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# SASH

**The Black Sash magazine**

# CONTENTS

DECEMBER, 1970

	Page
EDITORIAL .....	1
THE FREEDOM TO EXIST .....	2
Donald Woods	
UMUNTU UNGUMUNTU NGABANTU .....	8
Anthony Barker	
A HOUSE DIVIDED .....	11
Joel Carlson	
ON VIOLENCE AND THE NEWS MEDIA .....	21
Joyce Harris	
EDUCATION AND THE PUBLIC .....	23
F. E. Auerbach	
OUTLOOK .....	29
ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE .....	31

# The Black Sash Die Swart Serp

The credibility gap in South Africa widens everyday to an extent which, would not be tolerated by voters in a democratic society. Perhaps, if one is involved in trying to put across a policy which is essentially dishonest in concept and in execution, it is impossible to be truthful in one's day to day dealings with the public.

Mr. M. C. Botha, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, is incorrigibly optimistic in his estimate of public gullibility. His recent statement that "There are no starving Africans in South Africa", is on a par with his last year's comment referring to the forced removal and resettlement of whole African communities that "We get their co-operation in all cases voluntarily. As a matter of fact sometimes it is necessary to do quite a lot of persuasion, but we do get them away... We removed about 4,000 Bantu persons, big and small to the bigger Limehill area without a single arrest—all voluntarily". Just before the Provincial election he accused the audience at a Nationalist Party meeting of being "unchristian because you do not want the maid to live in a near-by location with her husband and family". Mr. Botha must know, just as everyone else knows, that the shortage of houses for Africans in the urban areas is acute and is largely caused by the policy of his Department. The Chairman of the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Committee, Mr. Patrick Lewis, said last month that, at a conservative estimate, 67,000 in Soweto are waiting to be housed and that the provision of housing had fallen off in the last 7 years largely because of Government delay in approving housing loans.

Mr. Botha's constant theme is that "every African nation will have its own area in which to develop to the full". One can only doubt the fullness of the development when one reads that Black businessmen have been refused permission to open their own businesses in their own areas and when the same Minister discloses in Parliament that of 120 prospecting and mining leases granted in African areas not one has been given to Africans or to African-owned companies.

Mr. Botha is by no means the only member of the Cabinet whose sincerity is open to question. There are many instances which could be quoted. When the Mineworkers

Union in the Eastern Transvaal refused to train African miners in the homeland mines so that they could qualify for the coveted "blasting ticket" the Government failed to insist on this logical result of a policy of Separate Development. The Minister of Mines, Dr. de Wet said in the same speech that Africans "must gradually and according to their abilities be allowed to develop to the highest level in the homelands and that the training of Africans would not be forced on mine-workers. It takes practise to be all things to all men but real skill to do so to the same audience on the same occasion.

Mr. Vorster, our Prime Minister, is reported to have said in an interview with a London newspaper that he was not aware that there were any "annoying elements" in Apartheid. Mr. Vorster should pay more attention to speeches such as that of Mr. Francis Mncube, Chairman of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council: "While politics decide how and when an African man must sleep, when he must wake up, what he must do after waking up, what and where he must eat, how and where he must be housed, the Councillors are forbidden to touch on these vital issues. If they do so, they are accused of taking part in politics. These issues permeate an individual's life to such an extent that even where he must get his wife is prescribed". This sort of feeling is expressed so often that Mr. Vorster cannot be unaware of these "annoying elements".

Nor when Mr. Vorster is questioned on the basic dishonesty on which the whole apartheid policy is built — that is that two thirds of the total population is to find its "independence" on 13.7% of the country's land area — must he expect to deceive his audience with his facile reply that "There is a difference in size between Holland and Germany, and between Belgium and France, but nobody worries about that". Perhaps Mr. Vorster realises that were he to give honest answers to this sort of question the whole dishonest structure would collapse.

He and his Cabinet Ministers should take note of his own words in September this year; "Whatever you do, do not give the Non-White people of South Africa the slightest reason to doubt your honesty in your dealings with them".

# The Freedom to Exist

DONALD WOODS

*Donald Woods is the Editor of the Daily Dispatch, East London. This article is taken from his address at the University of Cape Town on September 9th, 1970, on the Day of Affirmation of Academic and Human Freedoms.*

I COME TO YOU from the market-place, and from a rough and ready market-place at that — the Eastern Cape, once known here in Cape Town as the frontier — and as editor of a minor if militant newspaper I assume I am invited here in my capacity as a sort of frontier philosopher.

The market-place from which I come is the most important area of the country. It is second only to the Reef in population, with nearly three million persons, and it is there that the ultimate accommodations with reality in South Africa will stand or fall. It is there that the supreme test of our nation — whether or not it will continue to exist — will first be resolved.

I plan to talk to you about the freedom to exist, because without the freedom to exist, all other freedoms — such as academic freedom — are purely academic. The freedom to exist, to be, to live, is not only under threat in South Africa, it is under sentence of death. We South Africans, as a nation, are under sentence of death not at the hand of the real or fancied enemy abroad or the real or fancied enemy within. The sentence is being carried out by ourselves, because our crime is national suicide, and the process is well under way. Our nation — the land and the people — are being destroyed in a horribly real sense.

When I say the land, I mean that literally, — the soil, the earth, the ground. And when I say the people I mean all the people, physically, mentally, spiritually.

What I am going to say will be shocking. It will be what politicians like to call sensational. But not in an unbalanced sense, and not obsessively — because the facts and figures I am going to give you do not relate to pet subjects of mine. They constitute a new theme for me, emerging from a study of the state of the nation as it is today, and the result is a picture of such impending tragedy that I am grateful for this chance to communicate it.

I want to weave for you a pattern of thoughts relating an idea to South Africa — the idea that when you are given much, much is expected of you; the idea of a sense of duty in proportion to one's assets.

There are South Africans who feel they must render service in proportion to the gifts with which they have been endowed. But surely there is also a national obligation. Surely a nation should also render according to its gifts. Surely the idea that much is expected of those to whom much is given must apply

also to countries. Let us look at South Africa in the light of this.

Has any country in the world been given more than South Africa — and returned less? The answer is no. No country in the world has been given the gifts our country has been given. And no country in the world has done less with these gifts. No country in the world has squandered its natural assets as systematically and as wantonly as ours has. No nation has matched our steady and relentless progression toward total self-destruction.

What is a nation? It is the land and the people and we are destroying our land and our people with suicidal certainty. This is no flight of rhetoric, it is the cold and horrifying truth, and I will give you facts to prove it.

First let us survey these assets of ours as a nation — the land and the people — for it is only with a full grasp of what we have been given that we can comprehend the awful extent to which we are destroying it.

Climatically and in our mineral wealth and agricultural potential we as a people came into the best country in the world — the most favourable of all for human habitation. Free of the crippling snow and icebound winters of the northern hemisphere, free of the extreme heat and humidity that sap the energies of the peoples of central and North Africa, South America and Asia; only seldom and lightly visited with the awful catastrophes of cyclone, tornado and earthquake which regularly and predictably afflict so many other parts of the world, this land was and is in its natural assets the kindest of all and the gentlest of all to human beings.

As if this were not enough, it provided the greatest supply of mineral wealth ever found on the face of the globe — 80 per cent

of the world's gold, more than half the world's diamonds, uranium, coal, copper . . . And as if even these amazing natural assets weren't enough, the land offered the most exciting agricultural and pastoral potential — in its very vastness and promise enough scope to provide a home for at least sixty million well-fed meaningfully-employed human beings.

All this, without even the need to accommodate such numbers of persons. All this, with only eighteen millions to provide for. And the people? The eighteen million themselves? What assets were to be found in these . . .

Here came a natural group of political leaders — the Afrikaners. A people with a sense of mission and the will to direct, to grow, to spread and enlighten. And here came a natural group of commercial leaders — the British settlers. A people with a sense of industry and the will to develop, to exploit, to consolidate and stabilise. And here was a natural group of builders — the Blacks. A people with great physical strength, endurance, amiability, adaptability and an instinctive reverence for knowledge and learning. In other words, a uniquely ready-made labour force with great capacity for individual advancement from worker-class through middle-class to elite-class.

So there, concisely, were our national assets — the wealth in diversity of our land and the strength in diversity of our people. Land and people. What have we done with these assets? What have we done with the land? What have we done with the people? What are we doing with the land? And what are we doing with people. We are destroying the land and we are destroying the people.

Take the land first, for without the land there can be no people. In 1923 it was estimated that South Africa lost 187 million tons of soil every year washed into the sea by our nine biggest rivers. That is, 91 square miles one foot in depth. And soil is generally only about a foot in depth. Since then the position has grown far worse, and through erosion by water and wind we now lose the equivalent of Table Mountain in precious good soil every year, let alone other soil. Since Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape, South Africa has lost no less than a quarter of its arable land. And the process is cumulative and compounded, so that today we are speeding ever more toward the halfway mark of such loss. Since I started speaking to you, South Africa lost

150 acres of fine topsoil. Because we are now losing the topsoil equivalent of a 50 acre farm every two minutes.

### Land of famine

Is this the irreversible work of nature in South Africa? No. No more than it was in the dustbowl of the middle western United States in the 1920s until Franklin Roosevelt, as part of his New Deal, reversed the process. There, as here, bad farming was largely to blame. Here, as there, the land can be cured. But time is short. If we do not do something now, this will be a land of famine within the lifetime of most of us in this hall. If we do not do something now, we can start ticking off the years — not the decades — to a time when literally no food will be grown in this country because we are abusing nature.

The answer is enlightened use of the land generally, and enlightened farming particularly. The resting of land, the planting of grass which binds the soil and acts as a sponge to hold the benefits of rain. But our present economic and political set-up is not conducive to this. In fact, it encourages the plunder of the land. Firstly, we have massive agricultural ignorance. Few of our farmers have even matriculated, let alone studied agriculture. More than 80 per cent have not even got their Junior Certificate. And whereas in America, where they realise that to feed a nation you need sensible farming — which is not always the most lucrative form of farming in the short-term — they have a generous system of farm subsidy so that farmers can afford to let land lie fallow, recuperating, here in South Africa the farmer has to plunder the land for a living, to earn cash now. And the average farmer's mentality — the short-term cash outlook — is powerfully influential in our Parliament because 33 per cent of our MP's are farmers. So the problem is compounded further by complications of pressure-groups and vote-catching. And while today's need and greed is being satisfied, the land is dying at a rate which will mean no tomorrow — not for the next generation, but for this one. So we are indeed destroying the land.

Now what of the people? How are we destroying the people? Well, we are doing so in an extraordinary variety of ways. Look at what we are — and how we came to be as we are. We South Africans constitute the most tense, unhappy, divided and fearful nation on earth. Our upper class, a privileged leader group, has one of the highest alcoholism rates

in the world and is unchallenged for the highest hard-liquor drinking rate in the world. We have more alcoholics than policemen. We are also the world's heaviest smokers, the world's most frequent divorcees and the world's most lethal drivers. Since the Vietnam war began, more South Africans have died in road accidents than American soldiers have died in Vietnam. (67,000 as against 56,000). But our road fatality rate pales beside what the statistics for tuberculosis show — 40 deaths a day, which is three times as many deaths as the Americans have had in Vietnam since that war began. These are deaths I am talking about, not casualties or incidences.

#### **Mental health statistics**

There are even more horrifying statistics in the sphere of general ill-health. More than two-thirds of all South Africans suffer in some degree from malnutrition, and the privileged group shows a spiralling incidence of heart disease. And our mental health statistics are equally revealing. Over 20 per cent of our people are in serious need of some form of psychiatric treatment — and there are only a couple of dozen psychiatrists available to provide it.

#### **A violent country**

We are a violent country. Every day at least 25 South Africans die as a result of criminal violence. That is going on for 10,000 victims a year. And while these are being killed, our policemen are running around handling 730,000 pass law contraventions in the same period. Our average daily prison population is 80,000 and just as a matter of passing interest, we execute a higher ratio of criminals every year than any other nation in the world. Mentally and physically, we suffer the diseases of tension, for these are the statistics of tension. Mentally and physically, our people are in deep trouble. We are a sick people, a sick nation. And viewed against countries of comparable circumstances, we are a backward nation. Our telephone systems are inadequate, our road systems are archaic and our industrial development is being strangled. In spite of an abundance of both commodities, industry cannot get workers and workers cannot get work. Physically, mentally, industrially, agriculturally and politically, we appear to be doing our best to wipe ourselves out.

In the past, other nations have succeeded in destroying themselves, but the ghastly difference about South Africa is this — we are

first to do so through culpable ignorance, reinforced by deliberate legislation. And particularly through legislation aimed specifically at most of our own people.

I do not have to tell you of the sickening effects of the Government's race laws, whether relating to group areas or to job reservation or to the dozens of statutes aimed at creating legislative and material obstacles to real advancement for millions of our people. I do not have to repeat here what has been said in so many speeches, articles and books, showing not only the gross injustice of racism but also the gross folly and the gross danger inseparable from it. All these are surely obvious to any intelligent person. But this outline of the sicknesses of our nation would be incomplete without mention of some of the less obvious by-products of our national obsession with race. For these less obvious consequences show to what extent all of us — and I truly mean all of us — are drifting toward totalitarian patterns of behaviour.

#### **A herd**

We are no longer a nation of individualists. We are a herd. The pattern of our lives has become sheeplike. Here I repeat I am not even going to mention the obvious examples of totalitarianism, such as detention without trial, intimidation by political police, radio propaganda and the like. I am going to take ordinary little everyday instances of totalitarian mentality. Take a cricket crowd at the Wanderers during a recent Test against Australia. All it needed to move hundreds back from the boundary was the wave of an official's arm — because that official was wearing an official armband. Your South African official today is even more than a father-figure. He is a police-figure and an ultimate-authority figure. He is no longer there to help — he is there to bark out orders. And the worst of it is, not only the crowd believes this, he himself believes it. I can imagine the response such an official would get at a sports stadium in the United States. It is the same with cinemas. No country in the world is more advertisement-conscious than America — but again, the customer is paramount. While advertising is everywhere it is never beamed to a captive audience. Television commercials can be ignored. There are many things to do around the house during a commercial — get more beer, for instance, or make coffee. Yet they won't have it in their cinemas because they pay to watch the movie, and leave home to do so. But here captive audiences are blatantly

imposed upon in our cinemas, so that what should be at most a two-hour absence from home turns into a three-hour excursion — thanks to cinema adverts. These are different from newspaper or magazine adverts, which can also be ignored. Do our cinema-goers protest? They do not. They think this outrageous sort of imposition is normal, and besides, South African society will do anything to avoid a fuss.

Two simple little examples of cowed crowd behaviour, but they are more ominous than is realised, for in these ordinary little ways, we show we have become conditioned to accept inconvenience and imposition as normal. And our general reluctance to kick up a fuss suits our rulers admirably, because it is part of another bit of conditioning as well — the devaluation and discrediting of the larger principle of the right and value of protest in general.

South Africa's population:—			
14,893,000	Africans	1,996,000	Coloureds
3,779,000	Whites	614,000	Asiatics
<i>1970 Census</i>			

All forms of protest, no matter how lawful, are therefore made to seem at best embarrassing, and at worst downright subversive. Conformity increasingly leads to a resigned acceptance of impositions. Laurence van der Post, in his book "Journey into Russia", likens the resigned acceptance by Russian peasants — of late trains, incorrect airline schedules and bad service in state-owned supermarkets — to that of the black South African peasant. Nothing suits the authoritarian government better than this conformity of resignation because it protects government incompetence while promoting acceptance of government policy. And there is a lot of incompetence to protect.

In terms of sheer competence, never mind ideology, we have an appallingly low level of performance in government. Our sectional political climate has tended to enshrine incompetence. The blunderer is protected by what one can only describe as his tribal standing, for there is no doubt that the tribal mentality has crept into white politics on both sides of the Nat-Sap fence. This is inevitable, of course, when political performance is measured not in terms of sound and economical government but in terms of attitudes to race. In fact, race prejudice and sensible government are simply incompatible.

### Proliferation of toilets

Groping around for an illustration of this point, I found one that I now communicate to you with relish. In terms of our Factories Act, a separate toilet must be provided in new factories for every 15 members of either sex for every race group. So if your factory employs 225 African males, 225 African females, 60 White males, 60 White females, 75 Coloured males, 75 Coloured females, 60 Indian males, 60 Indian females, 30 Chinese males and 30 Chinese females, your factory is going to end up with 60 toilets. And when apartheid is finally scrapped we will have — thanks to our present government — the highest ratio of toilets to factory workers in the world.

This proliferation of toilets will be a most fitting monument to our present regime. Just as the British had their wartime benefits called after appropriate cabinet ministers, such as the Anderson shelter and the Woolton pie, maybe we will have our industrial toilets recorded in our history as the Blaar Coetzee geriewe.

While we as a people are increasingly conforming to the preferred dispositions of our rulers, handing them a blank cheque to do with as they will, they are dragging this already sick nation down their own path to political destruction, a path paved with racial myth, racial fear and racial injustice. They are not only isolating us from the world, they are making us increasingly absurd in our isolation. And overlaying all this looms a hideously false interpretation of patriotism, of the state as the all-knowing, all-wise, always-right concept — the ultimate symbol of all the officials from cricket-ground attendants in armbands, to traffic cops in their righteous and personal indignation, up to cabinet level, where they wear the broadest armbands of all. As super-patriots of course. And this leads us to the theme I wish to end up with — patriotism.

### Constructive criticism

It is said that it is always easy to find fault, that one should never be only destructive, and that all criticism should be constructive. As a journalist I might say in passing that this phrase sticks in my throat. Newspapermen have long realised that when people say they resent destructive criticism but welcome constructive criticism they usually mean they don't want any kind of criticism at all. Just as when politicians claim they have been misquoted they usually mean they are sorry now

that they said what they said then. Still, far be it from me to wish to be only destructive, to do nothing but condemn, to be no more than a prophet of doom. Easy to say we are committing national suicide through abuse of the soil and abuse of the citizen. The question is — what can we do about it? I suggest the answer lies with ourselves, starting with all of us here. We must begin a new patriotism. It can be our version of the new frontier. And the new patriotism I am going to suggest is a radical one.

### **Humbug, deceit and bigotry**

It is almost exactly the opposite of the old patriotism which was founded on humbug, deceit and bigotry. One of the most immoral sayings ever given currency was the paraphrase of Stephen Decatur's "My country, right or wrong". Yet many nations have based national policy on this ludicrous precept. And for generations whole peoples have followed it blindly. The Nazis brought this to a fine art. They even devised a march that is the epitome of conformity in motion — the goosestep — designed to dull the brain while tiring the body. From this it was but a short step to *ein reich, ein volk, ein fuhrer* and the doctrine of *befehl ist befehl* — orders are orders.

But it was not only Germany that traded immorally on the old patriotism. This has happened in all countries at all times. It is happening here today. Among our Whites it is rapidly becoming accepted that attacks on apartheid are attacks on South Africa as such, that criticism of apartheid internally is unpatriotic because it is against our so-called way of life. The real patriots — those whose commitment is to all South Africans — are regarded as traitors. It is therefore time for a new definition of patriotism, so that a new patriotism can be born.

### **Healing**

The new patriotism must be a new commitment to all that is rightly and essentially South African. The land and the people. It must aim at healing the land, the people, thus enabling the nation to fulfil its obvious destiny — the provision of an inspiring example to the rest of the world of how racial enmity can be turned into racial unity in even the most complex racial society. It must be based on four principles; Liberal democracy, greater communication with all our countrymen, a willingness to yield to their preferences where these are compatible with democratic

principle, and concerted pressure for the future South Africa that we want.

How can students play their part in saving our land and our people, in working for the South Africa that we want — in fact in becoming the leaders of the new patriotism the nation so badly needs? The first step is to agree on and to stand united as students on one common principle — then to employ a new and more meaningful brand of student power. Without that foundation of an unyielding principle, such power will come to nought, because without the fulcrum the lever is useless. That firm foundation is and can only be the unchanging and unchangeable principle of liberal democracy which includes all our cherished freedoms and must include the freedom to exist.

Let nothing budge you from this principle, in spite of the sneers directed at it by ultra-radical students overseas on one hand and ultra-conservative students here on the other. Remember, you are getting a better education than conservative students in South Africa — and you are different from radical students overseas. Your circumstances are different, your challenges are different, your behaviour is different. For instance, student protest in this country is eminently respectable. You are serious, law-abiding and non-violent. You hold demonstrations which wouldn't even annoy Ronald Reagan. The French and American experiences of the last few years have not provoked even a faint echo here. Why?

"Banning is not intended as a punishment for previous deeds, but is intended as a deterrent to future subversive acts."

*Mr. Pelsler, Minister of Justice.*

First, admission to a university is easy for you. There is hardly any competition for places and there are virtually no entrance examinations. Matriculation does not filter out great numbers who would never fight their way into a university in Britain, America, France, or Germany. The scholarship boy, aware of his class and concerned with the problem of whether or not he is betraying it, hardly exists here. But many of you do demonstrate. You do act. You build schools and run educational programmes for Africans. You speak out as each of our ever-withering civil liberties is hacked at, and you do these things seriously and responsibly, and not like the wilder fringes at overseas universities. There have been no street riots and there is no hys-



teria in student action here. Perhaps most striking of all, one never sees here that element of desperate fashionable withitness which has characterised so many student manifestations overseas. The reason is that the issues are simpler here — more recognisable, more basic. The intellectual atmosphere of South Africa is that of the 19th century. The moral issues are clear. It was wrong in the 1810's to have slaves in much the same way as it is wrong in the 1970's to shunt around a migrant labour force at wages way below the poverty datum line. It was wrong in the 1850's and 60's to employ child labour in much the same way as it is wrong to deprive Africans of the minimal right to exist as families. The current problems of France, Britain and America are of a different order. No doubt the social wrongs to be put right there are extremely serious and great urgency is felt by those who wish to right those wrongs. But the moral issues are not so clear and the spiritual problems of highly developed and overpopulated urban civilisations seem extremely complex to the naive South African eye. Here, one feels the good and the bad are easily discernible, and they know each other.

#### Catchwords and slogans

So the liberal South African student is not so easily swayed by catchwords and slogans and hero-figures, and he is not so concerned to be with-it. He sees the world created by his parents and he disapproves, but he disapproves in the language of his parents. We need not congratulate ourselves that in this country the generation gap has not caused bloodshed on the streets. We may simply be thankful for it. It is the one benefit that we derive from the fact that we exist, morally speaking, in the 19th century.

We still accept as an axiom that the values of a liberal democracy are worth preserving. But how are we to preserve them. We have unique problems. The enemies of liberal democracy in this country are not so much outside our borders as within them. They are not so much outside our so-called democratic government as within it, in charge of it, in fact. The amazing thing is not that our government is not a liberal, democratic government, but that it is proud not to be a liberal, democratic government. The grasping of a great ideal by the youth of a country can change that country's history. Certainly this is our only alternative to despair, and despair itself is no answer.

Don't fall into defensive attitudes, or be tricked into adjusting your image and your character to the preferences of the old guard. There is nothing to be defensive about, there is everything to go on to the offensive about. Leave tired cynicism to others. Cynics are simply persons with limited intellects and limited reading habits. Don't join their ranks. Don't share their surrender. And don't drop the torch on leaving university.

The future of the nation — the land and the people — truly depends on you. Our very freedom to exist depends on you. Because only when our youth, our thinking youth, know and drive relentlessly for the South Africa we want, the South Africa we must achieve to avoid losing all, the real South Africa, can we achieve a healthy land, a healthy people, a nation with a potential and a destiny second to that of no other nation on earth.

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## The 19

Punishment without trial and Government interference with the administration of justice is fast becoming all too traditional in this country. The banning orders imposed on the nineteen people who have been twice detained, twice charged, twice acquitted is the latest example, so blatant that it has caused a public outcry.

But arbitrary detention, banning, banishment, house arrest, deportation, confiscation of passports have been tools which this Government has used drastically for many years to punish, re-punish, intimidate and silence. Legislation and Ministerial edict excludes the judiciary.

The Courts are a fundamental bulwark of democracy and their independence should be inviolate. The Government has seriously undermined this fundamental principle by treating the Courts as though they did not exist, not only ignoring their findings but actually countermanding them. There is no security for any single individual in a state which denies people the right of safeguard by the Courts.

It is time that the legal profession, individually and through their associations, publicly voiced their rejection of a system which denies the very principles upon which their profession is based.

*(Transvaal Region of the Black Sash)*

# Umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu

A man is a man because of people

ANTHONY BARKER

*At a special service of dedication held in St. Mary's Cathedral to mark the first day of the National Week of Compassion, Dr. Anthony Barker was the preacher. Dr. Barker is the doctor in charge of the Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital at Nqutu, Zululand. This is the text of his address:*

**Q**UITE SUDDENLY there is an urgency in our thinking about the needs of our fellow men. We find it increasingly intolerable to bear that there are so many poor among us, so many whose lives, if not actually threatened, are grey, dull and diminished.

We react to all this in two ways; with fervour to the relief of the problem, or by withdrawal from the dirt, the inelegance, the unseemliness of it all. We have heard so often now, of hunger and poverty that we feel like crying "enough" when anyone tells us anything more about them. We are satiated with pictures of hungry kids that look just like all the other hungry kids we've seen so many times that we have become oblivious. And just what are we supposed to do about them, anyway?

Then, as we catch ourselves retreating thus, we recall that Jesus received the children, and rebuked his disciples as they tried to take the strain off their master by sending them away. We remember how he taught that the prison-visitor, going to the most disreputable villain in the local gaol, or the one who gave bread to the hungry, and the one who clothed the naked, were in fact, rendering the identical service to Him. Just occasionally we see this. Just occasionally, though usually a moment too late, recognise that it is Christ who looks at us through the eyes of the hopeless ones, the misfits, the thoroughly undeserving.

We are lucky if we do see the human dilemma in these terms. Society as a whole does not, and some of the blame for this must be laid at our door who have not commended Jesus to society, nor introduced Him into our lives sufficiently to make people ask about Him. Society has, generally, gagged at the love of Jesus, and found little difficulty in swallowing huge gobbets of the occult and the esoteric.

Yet even to those who would least claim Christ as their Lord, there is a recognition that this compassionate man has much to say to our time; that he represents the goodness that bit by bit, seems to be leaking away from our civilisation. You do not have to be a Christian to be alarmed by the fall from grace that is everywhere about you. We are worried sick about our children, wistfully, anxiously hoping they may not be corrupted by aimlessness or damaged by drugs. We are troubled by the brashness of a culture built upon selfishness. We want our goodness back.

We want our goodness back more than we know in our anxious hearts, and who can give it again to us than He who taught us not to be anxious (that was his word) for food, for clothing, for the correct address. We want our goodness back, who showed us the path better than he who walked right into a shameful death because he so much wanted life for his brothers? We want our goodness back. We may receive it best from the one who knew that it only increases when it is freely spent.

So, whether we believe, or whether we do not believe, we are here trying to find out what to do with a week of compassion, now that we have got one.

It is reasonable to learn again from Jesus. He gave us direction. He gave us ideas as to what sort of people we were to try to become to fit into his kingdom. Hear him, then, as he says we should resemble the man from Samaria who came across the body of a robbed traveller, there on the rocky road that winds down from Jerusalem to Jericho. Now, this kind of compassionate action towards the sick has, we may truthfully say, been the concern of the Christian body for a long time. In Europe, in Africa and all over the world, Christians have been pioneers in the care of the sick. It has indeed become a kind of good habit which we are inclined to continue without, perhaps, very deep thought as to whether we have outlived our usefulness in this field, just as it is very certain that we have outgrown our financial strength. In the mission hospital in Zululand where I've been working these past years, as in so many places

of its kind all over the country Christ's work of compassion has been going on. Here have been his hands at work in the back yard of our country among the forgotten people in the tribal areas, among the new people there, moved to comply with a master-plan of human dwelling sites, which looks a great deal better on a planners drawing board than it does in the courts of heaven. Here disciplined and expert work has gone on over the years to the greatly increased safety and happiness of thousands. Here babies are secure and mothers able to look forward to their return home with joy. Here the blind see, the lame walk, which, after all, are the signs of the kingdom's imminence. These hospitals have relied on your help in the past, and even now, as the central government, Bantu Affairs and State Health, take a closer, possibly more straitening interest in the affairs of the hospitals there is still room for help, the help of time and talents, the help of handwork, the help of money to achieve the objects which we should wish to achieve ourselves but which do not necessarily qualify for help from government. Compassion is expressed in these ways.

#### Chain reaction of wonder

He said we were to be like the wee boy who had a couple of fish and a few barley loaves who, through his agency, started a chain reaction of wonder that fed a whole crowd. Certainly food, and its lack, is dominant in the thinking of our rural areas. I wish we could wake up to the fact that the reserves are, agriculturally speaking, bankrupt. There are many reasons for this, some of them discreditable to the African smallholder, some to African public opinion, which may look askance at the progressive farmer, some which stem from that most ancient of sore spots, land hunger. Our people are short of land. They are short of land because they have increased in numbers, in part from the 'fault' of the doctors, in part from the official tendency to sweep surplus population in the urban areas under the national carpet where, if they can survive, they are totally inconspicuous and no longer an offence in the official nostrils. With the shortage of land and the poor farming methods that everywhere obtain, malnutrition burgeons in the land. I know it is unpopular to speak of this today; I know that a great deal is being planned and not a little is being done to relieve this, but I hold it unworthy of a nation like ours, with pretensions to cultural leadership in this continent, to have quite so much

built-in hunger in the system as at present exists. Our thinking towards compassionate acts will include the feeding of the hungry, the support of all the moves, government or private towards the betterment of agriculture. We shall ourselves use the land rightly, and encourage others to do so; we shall support research and agricultural improvement plans, we shall abhor waste and be disgusted by pollution; we shall resist exploitation of the natural resources of this marvellously endowed land of ours.

#### For compassion's sake

He told the soldiers to be content with their wages; He told the story of a wage dispute over those hired in the vineyard as late as the eleventh hour; He described men and women as those who worked, who fished, tilled the land, collected the taxes. For every man this is a right; to work, to earn, to produce. Here is boredom banished, prosperity enough achieved. Yet we know only too well that there is no work in the reserves for most. We realise that in the rural townships, Mondlo, Limehill, Morsgat, that the situation is more critical still, for there is no agricultural shock absorber here to take up the bumps of unemployment. We know, for it is declared and official that it is so, that these men and women must become migrant labourers to survive at all in what is, after all, a monetary economy. We can guess, without the exercise of much imagination just how dull, how tedious, how lacking in hope and in love will be the life of the migrant labourer. We can well see that his wife — or his lover — is in worse shape still for she has the added fear that he upon whom she and her children depend, may never return; may become one of the masses absorbed into the city, nameless and without a face. We shall welcome the hope of the border industry, and be glad when economic necessity compels a softening of the rigours of this harsh policy. We shall recognise that many are worried by this, both public and private figures, Christian and Non-Christian; then for compassion's sake let us be honest enough to face the need for change here. The industrialist and the employer of labour can act on the acknowledged principle that fair wages make good workers, that those content at desk and bench are the best producers, the safest workers. Right action at this time and right thinking to back it could go far to break the fearful deadlock which is the place where we are headed right now. We can

exert compassion here too. And where better than in this great city of yours?

He told his disciples not to turn kids away, and spoke more sharply than anywhere else in his recorded speech about those who troubled the children — for of such is the kingdom of heaven. If you have seen, as I have seen day after day, the children dancing, running, moving at a most unsnail-like pace, willingly to school, you will have no doubt of the desire of these little ones to learn, to enter the new world which is as rich in discovery for them as it is for the children of the most privileged in the land. What a sad tale it comes to be, though, as these first, gay steps give way to the yearly dwindling stream headed for the higher forms. We know that the fall-out rate after standard 2 will be 50% and that less than 1% of these lovely kids will get their matric. So many more will stagnate in jobs that do not stretch them at all; so very many more will drift from casual employment to casual employment, the interest value of each job being infinitesimal to nil, the stimulus to good work always lacking. There are so many reasons for this, infirmity of purpose, economic stringency — we all know the business about African children having to provide their own books — parental inadequacy, lack of hope in the future, or of any vision of how all this book learning may be put into practice at all. We may entertain doubts of the educability of so many, and these may be reasonable doubts as well as the promptings of prejudice, at the back of our mind we wonder if the retardations we see may not be based on childhood malnutrition? Educationalists are worried, just as all right-minded people are worried, by the two-classes-a-day system, by inadequately trained teachers, by the divorce of white education from black education, when these two must surely be considered together as we plan a national strategy on illiteracy? There is room here for compassion, surely? A true 'feeling with' the aspirations of the kids and of the parents who care about the kids. If we are in education, are we caring enough? Do we grumble often enough, send letters often enough to the papers under erudite pseudonyms, 'Minerva', 'Scriptorius' etc. expressing our unease about the inequalities of education within our land? It is an odd and paradoxical business after all that the scantiest education facilities are available to those who most need education to survive.

There is a science long neglected among us ordinary people who live outside the lab-

oratores and classrooms of the land, whose name is Ecology. It is the science of the earth, the word about how all life is interdependent on all other life, and all life is conditioned by its environment. No man lives to himself, says Saint Paul, or, more picturesquely, as the Zulus put it; *umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu*: a man is a man because of people. We have rather forgotten this. We have forgotten it in our social life together, preferring to emphasise our differences rather than recount our similarities. We have forgotten it in our life together in Christ. Here, sectional interest and denominational difference have deeply divided that which, he prayed, might be one. We have woken up — I hope not too late — to some of these dangers. But we have not yet sensed the full force of the vision of interdependence of man and nature which we are being taught, forcibly. We are being taught the unity of man and his environment by a series of hard lessons which more or less shock us. We know, because a lot of fish died shamefully in Durban harbour; we know because a pall of smoke hangs over our cities we know, because dongas snake harshly over too many of our fields. Indestructible plastic worries us, and derelict motor cars, and rivers drying up, and flamingoes retreating from the pans along the coast. And do we not most see this disharmony over the deepest problem of all, the problem of our relationships between men and men? I see it so.

And even so, Compassion week calls us to a new insight which, if we but grasp the very



hem will make us more sensitive than we were, more ready to help and to heal. We are to know that this country, this world, this universe is indeed in the hand of God. It is further apparent that if we fail to apprehend the laws that govern all life, we may pay a price for our narrowness which includes our destruction. It is increasingly apparent that a man is fully, totally and completely interdependent upon all others, and that failure to realise this and act upon it will destroy all hope of peace within the wall and outside.

### Sacred cows

We do not underestimate the difficulties. Even if we overcome our diffidence, our shyness over even *trying* to show compassion, we find ourselves up against the redoubtable dragons of Official Attitudes, National-ways-of-life, the sacred cows of commerce. Whatever can we do, faced with these foes? I believe we can act — as I have already said we must act — within the daily path of our life. If those paths are exalted, then we may indeed pass through the searing vapours of the largest and most formidable dragons. But for most of us it will be George Herbert all over again:

Who sweeps a room, as for thy laws,  
Makes that and the action fine.

Thus it seems that we are called upon to act intelligently and compassionately within the normal framework of our lives. I have tried, through a quarter of a century, to express just this within the framework of an agriculturally bankrupt reserve, by being the best doctor I know how to be, and by teaching young women how to be good nurses, too. This has so clearly been to the benefit and support of the whole people that I am filled with wonder at being used, in a cynical age, half so effectively. But you're a professional do-gooder, you say; It's easy for you! I do indeed count it a piece of good fortune to have been able to be the doctor to a whole district, but I'm sure it does not have to be thus, balanced on the edge of eccentricity, that we can show compassion. Rather it is the lot of every Christian, of every true and intelligent man and woman, to show these qualities; it may be in our wages policy up at the factory; it may be in our needlework — sewing garments for cold, needy bodies; it may be in our professional skills; or in our prayers; or in our giving; or in our willingness to be humiliated along with those whose lot it is to be humiliated.

Here and now, and through all the days of our lives, we can show compassion. Here and now, put our compassion into effective action.

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## A House Divided

JOEL CARLSON

*Mr. Carlson is a well-known Johannesburg attorney. This article is taken from the fifth Edgar Brookes Academic Freedom lecture which he delivered at Natal University at Pietermaritzburg.*

**A**CADEMIC FREEDOM is the right to seek knowledge and to pursue the truth for its own sake. It is the right to critically examine truth, and to consider what ends society should pursue to achieve the common good. It must involve the right of free association with all persons, of free expression without restriction of any kind. It must involve the right to join with others in an effort to persuade the people and the government to accept the truth and act in accordance with it.

Our society is an unfree society. We have never known true academic freedom.

We have known the illusion of academic freedom and this has served to bolster the status quo and to isolate us from the truth of unfreedom and injustice.

The cause of those who are unfree, of those who suffer discrimination and injustice, is the cause of academic freedom too.

You have greatly honoured me by inviting me to deliver the 1970 Edgar Brookes lecture.

I intend to tell you about the injustice of our society. I believe that while this injustice exists neither you, nor I, nor any of us, will ever be free.

I have taken as criteria of a free and just society the Articles of the Declaration of Human Rights signed on December 19th, 1948, by member states of the United Nations Assembly without a dissenting vote. (South Africa, the Soviet bloc and Saudi Arabia abstained from voting).

## Article 21

- (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
- (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Our Republican Constitution (Act 32 of 1961, Sec. 59) provides that:—

“Parliament shall be the sovereign legislative authority in and over the Republic, and shall have full power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Republic.”

Parliament is elected by an all White electorate. Only Whites may be elected to Parliament and Parliament makes laws the validity of which cannot be enquired into or pronounced upon by any Court. The Black people of our country exercise no control whatsoever. Their consent to legislation is not required and is not sought.

In fact, the law is that Africans are ruled by decree. The State President in African areas is Parliament. It is competent for him to repeal the Common Law or any Statute Law. (This was said by our Appellate Division in 1950 (Rex vs. Maharaj 1950 (3) S.A.L.R. 187, at 194)).

In terms of the provisions of the Act, the State President may, in his sole discretion and without prior notice to any person concerned, order, as he sees fit, that any tribe or any Bantu shall withdraw from any place and be removed to any other place. The Court cannot interfere. (Mabee vs. Minister of Native Affairs 1958 (2) S.A.L.R. 506).

To stop interdicts against authority by people affected by such orders, the State went further and passed the Bantu (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act No. 64 of 1956. Section 2 provides:—

“Wherever any Bantu is or has . . . been required by any order —

- (a) to vacate, to depart, to be affected or removed from, not to return to, not to be in or not to enter any place or area,
- (b) to be removed from any place to any other place,
- (c) to be arrested or detained for the purpose of his removal . . .

no interdict shall issue for the stay or sus-

pension of the execution of such order or or the removal . . .”

There is no appeal or review by the Court of such orders. In fact, no case has ever been brought to Court since the law was passed.

Rule by proclamation is complete. The Courts are excluded. The White Parliament has appointed officials to make, change and enforce the law over the lives of Africans.

To demonstrate the complete power which delegated officials have in exercising rights conferred by law, the Appellate Division held in 1958 (1) S.A. 546, that the official in exercising his discretion is free to exercise it absolutely. The official is under no obligation whatsoever to acquaint an applicant with any information or reason upon which his decision is based.

It is clear, therefore, that in African areas the rule by official decree is absolute and unchallengeable. Those affected have no say whatsoever in the orders affecting them.

## Article 13 (1)

“Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.”

But in South Africa in our Urban Areas extraordinary powers are again granted to officialdom to control the lives of Africans by this official decree and by their decisions.

The Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945 provides for such regulation and control of Africans in Urban Areas. There are far too many restrictions to enumerate, but among them are these:—

1. The right to acquire any land in an Urban Area is restricted.
2. The right to attend any Church service or function, any school, or hospital or club is restricted.
3. The right to attend any place of entertainment in an Urban Area, outside a Bantu Area, is restricted.
4. The right to hold any meeting or gathering attended by Africans, is restricted, as is the organising of such meetings.
5. No African has the right to be or remain in any Urban Area for more than 72 hours without permission. The refusal of permission cannot be challenged in Court, but an administrative appeal is possible.
6. The right to be, remain, reside and work in an Urban Area is restricted. Redundant Africans, also referred to as superfluous appendages, such as the elderly, the sick minor children, may be endorsed out of an Urban Area by these officials.

These are dry legal phrases, parliamentary jargon — but how the words spring alive, and acquire meaning for those affected by them.

### Article 7

“All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination”.

### Group Areas

The Physical Separation of the races is provided for by the Group Areas Act. Here again it is government by decree and proclamation. The State President, after hearing from his Group Areas Board, proclaims group areas. The Courts have not been excluded from enquiry into actions taken under this Act, but have in effect excluded themselves from enquiring into the justice and fairness of the treatment meted out by authority.

In 1961 the Appeal Court was asked to set aside a Group Area proclamation in favour of Whites in Durban and discriminating unfairly against Indians. The Indians complained of the striking disparity between the accommodation, housing and amenities available in the White and non-White group areas. They said there was no reasonable prospect in the foreseeable future of suitable accommodation or amenities being made available in the non-White Group Areas. They complained further that this showed a partial and unequal treatment to a substantial degree between members of the White and the Indian group. They said that the Act did not authorise such a degree of discrimination.

The learned Appeal Court ruled (1961 (2) S.A. 602):—

“The most important question raised is whether the Act empowers the Governor-

Without free speech no search for truth is possible; without free speech no discovery of truth is useful; without free speech progress is checked and the nations no longer march forward toward the nobler life which the future holds for man. Better a thousandfold abuse of free speech than denial of free speech. The abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people, and entombs the hope of the race.

*Charles Bradlaugh*

General-in-Court (now the State President) to discriminate to the extent of partial and unequal treatment to a substantial degree between members of the different groups as defined... The Group Areas represents a colossal social experiment and a long-term policy. Parliament must have envisaged that compulsory population shifts of persons occupying certain areas would inevitably cause disruption or, within the foreseeable future, substantial irregularities. Whether this will ultimately prove to be for the common weal of all the inhabitants, is not for the Court to decide.”

The Court therefore, held that the foreseeable discriminatory results complained of in this case were authorised by the Act and the complaints were therefore in effect dismissed.

The number of people uprooted by the Act is not readily and fully ascertainable. But in Parliament the Minister said:—

1,318 White families were disqualified and 1,196 resettled. 68,897 Coloured families were disqualified, and 32,240 resettled. 37,653 Indians were disqualified and 21,939 resettled. 899 Chinese were disqualified and 64 resettled. Over 108,000 families have been moved. Only about 5,000 Whites are affected.

Significantly enough, neither the Minister, nor anyone else, has accurate figures for the number of Africans moved. But a number of organisations have reported on resettlement camps or villages such as Limehill, Morsgat, Stinkwater, Sada and many others. The conditions permitted by authority and existing there are described as some of the most tragic and horrible that exist anywhere in the world today. To argue that there are some places and people in the world in fouler and more cruel conditions is an argument that disgusts in this richly endowed society.

### Article 23

- “(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- (2) Everyone, without discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- (4) Everyone has the right to form and join

trade unions for the protection of his interests.”

How do we measure up to Article 23?

### The case of Joseph

Joseph and his friend Ben were born in a rural area some 150 miles from Johannesburg. Many years ago they came to Johannesburg and worked for one employer. They returned home as migrant labourers, paid the rentals for the houses occupied by their wives, sent their children to school, paid their taxes. They were law abiding citizens. After working in Johannesburg for about five years for the same employer the Location Superintendent talked to them one Christmas. He said it was not good for the women to live in his location while the men worked in Johannesburg. He said they must come back and work in the area. If they did not do this he would eject them from their houses. Well Joseph had ten children and Ben six children and if they were ejected where else in the world would they get permission to be and remain to work in. So they reported to their employer. The employer did not want to lose them. They were “good boys” so he personally spoke to the local Superintendent “very nicely”, and it was agreed that they could stay another year or two.

Then it was enough and they were compelled to leave and go “home”. By this time they had improved their houses, one of them spending R550 on improvement and the other R350.

At “home” they took out licences to trade and both carried on their own trade quite separately. There were once again successfully earning a living.

At the beginning of the next year he told the Magistrate not to grant them new licenses. This was improper and after a dispute the Magistrate granted licenses.

The Superintendent called Joseph and Ben. He said he was the sole lawgiver and what he said was law and he would not allow them to carry on their present occupation. He said no “Kaffir” should have any business and they must give it up. They must find work for a “White Baas” where they would work from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. If not he would eject them from the location.

They continued with their lawful business. The Superintendent refused to accept their rentals and then gave them notice to quit the location for failing to pay rent.

Urgent applications were brought. As a re-

sult the notices were withdrawn and the Municipality paid the costs. They are still in the location.

### The right to work and wages

The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce reported that for the year 1968/69 the average earnings for White employees was R260.00 per month. For Africans it was R47.00 per month. During the same period, in the mining industry, the richest and most profitable industry in our country, White miners earned R297.00 per month on average, and Africans R18.00 per month. The minimum rate for an African miner is R10.80 per month, and fringe benefits amounting to R7.60 per month. This is what is paid for one of the world’s most dangerous forms of employment. The Government Mining Engineer reported in 1969 that White miners earn 16½ times as much as African miners. The African mineworkers constitute 89% of the mineworkers.

A financial journal said in April last year (Financial Mail, April 18, 1969):—

“This is a shocking state of affairs which would never have been tolerated if the African community had the political influence of trade union power.”

Africans have no registered trade unions. Strikes for higher pay are forbidden. Their productivity potential is ensnared by a complex mass of laws restricting education, employment and mobility. They have no say in the Government they are called on to finance.

In Natal about 50% of Indians live below the poverty datum line. In Johannesburg 68% of Soweto families live below the estimated minimum family budget.

### Taxes

Yet the poor, the Africans, who have no vote, are more heavily taxed than Whites.

All African men over 18 have to find R2.50 per annum, plus a local tax of R1.00, plus other local levies, which vary from place to place. If Africans earn more than R360.00 per annum, they pay income tax. Whites start paying tax when their income is R750.00 or more for single men, and R1,000.00 or more for married men. Whites obtain tax relief for dependants. Africans do not. Whites obtain refunds if P.A.Y.E. deductions are higher than the tax. Africans do not receive refunds unless the Secretary for Bantu Affairs specifically authorises it.

### Article 26 (1)

“Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the element-



ary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be more generally available. Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit."

In South Africa the per capita expenditure for Africans is R13.5 per child per annum. On Whites it is R114.1 per child per annum. Education for Whites is compulsory and free. Africans pay for their buildings, their books, as well as school fees.

**Article 25 (1) says:—**

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control."

Malnutrition and disease are rife among the black population. To take one example recently quoted. (Evening Post, August 22, 1970). There was a rise of 600% in the incidence of kwashiorkor at the Non-White Hospital in Port Elizabeth.

In 1964 their figures given was 166 cases, and in 1968 this had risen to 766 cases. Kwashiorkor causes permanent brain damage. Pellagra (a vitamin deficiency disease) accounted for half the African admissions to the Pretoria Mental Hospital. Kwashiorkor kills 40% of Transkeian children before they reach the age of 10. (Star, March 14, 1970).

In 1968 alone the number of notified new cases of T.B. was 61,292 Africans, 7,418 Coloured and 921 Whites. These figures exclude people suffering from T.B. before 1968. The M.O.H. Vereeniging reported in his Annual Report, 1968:— "The main problem of T.B. is still the disrupting influence not only on the health of the victim but also on the life of the family." He describes vividly how the family is affected and concludes, "For this reason it is alarming to find that one is sometimes expected to return cases to the 'Homelands' when it is known to all that no facilities exist in this district for adequate treatment and hospitalisation which is invariably necessary in the initial stages."

The M.O.H. of Kingwilliamstown gave the infant mortality rate for 1969 as 124.22 per thousand for Africans. The rate for Whites has been stated as 21.2 per thousand, and for Coloured as 132.0 per thousand.

That is how we cater for the health and well-being of some of our people.

#### **Torture**

Although it sound an anachronism to talk of torture in the Twentieth Century, that it is necessary is apparent.

#### **Article 5**

"No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

I refer you to the publication of the Institute of Race Relations, "The Pass System and Detention". There I set out on pages 4, 5, and 6, some of the abhorrent features of our law which are contrary to civilised legal systems everywhere. I also detail the effects of sensory deprivation. I refer, too, to the unhappy number of deaths in detention, and the regular and sustained complaints of unlawful methods of interrogation.

The Minister, in terms of the law, is policeman, prosecutor and judge in his own cause. He told Parliament on September 10th, 1970:—

"At present there is a charge pending against 20 Accused. I do not want to discuss the case now, because it is, of course, sub judice, but this shows that we have done precisely what we envisaged. These persons (the 20) are eventually, after proper interrogation, brought before the Court. The Honourable members must realise that you are dealing here with shrewd people... you do not get the truth from them; you must detain them; you must interrogate them and interrogate them again. They have been taught to keep secrets... Their instructions were that as soon as they were detained, they were to complain that they were being tortured; that they must at all costs accuse the police of maltreatment and that they must do various other things. This is the type of person you are dealing with here."

The Minister did not say that their instructions also were to step on soap, fall in showers or meet their death in other unhappy circumstances — nor did he comment on the number of deaths in detention.

Then why, I ask, does the Minister not expose them as the lying propagandists it is claimed they are? There has been opportunity time and time again to expose them, but the opportunity has not been taken.

Let us assume, as we must, that the Minister would not tolerate torture being practised by any of his interrogators. However, the law itself provides for indefinite detention in soli-

tary confinement, and this is a form of sensory deprivation, which has been described as torture. The detainee is held incommunicado. He has no access to his wife, or family, his lawyers, the Courts, a Minister of religion, nor have the Courts, or any person, any right to see him, but he may be visited once a fortnight by a magistrate, if circumstances permit. No one doubts the Minister has a duty to ensure the safety of the people and secure peace and order. He also has a duty to safeguard the life, liberty and security of the individual.

At the least it can be asked whether the Minister is not over-apprehensive and sedulous in accepting the existence or imminence of a danger and hastens to ban people regarded by the Courts as innocent. Innocent, too, of *all possible* charges which could have been brought against them after 17 months of detention, and after being interrogated again and again, as he says.

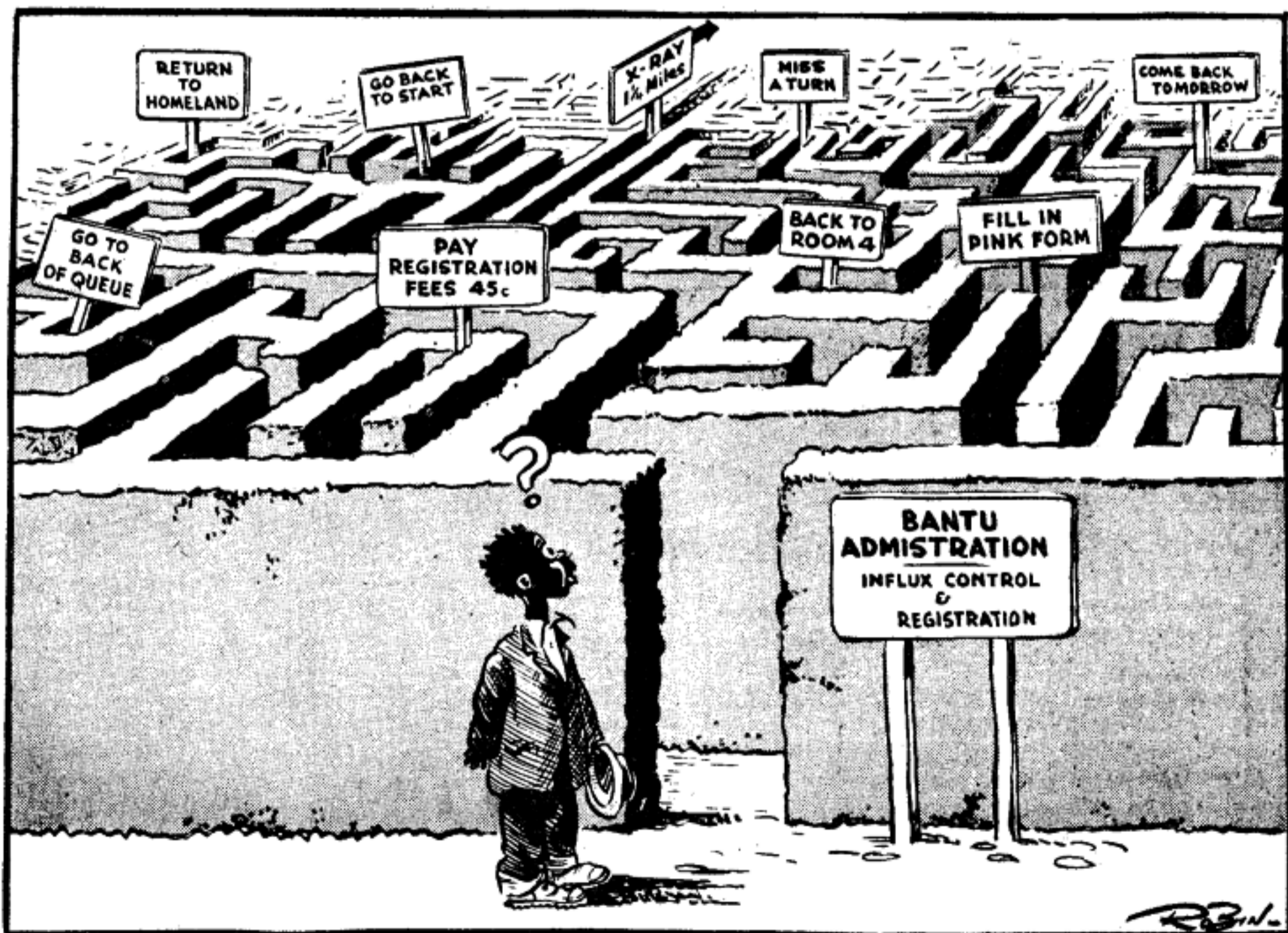
It is, I submit, the Minister's duty to in-

vestigate serious complaints made by people held in custody. It is his duty to investigate and pursue the truth in such case and to prevent it, whatever it is. If an investigation shows that complaints are lies, the Minister will gain a great propaganda victory. If the truth of the complaints is established, the Minister can bring the culprit to book, and the good name and respect of his department will be upheld. Such action would only be in the interest of peace, order and good government. Either way, the Minister will rightfully be highly regarded.

When procedural safeguards of liberty are removed by law, the Minister must exercise particular care to protect the individual.

In an address to the American Bar Association in 1968, Professor Larsen, a great American jurist, and one of President Eisenhower's personal advisers, said this about the Terrorism Act:—

“If you pass a statute which gives the police and the executive authorities free reign to



### LOST JOURNEY INTO BUREAUCROSTAN

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do almost anything they please in the way of violation of human rights, and then excuse this by saying that you will of course rely on the discretion of the authorities not to abuse this power, you have for all practical purposes thrown away law and substituted unlimited personal tyranny."

This opinion is universally held. Our Bar Councils, too, have condemned this measure.

How did the Minister and his officials act when these complaints were brought to Court?

I will detail only one of the many such cases. I know of at least 50 such complaints. I have said this to officials of the Minister, and have sought an airing of the matter in Court, but without success.

Some six years ago I wrote to the then Minister of Justice, now Prime Minister, telling him of another 20 or 30 complaints, and asked him to appoint a judicial enquiry. He asked me rather to submit the evidence to him, but this I was not entitled to do as the complainants feared victimisation, and I explained this. No such commission was established. Will it ever be? Are all such complaints to be dismissed out of hand as lies? Is this a judicious and proper way to treat the matter?

**Gabriel Mbindi**

In May, 1967, a 68-year old grandfather was detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. He was held from the end of May to the end of November, before being questioned. Gabriel Mbindi, for that was his name, then gave information to fellow-prisoners about his interrogation. He said that on the 28th November, 1967, during interrogation by the Special Branch he was assaulted by the Security Police. He said:—

- (1) He was handcuffed to an iron water pipe in such a manner that his feet barely touched the floor.
- (2) He was blindfolded.
- (3) Then the Security Police struck him many blows on the face with their fists; kicked him and threatened to kill him.
- (4) As a result of this assault his face was swollen and his ears became painful.
- (5) The purpose of the assault was to elicit further information from him."

He feared further assault and asked his fellow-prisoners to help him. They did. One of them brought an urgent application on December 18, 1967. The Court was asked to order that Gabriel be brought to Court for the purpose of giving evidence about the assault, or to direct that an affidavit be taken from him by a person appointed by the Court. An

interdict against further assaults was also sought.

The Applicant said in his affidavit:—

"I have every reason to believe Gabriel is truthful in his allegations in view of the fact that I and many of my co-accused have been similarly assaulted by members of the Special Branch during our detention, and from my own experience I state that Gabriel is justified in fearing that he will be assaulted again in future".

A number of other fellow-prisoner occupying the same wing of the prison confirmed that they too had heard Gabriel's complaints and believed him as they too were cruelly assaulted by the Security Police and that this took place during detention and interrogation.

One Simoen said that at a police station he had been handcuffed to a window frame — his arm was broken and he was in leg irons. In this position he was electrically shocked.

Another prisoner Kaleb said he was punched until he fell down. He was then handcuffed to an iron water pipe from which he was suspended. Whilst in this position he was struck many blows. He said he was blindfolded with a wet cloth and electric shocks were administered.

Six further affidavits were filed. Statements were minuted from some thirty people whom Counsel subsequently saw .

In Court, on Decemebr 19, 1967, an interim interdict was granted and the matter was postponed to January 23, 1968.

On the day following the first hearing of the matter, a Special Branch policeman attended on the Applicant and one of the other men who gave affidavits for Gabriel, and attempted to obtain affidavits from them, allegedly by threats. It was claimed that he acted improperly. The said lieutenant also then took an affidavit from Gabriel.

The Minister later filed an affidavit saying that he had read the statement taken from Mr. Mbindi and submitted that, in his judgement, "it would serve no purpose and would in no way be essential or advantageous to the interests of a proper adjudication of this application to order that any further affidavit be taken from Gabriel Mbindi by any person whomsoever." The Minister then refused to disclose to the Court the affidavit taken by the said lieutenant from Gabriel Mbindi.

Other affidavits were filed on behalf of the Commissioner of Police, by the interrogating officer and by African constables who acted as interpreters. They all denied emphatically

that any assaults as alleged had ever taken place.

A special head warder appointed to deal with political prisoners filed an affidavit setting out how he always carefully examined such prisoners immediately before and after their interrogation, and he had seen no visible injuries on Gabriel, but said Gabriel was a little deaf — and had been so on his first admission to prison. He was sure he would know about any assault if it had taken place. He, too, denied the assault.

But on November 30, two days after the alleged assault, the District Surgeon found an elongated perforation of the right ear, but said he received no complaint of assault and said he saw no marks of an assault.

However, on December 21, two days after the matter was heard in Court, Gabriel was taken to an ear, nose and throat specialist, who noted his complaints of pain in the right ear. On examination this specialist found two perforations of the ear drum. The apparent cause was increased air pressure in the outer hearing channel, "probably caused by a blow on the ear".

Furthermore, the specialist said, "The injuries did not appear to be older than three months and were not more recent than a week" (the period he was in detention).

In the left ear the specialist also found other injuries, which, he said, "could probably be attributed to a sharp instrument being pushed about two inches into the ear".

Nine magistrates filed affidavits and said none of the detainees complained to them about assaults.

In reply, the Applicant said he and his co-accused gained the impression from the Magistrates in general, "that they were more concerned with matters relating to prison conditions than in assaults by the Security Police. Consequently . . . there was no point in continuing to make complaints of assault and we confined our complaints to matters relating to our condition in prison. These complaints were noted and often attended to."

One Magistrate stated that he had received a complaint from Mbindi.

In January, when the matter came to court, it was postponed for about a month as the Judge said it was not urgent. One afternoon, early in February, I was informed by phone that Gabriel would be released in Windhoek next morning. I flew to Windhoek immediately, and saw Gabriel together with his wife. This was the first time I had seen Gabriel,

and I asked him whether he wished to give me an affidavit regarding the assault. I told him the choice was his, and that it would be understandable if he declined. His wife advised him not to give me an affidavit, but he insisted on telling me what he said was the truth, because, he said, "I am old, I am nearly dead and what more harm can be done to me?" He then confirmed the allegations of assault. He also said the police had obtained a statement from him after they had promised to release him. He said he had been paid R92.00 as witness fees.

After filing his affidavit, the Minister then filed the affidavit his investigating officer took from Gabriel. It showed that at first Gabriel stated he had been assaulted and after a police interpreter appeared he denied being assaulted. The papers before the Court alleged that a systematic course of torture was being conducted by certain interrogating officers. The matter was set down for trial. Senior and junior counsel then saw 27 persons on Robben Island and consulted with them on their being similarly assaulted. Thereafter the State Attorney made approaches for a settlement. The "Rand Daily Mail" reported (on Friday, November 1st) as follows:

Under heading, "Assault is alleged: State Pays R3,000 costs", the story reads:—

"A Supreme Court case in which Ovambos held under the Terrorism Act alleged 'cruel and brutal' assaults — including electric shock torture — by members of the Security Branch has been settled out of court a month before oral evidence was to have been called on the claims.

"The matter was set down for the hearing of evidence in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, next Tuesday. It has now been taken off the roll.

"In terms of an agreement reached between the parties, the State has paid R3,000 towards the costs of an application made in December last year for a Court order to protect a 68-year old Ovambo detainee, Mr. Gabriel Mbindi, from assaults by the police. "The money has been paid 'without prejudice and without any admissions whatever of the truth or correctness of the affidavits filed in support of the application, especially in relation to alleged assaults'.

"The money has been accepted by the Applicant's attorney, Mr. Joel Carlson, 'without any admission of the truth or correctness of the affidavits filed in support of the respondents.'"

So much for Article 5 of the Declaration.

In fact, there is not one article in the whole Declaration to which we adhere. Perhaps this was why, with rare honesty, South Africa did not sign the Declaration.

#### Black feelings

Whilst this may not disturb many White South Africans, we should be sensitive of the feelings of millions of Black South Africans.

A South West African man convicted under the Terrorism Act addressed the Court in these words:—

“My Lord, we find ourselves here in a foreign country, convicted under laws made by people whom we have always considered as foreigners. We find ourselves tried by a Judge who is not our countryman and who has not shared our background . . .

“We are Namibians and not South Africans. We do not now, and will not in the future recognise your right to govern us; to make laws for us in which we had no say; to treat our country as if it were your property and us as if you were our masters. . . .

“The South African Government has again shown its strength by detaining us for as long as it pleased; keeping some of us in solitary confinement for 300 to 400 days and bringing us to its Capital to try us. It has shown its strength by passing an Act especially for us and having it made retrospective. It has even chosen an ugly name to call us by. One’s own are called patriots; or at least rebels; your opponents are called Terrorists.”

After setting out his people’s complaints and lack of rights he goes on to say:—

“I do not claim that it is easy for men of different races to live at peace with one another. I myself had no experience of this in my youth, and at first it surprised me that men of different races could live together in peace. But now I know it to be true and to be something for which we must strive. The South African Government creates hostility by separating people and emphasising their differences. We believe that by living together, people will learn to lose their fear of each other. We also believe that this fear which some of the Whites have of Africans is based on their desire to be superior and privileged and that when Whites see themselves as part of South West Africa, sharing with us all its hopes and troubles, then that fear will disappear. Separation is said to be a natural process. But why, then, is it imposed by

force, and why then is it that Whites have the superiority?

His closing words are a challenge to our society:—

“We believe that South Africa has a choice either to live at peace with us or to subdue us by force. If you choose to crush us and impose your will on us then you not only betray your trust, but you will live in security for only so long as your power is greater than ours. No South African will live at peace in South West Africa, for each will know that his security is based on force and that without force he will face rejection by the people of South West Africa.

“My co-accused and I have suffered. We are not looking forward to our imprisonment. We do not, however, feel that our efforts and sacrifice have been wasted. We believe that human suffering has its effect even on those who impose it. We hope that what has happened will persuade the Whites of South Africa that we and the world may be right and they may be wrong. Only when White South Africans realise this and act on it, will it be possible for us to stop our struggle for freedom and justice in the land of our birth.”

“We are now going to pay particular attention to the area, and will clear it of tsotsis. We know that our actions will lead to a lot of indignant letters to the Press accusing us of being inhuman, and arresting people without cause.

But, if anybody who looks like a tsotsi cannot produce a reference book, or proof that he has a job . . . out he goes.”

*Brig. H. P. van R. Steyn,  
District Commander of Police,  
Johannesburg.*

These are feelings not often heard by whites in South Africa. The choice he puts before us is a profound one.

#### Violence

Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower was appointed by the President as the Chairman of the American “National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence”. It presented its report in December, 1969. In the Introduction at p. xix, it says:—

“That kind of society where law is more feared than respected, where individual expression and movement are curtailed is violent too — and it nurtures within itself the

seeds of its own violent destruction".

Violence today in South Africa is the arbitrary arrest of a person and his indefinite detention in solitary incommunicado, for the purpose of endless interrogation. Violence is punishment without trial where the Minister is policeman, prosecutor and judge and the person punished cannot even be heard or know the charges against him. Violence is a system of informers and arbitrary restrictions where the individual is unsafe and unsure of his actions or his future. Violence is the refusal to educate all sections of the population to the best of their ability. Violence is the forcible removal of persons from their homes and the breaking up of family life. Violence is the failure to provide sufficient medical care and food and allowing children, and men and women to die of starvation or preventable diseases. Violence is the regimentation of people and limiting their right to work, play, travel and live where they will.

#### Truth

This is the truth about our society today. But it is no longer sufficient to say, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free", for knowing these truths will free us only from the power of propaganda, illusion and the will to self-deception. We have to act on the truth to obtain justice and a free society. We can act as a university, we can act in the smaller groups that we choose to belong to, we can act in our professional, religious and cultural organisations, and in our work

situations. But first and foremost we must act as individuals.

To those who fear change we must show courage. To those who resist change we must show determination. We must remain firm in our resolve to bring about real and lasting change. We must at all times act with dignity but with decision. If we persevere we will succeed. And we will establish a just and free society for all.

## No more marches?

There can be no doubt that the General Law Further Amendment Act is a further diminishment of the right to peaceful protest. Clause 15 removes from local authorities the power to decide whether or not protest marches can be held and vests this power in a magistrate. While it has in the past been possible for an organisation wishing to hold a protest march to make its representations to the local authority, there is now no provision made for such an approach. In fact, even if the local authority grants permission, this has to be ratified by a magistrate.

In any democratic country the rights of citizens to voice their public protest are jealously guarded. The authorities recognise their duty to protect freedom of speech and expression and to ensure the safety of those taking part in peaceful protest. The right to criticise is a fundamental ingredient of democracy and protest is an expression of that criticism.

In this country, however, criticism has been equated with un-South Africanism and protest with disloyalty. Over the years there has been a series of restrictions placed on protest by legislation and an increasing reluctance on the part of the police to afford the protection which it is their duty to provide.

The debate in Parliament has once again indicated that the Government has no interest in maintaining due democratic process and that the official opposition is no longer able to recognise this.

The real issue is not in whom the power is vested. The clause is a further violation of democratic principle and a diminishment of the right to protest. It is a sad reflection on political life in this country that Mrs. Suzman was the only Member to condemn this clause. It is a matter for shame that not a single member of Parliament supported her.

*(Transvaal Region of the Black Sash)*



# On Violence and the News Media

JOYCE HARRIS

A GLANCE at any newspaper will convince the most casual reader that this is an age of violence. Wars are reported, deaths, maimings, crimes, accidents. You name them and you will find them, or at least some of them, in practically every edition of every newspaper. Hijacking on the high seas disappeared when pirates went out of fashion, but now we have skyjacking — a new form of violence. Kidnapping has suddenly become a-la-mode — kidnapping which has always been considered one of the most heinous of crimes, has inexplicably reared its ugly head and become more prevalent than it has ever been. There are riots and raids, and those responsible for the maintenance of law and order often outdo in violence those they are attempting to contain. Protest becomes violent and it is met with violence. In this contracting world, with all its complicated network of communications, communication is rapidly breaking down, discussion proves impotent and might is right. The civilized dictum of "Live and let live" is being trampled underfoot by the law of the jungle — "Kill or be killed."

It is impossible to assess whether the world is more or less prone to violence than it has been in the past, but if Press coverage can be taken as an index of the state of the world then relativity becomes irrelevant — all that needs to be considered is that violence is exceedingly prevalent right here and now. One might well be forgiven for wondering why.

Man has made such enormous technological progress that he dare not become involved in total violence for he is in grave danger of destroying himself. Is it because he dare not indulge in total war that he must vent his aggression constantly on a lesser scale? Yet there has been progress in the humanities too. Man has explored his mind, his brain, his emotions, his temperament, his character. Theoretically he should be able to devise means by which his aggressive instincts can be channelled into constructive expression. There has indeed been a development of liberal thought, of recognition of the rights of the individual, of respect for the dignity of man, but all this is apparently impotent in the face of the mailed fist, and impotent to control its use.

Everywhere conflict takes precedence over co-operation, competition over co-existence, destruction over discussion, warfare over welfare, pugilism over pacifism, selfishness over selflessness, violence over virtue. It is not that there is no awareness of the value of co-operation, co-existence, discussion, welfare, pacifism, selflessness, virtue. The very existence of organisations such as the United Nations, the International Red Cross, the International Labour Organisation, the Peace Corps, the Common Market is concrete proof of this awareness. There is ample recognition

of the fact that man can only benefit from living in harmony with his fellow-man, and yet despite all his attempts to do so violence prevails. Why?

Perhaps it is those very means of communication, which should help to bind and to build bridges, which are in fact responsible. In the shortest possible time everyone anywhere can know what is happening everywhere else. Because violence is considered newsworthy while virtue is dull the news contains a concentration of all the violence perpetrated all over the world. The television watcher, the radio listener, the newspaper reader is encouraged to wallow in a plethora of sordiness, squalor, sadism. It is not surprising that sooner or later he comes to accept this as unexceptionable, as inevitable. He may not wish to indulge in such behaviour himself but he no longer reacts to it as he should. His sensitivities become blunted, he develops a cynicism which expects only the worst from his fellow-men. If he is able to retain his faith in what he believes people should be he is regarded as a starry-eyed idealist by all those whose "realism" has been moulded by everything they see and hear. Always the emphasis is on crisis, on horror, on morbidity. Small wonder that positive achievements are overlooked and that people develop a one-sided sense of values with all the emphases in the wrong places.

Nor is it only what is reported that matters so much, it is also the manner in which it is reported. Tradition has ascribed to the journalist and the newscaster the job of reporting facts without comments — just cold, hard facts. This has inevitably led to a kind of two-dimensional presentation which is completely

lacking in depth. There is little if any discussion of cause and effect, of motivations and pressures, of repercussions and results. The outcome of this is that the facts presented become completely divorced from the people they are about. The events themselves take precedence over those who are responsible for them and those who are on the receiving end of them. This impersonal view depersonalises people who eventually cease to matter as people to the multitudes to whom these events are presented as the news of the day. They become numbers, statistics, cyphers — so many maimed or killed in war, so many maimed or killed in accidents, so many hijacked or kidnapped or knifed, or robbed or raided. The implications for these people and for those to whom they matter is utterly lost sight of. There is too much regard for the facts, too little for the human beings involved.

#### Detached attitude

Whether it is intentional or not, and surely it is not — for this sort of presentation of fact by the news media has grown from the unquestionably praiseworthy efforts to present facts in as unbiased and objective a manner as possible — the inevitable result has been the development of a depersonalised and detached attitude towards people in the vast majority of the public, and it is this very attitude which makes violence increasingly possible. If people are not people, if people are not encouraged to identify with other people, to be emphathetic and sympathetic, then it becomes that much simpler to commit acts of violence against them. Unpersons do not matter. They can be attacked, they can be violated; physical, mental and moral outrages can be perpetrated upon them, and the whole thing becomes a vicious circle of violence that is reported and that leads to more violence.

Just as complete tolerance can become an expression of weakness so can complete objectivity become an abrogation of human values. When human events are recorded without due regard for the humanity of those involved then this objectivity transforms humans into objects, a highly undesirable state of affairs.

The news media do a tremendous job in keeping the world aware of what is happening in the world. Over the years they have exercised an invaluable influence on people and events everywhere. They wield a degree of power impossible to assess. In the main they have been aware of their responsibility and have attempted to shoulder it through the em-

ployment of techniques which apart from editorial comment, absolve them from criticisms of bias or partiality. I suggest that this is no longer desirable. The world cannot afford such impersonal objectivity. It needs committed people, people who will stand up and be counted, people who are sensitive to the needs and the suffering of other people, people who have convictions and the courage of them, people who respect the dignity and the essential humanity of other people. The news media must use their influence to encourage people to regard people as people, and dispassionate objectivity will never achieve this. Perhaps those who are responsible for a responsible Press might probably consider turning their attention to the devising of new techniques of presentation of the news which will restore to readers a human viewpoint.

If, for instance, newspapers were to stop referring to "the indigent", "the needy", "the disenfranchised", "the displaced", "the liberals", "the leftists", "the underprivileged", "the homeless", to mention but a few examples, and were instead to talk of *people* who are hungry, *people* who have no vote, *people* who have no homes, *people* who believe in liberalism or communism or nationalism, then all those who are being written about would indeed be people to the reader and not abstract labels for and about whom it is unnecessary or inappropriate to feel. If "the unemployed" were people who had no work, and "the rioters" were people who were rioting because they had no work, or felt they were being exploited, or were hungry, and if "the police" who used batons and guns against them were "policemen" who felt themselves threatened and had to protect themselves, then events could still be presented objectively but they

"While politics decide how and when an African man must sleep, when he must wake up, what he must do after waking up, what and where he must eat, how and where he must be housed, the councillors are forbidden to touch on these vital issues.

"If they do so, they are accused of taking part in politics. These issues permeate an individual's life to such an extent that even where he must get his wife is prescribed."

*Mr. Francis Mncube,  
Chairman of the Soweto Urban  
Bantu Council.*



would not be depersonalised. The public would not then get the impression that they were reading "news" with which there was no call to identify, about impersonal generalisations which bear no resemblance to themselves or to their environment as they know it. They would be reading about people, men and women who think and feel and hurt and react, human beings whose motives could be understood even if or when they might not be condoned.

This may appear to be a simple exercise in semantics, but it implies a significant change in emphasis. It is all too easy for people to remain uncommitted, unconcerned, unmoved, when other people are viewed as categories with convenient labels attached and not as people like themselves. In its determination to present the facts without emotion the Press has fallen into the trap of half-facts, for by-and-large the facts are about people and people

are larger than facts. The vocabulary used to describe them is inadequate. Poor people are poor people. The term "the underprivileged" does not even begin to convey the realities of poverty, neither does the term "the wounded" begin to convey the sufferings of people who have been grievously hurt. It is possible to stir emotions without writing emotionally, but simply by writing about people. If emotions are stirred and complacency is disturbed human beings will once more assume significance as individuals with whom other individuals can and will identify. The news media can play a fundamental role in helping to bring about this change in emphasis which, in its turn, might eventually lead to a rejection of violence, of peace and harmony for all people. Few people commit violence on their neighbours. Let the news media, with their enormous coverage, make neighbours of the world.

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# Education and the Public

F. E. AUERBACH

*Frans Auerbach is a well-known South African educationalist. He spoke to a meeting of the Black Sash in Johannesburg and this is the text of his address.*

**E**DUCATION IS NOT ONLY what takes place in schools. Much of it takes place in the home; most of it reflects the society in which we live. Ours is a divided society; this shows itself in the way we arrange our social relationships, in our attitude to people of different ethnic or language background; and, of course, in our segregated school system. All these are educative influences on all children in South Africa.

Because of the way we run our society, we have not yet developed a common culture — not even a common 'white' culture. There are deep divisions of opinion about censorship, Sunday observance, attitudes to authority and many other matters between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans; these are reflected also in the schools. Many of the stresses about the content of education, such as the place of the theory of evolution in biology or the balance between national and world history in the syllabus, derive from the rather divergent group cultures which exist side by side in our society.

This shows us that teachers do not stand aloof from society: they are part of it, and even when they play a leading role in determining the content and character of education, this role will reflect the cultural back-

ground of the group to which the teacher belongs. I am not suggesting that this is wrong; I am merely reminding you that this is so.

In discussing the role of the public in education, I wish first to deal with the role of the public in school education; I shall return to its broader role later in my talk.

## Financing education

Firstly, then, the public provides the money to run the schools. In a democracy, the share of public spending allotted to education must reflect the importance accorded to it by the majority of the voters; if the voters feel that the education their children receive is not satisfactory, they will soon insist that more money should be spent to improve its quality. Society needs to supervise public spending on education. Yet here we must make a distinc-

tion: In common with other professions, the teaching profession maintains that it is capable of ensuring its own standards of professional competence.

The teaching profession would like to control the quality of its members by having its own professional council, as have doctors and lawyers — though this brings its own problems. However, we would be prepared to handle these problems, and have in fact asked for this for fifty years. It is encouraging that, after the issue had been shelved once again in 1967, the new Minister of National Education has revived it, and active work on forming a Teachers' Council for White teachers is in progress. In present circumstances we cannot hope to get a single Council — even if it must have separate registers — for all teachers in South Africa; but we have asked for parallel Councils to be established for teachers of other population groups.

Until such a Council has been established, the public will continue to have to concern itself with the quality of the teaching force in the schools.

This is a very serious question, and affects the education of all children in South Africa. I am aware that there are grave shortcomings in the quality of teachers, and particularly in the academic level of recruits to the teaching profession, in the education systems for White, Coloured and Indian pupils. However, it is certain that the problem is gravest in African education; therefore I wish to enlarge on this a little.

The Bantu Education Department, in a public statement, professed itself satisfied with "six thousand students enrolled in 34 training schools". In spite of this, the number of unqualified people employed continues to rise. This is not surprising, for in 1951 the Eiselen Report estimated that there should be 15,000 teachers in training by 1959 not six thousand ten years later. As the pupil increase from 1955 to 1968 has been 137%, the teacher increase 87% (double sessions were introduced in 1955) and the student teacher increase only 7%, it is hardly surprising that the percentage of teachers who had neither Matric nor a professional certificate has jumped from 7.2% in 1961 to 19.4% in 1968. And all these teachers — 6,568 of them in 1968 (Transkei excluded) — were paid a fixed salary of R276 per year for women — most of them are women — R366 per year for men. Can one justify such pay for people who are doing teaching even if they are unquali-

fied? Since last year, their pay has been increased — by ten per cent.

Thus the public must watch the reports of education departments on this aspect of the quality of the teaching force, until teachers can control this quality themselves through their own Teachers' Council.

Public authorities should, in addition, see that children and teachers have grounds, buildings and equipment as adequate and up-to-date as the country can afford, and that the teaching force is well-trained, adequate in number and stable.

And since in most Western societies there is a regrettable tendency for public services to be less efficient than work carried out by private enterprise, the public needs to watch the efficiency of the educational system as it needs to watch the efficiency of other public services.

#### Mutual Trust

How the public can exercise this watchdog function is a problem we have not yet solved. Public interest in schools arises spontaneously from the interest of parents in their children's schools. I am aware that there is at times some doubt about what is considered parental interference in the classrooms and teacher interference in the home, but I agree with a basic contention of Dr. Emrys Davies, who was President of the National Union of Teachers in England, who says "Recent evidence has established that the greatest single factor in a child's educational development is the attitude of the parent towards the school and the education it provides. If co-operation between teachers and parents is fruitful it must be based on mutual trust and the honest and frank exchange of information about the child's life at school and at home."

#### Parents' Watchdog

This kind of relationship most commonly finds expression in Parent-Teacher Associations, and their development is generally welcomed and has, indeed recently been recognised in our National Education Policy Act. Yet the attempt to federate such associations into a body such as the Home and School Council — a body that can act as the Parent's watchdog in education — has not been as successful as it deserves to be.

The reason for this is that it is impossible to press for desirable and possible improvements in education without proving the need for these by pointing to present shortcomings. That must mean, anywhere in the world, blaming the shortcomings on the political party

in power at the moment, and is therefore not so easily done by the supporters of the party in power. I wish to suggest that women and men must be found to ignore political divisions when organising parents for constructive democratic pressure for educational improvements.

However, I am not convinced that the public generally is in favour of significant improvements in the quality of education in South Africa.

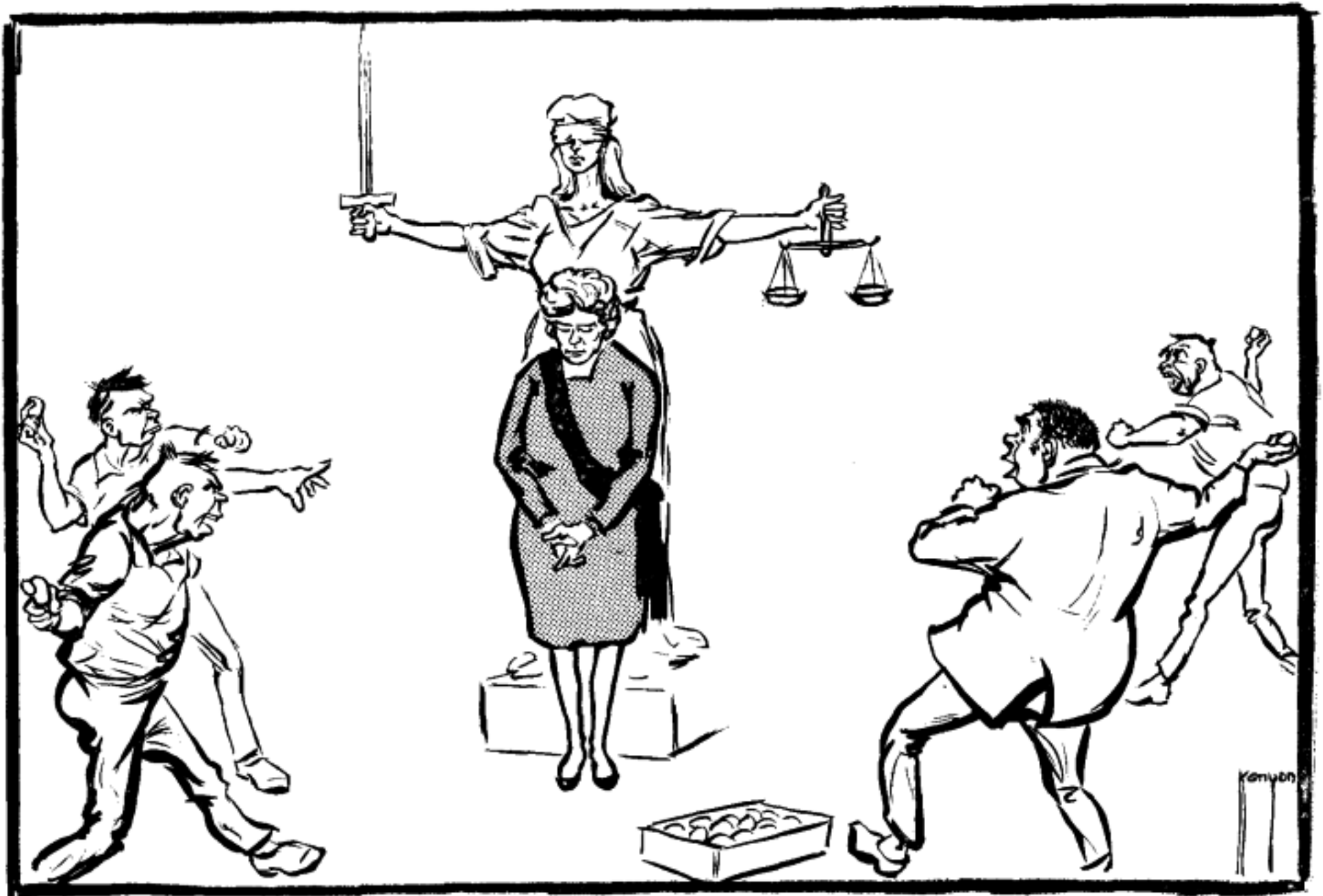
Let me give you one example. For almost five years there has been a brake on public building, including the building of schools, in order to contain inflation. Not a stoppage, but a brake. One result of this is that the Transvaal Education Department had to shelve improved staffing scales for high schools, worked out in 1965, because you can't have more teachers, even if they are available, if there are not more classrooms in which they can teach. This has affected the efficiency and happiness of several thousand high school teachers — and their pupils. They have still

not been introduced, and by now the extra teachers required are not available anyway.

### An Investment

Yet if the State decided to exempt education from the credit squeeze, the private sector would have accused it at once of adding to inflation, in spite of the excellent case that can be made out for regarding education not as an expense but as an investment. There is no doubt whatever that that in general better educated citizens contribute more to the national economy. And remember that the better-educated citizen contributes more not just for a year or two, but for the whole of his working life. A Russian economist has calculated that a person with four years schooling produces 44 per cent more than an illiterate, one with a high school education 108 per cent more and one with university or college education 300 per cent more.

If, therefore, the public is serious about regarding education as important, leaders of the private sector of the economy should sup-



*Pro Patria*

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port the case for regarding education as investment and as an important factor in the economic growth of the country.

It should be apparent to the private sector of the economy that if the quality of the teaching force drops, all future workers will be less well educated. Nevertheless private enterprise often actively entices teachers away from the profession.

At this stage one might say that if teachers' salaries were higher this kind of poaching would not happen. Yet teachers' salaries have been raised three times in six years. Therefore, the basic causes must be deeper. They concern two fundamental national questions: the value of education in our scale of national priorities, and the chronic shortage of skilled labour.

### Public Spending

It is by now fairly well-known that in South Africa we spend less of our national income on education than do most other countries. In general, developing countries spend a far greater share of their national income on education than the developed countries of Western Europe and North America. And since four-fifths of the population of our country are in the developing stage educationally and economically, we should spend at least 10 or 15 per cent of our national income on education. Even if we wished to go no further than Britain, and spend 7% of our national income on education, this would mean an increase of at least R250 million a year in our educational expenditure.

No government will introduce "new" spending of that order without strong public pressure. An extra R250 million on education as capital investment is not such an enormous increase. If the public of South Africa is serious about valuing education, I challenge them to press for that kind of spending now.

### Quality and Turnover

If significantly more money were spent on education grave dissatisfaction among serving teachers would be overcome and there should

"Admittedly the Bantu can do the work we Whites do without further training but their problem is that they cannot organise, and will never be able to. Therefore we cannot allow them to run the mines of this country."

*Mr. H. J. Vermeulen.*

be staffing improvements in four directions. Firstly, the overall intellectual quality of recruits will improve. Every Rector of a teachers' training college in the country is concerned about the fact that not enough of our ablest matriculants go into teaching. The long-term effects of the present position affect the entire quality of our national life.

Secondly, more recruits will offer themselves, so that it will become easier than it is now to reject unsuitable students. Above all, more men would come forward. At present, 37 per cent of the teachers in the service of the Transvaal Education Department are men, but as the Administrator has told us that the number of men who entered our colleges of education has dropped by half during the last few years or so, this percentage must drop further, unless present trends are reversed.

Thirdly, the alarming instability of staff would be arrested. Staff turnover obviously affects the efficiency of education — and, therefore, the value the public gets for public funds spent on education. It also affects the emotional health of the rising generation, because, as every parent knows, staff changes are unsettling to children.

The Transvaal Teachers' Association recently collected statistics which suggest that the staff turnover in our schools is nearly 30% a year — in other words, on the average, a quarter or perhaps a third of the staff of all schools changes every year. Of course there is much changing in other fields of work as well, but all parents know how unsettling this is for children. It also makes for less efficiency in learning.

Fourthly, many people who left teaching for financial reasons only would probably return to the profession and thus work in the field for which they have been trained. While they work elsewhere, we are really wasting skilled labour.

### Skilled Labour

This then brings me back to the whole position of skilled labour in South Africa. Turning first to the effect of the shortage of skilled labour on the teaching profession, I should like to quote at some length from the excellent report, "Education and the South African Economy" published in 1966 by the "1961 Educational Panel". This report deserves to be more widely known than it is.

Discussing the supply of White teachers, the report states . . . "It is a well-known phenomenon that wherever there is a shortage of skill

in a country for a prolonged period the shortage tends to be concentrated in the Public Service (which in South Africa includes the teaching profession). This is partly due to the inflexibility of the salary and recruitment policies of the Public Service, which puts it at great disadvantage in competing with private business for scarce labour. But there is, we believe, a more fundamental reason. A shortage of skilled labour in the directly productive sector of the economy (whether publicly or privately owned) has an immediate impact on output and profitability, and, if it reaches a large enough scale, can lead to unemployment at the unskilled level, balance of payment difficulties and other immediate troubles. In education, on the other hand, a shortage of teachers can be absorbed almost indefinitely by allowing pupil-teacher ratios to rise. The result will be a fall in standards but the economic and cultural consequences will only make themselves felt over many years. The temptation to starve education in the interests of the directly productive sector of the economy is consequently very strong, for the public authorities and for society as a whole. In the end the only escape from the dilemma is to ensure that there is not an overall shortage of skill.

From this it follows that if the barriers in the way of employment of non-whites in skilled occupations are not reduced quickly enough or if the expansion of non-white education (including vocational and technical training) is allowed to lag, greater demands for skill will be made on the White population than it is capable of meeting and one of the chief sufferers as a result will be white education. For the long-term survival of the white groups as cultural entities, nothing could be more disastrous."

It is doubtful whether immigration has made as large a contribution to skill levels as is often believed, because we tend to forget emigration. True, something like a quarter million immigrants have entered our country during the last decade or so. Yet how do their skills compare with the skills of the 206,000 whites who left the country since 1959 to 1966.

Quite obviously, we have a vast reservoir of undertrained manpower in our non-white population. And I do not think we can do anything significant to resolve our manpower crisis until those who have the power — the voters of South Africa — insist that our non-white manpower be trained and used in the

South African economy — trained to the limit of their individual capacities. To take this decision is a matter of politics; to implement it would be a matter for education.

I see no prospect of such a decision being taken, and therefore the wage spiral is likely to continue. And we shall go on wasting enormous reserves of human talent that, by training, could be available to us within a few years — not in that distant future when the Transkei and Tswanaland and Zululand have enough of their own State revenues to run adequate education systems.

One can quote endless figures to show to what extent we waste this talent. One of the best ways is to express the number at high school as a percentage of the total school population. This was 34% for whites, 23% for Indians, 10.8% for Coloureds and 4% for Africans in 1967.

You will see, then, that the public determines some very basic educational issues, like total spending and limiting the training of four-fifths of the children in schools. Again, I am not arguing that it is wrong that such decisions should be taken by the public. I am merely trying to show that, in fact, they are in the last analysis taken by the public.

#### Power and Responsibility

The power of the public is shown even more strikingly in the role of the home and society in education. Here I speak not only as a teacher, but also as the parent of school-going children, and as a citizen. The standards observed by children in basic moral issues such as honesty and tolerance are set in our homes. Schools — which in any case reflect the social environment — do little to alter moral standards 'caught' in the home.

I agree with Albert Schweitzer that 'example is not the main thing in influencing others: it is the only thing'. Every time we as parents are courteous or unselfish; every time we lose our temper or use swearwords; every time we return lost property we have found or excess change we have been given in error; every time we bend the truth or break a promise — we are providing moral instruction for our children, consciously or unconsciously.

Our influence in this field is enormous, and as adults we should be aware of it. Cheating the Receiver of Revenue, or telling children of thirteen to pay half-fare is giving moral instruction, and so is fair dealing and politeness to people irrespective of what group they belong to; if adults did not use insulting names for members of other population groups, chil-

dren would not do it either. Every single adult, by his words and actions, by civic concern or callous indifference sets some example to the young — in other words, contributes for good or ill, to their education. Particularly every parent.

If we wish our children to become responsible citizens, able to take over the running of our complex society, we should also set them a better example when manifest wrongs are revealed in the Press and elsewhere. This happens everywhere in the world, and public indifference is not confined to our country. Yet as a South African I must choose my examples from what happens here. The entire national ingenuity of South Africa was unable to find a place for Sandra Laing in our public education system; she found a place only in a private school. We try to tighten the laws against homosexuality while actually encouraging it by endorsing African women out of Cape Town so that in that city there are 72 adult men to every 28 women. All our Churches warn against the moral evils of the migrant labour system, yet the Cabinet is apparently going ahead with the destruction of the regular family life of millions of South Africans by turning the men from settled members of a stable community into migrant workers with week-end family life.

I know the Black Sash has protested vigorously about this, but as yet these protests have not been widely echoed — and this lack of protest at clearly immoral policies is, in its own way, helping to educate our children to be equally indifferent to the welfare of their fellow-men, indifferent to some of the basic values of our Western heritage. They will “catch” our indifference.

### Selfish Ends

I know that I have pleaded for more spending on education, and that we can only do if our country remains economically sound. Yet I have been concerned for some time with the excessive emphasis our leaders have placed on economic strength during the past decade or so. This emphasis on material wellbeing strengthens man's natural inclination to put material before spiritual considerations. It does not encourage children to put service before self, nor to enter what are essentially service professions, such as teaching and nursing.

Let me end with an appeal to all citizens especially to all parents. Take an interest in the education of all children in the country

— not only your own. For example, do not try to get the best teachers by bribing them with offers of free houses if you can afford to make such offers — for you are depriving other children of teachers; children who even without selfish action on the part of the wealthy already start off with social and economic handicaps.

### Rich Harvest

Press for education to get a fairer share of the national income even if it has to be by extra taxation. The capital we could thus invest in developing more adequate human beings will pay a rich harvest in the long run, both materially and spiritually. Set a decent example in your private and public conduct, so that society will reinforce and not, as it all too often does, contradict the ethical teaching we try to give in the schools.

### Encourage Teaching

Encourage your own children to take up teaching. As a citizen, work for adequate educational opportunities for all children.

I appeal to all members of the public, as well as our leaders, to emphasise the importance of service to our fellow-men above economic strength. Both are important, but I fear our emphasis has become too selfish. We must relearn the satisfaction of mutual help, ‘help-mekaar’. We must restore, in private and in public life, the place of the Golden Rule which sums up our moral teaching, “Do unto others as you would they do unto you”.

Everywhere the young people of the world are asking urgent and basic question. As responsible adults, let us set them a better example than we have done in the past. By service, integrity and tolerance, let us give them the moral leadership they crave.

## Who Cares?

If you never in your whole life enjoyed any security whatsoever such as freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom to live with your husband in the place where he works, freedom to have your children living with you, freedom to have what should be yours by right... wouldn't you care?

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*Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.*

Dear Mr. Botha,

When you stated that there are no starving Bantu, how would you have defined the word 'starvation'? The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it not only as dying of hunger but also as suffering from lack of food, feeling hungry and being deprived or kept scantily provided with food.

Can you honestly say, as a thinking man, that not one Bantu is starving in this country? Can you honestly say that no one feels hungry? You must have access to reports on resettlement villages at Grahamstown or the Sundays River Valley where Africans are kept scantily supplied with food, and conditions are created which cause many to perish directly or indirectly from hunger. A survey has shown that in Sekhukuniland at least 50 per cent of all children born alive fail to reach their fifth birthday and the majority of those who do die do not reach their third birthday. One may deduce from this that those who do not die of outright starvation have obviously a lowered resistance to disease.

Please, Mr. Botha, you are straining our credulity when you state: 'there is not one starving Bantu in South Africa — the Nationalist Government would not allow it.' If the Government would not allow it you could possibly use your influence to see that a basic minimum wage is paid to the African, that job reservation is done away with and that Africans are not endorsed out to the Siberia of the Transkei.

Will you press for the reintroduction of school feeding for the Africans and take the burden from charitable bodies who cannot meet the need, or do you acknowledge a man to be starving only when he is dead?

Yours sincerely,

*Eastern Cape Regional Council of the Black Sash.*

INVISIBLE MAN

by Bob Connolly

THERE IS NOT ONE STARVING AFRICAN IN SOUTH AFRICA.—  
MR. M.C. BOTHA.



## Outlook

### Where we stand

*We are reprinting this editorial from Outlook to mark the 100th anniversary of the founding of that journal.*

*Outlook may be ordered from P.O. Box 363, Cape Town.*

The roots of this journal go deep into South African history. Established at Lovedale in the Ciskei at a time when the eastern Cape was the uneasy frontier between men battling for possession of land, before the mineral development that was to bind South Africa together, the Outlook may claim to be as genuinely South African as any other institution. Founded before the Afrikaner Bond, and almost twice as old as Die Burger, this journal has for a hundred years been a forum for debate amongst men of all races about the quality of life in the changing society.

There are, broadly speaking, two possible responses open to men faced with the insecurities of frontier life. They can either accept the challenges of interaction, change and growth, or they can shut themselves off from any such threats by retreating into the secure isolation of a laager. The great divide in South African history is surely between these two responses. From its first issue this journal

has been unequivocal in its rejection of isolation. Understanding love to be, in Tillich's memorable phrase, "the drive towards the unity of the separated", the Outlook has been a focus of intelligent thinking about the social implications of the Gospel in South Africa.

It is false to think that our 'traditional way of life' has always been one of isolation or separation. In an editorial in 1894 this journal drew attention to the two traditional policies in the country, and reiterated its own belief (first expressed in 1880) that legislation which had the effect of 'widening the chasm' between black and white was unchristian and and would be disastrous. And it practised what it preached: "Among missions", wrote an observer in 1908, "Lovedale was distinguished by its catholicity. The pupils were "of all colours, white and black, brown and yellow, with numberless intermediate hues."

Having accumulated a wealth of experience through the turbulent years since 1870, the Outlook remains more than ever convinced of the truth of the things for which it has stood consistently — if not always successfully — over the century. Perhaps the most important of these has been a deep concern for the dispossessed, the poor, the powerless. This concern has not been expressed in blasts of self-righteous indignation: rather it has taken the form of alternative proposals backed by carefully marshalled evidence and objective criticism.

One of the journal's great strengths has been its refusal to separate individual man from man-in-community. Mission, for the Outlook, has never degenerated into the narrow pietistic view that seeks to save men's souls with no concern about the quality of the society in which they live. On the other hand, the journal's Christian understanding of man has prevented it from ever assuming that social engineering alone would improve the world. The wholeness of the Outlook's approach which has refused to divide man's soul from his body, and which has refused to accept as impenetrable barriers the frontiers of race, caste, class, wealth or domination, has been implicit in its columns throughout the ten decades. But although the Outlook has had a clear general approach to the problems of Church and society, it has usually sought to reach the truth in particular situations by means of discussion rather than dogmatic assertion. Whether it has been concerned with the beginnings of independent church movements, or working

out its attitude to General Hertzog's franchise bills, the Outlook has always been a place where people could air their different views.

This is the tradition which we inherit today. Of what relevance is it to the South Africa of the 1970's? The barriers which divide our society are as real as were the rivers of the eastern Cape a hundred years ago. And the response of this journal can be no other than it has always been: to reach out towards others, particularly towards the powerless; to remove those barriers that prevent men from loving each other; and to hold out the vision that men can live together in peace and justice without destroying each other. There are those who argue that the realization of such a vision would produce a society of grey, faceless uniformity. This is not true. For the vision does not imply that everyone in the orchestra will be 'cellists'; it asserts rather that if the musicians are put into separate rooms the resulting music will be somewhat discordant.

We have lost the first round. Nonetheless, if we have read the signs of the times correctly, it would seem that there is — even among the most isolated groups in South Africa — an awakening to the fact (which the best of our poets and writers have long seen) that no man can shut himself off from his fellowman without crippling his spirit.

Looking ahead we see, as do people in many parts of the world, that the two main challenges of our time are: the need for economic justice between and within nations (particularly where the cleavages are along colour lines); and the impact of technology, which is transforming the world into a global village at bewildering speed. The ethical choices with which men are faced grow daily more complex and far-reaching. Moral issues raised by medical engineering, bio-chemistry and methods of mass-persuasion — to name only three developments — make it imperative that society have some institutions that both seek to illuminate the nature of the choices to be made and also provide some guidance as to the direction in which it should move.

For the past hundred years the South African Outlook has built up a proud tradition of Service on the moral frontiers of the times. In the years that lie ahead the journal pledges itself to continue to fight for social justice and to examine the choices that shape the nature of our life together.



# Athlone Advice Office

Attendance records vary greatly and unpredictably from day to day but have levelled out to around 200 per month. The "Endorsed Out" figures are comparatively low now that they apply almost only to:—

- (a) *Men* who leave jobs in which they have been employed since before the rigid application of Sec. 10. Act 25.1945 as amended, and who are not yet qualified. However good their records and whatever skills they may have acquired, it is "back to source" and the contract system for them.
- (b) *Women* who, by changing their status (ie. getting married or widowed) lose rights under Sec. 10(1)(c) of the Act, or whose records are for any reason scrutinised and found wanting, or who have been visiting husbands working in the area or receiving special medical attention. With more migrant and less resident labour, there are far fewer "visitors" than 10 or even 5 years ago. But a steady flow remains, and when visiting permits expire or are refused, these women fall into our "endorsed out" group although sub-classified in separate categories in our index according to their problems, which differ from those of women who have been residents.

Now that the machinery for the registration of women has been operating for sixteen years, many qualify in their own right. If 10.1.b. exemption stamps are being entered in the reference books of such women, we have seen very few, but they tend to be tacitly accepted as qualifying and their permits simply extended from time to time. Sometimes however when a woman marries an unqualified man, or when her qualified husband dies, her own rights pass unobserved or unacknowledged and she is endorsed out. Careful attention to her background at the Advice Office, often with our attorneys to check our findings and bring them to the notice of the registering officials, can bring her future back into line with her own hopes and plans.

## Cases

MRS. O. S.: a widow since 1966, entered the area in 1947 and is convinced that she registered early in 1954. Her file at Langa has an entry stating that she returned "ex Caledon" in 1956, only 14 years ago. She had

actually been away for two weeks only, as witnesses can testify, but she had been endorsed out on the grounds that her original permit was for three months' visit only and that her unbroken record is valid only since 1956. Her 10.1.b. qualification is thus not admitted and the death of her husband eliminated the 10.1.c. claim. But "visiting" permits of limited duration were, we believe, not issued in those early days. Once lawfully registered, one could stay on and this she did in good faith. Legal defence of her claim to qualify is thus hoped for. As she is supporting nine of her twelve children (all born here), her continued employment as a char is of the utmost importance to many people. Although her rent card is immaculate she has been told that she cannot keep her house, where the whole family lives, and the eldest son has been refused permission to become the registered tenant with the rest, including his mother, as lodgers.

Three sons are working and can keep themselves and pay the rent but feel unable to fill all those mouths. The suggestion that she settle the younger children at Tsomo and return to work here for their keep is totally unacceptable. She has a hut and field there, tended by a neighbour, but no family. The children would forfeit their 10.1.a. rights in this area, as well as their mother's upbringing. She wants to keep her home and family here.

MRS. I. B.: aged 23, born in Bloemfontein, lived here with her brother and was on his rent-card until her marriage a year ago to W.B. She moved into his lodgings and they reported together to Langa Registration Office, hoping to be put on the housing list. But when his record was scrutinised, a break from 1954 to 1956 was uncovered and so (yes, it follows, "theirs not to reason why") she was told to go to his family at Tsomo. This indeed will be her married destiny *unless* her own rights under Sec. 10.1.b. can be established, which will depend on her having registered correctly at the age of sixteen years. The result is "pending" as far as the Advice Office is concerned, but her permit has already expired.

MR. AND MRS. T. P. M. have been spared a span of many years' separation by the remarkable helpfulness of the firm which employs Mr. T. P. M. His wife was endorsed out of the area at the end of 1968 and she went to her mother-in-law on a farm at Seymour. She

had no permission to be there and was duly posted back when discovered in June 1970. Her own home being Durban, she found herself a "Displaced Person". Resettlement was arranged at Mdantsane, outside East London, whereupon the admirable firm arranged to transfer her husband to their East London branch in the near future.

### Legal

The appeal to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner against endorsement out on the part

of Mr. S. M. was handled by our attorney. Mr. S. M. was treated as unqualified and told to leave the area when the hotel employing him was obliged to discharge him because the management were directed to replace almost all their Africans with Coloured staff. But his appeal was upheld on the grounds that although he had worked in various hotels over a period of the past 14 years, he had always been under the same proprietor, with whom he moved. He had thus been over ten years with one employer.

We should face these two facts: That there is something seriously wrong, and that the present solutions (especially the use of force) are not providing the answers.

We should face the fact that there is little for the vast majority of people in South Africa to celebrate on Republic Day, and that the little they have grows relatively less and less.

We should face the fact that the Republican celebrations will be the hollow proclamations of empty vanities by a small minority of Afrikaner Nationalists, people who have done well in those 10 years of Republic and those 23 years of Nationalist rule, at the cost of South Africa and at the cost of real South African patriotism.

We should face these facts and boycott the whole Republic celebration, and mourn for the South Africa that might have been a mighty, united nation holding its head high in the company of the rest of the world.

Neville Curtis, President N.U.S.A.S.

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

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

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## Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

## Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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