

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wages

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

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

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

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

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

Border-area Conditions

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

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

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

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

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

Detentions

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

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

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

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

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

Is Dr. Koornhof really going to tackle the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Estrangement

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

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

frankly — and rectified lest uncompromising crystallisation occurs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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