

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

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COVER PICTURE:

The last demonstration held by the Black Sash on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall, September, 1963. All "gatherings" in the vicinity of the City Hall have now been banned.

Except where otherwise stated, all political comment in this issue by E. D. Grant, 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

THE BLACK SASH



DIE SWART SERP

A Decisive Step

AT the Ninth Annual National Conference of the Black Sash held in Johannesburg in October, 1963, we decided to open the membership of our organization to all women of the Republic of South Africa. We believe that this was a wise decision, and the right decision for South Africa at this time.

We look upon the opening of our ranks as a firm declaration of our belief that the happy future of South Africa depends upon the trust and friendship which all South Africans should have for one another; that it is essential for people of all races and groups to meet and work together to ensure that this happy situation comes about.

During the course of our Conference, one of the foremost Johannesburg newspapers published a leading article which began with these words:

"The Black Sash, a unique phenomenon which at one time attracted world notice, inevitably moved out of the news with the passing of time, but has stubbornly refused to move out of existence. This is, perhaps, its most remarkable achievement."

We feel sure that the reason why the Black Sash has been able to remain in existence is that it has never flinched from facing difficulties, nor has it sought to evade them. It has moved with the times, and has taken courageous decisions when called upon to do so.

The decision to open our ranks was not lightly taken. It was preceded by years of earnest consideration and discussion, as we weighed up the pros and cons of this fundamental change in our constitution and its possible effects upon the work to which we have dedicated ourselves.

The Black Sash came into being in 1955 — because there was a need for it — in a spontaneous explosion of moral indignation caused by the passing of the Senate Act, that political

(Continued overleaf)

'n Beslissende Stap

OP die Negende Jaarkongres van die Swart Serp, gehou in Johannesburg in Oktober 1963, het ons besluit om die lidmaatskap van ons organisasie oop te stel aan alle vroue in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika. Ons glo dat dit op hierdie tydstip in Suid-Afrika, die regte en die wyse besluit was.

Hierdie oopstelling van ons geledere beskou ons as 'n positiewe verklaring van ons oortuiging dat die gelukkige toekoms van Suid-Afrika afhang van die vertrouwe en vriendskap wat alle Suid-Afrikaners vir mekaar behoort te hê, en dat ons hierdie gelukkige toestand kan bereik as alle rasse en groepe mekaar ontmoet en saamwerk.

Gedurende ons Konferensie het een van die vooraanstaande koerante in Johannesburg 'n inleiding geplaas wat as volg begin het:

"Die Swart Serp, 'n unieke verskynsel wat een tydstip wêreld aandag geniet het, het met die verloop van tyd vermydelik opgehou om die aandag van nuusblaaie te trek — maar dit het nooit opgehou om te bestaan nie. Dit is miskien sy merkwaardigste prestasie."

Ons voel oortuig daarvan dat die rede vir die voortbestaan van die Swart Serp is dat dit nooit terug gediens het in moeilikhede nie, en ook nie gepoog het om hulle te omseil nie. Die Swart Serp het pas gehou met die tyd en het moedige besluite geneem wanneer nodig.

Die besluit om lidmaatskap oop te stel is ook nie ligtelik geneem nie. Dit is voorafgegaan deur jare van ernstige oorweging en bespreking, waarin ons die voordele en nadele opgeweeg het van hierdie fundamentele verandering in ons grondwet, en die moontlike effek wat dit kon hê op die werk waaraan ons ons gewy het.

Die Swart Serp het sy ontstaan gehad in 1955 — omdat daar 'n behoefte aan was — in 'n spontane uitbarsting van morele verontwaardiging as gevolg van die Senaatwet, daardie slim politieke

(Vervolg omnesy)

A Decisive Step (Cont.)

manoeuvre which removed rights from South Africans of colour to the advantage of White South Africans, and made a mockery of the provisions of the South African Constitution. At that time, it seemed reasonable and proper to most of our members that the Black Sash should be an organization of women voters. They saw themselves as the conscience of the White electorate, whom they held primarily responsible for the state of affairs which had been allowed to develop in South Africa.

In the years that have followed, the Black Sash has continuously protested against political immorality and campaigned tirelessly for justice for all South Africans. In the course of this work, our members have learned, among other things, that the basic injustice in our country is the policy of discrimination on grounds of colour; and that while the rest of the world is rejecting racial and colour discrimination more and more, our country alone is intensifying it and perpetuating it by law.

With our own categorical rejection of the principle of racial discrimination came the question as to whether we could remain a body of voters — an organization of White women, since the South African franchise is restricted to Whites. There was a decided division of opinion among us on this question.

With the changing outlook of the whole world on racial matters, and with our own contacts across the colour line in South Africa, our outlook, too, had changed. We had come to realize that a happy and peaceful future for our country depended upon a broad concept of South African nationhood embracing all our peoples; and many of us felt that the Black Sash, which has always been in the van of public opinion in South Africa, should give expression to this concept by opening its ranks to all South African women. Yet, while they fully subscribed to the Black Sash rejection of colour prejudice and discrimination, many other members still sincerely believed that we would have a better chance of righting wrongs brought about by the arbitrarily enfranchised Whites if we remained the "conscience" of the White electorate, a voice of protest from within. They felt that as a group of privileged White women obviously seeking no material advantage for themselves in their work for justice, we would have greater strength than as a mixed group in

Dedication . . .

IN pride and humbleness we declare our devotion to the land of South Africa, we dedicate ourselves to the service of our country. We pledge ourselves to uphold the ideals of mutual trust and forbearance, of sanctity of word, of courage for the future, and of peace and justice for all persons and peoples. We pledge ourselves to resist any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us, and that history and our children will defend us.

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

'n Beslissende Stap (Verv.)

plan wat van Suid-Afrikaners van kleur regte ontnem het, en sodoende Blanke Suid-Afrikaners begunstig het, en 'n bespotting gemaak van ons Suid-Afrikaanse Grondwet. Op hierdie tydstip het dit redelik en passend gelyk, dat die Swart Serp 'n organisasie van vroue kiesers sou wees. Hulle het hulself beskou as die gewete van die Blanke kiesers wat, in hulle oë, verantwoordelik was vir die ontwikkeling van sake in Suid-Afrika.

In die daaropvolgende jare het die Swart Serp aanhoudend protesteer teen politieke immoraliteit, en onvermoeid geveg vir regverdigheid teenoor alle Suid-Afrikaners. In die loop van ons werk het ons lede o.a. besef dat die basiese onreg in ons land die beleid van diskriminasie op grond van kleur is, en terwyl die res van die wêreld ras- en kleur-diskriminasie meer en meer verwerp, is dit net ons land wat dit verskerp en deur wetgewing bestendig.

Met ons absolute verwerping van die prinsiep van rasse-diskriminasie, het die vraag ontstaan of

Toewydingsrede . . .

MET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land. Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf van onderlinge vertroue en verdraagsaamheid, van die onskendbaarheid van beloftes, van moed vir die toekoms, van vrede en regverdigheid teenoor alle persone en rasse. Ons beloop plegtig om ons te verset teen enige vermindering hiervan, oortuig dat hierdie plig ons opgelê is en dat die geskiedenis en ons kinders ons sal regverdig.

Mag God ons help, op Wie se krag ons ons verlaat.

which many women would be fighting to establish their own rights.

And after nearly four years of discussion and soul-searching, the issue was decided in October last year. By a majority of more than two-thirds, the Black Sash decided to open its ranks.

Many factors contributed to that final decision, not least among them being the ever-developing political consciousness of our members themselves. Our present members have learned much in their work for the Black Sash. In seeking to educate themselves politically, they have come to appreciate the value of determination and moderation, and, above all, of racial tolerance. We hope that our new members, too, will derive the same great benefit and satisfaction from their participation in the work of our organization.

In these difficult days, many South Africans are afraid to take their stand openly against injustice and political immorality. The example of the Black Sash protest is needed as never before. We appeal to all our members to re-dedicate themselves to the service of our cause, and help to make the voice of the Black Sash ring out fearlessly in 1964 in its protest against injustice.

ons kan voortgaan as 'n groep stemgeregtigtes — 'n organisasie van Blanke vroue, omdat die stemreg willekeurig tot Blankes beperk is. Op dié punt was daar skerp menings verskil.

Deur die verandering van uitkyk in die hele wêreld aangaande rasseaangeleenthede, en deur ons kontakte oor die kleurlyn in Suid-Afrika, het ons uitkyk ook verander. Ons het tot die besef gekom dat 'n gelukkige en vreedsame toekoms vir ons land afhang van 'n breë konsepie van die Suid-Afrikaanse nasie wat al ons mense sal insluit, en baie het gevoel dat die Swart Serp, wat nog altyd 'n leidende rol gespeel het in Suid-Afrikaanse publieke opinie, hier ook die voortou moet neem deur ons lidmaatskap vir alle Suid-Afrikaanse vroue oop te stel. En tog, terwyl alle lede ten volle die Swart Serp verwerping van kleur-diskriminasie onderskryf het, het baie opreg gemeen dat ons 'n beter kans sal hê om omregte waarvoor die Blankes (wie se stemreg op kleur gebaseer is) verantwoordelik is, reg te stel, as ons as "gewete" van die Blanke kiesers optree — 'n stem van protes van uit ons eie Blanke groep. Hulle het gevoel dat 'n groep Blanke vroue wat klaarblyklik geen persoonlike voordeel sou trek uit hulle stryd vir billikheid teenoor ander, in 'n sterker posisie sal wees dan 'n gemengde groep waarin baie vroue sou veg vir hulle eie regte.

Na vier jaar van bespreking en oorweging het ons die besluit in Oktober 1963 geneem. Met 'n meerderheid van meer dan twee-derdes het die Swart Serp besluit om sy geledere oop te stel.

Baie faktore het bygedra tot hierdie finale besluit, nie die minste daarvan synde die steeds ontwikkelende politieke bewussyn van ons lede. Die huidige lede het baie geleer in hulle werk in die Swart Serp. In hulle strewe na politieke ontwikkeling, het hulle die waarde van vasberadenheid en gematigheid en, bo alles, verdraagsaamheid, besef. Ons hoop dat nuwe lede ook dieselfde voordeel en bevrediging sal ondervind in die werk van ons organisasie.

In hierdie moeilike dae, is baie Suid-Afrikaners bang om openlik teen onreg en politieke immoraliteit te stry. Die voorbeeld van die Swart Serp is dus nog meer dan voorheen nodig. Ons doen 'n beroep op al ons lede om hulle op nuut te wy aan die diens om ons doel te bereik en sodoende die stem van die Swart Serp teen onreg sonder vrees te laat hoor in 1964.

THE BLACK SASH AND PUBLIC OPINION

by JEAN SINCAIR

PEAK HOUR in a big city. . . . The solid lines of traffic move slowly through the streets, and hurrying pedestrians jostle their way along the pavements. All is movement and bustle . . . only a group of women standing silently on the steps of a public building remain motionless.

Once again the women of the Black Sash are standing in silent protest against injustice and discrimination in their country. Why do they do it? What do they hope to achieve by their protests?

The Black Sash holds these silent stands because its members feel very deeply the harshness of the mass of laws which discriminate on the grounds of colour, and which are unjust, inhuman and cruel in their application. Many of these laws are the negation of the rule of law, are totalitarian in concept and are in conflict with the ordinary principles of civilized government.

Morally wrong

The Black Sash believes that is morally wrong to separate a man from his wife and family, to restrict his freedom of movement or to prevent him from earning his living in the area and in the employment of his choice; that it is neither just nor equitable to prevent a man by law from becoming skilled, to deny him all rights of collective bargaining, to exclude him by reason of his race from various categories of employment, and to close to him all legitimate avenues of protest. All these things are done to-day in our name, as White citizens of South Africa. There are many more laws which have been imposed to enforce the ideology of apartheid, and with every year that passes further restrictions are introduced to bolster up an unenforceable policy which has patently already failed.

Sorrow and human suffering

Women of the Black Sash come into contact with many of the people who are affected by these harsh laws, and we well know the sorrow and human suffering which result from their application. For this reason we feel we have no alternative but to protest, and we have been doing so constantly for upwards of eight years. Our experiences have frequently caused us to wonder why White South Africans, most of whom profess to be Christians, are so little affected

by the fact that so many of their fellow citizens are suffering this very real burden of poverty and oppression.

We watch the expressions on the faces of those who pass by our silent demonstrations, and are distressed to notice the ever-increasing apathy and the apparent desire to escape from reality, the ever-increasing tendency to accept without question the tragic and mistaken doctrine propagated by the present Government, that White survival demands these unchristian measures.

The public as a whole appears to us to fall into clearly defined groups, and it seems easy to imagine what is going through their minds as they pass the women silently standing in protest.

Dedicated Nationalist

Firstly, there is the dedicated Nationalist who believes that the policy of this Government is the only solution to South Africa's problems. He regards the Non-White, regardless of his education, as having an inferior intellect, and he does not think of the Black man as a person who has the same instincts, desires, virtues, failings, fears and pride as all other human beings. He believes that it was by Divine Will that the Afrikaner-volk came to the tip of Africa to maintain White civilization, but accepts that the South African economy would collapse if the Black man's unskilled labour were to be withdrawn. He is therefore prepared to allow him to live and work in the White areas as long as his labour is required to keep the wheels of industry turning. This concession, of course, carries with it no personal liberty or individual rights. The Nationalist resents opposition to Government policy and believes that all those who do not agree with it are un-South African, and "liberalists or communists" (both words have



**Mrs. Jean
Sinclair,
National
President
of
The Black Sash.**

the same meaning), and therefore a danger to the State.

Immature . . . and abusive

There are the immature types who express their disapproval by sneering and jibing. They like to give the impression that they pity women who are so stupid and ignorant and do not realize what they are doing. Most in this category are young people, the first generation of indoctrinated children.

There are those who hurl insults and use obscene and abusive language. A demonstration throws them into a paroxysm of rage. The fact that there is a group of people who hold opinions different from their own seems in itself subversive, disturbs their comfortable equilibrium and must not be allowed. They profess to be anti-communist, and yet they use and approve of methods of coercion which are the stock-in-trade of the Soviet bloc. They are bullies whose lives are governed by hatred and fear. It is difficult to understand how people who believe that they belong to a master race can behave in a manner so uncouth and savage that they spit at women, throw obscene missiles, and use language which it is seldom the lot of respectable persons to hear. They hate all those in opposition groups; they hate the Africans, the Indians and the Coloureds; they hate the "Engelse pers," the United Nations, the British, the Dutch and the Swedes; in fact, they appear to hate everybody and everything except that section of the people which subscribes to the fascist ideal. Racial prejudice and hate are the twin phobias which are destroying these people, and if they continue to maintain these unchristian attitudes, they may well in the end destroy the White civilization they seek to preserve.

No interest in politics

There are many people who, we imagine, feel that the most effective method of demonstrating their disapproval is to ignore us completely. At least this is comparatively courteous, and they, like all of us, are entitled to their opinions. These are the people who pride themselves on taking no interest in politics, and they seem to have only one desire: to be left alone to live their lives as they have always done, and as their fathers did before them.

A few more years of privilege

By far the largest group consists of those who are genuinely worried about the South African situation. For various reasons they are not prepared to take any action, or to be associated in any way with political activity or with people who are concerned with it.

As they walk or drive past a demonstration they take a quick look to see "what the women are complaining about now"; they read the posters and hastily look away. In their own minds, perhaps, they justify their attitudes and seek excuses for turning a blind eye to injustice. They fervently hope that the strong measures which have been adopted by the Government will ensure a few more years during which they can continue to enjoy their privileges and comfort, and perhaps by then the whole thing will have blown over!

These are the people who voice the thoughts so peculiar to White South Africa: "The natives in South Africa are better off than they are anywhere else on the continent of Africa . . . If you gave the Blacks a vote the Whites would be swamped—look at Ghana, Kenya, the Congo, Rhodesia . . . people overseas don't understand . . . after all the pass laws are there for their own protection,"—and so on.

A change of heart

Finally, there is the small band of people who have already made up their minds. Most of them did so many years ago and have been working for a change of policy and a change of heart among White South Africans. To these people we extend our thanks and appreciation for the support they give us. A smile, a kindly word, a man who passes with his hat in his hand—these small gestures are of tremendous encouragement to the Black Sash.

(Continued overleaf)

Yet in the short space of the eight years of our activity it has been distressing to note how many South Africans have lost heart, have succumbed to the unceasing propaganda put out by the Government and its press and radio, and are no longer shocked or angered by legislation which a few years ago would have stirred them into vigorous protest.

We do appeal most earnestly to those among us who are disturbed about the crisis in South

Africa to come out and make their voices heard, to work for justice and humanity, to face the reality of the serious situation and to accept the change which will inevitably come, by preparing now to share what South Africa has to offer* with all her citizens. We beg them primarily to try to rid themselves of prejudice, and to root out unjust discrimination wherever it is to be found. The Black Sash sees this as the only solution and the only hope for a peaceful and stable future for our country.

BLACK SASH CROSSWORD PUZZLE

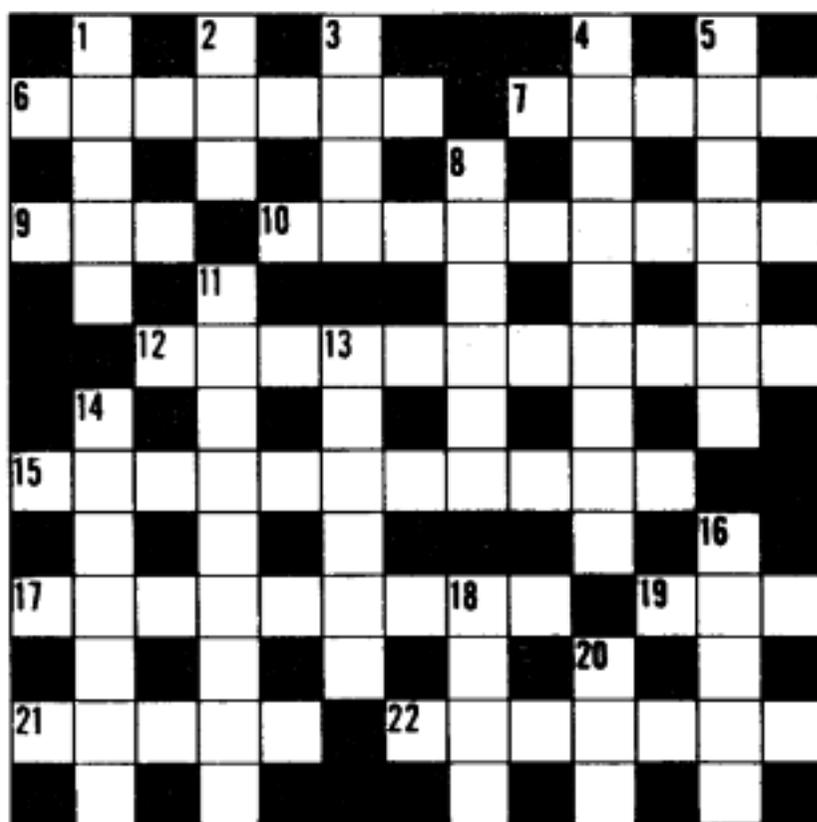
ACROSS

6. Although she evidently drops her aitches, Archy takes her for some target practice — but not in a pistol club! (7).
7. Southern Rhodesia would forge a hostile weapon if she incorporated Mozambique, in a way. (5).
9. An electrifying unit and a small member of Parliament? Obviously Mrs. Helen Suzman! (3).
10. A notion as fantastic as those produced by opium — like 17 across, perhaps. (9).
12. Describes any piece of legislation (Job Reservation, for instance) designed by Whites to preserve White privilege. (1, 7, 3).
15. The Chinese are regarded as this in certain quarters, although now many of them are Red. (6, 5).
17. A dream world in which one confused little Nationalist is a bus meets another retracing his steps. (9).
19. Pa's not a Nationalist, and in the Platteland he's still regarded in retrospect as a member of this, his old party.
21. Soothe the people's troubled spirit, but take nought away. (5).
22. Surely one could describe boerewors as an established South African custom? (7).

DOWN

NOTE. Clues 1, 4, 14 and 11, in that order, plus two articles, form a well-known Black Sash Slogan. (5, 9, 7, 9).

1. Without the A.A. in America, lawlessness would be chaotic. (5).
2. A postal device now out of date in South Africa is singularly electrical here. (3).
3. A disorderly ride for three in Germany. (4).



4. An official South African policy based on that hated pair — racial discrimination and White privilege. (9).
5. Will evil spread about a banned organization help us to preserve our equilibrium? (7).
8. Perhaps, for the good of South Africa, some of Mr. Eric Louw's colleagues might like to follow his example? (6).
11. Is it of significance for South Africa that such solitary confinement is usually ordered in cases of infectious and dangerous disease? (9).
13. The Western countries, as referred to in Fanagalo, seem most depressed. (6).
14. Here's punishment a-plenty! (7).
16. An African township outside Cape Town. (5).
18. The common ancestor of men of all races. (4).
20. A serpentine member of 19 across? (3).

(Solution on Page 32)

BANTUSTANS — FACT OR FALLACY?

by P. V. PISTORIUS

Professor of Greek, Pretoria University

(By courtesy of the "Rand Daily Mail")

IT is commonly known that the Government bases its whole racial policy on the creation of African homelands which are to be politically and economically so strong that they can ultimately become independent states. Responsible leaders of the National Party have always said that no individual or group can permanently be denied full political and economic rights, and the policy of separate development must consequently be judged by its ability to provide these rights. If it cannot provide them, the policy must collapse and should therefore be rejected before it is too late.

IN this article I shall discuss those two facets. Can the African homelands become independent political units and can these units be economically viable?

There are 160 separate reserves in South Africa. Obviously there cannot be 160 independent states, and a look at the map of the African areas as supplied by the Tomlinson Report makes it equally obvious that the majority of these isolated reserves cannot be incorporated into larger units. That immediately disposes of these territories. Under the policy of separate development they can never enjoy full political rights.

The only areas which can remotely be taken into account as possible future states are (i) the Transkei, (ii) Zululand, (iii) the Ciskei, (iv) the territory in the far north-east of the Transvaal inhabited by the Venda in the west, the Tsonga in the east and by a Sothu-speaking tribe in the south, and (v) the scattered areas in the Western Transvaal, inhabited by Africans who belong historically, linguistically and culturally to the same complex as the people of Bechuanaland.

No Zulustan

A Bantustan has already been established in the Transkei, and for argument's sake we shall accept the possibility that it can become politically viable.

In Zululand the possibility of a Zulustan can be ruled out, and that seems to be the impression in official circles also. There are several reasons why this is so. In the first place, otherwise than in the Transkei, the chiefs are unwilling to co-operate.

During the first half of 1963 the council of chiefs was asked by the Government to co-operate in the first steps towards the establishment of a Zulustan. But they made their co-operation conditional on a referendum of all the Zulu people on the issue.

Upon that the Government dropped the matter like a hot brick, and soon afterwards it was officially announced that for the present no further Bantustans were being envisaged. Other factors may have played a part in the decision, but one feels that if the Government had been sure that the rank and file of Africans were favourably disposed towards separate development, it would have seized the opportunity to demonstrate this fact to the world by a referendum of the people concerned. It therefore obviously realizes that the Africans do not want separate development.

But a second and far more potent reason why there can never be a Zulustan is that the reserves in Natal are scattered from the Portuguese border in the north right down to the Cape border in the south. Large-scale consolidation of territories would have been necessary, involving the expropriation of vast and costly White-owned land, and this would have meant the isolation of the whole Natal coastal strip from the rest of the country.

The Tomlinson Report in fact states that separate development cannot be implemented without

(Continued overleaf)

such consolidation. It says: "Save for a few blocks such as the Transkei and Vendlan, the Bantu areas are so scattered that they form no foundation for community growth." (Page 181, section 13 of the report.)

Consolidation would entail vast purchases of White-owned land, and the Government has already said that no further land will be bought for Africans beyond the 1936 arrangements. The inevitable conclusion is that the Government has no intention of establishing Bantustans in the scattered areas.

No further Bantustan

That immediately also disposes of the reserves in the Western Transvaal. In fact, the Tomlinson Report made it clear that separate development in this area would be possible only if Bechuanaland were joined to South Africa or at least large portions of it ceded to us. In the present international atmosphere that possibility can be ruled out, and in any case it would have required large purchases of White-owned land in order to incorporate large isolated reserve blocks.

The Ciskei has not been seriously considered as a Bantustan. It is less than a quarter of the size of the Transkei and has about one fifth of the population of that territory. Its natural resources are small. The Tomlinson Report recommended that the Ciskei be incorporated into the Transkei, but that has not been done, and in view of its isolated situation it could hardly be done.

That leaves only the area in the Northern Transvaal. Actually there are five large and a number of smaller reserves in this region, but vast tracts of White-owned land would have to be bought up in case of consolidation, and this the Government will not do. Not one single reserve is large enough to be viable. The largest block is the one inhabited by the Venda-Tsongo-Sotho groups, but the independence of this small, heterogeneous area is unthinkable.

The Tomlinson Commission was well aware that the Transkei was the only possible Bantustan within the present map of South Africa, and it recommended "the legislative declaration of all European areas and Crown lands which may be

No right-thinking person who has made a study of all that "separate development" involves can deny that it entails injustice, cruelty, unbrotherliness, the refusal to accord human dignity to our fellows, superiority, and group selfishness.—Rev. S. P. Freeland.



"Phew! For a moment there I thought the Volkswil was going to turn out to be the Volkswon't!"

David Marais (*Cape Times*)

situated within the (proposed consolidated) Bantustans as Bantu exchange land, and of all the Bantu areas outside the seven (proposed consolidated) blocks as European exchange land." (Page 162 section 30 of Report.) It also recommended the exchange of White spots in the Transkei for Black spots in Natal.

In other words, except for the Transkei, no further Bantustan is possible without vast and arbitrary population resettlements involving Whites as well as Blacks and the purchase of large tracts of land, and involving also the annexation of British territories. These conditions are so unlikely that they scarcely merit argument. They are either against stated Government policy or against international reality.

The mountain laboured . . .

The whole grandiose plan, for the foreseeable future, affects only the 1,380,000 people of the Transkei, and they are only 13 per cent. of the total African population of the country. When Government leaders and Nationalist supporters talk of full political self-determination for Africans in their own areas they are referring, in reality, only to one-eighth of the Africans. The other seven eighths are excluded.

The granite mountain of separate development has been in labour, and this is the mouse that has been born. If it is true what Government spokesmen say — and I agree completely with them — that we cannot indefinitely deny political rights to individuals or groups, the problem of ten million Africans and of two million Coloureds and Indians remains unanswered and untouched.

In the sphere of political self-determination for Africans, Coloureds and Indians, the policy of separate development has reached the end of its tether. It has produced the Transkei and it can produce no more. Its one asset is the Transkeian shop window. There will, so far as can be seen, be no further Bantustans. What of its promises in the economic field?

Two vital recommendations

The Tomlinson Report made several points very clear, and the most important was that the development of the reserves only in the primary sector — agriculture, forestry and mining — would not meet the case. "Planning in the primary sector will make possible a collective carrying capacity (of all the reserves) of about 2.4m — agriculture 2.1m, forestry 0.16m and mining 0.1m." (Page 179, section 10 of Report). This means that if development were to be limited to this sector, the reserves could hold about one-fifth of the present African population of South Africa, and what is more, hold them in a backward, subsistence and peasant economy. For the other four fifths there would be no livelihood in the reserves, let alone an economic future.

The second point made clear by the Report is that secondary industry would have to be established in the Reserves at a rapid rate. "The most important factor involved is that work will have to be provided for 20,000 Bantu annually (in the reserves) in secondary industry." (page 184, section 6). For this, White capital and participation would be essential, the report states.

The Government has rejected these two vital recommendations.

A crippling blow

No private investment from outside the reserves is allowed, and the Government has limited its own investment in the area almost entirely to agricultural development. But even if such agricultural development should reach its optimum (and in fact little enough has been done even here), all the reserves in South Africa together would offer a livelihood to at most a little under two and a half million Africans. This figure will naturally become a decreasing proportion as the total African population of South Africa increases. Towards 1980, for example, there would still be at most 2.4 million Africans in the reserves, and about 13.5 million in the White-owned areas, mostly the cities.

. . . OF SLIPS AND CLUES AND KNEELING BLACKS, AND LITTLE TRANSKEI KINGS . . .

by MARGARET ORPEN

(Sunday Times)

"WON'T you walk a little Vorster?" said
the Waring to the Nel,
"There's a Keevy just behind me looking for
a Poqo cell.
My Ministry has got to get its information
out
On Freedom in the Transkei that we hear so
much about.
Will you, won't you, will you, won't you give
the facts to me,
For suitable adjustment for our friends across
the sea?"

★

"It's no good asking me, you know," Nel
peevisly replied
"I can't be held responsible for what goes on
inside.
Describe the happy voters in their pretty
tribal dress
(Whose multiracial tendencies, of course, you
must suppress).
In fact, just tell the doubting World, in
letters big and bold,
They're absolutely free to do exactly as
they're told!"

[With apologies to Lewis Carroll]

To understand more clearly what a crippling blow the Government dealt the economic life of the reserves when it limited development there to the agricultural sector and refused entry to capital from outside, one need think only what the situation in say the Transvaal or Free State would have been if, after the Anglo-Boer War, Britain had prohibited the entry of all investment capital into the two provinces. Our development would have been crippled. The situation in the reserves is much worse, since there is no previous development to build on.

To see what the result of this restrictive policy has been, one can turn to the Transkei, which is regarded as the most developed of the African reserves.

(Continued overleaf)

In a booklet recently published by the State Information Department it is said that there are 64 secondary industry units in the Transkei with a gross output of R1,591,000 per annum. That means a *per capita* output of about one rand per annum, which is of course negligible. But an analysis of these "units" shows that they are services rather than industries. They include dry-cleaners, bakeries, grain mills, and smithies. They are almost exclusively White-owned. There is one sizeable furniture factory in Umtata.

In the field of agriculture the picture is as dreary. Government publications say that the annual yield of field crops in the Transkei is 1,708,000 bags of mealies, 58,000 bags of kaffir-corn, 1,000 bags of winter cereals and 24,000 bags of legumes. When one divides that by the number of inhabitants, it works out to a *per capita* yield of slightly more than a bag of mealies, nine pounds weight of kaffir-corn, a few ounces of winter cereals and about four pounds of legumes per annum. The value of the gross annual income from this source would be about R9 per person per annum.

As second largest source of income the booklet mentions sales of livestock, which in 1960 yielded R329,000. That gives a gross annual income per person per annum of less than 25 cents.

Starvation economy

Further statistical data supplied by the State Information Office show that there are in the Transkei 2,200,000 sheep, yielding about 4,335,000 lb. of wool per annum, and 1,014,000 goats, yielding 58,000 lb. of mohair, which means an average per person of less than two sheep and less than four lb. of wool, less than one goat and less than one ounce of mohair per person per annum. There are also 76,000 horses and 515,000 pigs in the Transkei, giving each Transkeian the produce and use of one eighteenth part of a horse and less than half a pig. There is also a dairy scheme which yielded R16,000 in 1960, giving an annual income per person of one cent.

The only other territorial income is from wages paid for workers on agricultural development, but this has no future industrial significance, except for agriculture. At its optimum it will allow 2.4 million Africans to subsist in all the reserves together, which means about 600,000 people in the Transkei, as against its present population of 1,380,000.

We hear of large African towns being built. There is nothing of that in the Transkei, since these towns are nothing more than the African townships around our cities to house workers. The only difference is that they are built on tiny reserves near the cities instead of on White territory, as is the case with, say, Meadowlands. They are meant for border industries. The main ones are Garankuwa in Pretoria North, Kwa-Mashu near Durban, the one planned for Slangspruit near Pietermaritzburg, and the one in the reserve at the very gates of East London. Such towns have not the slightest bearing on the economic development of the Transkei or of any of the main reserves.

In this starvation economy one could wonder how to explain the information given us in this Government booklet that there are 700 Bantu businesses in the Transkei. Where do the Transkeians get the money from with which to buy?

Migrant labour

The answer is indirectly given in the booklets themselves. We are told that private corporations and Government bureaux annually recruit 160,000 Africans from the Transkei alone to work in the White cities. That means 11.5% of the population. We do not know how many escape over the borders and enter the White areas illegally, but the fact is that the Transkei is wholly dependent on the proceeds of migrant labour. The effect of Government policy is a complete absence of industrial employment in the reserves. When the young Transkeian is eighteen years old he either has to leave his homeland or else see himself and his family starve. The policy of separate development, far from being an instrument to bring Africans back to their homelands, is in effect a compulsion on them to leave it.

Futile policy of separate development

That is the answer to those who speak of Africans serving their people in their own areas as skilled workers or leaders. That is how futile this policy of separate development is. It is definitely not separate, since it compels the African to leave his own area and come to the cities. Neither is it development, since by the embargo on investment capital industrialisation is made impossible.

That is the philosophy on the basis of which more and more people flock to the polls in support of the present Government. That is the background against which the much-vaunted Transkei elections should be seen.

RELATIVE AFRICAN POVERTY

by MARGARET ROBERTS

Vice-Chairman of Cape Western Region
of The Black Sash



DR. VERWOERD, at the first and last Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference he ever attended, boasted that South Africa's Black population enjoyed the highest material standards in Africa. This was his way of defending the system that denies Black South Africans any voice in the making of the laws governing them, equal protection of the laws, and the most elementary civil liberties, such as the right of acquiring or occupying private property, or seeking and performing such work as they are fitted for. Whether Dr. Verwoerd actually attributed the alleged affluence of his Black compatriots to this system of helotry for the benefit of a White master class is not clear. But whatever he meant, it sounded good, apparently, to the many apologists for "the South African way of life", who have been smugly quoting it ever since.

Desperate poverty

It is my object to inquire into the substance of this boast; and I suggest that such inquiry reveals that (1), desperate poverty is the lot of the vast majority of Black South Africans; (2), poor as most of Africa is, there is no reliable evidence of the relative affluence of Black South Africans; and (3), most important of all, poverty in the rest of Africa is due largely to economic conditions that are extremely difficult to combat, whereas in South Africa it is largely the result of deliberate official policy.

Little space need be wasted on the first of these propositions. Figures are hardly necessary to confirm the evidence of our own eyes if we care — or can bear — to keep them open. Pot-bellied, spindle-legged, naked Black children, ragged and half-starved adults, miserable shacks and hovels — these are familiar sights, especially in the country areas.

Revealing figures

Nor do the figures, if insisted upon, belie the evidence of our eyes. For more than a dozen years after the last war, the real wages of Africans employed in industry and commerce rose not at all, despite an annual rise in the national income of nearly 4% and an overall rise in these years in White wages of nearly 36%. Since 1958, and particularly since 1960, there has been some increase in African wages, but on the whole they remain deplorably low — in the neighbourhood of

an average of R31 per month, as against a minimum requirement of about R50 per month to maintain a family of five in health on the barest necessities.

These figures relate to the *best-paid* African workers, whose minimum wages are regulated by wage determinations or industrial agreements (to which, of course, they are excluded by law from being parties). But what of the vast majority, whose wages, whether in cash or kind, are not regulated by law? On the gold mines, for instance, average **cash** wages are about R9 to R12 per month. The worker himself, of course, receives compound accommodation, medical attention and food; but it is from the cash wage that he must feed his family, and, having regard to soaring living costs, it is safe to assume that this is no higher than before the war.

Figures of farm earnings are difficult to obtain, but a survey conducted on behalf of the Institute of Race Relations in 1957-1958 in the Albany and Bathurst districts disclosed an average of some R18 in **cash and kind** for a family of six. This included *everything*, such as the casual earnings of women and children and even casual gifts of cast-off clothing. Miserable as this level is, it is almost certainly considerably above what the great majority of farm-labour families receive.

Infant mortality rates, especially in the rural areas, can be described only as murderous. The high incidence of deficiency diseases such as kwashiorkor, gastro-enteritis and tuberculosis is the constant theme of health officers everywhere in South Africa.

(Continued overleaf)

"Disinherited majority" of the human race

It is, of course, a commonplace that grinding poverty has been the lot of the vast majority of humankind throughout the ages. As a result of the industrial revolution — although not really until our own generation — a significant minority of mankind, inhabiting North America, Western Europe, Australia, and New Zealand, have achieved minimum standards of living that are reasonably adequate in terms of nutrition, clothing, shelter, medical attention and modest amenities for recreation and entertainment. Other considerable minorities, inhabiting South America and Eastern and Southern Europe, are at least within sight of the achievement of comparable standards, though still lagging far behind. But some two-thirds of humanity — the inhabitants of Africa and the teeming millions of Asia — as yet little benefitted by the economic results of the Industrial Revolution, yet experiencing a "population explosion" prevented by modern science and a civilized world order from being neutralized by the age-old "correctives" of famine and epidemic and wars of extermination, continue to live in conditions of primordial poverty.

It is impossible to give a thumb-nail impression of the poverty, degradation and misery of this disinherited majority of the human race. It must suffice to indicate that their average *per capita* income is 40 dollars per annum, which means less than R11 per month for a family of five.

Two important factors

Now it is quite true that this average figure does fall below such rough estimates as can be made for the Africans in South Africa. But in this connection there are two extremely important factors to be borne in mind. The first is that, in addition to the inherent infirmity of averages as a true index of the actual living standards of hundreds of millions of people, an attempt to reduce such averages to monetary terms necessarily leaves out of account important factors in the needs of the peoples concerned. Take, for instance, the need for clothing. On this item alone, the necessary expenditure of an African fisherman on the shores of Lake Tanganyika is likely to be far less than that of an African industrial worker in Cape Town, especially an inhabitant of a winter-flooded area on the Cape Flats. Expenditure on shelter clearly varies with the same factor of climate. And whatever the world price of coconuts or bananas, the basis food needs of a Central African peasant, upon whose homestead allotment these commodities grow in natural profusion, are likely to present somewhat different obstacles to their satisfaction from those confronting a landless peasant in the Transkei, dependent on cash remittances from a migrant labourer in far-off Johannesburg.



H. WINDER

(Sunday Times)

Rough comparisons

No doubt the learned statisticians who deal in "averages" affecting two-thirds of living humanity attempt to take all factors such as these into account. Yet they would be the first to admit the intrinsic inadequacy of the data at their disposal for this purpose. Indeed, nothing more than a rough comparison of relative general living standards as between developed and undeveloped countries can be deduced from estimates of this kind, and they certainly provide no scientific basis for the claims of Dr. Verwoerd in enlarging upon the high living standards, which, according to him, his Government is responsible for affording the Black people of our own country.

Even if there were reliable evidence to support a boast of the comparative affluence of Black South Africans, its fundamental premise is a bogus one. The true test of the adequacy of the living standards of any people is not comparison with those of the populations of lands less favourably endowed by nature, or whose historic legacy is less rich, but the use made of concrete resources, in terms of natural endowment and the industry and accumulations of preceding generations, of the country which such a people inhabit.

South Africa richly endowed

That South Africa is richly endowed, both by nature and by the application, over many generations, of the skill and enterprise of its White population and the labour of its patient and conscientious non-White people, there can be no

doubt. It is now more than twenty years since the Van Eck Commission reported that South Africa "ranks with the limited number of countries in which the essential minerals for heavy industry are present in large quantities", in which "in many respects a natural basis exists for manufacturing industries", and which "possesses a considerable labour force suitable for industrial work provided proper training is made available".

It is the deliberate policy of this Government to waste and dissipate these resources by refusing to make "available" the "proper training" of the vast majority of our people — those with Black skins. The last thing Dr. Verwoerd and his Government are concerned about is the development of the matchless resources of our motherland by the joint efforts and for the joint benefit of White and Black alike. So long as the White — especially the "Afrikaner" in this regime's special exclusive meaning of the word — can remain "baas", and the Black an alien helot, that is all that matters.

United Nations' measures

Contrast this with the rest of Africa and with the civilized nations of Western Christendom in their attitude to its difficulties. The problem of poverty is a terrible one and is recognized as such throughout the Christian West, and in the councils of the United Nations.

That problem has been closely investigated and faced, and measures are being formulated to deal with it. Briefly it is that the *per capita* income of the backward countries of Africa and Asia is less than a tenth of that of the developed countries of the West. But this is only the beginning of the problem. In Africa, for instance, the population is growing at the rate of about 2% per annum. It has been calculated that a minimum of saving and investment of 3% of the annual national income is needed to raise such income by 1%. Hence at least 6% of the national income must be saved and invested annually to secure even the existing very low standard of living. But a poor country with a largely subsistence economy has great difficulty in achieving this. And if the standard of living is to be raised, obviously a considerably higher rate of investment must be achieved.

At present, some 4,000 million dollars represents the total of Western aid to and investment in backward countries. Mr. Paul Hoffman, director of the United Nations Special Fund for this purpose, estimates that a further 3,000 million is needed to increase the *per capita* income by two per cent. per annum. It is along these lines that civilization is proceeding. It will involve astronomical sums representing not only investment expenditure on which a return can be expected, but, to a greater extent still, outright aid, as a means to the survival of the majority of mankind.

South Africa's "manifest destiny"

What part is Dr. Verwoerd, with his colleagues in government, playing this great enterprise of humanity, world co-operation, and, ultimately, world peace? The answer, of course, is precisely **nothing**. Not only is he strangling the productive resources of our own country, but — and perhaps this is a concomitant — he is deliberately abstaining from committing our country to the fulfillment of its "manifest destiny": the raising up of the African continent and its integration into the civilization of the West. This would be to the great benefit of South Africa, both directly in terms of markets and new fields of investment, and, more important still, by way of contribution to the cause of "peace on earth and goodwill towards men".

Essentially Africa is, and must increasingly develop as, an economic unit. Dr. Verwoerd ill serves his own country when he seeks to draw contrasts — especially highly doubtful ones — between the local and the external standards of living. For it is a reality of economics no less than it is a reality of any civilized way of life, that we are indeed "members one of another". Here in Africa we are witnessing a continent in labour. A young giant, still half confined in the womb of history, is struggling to be born. Our own country is suited by every qualification — geographical, economic, ethnic — to serve as midwife at that birth.

But if we turn away from this historic task in pettiness and bitterness and fear, we shall indeed incur the wrath of the gods who have called us to so high a destiny. We shall find that in shrinking from participation in the splendid agony of birth, we shall have chosen for ourselves the agony of inglorious death.

INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY

THE Minister of Finance, Dr. Dönges, deprecates the granting of higher wages unless they are accompanied by an increase in productivity.

I should like to know if Members of Parliament, when they voted themselves an increase in salary (largely untaxable), were concerned about their increased productivity. Or do they consider that their higher salary was justified because the passing of such laws as the 90-day detainee fell under "increased productivity?"

And then there are the provincial councillors. They increase their salaries, but sit on fewer occasions each year. How does this square with increased productivity?

(From a letter in the "Rand Daily Mail")

WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS DOING

by JENNY K. ROBERTSON, M.A.

Consultant, United Nations Association of
Southern Africa

WHAT DO WE KNOW about the United Nations? South Africans in general know very little about this world organization, apart from what they read in newspaper reports of the attacks made on our country's policies in the General Assembly. They have little knowledge or understanding of the vast programme of constructive work undertaken by the United Nations Organization in quest of world peace.

In the following pages, Mrs. Robertson gives an authoritative and detailed account of the present work of the organization and the human problems it is attempting to solve, not least of which is the problem of world-wide poverty and hunger commented upon by Mrs. Margaret Roberts in the preceding article.

THE three D's: Disarmament, Decolonization and Development, characterized the Eighteenth General Assembly of the United Nations in the closing months of 1963. Each of these carries out a main purpose of the Organization as set out in its Charter of 1945.

DISARMAMENT

The foremost aim, "to maintain international peace and security," in the effort to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," is seriously affected by the piling up of armaments, particularly nuclear weapons in the last decade. This has reached the sinister absurdity of "overkill", the nuclear capacity to kill more than once. One bomb on Hiroshima killed 100,000 people. It is estimated that, based on this "Hiroshima equivalent", the United States could "overkill" Russian cities 1,250 times, allowing for 50 per cent. failure to reach the target, and the Soviet Union could "overkill" American cities 145 times on a similar reckoning.¹

The possibility of such a cataclysm actually occurring was brought home to an awe-struck world when in the Cuban crisis the two nuclear giants of our time confronted one another. The display of power coupled with wise restraint in its use by President John F. Kennedy, and the corresponding willingness to come to terms on the part of Chairman Khrushchev, together with the offer of his good offices by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, brought the world back from the brink of nuclear war. Since then, even military experts being seemingly convinced

that there is no "ultimate weapon" by which a nation can be protected, the opposite path of creating friendliness has been followed, resulting in the partial bomb-test ban of August 5, 1963, between the United States, the Soviet Union and the Kingdom, the establishment of permanent telecommunication between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and scientific co-operation between them in space research.

The nuclear test-ban treaty, prohibiting nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space, has been signed by some one hundred nations, came into effect on October 10, 1963, and was formally registered with the United Nations on October 15. Discussion in the First Committee (Political and Security) of the General Assembly centred round a resolution asking the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee to continue "with a sense of urgency" negotiations to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons, with reference to underground tests.

The benefits of disarmament

The benefits of disarmament have been set forth in a report of the Economic and Social Council of the U.N., endorsed by the General Assembly on December 18, 1962. The economists who drew it up came from ten countries with different types of economies and political systems, but they declared that the achievement of general and complete disarmament "would be an unqualified blessing to all mankind". Shortages in skilled manpower could be met by the release of trained persons from the production of armaments, the

¹ 'H'-Bomb War and SANE WORLD, quoted in NEW WORLD, June, 1963.

need of the under-developed countries for training in agriculture and industry could be filled by the funds and trained personnel now used for weapons of war. The key to avoiding serious dislocation and depressions during any process of disarmament lies in advance planning and international co-operation.

As the 18-Nation Committee on Disarmament (France has not attended) meets after a five-month interval on 21st January, 1964 in Geneva, the international climate is thus more favourable for progress towards agreed measures of disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field. General disarmament is not likely to be attained while Mainland China is an unknown factor.

DECOLONIZATION

On June 30, 1936, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, appealed to the League of Nations for help against the Italian invaders. Speaking to the General Assembly of the United Nations on October 4, 1963, he recalled that vain appeal — "God and history will remember your judgment". Mr. Charles de Water, in 1936 representing South Africa, said, "Fifty nations, led by three of the most powerful nations in the world, are about to declare their powerlessness to protect the weakest in their midst".² Fascist Italy's attempt to conquer Ethiopia was the last bid in the colonization of Africa.

When the world emerged from the Second World War, the principle of "equal rights and self-determination of peoples" was placed second among the purposes of the United Nations. With other "human rights" this idea, "whose time has come", has caused a profound revolution which will take some time to settle down. The foundation membership of the United Nations, 51 in 1948, has now increased to 113, the increase being mainly due to the attainment of sovereignty by decolonized peoples. **The strength of the revulsion against the old régime is the explanation of the opposition to South African and Portuguese policies on the part of the Afro-Asian countries.**

They form, however, scarcely such a solid "bloc" as is often stated, for their vote in the United Nations is often divided — **except on this one issue.**

Human Rights

While the General Assembly was in session in 1963, the 15th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was celebrated throughout the world on the 10th December.

² "A Great Experiment" by Viscount Cecil, p.280.

Fifteen years before, the General Assembly, meeting in Paris, proclaimed the Declaration as a "standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations". Of the 58 nations then represented, 48 voted in favour and none against, while eight nations abstained and two were absent. The Declaration was thus adopted without a single dissenting vote.

Since then, two legal documents, a Covenant on civil and political rights, and a Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights, have been drawn up by the Commission on Human Rights, but are still being discussed, article by article, in the General Assembly. Several questions have been treated independently and form the subject of Conventions: genocide, slavery, forced labour; and, through the Commission on the Status of Women, Conventions have been held in the Political Rights of Women (now ratified by 39 states), on the Nationality of Married Women and on Consent to Marriage. Special safeguards and care for children are set forth in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child (1959). In 1963 the emphasis was on racial discrimination, and on November 20, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a Declaration on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

This continuing action on various human rights emphasises the recognition that the withholding of any of them constitutes a cause of unrest and a hindrance to peace.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

At a meeting to pay international tribute to the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, on October 21, 1963, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, said, "Mrs. Roosevelt's patient and untiring work as Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights was a major factor in giving shape and substance to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. . . It was her personality and her tact which guided the immensely complicated work of drafting the Declaration in 1947 and 1948, and her energy and enthusiasm which sustained others in this great labour. . . . She could not only communicate with the oppressed and the exploited the world over, she could identify with them.

"She was one of those rare individuals whose courage, wisdom and goodwill — and indeed outright goodness — can light up a whole period of history and give comfort and hope to humanity even in times of the greatest anxiety and despair."³

³ United Nations Review, December, 1963.

(Continued overleaf)

Russian counterpart, and found that both had discovered the same facts about the atom in spite of great secrecy, this conference with its nearly 2,000 papers and some 1,800 delegates from 87 countries, afforded the opportunity for informal meetings between specialist delegates. In spite of technical details, the main concern was how to put an end to the humiliation of poverty, hunger and disease that is the lot of the majority of mankind. Eight volumes will give an account of the proceedings, the first of which, "World of Opportunity", a summary by Prof. Ritchie Calder, is now available.

EDUCATION

How to transmit technology to illiterate communities is the problem of the Decade of Development. Here UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, has to start with the volume of illiteracy. "An illiterate", said Mr. René Maheu, its Director-General, at the UNCSAT conference on Science and Technology, "is always a human being with his or her natural dignity and particular ability, and I have known illiterates who were highly intelligent, of sound judgment and even with a rich fund of real culture. But illiteracy, by closing the door to science and technology, prevents one's taking part in modern civilization".

There exist both adult illiteracy and child illiteracy. The campaign must be waged on these two fronts at the same time. First and most important, free and compulsory education must be established everywhere. Without that, the world will never cease to be burdened with new waves of illiterates; the illiterate adult population is at present increasing by 20 to 25 million annually. At the same time, however, there is a need for a large-scale adult literacy campaign, and this is being planned to make literate within ten years two-thirds of the 500 million adults currently assumed to exist in the member states of UNESCO in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their own countries would supply 75 per cent. of the cost, but the rest is asked for, over ten years, from the rest of the world. It is women who form the majority of the illiterates, and their influence on the whole community is immense.

In accepting the post of Director-General of UNESCO, Mr. Maheu related how, though a teacher and from a family of teachers, he had passed his childhood with grandparents who were unable to read or write, yet he acquired from them his convictions: "above all else, the longing of the humble for learning, the people's quench-

less thirst for social justice. And so it was no surprise to me later to see the colonial peoples caught up in a world-wide ferment, which shook off the chains of the strongest and proudest rulers".⁵

TRADE

At present preparations are going on for a great conference, March 23 to June 15, 1964, in Geneva, on Trade and Development. The pattern of world trade has been mainly that the primary products of less-developed lands, often in the tropics, (food, fibres, fuels and minerals), earn foreign exchange with which to purchase the manufactured goods of the industrialized countries. A cause of hardship is that the price of primary commodities tends to fluctuate, with disastrous effects to the producer.

"Malaysia's second five-year plan, beginning in 1961, was based on the prospects of national rubber prices averaging 80 Malaysian cents per pound over the period 1961-1965. In less than two years prices fell below 70 cents, and the development programme had to be re-assessed." "In 1958 it took (Pakistan) an export of 25 bales of cotton to import a tractor, but today it takes 40 bales . . . what is worse it takes a still larger number if the import is arranged under a tied loan or aid."⁶

When these matters were discussed at the General Assembly in 1963, 75 developing countries drew up a declaration advocating among other things, "a new international division of labour, with new patterns of production and trade".

FINANCE

The low resources of the developing countries are being augmented by "aid" from several industrial nations, and also by the financial institutions of the United Nations, for example the World Bank, which will advance loans for viable projects of development, and the Special Fund, from which "pre-investment" schemes can be paid for, a survey of a country's resources, mineral or agricultural, or the training of technicians and craftsmen.

In his book about teaching on the United Nations, "Telling the U.N. Story", reviewed in "Unesco Features", Dr. L. S. Kenworthy writes, "The United Nations should be seen as the latest and most ambitious of man's attempts to break down the barriers separating people and nations and to create a peaceful and just international community". This is what the United Nations is doing.

⁵ UNESCO Chronicle, January, 1963.

⁶ Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization, November, 1963.

Russian counterpart, and found that both had discovered the same facts about the atom in spite of great secrecy, this conference with its nearly 2,000 papers and some 1,800 delegates from 87 countries, afforded the opportunity for informal meetings between specialist delegates. In spite of technical details, the main concern was how to put an end to the humiliation of poverty, hunger and disease that is the lot of the majority of mankind. Eight volumes will give an account of the proceedings, the first of which, "World of Opportunity", a summary by Prof. Ritchie Calder, is now available.

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When these matters were discussed at the General Assembly in 1963, 75 developing countries drew up a declaration advocating among other things, "a new international division of labour, with new patterns of production and trade".

FINANCE

The low resources of the developing countries are being augmented by "aid" from several industrial nations, and also by the financial institutions of the United Nations, for example the World Bank, which will advance loans for viable projects of development, and the Special Fund, from which "pre-investment" schemes can be paid for, a survey of a country's resources, mineral or agricultural, or the training of technicians and craftsmen.

In his book about teaching on the United Nations, "Telling the U.N. Story", reviewed in "Unesco Features", Dr. L. S. Kenworthy writes, "The United Nations should be seen as the latest and most ambitious of man's attempts to break down the barriers separating people and nations and to create a peaceful and just international community". This is what the United Nations is doing.

⁵ UNESCO Chronicle, January, 1963.

⁶ Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization, November, 1963.



THE CONCLUDING ARTICLES IN THE SERIES:

SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(6) The Portuguese Territories

by MURIEL FISHER

AT THE END of our clockwise tour of the New Africa, we in South Africa find ourselves in the position of being protected from a largely hostile continent by Southern Rhodesia, whose future hangs in the balance, and by the Portuguese territories of Angola on the West Coast and Mozambique on the East Coast.

Although events in Southern Rhodesia are followed with keen interest, South Africans know extremely little about their Portuguese neighbours. This ignorance is largely due to Portugal herself. Prime Minister Salazar, dictator for more than 30 years, has until recently discouraged the inflow of foreign investment and the outflow of information about Portugal's "overseas Provinces".

To-day, however, the situation is changing. Portugal and South Africa find themselves the joint targets of pressure from the Afro-Asian group at United Nations, Portugal as the last stronghold of European colonization in Africa, South Africa because of her policy of racial discrimination. Inevitably, then, these two governments are drawing closer in mutual assistance and a determined effort to withstand these pressures.

Angola, with a population of nearly 5 million, stretches from the Congo in the North, juts into Northern Rhodesia and ends on the border of South West Africa and Bechuanaland. We know how important South West Africa has become in our political set-up in recent years. **Mozambique**, with its 6½ million people, serves as a most convenient buffer between South Africa and the openly hostile African states of Nyasaland (or Malawi) and Tanganyika. It is therefore greatly to Dr. Verwoerd's advantage that Dr. Salazar's hand should be strengthened in his refusal to bow to African demands for independence for these Portuguese-governed lands.

ANGOLA

BY THE END of 1961 the Portuguese provinces in Africa were practically the only European possessions showing no change of policy in the African Revolution. As in Portugal itself opposition was repressed and criticism silenced.

But change was inevitable. It began in March 1961 with a violent uprising in Northern Angola of the Ba-Kongo people, determined to seize the independence achieved by their tribal brothers in

the former French and Belgian Congos. Many Whites in isolated areas were killed before the Portuguese could react with military force and harsh reprisals. After nearly three years the rebels under **Roberto Holden** are still entrenched in the dense bush of the North, holding down some 40,000 Portuguese troops, of whom some 7,000 are local recruits.

The Portuguese puzzled

This "little Angolan war" puzzles the Portuguese, both in Lisbon and in Angola. They cannot understand why "their Africans" should revolt against them. There is no parallel with South Africa, since there is no colour bar in Portuguese territories, intermarriage has been encouraged and the "assimilados" or educated Africans enjoy the same political rights as the Whites.

The trouble is that educational facilities have been so inadequate and the standard of living so low that only about 40,000 Africans in the Portuguese territories have achieved this status. At the other end of the scale are the many workers virtually enslaved by the compulsory contract system, enforced by heavy penalties, and badly paid.

Perhaps the puzzled Portuguese also lose sight of the fact that the present struggle is but a modern version of Portugal's 400-year war against the Ba-Kongo. Since 1491, when Portuguese missionaries began to work in the Congo, and 1574, when Portugal went further South into the lands of King Ngola, and founded **Luanda**, now the capital, the Ba-Kongo have resisted Portuguese attempts to tame them. Now the centuries-old opposition has been strengthened by the great new upsurge of African nationalism, and Portugal has not yet been able to quell it.

Flourishing economy

Angola has a flourishing economy based on coffee, sugar, cotton, diamonds from the Kasai River, and various tropical products, but the key to her prosperity is coffee. Luanda, the picturesque seaport capital, is a mixture of the very old and the very new, the new sky-scrapers having arisen during the recent boom in coffee.

When the war in the North broke out, many coffee plantations were destroyed or abandoned, but with the rebels more or less confined to one area, the coffee crop has broken all records. But while coffee booms, the **Liberation Army** continues its guerilla warfare, reinforced by trainees from Algeria. Their stronghold is over the border in the Congo and they declare that they will never give up the struggle.

Equally adamant is Dr. Salazar in his determination never to grant independence to Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea on the West Coast. World pressure has, however, made Portugal realize that far more attention has to be paid to these territories, and the past few years have seen an urgent effort to improve schools and hospitals and to raise the living standard. Large industrial and irrigation schemes are proceeding rapidly. The new **Camambe Dam**, south of Luanda, is second only to Kariba in its hydro-electric output and is only one of several irrigation schemes. The power is being used by new factories and foundries, the aim being to convert both Portugal and her overseas provinces from rural to industrial countries.

MOZAMBIQUE

MOST SOUTH AFRICANS know Lourenço Marques, the holiday resort so close to our border. But there are two Mozambiques: the line of coastal resorts in the South, and the long stretch of Northern Mozambique, mostly Black and almost unknown to South Africa. There plans are being carried out for mines, collieries, hydro-electric schemes and the settlement of thousands

of immigrants on multi-racial farming projects.

Rice is being grown on the fertile lands of the **Inhamissa Project**, lands which were formerly swamps, and similar schemes are on foot in the Limpopo and Zambesi valleys. Given time and money, Portuguese territories could be models for the rest of Africa.

No race discrimination

Everywhere the races are completely integrated, in schools, swimming baths, hotels, agriculture, industry and marriage. The Portuguese are simply not interested in race discrimination.

Soldiers guard the northern frontiers, lest the "little war" repeat itself in Mozambique, while officials work feverishly to turn the province into an African Brazil. The people of Northern Mozambique resent the fact that their capital is far away in the South. They regard **Nampula** as the unofficial capital and they feel that their Government should share the developments and dangers of the North, where the winds of change can be felt blowing over the Tanganyikan border.

Portuguese soldiers in Africa fulfil a dual role. They are there to protect the Provinces and, as part of the Government's "psycho-social" campaign, to convince the millions of Africans that they are friends and helpers. Soldiers build bridges, teach in the schools and give medical attention. This "psycho-social" campaign is also directed at making the African work harder in his own interest.

Uneasiness

But time is against the Portuguese and there is uneasiness, particularly in Angola. Many Portuguese in Luanda do not like the Salazar regime, but to say so is to court arrest and "fixed residence" in Portugal. (We call it "house arrest".) They do not see how Portugal, neither strong nor wealthy, can defy the world indefinitely or even long enough to build up the model territories she is so desperately working to create. Yet the 200,000 Whites in Angola are determined to stay.

Dr. Salazar has yielded to pressure so far as to hold a plebiscite in August 1963 on Portugal's oversea policy. The result was overwhelmingly in his favour. In September he yielded even further and agreed to hold talks with U.N. in Lisbon on plans for greater autonomy in his overseas provinces. He is also for the first time encouraging foreign industry and investment.

One of the results of the **Addis Ababa Conference** was the determination to oust Portugal from Africa. The attack came in July 1963, not on

(Continued on Page 21)

(7) The Protectorates

by MURIEL FISHER

EVER SINCE the creation of the British Protectorates, Basutoland (1868), Bechuanaland (1895) and Swaziland (1906), it has been the dream of successive South African governments that these countries, so obviously geographically parts of South Africa, should be incorporated politically. There was, in fact, provision in the 1910 Act of Union for such incorporation, should the peoples of the Protectorates so desire. That provision lapsed when South Africa became a Republic in 1960.

The African Revolution has put an end to that dream. South Africa now sees three independent African states about to emerge, two on her borders and the third, Basutoland, completely within her own area.

BASUTOLAND

IT IS DIFFICULT to see how Basutoland, a little mountain enclave the size of Belgium, can survive economically without massive aid from U.N. and Britain. It has neither land nor industries, and of its population of 800,000 more than half the adult males work in the Republic, so that Basutoland has justly been called a "remittance state". Its people live mainly on money sent home by their menfolk working on South African farms and in South African mines and factories, while more than a million Sotho live permanently in the Republic.

Basutoland's total annual revenue is less than R2 million, of which half comes from South African customs dues. Yet the Sotho people are more literate, more politically conscious and more independent than the people of the other Protectorates. They are well aware that South Africa can quite easily strangle them economically by closing the hitherto disregarded border to prevent Basutos seeking work in the Republic, a situation which could lead to another "Air Lift" as happened in West Berlin; but in spite of this they are fiercely determined to be independent.

Constitutional Commission's proposals

The main proposals of the Basutoland Constitutional Commission's report, released in October 1963, were:

- (1) Internal self-government in 1964 and full independence in 1965.
- (2) A Parliament of 54 or 60 members directly elected by universal suffrage, and a Senate of the 22 principal chiefs and 11 members nominated by the Head of State.

- (3) Basutoland to be renamed **Lesotho** and the Paramount Chief, **Moshoeshe II**, to be the Head of State as a Constitutional Monarch.
- (4) Lesotho to be given separate citizenship, its own flag and anthem and membership of the Commonwealth.
- (5) Diplomatic relations with South Africa to be established even before independence, with a Basuto diplomat accommodated in the British Embassy in Pretoria.
- (6) The Constitution to contain a **Bill of Human Rights and Freedoms**, and certain clauses dealing *inter alia* with the King's position, the franchise and the powers of Parliament to be entrenched and made alterable only by referendum.

Basutoland is impatient with British administration to the extent that its legislature recently took the unprecedented step of rejecting the Queen's Address on the ground that Britain is not effectively protecting Basuto interests in South Africa. The British Government on the other hand thinks that the constitutional proposals would give an excess of authority to the territory at the expense of Britain, which would still have the responsibility without the necessary control.

These matters will be hammered out at the Constitutional Conference in London in 1964. During the transition year the British High Commissioner in Pretoria will be replaced by a "British adviser" in Maseru.

Mokhehle is the leader of the strongest political party, and should he win, there might be trouble with South Africa.



(Rand Daily Mail)

SWAZILAND

FERTILE, well-watered and rich in minerals, Swaziland has attracted more Whites, mainly from South Africa, than the other Protectorates. One-third of its 300,000 people are farming citrus, sugar and timber for paper mills. **Havelock** is the world's largest asbestos mine and Japan buys large quantities of iron ore from Swaziland. A new railway line now under construction will run not through South Africa but to Lourenço Marques.

Of the three Protectorates Swaziland has the best prospects of achieving a viable independence, but only because her economy is so closely inte-

grated with that of South Africa. The Swazis themselves are mainly poor and badly educated.

Divided politically

But in spite of its natural advantages, Swaziland is divided politically between the traditionalists, who support the leadership of the **Ngwenyama** (the Lion), their Paramount Chief, **Sobhuza II**, and the Nationalists, who are again divided into various political parties. The Whites, who are mainly responsible for Swaziland's rapid development, are yet another political factor.

Swazi politics are highly involved. Here tribalism and African nationalism are clashing even more strongly than in other African states. Nationalism is the modern trend, but tribalism, which gives security, is still of great importance to the less educated tribesman.

The clash became most obvious at the Constitutional Conference in London in January 1963. The Swazi National Council, which supports the Paramount Chief, and the European National Council, headed by Mr. Carl Todd, were in agreement on a "50-50 scheme", which would give equal representation in the legislative assembly to the 9,000 Whites and the 250,000 Swazis, with the White members elected on a common roll and the Africans elected by tribal custom, i.e. public acclamation. A situation unusual in Africa then arose of only minor demands for "one man, one vote" from the smaller political parties, demands which would deprive the Paramount Chief of much of his power. Nationalism was thus opposing traditionalism.

Also opposed to the "50-50 scheme" were the Resident Commissioner and his officials, who put forward proposals which would eventually result in majority rule for the Africans.

(Continued overleaf)

THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES (Continued from Page 19)

the obvious target of Mozambique, but on **Portuguese Guinea**, part of which was invaded by revolutionaries. Guerillas seized the swampy southern part and troops had to be flown out from Lisbon to defend the territory, still another strain on Portugal's resources.

Looking southward

Naturally, Portuguese eyes are turning southward to the only other country equally determined not to yield to world opinion. At the end of 1963, after lengthy discussions, Portugal and South

Africa agreed on the construction of a dam on the Kunene River, the Angola-S.W.A. border, which, with a hydro-electric scheme, will change the face of South West Africa. Ovamboland will be freed from the threat of drought, but that is not all. The **Odendaal Commission** is expected to recommend the creation of Bantustans in parts of South West Africa and Ovamboland is likely to be the first. There are Ovambos over the border in Angola and obviously Portugal and South Africa have many joint plans for the future.

AFRICAN REVOLUTION (Continued)

Neither these proposals nor those of the British Government were acceptable to all parties and the Conference broke up in disagreement in February.

Interim Constitution

In May 1963 the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, produced an interim Constitution aiming at African majority rule with due protection for the traditionalists and the White minority. It provided for a Legislative Council of a Speaker, 4 officials, some nominated members, and 24 elected members: (a) 8 Swazis elected by tribal methods, (b) 8 Whites, 4 elected on a European roll and 4 on a non-racial roll, and (c) 8 men of any race elected from a national roll.

This Constitution, though unenthusiastically received both by Whites and by the small but growing African political parties, was a marked step forward towards self-government. The Swazi National Council and the Paramount Chief for some time made no comment, while they considered the matter.

Strike at Havelock Mine

A strike in June at the Havelock Mine for £1 a day wages and the repeal of the new constitution, organized by the **Ngwane (Swazi) National Liberation Congress**, spread rapidly, until the British airlifted a battalion of troops in from Kenya and broke the strike. Sobhuza advised his people to return to work and the ringleaders were arrested. Quiet little Swaziland had had a memorable and, to the simple tribesman, a terrifying experience.

Petition to the Queen

In July a deputation from the Paramount Chief and his Council held further talks in London to ask for changes in the constitution, but without success. In September the Council announced that it would petition the Queen, because Britain had no moral right to impose a constitution on a protected country. They held meetings all over the country to put before the Swazis the British proposals and those of their own King. In a highly tribal society the choice was obvious.

The petition by the King was presented in November, objecting to portions of the constitution and putting forward Sobhuza's own proposals for a simpler electoral system, less power for the Commissioner and more for the King himself and for revised land and mineral rights. While the petition was before the House of Commons Chief

Sobhuza announced that in December he would hold a referendum of all races in Swaziland on the constitutional issue.

Oddly enough, in the new Africa, this is the only constitution which is being opposed because it is too advanced and too liberal. Some observers see behind the opposition the influence of the South African Government, since it is clearly not to Dr. Verwoerd's advantage to have a multi-racial state flourishing on his doorstep.

(Since this article was written, the referendum of all races has pronounced overwhelmingly in favour of the King.)

BECHUANALAND

IN CONTRAST to the political turbulence agitating Swaziland, the third Protectorate, Bechuanaland, is progressing smoothly towards independence. A huge sprawling country, larger than France, yet with only 350,000 people, it has deserts, swamps and plains, wealth and poverty, and only one real industry — beef. The people lead a tribal life and only in the few small towns along the railway line does one find emerging political parties and, of course, the South African political refugees. Like Basutoland its revenue is dependent upon South Africa from customs dues, employment and cattle and meat exports. Its 4,000 Whites enjoy equal representation on the legislature with the 350,000 Africans, though this unequal arrangement is unlikely to continue in the new constitution now being worked out.

As in Swaziland, the traditionalists are dominant, but the young men returning from working in the Republic are imbued with nationalism. **Seretse Khama's Democratic Party** still seems to lead, and his qualities of moderation and statesmanship, plus the support of his powerful Bamangwato tribe, may make him Bechuanaland's first Prime Minister. Naturally, as a prohibited immigrant to South Africa, he is hostile towards its Government, but is opposed to Bechuanaland's being used in any way which might damage its future.

A modern multi-racial state

Constitutional talks recently held in Lobatsi, between the three political parties, Government officials, business men and farmers, amazingly quickly reached unanimous agreement on the principles of a new constitution for a modern multi-racial state. There is provision for universal adult suffrage, a Prime Minister and Cabinet, and a House of Chiefs to examine draft legislation on tribal matters.

The Queen's Commissioner, Mr. Peter Fawcus, who is answerable to the Secretary for State for Colonies, will retain responsibility for defence, external affairs, finance and other important matters. It is said to be largely due to his foresight and diplomacy that self-government is having so smooth a beginning.

Simultaneously, with independence at hand — and this applies to all the Protectorates — huge

development plans are afoot in every sphere of Bechuanaland's life to ensure that independence is coupled with prosperity. Money is flowing in from Britain and from international organizations, and naturally enough the material and the skills are provided by the great industrial neighbour, South Africa.

Bechuanaland plans to hold a general election late in 1964 or early in 1965 and independence should follow shortly.

SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(8) South West Africa

by MURIEL FISHER

SOUTH WEST AFRICA is one of the many problems which the African Revolution has brought to Dr. Verwoerd's Government. A German colony since the 1880's, it was mandated to South Africa by the League of Nations after 1918. Of the population of 600,000 there are 66,000 Whites — half Afrikaners, one-third Germans — while the African tribes consist of the Ovambo, the Herero, the Namaqua Hottentots and the Berg Damara. Karakul sheep, diamonds and some base minerals provide the country's very substantial income. Economically, South West Africa could afford to be independent.

Under the old League of Nations a mandatory country could administer, but not incorporate, the mandated territory, and had to report on its administration. The United Nations believe that the mandate should pass into the U.N. trusteeship, but this South Africa has refused to allow and no longer even reports on its administration of South West Africa.

Liberia and Ethiopia, former League members,

invoked the jurisdiction of the International Court. Firstly, the Court decided by a narrow majority that it had jurisdiction over the dispute. It then went on to consider whether U.N. was the heir to the League of Nations and this decision is still being awaited. Should it go against South Africa, the United Nations will probably demand a cancellation of the mandate and the independence of South West Africa. What will happen then is anybody's guess.

WRONG CHOICE

THE END OF 1963 sees the Republic of South Africa facing a hostile continent and an impatient world. For the first time the African Revolution has been brought to her very borders by events in Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, the Protectorates and South West Africa. The transformation of the Transkei into a Bantustan with very limited powers will not reconcile her with a world to which racial discrimination is anathema, as long as racial discrimination, enforced by harsh laws, is her official policy.

The many countries of Africa have achieved, or are about to achieve, independence. There are many people in South Africa who regret this fact, who strive to prevent the old order of racial domination from giving place to the new freedom, many who would halt history in its stride. But what is happening in Africa, the African Revolution itself, is only the logical outcome of events arising from the defeat of Fascist tyranny by the forces of freedom in the Second World War.

The pity of it is that South Africa, with her wealth and initiative, her mineral, industrial and human potential, has made the wrong choice. Instead of being a leader of and a model for the new African states, she has chosen to become the target of their hostility and the despair of the Western world. It is difficult to see how one country, however buoyant its economy, can long withstand the mounting pressures of a continent and a world. **The tree that will not bend before the storm must sooner or later break.**

POLICE DOGS AND THE INDIAN COMMUNITY

ON HUMAN RIGHTS DAY, December 10th, 1963, several hundred Indian women from all over the Transvaal travelled to Pretoria to present a letter to the Prime Minister, protesting about the Group Areas Act and its effects upon the South African Indian community. Wearing white saris as a sign of mourning, they gathered at an Indian temple in the Asiatic bazaar for prayers, after which buses carried them to the Union Buildings.

They did not see the Prime Minister. Instead, according to Press reports, after various attempts had been made by the police to prevent them from reaching the Union Buildings, they were dispersed by police dogs.

Their letter to the Prime Minister, a copy of which was carried by each woman, read as follows:

"The ruthless application of the policy of apartheid is causing grave concern to our people. Its implementation in the form of group areas, job reservation and other measures involves loss of homes, impoverishment, and assault on our dignity and self-respect.

"As a woman I request you to take steps that will restore security to a people whose only 'crime' is colour and race.

"Significantly, my representation to you is on December 10th, which is Human Rights Day. A change of policy on your part might even restore confidence and respect for our country throughout the world."

This was not the first occasion upon which police dogs had been used against the Indian community. About a week previously, dogs were used to disperse a crowd of friends and relatives of people arrested at an Indian theatre under the Sunday Observance Act.

The "Rand Daily Mail" commented on these two incidents as follows:

Why bully them?

"THERE are indications that, since the shock of Sharpeville, the police have tried hard to put their relations with Africans on a better footing. Our racial laws make it certain that there will always be a kind of "cold war" between the African and the authorities, but on the whole conditions have improved. The change in the liquor laws has made a big difference, raiding for passes has been reduced and official directives to bear down less severely on the law-abiding African have had some effect.

"But the Indian seems to have gained little benefit from this more reasonable policy. Ten days ago the police swooped on an Indian cinema and arrested the promoters of the performance and the entire audience on charges under the Sunday

Observance Act of 1896. It is inconceivable that the police would have taken such drastic action against an audience of Whites and they certainly would not have used dogs in the affair. After all this the charges have been dropped and the hundred or so Indians who had paid admission-of-guilt fines have had their money returned to them, but apparently without a word of apology or explanation.

"Another unpleasant incident occurred at the Union Buildings last week when Indian women, making an orderly march with the object of delivering a protest to the Prime Minister, were dispersed by police dogs. Is the Minister for Indian Affairs happy about this sort of treatment at a time when he is supposed to be trying to win Indian support for his Advisory Council? Could he not see to it that Indians, too, receive a little more consideration?"

"This cavalier attitude on the part of the authorities will be viewed by Indians against the background of persecution to which they are subjected under a Group Areas Act that is driving them from long-established homes and businesses. They form a most law-abiding group which seeks nothing but peaceful co-existence and yet they are treated with disdain as a voiceless minority with few rights and even fewer feelings."

Black Sash protest.

ON the 18th December, a deputation of fourteen members of the Black Sash visited the Union Buildings to lodge a protest against the treatment meted out to the Indian women. In a statement to the Press, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, the National President of the Black Sash, said:

"Indian women came in peace and in orderly fashion on Human Rights Day to make their orderly protest to the Government. They were met by police dogs and roadblocks, and subjected to treatment undeserved by any woman."

After handing the following letter, addressed to the Prime Minister, who was away on holiday, to

a clerk in his office, the fourteen women stood in silence at the entrance to the Union Buildings, the scene of many earlier Black Sash vigils and protests.

Presenting legitimate grievances.

“THE BLACK SASH read with dismay the Press reports of the reception given to Indian women who went to Pretoria to deliver a letter of protest to a member of the Cabinet.

“It is traditional for South African citizens to go to the Union Buildings to present their legitimate grievances to the Government. We regard it as a sad commentary on the South African situation that the Government sees a peaceful protest by women as a serious threat to law and order. These women who had started by praying for the success of their mission, were met by road blocks, armed police and trained police dogs.

“We have been given to understand that our police force use these animals for the apprehension of criminals and the breaking up of unruly crowds. Are we to assume that this group of women, elegantly dressed in white saris, (a sign of mourning), presented such a physical threat that they had to be confronted by unsympathetic police and their dogs? Were all these precautions necessary to prevent women from delivering a letter to a member of your Cabinet?

“The Government believes that its policy of Apartheid is the only way to preserve White civilization in this country. Methods such as the police used in Pretoria on Human Rights Day may

BROWN BREAD

by Bob Connolly



(Rand Daily Mail)

REDUCED TO FEAR AND TEARS

I READ with amazement and anger of the action taken by the police in Fordsburg on Sunday when they rounded up Indian men, women and children for attending a cinema show given in the aid of a good cause. The women and children in the audience were reduced to fear and tears by being bundled into pick-up vans and by the presence of police dogs at the police station.

Without entering into the legal question as to whether or not any offence was committed by any of them, was this the way to handle the situation? Would they have dared to do this with a White audience on a Sunday in a Johannesburg cinema?

Is this good race relations?—QUINTIN WHYTE, Director, South African Institute of Race Relations (Inc.).

(Rand Daily Mail)

preserve White supremacy for a time but they will surely sacrifice the ideals of Western Civilization.

“As an organization of women with a deep concern for the welfare of the Republic of South Africa and all its people, we lodge a strenuous protest against such inhuman and unjust treatment meted out to South African citizens.”

Preserving White Civilization.

AN official letter from the Black Sash on similar lines, signed by Mrs. Sinclair, was subsequently published by the “Star”. The letter concluded:

“To what extent was this group of women . . . belonging to a race which believes implicitly in passive resistance, such a physical threat they they had to be controlled by dogs held on long leashes by the police?

“The Government believes that its policy of apartheid is the only way to preserve White civilization in this country. If means such as the police used in Pretoria on December 10th are to be employed to this end, one cannot but ask whether such a civilization is worthy of preservation.

“The late Mr. Jan Hofmeyr said many years ago that he feared that in the effort to preserve White civilization in this country we would sacrifice the ideals of Western civilization. The time is long overdue when White South Africans should ask themselves whether this is not exactly what is happening to us.”

(Continued overleaf)

"WITH BEST WISHES AND KINDEST THOUGHTS"

AT THE END of September, 1963, there was a theft from the Black Sash office in Johannesburg. A portable typewriter and membership lists were stolen. This theft was immediately reported to the police, and the following day a detective came to the office and took a statement.

Offensive Photographs.

On Christmas Day and on several days afterwards, many of our members received in the post a typed envelope containing photographs of atrocities allegedly committed in Kenya and Angola. Each envelope contained a full-page sheet of Agfa photographic paper folded in four on which two or three photographs were printed, and two or three separate photographs. Typed on the face of the large sheet were the words: "This is Kenya. attached is Angola. At home may I remind you of Paarl and Bashee Bridge murders and the Rivonia Trial evidence."

On the back of the large sheet was typed:

"With the New Year on our hands we have to do some serious
"thinking concerning both our membership and the policy of
"our movement. Enclosed is something to be borne in mind.
"With best wishes and kindest thoughts.

"A. FELLOW-MEMBER."

We have heard that members in Johannesburg, Bryanston, Benoni, Witbank and Barberton received these "greetings", and also four members in Pietermaritzburg. Complaints to the police were made by individuals, and the President went to the Special Branch to make an official complaint. As neither the President nor any members of the Headquarters Executive with the exception of the Magazine Editor had received the photographs, it was not possible to make an official complaint on behalf of the Black Sash.

The Police, however, have promised to investigate the matter, and a Detective-Sergeant has been appointed to go into the matter and has interviewed some members who received photographs.

Anonymous Telephone Call.

At 4 a.m. one morning early in January, Mrs. Janet Sinclair, an old lady 81 years of age, received an anonymous telephone call. The speaker called her "that communist", and said he was coming to kill her. This call was obviously intended for Mrs. Jean Sinclair, National President of the Black Sash.

Not Intimidated.

If either or both of these incidents were intended to intimidate the Black Sash, they have certainly failed.

We will not be deterred in our chosen work by anonymous letters, "Christmas cards" or telephone calls, and, in the end, right and justice will prevail.

NEWSPAPER COMMENT

The "Rand Daily Mail" says:

BY WAY OF CONTRAST

THAT members of the Black Sash received in their Christmas mail horror photographs of atrocities said to have been committed in Kenya and Angola is not in itself of much importance. The women of this gallant body are too accustomed to abuse, hooliganism and much other oafish behaviour to be unduly upset by further coarseness of this kind.

Yet the episode is revealing in several ways. First, it seems clearly linked with the theft two months ago of documents from the Johannesburg offices of the Black Sash, including membership lists. The theft was reported to the police but from what we can gather no special interest has been taken in the matter. Compare this with the

considerable hoo-ha over the alleged theft of documents belonging to the Broederbond. No less than the head of the Security Branch investigated the matter personally and a squad of detectives raided the offices of the biggest Sunday newspaper in the country. A discredited secret society of known fascist outlook gets top-level attention

for its complaint; a public-spirited group of women who could scarcely conduct their activities more fully in the open encounter what looks very much like indifference.

The horror pictures and their crude message are no doubt the work of some lunatic fringe Right-wing body of which there are several in existence. They seem quite free to pursue their deplorable activities, sending through the postal system scurrilous material of a race-baiting nature. By way of contrast, it is the liberal organizations dedicated to race harmony and the elimination of discrimination that are liable to attract the notice of the authorities.

This, of course, is part of the main sickness from which South Africa suffers to-day and which the Black Sash letters illustrate — the attitude that those who stand for social justice and the upholding of Western moral values are really working for the collapse of our society in an orgy of violence and bloodshed. This is a simple-minded view indeed, a pathetic excuse for resistance to change, but alas, it is close to becoming our official national outlook. Such are the straits in which South Africa finds herself to-day.

The "Natal Mercury" says:

SICK SYMPTOMS

The sending through the post of hideous Congo and Mau Mau atrocity pictures to the members of the Black Sash could normally be ignored as the work of misguided cranks.

But the incident, about which the Black Sash movement is rightly protesting, has . . . unsatisfactory features which ought not to pass unnoticed.

. . . The despicable imputation behind the despatch of these gruesome pictures to members of what the senders no doubt consider to be a "liberal" organization is in itself an inevitable outgrowth, and an extremely distasteful one, from the extremist thinking which is manifesting itself in various forms in the Transvaal.

In a healthy society sick political minds can be ignored. The danger occurs when society does not recognize the cause of the sickness.

POLICE DOGS AND THE INDIAN COMMUNITY (Continued from Page 25)

A reader of the "Star" replied to this letter, which he described as "arrogant", and put the following questions to "this arch-champion of rights and liberty":

Three questions

- Since when has it become traditional to stage protest gatherings at the Union Buildings?
- Why is it wrong for the majority of White South Africans to preserve their heritage?
- Is the writer contemplating a note of protest to the Minister of Justice about the commendable way in which a lone policeman and his dog kept a crowd at a Johannesburg cinema in check on Boxing Day?

. . . and three answers.

MR S SINCLAIR replied:

● It has been traditional for many years for protests, petitions and letters to be taken to Cabinet Ministers at the Union Buildings. The Union Buildings are the administrative seat of Government and in them are the offices of some of the Cabinet Ministers. Your reader may remember that on June 22, 1940, 9,800 Afrikaner women, dressed in Voortrekker costume, marched

from Church Square to the Union Buildings with a petition to the Prime Minister, General Smuts, begging the Government to come to terms with Adolf Hitler. On many occasions since then petitions, protests and letters to the Government have been taken to the Union Buildings.

● It is not wrong for the majority of White South Africans to preserve their heritage. The Indian women too are South Africans, who went in an orderly manner to present a letter to the Prime Minister protesting against the Group Areas Act.

At this time the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. Maree, on behalf of the Government, was assuring representatives of the Indian people that they are regarded as South African citizens and that he wished them to express their views. I fail to understand the connection between White South Africans preserving their heritage and Indian women voicing their grievances to the proper authority.

● I stand by the statement made in my original letter in the "Star": "We have been given to understand that the police use these trained dogs for the apprehension of criminals and the breaking up of unruly crowds." The crowd outside the cinema on Boxing Day was presumably unruly.

THE BREAK-UP OF FAMILY LIFE

WE are in complete agreement with the sentiment expressed in a recent leading article in the "Transvaler", which we publish together with a rough translation. The newspaper extracts which follow tell their own story.

'N DUIWELSE GEES

DIE TEERSTE en innigste bande wat daar tussen mens en mens kan bestaan, is ongetwyfeld dié wat deur die gesin geskep word. Niks anders kan in hierdie opsig 'n vergelyking met die gesinsverband deurstaan nie. Om hierdie rede moet dan ook alles wat wilens en wetens die gesinsverband wil verbreek, diepe afkeuring verdien.

Min sake openbaar die Kommunisme werklik so in sy duiwelse naaktheid as juis sy strewe om, waar dit maar enigsins moontlik is, die gesinsverband te verbreek. Op 13 Augustus 1961 is die wêreld plotseling opgeskrik met die mededeling dat die Kommunistiese bewind van Oos-Duitsland daartoe oorgegaan het om 'n muur dwarsdeur Berlyn te bou, wat o.a. tot gevolg gehad het dat lede van gesinne heeltemal van mekaar geskei is sonder enige kommunikasiemiddel tussen hulle. Hoewel hulle soms maar enkele honderde treë van mekaar gewoon het, kon hulle op generlei manier met mekaar in aanraking kom nie.

Met die pas afgelope Kerstyd het die Kommunistiese owerheid dit toegestaan dat mense uit Wes-Berlyn na die oostelike deel kon gaan nadat hulle die nodige verlof verkry het. In die afgelope week of wat kon 'n mens haas elke dag in die koerante lees van die proot getalle mense wat van die geleentheid gebruik gemaak het om van hul familieledes in Oos-Berlyn te gaan besoek. Volgens die jongste berigte kom die getal op meer as 1,000,000 te staan.

Die Kommunistiese bewind het blykbaar gemeen dat hy nou 'n gebaar van welwillendheid gedoen het waarvoor hy dank behoort te verkry. **Belyers van 'n ideologie wat bereid is om gesinne te verskeur en uitmekaar te hou, verdien egter geen dankbaarheid nie.** Solank die skandmuur in Berlyn gehandhaaf word en solank gesinne nie in aanraking met mekaar mag kom nie, toon die Kommunisme eenvoudig dat dit 'n ideologie is wat met 'n duiwelse gees besiel is.

A DEVILISH SPIRIT

THE TENDEREST and most intimate bonds between man and man are undoubtedly those engendered by family life. Nothing can compare with these family bonds. For this reason, everything that deliberately destroys family ties deserves the strongest condemnation.

Few situations reveal Communism in its "devilish nakedness" more clearly than its attempts, wherever possible, to break these bonds. On the 13th August, 1961, the world learnt with horror that the Communist regime in East Germany had decided to build a wall through Berlin, which wall had, amongst others, the effect of separating families completely without any means of communication. Although they often lived only a few hundred yards apart, there was no way for them to communicate.

During the Christmas period, the Communist authorities allowed the people of West Berlin to visit the Eastern section, after obtaining the necessary permission. In the past week, one could read of vast numbers making use of this opportunity almost daily. Recent figures refer to about 1,000,000 visitors.

No doubt! the Communist Regime thinks that it should be praised for its deed of goodwill. **Those who believe in an ideology that is prepared to tear families apart and keep them apart do not deserve thanks.** As long as the wall is maintained in Berlin, and so long as the people may not get into touch with each other, Communism reveals itself as an ideology which is motivated by a "devilish spirit".

Commendable sentiment

IN a moving statement on the sacrosanct nature of family bonds, the "Transvaler" declared in a leading article yesterday that "everything which sets out to break the family tie must deserve strong condemnation."

Unfortunately this National Party organ was not writing of the pass laws and influx control regulations which separate thousands of African families in this country. It was writing of the families divided by the Berlin Wall, and went on to say of the opening of the wall for Christmas

reunions: "The Communist regime apparently thought it had performed a gesture of kindness for which it should have been thanked. But supporters of an ideology which is prepared to separate families and keep them apart deserve no thanks."

What a pity this commendable sentiment is not also considered applicable to families whose skin colour happens to be black and whose homes happen to be here in the Republic.

(*"Rand Daily Mail"*)

A mockery of marriage

IT is fitting that your leading article of January 9 drew attention to a leader in the "Transvaler" on the breaking up of family life.

It is interesting to note that this newspaper is so concerned about the hardships caused to families divided by the Berlin Wall.

Is the "Transvaler" aware that in every urban area in South Africa there is a "Berlin Wall" — influx control — which divides thousands of African families?

Not only marriages by Native Law and Custom, (recognized by the Government), but Christian marriages as well are broken up daily by the laws of this land.

To have his wife living with him in an urban area, a man must either have been born in that area and, since birth, lived there continuously, have lived continuously in that area for 15 years, or have worked there continuously for one employer for 10 years.

If he satisfies one of these requirements he must still prove that he "ordinarily resides" with his wife. The fact that the couple may have several children does not imply that they "ordinarily reside" together.

And how is it possible for a man "ordinarily to reside" with his wife when she is forbidden entry into the area where her husband is ordinarily employed?

As the "Transvaler" said: "supporters of an ideology which is prepared to separate families and keep them apart deserve no thanks."

In our view they are to be condemned. We ask the "Transvaler," therefore, to institute a campaign to have these laws repealed. They offend every Christian principle and make a mockery of the sacred institution of marriage.

(Black Sash letter to "Rand Daily Mail")

Only a Liberalist

THE liberalistic Press are at present concerning themselves with the fact that in a recent leader "Die Transvaler" pointed out that by building the Berlin wall the Communists had broken up the family life of thousands of people. In this connection the question is no wasked whether the laws of the Republic concerning the residence of Bantu in the urban areas do not also lead to the disruption of family life.

It is only a liberalist who would treat all people alike, who could see any connection between the two cases.

In Berlin, those affected are highly civilized people who in most mases have strong family ties. In the Republic the people affected are at a very low stage of development, and often have such loose family ties that they surely do not deserve the title . . . The encouragement of the family bond is, among other things, the intention behind the establishment of the Bantu Homelands.

(*The "Transvaler"*)

Condemnation

We can comment only by quoting the words of Professor Pistorius (see "Bantustans — Fact or Fallacy?" Page 10) "The policy of separate development, far from being an instrument to bring Africans back to their homelands, is in effect a compulsion on them to leave it"; and the "Transvaler's" own words: "Everything that deliberately destroys family ties deserves the strongest condemnation."

NATAL "WALL OF SHAME"

FARMERS and residents of Golela — a hamlet which sprawls over the South African-Swaziland border 245 miles from Durban — have asked high-ranking Government officials to release the stringent security precautions at the border control post which cuts Golela in half.

It is not even possible to travel along Golela's main street from the hotel to the post office without producing a passport to an official of the Bantu Administration Department. Special permission has to be obtained to pass through the control post after normal working hours — 8 p.m. to 7 a.m.

At Christmas and New Year families were kept separated by the barbed wire fence — nicknamed the "wall of shame" by residents. They call their town grimly "another Berlin".

(From a report in the "Rand Daily Mail")

BLACK SASH ACTIVITIES

ALL REGIONS of the Black Sash went into recess as usual over the Christmas holidays, but, also as usual, members held themselves in readiness for the various calls upon them which seem to be inevitable at this time of the year.

Since the Annual National Conference held in Johannesburg in October, 1963, all Regions have been active, but no full reports are at present available.

National President visits Cape Western.

Mrs. Sinclair visited Cape Western at the end of November, and attended **Cape Western All-Branches** meeting on December 2nd. She gave a resumé of her opening address to the National Conference, after which she and Mrs. Robb gave an account of the Black Sash interview with Mr. de Wet Nel and his advisers on the proposed **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**.

Mrs. Sinclair was also able to attend Cape Western's **Annual Fête** on the 30th November, which was opened by **Mr. Hamilton Russell**, who spoke on the work of the Black Sash. The Fête raised the record sum of R1,476.81!

Campaign against 90-day detention.

The Black Sash and the National Council of Women, deeply disturbed about the application of the 90-day detention clause of the **General Law Amendment Act of 1963**, are planning a joint campaign to urge the repeal of this measure. To this end, a memorandum was drawn up, dividing the objections to the clause into two sections, legal and humanitarian; and a letter was addressed on December 6th to the Minister of Justice asking him to receive a deputation of the two organizations.

The letter read as follows:

"The Black Sash and the National Council of Women, representing a very large number of South African women, are deeply concerned about Section 17 of the General Law Amendment Act 1963, and its effect on the detainees and their families.

"We regard it as important that you should be informed of our viewpoint and ask you to receive a joint deputation from the National Council of Women and the Black Sash. We shall be grateful if you will grant this interview before you leave Pretoria for the 1964 Parliamentary Session."

The minister refused to receive the deputation, and the following reply was sent to the National President of the Black Sash by his Private Secretary:

"Leftist Organizations."

"I am directed by the Honourable the Minister of Justice to inform you that he is well acquainted with your viewpoint as well as with the viewpoint of other leftist organizations in the country and that it is therefore not necessary to put your viewpoint to him, apart from the fact that the time factor will not allow an appointment.

"It is noted that you are deeply concerned about the effect of Section 17 on detainees and their families and although the Minister can readily understand that, he finds it strange indeed that your organization has never yet shown the same deep concern for the safety of the Republic and its people, White and non-White, who are or will be the victims or potential victims of anarchy and disruption should certain people or organizations have their way.

"My Minister therefore regrets that an interview will serve no useful purpose."

In a leading article, the "Star" comments on this discourteous refusal:

PLACE FOR EVERYTHING

By Bob Connolly



(Rand Daily Mail)

Ultimate Sin.

"To judge by their official behaviour, one would not always realize that South African Cabinet Ministers are the servants of the public, who sustain them materially and politically, and not their lords and masters. Too often, nowadays, Ministers delight in patronizing those who approach them and trying to score off them politically.

"The Minister of Justice's reply to the National Council of Women and Black Sash representations on the detention for questioning clause in the no-trial act is the latest and most blatant example of arrogance and discourtesy which should have no place at this level of public life.

"Not content with brushing aside a request for an interview, Mr. Vorster first smears the two organizations as 'Leftist' and then goes on to imply that they are far less concerned about the safety of the Republic — a shocking and reprehensible reflection on the patriotism of respected bodies, the one with a long and honourable record of public service unrelated to politics, and the other a courageous and militant band of women with a conscience and a sensitivity for what is right which is often conspicuous by its absence in high places.

"But there it is; any body or person that dares question the infallibility of the Government must be rubbed out or discredited. Dissent has become the ultimate sin in the eyes of those who are (or were?) proud to call themselves 'kinders van die protes'."

The Black Sash and the National Council of Women, undeterred, are going ahead with their plan for an intensive campaign in 1964 against this obnoxious law.

Bantustans.

A public symposium sponsored by the Black Sash was held on the 19th November in the Rondebosch Town Hall on the subject: "Can Bantustans solve Black/White problems in South Africa?" Mrs. Petersen was in the Chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Jackie Beck, Mr. Leo Marquard and Mr. Leo Katzen.

Demonstrations.

A stand against beach apartheid in Simonstown was held on the 7th December, with two posters reading: "Apartheid is unjust," and "Let beaches be open to all". There were no incidents.

(Continued overleaf)

BLOTTED COPYBOOK
**'A MILLION MORE AFRICANS
IN URBAN AREAS FROM
1951 TO 1960'**
— OFFICIAL REPORT.



Bob Connolly
(Rand Daily Mail)

"The latest census figures should convince even the doubters that apartheid does not really exist in South Africa. The increase of non-Whites in the 'White areas' is enormous; and the trend will continue.

"Apart from the census figures, there is other evidence to show that, far from 'developing along separate lines,' South Africa is becoming more racially integrated than ever before. There is scarcely an industry or a commercial enterprise which could exist without non-White labour. This is true of Government operations as well as of those in the private sector.

"The Railways, the Post Office, the mines, the factories, the builders, the distributive trade—all are vitally dependent on the hundreds of thousands of non-Whites who provide by far the greater share of man-power. Traders, who live by what they can sell, depend equally on the non-White customers who buy their goods.

"These are the facts, and we do not quote them in order to taunt the Government with having failed to implement apartheid. We quote them in the hope that the Government, and the people, will realise that apartheid is a fiction and that, with the best will in the world, apartheid can never be put into effect. If that fact is appreciated, then the obvious result will be this: Instead of carrying on a policy that supposedly implements a non-existent apartheid, the Government would embark on a policy that was related to reality.

"The major cause of South Africa's racial difficulties is not apartheid so much as the Government's failure to acknowledge that apartheid has gone for ever and that we are a thoroughly multi-racial country."

(Sunday Times)

SASHES AND RASHES

NOTHING produces a Cabinet rash
Quicker than ladies who wear a black
sash.

There's something about that sombre band
That maddens the rulers of this fair land.

Mourn, of they must, a nation's plight —
But they might at least wear a sash that is
WHITE!

Molly Reinhardt.

In Johannesburg, a demonstration was held on December 3rd, against **90-day Detention**. The posters read: **"90 days + 90 days inquisition must cease,"** and **"Solitary confinement is mental torture"**.

A deputation of fourteen members of Transvaal Region visited the Union Buildings in Pretoria on December 18th to lodge a protest against the treatment meted out to **Indian women**, whose orderly demonstration against Group Areas on **Human Rights Day** was dispersed by police and police dogs.

Human Rights Day Meeting.

A meeting sponsored jointly by the Black Sash, the Civil Rights League, the National Council of Women and the United Nations Association was held in Cape Town on December 10th, Human Rights Day. **Dr. Albert Geyser** gave a most stimulating address on **"The Quality of Equality"** to a large and appreciative audience.

Christmas Parties.

Just before Christmas a very successful **multi-racial party** was held in Mrs. Petersen's home in Cape Town, for friends of the Black Sash. Representatives from all walks of life and of all colours attended this function and thoroughly enjoyed themselves.

In Johannesburg, the work of 1963 was brought to a close with a multi-racial picnic in the grounds of Mrs. Fisher's home, the final meeting for the year of the **Saturday Club**. The previous meeting of the club had taken the form of an impromptu **Mannequin Parade**, which was much enjoyed by all.

Advice Offices.

The Advice Offices in Cape Town and Johannesburg remain as active as ever. The **Athlone Advice Office** in Cape Town dealt with 267 cases in November and 224 in December, an average of 13 and 16 cases per day.

The **Transvaal Advice Office** in Johannesburg has been particularly busy since the recess. A pathetic case being dealt with at present is that of a Nyasaland man who has been endorsed out of the Johannesburg area after 21 years' residence, despite the fact that he is in permanent employment here.

Press Publicity.

Letters and statements were sent to the Press by Cape Western Region during December on the subject of **Beach Apartheid in Simonstown**, Mr. Vorster's refusal to receive a deputation from the National Council of Women and the Black Sash on the **90-day detainees**, and **Christmas-time thoughts** on colour discrimination.

Headquarters Region made statements on the **90-day detainees**, the treatment of Indian women on **Human Rights Day**, and a comment on a leading article in the "Transvaler" regarding the **disruption of family life**. (Reported on elsewhere in this issue).

In November, an article headed **"South African Protest"**, dealing with the work of the Black Sash, appeared in the **"Christian Science Monitor"**.

BLACK SASH CROSSWORD PUZZLE — SOLUTION

Black Sash Slogan: (THE) CRIME APART-
HEID (THE) PENALTY ISOLATION.

Across.—6, Archery—Arch-er-y. 7, Spear—
S.(P.E.A.)R. 9, Atop—a M.P. 10, Pipedream.
12, A selfish act. 15, Yellow peril. 17, Ban-
tustan—B(ant)us(tan). 19, S.A.P. — Pa's
back. 21, Ethos—Anag. "so(o)the". 22,
Sausage—S.A. usage.

Down.—1, Crime — A(meric)A. 2, Ohm —
O.H.M.(S). 3, Drei—Anag. "ride". 4, Apart-
heid—Anag. "hated pair". 5, Balance—
Bal(A.N.C.)e. 8, Retire. 11, Isolation. 13,
Lowest—to West. 14, Penalty—Anag. 16,
Langa. 18, Adam. 20, Asp—Anag. Sap.

COURTESY IS TWO-WAY

THE following leaflet, issued by the Courtesy Campaign in Johannesburg in Afrikaans and English, is being made available to both employer and employee at the African Female Employment office of the City Council Non-European Affairs Department at Polly Street, and also at their African Juvenile Employment Department in Albert Street.

It is made available by arrangement with, and by permission of, Mr. Carr, Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department, in the hope of improving personal relationships in this field of inter-racial contact. It aims also at helping to make both employer and employee aware that courtesy is two-way, and that each party has both needs to be met and obligations to be fulfilled if the relationship is to be a happy one.

TO THE EMPLOYER.

The Courtesy Campaign suggests for your information that your employee will only feel happy in your employment and give of his/her best if you are prepared to respect his/her personal dignity and provide such working conditions as will ensure a reasonable return for services rendered and a degree of personal comfort.

This can be achieved by an observance of the following suggestions:—

1. Insist on your children speaking to your servant in courteous terms.
2. Provide a balanced diet of starch, protein and vegetables with a time in which to eat.
3. Provide a suitable room, furniture, bedding, washing facilities and soap, and safe heating.
4. Encourage your servant to keep his/her room clean and neat.
5. Pay a just wage in proportion to what it costs a Bantu family to live.
6. Do not expect your servant to work unreasonable hours. Pay overtime or allow extra time off for "sitting up".
7. Let your servant have an annual paid holiday and time for daily rest.
8. Provide a uniform if possible.
9. Allow your employee to have occasional visitors.
10. Above all, always remember the Golden Rule "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you".

TO THE EMPLOYEE.

The Courtesy Campaign suggests for your information that your employer will appreciate your service if you are prepared to take pride in your work and to carry out your duties loyally and carefully. To the extent that an employer receives satisfactory service he/she will, in turn, be prepared to improve your working and living conditions and to grant you such facilities and such comfort as will make you feel happy in your work.

To bring about such a happy state you are urged, in your own interest, to apply the following suggestions to your daily life:—

1. Always speak with dignity and do not shout at children in your charge.
2. Look after your room and keep it clean and tidy.
3. Work well and get up in time for work.
4. When on leave return punctually at the time and on the day arranged or, if you cannot do so, send a message to your employer.
5. Do not sit and talk noisily with friends on the pavement or play a gramophone or radio loudly in your room.
6. Keep your uniform clean and mended if one is provided.
7. Obtain your employer's permission for friends to visit you.
8. Treat your employer's belongings with care.
9. Maintain a high standard of behaviour at all times.
10. Above all, always remember the Golden Rule "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you".

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

Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the "Rand Daily Mail," H. Winder and the "Sunday Times," David Marais and the "Cape Times."

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