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THE BLACK SASH

DEMOCRACY



LEGISLATION

ADMINISTRATION

JUSTICE

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National Conference, 1967

OPENING ADDRESS

By MRS. JEAN SINCLAIR

National President of the Black Sash.

(National Conference took place in Johannesburg on 16th, 17th and 18th October)

THE VORSTER ERA is now over a year old. The year has been notable for the concentrated effort to change the personal image of Mr. John Vorster from the strong-armed Minister of Justice to a benevolent, approachable, golf-loving, fatherly Prime Minister who is the essence of reasonableness and good will. In this Mr. Vorster has succeeded. On the surface, tensions are more relaxed. The Prime Minister has been commended for his outward looking policy. South Africa's relations with the new African States on our borders and with Malawi are much improved and we appear to have come to an understanding with their governments. This indeed is a welcome development.

A more reasonable attitude to other countries in the field of sport has pleased sportsmen everywhere. The racially mixed crews of visiting warships have been treated with the greatest kindness and courtesy. These concessions are small, but important. They indicate a degree of relaxation of our previous granite-like determination to force apartheid on visitors from other countries.

Here in South Africa, Mr. Vorster's new image has induced a state of euphoria, at least among the English-speaking section and there is a general feeling of relief that the political atmosphere is less tense.

In the Nationalist Party itself there appears to be a fear among certain of its followers, that Mr. Vorster's new image is a danger to Afrikanerdom — a fear that the image will be translated into a new policy. The Verkramptes realise full well that any concessions are the thin end of the wedge. We all know that an ideology produces a chain reaction, that the chain must be kept intact and that any weakening of any link will lead to the breaking of the whole chain. There can be no deviations from policy, no matter how small or how unimportant.

This change in the political atmosphere is encouraging, in that the political situation, static for so long, is showing signs of change. The change however, is only in the top of the iceberg. There are no indications of a change in attitude in legislation. The laws passed this year were as authoritarian as ever. Acts such as the Suppression of Communism Amendment Act, the Coloured Cadets Employment Training Act, the Education Act, the Terrorism Act are all laws which should shame all South Africans. We have been threatened with further controls next year. Mr. Vorster's image was marred by his Koffiefontein speech when he threatened the Press with legislation to prevent the publication of "ascertainable lies."

Mr. Blaar Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, has promised to introduce a Bill to make influx control work. One wonders what further restrictions are possible and what more the government could do to control the lives of its citizens ever more stringently.

We do know that it is government intention to ensure that the entire labour force will consist of migratory workers. In the Western Cape this policy is presently being implemented. We in the Black Sash are opposed to the principle of migratory labour because of the hardships, the insecurity and the disruption of family life which is attendant upon the system.

When one makes this statement one is usually confronted with the rejoinder: "What is wrong with migratory labour? It is used all over the world". This is true. Migrant workers are extensively used in Europe, America, Latin America and elsewhere. But the conditions for migratory workers in the European Common Market, for instance, cannot compare with the conditions which prevail for our own citizens in South Africa. There are thousands of migrants in the E.E.C., but they are not relegated to a state of virtual serfdom.

In the first place the Treaty of Rome provides for the free movement of labour within the Community not later than 1970. "This means that workers can move freely with their families from one member state to another to accept offers of employment actually made to them (subject to limitations justified by public order, public safety and public health). They will have the right to transfer all their social security benefits and to settle permanently with their families." "All migrant workers within the E.E.C. will be entitled to equality of treatment with national workers in relation to tax, social insurance, housing and membership of trade unions and work councils." (Britain and the E.E.C. — The Economic Back-

ground. Published by Her Majesty's Stationary Office.)

Compare this with the conditions obtaining in South Africa. Migratory workers have no freedom of movement; they cannot bring their families with them to the industrial areas; they have no rights to settle permanently and they do not have equality of treatment in relation to tax, social insurance, housing and membership of trade unions and work councils. As migratory workers all these rights are denied them, nor do they even have the right to change their jobs or to sell their labour to their own best advantage in the area where they are migratory workers.

In South Africa if and when Separate Development is practical and becomes a reality it is accepted that millions of nationals of the Homelands will still be required to provide the unskilled labour for the White economy, both in the border industries and in the present industrial areas. If all the labour is to be migratory, it seems therefore, that the pass laws and influx control will be forever with us. This means that these laws are not a means to an end, as is often claimed, but an end in themselves.

Today the pass laws and influx control are bitterly resented. They cause hardship and misery and their implementation is responsible for destroying hundreds of families; for reducing the contract worker to a state of virtual serfdom; for keeping wages depressed; for keeping the wages of the White worker artificially high; for a misuse of manpower.

In its Advice Offices the Black Sash has had practical experience of what influx control means to every urban African. His life is governed by the stamps in his reference book and the possession of permits and documents. The stamp in his reference book determines his way of life. Any African living in an urban area has his life controlled by such a welter of restrictions and prohibitions that he must have permits to have a home, live with his wife, to earn his living, to have his children with him, to remain where he is, in fact almost to breathe the hallowed air. And for this dubious privilege the onus rests on him to substantiate every statement he ever makes.

To illustrate only one aspect of this, there is the case of Mrs. X. Mrs. X has been endorsed out of Johannesburg where her home is, and told to go to Queenstown.

Mrs. X was born in Queenstown because her mother went there for the birth of her child. She was brought back to Johannesburg as a small baby and has lived here all her life except for a period of four years when she was sent back to Queenstown to finish her schooling. After she left school she came back to Johannesburg and was in employment until her marriage in 1963.

Her husband was born in Alexandra Township and grew up there. In 1959 he and his mother were moved by the Resettlement Board to a house in Meadowlands and they have been there ever since. Mr. X has always worked in Johannesburg

and is in steady employment.

When Mrs. X moved into her husband's house after her marriage the authorities would not put her name on the housing permit, and she was told that she would have to go back to Queenstown. Mrs. X appealed against the decision and was given a temporary permit to remain while her appeal was pending. Two years later she was told that the appeal had failed and she was endorsed out of Johannesburg.

This is a particularly devoted couple and their only crime is that they want to live together and bring up their two children. They have done their best to comply with the law and cannot understand why they should be denied the right to live together. By law Mr. X qualifies to remain in Johannesburg and to have his wife living with him. His wife, in her own right should qualify too, to stay here, but she must have been deemed to have broken her domicile by spending four years at school in Queenstown.

While one has to try to be completely objective and dispassionate when attending to these cases, one cannot help but be emotionally affected when one sees both a man and his wife weeping in their distress.

It is difficult to imagine how any civilised country, and an avowedly Christian one at that, could possibly have so little regard for the sanctity of marriage and so little compassion. It is intolerable that any man should firstly, have to earn a right to live with his wife and secondly, that the wife should have to prove that she has a right not only to live with her husband, but that she "ordinarily" resides with him in the place where he works. The fact that she is the mother of his children is no proof of "ordinary" residence with him in town. This basic human right is denied purely on the grounds of skin colour.

There are many other families where the wife is living lawfully with her husband, but where there are difficulties over their teenage children. This is yet another obstruction to stable, secure family life.

Take the story of young K. He is 17 years old. Although his parents were residents of Alexandra Township, K was born in Pretoria. He spent his early childhood living with his grandfather there. He only came home to live with his family when they were moved by the Resettlement Board from Alexandra to Diepkloof in 1964. After his return home he was sent to the local school in Diepkloof and his name was put on the family housing permit.

In June this year he applied for his reference book. The Department refused to issue him with a book in Johannesburg and he was told to go to Pretoria to get it. On investigation by the authorities it was found that he only had a permit to be in Diepkloof for the purpose of schooling. The fact that that is where his home is seems to be of no consequence.

His parents appealed against the decision. He was given a week to find a job. He found a job,

but he could not be employed pending the outcome of the appeal. The employer could not wait and the job lapsed.

At the beginning of August he was told that the appeal had failed. He was arrested in the middle of August. At the beginning of September he was given his reference book, but, as issued from Pretoria. He was then sent to the Superintendent at Diepkloof where he was again arrested. He was subsequently released without charge. He and his mother then went to consult a lawyer who sent him to the Superintendent at Diepkloof, who sent him to the Superintendent at Meadowlands, who sent him to Orlando West, where the clerk would not permit him to see the Superintendent. He returned to his lawyer who gave him yet another letter to the Superintendent at Diepkloof. He was turned away with the unopened letter. The lawyer is still dealing with the matter. And this youth, 17 years of age, was born of parents legally living in Johannesburg.

His mother is distraught with worry. She feels that the boy should be at home as there is now no-one in Pretoria with whom he can live.

Then there is the case of poor J. He is 18 and has also been refused the issue of his reference book in Johannesburg. He claims he was born in Newclare, Johannesburg and states that he has never left the area, but he has no proof either of his birth or of his continuous residence here. When a small child his father deserted his mother and subsequently his mother too, left him. He was taken in by his aunt and uncle. The uncle died later and the aunt lost her home in Newclare. However, she subsequently remarried and went with J to live with her husband in Soweto. Although J has lived with his aunt since his mother disappeared, his name has never been on the housing permit. There is no other place where he can apply for a reference book. By law he has to possess one. He wants to go on living with his aunt, she wants to have him, but the powers-that-be say no. Where is he to go? He seems to belong nowhere.

In recent months there have been one or two of these young men coming every day to our Advice Office in Johannesburg. The anxiety and misery of both the boys and their parents is most distressing. We feel that the implications of this policy are grave for the young generation of Africans and for the whole of our society. Every one of these youngsters, denied the right to live with his family, is a potential criminal. Many of them do not leave the area, but go into hiding. They cannot work because they cannot be registered; they know of nowhere they can lawfully be; they do not wish to be sent to work on a farm and they are afraid to go to the authorities lest they be arrested. They are displaced persons in their own homelands.

In this modern world life for the teenager is difficult enough even if he has the security of his home, parental discipline and guidance. Can any of us imagine how we would feel if our own young

sons were forced to leave home at the age of 18 to fend for themselves in a place where they may be a stranger, have no home and possibly no work? I wonder how many of them would turn out to be satisfactory citizens? Legislation which has such an outcome cannot be in the interests of anyone.

The cases mentioned above are those who supposedly have rights of residence in an urban area. But there are many thousands of Africans who have not earned any right to remain in a prescribed area and can only come to town to work if they are recruited by a licenced recruiting agent or by an individual employer. They can only stay in the area as long as they remain with the employer for whom they were recruited. If they leave their jobs or are fired they cannot accept other employment, but must go home to their tribal area. In Johannesburg these conditions apply to men. Women who are not already legally in the area may not be recruited, neither may they enter Johannesburg to seek work.

The men who work under these conditions cannot live with their wives unless they marry women who have themselves established a right to remain in the area. Even if this is the case, they cannot rent a house, but must acquire a lodger's permit to reside with another family. Those men whose wives are in the country must live in a hostel or on the premises of their employers.

These conditions for contract workers are iniquitous. They imply a state of virtual serfdom. A man knows that if he leaves his job because he wants more money, or the work is uncongenial, or because he does not like his employer, he will be endorsed out. This system keeps wages depressed; it means that the labour is not efficient and the men are discontented. Neither is it desirable for such large numbers of men, many of them married, to be living in single accommodation. 148,911 single Africans are housed in single quarters, in hostels, compounds and on the premises of their employers. It must encourage homosexuality, promiscuity, illegitimacy and crime.

Another hazard of life for the African is the constant fear of arrest. By law they must carry their reference books on their person at all times. In the first six months of 1966, on the Witwatersrand alone, 38,391 people were arrested for being in the area for more than 72 hours without permission or for non-possession of identity documents. This means that practically all of those arrested spent at least one night in gaol before being brought to trial and if they were arrested on Friday they would be in the cells from Friday until Monday morning when the Court sits. Of those who were arrested 30,666 were convicted and either had to pay a fine or serve a gaol sentence. It is to be noted that this punishment is for technical offences and not for serious crime.

In 1965, the last year for which figures are available, 49,999 people were endorsed out of the Witwatersrand area. In the same year, to satisfy

the needs of the economy, 91,655 people were admitted to the same area. The total number of Africans living in Johannesburg in 1966, including the mines, Alexandra Township and the peri-urban areas to the north and south of Johannesburg, the townships of Meadowlands and Diepkloof controlled by the Resettlement Board, Soweto and Eastern Native Township controlled by the Johannesburg City Council, was 717,207. Of these 584,428 are living in houses under family conditions.

The economy requires the presence of many thousands of Africans in urban areas. In fact, on the Reef nearly twice as many are entering the area as are being endorsed out. What then is the purpose of disrupting the lives of nearly 50,000 people, or approximately 7% of the urban African population.

Time does not allow me to go into all the problems which confront foreign Africans, widows, deserted wives, the aged, the orphans, the physically and mentally handicapped. I assure you that the hardships endured by many of them are considerable and their problems are often insuperable.

The story of the effects of the application of the pass laws is one of anxiety, sorrow and human suffering. White South Africans think of the African people as "The Bantu" — a kind of sub-human species. They do not think of them as human beings with feelings, aspirations, desires and ambitions and all the human instincts of love, hate, fear. They think of the Africans as labour units, temporary sojourners in the White area, there to provide the labour for our industry and to keep their White masters in a state of privilege and comfort. If we could think of all our non-White citizens as people, as individuals, not as an inferior group which if treated with common decency, will be a threat to White survival. I am sure that if we could do this we would not give our consent to laws which are so cruel and unjust. The pass laws cannot be justified for economic reasons and certainly not on moral or humanitarian grounds.

Mr. Vorster was reported as saying in Windhoek a few weeks ago — "I want to say to the world: You can push people around, you can fight them and you can insult them. They will take all this to a certain point, but you must not try to take away a man's home from him. You must not even think that you will go unpunished if you estrange a man's fatherland from him." This is the very thing that the world has been saying to Mr. Vorster and the South African government all these years. We wonder how many homes have been taken away from people through the implementation of the pass laws and the Group Areas Act and how many have been estranged from their fatherland? All our non-White people have been pushed around for years.

When Mr. Vorster and other government spokesmen boast about the "peace and quiet"

which exists in South Africa, they do not say how this state of affairs has come about. In order to enforce the dogma of apartheid a mass of legislation has been passed by Parliament. Much of it is an erosion of the rule of law. Habeas Corpus has disappeared from our judicial system. Potential leaders of all races have been bannshed, banned, put under house arrest, detained in prison without charge or trial, kept in prison after they have served their sentences. A number of organisations which opposed government policy have been declared unlawful; individual rights and liberties have been removed; academic freedom has been curtailed and many other limitations have been imposed on personal freedom. If South Africa were a happy and peaceful country there would be no need to be defending ourselves against terrorists in South West Africa and on the Rhodesian border, nor would there be need of an army of informers, a security force out of all proportion to the size of the population, and a mass of totalitarian laws.

The Pass Laws are a cornerstone of apartheid which is no more popular today with the majority of the South African population and with the outside world than it was previously. As long as we pursue this policy so long will we be the "polecat" of the Western world.

To the African and particularly to the urban African, apartheid means injustice, discrimination, a struggle for existence against obstruction to his aspiration, his employment, his family life, the education of his children, his housing and his opportunities. The laws are so complicated and contain so many restrictions and prohibitions that almost all Africans are forced to break the law at some time of their lives because they cannot comply with all the details of the plethora of laws that govern them. The burden of proof weighs heavily on them and is often responsible for endorsement out of urban areas, or for punishment by fine or gaol of many innocent people. The insecurity of tenure and the instability of family life is causing untold misery. Millions of rand are spent on administering these laws and millions of manhours are being wasted in trying to enforce unenforceable laws. The real cost is to be counted in terms of human sorrow, bitterness and frustration on a vast scale. How can we maintain our privilege and our prosperity at the expense of the wellbeing and advancement of the African people? We do so at our peril.

We of the Black Sash will go on raising our voices in protest, doing what we believe to be right. We ask White South Africans to make Dr. Amado Yuzon's Good Citizen's Rule their yardstick and their traditional way of life:

"Revive in yourself, before men
Fight at all times and in all places
The brutish ills of human prejudice,
Totalitarianism and all its forces,
And fight intolerance in all its courses
In defence of human liberties."

The Politics of Indecision

By LAURENCE GANDAR

Address to the National Conference of the Black Sash, 16 October 1967, in Johannesburg

I HAVE ENTITLED THIS ADDRESS "The Politics of Indecision" because I believe that what South African affairs suffer from most at this juncture in our history is indecision.

Now this may strike you as anomalous. We have a strong, stable and determined government in power (and here I am not talking about its democratic or undemocratic character). It is a government that has been in office for nearly 20 years and yet support for it is still increasing rather than decreasing. It is a government that purports to know exactly what it wants, where it is heading and how it is going to get there. It is a government that believes its policy is so successful that it invites others to come and see what peace and progress it has brought about in a country of different races at different cultural levels.

How then is it possible to talk of indecision? This would seem to be the last thing one could say about South Africa at present. So I had better explain myself.

In any examination of this kind it helps to define the essence of what we are dealing with. And so I start by saying that the crux of the South African problem is race discrimination and how we can eliminate it.

You have just heard from your President, Mrs. Sinclair, a very clear and specific account of the hardships, injustices and stupidities that are inherent in our influx control laws. I am sure you found it, as I did, a thoroughly disturbing exposition of the kind of evil that stems from race discrimination.

You will agree with me, therefore, when I say that it is race discrimination that presents every White South African with a direct challenge to his conscience, that confronts him with an inescapable moral duty to do something towards ending it.

It is race discrimination that poisons relations between the two main population groupings — White and non-White — in South Africa.

It is race discrimination that provides the non-Whites with a constant motive for upsetting the social order and seizing for themselves the rights and opportunities that are denied them.

It is race discrimination that offers both the excuse and the opportunity for communist infiltration and subversion.

It is race discrimination that sets the rest of the world against us—for it is essentially a multi-racial world and race discrimination is a standing affront to it.

So that what South African politics is about or should be about is how best to end race discrimination. This is the real test to apply to the policies that are pursued in this country.

I don't think there can be any argument about this proposition. Dr. Verwoerd himself, the architect of South Africa's present race policy, often said that it was imperative that South Africa should free itself from race discrimination and that his policy was designed expressly to do this.

Now there are really only two ways in which race discrimination can be ended. The first is by thorough-going integration of the races, by the creation of an open society in which individual merit and not race is the criterion of ability and the key to rights and opportunities. The second is by the complete separation of the races in all spheres — in other words, total territorial partition on a just and equitable basis.

There is no third course we can follow, no middle way, that can lead us to our goal of ending race discrimination.

It is not merely liberals like myself who recognise this. The choice was spelled out just as clearly only ten days ago in "Die Transvaler" and also at the annual congress of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs at Stellenbosch.

This, then, is the choice — between continued economic integration with its inescapable social and political implications, and complete political separation with all the immense social and economic sacrifices that this will involve. It is an ineluctable choice but, somehow, we cannot bring ourselves to make it. We flinch from it, we pretend to ourselves that it does not have to be made, we push it into the background out of sight. And there it lies beyond our powers of decision.

Integration frightens us because we have come to believe that it is inseparable from chaos, economic collapse and anarchy. We have seen bloodshed in the Congo, authoritarianism in Ghana, civil war in Nigeria, tribalism in Zambia, and one party states or military dictatorships almost everywhere else in Black Africa. We have seen

racial violence explode in the cities of the United States and we have noted the rise in racial tensions in Britain. And from all this we have drawn the conclusions that reinforce the view we have secretly cherished all the time — that Black people are basically primitive and that we would be mad to share our society with them.

The result has been a marked turning away from the ideal of multi-racialism that was beginning to blossom in South Africa before the trauma of Sharpeville seven years ago. And so, for the moment, the case for a common society is scarcely part of national politics. The concept falls outside the range of opinions tolerable to our exclusively White electorate.

But if multi-racialism or integration is unpopular, the concept of true partition is even more so. At least there are two recognised political parties, the Progressive Party and the Liberal Party, in existence propagating the ideal of multi-racialism. At least there is a hard core of liberal-minded people capable of mustering a thousand or two votes in many urban constituencies at election time. At least we have one Member of Parliament brilliantly upholding this viewpoint.

Partition does not have even this degree of support. It has no political party advocating it and there is no discernible body of opinion in favour of it. At best it is a subject of hushed discussion among a handful of intellectuals at the Afrikaans universities.

Thus we reject, or largely reject, the only two courses that can lead to the ending of race discrimination and the attainment of social justice. Herein lies our national dilemma — a dilemma of unacceptable alternatives. We know in our heart of hearts that we must choose one or the other, but we cannot make the vital decision. So what do we do instead? We support a policy that cannot serve our purpose and, what is more, we support it so hesitantly, so indecisively, that it has no chance of attaining even its own very limited objectives.

I would like to take up a little of your time tonight analysing this policy of separate development for it is largely shrouded in a haze of self-delusion. In a completely uncritical fashion, a great many people from the Prime Minister downwards have come to accept it as the one and only answer to our problem; more than that, as the true solution to the race problem everywhere — in short, as South Africa's great gift to mankind.

I do not propose to take the many facets of the policy in turn and try to show how impracticable they are. Indeed I am going to do the opposite. I am going to concede the whole Bantustan policy and still show that it falls hopelessly short of being the answer we are seeking. I therefore invite you to join me in making all the assump-

tions on which the policy of separate development is based.

Let us assume, to begin with, that the 260-odd scattered black spots on the map of South Africa comprising the African reserves can be consolidated into seven or eight clearly defined coherent geographic areas which will become ethnic homelands — and remember how gloomy the Sabra people were recently about the chances of accomplishing this.

Let us assume that all the White farmlands necessary for this purpose have been acquired and incorporated into these areas — and remember how difficult this was admitted to be by a Cabinet Minister at the Sabra conference.

Let us assume that the hundreds of millions of rands required for developing the Bantustans have been spent and that they have all been made economically viable — and remember that this is a period of inflation, credit restriction and shortage of funds.

Let us assume that these homelands prove capable of sustaining not only their present populations but the natural increase thereof as well — and bear in mind the backward state of these areas even now.

Let us assume that new Government measures succeed in directing millions of African workers in the so-called White areas back to the homelands — and remember how hard the Government is finding this even in the western Cape where the task is far easier than anywhere else.

Let us assume, in short, that the separate development programme has been completely and successfully carried out.

Mr. Laurence Gandar is the Editor-in-Chief of the Rand Daily Mail. He has won for himself and his newspaper an international reputation and is South Africa's most far-sighted and fair-minded political commentator.

In view of the tardiness there has been in implementing the Tomlinson Commission's report, especially in some of its major aspects such as the use of White capital in the reserves; in view of the need to maintain a high rate of economic development in the rest of the country in the meanwhile; and in view of the huge defence expenditure programme to which we are committed, I think you will agree that these are very large assumptions indeed. Nevertheless, wildly improbable as they are, we will make them for the sake of the argument.

Now let us see what we have achieved by the prodigious effort we have made and the enormous sums we have expended. Here we will have to do one or two simple sums on the back of an envelope.

The present White population of the country is 3½m and this will rise to 7m by the end of the century. The present Coloured population is nearly 2m and it will rise to 6m by that time. The Indian population is a little more than ½m and will rise to just over 1m and the African population is 12.75m and will rise to a massive 28m. The total population in the year 2000 will be 52m. as against 18.75m. now.

These projections I have given are drawn from the four most authoritative sets of figures published in recent years — those of the Natural Resources Development Council, the Institute for Medical Research, the Bureau of Statistics and the Industrial Development Corporation. I do not think they can be seriously challenged and in fact the figure of 42m as our total population in the year 2000 is widely accepted.

Now the Tomlinson Commission estimated that at the rate of development that it laid down as being necessary, the homelands could be carrying a total African population of 9m by the year 1981, rising to a maximum of between 14 and 15m by the turn of the century.

Seeing that the Bantustans comprise only 12.9 per cent of the land area of South Africa, that most of this land is still relatively undeveloped, that it contains hardly any of the natural riches and developed resources of the country, and that the rate of investment in the homelands has been far below what the Tomlinson Commission postulated, the estimate of 15m is generous indeed. However, here again, we will concede the figure — which happens to be more than three times what the reserves are accommodating with the greatest difficulty at present.

So that by the turn of the century in 33 years' time, White South Africa, so-called, will contain the following: 7m Whites, 6m Coloureds, 1m Indians and 13m Africans, the other 15m being, notionally at any rate, in the Bantustans. It will be seen that Whites will still be outnumbered by non-Whites by three to one instead of four to one at present, though I must say that I think it will be a miracle if we hold the proportion to what it is now, let alone reduce it.

And bear in mind that by the year 2030, little more than 60 years hence, our total population will have doubled itself again. This shows the immensity of our problem.

But reverting to the Bantustan programme how will the relatively minor change in numerical ratios it may bring about between the races benefit us? Will the Whites feel significantly more secure being outnumbered three to one instead of four to one? Will they feel any more able to

dismantle the apparatus of race discrimination in housing, schooling, employment, public amenities and the rest of it?

Will the 20m non-Whites living in so-called White South Africa not have to be subjected to precisely the same restrictions, handicaps and deprivations if the traditional way of life of the Whites is to be preserved? Will there be genuine separate freedoms for the Coloureds, the Indians and the 13m Africans who cannot be accommodated in the homelands? What citizenship rights will they be able to look forward to in the future?

The whole thing is preposterous. Race policy has been argued back and forth in South Africa for more years than anyone cares to remember but the stubborn facts of our demography remain, just as the mountains, the rivers and the veld are the enduring facts of our geography.

We are forced to the conclusion, therefore, that the policy of separate development

a) Will *not* significantly enhance the freedom of the Whites;

b) Will *not* offer genuine freedom to the great bulk of our non-White population;

c) Will *not* contribute towards the elimination of race discrimination, and

d) Will *not* satisfy world opinion which will remain unmoved by the fact that we shall be discriminating against only three times our own number of non-Whites instead of four times as many now.

Now this wholly unsatisfactory outcome arises from our unwillingness to face up to the only real choice open to us. Instead of moving decisively in the direction of either integration or partition, we want the best of both worlds. We imagine that we can pursue economic integration side by side with social and political separation, that we can have our cake and eat it too. But of course we cannot, as some of the more thoughtful Nationalists now admit. Before too long we are going to have to take one or other of the decisions we are trying so hard to avoid.

Most of us here tonight, I would think, are people of broadly liberal outlook. Most of us, I would think, are English-speaking people, conscious of our western liberal heritage and anxious to see it survive in this country. What should we be saying and doing to make this heritage meaningful in national affairs, that will help bring some light and hope to an otherwise dismal scene?

Our Afrikaner fellow-citizens are at this moment engaged in an orgy of self-questioning and mutual recrimination, although this really concerns the condition and future of Afrikanerdom rather than the policy of separate development. Nevertheless it is true, as some people have pointed out, that our political dialogue in South Africa, such as it is, is essentially an Afrikaner dialogue, with the English-speaking section sitting glumly on the sidelines, dispirited and withdrawn.

It is not only that an Afrikaner Nationalist political party is entrenched in office; the whole power structure has become an Afrikaner establishment, exclusive in character and reflecting values and outlooks that are largely foreign to the Western liberal heritage which is publicly decried as "sickly humanism", "international equalitarianism" and the rest of it.

It is thus not easy for the English-speaking people to identify themselves with this establishment. It is almost as if they have become aliens in their own country, living and working here but excluded from the governing of the country as effectively as are, for example, the Whites in Kenya or Zambia. In those countries the Whites have one Cabinet Minister serving the Black government in power. Here there are two English-speaking Cabinet Ministers serving the Afrikaner government. They certainly do not represent the sentiments and traditions of the English-speaking section.

In these circumstances the English-speaking people are powerless, or feel themselves to be powerless, in the ordering of our affairs, in the shaping of our future. Not that they are particularly clear in their own minds what they actually want. Buffeted by the winds of change like everyone else, they strain uneasily at the moorings of their traditions, uncertain as to how relevant these are in the conditions of present-day Africa. Yet they are not convinced that the Nationalists have got the final answer either.

As we all know, an increasing number of English-speaking people now support the Nationalist government — but for the wrong reasons and in the wrong way. They do so out of expediency rather than out of conviction and they derive no particular satisfaction from it. They are not interested in helping the Nationalists implement separate development; what they are interested in is the status quo and they suspect that this is really what the Nationalists are interested in too.

But they are fair weather supporters and will withdraw their backing the moment they feel it is no longer in their interests to continue it — and the Nationalists know this very well, as one of them said on Kruger Day last week.

Now this is clearly unsatisfactory for all concerned. Although they have a monopoly of political power the Nationalists are nowhere near using it properly. Having isolated themselves for so long from the wider world, having anchored themselves to a 19th century outlook and way of life, they tend to take a simplistic view of the race problem and offer a mechanistic solution to it. As they see it, when White and Black come into contact, friction is caused. Therefore White and Black must be separated. Since it is too late to do this in the economic sphere, we will have to make do with separation in the social and political spheres.

It would, I think, be hard to imagine a more unsophisticated approach to a difficult human problem than this. Indeed, it is not so much an approach to as a retreat from the very complexity of the problem. My advice, therefore, to English-speaking people who support the Nationalists is to use their influence to make separate development a more cultivated and educated policy, to help re-cast it in a more modern western idiom, and to help fit it to the realities with which it is supposed to deal.

I would say that a Western approach to a policy of separation of the races in South Africa would require acceptance of the following prerequisites:

a) There would have to be a manifestly fair division of the country's land area and resources, natural and developed, between Whites and Blacks;

b) There would have to be a negotiated settlement between the recognised leaders of the two races, not a settlement devised by one race to safeguard its own interests and then imposed unilaterally on the other;

c) Any settlement would have to involve full and unqualified independence for the Black race within a fairly short and specifically stated period;

d) The economic viability of the separate independent states would have to be assured;

e) There would have to be no race discrimination whatever against those Whites or Blacks who, for various reasons, remained in the territory of the other race group;

f) The Coloured and Indian peoples, for whom there are no homelands, would have to be absorbed into the White group and accorded full citizenship rights in the White territory.

None of these essentially Western concepts is present in more than token form in the policy of separate development and the most important ones are absent altogether. They must therefore be built into the policy before it can have any chance of commanding the respect or serious attention of the outside world, before it can be accepted as arguable by people of conscience here and, most important of all, before the policy can have any real meaning for our own non-White race groups.

Here is a worthwhile task for those English-speaking people, with their Western background, who claim to support the National Party. Here is a way in which they can, to some extent at any rate, reconcile their present political attitudes with their inherited political traditions.

Now what of the English-speaking people who do not support the Nationalists and, more especially, those of liberal outlook? There has, I fear, been a tendency for them also to adopt a withdrawn and helpless attitude.

Without abandoning their principles they have come to feel that the odds are loaded too heavily against them, that they cannot, as many of them put it, go on beating their heads against a stone wall for ever. It is a very understandable attitude and I frankly admit that I often feel it myself.

But it is wrong and it is unnecessary, for we are much stronger than we think. The Nationalists certainly do not under-estimate the power of the liberal ideal and indeed they spend far more time, energy and thought fighting it than they do in fighting the United Party. To this extent the Progressive and Liberal parties form the true opposition in South Africa for they are the bearers of an ideal that does pose a threat to Afrikaner Nationalism.

This is why liberalism must be contained and combatted at all costs and by any means by the Nationalists, including the harrassment of all organisations that actively uphold the liberal ideal, the banning and deportation of key individuals, the employment of McCarthy-type smear techniques, the use of the national radio as an anti-liberal propaganda weapon, the attentions of the Special Branch and many other forms of restraint and intimidation.

In these and other ways, we liberals are paid the compliment of being seen as infinitely more powerful than our actual numbers imply, and I believe this is a correct assessment of our strength. For we represent the mainstream of contemporary human thought, we reflect by and large the ethics of all the great religions of mankind, and our ideas are in tune with a technological age in which distance is being annihilated, education is becoming universal, industrialisation is spreading to every country, and the nations and races of the world are being drawn steadily closer together.

The pull of economic forces, the pressure of international opinion, the dictates of conscience and the increasing inter-dependence of people everywhere — all these are influences working in our favour. We are moving with the tide of history; the Nationalists are trying to swim against it.

Furthermore we already have a large measure of integration here. Four sizeable race groups have grown up side by side in this country and together they have built up the strongest, most advanced and most prosperous industrial economy in the whole of Africa, indeed one of the most vigorous economies in the world. This great co-operative effort sustains the bulk of our population, providing us with employment and the resources we require for food, housing, education and recreation.

In our mines and factories, our shops and businesses, our railways and harbours, on our farms and in our homes, White, Black and Brown work together to earn the nation's bread, to advance the nation's welfare.

This is the dominant fact of life in South Africa. For what it means is that every member of every race group has a stake in our continued economic progress. It means that our shared interests in improving our standards of living and the quality of our lives is greater than our separate interests as race groups. So far from the races being inherently incompatible, as the Nationalists claim, they draw closer together naturally in every sphere. Indeed, the Nationalists have had to erect a complicated barricade of laws to prevent this from happening of its own accord.

Having said this, I would not like it thought that I take a relaxed view of the difficulties of integration. On the contrary. From what I know of people and their nature, I accept that integration will be accompanied by endless disappointments, frustrations, setbacks, irritations and adjustments of the most painful kind. I sometimes think we liberals do our own case harm by dismissing too airily the complexities and even dangers of the course we recommend.

Accordingly I believe that our programmes should include ample provision for the human techniques, the kinds of conciliatory machinery, that have been developed so extensively in the United States and Britain for dealing with the problems that arise in transitional situations as different races work out new and more appropriate relationships among themselves.

Apart from this, liberals have constantly to be re-examining and re-articulating their viewpoint in fresh and contemporary terms. And here I think we very much need to mobilise more of the latent brainpower at our disposal, especially in the English-language universities. Faculty mem-

God bless us whites and our relations,
And keep the rest in their locations.

(Robin Thorne)

bers of the various Afrikaans universities are far more active than ours are in applying their minds to the great issues of the country. Out of the two or three thousand professors and lecturers there must be at the four English-language universities there are scarcely a dozen that I can think of who contribute to the public discussion of matters of national importance and concern.

And yet the intellectual quality is there all right. One has only to recall the address given by Professor Le May at the recent Progressive Party congress in Cape Town and the address of Professor Tobias at the Nusas congress earlier this year to realise what great reserves of intel-

lectual power there are waiting to be tapped for the liberal cause.

In this connection I should like to commend the organisers of the recent series of lectures given under the heading of "Our Liberal Heritage". Here again the Afrikaner Nationalists are very active in the field of seminars, symposiums and volkskongresse. We should take a leaf out of their book and use this method more for projecting the liberal outlook. I think we have held our own pretty well in the sphere of inviting prominent people from abroad to come and give us the benefit of their views — so much so that the conservatives are now about to try to cap the Kennedy visit with a Goldwater visit — or should I say visitation.

Then there is a great range of activity open to us in the realm of what I would call practical liberalism. I hardly need labour the point at this gathering for the Black Sash, with their advice offices, are already performing one of the finest community services it is possible to imagine in the whole inter-racial field.

Actually women do a lot better than men in this regard. Far too many men, and this is especially true of business men, seem to feel that anything outside the strict line of business is vaguely political and therefore something not to get mixed up in.

There are other businessmen who are more subtle. They hold to the theory that economic growth itself will solve South Africa's problems, and therefore all they are required to do is to sit on their behinds and make profits. These are what I call our whisky-and-soda warriors, our boardroom brigadiers, fighting the good fight in the most comfortable and lucrative of circumstances. I suspect that many members of the Black Sash know the kind of person I am referring to — they may even be married to some of them.

In fairness, however, I must admit that there are numbers of businessmen who do what they can to help. A notable example is the Natal Chamber of Industries. This body of businessmen appears to have set itself up as a pressure group, using its considerable influence to intercede with the authorities — local, provincial and national — to secure improvements in the conditions of life of their non-White employees.

They keep in close touch with their workers and find out the things that are causing them unnecessary distress such as over-crowding on the trains, inadequate bus services, bad lighting in the township streets, rudeness by officials, over-eagerness in arresting suspected pass offenders and so on. Then the Chamber takes these matters up with the appropriate authorities and does its best to see that they are put right.

This seems to me to be a kind of activity which organised commerce and industry are uniquely

capable of performing and I commend it strongly to Chambers in other parts of the country. Apart from anything else it is a form of enlightened self-interest, a legitimate technique of collective management.

Finally I want to say that the time seems to me to be approaching when a resurgence of liberalism in South Africa might become possible. Four or five years ago, after the sabotage campaign and the station bomb explosion, the liberal cause was at its lowest ebb — gravely discredited by the crude and irresponsible actions of a handful of individuals. I think that we have pulled out of that valley of despair. As Mrs. Sinclair has remarked, the national atmosphere is less tense and strained these days and several things have happened lately to improve it further.

The verligte-verkrampte quarrel, whatever else it may have accomplished, is tending to make dissent respectable again. And if good Nationalists like Anton Rupert, Professor Thom, Piet

"I want to say to the world: You can push people around, you can fight them and you can insult them. They will take all this to a certain point, but you must not try to take a man's home away from him. You must not even think that you will go unpunished if you estrange a man's fatherland from him."

(The Prime Minister at Windhoek)

Cillie and Schalk Pienaar can be called liberals or liberalists, then the term must be losing much of the hatefulness with which it was endowed. The Government itself is starting to adopt certain policies classed as outward or enlightened and, relative though these terms may be, it is becoming almost fashionable to be verlig in outlook.

There is another development the significance of which is not yet widely understood but which provides a valuable argument for the liberal case. Integration is, as I explained earlier, rejected here because it is believed to lead inevitably to bloodshed and anarchy. Make a single concession, it is said, grant a single right to non-Whites and in no time the Whites will have lost everything. Events in Africa are cited as proof of this contention.

But in fact Africa provides a compelling example of the opposite, too. And here I refer to Rhodesia. Africans have enjoyed certain political rights in Rhodesia for many years. They are entitled to elect members to Parliament and indeed the Leader of the Opposition has for some time now been an African. Africans can also use certain hotels and cinemas and send their children to

certain multi-racial schools. There is mixed sport and some multi-racial residential areas as well.

And yet, so far from being unable to resist the pressure for further rights and privileges, the White Rhodesians have had no difficulty in containing this pressure and are actually in the process of reversing the trend. And this in a country where Whites are outnumbered by Blacks by nearly twenty to one, a country with frontiers directly exposed to terrorist infiltration from the hostile North, a country that has been under international sanctions for nearly two years.

It is only because the Whites in Rhodesia have been backtracking on their obligations that U.D.I. and all the subsequent troubles have come about. Even so the last thing the Rhodesians are worried about is pressure from their own Black people.

South Africa is immeasurably stronger than Rhodesia in every way. We would not have the slightest difficulty in regulating integration to a rate that was manageable. And provided we were honest about it and could be seen to be moving in the right direction, however cautiously, the world would accept this and we would be welcomed back into the international community. More important, we would be able to live with our consciences again.

I don't want to elaborate this point at a stage in the evening when you must have had about as much as you can take. My contention is that the climate in South Africa does seem to be changing slowly for the better and that new opportunities are emerging for updating and re-stating the liberal case.

So let us get up off the ground, dust ourselves off, hold up our heads, take a deep breath, and get into the fray again. We badly need to shake off our sense of failure. Look what just one determined liberal in Parliament has achieved. What could 30 or 40,000 determined liberals throughout the country not achieve?

If we take our courage in both hands, if we put our backs into it again, if we use all the talents that we have, if we act decisively and persuade others to act decisively as well, we will win through in the end, for I am sure that when the final choice is made between integration or partition, it will be for integration.

In a famous phrase known to you all, we *shall* overcome.

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SLAVE MENTALITY

IT IS NOT REALLY SURPRISING that most of the Africans in the Republic have what the American Negro describes as a "slave-mentality". For 300 years he has been conditioned to being subservient. When he is with Europeans he is too anxious to please. He smiles too much. He cannot afford to be his true self and he is afraid to show his anger. He walks as a slave walks without his head held high. He dare not claim his rights and his place as a human being because he has not been treated as one. He is not a free man.

Some few of them have survived this conditioning and act as human beings with full human rights. They are for the most part in prison or in exile of one sort or another.

It is we, the white people of this country, who have reduced the African people to this state. We have done, and are doing, violence to their status and their stature as human beings. We have done it by the attitude we adopt to them both individually and as a race. The kindnesses that we show are from "de haut en bas" and not as among equals. We smile at him as we smile at a child, to give him confidence and to show him that we are not as terrible as we appear to be. We turn and rend him if he steps out of line. We say things to him that we would not dare to say to white people for fear of civil or violent action being taken in response. We do not have to be careful about what we say to an African. We treat him well as and when he serves us well. Any sign of independence we regard as "cheek". Any sign that he may show of bettering himself is treated with sneers, if not to his face then behind his back. Sometimes that attempt to better himself is by seeking further education through a correspondence course; sometimes it is by dressing more smartly or buying a better bicycle or wireless set and sometimes even by saving to buy a motor car. "Who does he think he is?" we ask. And that is the \$64 dollar question. He may be beginning to think that he is meant to have some of the privileges of being fully human. Or he may be so conditioned and punch-drunk with the indignity poured upon him that he may not be able to think at all.

The Dean of Johannesburg,

The Very Reverend G. A. French-Beytagh.

(Reprinted from the Parishioner.)

The National Education Policy Act

By Professor J. W. MACQUARRIE

of the Department of Education, University of Natal.

The chain of events in South Africa has obliged the Black Sash to take over from the men of our country the traditionally masculine role of guardians of our freedom. There is no sphere in which the Black Sash will have to exercise more vigilance in the near future than in regard to the education of our children under the new deal. As women, and often mothers, there is no sphere in which they are more fitted to act.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY ACT which has just become law does not, except in one or two respects, specifically alter our present system of education. Rather does it set the stage for the next act of the tragedy. The Nationalist Government has now secured control and can shape educational practice at its leisure. Therefore it behoves the Black Sash and similar organisations to watch events with care and to publicise and to protest against any tampering with the full and proper education of our sons and daughters.

The Act takes final control of White education out of the hands of the Provinces and gives it to the Minister of Education, Arts and Science. (It will be noted that the Central Government has already, as the policy of Christian National Education demanded as long ago as 1948, taken over control of all non-White education.) The key clause of the Act reads:

"The Minister may, after consultation with the Administrator and the (National Education Advisory) Council, from time to time determine the general policy which is to be pursued in respect of education in schools . . . within the framework of" certain

principles which the Bill proceeds to define.

We can be quite sure that the Minister has not taken over this power just as an empty gesture. He has taken it because he means to use it, because he means to make changes. There is, we note, to be consultation. There is no provision that he need act on any advice given. He is given full power.

"to determine the general policy"

of any or all of the Provinces.

Not that he is at all likely to get unpalatable advice from any Administrator or from the Ad-

visory Council or any of its members, as long as Nationalism remains in power, and there are not the faintest indications that it will soon lose power. Administrators are not likely to be recalcitrant; they are, in our time, invariably hand-picked, trusty, functionaries of the Nationalist hierarchy. The Advisory Council is certain to be equally reliable, equally docile. Each member of this new, and presumably "improved", edition of the Council is to be appointed by the Minister; its chairman, its vice-chairman and its executive committee are all to be designated by him. If the unexpected should happen (and, in this imperfect world it sometimes does), if a well-tested instrument should turn in the Minister's hand, he is given wide powers for terminating membership — for misconduct, for unfitness, or

"if for reasons other than his unfitness or incapacity (the member's) removal from office will promote efficiency and economy."

To consider the main principles of the Act.

"Education shall have a broad national character."

In the deepest and best sense our schools *do* have a broad, national character. A visitor from say, England or New Zealand, will find, of course, that we have as heterogeneous a collection of schools as has any other country. As Eton varies from Camden Town Central so does St. Anthony's differ from Blikkiesdorp High or Brown Street Primary. But our visitor will have no difficulty in perceiving that our schools are all distinctively South African. They can't avoid this; education unless grossly interfered with, is a manifestation of the life of the community.

Education in Britain has "a broad national character" in so far, at least, as we can tell a tree from its fruits. The British people are, in

important matters, a united people; we think, for example, of the unity against Hitler in 1940. Yet Britain has in practice four distinct educational systems emphasising the four main elements in the population — England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Even these four are further sub-divided and England has almost a hundred and fifty local and largely independent authorities. The true national spirit of a country of heterogeneous populations is best fostered on a healthy regional basis. We can't be good South Africans if we are not proud of our heritage and the heritage differs in many parts of South Africa. Urban Natal has something in common with, say, rural Transvaal, but in many respects its traditions and ways of life are different.

How does the Minister define his aims? He says

“Education should build on the idea of national development of all citizens of South Africa so that our own identity and way of life can remain safeguarded . . .”

So far we are with him. We want to preserve our own identity and way of life; that is why we must have some differentiation in education. He continues:

“and so that the South African nation will continue to comprehend its task as a sub-section of Western civilisation.”

Comprehend its task? The phrase might have come straight from the tablets of the law, the *Mein Kampf* of Nationalism, the policy statement on Christian National Education. What the Minister and his Government mean by “a broad national character” is apparently “a narrow Nationalist character”. If we must, as the act indicates, be made to conform to one standard nationwide pattern we can be quite sure it will be the Transvaal Nationalist pattern.

“Education shall have a Christian character.” says the Act. If this means what it says, it is superfluous. All our Provincial schools already have a Christian character. All our Provincial Councils make detailed legal provision for religious education in every class of every Primary and Secondary school. Then why bring this clause into the Act? The only tenable construction is that, to Nationalist South Africa, the present provisions are unsatisfactory. There is, in Natal for example, a conscience clause for teachers; a teacher may opt out of religious instruction and still teach, say mathematics. Is that unsatisfactory? In principle and practice, some of the Provinces give freedom to Catholic, Jewish or non-Calvinist children to be absent from the classes in religious instruction. In some areas Catholic schools are State-supported. Do such practices detract from the Christian character of the system? Are we here up against the crude precepts of Christian National Education for all? Is a Roman Catholic teacher of music or a Jewish

teacher of typing “nothing less than the deadliest danger to us”? We are assured, however, that

“the religious convictions of the parents and pupils shall be respected in regard to religious instruction and religious ceremonies.”

If this is genuine, then why attempt, or appear to attempt, to change the prevailing arrangement?

Whatever the desires of the parents, “mother tongue, if English or Afrikaans, shall be the medium of instruction.”

There must be few White children in South Africa who do not receive education through the tongue of their parents. Then why worry about the Government's making compulsory something that is done by nearly everyone in any case?

There is the situation where one parent is English-speaking and the other Afrikaans-speaking and where there may be undue pressure by what Christian National Education calls

“the parents in community”

to force a particular medium on the child. Again, in many parts of South Africa, Afrikaans-speaking parents may be in an English-speaking community or vice-versa and the children may be more familiar with the other language. Or again, the parents may have an enthusiasm for bi-lingualism, no unworthy ideal, and want the child to master the other tongue. Why should the parent be deprived of this right? In law he has been deprived in three Provinces. Now it appears to be Natal's turn.

Until the end of the second reading of the Bill the position of Government-Aided schools was obscure. In his reply to the second reading debate, the Minister made clear the Government's intention. With the very few wholly private schools as Michaelhouse, St. Andrew's, St. Anne's, etc., this Act makes no attempt to interfere. But most of what are popularly called private schools in Natal, the Convent High Schools in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, Epworth, St. Charles', St. John's, Hilton, Kearsney, Collegiate, Wykeham, Durban Girls' College, St. Mary's, Marist Brothers, etc. — are, or have been, technically State-aided schools. The list of names alone reminds us of how well the system has worked. These schools derive much of their revenue from pupils' fees, from bequests, donations, etc. They receive varying but substantial grants from the Province. Thus they, on the one hand, have been helped to supply an excellent education, to group their pupils in smallish classes, to provide praiseworthy amenities and to build up enviable loyalties and traditions. On the other hand, the Province and the State have been spared much of the expense of educating the pupils in these schools. The system, in short, has worked well.

But this type of private school seems in danger. Such schools will still have the right to charge fees, but here comes the rub. Fees, the Minister has explained, may be used for

“the improvement of sports facilities, film projectors, library books over and above those provided by the State, mural charts and other audio-visual aids.”

No fees, however, may be levied for the salaries of teachers and, at present, a proportion — possibly a large proportion — of the teachers in such schools receive no Provincial or other Government grants. We do not know to what extent the various schools are dependent for the payment of teachers on the Government grants. We can only conclude that the proviso is in the Act for a purpose. We can only conclude that it aims at embarrassing, or hindering, or crippling, or destroying, such schools.

“The parent community (is) to be given a place in the educational system through Parent Teachers’ Associations, School Committees, Boards of Control, School Boards or in any other manner.”

The principle seems superfluous in that it is wide enough to cover the present varying practices of the different Provinces. Three of the Provinces have School Boards and Committees and Natal has Parent-Teachers’ Associations and other similar bodies. There seems to be general satisfaction at least among parents, with the present varied systems of parental participation. To parents in Natal, Boards and Committees are,

to echo but only to echo a Christian National Education phrase, foreign to their way of life. Also “the parent community”, the C.N.E. “parent in community” smacks of the parents regimented by the local Fuhrer or party boss.

There will be universal agreement that “education must be provided in accordance with the ability, aptitude”

(is there some subtle difference here?)

“and interest shown by the pupil”, and that

“requirements as to compulsory education and the limits relating to school age must be uniform”.

A most unexceptionable principle. Apply it to all races and it will usher in South Africa’s golden age. It is vitiated, however, by the inclusion of the words

“and the needs of the country.”

Who decides such needs? Is this a reference to the general planning of education that all countries, democratic included, attempt to provide for future needs? Or does it predict Nationalist regimentation of the individual.

The fundamental and positive evil of the Act is the usurpation from the Provinces of the right to control education. The potential dangers, as we have tried to show above, are even greater. Unceasing vigilance and immediate and vigorous reaction by protest and resistance to any encroachment on the healthy mental development of our children are now more than ever the duty of every responsible parent and citizen.

SANDRA LAING

A Statement issued by National Conference.

THE TRAGEDY OF SANDRA LAING is the tragedy of South Africa. The direct chain reaction of cause and effect which is set off by viewing people as members of groups and not as human beings has, as its end result, the destruction of the life of a child, condoned by those who give this iniquity the consent of their silence.

Those parents who have refused to allow their children to attend the same school as Sandra are the product of the sickness of our society.

From the point of view of the Government it is difficult to understand why it does not have the courage of its convictions. In addition to a Law dealing with Race Classification it also has on its statute books a Law which makes education and school attendance compulsory for whites.

Sandra Laing has been classified as white. She must attend school. The children at the schools

where she has sought entry must also attend school. It seems that the Minister of Education has a duty to ensure that Sandra attends school and that the parents of other children are restrained from withdrawing their children from school. The Government cannot have its cake and eat it.

This Government has taken more power into its own hands than is either normal or desirable in a democratic society, yet it abrogates its responsibility towards individuals who become victims of the state machine, nor will it exercise its authority against those of its supporters who have succumbed too well to its ideology.

Sandra Laing is not unique. There are other unfortunate children like her. The Race Classification Laws are a breeding ground for tragedies and potential tragedies.

Where Do They Go?

By NOEL ROBB

Noel Robb is the Director of the Athlone Advice office, Cape Town, and a member of the Cape Town Regional Council of the Black Sash.

You will have read in the newspapers lately of Mr. Vosloo's and Mr. Blaar Coetzee's proposals to decrease the African labour force in the Western Cape by 5% each year, until in 20 years time there will be no Africans at all in the Western Cape.

I shall leave economists and big business men and industrialists to tell you what effect this policy will have on Cape Town — if indeed it is possible to enforce it. What I want to deal with tonight is the effect on African families of this policy which is already being implemented. Mr. Vosloo said that the implementing would be executed in five stages:—

- (a) The removal of Foreign Bantu.
- (b) The freezing of Bantu families with limited influx of single migrant labourers to fulfil the most urgent necessities.
- (c) The reduction of Bantu families.
- (d) The gradual replacement of migrant Bantu labour with Coloured labourers.
- (e) The selection of the Bantu population and its division into groups.

He said "our aim remains the eventual exclusion of all Bantu in the area." All African labour quotas would be reduced by 5% a year so that in 20 years there would presumably be no Bantu in the area. "I think this is a practical and very considerate approach."

Taking the first method of implementation. So-called Foreign Bantu are all being endorsed out regardless of the fact that many have been here more than 20 and often 40 years and have Coloured wives and families. These people left their own countries so long ago that they know nobody there and have very little hope of employment. Their Coloured families are sent away too, if the marriage is legal, or at least they are given the choice to go, but usually they are afraid to go so far into the unknown with no certainty of a living. Some have gone but have soon returned.

Secondly the freezing of Bantu families with limited influx of single migrant labourers. By August last year there were 26,000 single Africans in Langa and only 20,000 beds for them. For this reason there was a total ban on contract labour from September 1st until early this year. Certain employers have been allowed to erect quarters for proposed Coloured labourers and another 2,000 have recently been introduced. These quarters consist of large prefab sheds which house

40 Africans in one room about 70 feet by 30 feet. Beds and coir mattresses are provided. There are cement floors, 6 small windows and no ceilings. Each bungalow is used as bedroom, lounge, dining-room and kitchen by the 40 men it houses. Cooking is done on pressure stoves on the floor. The men eat on a home-made plank table in the centre of the bungalow. There are two ablution blocks to provide for the needs of the 520 men in these 13 bungalows. Each ablution block has 6 Egyptian-style latrines and three showers.

The S.A. Railways has plans for building 40 permanent bungalows for about 2,000 more contract workers.

Now already there are more than 26,000 so-called bachelors living in Langa out of a total population of 34,000 i.e. about 8,000 are members of family units. Obviously the proportion of "single" men to women in Langa will rise steadily until it becomes an even more dangerous township than it already is. 68% of these men are married men away from their wives for at least a year at a time. Often several years. The worst type of woman both African and Coloured hangs about the flat zones and barracks and the rise in the number of illegitimate births, not only in Langa but in Guguletu and the Coloured townships is causing great concern. It is hard to get figures but in her book "Langa" Prof. Monica Wilson said the percentage of illegitimate births in Langa fluctuates between 25—40%. This was in 1960, it is obviously much higher now and the decent women of Langa are so concerned about it that they send their daughters away to school in the country so that they will not fall pregnant. So much for the second method of implementation.

Now comes the worst — the reduction of Bantu families which I will take with the fifth "the selection of the Bantu population and its division into groups" — whatever that may mean.

Since January 1st this year certain classes of employment have been reserved for qualified Africans — that is those who were born in the area and have lived there continuously ever since: those who have worked 10 years for one employer or those who have lived continuously in the area for 15 years, have not worked, even for a short

time in another area and have not during that time or afterwards been convicted of a fine of more than R100 or a sentence of more than 6 months. Only these qualified Africans may be taken on as garage workers and petrol attendants, delivery men including milk men, ice-cream vendors, stable boys or grooms, floor cleaners and sweepers, domestic servants, gardeners, time keepers and dispatch clerks.

If an unqualified African is in a job of this kind he may keep it but if he leaves his present employment he will not be able to take up similar work offered — he will be endorsed out. And when he discovers this he will not be allowed to return to his previous employer. He must go "home" to the Transkei and only return as a contract worker on a maximum of a year's contract, after which he can be permanently endorsed out. In order to alert Africans to this new regulation we have issued a pamphlet in Xhosa warning Africans not to leave their present employment until they have sought advice as to the wisdom of doing so. These men have no hope of coming back to Cape Town, even as contract workers in this type of employment.

Contract workers may not be introduced for the lowest type of unskilled labour such as in the building industry, coal firms etc. No man with education and some training will ever again be allowed into the Cape Western area to work in factories, bakeries, stables. Many of these men think that they do qualify — they have been here for more than 15 years but unless they registered within three days of June 24th, 1952 their residence prior to that date is discounted and the time is measured from when they first registered. This has hit more workers particularly hard because none of them registered much before 1954 in Cape Western area and very much later in the rest of the country. There were no facilities for registration of women — the officials were concerned with registering all the male workers first.

Much has been written, much has been said, about the endorsing out of Africans. Tonight I thought I would take these stories a little further and deal with the question "where do they go?" Very often the people endorsed out do have another home to which they can go, however, reluctantly, but very often they are "displaced people" who have no home to go to. Africans born on White-owned farms, who leave the farm to work in the towns, or for any other reason, have no right to live anywhere in the land of their birth. They can only remain in the urban areas by permit, and if they are endorsed out, cannot return to the farm. No farmer can be expected to house and feed everybody who has ever been born on his farm. These are displaced people who have no roots in the Transkei, Ciskei or any other Reserve. Approximately one-third of the Africans in this country belong to this category — are either living and working on White farms where they have no rights and are dependent on the farmer's

good-will, or working in urban areas with no other home and nowhere where they have rights.

Then again, Africans born in locations in White areas — 87% of the country is a "White area"— who leave the town in which they were born to work in another White area, have no rights anywhere. They have lost the right to live permanently in the town where they were born because they have not lived there continuously ever since and they have no right to live anywhere else. These are the two groups of Displaced people who have nowhere to go when they are endorsed out.

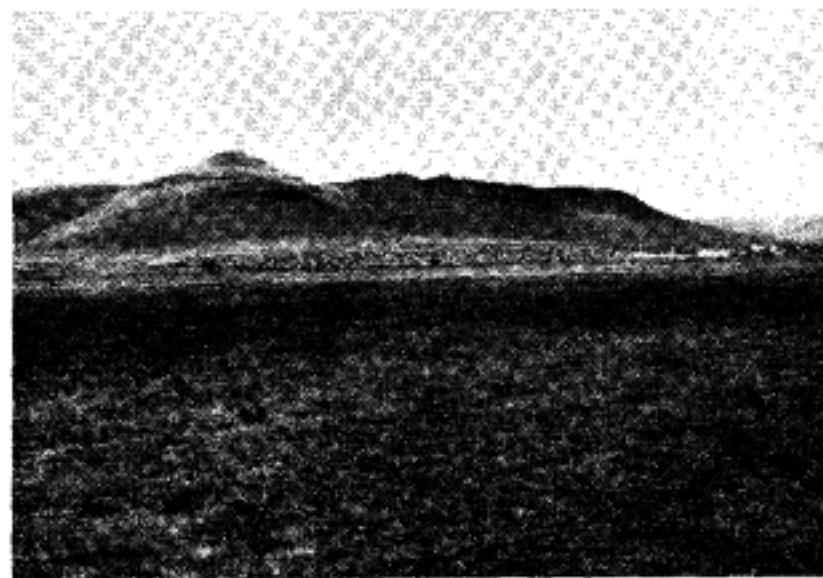
Then where *do* they go? When Africans are endorsed out they are sent to that part of the Reserve where either they, or their parents, or any of their relatives, have lived or do live. Many wives of men working in Cape Town are sent to the place where their husband was born regardless of whether or not he has ever been back there, or has a home there. Often the wife is a city born and bred girl and utterly refuses to go alone to her husband's family to live in a primitive way in a hut miles from a village — let alone a town. Sometimes she divorces him so as to remain in the same town as him but much more often she never marries him, merely lives with him, so as not to be sent away from him to his home town. Sometimes her husband has no home in the Reserves — either he was born and bred in Cape Town and has his only home here, or else he came from a White farm or another White town. Then, if she has a "home" herself in the Reserves she is sent there, no matter how long ago she left the place. The worst case to illustrate this is that of MIRIAM BUKANE.

Miriam left Lady Frere, where she was born, in 1946 and has never been there since, because she joined her husband in Paarl where he worked, and lived with him there for 12 years — until 1958. Then his firm transferred him to Cape Town and she was allowed to accompany him and lived with him in a temporary house in Guguletu until 1966, when she was suddenly endorsed out after 21 years of marriage. By then she had 5 children, all born either in Paarl or in Cape Town, and all of whom were at school in Guguletu. The youngest had Polio and was having regular treatment at the Guguletu clinic. She and the children were told to return to Lady Frere, where her husband is said to have a kraal although he left Lady Frere permanently in 1942 to go to Paarl. His step-mother lives in this kraal which won't be his until she dies. If they had remained in Paarl they could have continued to live together but by coming to Cape Town he lost all his rights and so did his family. At first she didn't go and was arrested and found guilty in the Observatory Magistrate's court. She was defended by David Dallas who said: "I submit that nothing the court can do can punish her as severely as the prospect she faces of having to leave her husband."

Now Miriam at least had somewhere to go

even though after 21 years in urban areas she will find it hard to be happy at Mfyintyine Location which is 8 miles from Glen Grey Hospital. Others are not so lucky.

TUNYELWA NTSUMPA was born in Cofimvaba and so was her husband JIMCROW MAMGOASAHA but the Magistrate at Cofimvaba says neither of them have any relatives there now and that he cannot accept her there. She married JIMCROW in Cofimvaba in 1957 but her husband had left there in 1947 and has worked in Cape Town ever since, although he has been unable to prove this is there are breaks in his record from 1949-1955. She joined him in 1961 as her father was working in Port Elizabeth and her husband's parents are dead. Since then she has been trying to get permission to live with her husband who has now been working here for 20 years. We first came across her in 1962 when she was found guilty of being illegally in the area and sentenced to a fine of R12 and told to leave the area. She went to Port Elizabeth where her father was working and her baby, which was very ill when she went, died at Christmas 1962 in Port Elizabeth. Another child, the fourth but only living one, was born in Port Elizabeth a few days before, and she brought it to Cape Town in February as she was endorsed out of Port Elizabeth and not allowed to live with her father, but was arrested within 72 hours of her arrival and on 1/6/1963 was found guilty of being illegally in the area, fined R10 and another R4 as she had left her Reference Book in Port Elizabeth. Worst of all, she was served with a removal order and taken to Langa Police cells leaving her baby in her husband's arms. When he came to the Athlone Advice Office the baby was nearly dead and after rushing it to Red Cross Hospital I took it to the Magistrate and said "Please take this baby, I don't want it to die in my arms." I told him the mother was awaiting removal to Cofimvaba and about the three dead babies, and he suspended the order several times and finally cancelled it. This woman is still here, having been given endless extensions, has had two more babies and is expecting a fourth. Now she has been told she must go to Shiloh which is a resettlement camp for people like Tunyelwa Ntsumpa who don't qualify to remain in Cape Town but have no home anywhere else. There are 23 Resettlement Camps similar to Sada, "to house families or individuals unable to obtain a livelihood in White areas e.g. pensioners and families who cannot be accommodated in White areas, but whose breadwinners can be employed in such areas." I quote the Minister of Bantu Affairs, Hansard 2, January 30th to February 3rd, 1967, column 589.



At the foot of Bram Nek Hill in the bleak Whittlesea valley.

These resettlement camps are not townships teeming with life like Guguletu and Langa. They are dumping grounds where the old, ill, disabled and the wives and children of workers, will have to live for the rest of their lives. Sada itself is near Queenstown — there are two other camps in the Ciskei, Mount Coke near King Williamstown and Welcome Valley near Lady Frere. Sada is 27 miles North West of Queenstown, three miles from a White village, Whittlesea, and two miles from a Moravian Mission called Shiloh. Sada is now "a township with rudimentary services for Bantu established in 1963." A transit camp originally, it is being converted into a township for the resettlement of displaced persons and pensioners. (Hansard). It is a permanent home for Africans who have been endorsed out of towns in the Cape or have been ejected from farms by White farmers because they can no longer work as a result of old age or physical disability. It is the home of derelicts and unwanted people. Its name means "At last we have a place". It is the charge of a White superintendent and an African clerk. 500 families live there.

Total population 2,685.

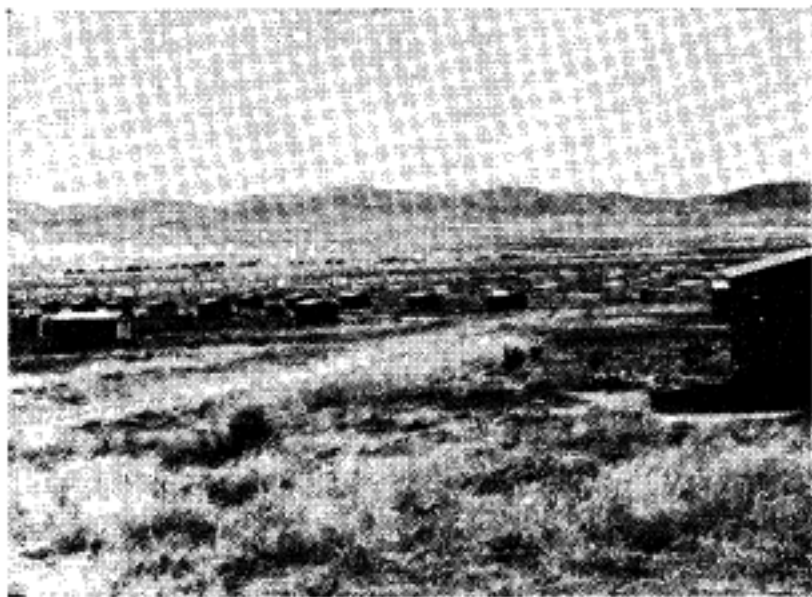
Males over 18	482
Women over 18	718
Children under 16	1,485

Most of them are women — widows, unmarried mothers and their hordes of children.

There are 589 residential units — 564 occupied. They are prefabricated houses, very cold in winter and burning hot in summer, the best have wooden walls, the worst are entirely made of corrugated iron and some have asbestos sides and corrugated iron roofs. All have cement or mud floors and no ceiling. All are single rooms 15' x

12'. Each has a corrugated iron lavatory outside and a tap nearby. The camp is quite hideous — row upon row of one roomed huts with row upon row of lavatories between each row of huts — no trees, no gardens because the water is for household use not for cultivation. There were no schools in June last year but two primary and 1 secondary must be completed by now. There is no doctor nearer than Queenstown — a 70c bus trip. There is a clinic at Shiloh, where an African nurse is in charge, visited once and sometimes twice a week by the doctor from Queenstown who stays two hours.

There are three churches built or nearly so. There is very little available employment though "men can leave their families safe and snug in a new house and go and work on the Orange River Scheme at 85c per day." I quote Mr. H. S. Coetzee, M.P. Women were employed at 25c per day chopping out noxious weeds and work on the land but the drought put an end to this work last year.



Dreariness strikes one forcibly.

Most of these people live on old-age pensions or Disability pensions. These are R44 maximum per year paid every two months — that is not R4 per month. There is no allowance whatever for dependent children. If the pensioner works the pension is cut down and if pension and earned income total R65.40 per year — that is R5.45 per month, the pension is cancelled entirely.

It is good to remind ourselves that the maximum pension paid to Whites is R360 per year and only when their income reaches R552 per year — R46 per month — is no pension paid.

Various Welfare Organisations are doing all they can at Sada, as a result of publicity given to the camp by the East London Dispatch. The Government had a feeding scheme but able bodied men were not eligible although there is no local work available, because it is said they could work elsewhere as migrant workers. The rent is R1.45 per hut per month. Only those who can afford it pay — those with pensions are exempt.

Now I am not criticising what is done for these people by the Government. I am criticising the

fact that they are there *at all*. Those women were working in Cape Town or elsewhere and supporting their *own* children. Those pensioners and sick people were being cared for by their own relatives. Those children were in schools in African townships. Now they are all an expense to the Government as a result of the Government's policy of endorsing them out of the Western Cape.

There is no fuel available and it is such a major problem for cooking and warmth. Wood has to be bought at R6 a large lorry load or R3 a smaller load or 20c a bundle.

In one day 20 women were fined R2 each for stealing wood. Not only do the adults steal wood and produce from neighbouring farms but these children are forced to do so. And when these children grow up they will probably idle away their lives as they see their parents do. There is no work for them there, they will not be allowed to go to the Western Cape to work. What incentive is there for them to work hard in school where the only way they can practice what they learn is to go away from home as unskilled migrant workers.

If these townships were viable and had grown up round industries where houses, schools, shops, churches, businesses were necessary for their welfare, they would have a healthy life of their own.

But these are artificial townships for derelict people and are most unlikely ever to be anything else. Multiply all this 23 times and you have a shock picture, and the Minister of Bantu Affairs keeps assuring us that many more such townships are to be built.

I told you about TUNYELWA NTSUMPA who is to go to Sada with her four children, while Jimcrow remains working for a building firm in Cape Town, now I want to tell you the story of EUNICE NZIMENI who was sent there and wanted to come back again.

Eunice was born in Cathcart on a White farm and so was her husband who is a qualified man living in a brick house in Guguletu with five children by his first wife who died in 1961. He married Eunice in Cathcart that same year. She has two children of her own now.

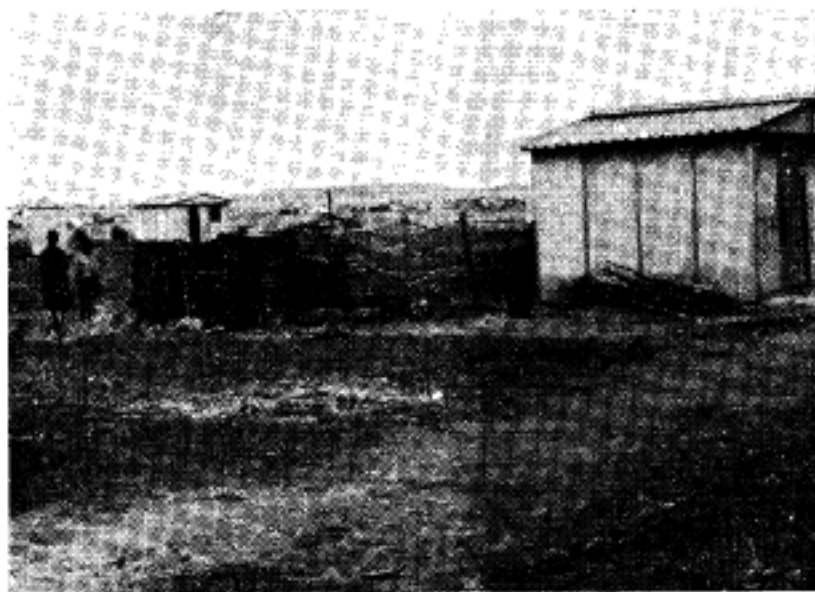
At first Eunice continued to live with her father who works for the White farmer, but the latter would not allow her to remain there indefinitely and so she joined her husband in Cape Town. Anyway she is needed to look after his five children by the first wife. Permission to visit Telles was granted to Eunice but permission to stay was refused and finally she was arrested for being illegally in the area, and sentenced on 7th June, 1966 to one month imprisonment. She and the baby of two months were held in Langa Police cells pending being sent under escort to Shiloh. She was allowed to fetch her other child of five and some clothing and was escorted to Shiloh. She took no furniture as she could not afford to do so and the Government refused to pay for its



Most houses are one roomed, about 12' x 15'.



Some are wooden.



Others asbestos, bitterly cold in winter, unbearably hot in summer.

transport.

When she got to Shiloh nobody expected her and the magistrate didn't know anything about her and told her to go where she was born. She was finally told she could have a single pensioner's room but turned this down as unsuitable for a family and left for Cathcart and is staying there illegally with relatives. Her husband visited her there in December 1966, the two children were ill. He has twice tried to get her to come down on a visit but has failed to get permission. He is still living in his brick house with three children of his first marriage although he has had much pressure put on him to send these children to live with his second wife. They cannot be endorsed out as they were born in Cape Town and have lived there continuously ever since.

MARIA XALE has worked here since 1945, but only registered in 1954 as did all women in Cape Town. She married Belgian Xale by Christian rites at Paarl Anglican Church in 1945 and lived with her husband in Cape Town from that date until today. He died in 1964 and she has been told to leave her nice brick house in Section LL Guguletu which is rented in her name and his and of which the rent is up to date. She has five children, all born in Cape Town.

She used to have an exemption stamp in her Reference Book but this was cancelled in September 1966 because she left the area to nurse her mother in Tsomo, where she was born. She had left her five children and all her belongings behind and only took a small suitcase intending to be away for a few months. The court found that her absence did not break her qualifications but that as she did not register until 1954 she had not been 15 years legally in the area although she has been here 22 years. She is the sole support of her five children and her old mother. She will have to go back to Tsomo, where there is no work and no chance of earning a living. Her children, who qualify to remain here, won't be allowed to do so and will have to go with her except Sylvia who is 20 and has an exemption stamp in her book, and Ben who is working with permission and is also qualified. These two will probably remain so that the family will be divided and the two youngsters will have to keep their grandmother and their mother and feed, clothe and educate the three younger ones of 15, 10 and 6 who will never qualify to live and work in Cape Town themselves.

When the Africans are cleared out of the Western Cape, as Mr. Blaar Coetzee has undertaken to do in 20 years time, at the rate of 5% per year, a great many more tragedies of this nature will occur. Don't picture these people going back to flourishing farms or even to their homes — picture two-thirds of them living in resettlement camps like Sada and eking out a miserable existence.

The Tomlinson Report recommended that the

Reserves should be developed so that they were able to support at least that part of the African population who lives there. Apart from agricultural development the Report recommended that White capital should be invested in industries *in the Reserves* and that 50 towns should be built which would house those employed in the Reserves and those working outside them. It was recommended that R10 million be spent *in the Reserves*. The Government has instead spent much money on encouraging the establishment of Border Industries outside the Reserves and building Dormitory towns just inside them so that Africans

remain unskilled migratory workers and the industries and all the skilled jobs in them remain in the hands of the Whites who own them and have all the senior jobs in them.

Again, those endorsed out of the Western Cape and other areas, are not offered employment so that they can live useful profitable lives. They are dumped in Resettlement camps where they have no chance to make a new life for themselves.

As Chief Matanzima said earlier this year when the Transkei Parliament was opened "Nobody should be endorsed out unless they have a home and a job to go to."



Hoads of young children and many of the very old.



Wood is precious. The valley is bare of trees, so firewood has to be bought.

" THESE HAVE I LOVED"

There are some people who think that I don't protest enough and others who think that I protest too much. Just for the record I have jotted down a list of things and people about which, and against whom, I am protesting 24 hours a day! The list is not exhaustive but it will do to be going on with, namely: Apartheid, The United Party, Bannings, Dr. Percy Yutar, F.M. Radio, Welcome Valley, Endorsements out, S. E. D. Brown, The Bantu Laws Amendment Act (1964) etc., Tribal Universities, Albert Hertzog, Separate Development, Bantu Education, Balthasar Johannes Vorster, Detentions, Christian National Education, Frank Waring, The Wemmer Hostel, P. C. Pelsler, Current Affairs, Nationalists, Migratory Labour, Robben Island, Racial Discrimination, The South African Police, Pretoria, House Arrest, Bantustans, Farm Prisons, Job Reservation, Separate Freedoms.

The Dean of Johannesburg, The Very Reverend G. A. ffrench-Beytagh.

Resettlement Villages

By M. W. CLUVER

Bobby Cluver is National Vice-President of the Black Sash.

This paper was presented to National Conference.

The facts given in this paper are collected from the Regions of the Black Sash, from statements made and questions answered during the Parliamentary Session, from correspondence with people living near the areas concerned and from articles published in newspapers and periodicals.

IN FEBRUARY, 1967, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development furnished the following figures in reply to a question by Mr. L. E. D. Winchester, M.P. of Durban:

Name of Resettlement Village and District	Males Under 18	Females	Children Under 16
Shiloh, Whittlesea	224	1,268	2,004
Selossha, Thaba Nchu	79	523	1,229
Witziehoek, Harrismith	—	6	15
Boekenhoutfontein, Pretoria	200	2,780	6,126
Temba/Leboneng, Hammanskraal	200	1,200	3,800
De Hoop, Lichtenburg	270	840	1,722
Pampierstat, Taung	218	970	1,270
Magogong, Taung	120	534	292
Mpungamphlope, Bababango	8	156	261
Mountainview, Newcastle	194	583	2,074
Mondlo, Nqutu	135	1,640	2,400
Ncotchane, Piet Retief	58	216	864
Thulamahashe, Pilgrimsrest	32	227	916
London, Pilgrimsrest	15	107	194
Arthurseat, Pilgrimsrest	22	366	654
Elandsdoorn, Groblersdal	489	1,047	1,673
Sebayeng, Pietersburg	67	136	312
Shayandima, Sibasa	8	17	83
Senwamakgope, Soekmekaar	8	108	278
Morathong, Tzaneen	27	313	1,100
Lorraine, Tzaneen	30	445	1,500
Moetladimo, Tzaneen	14	321	1,250
Ntuzuma, Inanda	401	444	1,329
Ilinge, Glen Grey	137	224	458

These 24 villages are situated in Bantu Areas.

The population figures given are for women and children only and amount to 50,000 people. It is estimated that women and children comprise about three-quarters of the total population in resettlement villages, in which case the total population would be close on 70,000. Some estimates put the figure much higher.

Houses vary from corrugated iron shacks to two or four-roomed wooden or concrete structures. The authorities are going ahead with the building of permanent dwellings, and plots can be bought on the "site and service" plan with available cheap building materials. The plots are usually about 40' x 70' and cost R100 which

can be paid off at R14.45 per year. Houses rented from the Government cost from 60c to R4.60 per month, and bought cost up to R500. On arrival in some villages R10 must be paid to the chief of the area.

Services provided. Schools, churches and clinics are being built. Schools are often without furniture. Clinics usually have doctors visiting at regular intervals. In some townships there are food stores and other trading facilities.

Food is distributed by the Bantu Affairs Department to the unemployed—25 lbs. mealie meal, 10 lbs. mealies, 4 lbs. beans and 2 lbs. margarine per month. Needy people can apply for clothes and blankets. Pensioners are sometimes given daily food rations.

Fuel seems to be in very short supply in nearly all these areas.

Water is piped along the streets of the more flourishing villages and some have water-borne sewerage. In others, water must be collected from streams and dams.

Availability of work. According to Government information, the people in these villages must find work in Border Industries or on nearby farms and irrigation schemes.

In practice, there are very few established border industries and work on farms is seasonal. In some cases the villages are far from railheads and there seems no prospect of industrial development. It is not known whether urban industries can recruit labour from resettlement villages. As a result of the scarcity of labour, there are comparatively few adult males in the villages, very little money in the hands of the inhabitants and great poverty. Thieving in these areas is rife. Situated as they are in Bantu areas, transport to white towns is both difficult and expensive.

Who lives in the resettlement villages?

As far as we know —

- (1) **Pensioners** — people who are no longer capable of productive work — who are given a small plot and house at a low rental, and in some cases, food rations in addition to their pensions. These people may well be glad to be living in these villages.
- (2) **"Squatters"** who have been evicted from farms and inhabitants of "black spots" in white areas. Most of these people for generations have lived a pastoral existence. They have difficulty in accustoming themselves to a civilian life without crops or herds and cannot find work easily.

- (3) **The victims of influx control**, i.e. men and women and their families who have been endorsed out of urban areas. In many cases these people have no ties in the Bantu homelands, no place where they can go and live. These are the "displaced persons" — in spite of the fact that they are citizens of South Africa. These are the people who are sent to resettlement villages. They are accustomed to an urban life, they want to work. They are sent to areas of which they know nothing and where there is little available employment and low wages.

What can be done?

The reason for the establishment of the resettlement villages is the policy of separate development practised by the South African government.

Some of the inhabitants are glad to be in these areas, others have been sent there unwillingly and would prefer to live elsewhere and to enjoy a higher living standard.

Many of the villages could be improved and the Government is working towards this end. Public outcry through the press and deputations to Ministers would probably result in better living conditions for the men, women and children living in resettlement villages, but the problem of finding work for all these thousands is, in my opinion, insurmountable. The villages will have to be increased in size and number to accommodate all the people who have nowhere to live.

The most realistic approach to the problem is to prove to all South Africans that the policy of separate development is destroying the very roots of our civilisation, both socially and economically.

But if he brings to the aid of contemporary experience an appreciation of the past which is false because it gives to the past a mind which was not its own, then he will not only be wrong upon that past, but he will tend to be wrong also in his conclusions upon the present. He will forever read into the plain facts before him origins and pre-determining forces which do not explain them and which are not connected with them in the way he imagines. He will come to regard his own society . . . through a veil of illusion and of false philosophy, until at last he will not even be able to see the things before his eyes. In a word, it is better to have no history at all than to have history which misconceives what were the general direction and the large sweeps of thought in the immediate and the remoter past.

Hilaire Belloc.

Group Areas

The next pages bear witness to the tragic consequences of the application of the Group Areas Act.

SOME EXTRACTS FROM THE STATEMENT MADE BY NANA SITA AT HIS TRIAL UNDER THE GROUP AREAS ACT IN THE MAGISTRATE'S COURT IN PRETORIA ON THE 17th AUGUST 1967.

Your Worship,

I stand before you charged with committing an offence under the Group Areas Act No. 77 of 1957, to which I plead not guilty. It is alleged that in terms of Section 23 (1) of this Act I wrongfully and unlawfully occupy premises which fall in a White Group Area proclaimed as such under Proclamation No. 150 of the 6th June, 1958.

In December, 1962 and in April, 1963, I was charged for the same offence to which I pleaded guilty on both occasions and served a sentence of 3 months and 6 months respectively in jail. I was prosecuted for the third time but because of cases pending in the Supreme Courts the case against me was withdrawn. I am now facing my fourth prosecution. The whole of Pretoria has been declared a group area for White people except a portion of the Asiatic Bazaar and the Township of Laudium which was declared a group area for Indians. I have lived with my family in Hercules for the past 44 years. First from the 1st April, 1923 at Erf 313 Rustenburg Road, and then from the 1st January, 1931, at Erf 321 Rustenburg Road, now known as Erf 321, No. 382 Van Der Hoff Road. A distance of about 100 yards separates these two properties. Hercules now forms part of Pretoria.

THE GROUP AREAS ACT has been declared by the Government as "corner stone" of its apartheid policy. The Minister of Interior while piloting the Group Areas Bill said, that it was a major measure towards the realisation of one of the main objects of the policy of Apartheid, and this object will be achieved without recourse to discrimination between the various races. The restriction imposed on one group is to be imposed on the other groups. It is true that the Act is the corner stone of the Apartheid policy, and a major measure to achieve that object, but in practice its application has been most discriminatory. In the three principle areas declared in The Transvaal as Indian Group Areas, namely, for East Rand, at Benoni, for Johannesburg, at Lenasia, and for Pretoria, at Laudium, no White man had to be removed from his place of residence or business. The removal order fell on Indians only. The Indians in these three places number 57,000 In 26 other towns and dorps that are

proclaimed, except at Standerton and Rustenburg, no Europeans had to move, but only Indians will be removed from both businesses and residences. The Indians in the Transvaal who number 75,000 will eventually be moved to their respective Group Areas against the handful of Europeans in Standerton and Rustenburg who were moved to much better places. Thus only Indians have to bear the burden of discrimination. So the assurance by the Minister of Interior Dr. Donges in Parliament, that there would be no discrimination against the victims of the Act, is not borne out in practice.

Those of us on whom the axe has fallen are undergoing untold hardships through having been uprooted from business and residences, causing misery, suffering, and unhappiness resulting in financial loss and insecurity for the future. Trade has been the main occupation of the Transvaal Indians and to make a success of their business, two and three generations have rendered service

to build up their establishments, which under the enforcement of the Act are now threatened with total extinction. Material losses and insecurity stares them in the face. This, then is the Act, which in the words of the Minister of Interior Dr. Donges was to be applied without discrimination and administered with justice.

The Group Areas Act is cruel, callous, grotesque, abominable, unjust, vicious, degrading, and humiliating to the utmost against whom it is applied. How an Act which is enforced against the Indians with callous disregard of human suffering, misery and unhappiness, can be described to be based on justice is beyond the comprehension of any human being.

The policy of Apartheid enforced through the Act is irrevocably opposed by all sections of the Non-European people of South Africa. And all lovers of democracy among Europeans have equally condemned it as unjust and unworkable. With the exception of Portugal all Nations gathered at the United Nations have condemned it and declared it to be contrary to human rights as embodied in the Charter.

Implementation of this policy through the Act brands us as inferior people in perpetuity, degrades our self respect as human beings, condemns us as uncivilised barbarians. It degrades and humiliates my race to which I am proud to belong, a race which has produced eminent men in all walks of life, Saints, Philosophers, Statesmen, Jurists, Scientists, Educationalists, Industrialists, Poets, Literary Geniuses, Economists, Sportsmen and Philanthropists among both men and women who are self governing and sovereign people. Mahatma Gandhi has been hailed throughout the world as the greatest man of the Twentieth century. Mrs. Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister of India, rules over 500 million people. Mrs. Pandit graced the Presidential chair of the United Nations as the first woman president of that august assembly but here in South Africa, the members of the same race are derided and treated as third class citizens and relegated to "Ghettoes" being allotted the status of lepers, suffering with leprosy. They must be separated and kept in isolation. It has branded the 14 million Non-Europeans of South Africa, Africans, Indians and Coloureds as inferior and untouchables to be separated and isolated lest their proximity and shadow contaminate and pollute the members of the ruling race.

From the foregoing it is clear that the harsh and coercive measures adopted under the Act have as their object the hounding out of the Indians from this country of their own accord, and thus achieve the most "cherished hope" of get-

The Natal Mercury dated 19th July, 1948 reprinted this:— "At a recent meeting at Brits Mr. J. E. Potgieter the local Nationalist M.P. and other speakers said that the European and Native must be taught to boycott Indians until they are bled white. If the Indians were reduced to 'abject poverty' by this means, they would be glad to emigrate to India with the Government's assistance."

ting rid of the people the White Peoples' Government brought to South Africa, to serve the interest of the White people, to turn the barren land of Natal into a garden Colony, to make the Sugar Industry flourishing and prosperous and backbone of Natal's economy. Their labour is no longer essential. The juice having been sucked from the fruit, the kernel can be thrown away. The undertakings, assurances, promises, solemn agreements need not worry the conscience of the rulers. They must rule and therefore they say oppression and repression are justified.

In all the years of my adult life, I have passionately believed in the universal ideals of human brotherhood and social justice and am deeply sensitive to any inroads into these ideals. Apartheid refuses to recognise human dignity and brands its victims as sub-human. It denounces all known canons of ethics as propounded by the world's great religions and philosophies, it refuses to recognise human rights as propounded in the Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations.

Shorn of verbiage the Apartheid policy as enforced through the Group Areas Act is nothing but a bare faced expression of a desire to dominate, oppress and exploit the Non-Europeans and to subject them to perpetual servitude of the White Man who claim to be God's chosen people, the Master Race, the Herrenvolk, a concept which plunged the world into a holocaust which was defeated at the cost of millions of lives. Is the world going to be made to witness the same holocaust by perpetuating the concept of the Master Race theory?

I would say that the cruel treatment meted out to Indians by the enforcement of the said Act is a crime against humanity and a sin against God. One day the framers of the Group Areas Act will stand before a much higher Authority than the South African Parliament, for the misery, the unhappiness and the humiliation it caused to the

victims of the Act. May God Almighty forgive them for their trespass.

I stand before you for flouting the provisions of the Group Areas Act, which for the reasons stated above, my conscience does not allow me to comply with. Therefore in obedience to the higher authority of conscience I have decided not to meekly submit to the provisions of the Act. Being a follower of Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of "Satyagraha" (Passive Resistance) based on truth, love and non-violence I consider it my sacred duty to resist injustice and oppression and in doing so am prepared to bear the full brunt of the law and am willing to face the consequence thereof.

If you find me guilty of the offence for which I am standing before you I shall willingly and joyfully suffer whatever sentence you may deem to pass on me as my suffering will be nothing compared to the suffering of my people under the Act. If my suffering in the cause of noble principles of truth, justice and humanity could arouse the conscience of White South Africa then I shall not have strived in vain. I am 69 years of age, suffering with chronic ailment of arthritis but I do not plead in mitigation. I ask for no leniency. I am ready for the sentence.

Reservation of

Separate Amenities Bill

This gives power to local authorities to reserve any public premises (presently defined as any building, shop, structure, hall, convenience, land, seashore and sea — but *excluding* any streets and roads — to which the public has access whether on payment of a fee or not) for the use of a particular race or class. The new Bill extends the definition of public premises to include also any river, vlei, dam or lake (e.g. Sandvlei or "Zoo Lake") and gives the Ministers concerned i.e. Minister of Community Development of Planning and the Bantu Affairs Department, power to instruct local authorities to reserve public premises for the use of one particular race (a) at all times; for all purposes or (b) for particular purposes for a specified or unspecified time.

If the local authority fails to obey such instruction the Minister concerned can so reserve the premises, and recover the costs from the local authorities.

The Death Knell of Old Simon's Town

By BARBARA WILLIS

(Mrs. Willis is a member of the Regional Council, Black Sash in Cape Town and a long-time resident of Simon's Town.)

ON THE 1st SEPTEMBER, 1967, Simon's Town was declared a White Group Area.

Following on similar proclamations for District 6 in Cape Town, most of the Peninsula suburbs, Sir Lowry's Pass village, Kalk Bay and others, Simon's Town is now forced to conform to the ruling. This latest proclamation is senseless, cruel, discriminatory and heartbreaking, and will create as much needless hardship and suffering for the non-white people as it has everywhere else in the country when people are uprooted without their consent.

A sentence of death has been passed on the Simon's Town we have always known, loved and shared. With this devastating proclamation, the Simon's Town which has successfully weathered the storms of more than 250 years, has been brought to its knees with one shattering and deadly blow. It just cannot exist as a purely European town and remain the gay, friendly and colourful village it has always been. Now the dreadful feelings of shock, foreboding, insecurity and despair have cast such a dense gloom, that walking down the main street is like walking through the valley of the shadow of death.

First the non-white people were forbidden to set foot on all but one of their beaches, and, as a result of this proclamation, even that one —

insanitary and polluted as it is — is now closed to them. This beach apartheid has resulted in the non-white people being turned off the beaches by the police, often accompanied by police dogs.

Now they are to have their very roots torn out of their native soil. Nothing can ever replace a lost home with all its memories and associations. When the dread time comes for them all to go, it will be a town of unhappy ghosts, haunted by those who have been so callously ejected from the homes and land of their forefathers.

In January 1959 Group Areas proposals were first advertised for Simon's Town. A public meeting of citizens was held in February at which a resolution was passed, *nem. con.*, calling on the Town Council to recommend that no group areas

be proclaimed in Simon's Town on the grounds that existing conditions rendered any proclamation unnecessary. As a result of this meeting, the Simon's Town Group Areas Liaison Committee was formed, consisting of representatives from organised bodies and churches in the town. In accordance with the resolution of the public meeting its prime object was to produce and correlate the evidence for the Group Areas Board, that no proclamation was necessary or desirable in Simon's Town.

At two public inquiries held by the Group Areas Board in August 1959 and January 1965, not one person — with more than a five year interval between the inquiries — came forward to testify that he objected to his neighbours or traders. There was no objection from any individual, any section of the community or from any racial group against another, but overwhelming and unanimous evidence was presented that no Group Areas proclamation was wanted or warranted at all in Simon's Town.

Uncontradicted evidence was clearly placed before the Group Areas Board that there was already a natural residential separation of races with plenty of room for expansion for all within the Municipality; that no slum clearance was necessary; that any attempt to split up the community would be devastating to all people in the town, both materially and spiritually; that fishermen and many traders would be economically ruined; that the business life of the whole town would be disrupted; that the non-white people had never abused their rights as citizens; that it was a law-abiding community which had been loyal through all wars; that an impossible financial burden would result for the citizens who already paid very high rates, probably the highest in the country; and that no person would benefit in any way at all.

At the 1959 Public Inquiry a local priest addressing the Board said: ". . . Repeatedly during the evidence one has heard the word 'unique' used in connection with the atmosphere of Simon's Town and the peaceful relations here. In my opinion, I feel that this spirit should be preserved as a living memorial to the tolerance of the past, and also, not only as an example to our country, but to the whole of our continent, of what can be achieved if men are really imbued by a general spirit of goodwill towards their fellowmen."

In face of all the evidence it has taken the Government eight years to make up its mind. We can now see that these public inquiries to hear representations, which cost a great deal of time and money, were just a mockery. A public inquiry is surely intended to establish the facts on which a just decision can be made. This proclamation, in showing complete contempt for, and disregard of, conclusive and uncontradicted evi-

dence, is a travesty of the justice to which every person is entitled.

The known history of the Cape only goes back for 300 years. For 250 of these Simon's Town has been working out its destiny. It has been shaped into a harmonious whole by the combined efforts of all racial groups. People still living today attended mixed schools and took part in mixed regattas and other sporting events; all took part in public festivities; civic responsibilities were shared. There has never been any racial strife, until beach apartheid reared its ugly head, there was never any discrimination on the grounds of colour. Here was a happy, friendly community justifiably proud of, and jealously guarding, its reputation for good-neighbourliness, tolerance and courtesy. No decrees were needed to achieve peaceful living.

In 1743 — 224 years ago — there were already Coloured people living here when Baron von Imhoff brought in the first of the Malays to help establish a proper naval base for the Dutch East India Company. It was not long before the Coloured and Malay people had a thriving fishing industry. At the present time the majority of these sections are employed in the dockyard, or are fishermen or boatbuilders; others are tradesmen.

The first Indians came to Simon's Town about 1898. They were mainly hawkers of fresh produce but some worked on the construction of the East dockyard and the dry dock. The majority of those trading here today are their descendants and they have played their part as worthy citizens in good times and bad.

About 5,000 *human beings* — more than half of this centuries-old community — are now to be removed from the village which is, and always has been, their home.

The religious life of the town will be drastically disrupted. The Moslem community, to which belong the Malays, many Coloured people and the majority of the Indians, was holding religious services as far back as 1810. Their first Mosque was built in 1875, and the present Mosque, on the same site, in 1925. When the removal of this entire religious community is completed — if their religion is respected and observed — the Mosque will stand derelict for all time in Simon's Town.

The Anglican Church, the first to be established in South Africa in 1814, the Methodist in 1827 and the Roman Catholic in 1850 have predominantly non-white congregations. The removal of the majority of worshippers will split the churches into two. New churches, houses for Ministers and community halls should be provided in new areas before people move in, and at the same time existing establishments must be maintained here. It is almost certain that neither money nor manpower can be found for this duplication, and it is doubtful if there will be ade-

quate congregations left in Simon's Town to support the existing churches.

Education will be similarly affected. The Mosque and the three Christian churches maintain between them four non-white primary schools accommodating about 750 children; the government school has about 450 pupils, primary and secondary. These schools will have to be kept running here until the last of these 1,200 children are removed. How does the government intend education to be maintained here as well as in the new areas when there is already a great shortage of teachers?

From a trading point of view the proclamation is disastrous and spells doom for the entire village. In the town itself more than half the traders are affected. Eleven Coloured and Malay and nineteen Indian shopkeepers will be forced to move and two other businesses may close down because they are managed and staffed by Indians. The Indian shopkeepers who work longer hours than anyone else (as much as 18 a day at times), perform a service essential in a seaport where dockyard workers and ships' personnel must inevitably keep irregular hours. They are able to do this only because they live on their premises, and members of the family work in shifts. Malay and Coloured tailors, established for more than half a century, have an extensive trade in making naval uniforms in addition to their civilian work. It is vital that they live near their customers whose working hours are unusual.

White shopkeepers will lose a large number of their customers, and there will be left in the town not one single fresh produce dealer, no fresh fish market, no cobblers, no tailors. The white people remaining will doubtless have to learn to manage without laundresses, dressmakers, charwomen and maids. There are many elderly and frail people in Simon's Town dependent on domestic help. Will the non-white women, who run their own homes and help Europeans to run theirs, be willing or able to spend the time and money to travel so far from the new areas daily?

The non-white dockyard workers are of vital importance to Simon's Town and the country as a whole and the majority live in the town. Many are irreplaceable artisans who have, over very many years, trained others — both white and non-white. They have been entrusted with top secret work in times of war, and the maintenance of the ships. As they frequently have to work overtime until late hours, will they be willing to spend hours on the road, or will they tend to find jobs nearer home?

A truly dangerous situation could arise when bush fires occur after working hours. From where will the manpower come, especially when the fleet is at sea? Many times the town and the magazines have been saved from obliteration by the efforts of Africans — now summarily removed to Guguletu in the middle of the Cape Flats —

and local Coloured men. If there are not enough Europeans able and willing to do this dangerous and utterly exhausting job the whole town and dockyard could be literally blown up if a bush fire got out of control.

Simon's Town has no thriving industries. It is a simple town dependent on the dockyard and on fishing. In this close-knit community all will suffer, but, as always with the implementation of Group Areas, it is the poorest section that suffers most. It is wicked to expect them to pay heavily for transport when there is nothing but a Proclamation to prevent their living close to their jobs.

At present some 80 families, amounting to about 400 people, depend for their livelihood on fishing. It is essential for them to live at the sea near their craft. Trek-fishermen must have their look-outs for shoals of fish, keep their boats and nets ready on the beach, and their crews handy to respond instantly to a call. They are not daily paid workers but net their precarious living and much of their food from the sea; they also provide food for the community; this has been their life and service for generations.

As in all other Group Areas proclamations non-white property owners will be forced to sell in a severely restricted market and will receive only low prices which will not be sufficient to replace their homes elsewhere. The lucky few who can afford to build or buy their own houses are restricted as to *where* they may go, but can choose a site or house. But for the vast majority, who are tenants, there is no choice at all. They are given a date to move to a certain number in a certain street in a certain locality, regardless of whether their neighbours are of their choosing or social standing, and they are heavily fined if they do not comply. In Dido Valley non-white citizens buying their houses over a period of years had reached the stage of being able to take transfer, but they still do not own them — although they were sold to them in good faith by the Municipality — because since about 1960 permits for transfer from the white to the non-white group have been withheld by the authorities. What compensation are these families likely to get for their homes paid for with pride and sacrifice and the best years of their working lives, which they have never been allowed to *own*? In fact, for many other home owners here there are not enough working years of their lives left to start buying all over again.

The Indian shopkeepers face certain ruin when they move, and the fishermen cannot get their living from the sea. No European would tolerate for one moment such high-handed deprivation of their place of residence or business — on the grounds that it is good for them, that they will be happier and more contented, that they will develop better that way, and that it is the traditional way of life in South Africa. It is defin-

itely NOT traditional in Simon's Town. If Europeans do not like the deprivations that follow on Group Areas they are at liberty to move, or trade, anywhere of their choice in the Republic. What a shabby way to treat fellow South Africans simply because their population registration cards are the wrong colour for the privilege of being treated like human beings with feelings. When the dread time comes for all the non-white people to go into whatever wilderness the authorities decide for them, their enforced exodus will leave behind a bleak White limbo.

Simon's Town has always been a living and thriving contradiction of the whole theory of apartheid, but this still does not seem a logical

reason for the town to be literally torn in half, and its whole traditional way of life destroyed, at an uncountable cost of human suffering.

Such blatant discrimination can only produce bitterness where none was before, and no amount of letter-writing, or propaganda, overseas can disguise, or excuse, this unchristian example of the inhumanity of man to man. Those left in Simon's Town and those forced to move will never cease to grieve and mourn for their lost community, their way of life and their heritage.

I would not like to face Christ if He came walking across the waters of False Bay sorrowfully saying: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of my brethren, ye have done it to me'.

Group Areas — Claremont - Lansdowne

By MARY BIRT and MARY BURTON

Mr. F. C. Barker, assisted by Mr. J. A. F. Nel and two officials heard representations in Cape Town on September 12th as to whether four sections of the Claremont/Lansdowne area which are already proclaimed for White ownership, should be proclaimed for White occupation as well.

The first person asked to give evidence was Mr. Immerman, on behalf of the Cape Town City Council. He had taken a good deal of trouble to find out the relevant facts and figures, such as that more than 20,000 Non-Whites would be affected. With regard to re-housing these people, he said that the back-log of houses stood at 12,000 and the City Council was unable to build more than 1,500 to 2,000 a year.

He asked that the area remain as it is for occupation, but if this was not possible that a long period of time be granted the people in which to move and that leniency be practised so that people should not suffer too great financial loss.

The Chairman assured him that the Minister had repeatedly said that no-one would lose his livelihood. Nevertheless, said Mr. Immerman, could this please be implemented in such a way that the victims should survive, at least financially.

Dominie de Wet was the only one who appealed for the area to be proclaimed for White occupation only. He asked that this be done at once, and told of a Ratepayers' Association meeting that had voted unanimously for this. He complained of lawlessness in the area and that it needed development. When asked the size of his congregation he gave it as 430 people.

Mr. Daniels who has lived in his own home but must move under the Group Areas Act asked the

Committee to consider the proclamation on humanitarian grounds. He said that he was amazed that people could find it in their Christian conscience to do this sort of thing. Did they not see any contradiction between the Christian ethic and the implementation of the Group Areas Act?

"We know that the coloured people have no vote, and that's why the authorities can do it. There is considerable resentment among the people. I don't want to leave Claremont. I cannot see myself going to Bonteheuvel. There is not a single non-White area that is safe. In Claremont I can walk anywhere at night, but people who have been moved out to the Cape Flats live in fear." He said that the breaking up of peaceful communities and sending them as individuals where they do not want to go sets up such terrible sociological problems that the members of the Committee had a tremendous responsibility. "The hardship will be laid at your door. You have the ability to say Yes or No. The law does not bind you to declaring the area White. Is anyone else going to be bound by humanitarian reasons? If I am forced to sell in Meyer Street, I shall get considerably less than I paid for the property, because I should be forced to sell to a White. Any prospective white buyer can bide his time. Already my house has been valued at R1000 less than the Provincial valuation." The Chairman here interrupted to tell the process of Valuations and Appeals under the law. Mr. Daniels continued, "Some had their valuations

further reduced after appealing. In an open market my property would have a certain value. But now if I find a desirable alternative position the money I would get for my house will be insufficient even to buy a plot, let alone build a house on it. In Athlone £700 was paid for a plot. When the opposite side of the road was proclaimed for Whites, a plot of the same size went for £200. In Wynberg a plot that a Coloured man had had to sell to a White for £900 was resold for £1,000 the following week."

He mentioned the increased cost of living involved in living far away from work and the shopping centres. The Chairman said that places like Bonteheuvcl would get good shopping centres later. Mr. Daniels showed that increased prices in the shops "out there" meant that the people would still come to the White areas to shop. The Chairman said that he realised there was some difficulty.

Mr. Fredericks, who said he had lived in Heatherley for 22 years, gave a detailed and knowledgeable description of the entire area under discussion and of the section called Heatherley in particular. This consisted of about 500 houses, the inhabitants forming a united community with the Anglican church and school as its centre. He described the people as responsible and proud of the Church and school they had worked hard to build themselves. He appealed to the Committee on their behalf, for their right to live there. He admitted that since 1951, fear of Group Areas proclamations had caused the neglect of property, but assured the Committee that if the area were proclaimed for Coloured occupation, owners would realise their responsibilities and be encouraged to care for their homes. He answered Dominie de Wet's allegation of lawlessness in the section adjoining the Heatherley area by telling of a house whose occupants had been obliged to vacate it after the death of the father, and which had stood empty for three months without having a single window pane smashed.

Mrs. Birt, representing the Black Sash, was warned by the Chairman that the Committee did not wish to hear the Black Sash's views on the Group Areas Act. "We all know the stand the Black Sash has made against Group Areas" he said, "but if you have any factual evidence to bring forward you are at liberty to do so." Mrs. Birt said that some of the people for whom she spoke were too frightened to make representations, or unable to go through the complicated process of getting their objections before the Committee at the appointed time and with the correct number of copies. Others had become cynical about the value of a hearing such as the present one. They had told her that in their experience, people who had put up a good case were liable to unhappy repercussions. They had said to her, "Nobody knows what we suffer." They

asked, "To whom can we go?"

Mrs. Birt therefore asked the Chairman to consider these people who would be affected in so many adverse ways by the proclamation of the area for White occupation. "You have the ear of the Minister," she said, and urged him to use it to put forward the plight of these people who felt themselves to be voiceless.

Staff Captain Solomons, a leader of the All Saints' Church Girls' Brigade, described the work of the Brigade, which had 124 girls at the moment and had been in existence for 35 years. She said the Brigade taught the children sewing, knitting and other skills, and that their discipline and behaviour was such that they were recognised as useful people in the neighbourhood. She explained that they had, unassisted, raised the money to form a band, and described the sorrow caused to the children by the thought of being removed to different areas and losing the spirit of unity built up in the Brigade. "Don't separate us," she appealed. "Members of the Brigade are children and grandchildren of past members. Children are my joy and happiness and I would like to remain with them until God calls us home."

Mrs. Brown, who was born in her family's home in Norfolk Road, Claremont, described the peaceful and law-abiding residents near her and asked that they be allowed to remain. She said she had been baptized, confirmed and married at St. Saviour's Church, Claremont, and that she felt certain she could not survive in one of the new townships.

Mr. Morris said he had lived in his house since 1933 and that he represented 1,300 sportsmen who used the Recreation Grounds for Coloured people just off Rosemead Avenue. He emphasised the difficulties his committee experienced in trying to fit all the players into the already inadequate fields, and that some of their team had to play their "at home" matches as far away as Green Point Common. These fields are also used by schools during the week. He concluded: "It breaks my heart to hear a Minister of Religion speak as the Dominee did."

The Chairman then invited anyone interested to accompany the Committee on a tour of inspection of the area that afternoon. The Rev. D. Hamer, representing Canon Hodson, offered to introduce the members of the Committee to people concerned, as he regularly visits members of St. Saviour's congregation and could give them the entrée into the homes. The Chairman replied, "No, thank you. We don't wish to meet anyone or have any discussion with people. We've had quite enough of that. We can see what the houses are like from the outside. We shall drive through the area and appraise ourselves of the conditions."

Regional Report

HEADQUARTERS

We are now in the thirteenth year of our existence. The Black Sash has reached the years of discretion. Much has changed since we came into being as the Women's Defence of the Constitution League in 1955. At that time we imagined that our usefulness would come to an end in the near future, that law and morality would prevail and that South Africa would tread the path of Western Democratic ideals.

Twelve and a half years later we find ourselves with a greater task than ever before. The majority of our citizens are denied their basic human rights. Jean Hill is one of 686 people living under a banning order. Ruth Hayman has left the country on an exit permit. Several of our friends have had to resign after receiving magisterial warnings. These are people who have been close to us; what of the hundreds who, unconvicted by law, are living restricted lives? What of the millions who cannot live a decent family life — who cannot move freely in the country of their birth?

We have grown older and more tired in the past twelve years, but the Black Sash is needed more now than ever before. We must go forward, encouraged by the fact that we are being joined by younger members whose ideals are the same as ours.

Demonstrations

No National Demonstrations have been held but Headquarters have kept all Regions informed of demonstrations in Johannesburg.

Letters to Ministers

On February 22nd, 1967, a memorandum on the Training Centres for Coloured Cadets was sent to selected persons and to Members of Parliament. A reply was received from Mr. Marais Viljoen, the Minister of Coloured Affairs, on behalf of himself, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice. The reply gave the proposed amendments to the Bill.

On May 30th, 1967, a letter was sent to the Prime Minister on the subject of "Family Day" and the break-up of family life. On June 19th, 1967, we received a most discourteous reply which gave no answer to our questions.

Publicity and the Press

The Memorandum on the Coloured Cadets Bill, sent to all Members of Parliament, received wide publicity in the "Star" and the "Rand Daily Mail."

The letter on "Family Day" and the Prime Minister's reply was given to the "Sunday Times" and to the "Rand Daily Mail". The "Sunday Times" wrote an article and an editorial; comment appeared in Molly Rheinardt's column. The "Rand Daily Mail" published a photostat of the

Prime Minister's reply, an article and an editorial. A leader appeared in the "Star" and comment and "Die Vaderland", "Dagbreek", "Die Beeld" and "Die Vaderland." It was unfortunate that the publicity concentrated on the impertinence of the reply and not on the subject of Family Day.

Other letters and statements from Headquarters to the Press were:—

29.11.67 The Star — Article on Human Rights Day.

Rand Daily Mail — Article on Human Rights Day (by arrangement with the Editor).

2.3.67 The Star — Letter on the National Education Policy by Jean Sinclair.

3.5.67 The Rand Daily Mail — Letter on the Reclassification Bill by Jean Sinclair.

2.8.67 Statement sent to the Press all over South Africa on the death of Mr. Albert Luthuli and the sending of Black Sash delegates to the funeral.

8.9.67 The Rand Daily Mail — Letter in reply to Mr. Pelser on the employment of ex-prisoners by Mrs. Jean Sinclair.

In addition, according to Press reports, we had two "honourable mentions" in the Prime Minister's Koffiefontein speech.

We cannot stress too much our gratitude to the Press for the publicity received during the year. During a week in July, the papers were full of the Prime Minister's letter and the wonderful demonstration by Cape Western Region on the removal of Coloured fishermen from Kalk Bay. Our relations with the Press could not be better and this is due to the efforts of our indefatigable National President.

Circulars to Regions

Twenty eight circulars were sent to Regions during the year, dealing with current legislation, demonstrations by Headquarters Region, letters to the Press, the Black Sash Magazine and administrative matters.

Visits to Regions

In February, Mrs. Cluver visited Cape Eastern Region at their request.

In May, Mrs. Cluver, on holiday in the Cape, attended a meeting of the Cape Western Regional Council.

In July, as the National President was on holiday overseas, Mrs. Green and Mrs. Cluver attended the funeral of Chief Albert Luthuli as official representatives of the Black Sash.

In May, Mrs. Cluver was a member of a panel of speakers at a Brains Trust held by Natal Coastal Region.

Publicity Committee (attached to Headquarters).

Throughout the year this committee has produced "Fact Papers" on current legislation. These

have been used by the Press and sent to members before demonstrations.

At the end of November, 1966 a Memorandum was submitted to the Commission of Enquiry into the Improper Interference Bill. In August, we received a letter inviting the Black Sash to give oral evidence before the Commission. Headquarters augmented the submission and asked Cape Western Region to appear before the Commission in Cape Town. The Cape Western delegation acquitted themselves magnificently and have obviously done much towards clarifying the aims and objects of the Black Sash.

The Committee has failed to produce a recruiting pamphlet acceptable to all Regions. It will be suggested at Conference that Regions draw up their own pamphlet according to their needs.

A request was received from McGill University (Canada) for material on the work of the Black Sash. This was prepared and sent.

The Memorandum on the Pass Laws is now out of print and will be amended and reprinted in the middle of 1968.

During the year letters were written to clergymen on the Marriage Vows and Legislation. This will be dealt with under the Transvaal Regional Report.

Information was collected from all Regions on Resettlement Villages.

The proposed invitation to an overseas person has been discussed but not finalised.

Co-operation with other Organisations

Headquarters wishes to place on record the help and advice received from the Institute of Race Relations at all times.

We are grateful to N.U.S.A.S. for their co-operation and for arranging a meeting between members of the Black Sash executive and Lord James of Rusholme.

Magazine

We thank the editor for the very high standard maintained by the Magazine, especially the recent issue on Justice.

Finance

The Honorary Treasurer has kept us solvent this year. Mrs. Nell Green took over the books while Mrs. Dora Hill was overseas for three months. We thank them both and also the Honorary Auditors who have kept us on the straight and narrow path for so many years.

Administration

Mrs. Sinclair was overseas from May to August and Mrs. Cluver deputised for her.

Mrs. Carlson is the first National Vice-President to produce a baby while in office.

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of one of the members of the Headquarters Committee, Mrs. Bic Frielinghaus.

In an organisation such as this, the bulk of the work falls on the Secretary. Mrs. Johnston and Mrs. Sinclair have involved themselves to the ut-

most in the work of Headquarters and the thanks of all Black Sash Members must go to them.

We are most grateful to Mrs. Kirk and Mrs. Radale for all their assistance, and to Mrs. Martin for taking over from Mrs. Kirk during her overseas holiday.

We wish to record our thanks to our legal advisers. Mrs. F. Kentridge is always available to us and we at all times benefit from her advice. It was with deep regret that we said goodbye to Miss Ruth Hayman early in the year. She has been our legal adviser since the Black Sash began, but found she could no longer live in a country which subjected her to arbitrary punishment. We thank Mr. Michael Parkington for his advice and also Mr. Raymond Tucker for so willingly and ably taking over from Ruth.

Headquarters wish to record their thanks to all Regions of the Black Sash for their co-operation during the past year.

TRANSVAAL

General Activities

Discussion groups arranged; two groups running in Johannesburg. Country group in Witbank being carried on with assistance by correspondence.

23rd November, 1966 — Saturday Club Christmas Party.

January, 1967 — Office Rent increased.

15th February, 1967 — Special general meeting to discuss Coloured Cadets Bill and Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill, 1967.

April, 1967—Letter written to heads of Churches on marriage of Africans and the laws which prevent the fulfilment of the aims of Christian Marriage.

Transit Camps investigation put under way. Approach to the Institute for the Study of Man about a photographic exhibition.

May, 1967 — New Group of young members convened in Johannesburg North Western.

Mrs. Joey van der Veer, a committee member of long standing, left South Africa to return to Holland.

Bryanston branch revived under the chairmanship of Mrs. Una Humphrey.

Investigation of position of single, divorced, widowed and separated African women in Soweto attempted.

June, 1967 — Memorandum on the Application of the Pass Laws and Influx Control sold out completely. It was decided to produce a revised edition in 1968.

14th June, 1967 — Annual General Meeting.

July, 1967 — Panel of Speakers established.

Collection of press cuttings re-organised by the Johannesburg North Branch.

September, 1967 — The Region decided to investigate the possibility of Advice Office files being properly tabulated and used for research.

Memoranda, Publications, Fact Papers,

Letters to the Press

November, 1966 — Christian Council and University of the Witwatersrand asked for Sir Robert Birley's speech to the Black Sash National Conference.

Dagbreek published attack on the Memorandum on the Application of the Pass Laws and Influx Control.

Article written for the "Star" for Human Rights Day.

December, 1966 — Letter Campaign to the Rand Daily Mail on "The Truth about South Africa".

March, 1967 — Memorandum on Coloured Cadets Bill. Publicity in the Rand Daily Mail and the Star.

April, 1967 — Letter to heads of churches on the marriage of Africans.

Letter to Press on the Race Classification Bill.

23rd May, 1967 — Letter to the Star on M. C. Botha's statement on Africans in the Urban Areas.

June — Fact Paper on the Terrorism Bill.

28th July, 1967 — Letter to the Star on a news item headed "Transvaal pupils to help fight the Reds."

1st August, 1967 — Letter to Star on repatriation and "re-sale" of African farm labourers from Mozambique.

13th September, 1967 — Letter to Rand Daily Mail on plight of discharged African prisoners.

Letter in reply to Nedertduitse Hervormde Kerk's letter on African marriage and the Law. It is intended later to hand the correspondence to the Press as the N.H.K. gave it to the Transvaler before sending their reply to us.

Meetings

28th February, 1967 — Dr. O. Martiny.

18th April, 1967 — Professor John Blacking on "Problems of African Government".

20th June, 1967 — Mr. J. Dugard on "Law and Morality".

1st August, 1967 — Mr. M. Savage on "Nationalism and Patriotism."

26th September, 1967 — Mr. E. P. Bradlow on "The Cost of Apartheid".

16th September, 1967 — Picnic Meeting at Rustenburg.

Demonstrations

3rd March, 1967 — On the Education Bill.

8th March, 1967 — Coloured Cadets Bill.

9th June, 1967 — Terrorism Bill.

Fund Raising

November, 1966 — Sale of Theatre Tickets.

11th March, 1967 — Cake Sale.

April, 1967 — Sale of Theatre Tickets.

27th April, 1967 — Book Sale.

30th June, 1967 — Book Sale.

30th September, 1967 — Morning Market.

The Transvaal Region this year has been vigorous and active and we are pleased, on the whole, with what we have accomplished. However, we are alarmed to see all the resolutions and projects arising from last year's National Conference which we have done nothing at all about for a variety of reasons.

Jeanette Carlson's enthusiastic and energetic leadership has brought about many things and laid the foundations for many more. The Region thrived during her years in the chair; we all felt her influence most keenly and found ourselves full of ideas and the eagerness to carry them out. She has been responsible for the reforming of the Bryanston Branch and the convening of the new group of young members in the North Western area. These new branches have made a considerable difference to the work of the Region and, among other things, we have at last been able to get the collection and filing of research material put on a proper basis. Up to now we have not been able to find figures, quotations and statistics for use in statements and letters without a great deal of searching. Now we should be able to have these things readily available.

Of our various permanent, continuing activities, the Advice Office work and a newly organised panel of speakers will be reported on separately, but I would like to mention briefly in this report the Discussion Groups and the Saturday Club.

The Saturday Club has continued to meet at monthly intervals and has held discussions and social gatherings during the year. This has proved an effective way of creating and maintaining some contact between women of the different races.

We have also taken on the task of finding speakers for a new group of young African women and have already arranged four demonstrations and talks given by our own members.

Discussion Groups. The original discussion group, which was also a training group for Black Sash members in Johannesburg, ran for eighteen months and was an unqualified success. Two of the members are now running groups, one in the morning mainly for Black Sash members and the other, much bigger, group in the evening which caters for young men and women. Another two members of the original group are also responsible for a correspondence group in Witbank. The purpose of these groups is to train their members to discuss rationally the problems of this country and of the world in general. This is done by

discussion and guided reading. The books used would normally never be brought to the attention of ordinary people and indeed, many of them have to be specially ordered from overseas. An indication of the value of these groups is the regular attendance and the willingness of the members to read the material provided. We have all found our thinking widened and clarified, and our ability to express ourselves and to see other people's points of view greatly increased.

Publications. This Region feels very strongly that such publications as we have produced have been so successful that we intend increasing their number as much as time and money will allow. Comment on the "Memorandum on the Application of the Pass Laws and Influx Control" leads us to believe that many people will read and be influenced by well-documented and unemotional presentation of facts when they will not attend public meetings or be impressed by other Black Sash activities.

Difficulties. All our major difficulties seem to arise from the small number of our own members as well as the decreasing number of people outside the Black Sash who advise and help us. Our general members always support us handsomely where they can but we have a very limited number of people who are willing and able to serve on committees or to hold office.

Our sub-committee system, which has proved its potential through the efficiency and initiative of the Publicity sub-committee, is foundering through the sheer lack of enough active people to form planning, demonstrations and fund-raising sub-committees. We have failed to revive our branch structure except in Bryanston, mainly because of the impossibility of finding one person in an area to take the responsibility. We have failed to follow through with several excellent ideas and projects because of lack of personnel. Fund-raising assumes unwarranted importance because it has to be organised by the Regional Committee and takes far too much time away from the work of the organisation. This in turn means that we suffer from a chronic lack of money, both to carry out our plans and to run our office with maximum efficiency and a minimum of strain.

When our office rent was increased in January, this added to our burdens and suitable alternative accommodation is not easily found.

The brain drain from South Africa may not worry Mr. Vorster, but it certainly means that we find it increasingly difficult to find sympathetic people who are authorities on one aspect of our work or another to lecture, assist and advise us. Like many other organisations, we find it extremely difficult to stimulate the interest of our members and of the public in meetings or protests. The success of our Morning Market was very largely due to a horrified reaction to the last-minute withdrawal of permission to hold

it at the Rosebank School and the resulting publicity; but we cannot raise the same anger at and interest in all the many more important things that happen in our work all the time.

But I do not want to sound too despondent. We are extremely lucky in Johannesburg to have a small, but compared with other centres, large element of the public which is in sympathy with our aims. We do not feel as isolated as it appears some of the members of other Regions do and we are not pressurised to the same extent.

We are also very fortunate indeed in having members who work untiringly in the Advice Office and on the committee, and a loyal, dedicated, long-suffering office staff.

We are still full of enthusiasm and determination to persevere however great the disparity between what we would like to achieve and what we actually accomplish.

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CAPE WESTERN

Branches

TOWN: Claremont
False Bay
Gardens
Plumstead
Rondebosch
Rosebank
Simon's Town
Wynberg.

COUNTRY: Elgin and Somerset West.

(During the year Pinelands members were transferred to branches of their choosing as they found it impossible to carry on by themselves.)

A review of the year's problems, undertakings and achievements might suggest that we are faced like Heracles, with the Hydra, a multi-headed monster that produced a new head each time one was cut off: no sooner do we protest against one official dictum than another looms up to demand our attention. We certainly need the qualities of Heracles, who was said to be noted for courage, strength, endurance, good nature and compassion!

One pleasing feature of the year has been the number of younger members who have joined us. We hope to gain much by their enthusiasm and fresh outlook.

Education

On 21st November Mrs. Robb spoke on the topic "Value your African Employee" to a regrettably small audience, only one of which was an "employer." However, her excellent talk was given later to the National Council of Women; to an All Branches meeting, and has since been roneoed and widely distributed.

Mrs. Stott's handbook on the Group Areas Laws was delayed by her recent trip overseas. She hopes to complete it shortly.

Copies of "Everybody's Guide to the Pass Laws" may still be purchased from the Black

Sash office. This has been on sale at various bookshops with a fair success after the "Cape Times" gave it publicity in a leader.

At a conference on Poverty, arranged by the Anglican Church, the Sash was represented by Mrs. Robb, Mrs. Roberts and Mrs. Hartford.

Mrs. Robb's article on "Africans in the Western Cape" was published in "Outlook", a Lovedale periodical, devoted to African interests.

A pamphlet in Xhosa, warning Africans in the townships of the dangers of changing their employment and thereby risking "Endorsement Out" has been printed and distributed. The pamphlet also enumerated the various jobs which are open only to those who "qualify."

Photographic Section

Mrs. Birt has continued to do original and arresting work with her posters which have been lent to various churches for display to their congregations in the hope of getting people to realise the day-to-day implications of a Christian (moral) outlook. These posters are clear and challenging and we hope that they will bring home to those who have eyes but cannot see, some of the problems faced by human beings less fortunate than themselves.

Sash Parties

These have been continued with great success. It is encouraging to report that some branches, notably Rondebosch, have followed up the initial gathering with smaller, more informal meetings at which matters of general interest to all were discussed.

Parties were also given by Rondebosch (helped by Pinelands), Simon's Town and False Bay (combined).

Group Areas

The need for Sash members to be "on their toes" was evident when it was learned that several areas in Claremont/Lansdowne had been advertised for White occupation. At a hastily called meeting at which Canon Hodson presided and Professor Molteno explained the law, Mrs. Birt produced some excellent maps she had made from the official Ordinance Surveys which enabled the residents present at the meeting to see what was involved in the Proclamation. The matter is being followed up by the Ratepayers' Association of one of the affected areas. At the hearing of objections to the Claremont/Lansdowne proposed Group Area the Sash was represented by Mrs. Birt and Mrs. Burton.

At the hearing of objections to the Woodstock/Salt River proposed Group Area, the Sash was represented by Mrs. B. Versfeld and Mrs. Jaffe.

A Demonstration of sympathy for the Kalk Bay residents after their district was proclaimed for White occupation took the form of a stand to which the public were invited. This was the first time that Cape Western had asked members

of the public to take part and although the response was not by the thousands we had the right to expect, we felt, nevertheless, it was encouraging. A number of men were among those who joined us.

On Saturday, September 9th, we held a stand in sympathy with the residents of Simon's Town which has just been declared a White group area. Eight women stood with posters in half-hour shifts from 9.30 to 12.30 on the pavement at Jubilee Square Simon's Town. From 11 to 11.30 our numbers were swelled to over sixty by members of the Sash and the public.

Commission of Enquiry on the "Improper Interference" ("Exclusion" Bill)

Headquarters submitted a memorandum to the Commission, and the Black Sash was granted permission to give evidence before it. Mrs. Wilke, Mrs. Roberts and Mrs. Robb appeared before it on August 25th.

Propaganda

A Black Sash leaflet has been issued by Cape Western. This sets out our aims and it is hoped will answer the all-too-frequent question by the ignorant: "What do you do?"

Burke's statement that "For evil to succeed it is sufficient that good men do nothing" was issued as a sticker to be put on letters. Not only members of the Sash but others have used them on their correspondence.

Our Chairman, Mrs. Wilks, wrote a skit entitled "Alice in Colourland" which has been printed and distributed privately. The cover illustration by Mrs. Parker gave a foretaste of the clever adaptation of the well-known classic to the contradictory and extraordinary outlook of the country we live in.

Athlone Advice Office

See separate report.

Fund Raising

Our Morning Market last November, opened by Mrs. Cecilia Sonnenberg, realised a gratifying sum.

This year's market in November will be opened by Bishop Russell.

All Branches

Some most interesting and informative lectures have been given at these monthly meetings. At one Mrs. Jackie Beck spoke on "Inside Parliament", telling us something of how it works.

A recording of Senator Robert Kennedy's talk to U.C.T. on the Academic and Human Freedom day was played at the February meeting.

In March Mrs. M. Grant gave a most interesting talk on the National Education Policy Bill.

Headquarter's excellent memorandum on the Coloured Cadet's Training Bill was also read to the meeting.

In April Professor Molteno spoke on the Population Registration Bill. Other talks by our members included Mrs. Robb's on African Employees and Mrs. Versfeld's account of a Group Areas

hearing she had attended and Christine Nqwandi's appeal before the Supreme Court.

A variety of extremely interesting talks have been given at different Branch meetings.

As an experiment we have tried the holding of Evening meetings for All Branches in order to give an opportunity for those to attend who find it impossible to come during the day. Two of these meetings, held at Mrs. Robb's house in Wynberg, have been an unqualified success. Some new faces were to be seen, many of them of younger members.

Stands

We stood on the following occasions:

3rd February against "The Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill." Our posters read: "Only the Courts should say who is fit to be a lawyer". "Innocent or Guilty: the Courts must decide".

22nd February against National Education Policy. Posters read: "National Education Policy Bill 1962-1967. Dictatorship in Education comes to Cape Town".

3rd March against Coloured Cadets Bill. Posters: "Compulsory Education and equal opportunity: Yes". and "Forced Labour and summary arrest: No".

21st March against "Population Registration Amendment Bill". Our posters: "Race Classification destroys homes, families, lives". "White privilege entrenched by Race Classification".

15th July against Kalk Bay Group Areas. Our posters were: "Group Areas — We mourn the loss of this old established community"; "We mourn the loss of churches, mosques and schools"; "Kalk Bay Group Areas — Why?"

9th September against Simon's Town Group Area. Our posters were the same as for the Kalk Bay protest with Simon's Town on the last instead of Kalk Bay.

23rd September against Library Apartheid. Our posters were: "Library Apartheid Forced on City Council"; "Library liberty is lost"; "Another pointless insult to the Coloured People".

Statements and Letters to the Press

29th November (Cape Argus) on the proclamation of Group Areas in Hermanus, Sand Bay, Onrust, Sir Lowry's Pass, Temperance Township, Mansfield and Gordon-Strand Estate.

25th December (Cape Times) on the treatment of the non-Whites in contrast to the spirit of Christmas.

2nd February, 1967 (Cape Times) on the Suppression of Communism Bill.

14th February, 1967 (Cape Times) on Training Centres for Coloured Cadets Bill.

27th February, 1967 (Cape Times) on National Education Policy Bill.

26th March, 1967 (Cape Times) on Population Registration Amendment Bill.

8th May, 1967 (Cape Times) on "The judge's role and Habeas Corpus".

17th May, 1967 (Cape Times) on African schooling and Sir Robert Birley's statement.

6th June, 1967 (Cape Times) on the Terrorist Bill.

11th July, 1967 (Cape Argus) on Kalk Bay Group Area Proclamation.

31st July, 1967 (Cape Times) on the banning of Dr. Hoffenberg.

16th August, 1967 (Cape Argus) on African labour in Noordhoek.

1st September, 1967 (Cape Argus) on Simon's Town Group Area Proclamation.

14th September, 1967 (Cape Times) on Library Apartheid.

Many private letters from Sash members have also been published.

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CAPE EASTERN

Country Branches

Addo, Alexandria and Grahamstown.

1966 Conference

Three delegates attended National Conference in Cape Town and there were three report back meetings, two in Port Elizabeth and one well attended one in Grahamstown, to which came members from Alexandria Branch.

Statements to Press and Letters

Beach Apartheid in November 1966.

The Haak Plan in January 1967.

Dr. Hoffenberg's Banning in July 1967.

Grahamstown Branch wrote several excellent letters protesting against the banning of Dr. Hoffenberg, as a branch and as individual members. Letters went in from P.E. members as well. Statements and letters from Headquarters were all published. The latest of these regretted the untimely death of late Ex-chief Luthuli.

On December 10th, 1966, the leading article in the Evening Post was on the number of banned persons in this country: it referred especially to the date being Human Rights Day. The rudeness of the Prime Minister to the Sash was also criticised in our papers during this year.

Workmens' Compensation

Our offer to find names in the Government Gazette was accepted by the members of the Associated Chambers of Industries. Lists of names were then sent to the Chamber for information of its members. A new list is in process of compilation.

Education Bursary

Both Regionally and in Grahamstown efforts are being made to raise money for bursaries for African scholars who wish to carry on to J.C. and Matric and are financially handicapped.

Translations

Translations of leading articles from the main Afrikaans papers were received from the Institute of Race Relations. These were found to be quite interesting at first, but when they became uniformly dull and repetitive we discontinued them.

Outlook

Published at Lovedale this magazine is being subscribed to by the Region. Articles so far appear to be of a high standard.

Race Relations Conference

In January 1967 Port Elizabeth members attended many sessions and helped with the running of the Conference.

Regional Conference

In July 1967 the highlight was our well-attended conference. Speakers were Dr. Rodney Devonport and Miss Margaret Marshall.

In August

Mr. Bath, American Consul talked to a small gathering about the riots and difficulties in the U.S. at this time and the steps taken to alleviate the situation.

Banished

Parcels and small sums of money went to the Banished in our area in December 1966 and August 1967. Addo branch found that the man they were helping had gone home on probation at last, so they adopted another. Grahamstown sent a parcel earlier this year to the man they adopted.

Black Sash Magazine

Regional reports were sent to the Magazine. Three articles were also accepted from other sources. The copies are sent to all members, people overseas, and are taken to the Editors of the two newspapers, personally, so as to point out any important articles.

Warnings

Three members of the Regional Council of 1966 were warned by the Special Branch in November, and two were forced by circumstances to resign from the Sash.

Nevertheless women are showing some interest in the Black Sash and we have had new members joining during the year, and inquiries made.

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BORDER

Meetings

General — Five (average attendance 20).
Committee — Six.

Talks

- Report back on 1966 National Conference.
- The establishment of a multi-racial Church in East London, and its objectives.

- Impressions after a visit to Kenya.
- Israel.

E.L. Municipal Council Meetings

- Attended meetings where a grant-in-aid to the South African Foundation was thrown out.
- Attended public meeting to protest at curfew for non-whites being altered from 10 p.m. to 8 p.m.

Enquiries into Wages, Transport Costs and working and Living Conditions of non-Whites

Members investigated and familiarised themselves with this information.

Letters to Press

- On the anomalies of Family Day.
- Against various local injustices.

Advice Office

None-existent, forced to close, but much assistance given privately to victims of pass law problems.

Photographic Exhibition

Similar to Cape Town's, with local pictures added, just started making the rounds of churches.

Demonstrations

None.

Multi-Racial Contact

- Some members attend weekly a multi-racial church.
- Others, monthly, a multi-racial sewing class.
- In their private capacities, members entertain non-whites in their homes.

Fund Raising

- Bring-and-Buy Sales at each General Meeting.
- Donations — monthly pledges.

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NATAL COASTAL

Stands

March 1967 — Against Education Bill.
June 1967 — Population Registration Bill.
Education Bill.
Terrorism Bill.
Improper Interference Bill.
"Lawyers" Bill.

Letters to the Press

We have not had great co-operation from the Press, and letters are increasingly ignored.

10.12.66 On Human Rights Day. Letter published.

14.2.67 On Coloured Cadets Bill. Published.

5.7.67 On Family Day. Published in Daily News only.

29.7.67 On Luthuli. Not published in either paper. Several letters have also been written by members, some published, others not.

Indian Women's Cultural Group

Three of us continue to attend meetings as members and help at any functions they may organise, and they do a great deal to raise money for charities and to help provide entertainment for visiting Congresses and other such functions. They have a meeting a month and have many good speakers on all sorts of subjects.

Advice Office

This has been extremely quiet, and even our interpreter does not know the reason. We still operate once a week in the Institute of Race Relations office, to whom we are grateful. To them, we frequently go for all sorts of help — they have a great fund of knowledge on all sorts of subjects.

Number of new cases 29

Number of interviews 47

Types of cases: Majority are seeking work or want a "special" from us to be sure of not being endorsed out.

Meetings

We have held General and Executive meetings every month except for January.

November — Dr. E. G. Malherbe spoke on "The Nemesis of Docility."

February — the tape recording of Dr. Birley's talk "The Value of Protest" was played.

March — Dr. Ginwalla spoke on her work as Chairman of the Indian Benevolent Society.

April — the tape recording of Mrs. Sinclair's talk at the opening of the 1966 National Conference was played.

May — Mrs. Lander, Secretary of the Natal Family Planning Clinics, spoke of her work.

June — Professor Keen spoke on the non-European Medical School in Durban and some of its problems.

July — Mrs. Francis gave her impressions of Canada, Expo 67 and England.

August — Dr. Hilston Watts, head of the Institute of Social Research spoke on his work.

September — Mrs. Herries-Baird, one of our members, spoke on the hotel trade and how the necessity for obtaining a star was ruining the small country hotel.

Mrs. Grice spoke briefly on the wonderful work done by Dr. and Mrs. Barker, at the Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital, Nqutu.

Workmen's Compensation

Two of our Committee have been to see Mr. Jacobs who deals with this problem and found him to be most sympathetic and doing all he could to trace those owed money. There did not seem to be anything further that they could do.

Group Areas

I spoke to Mrs. Danks in the Institute of Race Relations about Group Areas Appeals, and she says that she does not think an individual would

have any influence at one of the appeals. The Indians are represented by lawyers or ratepayers' associations.

Brains Trust

We had a very successful Brains Trust in August on "South Africa — the Road Ahead", and had as our speakers: Mrs. Bobbie Cluver, Mr. Otto Krause, Editor of News Check, Mr. Rory Donnellan, lecturer in Law at the Indian University, Mrs. Bella Schmahmann, lecturer in Political Science at the Natal University, and Archbishop Hurley. Our Chairman was Mr. Jeffrey Horton, senior lecturer in History at the Natal University. Many people have suggested that we should make this an annual event, but we feel that it can only have value if we can persuade some Nationalist Party supporters to be on the panel.

Current Affairs Group

Following Border's example, we approached a private girls' school in Kloof and asked if they would like to take part in such an evening function. They were very keen but asked that one or two of us go and talk to the Standard 8, 9 and 10 groups in school-time.

Mrs. Mary Clarke and I did this, and spoke on "The Urban African". We probably gave them too many facts and had too little discussion, but we hope to have a Current Affairs evening on the 13th October when we shall have about 50 boys and girls up to Matric and have one or two speakers to lead the discussion. We hope the boys and girls themselves will contribute, and that they will put forward their ideas as well as learn new facts.

Transit Camps

A lot of work was done on these at the beginning of the year and contact has been made with Dr. Anthony Barker who goes to Mandlo once a week where he has a clinic. Headquarters have now taken over this project. No news has yet been discovered about other such places in Natal.

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NATAL MIDLANDS

Meetings

During the year, six general meetings, ten committee meetings and one Annual General Meeting were held. The general meetings were poorly attended. At one of them Brian Stuart, political correspondent of the Natal Witness spoke on the parliamentary session of 1966, from which he had recently returned. In April of this year, Mr. Clemenz of the Local Health Commission spoke to the Branch on Influx Control in this area. At the August meeting the Martin Luther King record was played. It impressed members who were surprised and sorry to hear of its banning soon after the meeting.

In June 1967 the Region held a Public Meeting

at which some of the legislation of the 1967 Parliamentary Session was discussed. The speakers were:

Prof. J. Macquarrie on the National Education Policy Act.

Prof. A. Mathews on the 1967 Amendments to the Suppression of Communism Act.

Mr. Colin Gardner on the Terrorism Bill, and Mr. Gerald Walker spoke on the proposed curbs on Industry in relation to Border Industries.

In her speech of thanks Mrs. Dyer spoke briefly on the Training Centres for Coloured Cadets Bill and the new Race Classification Bill.

About 48 people, none of whom needed to be convinced, (except the Special Branch, of course) attended the meeting. The Committee feels that in Pietermaritzburg meetings of this sort can no longer attract an audience and that the Sash should not organise such meetings unless live issues arise where other organisations could be invited to join with the Sash.

The Committee tried to organise a Public Protest Meeting against the 1967 Education Bill, when it became clear that no other organisation was prepared to do so, Mrs. Dyer booked the City Hall, approached N.C.W. to be co-sponsors and telegraphed Douglas Mitchell to speak but replies to these requests arrived so late that the meeting had to be cancelled.

Demonstrations

Mrs. Colin Webb took over as Vigil Organiser when Mrs. A. Berthoud left permanently for Britain.

Regular demonstrations have been held against Bannings, Banishments and House arrests. New posters for these stands have been painted and the new pithy slogans are of great interest to the Special Branch who take photographs of them from time to time.

Mrs. Webb had an interview with the Town Clerk and asked for blanket permission for these regular stands and the posters used on them. This was refused, unfortunately, as it would have saved both time and trouble if permission need not be sought each time and the posters submitted again and again. Mrs. Webb asked the Town Clerk if our application for stands were submitted to the Special Branch. He was mildly offended and said he was obliged to tell the Police as it is their duty to preserve law and order. Since that day his replies to requests for stands always includes a P.S. "Your letter has been forwarded to the Police."

These regular stands are now token ones of five members at a time each member carrying a placard. During the year stands of protest were held on Human Rights Day and against the National Educational Bill and the Population Registration Bill and on June 10th there was a stand against the immoral bills of the 1967 Parliamentary Session.

Activities

Various projects were initiated during the year:—

(a) **Workmen's Compensation:** A close watch has been kept on Government Gazettes and the names of Africans of this area to whom money is owed have been noted. Letters have been written to their former employers in an attempt to obtain home addresses. The response has been poor. A large advertisement was inserted in the Zulu newspaper, "Ilanga Lase", listing the names of those to whom large amounts were due. The advertisement included the address to which those concerned should apply. We have no means of knowing if this brought any results.

(b) **Mass Arrests:** An attempt to keep track of any such arrests was made. It seems fairly hopeless because our relations with the police are not such that they are likely to co-operate. A sympathetic local reporter was contacted. He has promised to notify us if he hears of any but he was not optimistic because he did not believe the police would allow news of mass arrests to get to the Press.

(c) **Pass Laws:** An enquiry was made into whether there was any need for an Advice Office in this area. We again reached the conclusion that there is as yet no such need and that an Advice Office would in fact do more harm than good. The officials at the Bantu Affairs Department are approachable by individuals and by such organisations as Welfare Societies concerned with individual cases. The officials are helpful to any organisation which they consider has a legitimate interest and the Branch was strongly advised against Black Sash, with its inevitable suggestion of politics, setting up an Advice Office.

A summary of Everyone's Guide to the Pass Laws was drawn up and adapted to local conditions. This was then translated into Zulu and duplicated. Copies are being distributed in the rural areas of the Natal Midlands.

(d) **Photographs on Boards:** Though we have not as yet used these, we are working on this suggestion and expect to have some ready this year. We hope to do a series showing educational facilities offered the White children and those offered to African children. A professional photographer has offered her services.

(e) **Transit Camps:** In conjunction with Natal Coastal this Region approached Mr. Winchester, M.P. and requested him to find out more about Transit Camps in Natal. This he has done and the Region is now trying to get more information about these camps. An Anglican priest from the area near such a camp in Northern Natal has said that he has no knowledge of such camps but has promised to investigate.

(f) **African Education:** It was decided to investigate the position of secondary schools for Africans in this region. There are no schools here

which give education to the Matriculation standard and parents who desire a Matriculation certificate for their children must send them away to boarding school. This is too expensive for the majority of the parents. This investigation did not go far before we found that it is the deliberate policy of the Government to move Secondary Schools away from the urban areas and therefore pressure on the City Council and the Local Health Commission could not have the desired effect.

The Region has revised an analysis of African Education in the Local Health Commission area of Edendale which was originally drawn up by a member of the Sash for the Edendale Welfare Society.

(g) **Multi-Racial Tea Parties:** These are still held and at the request of those attending have become embroidery lessons.

The activity of this Region is curtailed by the apathy of many members, and of the general public and by the fact that we get little support from the press.

The work of the Region is now carried on by a very small group of members and the scope and extent of activities suffers in consequence.

+ +

ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE

Number of Interviews

Men endorsed out	282
Women endorsed out	223
Miscellaneous	450
Old cases returned	1,183
Total	2,138

Average per month — 178.

We have over 10,800 cases on our files.

Workers

- 1 Organiser.
- 2 Full-time Interpreters.
 - 1 Interpreter twice a week from Institute of Race Relations.
- 23 Voluntary helpers.

Visitors

- 23 South Africa.
- 29 Others.

Although these figures show that we have only had 223 cases of women endorsed out, these apply only to new cases. A large number of our old cases have been endorsed out recently. Some of them have been here for much longer than 15 years, but did not register within 72 hours of 24th June, 1952. We have yet to meet a woman who did register at that time. They all seem to have registered late in 1953 or early in 1954 and therefore technically do not qualify in terms of Section 10(1)(b) of Act 25 of 1945. Only those who qualify under Section 10(1)(a) or (c) are

being allowed to remain. Those under 10(1)(c) lose this qualification if (a) the woman is widowed; (b) a daughter marries; (c) a son reaches tax-paying age.

If the woman endorsed out is a widow, she has usually been the breadwinner since her husband's death and has to return to the Transkei or Ciskei where the possibility of her obtaining employment is remote. She loses her house in the location, her children lose any rights to which they might be entitled by virtue of birth in this area, by leaving the area with their mother and remaining away over a year. They also have to leave school in the middle of their school career.

Contract Labour

No African male may come to Cape Town to look for work, or accept work offered, except under contract for one year which may not be renewed at the end of the period. No women may come to Cape Town except for a short visit. During 1965 29,526 men and no women were recruited to the Western Cape as contract labourers (Hansard). There were 25,039 families and 131,414 single contract labourers in the Western Cape during 1965. Now that only contract labourers may come to the Western Cape and many who have worked here for many years but do not qualify, for one reason or another, under Section 10(1)(b) of Act 25/1945 are being endorsed out on completion of a job, the proportion of contract workers to permanent ones is steadily increasing as is the alarming increase in the ratio of men to women.

In Langa today it is estimated that there are approximately 33,000 Africans living there of whom 1,787 are men living with their families and approximately 24,550 so-called bachelor migrant workers. The proportion of men to women in Langa is therefore 26,232 to 2,543 which is more than 10 to 1. This proportion is likely to increase steadily and seems to us to be a very unhealthy situation considering that there are 4,439 children in Langa, over half of them girls and many of them teenage girls.

The way in which these so-called bachelors — 68% of them married — are housed leaves much to be desired and conditions are unlikely to improve fast enough to keep up with the increase of male migrant workers.

The population of Guguletu which is 46,000 is much better balanced, having 2,282 migrants, 7,675 male permanent workers and 9,431 women — almost balanced.

Freezing of number of Contract Workers

On 15th November, 1966 a statement in the Cape Times by Mr. J. M. Earle, President of Parow Chamber of Commerce and Industries, announced that owing to lack of accommodation in the townships, the introduction of new contract workers was frozen as from 1st September, 1966. The City Council had 26,000 contract workers in

the area and only 20,000 beds available; the Divisional Council 6,000 and 3,000 beds.

After consultation it was decided that certain large firms who employ a great number of contract workers would be allowed to erect approved accommodation in the townships for their own workers. It was also reported that Dock workers had been allowed in and were being accommodated in the Docks.

Freezing of number of African Employees

In January 1967 it was announced that only those persons who had Africans in their employ on August 31st, 1966 and were registered as so doing would be allowed to engage new African workers. Also that the complement of Africans in each specific firm or household was frozen as at 31st August, 1966.

Another announcement stated that employers of Africans are expected to reduce their African labour force by 5% each year. However, according to the S.A.B.C., after consultations between the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner and the Federated Chambers of Industry and Commerce, the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner stated that the 5% cut would not be enforced if Industry promised that Coloured workers would be given preference.

A number of employers, especially housewives, have been affected by the enforcement of the 31st August, 1966 freeze. If they did not have an African employee registered on August 31st, 1966, or had not advertised a vacancy at that date, they are now not allowed to employ an African. If, however, they had an African employee on that date, they must still make application to the Department of Labour for a certificate entitling them to employ an African. This certificate is only issued if Coloured labour is unobtainable. Those who did not employ African domestic servants on 31st August, 1966 have first to obtain a certificate of clearance from Department of Labour and then must appeal to the Commissioner of Bantu Affairs for permission to employ an African.

Reservation of certain categories of employment for qualified Men

A Government directive has been issued stating that the categories of labour for which new applications for African Contract labour will not be entertained by the Department of Bantu Affairs are:—

- Vehicle drivers, room sweepers and cleaners,
- Domestic servants, gardeners,
- Newspaper sellers, ice-cream sellers,
- Stable boys and grooms,
- Delivery men (including milkmen).
- Petrol pump attendants.
- Clerks, timekeepers and packers.

Only men who qualify under Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of Act 25/1945 as amended will be allowed to take up jobs in these categories. It is reported

that men who are in the area under 10(1)(d) of the Act are being refused permission to take jobs in these categories and have to leave the area to return as contract workers in other categories. They are not allowed to change their jobs in any category and are endorsed out within a few days of leaving their employment, even if they have worked legally continuously in the area for fourteen years or nine years with one employer.

In order to try to prevent this from happening we distributed a pamphlet written by a Xhosa in Xhosa warning men not to leave one job until they are quite sure that they qualify under Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of Act 25/1945 and will therefore be allowed to take up a new job.

Divisional Council Notice to Employers of Contract Labour

“The Divisional Council of the Cape,
Bantu Administration,
Nyanga.

Sir/Madam,

CONTRACT LABOUR IN WESTERN CAPE. EXTENSION OF CONTRACTS.

It is desired to bring to your notice that the Ministry, through the Office of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner of the Western Cape has instructed that in future the service contracts of recruited Bantu Labour will be strictly limited to a maximum period of 12 months. This will include all contracts entered into as from 1st August, 1967. That is to say that no applications for extensions of such contracts beyond twelve months will be entertained.

Further employers making application to recruit labour (Form BA 403) may no longer generally request the recruitment of specific Bantu by name, unless such Bantu has/have previously been in the employ of that employer.

Yours faithfully,
Municipal Labour Officer.”

This will make it impossible for the sons of families living in Cape Town who have been refused permission to rejoin their families after completing their education in the Transkei, from persuading a firm to make a request specifically for them. In the past it has sometimes been possible for a boy to obtain a contract job for one year in the area where his parents live permanently in this way.

Housing

In the Cape Town Municipal area houses are only being allocated to male heads of African families. Widows, divorcees and deserted wives, with or without families, are not allowed to be householders even if they qualify in their own right under Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of Act 25/1945. They can, however, apply for the house to be in their son's name if he is of age and qualifies to be in the area, is profitably employed and appears to be a responsible tenant.

Evictions

All tenants in Langa and Guguletu sign an agreement (a) to pay their rent before the 7th day of the month in advance; (b) not to keep chickens or other livestock; (c) not to make any alterations or additions to the property without written permission. Failure to keep any of these agreements can lead to eviction at the end of the month even if the rent is paid soon after the 7th. Failure to pay rent promptly often leads to the discovery that the tenants do not for one reason or another qualify to be permanently housed.

We have had six cases of families evicted from temporary houses in N.Y. 1, 5 and 6 Guguletu at very short notice, rent having been paid and accepted up to that date. These families are all people legally in the area, some of them qualified people, but who apparently do not qualify for rehousing in permanent houses. They were told to find lodgings for themselves and have been quite unable to find anyone prepared to take in large families with luggage and furniture.

Tenants

The residents of Guguletu and Langa have been told that they may improve their rented dwellings by additions or extensions provided they apply for written permission to do so. Since their position is so precarious with regard to endorsement it seems unlikely that many will risk spending money on permanent improvements to rented properties. A much better idea is the Council's proposed scheme to erect garages at a cost of R350 and to let these out at R3.50 per month, and bathrooms at a cost of R200, the rent of which is not mentioned. Residents who are interested in having these facilities provided at their homes are invited to submit written applications which will be referred to the City Council in due course. It was decided that installation of electricity could not be carried out in all dwellings but that residents could avail themselves of the Council's assisted wiring scheme and have the electricity installed at their own cost. Here again one cannot expect tenants to pay for the installation of electricity in a rented house.

Young people in trouble

We have had several cases of boys and girls in trouble with the law. Without our help the youngsters concerned in two successful cases might have never been able to straighten themselves out as regards Influx Control regulations.

Legal Cases

Since officials administering the legislation controlling the influx of Africans into urban areas seem to have little or no discretionary power, we have been forced more and more to resort to the courts in order to establish whether or not an African in trouble is legally entitled to remain in the area, accept employment offered, or return to his previous employer. Our attorney defended

32 of our cases in the Bantu Commissioner's court and in four of these cases he appealed against the judgment to the Supreme Court. Two of these appeals were successful and two were dismissed. Permission to take one of these to the Appeal Court was refused but on petitioning the latter we were given permission to take it to Bloemfontein Appeal Court. Possibly the reason for the withdrawal of seven of the nine cases withdrawn by the Prosecutor in the Bantu Commissioner's court may have been based on judgment given in the two successful Supreme Court cases.

Supreme Court Cases

Appeals Allowed:

Enid Mjakuca

Christine Nqwandi.

Enid Mjakuca: This case first came to the office in 1963 when Enid had been told that her pondokkie was to be demolished. She first came to Cape Town in 1942, but only registered in 1954. At that time her husband did not qualify. He only did so on 23rd October, 1966. Mrs. Mjakuca's only relatives in the Reserves were her husband's parents at Fort Beaufort, who refused to accept her as "she is not a proper Xhosa and does not speak the language properly as she was born at Graaf Reinet." After many visits and letters to officials, our attorney appealed to the Commissioner for Bantu Affairs in January 1966 on her behalf, and the appeal was upheld.

In March 1966 the Commissioner for Bantu Affairs advised our attorney as follows:— "That Mr. Mjakuca has a kraal site in Fort Beaufort and that he intends taking his wife there on his annual leave. Apparently he is at present in hospital, and it has been decided by the Commissioner that Mrs. Mjakuca may remain here until such time as he is discharged from hospital."

Mrs. Mjakuca was then given various extensions until October 1966. She was arrested in January 1967 and defended by our attorney. She was found guilty of being illegally in the area, and an appeal was lodged. This was upheld in the Supreme Court, on the grounds that she was the legal wife of a qualified man with whom she had normally resided. Evidence that she was not entitled to live with her husband as she had not been given permission by the City Council was rejected.

Christine Nqwandi: Christine came to Cape Town to marry Sepo Jelashe (who has been in Cape Town since the age of two) in January 1965. She had no permission to come to Cape Town so returned to the Transkei, obtained a permit and came back to Cape Town to live with Mr. Jelashe who has a house in Guguletu, registered in his name, which he shares with his mother. Christine was endorsed out on 1st March, 1965. Through an attorney she appealed to the Com-

missioner of Bantu Affairs Department but her appeal was not successful. She was arrested on 26th October, 1966, defended and found guilty of being in the proclaimed area without permission although the Magistrate accepted that her husband is a qualified man. Her attorney appealed to the Supreme Court, against the Magistrate's decision.

On 11th May, 1965 the Judge allowed her appeal. He states that to satisfy the provisions of Section 10(1)(c) "the accused is not required to prove that she has permission to remain in the area but merely:—

- (1) That she is the wife of a Bantu mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of the subsection (Section 10(1) of Urban Areas Act 25/1945).
- (2) That she lawfully entered the prescribed area, and
- (3) That she ordinarily resides with her husband in the area.

He also stated that in the State vs. Maphela case 1963 it was decided that the expression "ordinarily resides" refers to a lawful residence which is not terminable at any moment.

The conviction and sentences are set aside.

On 23rd May, 1967 Mrs. Jelashe was given a permit entitling her to one year's residence. She had lost her reference book but Langa refused to give her the necessary forms to apply for a new one. This matter is now being dealt with by her attorney.

Appeals Dismissed:

Philda Mlisa

Mary Xala (appeal to Appellate Division pending).

Philda Mlisa: Philda came to Cape Town in 1960 and went back to the Transkei from 1962 to 1965. She returned with permission to live in Simon's Town with her husband on 15th July, 1965. In September 1965 they were removed to Guguletu where they were given a brick house.

They laid a cement path to the front door, had inside doors put in, laid linoleum and prepared to spend their lives together in Guguletu, because her husband has been here legally since 1949 and therefore qualifies under Section 10(1)(b) of Urban Areas Act.

In July 1966 they were told to vacate their house and she was told to return to Mount Frere. Her husband has a brother there but no land or house of his own.

We helped her to make an appeal against this decision to the Commissioner for Bantu Affairs, but it was dismissed.

She was arrested on 20th October, 1966, defended and found guilty of being in the area illegally, fined R20 or 60 days suspended on condition that she left the area within 21 days. The State accepted that her husband qualified and that she was his legal wife but that she was not ordinarily resident with him in terms of the Act as she only

received permission to visit her husband, and that the various extensions which she had been given did not in any way give her the right to reside with him on a permanent basis. She appealed to the Supreme Court against this judgment on 23rd March, 1967. Her appeal was dismissed. She will have to leave Cape Town and reside with her brother-in-law in Mount Frere.

Magistrate Court Cases

Won: Nil.

Withdrawn by Prosecutor:—

Italia Jack 10(1)(c).

Agnes Tyalibongo 10(1)(c).

Patrick Magyana (allowed to stay with mother).

Japan Mohobololo.

Hilda Pupuma 10(1)(c).

Frances Patu 10(1)(c).

Elliot Vumasonke 10(1)(a).

Angelina Petersen 10(1)(c).

Eugenia Matyila 10(1)(c).

Example:

Eugenia Matyila: Eugenia came here, without permission in March 1966, to visit her fiancé. Permission was later obtained and she was given various extensions. She and Mr. Kenneth Skweyiya were married at Langa on January 23rd, 1967. He is a householder in Guguletu and a qualified man. He appealed to the Commissioner for Bantu Affairs for permission for his wife to reside with him permanently, as the Registering Officer at Langa said he could not give this permission. The appeal was turned down. Mrs. Matyila was arrested on 19th June, 1967, appeared in court on 20th June, 1967. The case was remanded to 6th July, 1967, when the prosecutor withdrew the case. She has been given a year's extension, but not a 10(1)(c) exemption stamp, to which she is legally entitled.

Lost:

(Those taken on appeal do not appear in this list).

Elsie Mlambo. Not registered 1952.

James Nakuphi. Gap of 2 years not proved.

Miriam Bakana.

Miriam Dlakula. Husband registered September 1952.

Theorah Mantyi. Not ordinarily resident.

Nolifisi Nopoto. Husband deserted — Lost 10(1)(c).

Nompukane Dondusbe. Displaced — to be resettled by Bantu Affairs Department.

Abigail Tamba — Appeal to Supreme Court noted.

Marta Adonis.

Bessie Mgadlana. Not registered 1952.

Agnes Ngambu. Not registered 1952.

Richard Thabatha. Gap from 1956—1960.

Irene Njaga. Not registered 1952.

Example 1:

James Makuphi: Came into Cape Town in 1949 and has worked here ever since. He lost his job and was endorsed out on 30th April, 1967. On reporting to Langa James was told to produce proof that he was in the area between 1951 and 1954 as he was not registered at this time. He obtained a letter that he was employed by Michelsens Ltd. from 1951 to 1956.

The Department of Bantu Affairs would not reverse their decision to endorse him out. James was arrested on 1st May, 1967 and had to appear on 25th May, 1967. The case was postponed to 31st August, 1967 as the State wanted to call Mr. van Zyl of Bantu Affairs Department as witness.

The case came up on 6th September, 1967 and there was a gap of one year on the records during which time James was unable to satisfy the Magistrate that he was lawfully in Cape Town with permission. His witness was unreliable. The firm he worked for had no records for that period. James was given a suspended sentence for 31 days provided he leaves the area within that period.

Example 2:

Theorah Mantyi: Was convicted under Section 10 of Act 25/1945 and sentenced to R12 or 35 days suspended if she leaves the area within 31 days. She was also sentenced to R3 or 10 days for defacing her reference book. Her husband qualifies. She entered the area in 1958. Because her husband pays rent in the zones, and she resides in lodgings, it was ruled that she did not ordinarily reside with him. She could only qualify if she and her legal husband lived together with permission. As the officials will not give them this permission, she must leave the area.

Appeals to Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner

Allowed: Philip Gwentshe. Aged 16 allowed to remain with qualified mother.

Lindile Philip Gwentshe was born in King Williamstown in 1948, and grew up with his grandmother in Tsomo. She died in November 1964. In June 1965 he came to join his mother, Angelina Nonkonyana, in Cape Town. His mother has been in Cape Town continuously since 1947 and lives in her own brick house in Guguletu. The Registering Officer at Langa informed Angelina that the boy could not remain with her, but must go to her sister in Tsomo. Angelina claimed, however, that Philip had stayed with his aunt (after his grandmother had died) where he had been very unhappy. Furthermore the sister had neglected to apply for a reference book for him when he turned 16 and that her sister's husband flatly refused to have the boy living with them. She also pointed out that she was qualified in every sense to care for and guide her young son. The matter was referred to our attorney, who appealed on the grounds that, as Philip was under tax-paying age he should be allowed to re-

main with his mother. On 12th January, 1966 we were informed by our attorney that the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner has allowed the boy to remain with his mother in Guguletu, and to take up local employment.

Dismissed

Offecia Bossie — born here — away 5 years — must return on contract.

Noviko Getyese. Husband cannot prove qualification under 10(1)(b).

Agnes Gqibeleni — not ordinarily residing.

Evelyn Mangco. Husband lost qualification under 10(1)(b) Act 25/1945 because sentenced to three years.

Mina Meme. Given exemption and then cancelled.

Agnes Kapa — born in Cape Town but husband wants her in Transkei.

Monarch Mnyombolo — Sentenced to 9 months. Born in Cape Town.

Emily Yekani — (will defend) not registered in 1952.

Orippa Ntleko — (will defend) away over a year but husband qualifies.

Julia Mgada — (will defend) 10(1)(c).

Lillian Ngonyana — widow.

Appeals to Nyanga East

Alfred Ngotole — dismissed.

Elizabeth Dyanti — pending.

Ntokeko Cityewe — pending.

Miscellaneous Legal Cases

Alfred Ngotole — Contract worker — re-employed.

Sylvia Ntlanganiso — extension obtained on medical grounds.

Gertrude Magaga — given extension to May 1968 — is 10(1)(c).

Lizzajane Tongo — given extension to May 1968 — is 10(1)(c).

Example:

Gertrude Magaga was born in Tsomo in 1937 and was married there in 1954. Her husband was employed at Simon's Town Dockyard — he started with them in 1953—and she came to Cape Town to join him in 1956 but returned to Tsomo from 1958 to 1965.

In 1965 she returned to Cape Town with permission, and lived with him in his house at Guguletu. He was still working at Simon's Town Dockyard and was by this time a qualified man.

She was given several extensions, on medical grounds because she became ill and had to attend hospital, but finally she was refused further extensions after July 1967, in spite of the fact that her husband qualified and had his own brick house.

Our attorney spoke to an official at Langa and gave Gertrude Magaga a letter to take to him. Langa then accepted the fact that she was entitled to remain in terms of Section 10(1)(c) of Act 25 of 1945 and gave her an extension to 24th May, 1968.

National Conference, 1967

National Conference this year was held in Johannesburg on the 16th, 17th and 18th October. Delegates and Observers found the three days most stimulating and full of interest largely because of the presentation of excellent Fact Papers from the different Regions and the very high standard of background material brought to support Resolutions and Items for Discussion. Most of these will be published in this and future issues of this magazine.

The Transvaal Region was re-elected as Headquarters Region; Mrs. Jean Sinclair was elected National President for the coming year and Mrs. Bobbie Cluver and Mrs. Jeanette Carlson were re-elected as Vice Presidents.

Over 200 people attended the opening meeting on Monday the 16th October which was addressed by Mr. Laurance Gandar and Mrs. Jean Sinclair.

Statements to the Press:

A number of statements were issued to the press including ones on the Deportation of Mr. John Sprack, the tragedy of Sandra Laing and on the closing of the African Night Schools. Conference was extremely well reported by the Johannesburg newspapers.

Discussion:

Discussions took place on the Reservation of Separate Amenities Bill, Group Discussions, Black Sash Publications, the Advice Offices, The Compulsory Employment of African Workseekers in the Homelands, Wages and Conditions of Migrant Labour on Farms, the unreal way of referring to South Africa's people as "Separate Nations", and Workmen's Compensation.

Fact Papers:

The following Fact Papers were presented:

- The Position of African Women in the Urban Areas.
- Resettlement Villages.
- Border Industries.
- The Labour Position in the Western Cape.
- Indian Wages in Natal.
- Educational Provisions for African Scholars in the Pietermaritzburg area.
- Communication and Persuasion.

Resolutions:

Some of the Resolutions passed were:

"That while totally condemning the policy of Migrant Labour, the Black Sash would strive for the improvement of the living conditions of Migrant Labourers in the African Townships and should seek the co-operation of local authorities to this end."

"That the Black Sash put pressure on the authorities to house all Africans who legally qualify to be housed."

Discussion took place on the possibility of investigating the implications of freedom of movement for all South Africans, in order to produce a constructive and positive plan for an equitable social and economic system for South Africa. Headquarters intends to formulate a plan for research into this enormous subject. A great deal of work is involved and a large proportion of our time in the coming year will be devoted to this project.

Conference ended with delegates going home inspired and enthusiastic for the work that lies ahead.

JOHN SPRACK

WHATEVER REASONS the Government has found to justify the deportation of South-African born John Sprack, there seems little doubt that it is determined to deprive N.U.S.A.S. of its chosen leaders.

N.U.S.A.S. is a legitimate organisation, representative of the young intelligentsia of this country. There are people who, in any democratic country, traditionally think, doubt, search for the truth, and oppose what they believe to be wrong. The intellectual activity of young people is stifled

at the expense of the whole country. Is the Government so afraid of ideas that it must find absurd technicalities in order to silence youth leaders?

In fact the Government will not brook any opposition to its own expressed policy, nor will it tolerate a critical approach. Harsh and repressive measures are adopted against individual students in order to intimidate the whole student body. The students of N.U.S.A.S. are to be praised for their continuing resistance to pressure.

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

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

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Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

MET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons 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.