difference?"

If we try to achieve that, then this week of compassion, this hunger supper, this talk of common hope, will gain for us a greater meaning.

This is to state and inquire the following

- Eunice Nombulelo Nxumalo was born by Nimrod Nxumalo, a man who owned a property in Pimville and married Jeanette Mbata, whose parents and family were resident at Elexandra Township; I was born: by both parents in 1939 at Pimville, there they brough me up; by both parents three other children were born after me. Eunice was the fourth and the last to my father's off-spring.
- If Eunice was born by both parent here in Johannesburg what other home has she got?
- When my father died he had the full confidence that when I grown up I will take care of his other children at his own home. Those former homes were by the law condemned and off-cause change of laws ensue, then was my father's confidence misplace in the belief that the law was to protect his off-spring?
- If the birth certificate confirm that Eunice Nombulelo Nxumalo was born in Johannesburg why is she persecuted or outlawed in Johannesburg?
- Eunice is only seventeen not yet able to make her own decision, then what proves do the law want from her either than what I or my mother can supply?
- I have made an affidavit at my local superintendants Office stating what I know about my sister, then what more does the law want from her?
- If my father was wrong to die; if my mother was wrong in bring Eunice up out of her home, I appeal to the most honourable authority to arrest me for my parents sins not to visit them on someone innocent.

By: Bethuel Nxumalo, Klipspruit, Pimville.

**to whom
it may
concern**

A Unique Organisation

MOIRA HENDERSON

It is more than nine years now since the Dependants Conference was formed to help the families of political prisoners. Moira Henderson reviews the history and workings of the Conference during those years.

Dependants' Conference in Cape Town was started in June 1963. It at the time of a wave of Poqo and PAC arrests, when it was estimated that over 1 500 men were in jail. Up to that time the Defence and Aid Fund had provided legal defence for people charged with political offences and had also given aid to their families.

The avalanche of arrests was so great that D and A felt themselves unable to continue with the aid side of their work and so requested the Institute of Race Relations to call a meeting of interested organisations in the hopes that a new body would be formed to meet the crisis.

The Institute called a meeting and over 16 bodies and organisations were represented at it. These bodies included the Red Cross, Child Life, Board of Aid, Shawco, Quakers, Black Sash, Cafda, Department of Bantu Affairs and representatives from the two local township administrations.

It was agreed that a crisis existed and a loose body to be known as the Dependants' Conference was formed to arrange for the support of families of political prisoners while the breadwinner was in jail.

For the first few months most of the support was administered by the Red Cross, Cafda, Shawco and the Board of Aid. Slowly a uniform method of payment evolved and different rates were paid to families in rural areas, semi-rural areas, (such as Wellington and Paarl) and urban areas such as Cape Town itself.

When Dependants' Conference was formed in 1963 all the men whose families were being assisted received the maximum sentence of three years as they were all charged for either belonging to an illegal organisation or for attending a meeting of such an organisation.

It was therefore never envisaged that there would be any necessity for the work to con-

tinue when the breadwinner was released at the end of his three year sentence. This however has proved to have been a false hope. From June 1966 the men started to be released and most of them were escorted direct from jail to the Transkei or Ciskei and many of them were than banned or restricted to a specific area for a period of two years. In most cases their banning orders precluded them from taking up any form of employment and certainly did not permit them to leave the Transkei as contract workers.

The original intention had been to continue support for the family for three months after the breadwinner was released in order to give him a chance to rehabilitate himself. It very soon proved to be impossible to carry out this policy and we are still supporting 24 families of men released in 1966. Even after the two-year banning order was lifted these men have had continuous difficulties in finding re-employment either within the Transkei or as contract workers.

Two years after the formation of Dependants' Conference in Cape Town a national meeting was called as it was found that similar organisations were doing this type of relief work throughout the country. In all the other areas the committees were associated with church bodies.

Funds to finance the work had always come from overseas sources and it was felt that a national body to receive and distribute funds to the areas where they were most needed had become very necessary. A National Committee was formed and was part of Dependants' Conference in Cape Town. At that stage there was no close liaison between the various committees as to the amount of aid and assessment of a family's needs. The committee merely distributed the funds they received to where they were most needed.

As the years went on the funds were more and more exclusively channelled through the World Council of Churches in Geneva to Inter-

Church Aid in Johannesburg and thence to Dependants' Conference in Cape Town. So in 1970 Dependants' Conference (which by that stage represented far fewer organisations than at its inception), approached the Western Province Council of Churches with a view to the work coming under the umbrella of the church.

After several months of negotiation the SA Council of Churches agreed to take over the work and committees in the various areas all became sub-committees of the local Council of Churches. A meeting was held in Port Elizabeth in August 1970 to which representatives from all over the country came and for the first time a uniform scale of aid was laid down together with procedures for assessing family needs. It was further agreed that all committees be known as Dependants' Conference.

As to how the work is actually carried out. The country is divided into six areas and from Cape Town we support all our local dependants and also all the families of political and ex-political prisoners in the Transkei. This would appear to be an odd arrangement but has arisen historically because the vast majority of the men originally arrested in the Cape Town area either had their homes in the Transkei or were sent there on their release.

Families receiving assistance from us are required to fill in forms twice a year which then have to be attested by a responsible person such as an attorney, headmaster, minister of religion etc. when it is not possible to have a personal interview which is the case with all our Transkeian clients.

From the information in the forms, the families' needs are assessed and the maximum monthly grant is R16 — R5 for the first member of the family and R2 for every other member up to the maximum. Education is only paid for the children of men still serving their sentences.

Applications are channelled to other funds. No rents are paid except in rural areas. Wives are provided with one third class ticket a year to visit their husbands in jail.

Two aspects of the work which cause endless headaches are the need for personal case investigation and the need for rehabilitation. As to the first, this is possible in some areas, particularly urban ones, but in the rural areas it is extremely difficult and we have to rely on the information supplied in the forms. May I say here that the honesty of most of these

people living below the breadline is very heart-warming.

On the question of rehabilitation, various attempts have been made so far, sadly, with no success. It is felt very strongly that for men who have served their sentence, then been further penalised for two years and then find themselves unable to get employment, receipt of breadline subsistence must have a most debilitating, dehumanising and demoralising effect. This is a problem which various efforts have so far failed to solve and one can only hope that the future will produce a solution.

As to the numbers involved in this work, Dependants' Conference supports more than 500 families throughout the country and with various new cases being heard and the lack of employment for ex-prisoners, this number does not seem likely to decrease in the near future.

The Cape Town Committee supports 154 families. The breadwinners of 94 of these have already been released. We support two families where the prisoners have a life sentence and one whose breadwinner will only be released in 1985.

Fifteen of our cases are widows and their children whose husbands and fathers have either died in jail or after release or received the death sentence, and for whom there is no Government pension whatsoever available. Where it is felt that any of our clients are entitled to either an Old Age Pension or a Disability Grant, every effort is made to help them obtain it, but with a lamentable lack of success.

Despite various Government statements in and out of court that official funds are available to families supported by the Dependants' Conference, from the date of our inception we have found this not to be the case, as efforts have been made continuously over the years to channel clients to apply for Government funds.

South Africa must be one of the few countries in the world where it is necessary to have had to form and continue to run an organisation such as ours. And the fact that over the years Dependants' Conference has been entirely supported by money from overseas is an indictment of White South Africans.

Since the S.A. Council of Churches assumed responsibility for the work an attempt at local fund raising has been started through the churches and a pamphlet distributed. So far only R2 000 has been received.

ORWELLIAN CONCEPT

JOYCE HARRIS

Alexandra — an African township just beyond the municipal boundaries of Johannesburg — has fallen victim to the Government policy of apartheid, which labels Africans working in White urban areas as temporary sojourners, to be used but not recognised as people with rights and needs of their own.

One aspect of this policy is the determination not to allow Africans to sleep in the White urban areas, and as early as 1955 the "Locations in the Sky" legislation was passed, limiting the number of Africans living on the roofs of blocks of flats where they were employed.

In order to make the urban areas "White by Night" it was necessary to provide alternative accommodation, and this led to the Orwellian concept of demolishing Alexandra and turning it into a vast hostel complex to house "single" men and women; the domestic, industrial and commercial workers so essential to the smooth running of the metropolis.

The Government announced its intention of proceeding with this scheme, but with its usual capacity for turning blind eyes and deaf ears to what it does not want to see or hear, the general public simply forgot about it. But at the beginning of this year, the residents of Johannesburg, Randburg and Sandton were suddenly faced with the fact that two enormous structures had reared their ugly heads in Alexandra. Large areas had been bulldozed; most of those families who were legally entitled to live in Alexandra as families had been moved either to Tembisa or Meadowlands; those who remained were to be forced to live in the hostels as single men and women while their children were to be sent out in to limbo, and the time had come for domestic servants living in the "locations in the sky" to be moved into the hostels.

There is nothing new in the idea of hostels as such. African mineworkers have always been housed in them, sometimes under appalling conditions, more latterly, in some of the mines at least, under far better ones. And it should not be forgotten that mine workers are temporary sojourners with limited contracts.

There have been hostels in Diepkloof and Soweto for many years, as there have been in

Langa and Nyanga and other townships. For those who are working and single and have no other accommodation, hostels have fulfilled a need, though the living conditions have, for the most part, left much to be desired.

What is new, however, is a whole city composed entirely and solely of mammoth hostels, of which the two already erected in Alexandra, one for men and one for women, are merely a beginning.

These hostels are huge concrete structures, divided into identical wings, built around courtyards and designed to hold 2 700 inmates each. There is one main entrance to each hostel — a large grilled gate through which each of the 2 700 inmates will have to enter and leave. There are only 40 single rooms in each, the rest being two- and four-bedded for women and four-, six- and eight-bedded for men.

Each dormitory has only one small window at eye level, the other windows running the length of the dormitory but being six feet high and well above eye level.

There is one, single overhead light with no additional plugs and no heating. Each inmate has for his or her own private use a 2'6" bed, a narrow mattress and a locker, one foot wide by about six feet high which must hold all possessions.

Space is so limited that there are about 40 square feet per person. There are no tables and no chairs, and although the present supervisor of the women's hostel has said that she will allow the women each to have a table and a chair it is difficult to imagine how they will all be fitted into the dormitories together with other private possessions.

Apart from one bar-lounge holding 300 people no other provision has been made for inmates to be anywhere but on their own beds.

Cooking facilities consist of gas rings, one for every five inmates, on which each of their meals will have to be cooked before and after work. Ablution and toilet facilities consist of one bath or shower and one toilet for every 14 inmates and one washbasin for 11 inmates — all cramped together in one small ablution area.

There is a 150-foot-long passage between the ablution and the cooking areas, lined with dormitories.

Seventy people will be living, cooking, eating, washing in this one wing, and the passage is only four foot wide. It may be possible to live in this manner, but there will surely be much uncomfortable congestion in the passages and interminable queues waiting to cook or bath. There are limited laundry facilities — three troughs and one ironing point for 70 people, and drying laundry will have to be constantly watched.

Each passage is controlled by an electronically-operated riot gate, which works from a central point. There will be no privacy ever except for those few fortunate enough to have a single room, no comfort and no security of person or property, certainly no opportunity for men and women to co-habit — be they married or single.

There is one small shop where 2 700 people must buy their food before and after work, unless they are able to do so during their working hours, and although each inmate is provided with a small food-locker in the cooking and eating area there is no refrigeration.

And this is one hostel, housing 2 700 people. If the total Alexandra plan is put into effect there will eventually be approximately 60 000 people housed in this manner; 60 000 people who have to be transported to and from work every day — whether in their own cars or in buses; 60 000 queuing endlessly for transport after they have already queued to wash and to cook; 60 000 herded together in the greatest proximity while being segregated sexually; 60 000 living an enforced unnatural existence in a city which has no married couples, no families, no children.

It is a fantastic concept — something entirely new in the field of town-planning and sociological environment.

When the general public finally woke up to what was happening, the Citizens' Hostel Action Committee, which had originally been formed to combat the removal of domestic servants south of the Houghton Ridge to hostels at Diepkloof, resuscitated itself and called a public meeting, which was very well attended by hundreds of concerned citizens.

It was the unanimous decision of this meeting that the committee should take whatever action it saw fit to try to persuade the Government to change its policy on hostels. It is

significant that as soon as there was a public outcry, announcements were made about plans to instal heating and provide more recreational facilities.

The Citizens' Hostel Action Committee consists of representatives of the Church, the Progressive Party, the Black Sash and citizens of Johannesburg, Randburg and Sandton. It was decided to give the protest and the appeal to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development a wider base by organising a petition before approaching him.

This was accordingly done, and over a period of two weeks, 40 000 signatures were collected in Johannesburg, Randburg and Sandton.

The petition requested the Minister to reconsider Government policy on hostels; to stop building hostels for married men and women; to convert the existing hostels into liveable accommodation for voluntary occupants; to build family accommodation and to permit those people presently accommodated to remain where they were.

This last point is very significant, firstly because many of those living in "locations in the sky" are reasonably comfortable and do not want to move and secondly because there is presently a waiting list of 15 000 families in Soweto for family accommodation and one of 19 000 people for hostel accommodation. These are to be left unhoused while others are to be moved from existing accommodation leaving their original rooms empty.

The Minister was approached to receive a deputation, which he delegated the Deputy Minister, Dr. Piet Koornhof, to receive. There having been a change in the Cabinet in the interim, the deputation was finally received by both Dr. Koornhof and Mr. Janson.

The deputation did not achieve very much. The Government will adhere to its policy of removing Africans from the White areas into Black areas. The Minister conceded that Africans with 10(1) (a) or (b) rights in Johannesburg would not lose them when they moved to the Alexandra hostels (another prescribed area).

The deputation took with it a memorandum dealing in principle with the negative aspects of hostel life and in particular with the shortcomings of the Alexandra Hostels. Attached to the memorandum was an appendix of papers prepared by experts in various fields, and a few of the most cogent points

are included here, with the consent of the Citizens' Hostel Action Committee.

The planning of the buildings and layout of the Alexandra area are not acceptable in terms of current town planning thinking, being regarded as the worst type of high-density planning with little regard to human needs.

The massing together of 60 000 people introduces a new qualitative factor not experienced in previous hostels, which will both magnify present problems in hostels and create new uncharted problem areas.

Psychologically it has been found that all total institutions deny individuals freedom and dignity in both the political and physical senses — a comparison with prisons is relevant. Hostels ignore the fundamental rights of the individual, in that there is no freedom of choice. People are deprived of a clearly-defined concept of social identity, self-worth and personal integrity, which leads to the development of anti-social and irresponsible behaviour.

The lack of privacy leads to depression, apathy, listlessness, tensions, frustrations and resentments, grossly affecting adjustment to work and life. Institutional tyrants may control all the facilities because these have a scarcity value. This will be difficult to control and will lead to the introduction of totalitarian measures which will breed hostility. Human life in hostels will be impoverished, with possibly dire results.

Sociologically, hostel housing is at variance with the cultural needs and expectations of the occupants. Africans value their privacy, as does everyone, and hostels deny adults this right. The best of hostel conditions are only acceptable if temporary.

Hostel life is culturally incongruous to African family life, and the resultant frustration may lead to violence and other anti-social behaviour, including vandalism. No free association of males and females is allowed for, and deviate behaviour will be actually facilitated by the design of the hostels.

The overcrowded, high density living conditions can be correlated with morbidity, a high mortality rate, crime, delinquency, prostitution, and are likely to cause faction fights, sex crimes and other misdemeanours. Disorder and violence are well-known in hostels; Dube, Germiston, Durban, Paarl, Langa and the Rhodesian riots at Harari are proof of this. Hostels are a fertile ground for crowd hysteria.

Healthwise, the lack of privacy, family, marital relationships, social roots and *lebensraum* have demoralising, dehumanising and brutalising effects. Extra travelling time leads to fatigue and lowered resistance to disease. Continuous noise causes inadequate sleep, and the inevitably unacceptable standards of hygiene will result in rodent breeding and the spread of disease.

There may be epidemics which are likely to spread to the whole of society. A 1971 medical paper showed that the highest alcoholic rate and the poorest nutrition were to be found amongst the inmates of hostels in Soweto, and these were responsible for many medical and social disorder, including cardio-vascular ailments which are reversible with the correct diet.

To all these contra-indications must be added the facts that the hostels are to be filled, not voluntarily, but by order; that rents are inordinately high — R7 for a single room, R6 for a two-bedded room and R5,70 for a four-bedded room. This money will have to be found either by the workers themselves, who will then have that much less to send to their families in the homelands, or by their employers thus unproductively sending up their costs. Facilities are not provided on the basis of peak usage and should not have been equated with those required in factories, for they are in no way comparable; and no provisions have really been made for "living", only for "existing", yet this is a more or less permanent way of life.

All in all, there is little to be said in defence of hostels, either in principle or as a way of life. They have been adopted as a principle because hostels appear to be the only way of housing the rootless thousands who flock to the cities as a result of the operation of the iniquitous migrant labour system.

If workers are not to be permitted to live permanently at their place of work; if they are not to be permitted to have their families living with them; if they are not to be recognised as human beings but as so many cogs in the White industrial, commercial and domestic machine, then they can be housed as so many numbers in barracks — and they are.

Every inmate will bear the same number as his bed, his mattress, his locker. Living arrangements for them are so minimal that they could only be acceptable at all if they were strictly temporary, yet the vast majority of migrant workers will have to spend their en-

tire lives living under such conditions, for there is no hope of their ever gaining permanent status in the White cities, and there is no employment for them in their own homelands.

Conditions have been designed not to provide some sort of a home for them but merely to provide the basic essential of some place to put their weary bodies at night.

The installation of riot gates are a sure indication that the authorities were aware that they were themselves actually creating a situation which could be expected to lead to riots. This beggars understanding.

Migrant labour is a by-product of apartheid, and hostels are a by-product of migrant labour. The Black Sash condemns all three.

THE SCENE: A's BOOK-LINED STUDY.

THE TIME: A WHILE AGO.

THE CHARACTERS: A.

B., his friend.

A. (sipping a w. and s. and reading the evening newspaper) Damn.

B. (Entering) A. old boy, you seem very angry.

A. I am. I feel as though I've been got at by agitators who tell me, and TELL me, that the Alexandra hostels are an abomination.

B. If there's anything I loathe, it's propoganda. I bet nobody has told you that the sporting facilities are excellent.

A. No, somebody did tell me. Trouble is, I wonder if old Emily will really want to play soccer after looking after me all day. Bantu never know their ages, of course, but I bet she's 60.

* * *

SCENE TWO: A's BOOK-LINED STUDY.

THE TIME: A SHORT WHILE LATER.

A. Eek!

B. (Entering) A. old chap, you seem frightened.

A. I am. I'm a tiny bit frightened that the hostel people won't look into every case of real hardship.

* * *

SCENE THREE: A's BOOK-LINED STUDY.

THE TIME: NOW.

A. Ooh.

B. (Entering) Aren't you feeling well?

A. No. The idea of the hostels has brought on my rheumatic ulcer.

* * *

SCENE FOUR: A's BOOK-LINED STUDY.

THE TIME: A FEW WEEKS HENCE.

B. (Entering) How are you, old fellow?

A. Much better, thanks.

B. Not worried about the hostels any more?

A. No, I hear they're being administered most humanely. AND I hear that my application on compassionate grounds is sure to be granted. I said that I simply cannot manage without Emily in case my rheumatic ulcer flares up again.

ELEANOR ANDERSON

Finding a Lawful Loophole

THE Advice Office offers Africans and their employers and friends an opportunity to discuss their particular individual problems freely. The background to these problems is well known to be a network of laws designed to keep our cities "White on top" and applied with everyday cruelty, because they are cruel laws and cruel laws can hardly be administered with kindness.

It is cruel to keep people away from the only place where they can earn their living and it is cruel to separate husbands and wives, parents and children.

These things the law does, and the Advice Office cannot prevent it except where some administrative blunder oversteps the law or when some rare lawful loophole can be found.

People are channelled as constructively as possible towards some solution of their difficulties or whatever help may be available.

One question asked by almost every visitor to the office is: "What do you reckon is your percentage of successes?" Notting could be harder to calculate. Human problems are not clear-cut, and even the most rigid system of laws which ideology could devise, and a bureaucracy implement, has failed to dehumanise people.

Too often, all the office can offer is a sympathetic hearing. But not a week goes by without some considerable success for someone — a job which was lost regained, and with it the right to continue earning a living (even if slender) in the Peninsula; a couple allowed to live together who had been under orders to separate; a young man who had been refused permission to take out his reference book here succeeds in convincing the authorities, with documentary evidence, that he has an unbroken record and therefore residential rights or some money problem is satisfactorily resolved.

Such "full" successes are not very many, but at least half the people who come for help do benefit to some extent. A communication blockage is oiled; a welfare officer undertakes to see someone; a short extension of a permit is granted; a way of arranging a legal visit for a wife "next time" is explained; or some information is obtained about Workmen's Compensation or another claim.

On the reverse side of the coin, close study of Advice Office records shows that very often "the other end of the story" was never told. There is no knowing whether the suggestion made was even tried, let alone the outcome. Then, non-existent permits cannot be whistled up, and many are the queries in this field, especially over the telephone from employers with "such a good maid".

The backbone of the work continues to revolve round influx control regulations. If a man or woman is African, the first point at issue is whether he or she is allowed to be in the area, if not, could permission be obtained, or where could he or she legally be and if so, how secure is the position?

Permits to be in any prescribed area are closely linked with the availability of housing.

This real and serious problem in any expanding urban area is aggravated by the artificial limitations of the Group Areas Act. A new section has been added onto the municipal township, Guguletu, during recent months and 500 more houses were built and became available, but over 1 000 names were said to be on the waiting-list before they were complete.

One gathers that no more houses are planned, there being no more space in the areas allocated. Nearly all the people who come to the office in the hope of being helped towards a house are bound to be disappointed.

One hundred and forty five of the "miscellaneous" cases listed were housing problems.

The trend in housing is towards more "single quarters", erected for contract workers by firms, in accordance with the policy of replacing a stable urban community with a constant flux of migrants.

This is called "reducing numbers". The only good thing about the new firm compounds is some evidence of competition between firms to attract labour by improving facilities. With ample room for improvement, may they go ahead while the contract system is in sway. But it is the worst system conceivable for the health of the nation and should be abolished.

There are now 715 contract workers' cases among the Advice Office records. The vast majority are connected with early termination of the contract on the part of the employer, often due to a fall-out with a foreman and often to the worker's disappointment with his pay or working conditions which have not measured up to expectations.

Contract wages (where noted) are usually between R9.50 and R15,00 a week. The worker does not have a copy of his contract and seldom sees the document after signing it. This is a serious flaw and should be remedied by the authorities.

The contract is supposed to protect the worker from dismissal, but often he has only to express dissatisfaction to find himself laid off. He can be dismissed for failure to comply with any orders, and this he may find he has done as soon as he has complained. The terms of the contract seem in effect to bind the labourer more onerously than the employer.

A problem new to us, has arisen this year. There are many small urban areas (such as Richmond or Hanover, Cape) which have African townships of long standing where the ever-increasing African population simply does not balance with the possible avenues of employment in the same districts.

These are tending if anything, to diminish. These people are finding it increasingly difficult to find work of any sort, in the only area in which they are qualified to look for employment (mostly by right of birth).

As far as we have been able to ascertain, there is no machinery available for them to apply for contract jobs from these small urban areas. How are they to live?

"Qualified" men whose wives cannot live with them are disappointed and disillusioned men. According to Section 10 (1) (b) of the Act, family residence should be possible for men with long work records in the area.

But because of the housing shortage and because even most "qualified" men have always had "single quarters" accommodation, when their wives come here as lawful visitors they are obliged to leave again after a few weeks or months. They cannot fulfil the conditions of "ordinary residence" together with their husbands which would enable them to remain in terms of Section 10 (1) (c) of the Act. Eighty couples distressed by this problem visited the Advice Office during the year.

Women with dependents and no menfolk have a raw enough deal without laws which boot them away from their livelihood. A special local arrangement showed some promise of alleviating the problem for women who had lost their husbands by death, divorce or desertion and with them all hope of qualifying as permanent residents of the area.

Its operation has not been much in evidence this year. In a cruel-to-be-kind manner, non-supported women who take their children to rural areas and return with proof that they are there, in the form of a note from a magistrate, may be allowed to take "sleep-in" jobs on a temporary basis renewable six-monthly. But the snag is that they must approach the Department of Bantu Affairs in good time for this concession, while they have permission (and not just "visiting" permission) to be in the area. Otherwise it is our experience that they are turned away every time.

Naturally they do not know this as it is normal to "appeal" to the C.B.A.C. only when all hope of extensions at the Registration Office is lost.

Hope dies hard, so this is usually not until the permit is considerably out of date. Of about 40 cases of this type during the year, probably not half-a-dozen worked out. These mothers crave education for their children, not just food and clothing. How are they even to live? One "charitable" hand-out of rationed mealie-meal?

The concession for brides of "qualified" men, announced by Deputy Minister Koornhof in February of this year, seems to be as meagre as that for breadwinners. A man can only bring his bride (or wife) into the area on a "visiting" permit. Unless he has lawful housing in which he is registered, and where she can be registered without overcrowding, she will not be able to remain when the visiting permit expires.

If these conditions, which are those of "ordinary residence" together, are fulfilled, Section 10 (1) (c) of the Act protects her right to remain. But she is likely to be refused an extension after a while and told to leave because the "visit" is over, and unless the couple came to the Advice Office at this juncture they will probably not secure recognition as a couple "residing" together "ordinarily".

Some telephoning between our legal advisers and the registration office usually straightens things out. Unless there proves to be a flaw in the husband's residential qualifica-

tions or in the lodging or housing permits, there are sure to be a pair of smiling and grateful faces in the Advice Office.

Dr. Koornhof was not being as magnanimous as he sounded. He knew very well that the phrase "subject to the availability of suitable housing" would keep the numbers of brides entering the area near zero. We have recently interviewed a "bride" who may probably be able to remain by fulfilling the conditions for acquiring 10 (1) (c) rights, as have 10 other wives of longer standing among our legal cases.

At least 50 men have come to the Advice Office during the year to complain that they have been refused "money which belongs to them". It invariably transpires that this is a compulsory contribution to a Pension Fund; usually they have been employed by building firms, and the fund is handled by the Industrial Council for the Building Industry; the money repayable with interest two years after the employee has left the building industry entirely.

Other pension problems come from the Industrial Council for the Metal Industry; these are only paid out to men when they reach the age of 65 years.

The terms of the pension arrangements may have been carefully explained to workers at the outset of employment, but they were clearly not fully understood nor accepted. Few Africans are willing to salt much money away for their old age, when they hope to be looked after by their offspring. They have little confidence in promised interest.

What they want is education for their children now. This urge for advancement is a tremendous force among our Africans and they are ready to make great sacrifices to give their children a better chance in life than they have had.

It is during an African's middle years that he most wants access to all the money due to him. Industrial Councils should consider some revision of their pension schemes. Excellent in themselves, these are unsuited to their labourers' greatest needs and wishes. Endowment policies or additional short-term savings schemes like the "holiday bonus" would be more satisfactory than pensions which cannot be touched before retirement.

The virtual impossibility of tracing Africans who disappear is amazing, considering the difficulty they experience in moving about

and those close scrutiny to which they are subjected wherever they go.

But it is only another facet of their existence as objects rather than persons. Mr. E. Mnz. is one example. He "found" himself by turning up at the Advice Office.

Some of the most complicated and tragic problems brought to the office concern "mixed" Coloured and African marriages. The Group Areas Act and Influx Control legislation inflict untold misery on such couples who make great sacrifices out of personal love and loyalty, only to meet with lifelong alienation from their own kind, among whom they could well have lived after marriage but for the law.

Thirty-five individuals or married couples have been referred to our attorneys for aid during the year. There was only one case which reached a court hearing, and that was the appeal of Sesman Magawo which after many remands was upheld by a Supreme Court decision announced on May 5, 1972.

Eighteen of the 35 cases reached a completely successful conclusion, with the recognition of residential rights claimed in terms of Section 10 (1) (a), (b) or (c) of the Urban Areas Act. Another three were partially successful in that the clients were allowed to remain in the area temporarily in terms of Section 10 (1) (d) of the Act, with the possibility remaining open to them of qualifying for permanent residence later.

There were five failures — one client disappeared and the authorities were able to show that the other four had no valid claim. Eight cases are still pending.

The 26 individuals whose cases were not actually heard in court all had their problems sorted out by means of many telephone calls and letters between the lawyers and the authorities. We were further helped with a number of problems on which we needed an expert legal opinion, generously given by these same attorneys over the telephone. They have our very warm appreciation and thanks.

The Supreme Court case of Sesman Magawo was a resounding success. He showed that he did not break his 10 (1) (b) qualification in the Caledon Divisional Council area. Elaborate attempts on the part of the Caledon authorities to disqualify his record were set aside by the presiding judge.

Another interesting case is that of young Moses Swartbooi. He was born here on June 24, 1955. He went to school at Keiskama-

hoek from 1968 to 1972. In 1968 his father gave up his house in Guguletu, so Moses was not registered on a rent card for the years he was away at school, but he returned here annually and stayed with an aunt in Guguletu.

When he completed his schooling, he came back here, applied for a reference book and was endorsed out of the area. Our attorney approached the authorities on his behalf, arguing that Moses' period away at school, even though he was not on a rent card, did not break his domicile in Cape Town and that furthermore he proved this by returning here annually.

His appeal to the authorities was upheld and he was accepted as qualifying under Section 10 (1) (a). He has been granted permission to apply for a reference book and he may take up employment.

Eleven of the 18 legal successes concerned the recognition of 10 (1) (c) claims and re-

sulted in women being allowed to remain with their husbands who had been told that they were only "visitors" and must leave.

The Advice Office is now in its 15th year of operation and has some 16 000 cases on record. Many of the African people of Cape Town definitely look to the Advice Office for help in their problems.

While confident that we offer a valuable service, we greatly wish that the relaxation of influx control legislation would render our work obsolete.

People will always have problems, but those brought to us demonstrate a shameful state of affairs — laws which push men, women, and children around as if they were inanimate and inferior goods best kept out of sight when not immediately useful. The shame of living with these laws is on us all. There can be no rest in South Africa until her people are treated as people.

Regional Round-Up

East Cape

WE HAVE had five committee meetings and three general meetings. One general meeting in June was addressed by the Rev. Phillip Russell, the Bishop of Port Elizabeth and also the chairman of Race Relations in this area.

The visit of the National President, Mrs. Sinclair was much appreciated. This was in August and we held an open meeting attended by about 60 members and guests. The Press gave quite good coverage of the meeting and a pen portrait of Mrs. Sinclair was published in the Evening Post.

We find it extremely difficult to raise any enthusiasm amongst members or the public, despite the President's suggestions, but we are working out two or three possible projects and may find interesting work for members out of these in the future.

Natal Coastal

SINCE the end of October 1971, the region has been led by two chairmen. Mrs. Cherry Hill accepted the position of chairman after informing the region that she expected to go overseas with her husband and family towards the end of July, 1971.

In fact she left for Britain on March 31,

but in the five months of her chairmanship she brought an enthusiasm and dedication to the service of South Africa and the Sash, which inspired the members with renewed determination to continue the struggle for the recognition of the principles for which the Sash stands.

The choice of a young woman; young, not only in years but also in length of membership, initiated a new and more imaginative approach to problems and situations.

PROTEST AGAINST DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL: This protest was organised by the Durban Citizens' Action Group of which the Black Sash is one of the sponsors. A well-attended multi-racial protest meeting was held in the City Hall on November 9, 1971. Members of the Black Sash lined the main entrance to the hall.

The meeting was followed two weeks later by daily lunch-hour protest stands in Durban, and culminated in an all-race, all-faith service of Compassion in the Immanuel Cathedral on December 23. The Black Sash, assisted by members of the Young Progs, supplied the "backroom" workers and organised the stands.

We started weekly stands again in March, 1972, but these were cancelled when we heard that the detainees were being charged.

THE CHARTER FOR WOMEN: This campaign was the continuation of one initiated during the previous year.

Enlargements of "The Charter for Women" were placed in the various churches where the services for Women's World Day of Prayer were held in February, and the pamphlets "Who Cares?" were widely distributed in hundreds of boxes by a task force of Black Sash members.

STOCKVILLE VALLEY REPROCLAMATION: The reproclamation of Stockville Valley as a Coloured group area with the resultant removal of some 200 Indian families, mostly market gardeners, was opposed vigorously by the Indian and Coloured communities, the Black Sash, and some of the churches in the Kloof-Hillcrest area. The property in the Valley is Indian-owned.

The Black Sash approached local businesses and hotels, the local authorities of Kloof, Gillets-Emberton and Hillcrest, and Mr. Warwick Webber, M.P., and requested concerted opposition to the scheme.

Protest stands in Kloof and Hillcrest were also planned. The result has been a shelving of the matter by the Minister, pending his visit to the area.

RESETTLEMENT VILLAGES: From August 21 to 25, daily lunch-hour protest stands were held in Durban. These coincided with Compassion Week during which more than 30 churches of various denominations agreed to display a poster supplied by the Sash.

These posters drew attention to the appallingly inadequate rations or cash allowance given to needy people in the resettlement townships. Many of the clergy promised to speak about these conditions during the services.

Several of our members are assisting with investigations into conditions of service, and wages, of domestic servants, and the establishment of a pension scheme for them. This is under the control of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations.

Cape Western

THIS YEAR has been a year of change within Cape Western. There have been two chairmen, with Mrs. Wilks and Mrs. Andrews both holding this office for varying lengths of time.

Mrs. Slater, our Hon. Treasurer, was replaced by Mrs. Burton and our office secretary, Mrs. King, left to be succeeded by Mrs. Leonard as secretary/bookkeeper. Our offices

moved from the first to the third floor in Rosco Building.

In this last year there have been many crises, not least the demonstrations and subsequent action during June and July.

The Cape Western Black Sash was asked to sign a statement and to join a stand protesting against the breaking up of a student demonstration on June 2. This was banned. On June 9 this Region published an advertisement in the Cape Times reading "The Spirit of Protest will Endure" — and this perhaps sums up best the work that this Region has tried to do this year.

RESEARCH PANEL: This is the new name of the Action Panel. There have been two spheres of activity this year:

- A bus inquiry. Some of the information from this was handed on to the Press and to a UCT research group which was compiling a transport survey.
- An education inquiry. Members have been collecting past examination papers from all sections of the community and other relevant information, preparatory to an article being written by a Sash member.

There were three stands at the end of last year: On October 22 against "Detention Without Trial" where members stood in Adderley Street as well as outside the Cathedral; December 10 "Human Rights Day" stand; December 24 "The Break-up of African Family Life". It has been decided to discontinue this particular stand in 1972.

We have had eight stands this year.

January 31. The opening of Parliament. On this occasion a quarter-page advertisement was placed in the Cape Times, listing the major deprivations of the last 24 years and reminding people that 80 per cent of South Africans have no voice in Parliament. This was favourably commented upon; April 22. At the Nico Malan on the opening night of Dame Margot Fonteyn's visit, almost one year after the opening of the theatre. A letter to Dame Margot prior to her visit brought a most understanding reply; June 14 became a non-stand as Parliament recessed on June 13 and on June 16 a token stand of 10 members stood for 12 minutes. They disbanded on legal advice but great publicity ensued.

On June 24 resettlement camp rations were displayed. The rations issued in resettlement camps were mounted on board with an accom-

panying board pointing out the deficiencies (e.g. no fish, meat, fruit, tea, etc.)

Ten sets were made and displayed simultaneously in the Southern Suburbs and a fact sheet was handed out. In succeeding weeks they were moved to private schools and churches, proving remarkably effective.

They were used by NUSWEL in a health campaign on the campus at U.C.T. The posters were also used at a hunger lunch in the City Banqueting Hall which some of our members helped to organise and at which over R5 000 was collected as promised.

It is impossible to know how many people have been moved to action by these posters but we have heard of one chemist who, seeing these in his local church, has donated 10 000 vitamin capsules and promised a regular quarterly donation of the same number, to Dimbaza or any other area where they are needed.

There was no Family Day stand but members joined a service on Rondebosch Common and our "Who Cares" pamphlet was made available to the Church and Society Committee of the W.P.C.C. who organised the service.

On July 11 there was a "Reaffirmation Stand" outside Parliament at the first possible opportunity after the lifting of the banning order on July 8.

On July 26 alongside Rondebosch Common we had a stand on "Banning". It has been decided to hold a similar stand for each new banning.

On August 31 we held a stand mourning the loss of the Coloured municipal franchise. This was held at the Darling Street entrance to the City Hall under the banner "Cape Town Mourns". After this stand, which was at the last sitting of the City Council before the Municipal elections, members went into the public gallery of the debating chamber to hear the final speeches of Coloured councillors who paid tribute to the stand outside.

Transvaal

DURING THE PAST YEAR one of the most exciting happenings in this region has been the influx of new members. Since October last year, 52 people have joined us, many of them young and dynamic and already playing an active part in the organisation.

Our Waverley branch deserves the thanks of the whole Region for their wonderful moral and financial support over the years. I wish we had more of them.

DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL. Deeply perturbed by the many detentions under the Terrorism Act, we organised two large demonstrations; issued a pamphlet; were represented at the University Protest Meeting; wrote letters to the Chief Justice and the Judge Presidents of the provinces; wrote an article which was published in the Star and finally ran a continuous daily lunch-hour demonstration, first at two points in the city, and later at only one.

These demonstrations lasted from December 1, 1971 until March 13, 1972, when the last of those we actually knew had been held were either released or charged. We also demonstrated against banning — another form of punishment without trial and printed an insert for Christmas cards reminding people of those who are banned. We had a car sticker printed reading "Ban Tyranny, Not People".

THE ALEXANDRA HOSTELS. The Black Sash is co-operating with the Citizens' Hostels Action Committee in its campaign against the conditions governing the new hostels in the township of Alexandra, Johannesburg. We have been active in the collection of signatures to a petition, we have visited the women's hostel, and Mrs. Harris has been in charge of publicity for the Committee.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. Mrs. de Lorne has traced, from the Government Gazette, a number of people to whom money is owed under this act. The work is arduous but rewarding.

ATTENDANCES AT THE BANTU COMMISSIONERS' COURT. For a short period, some of our members attended these courts to acquaint themselves and all of us with the manner in which they were conducted.

INTER-RACIAL CONTACTS. The one source of inter-racial contact promoted by this region over the years has been the Saturday Club, when members get together with women of all races, have lunch, generally listen to a speaker and then enjoy a discussion. The Club meets every month except during school holidays.

We felt that we needed to extend these contacts, and particularly to make an effort to introduce young people to each other. A sub-committee was formed under the convenership of Mrs. Dyzenhaus, and this committee has co-operated with other interested bodies such as the Institute of Race Relations and Spro-cas 2 in investigating the possibilities of contact with older children.

To date, several meetings have been held where children of members of the Saturday Club have got together over lunch and various projects and entertainments. These meetings have proved a great success and the intention is to hold them once a month. Two members of the Black Sash are at present studying drama and communication and hope to be able to introduce this to the young people.

RESETTLEMENT VILLAGES. Little has been done in this connection during the current year, but we undertook to get as much publicity as possible for the Reverend David Russell who was living on the "allowance" of R5 a month which is paid to African old age pensioners.

During June, in order to publicise the poverty in the resettlement villages, several of our members lived on the "Dimbaza rations" and wrote to the Minister about their reaction. Amongst other newspapers Drum published an account of Mrs. Sinclair's experiences while on the rations.

FAMILY DAY. An article was written for the Press, and Black Sash women organised in many churches a display of the "Dimbaza rations". Notes were prepared for sermons on the subject and the churches, in the main co-operated very well.

FUND RAISING. Our main means of fund raising, cake and book sales and the voluntary contribution by members of R15 per year, has helped to swell our exchequer. We plan to hold a Christmas Market on November 8, and a film première and a "Ladies Day" are planned for the beginning of next year.

DEMONSTRATIONS. Demonstrations have always been and still are our recognised form of protest, and six were held during the year. In order to reach a wider section of the public, we applied for and were given permission to use a number of venues in the city itself, of which we took advantage. The use of Afrikaans posters has once more been introduced.

In addition to the demonstrations on detention without trial previously referred to, we have demonstrated on the banning of Doctor Basil Moore and the hostel issue.

After the police action against students early in June, followed by the ban on gatherings, we demonstrated daily during the lunch hour outside the President Hotel with five women carrying posters "We Mourn for South Africa". This continued from mid-June to July 8. Car stickers were also produced in this

connection, showing a raised fist holding a baton and saying "No/Nee".

LEGISLATION. We have kept a watching brief on legislation before Parliament, and have made a particular study of the 1964 Bantu Laws Amendment Act plus the 1969 amendments, regarding the Bantu Aid centres, which were finally inaugurated this year; the Drug Act with its very harsh sentences; and the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Act controlling the marriages of African women. In each case we took the action we considered relevant — demonstrating and writing letters and articles.

PUBLICITY. Publicity is another of our major activities. We have written articles in the Press made statements and written letters to the Press.

Letters have also been written to Dr. Koornhof about hopeless Advice Office cases; to the Prisons Department who requested a copy of the memorandum on the pass laws, and to the United Party and Mrs. Helen Suzman on African marriages.

GENERAL MEETINGS. There were seven general meetings with speakers during the year. They were addressed by Mr. Fred van Wyk on Racial Attitudes; Mr. Abe Domingo, whose subsequent sudden death we deeply regret, on Political Development among the Coloured People; Professor John Dugard on Legal Aspects of the South West Africa case; Mrs. F. Kentridge on Contacts across the Colour Line; Mr. Edelstein on his Survey of Soweto Attitudes among Matric students; Mr. D. Horner on From the Paw of Hireling Wolves and Mr. Taffy Adler on Protest.

Albany

GRAHAMSTOWN — the Settler City — is now a city of insecurity for Black residents, many of whose roots go back as far as those of the original Whites. With the declaration of Group Areas for the Fingo Village — the last bastion in South Africa where Blacks held freehold rights in a so-called White area — the future of Black citizens has become bleak; their prospect the desolate wasteland of Committees Drift.

Thus for the Albany region, major efforts during the past year have been to rally opposition against enforced removals and to draw attention to the plight of other Black victims of a regime which sends them to hostile homelands.

We were determined not to allow the establishment of a vast rural slum such as Dimbaza to which David Russell, singly and courageously, has brought public attention.

We have, we believe, succeeded in creating at least a measure of awareness, so that ex Deputy Minister Piet "Dimbaza there are tears in my eyes" Koornhof was obliged to promise a "model city" with all amenities for those who had to go.

Our major awareness programme was Hunger Week, when we displayed in sympathetic churches the daily food rations on which our most impoverished Black citizens — usually widows — have to live, month in, month out.

During the year we also goaded certain "parties" into revitalising the nearly defunct Action Group to oppose the so-called voluntary removals (since virtually no extra accommodation is allowed to be provided, the displaced Fingo villagers will have no alternative but to go to Committees Drift).

Consequently a "group of concerned Grahamstown residents" were in correspondence with Dr. Koornhof to clarify some of the many disturbing features of the proposed removals.

To express its solidarity with the students on the dual issue of equal education and the right to public protest, we had a protest stand round the Cathedral immediately after the ban on public meetings was lifted.

We have been addressed by Mrs. Helen Joseph, Dr. Barry Dean, and Mr. Dave de Beer at our general meetings and have also had members reporting in study groups on the Bantu Urban Areas Act, the Housing and Slums Act and the Group Areas Act in an effort to acquaint ourselves with these laws.

Border

ON LOOKING back at previous annual reports, I realise what a depressing picture Border has always presented. Suddenly last year we announced we had five new members and this year we can claim another eight. Our whole outlook has changed. Our average age has dropped, our stands are manned by attractive young women and our previous dogged, grim keeping-alive attitude has changed to cheerful positivity. We are delighted to give you this picture. We lost only one member this year who left the Border to live in the Western Cape.

TALKS—Mr. Clive Nettleton on the work of the Institute of Race Relations; Mr. Dave Denison on multiracialism creeping into sport and the effects on the politics of this country. A panel of African women from the Y.W.C.A. at Mdantsane on their lives and problems.

DEMONSTRATIONS — In December and January we repeated previous car-banner parades with various banners demanding the release of Cosmas Desmond.

On March 17 and 24, April 7 and 14 we had placard stands from 7.30 to 8.30 a.m. and from 12.30 to 1.15 p.m. at three busy intersections.

In June we applied for a placard stand outside City Hall deploring police brutality. Permission was granted on one condition — no placards. We did not stand.

INFORMING THE PUBLIC—Mass mailing to a chosen list of 300 "cheques" — excellent Press publicity.

Three hundred "Why Do Detainees Die" pamphlets and again excellent Press publicity.

A précis of David Russell's open letters with an appeal to go on a Dimbaza diet during Compassion Week also went to 300.

Fifty "No! Nee!" car stickers distributed. Two talks given to other groups on the Charter for Women. Several hundred signatures obtained for the SRC petition condemning the police brutality at St. George's Cathedral.

Natal Midlands

DURING the year 10 general meetings were held and seven executive meetings.

The work of the Region has been carried on by a handful of members, most of whom are already busy in other spheres and there is little energy left for injecting new life and enthusiasm into Sash.

The Region needs new blood and especially new blood without other commitments! Our new members are in the main students and the busy wives of ministers of religion. Members of the Region respond magnificently to any special challenge, but lacking this, few attend meetings or give fresh vital ideas to the committee.

DEMONSTRATIONS: On October 29, 1971, members of the Region joined the Christian Institute in three demonstrations, one in the morning, one during the lunch hour and one during the evening meal. These stands were combined with token fasts and were aimed at publicising deaths in detention.

On December 11 there was a stand followed by cars with posters driving through the main streets (the latter was not effective — too few cars and the crowds were too dense). The theme of the demonstration was human rights.

The Region joined the Christian Institute in a stand outside St. Saviour's Cathedral on December 23.

On March 18, 1972, the Region demonstrated against detentions, expulsions and bannings.

On May 27 another demonstration against bannings was held in response to the banning of Mr. Demsey Noel.

On June 5 the Region joined with students in protest against the events at St. George's Cathedral. Sash members attended at the request of the students, two protest meetings at the university.

A Group Areas stand arranged for June 10 was cancelled because of the Government proclamation under the Riotous Assemblies Act. A request to the Howick Town Board to allow a stand in Howick was refused.

On July 8 a stand was held against a Family Day holiday when African families are so often forced to live apart.

On August 19 the Region drew attention to Compassion Week and the inadequacy of the African old age pension. A stand was held and (an idea taken from Cape Western's newsletter), a day's rations, worked out from the R5,00 a month, were packed in plastic packets and attached to a board.

Before each demonstration the Chairman writes a letter to the Natal Witness announcing the stand and stating the reasons for it.

These letters are usually published prominently in the newspaper. Demonstrators have felt at the last few stands that more notice is being taken of the posters, most of it favourable.

COMPASSION WEEK: The chairman sent photostats of some of the Rev. David Russell's correspondence and a letter to each church requesting that this information be used in Compassion Week services. It is not known if any of this correspondence was received though it is known that some churches did not receive the letters.

The boards used in the stand were offered to churches to use in their foyers. In some cases the boards were used.

PUBLICITY: Car stickers "Attack Injustice: Not Students" were printed and distributed to those members who requested them.

A pamphlet on deaths in detention was re-duplicated and sent to members and to 300 influential people.

Two hundred "cheques" for R5 were sent to some people on our mailing list.

The Womens Charter, a covering letter and "Who Cares" were sent to all women's organisations, except the Womens Institutes. The President of these Institutes in Natal not only refused to give us the names and addresses of Women's Institutes in the Natal Midlands, but explicitly refused its permission to send the Charter to Institutes if we already knew the addresses.

Most of the other organisations approached expressed sympathy but did not feel able to accept the Charter officially.

The President of the SRC at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg requested Sash help with the distribution of the booklet "You and Your Pass". (This booklet was drawn up by lawyers at the Cape and published by Nusas national. It is printed in English and Zulu. The Region has distributed over 6 000 copies to missions in this area.

The Region still hopes to persuade or shame Napac into taking productions to Black audiences. Whenever a Napac show comes to Pietermaritzburg the Chairman writes a letter to the Witness pointing out that Napac is financed from the taxation of all races, but performs only for the benefit and enjoyment of Whites. So far there has been little success. In a recent letter the Chairman pointed out that Capab has taken 38 shows to Coloured audiences in less than a year while Napac makes little or no attempt to provide entertainment for other than White audiences.

The Region can take some credit for getting the City Council to reserve seats for Indian and Coloured people at all Pietermaritzburg Philharmonic concerts, though in doing so the Philharmonic Society has lost its grant from the Government. The City Council has made up the grant. The City Council also made provision for Africans to attend these concerts, but difficulties have been put in the way by the Minister of National Education.

When the Community Development Board curtly refused to answer the Sash questionnaire on the lack of water and facilities at the Cool Air area demarcated as the group area for Indians to be removed from the Albert

Falls, Wartburg and New Hanover areas, the matter was referred to a Natal Mercury reporter who investigated the position and gave it wide publicity.

Headquarters

AFTER the last Conference in February 1971, a Chairman's meeting was held in East London in October, 1971. The National President, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, the National Secretary, Mrs. Bobbie Johnston and the chairmen of each region attended the meeting.

A suggestion was made that National Conferences in future should be held only every two years, and that in the alternate year a Chairmen's meeting be held. This was partly because costs have increased and partly because of doubts as to whether the expenditure on an annual conference was justified. The final decision, is, however, in the hands of this Conference.

Since Mrs. Helen Suzman presented the petition and the Charter for Women to Parliament last year, the Headquarters Region has been working for the adoption of the Charter by many women's and political organisations. The Charter has been widely distributed to a mailing list of about 250+ bodies. There have been many requests for the booklet "Who Cares", and for the pamphlet, from organisations and individuals all over the country.

Our members have addressed many meetings on the plight of African women. Mrs. Sheena Duncan has addressed innumerable meetings on the Charter and has trained a group of churchwomen to talk on the subject. These women have now gone out and themselves have addressed 17 meetings and church congregations in many parts of the Transvaal.

The Rev. David Russell's campaign to publicise the poverty and misery in the resettlement townships of Dimbaza and in other homeland settlements has met with support from the Black Sash. His correspondence with the Minister and Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was sent to our Charter mailing list as was his monthly open letter to the Minister.

In Johannesburg, several members of the Black Sash and other individuals lived on the government rations for the month of June.

The Rev. Russell's action has inspired us to greater efforts and we hope in the coming year to devote part of our activities to the

whole question of migrant labour, the separation of families, the lack of employment in these areas and the poverty and misery of those who are forcibly settled in them.

In several regions the Dimbaza rations were displayed in the churches during the week prior to Family Day. Clergy were approached and asked if they would mention in their sermons, on the Sunday before Family Day, the hardships of resettlement and the breaking up of African families. The region drew up a set of notes which was sent to the churches to assist them.

The trial of the Very Reverend G. A. French-Beytagh began on August 1, 1971 and lasted for three months. He was found guilty by the Judge President of the Transvaal of, inter alia, "inciting or encouraging persons present at a meeting of the Black Sash movement to contravene the laws of the Republic and to support and prepare for a violent revolution with the object of bringing about social, political and economic changes in the Republic".

As is now well known, on appeal the Dean was acquitted on all counts. Mrs. Barbara Waite and Mrs. Jean Sinclair attended the hearing in the Supreme Court, Pretoria throughout, and other members of the Black Sash were frequently in court. Mrs. Delia Gardner gave evidence in the Dean's defence. Another Black Sash member, Mrs. Stephanie van Heerden, was called as a witness for the State. She subsequently resigned from the Black Sash.

Jeanette Carlson left with her family for the United States in May 1971. She is very much missed by us all, but we wish her the best of luck. We are glad to learn that she has happily settled down in New York.

Mrs. Cherry Michelman has found a publisher for her book on the Black Sash. We hope it will be available in 1973.

The Bantu Welfare Trust has again given the Black Sash Advice Offices a grant of R2 000 for the year 1972-1973. We are most grateful for this grant. It is of great importance in helping these offices to meet the very considerable expenditure which they incur.

Jean Sinclair was invited to deliver the Dankie Oosthuizen Memorial Lecture at Rhodes University in August, 1971. She has also addressed students and a Progressive Party Branch meeting on the Pass Laws; and spoken about the Black Sash at two schools. In

August this year she addressed a meeting in Port Elizabeth. She also met the committee of Cape Eastern Region.

Mrs. Joyce Harris and Mrs. Sinclair were representatives on the Citizens' Hostels Action Committee. Joyce was the publicity officer and produced some excellent statements and articles for the Press.

The committee organised a petition and obtained 40 000 signatures. This, with a memorandum, was presented to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Dr. Koornhof, by a deputation from the committee.

The Minister was adamant that the Government hostel policy would continue, but said that no further hostels would be built at Alexandra in the immediate future. He said that the design and plan of the hostels were experimental.

During the last 19 months, 10 articles and 13 letters and statements were written for the Press.

A large number of visitors from overseas have visited our offices. A week rarely goes by without one or more visitors coming to the office. They have shown great interest in our work.

At the end of 1971 we said good-bye to our much-loved secretary, Mrs. Margaret Kirk, who after eight years of dedicated service felt she must retire from our hectic office. As she is a member, we have not lost touch and we meet at our various demonstrations and other activities.

Mrs. Penny Burrow, a long standing member of the Black Sash, has taken Mrs. Kirk's place and we are happy to have her with us.

Mrs. Angela Cobbett, for personal reasons, relinquished the post of magazine editor at the beginning of this year.

We thank her very much for having been Editor for a year.

We were very pleased that Mrs. Barbara Wilks was able to spend a few days in Johannesburg on her way to Europe. We are very sorry that she has left South Africa and she will be greatly missed at our conferences, as she will be by Cape Western Region. We wish her every happiness in the future.

Mrs. Bobby Johnston has told us that she is retiring from her office as National and Regional Secretary. For ten years she

has carried the arduous burden of running the office of Transvaal Region and National Headquarters. The Black Sash owes her a tremendous debt of gratitude for all that she has done.

Her efficiency, thoroughness, her fantastic memory and her continual hard work have been of inestimable value to all of us. No one can know how hard she has worked in organising our national conferences. The conference itself is endurance test and, apart from taking notes all day, she has typed them all night in order that we may have a record of the previous day's proceedings.

The tying up of the threads after conference and the typing of the final minutes has always been done so well and so unstintingly. We appreciate her personal sacrifice and the hard work which she has given to the Black Sash all these years.

We hope that she will now be able to attend our committee meetings with a feeling of relaxation and that she will benefit from the rest from the grinding responsibility of being secretary. We are pleased that we will not be deprived of her valuable contribution to the committee.

On behalf of the Headquarters Region, and I am sure that I speak for you all, we thank Bobbie most sincerely for all she has done for the Black Sash.

I thank our office secretary and the three members of our staff who do much for the running of the National Headquarters as well as working in the Advice Office. All the duplicating, posting of letters, wrapping up of parcels and endless trips to the post office. They all give untiringly of themselves in the interests of the Black Sash.

We also pay tribute to the English language Press and thank them for their kindness and helpful co-operation in giving us so much prominent space for our letters, statements and articles.

Obituary — Suzanne Stephen

“We must give thanks . . .”

SHEENA DUNCAN

Suzanne Stephen died in Johannesburg on November 7, at the age of 84.

What can one say about someone who began a whole new project at 72 and died 12 years later still working full-time at it, having seen it grow to maturity?

At the time of her death she had between 400 and 600 long-term prisoners, in prisons all over South Africa, enrolled in her correspondence school and hundreds of others had already passed through with various degrees of education.

This was her last great work but all her life had been spent in dedicated effort for other people.

We in the Black Sash only came to know Suzanne in the last phase of her life. We reaped the benefit of all the wisdom she had accumulated over the long years. She sat on the committee of the Transvaal Region. Her incisive mind cut through much of our verbose discussion to pin us down to the bedrock of human rights and Christian love.

Rarely does one meet such a dedicated person. She walked miles from Bertrams to the university to join our protest stands. Seven o'clock on cold winter mornings saw Suzanne standing outside the YMCA in Rissik Street at the long-drawn-out protest against the continuing detention of the 22.

At all-night vigils she was always there, however difficult it was for her. Others, who sent apologies because the car had broken down, felt humbled by the way in which she took it for granted that she could be at any given place as long as her legs would carry her. She brought to protest stands a tremendous spirituality which sanctified the purpose for which we stood and inspired those of us who stood with her.

Spirituality was perhaps her most fundamental characteristic but she was never sanctimonious. Love, tolerance and humour made her easy to be with.

Her generosity was overwhelming. If somebody gave her a winter coat she would say nobody needed two coats and would give the warmest away.

If someone gave her money she gave it away because she said she didn't need more than she had. In giving Suzanne something, one was always twice blessed because the greatest gift was to enable her to bestow something on someone else. She always gave all she had, of her spirit, of her mind, of her time, of laughter, of her material possessions, of herself.

Of herself she had much to give. She was a South African through and through, born and reared in South Africa's great farming hinterland.

She always chose the narrow way, the paths of righteousness, whatever the cost. She was an active member of the Liberal Party and her life was lived according to the grand principles of European liberalism at its purest and best.

She is mourned by thousands of people; all those who went through her prison school; those whom she taught in more conventional schools; those whom she nursed through illness; those with whom she worked in the Liberal Party and the Black Sash; those with whom she worshipped in the Religious Society of Friends and those whom she helped and counselled when she worked with the Quaker Service Fund; those with whom she lived; her family, her children, step-children, grandchildren and great grandchildren; her friends.

It is difficult to write of someone who was so truly good without sounding sentimental, a thing she would not have approved of at all. In any other country national honours would have been bestowed upon Suzanne in recognition of the service she rendered to her country and its people. Here we must be content to say that we loved her, and to give thanks for her great life.

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All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by S. Duncan, of 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

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