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POWER, PATRIOTISM AND PRINCIPLE

JEAN SINCLAIR

Jean Sinclair, National President of the Black Sash delivered this address at the opening meeting of the 1969 national conference held in Pietermaritzburg in October.

POWER IS AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT OF GOVERNMENT. Inadequate state powers can result in anarchy; but too much power can lead to tyranny. The manner in which power is exercised determines whether it is a force for good or a force for evil.

Good government demands that power be exercised in a manner which will ensure the greatest good for the greatest number, will protect the rights of the minorities and the inalienable rights of man — the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The American Constitution which aimed to reconcile the sometimes conflicting rights and needs of society and of the individual, and which is the prototype of modern constitutions, was based on the separation of powers. In the Reith Lectures of 1951, Lord Radcliffe quoted Washington, who said, "Remember especially that for the efficient management of your common interest in so extensive a country a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian."

Power in America is distributed. Each State has its own powers and the Federal Government has its province in which its power is exercised. I am not here concerned with the powers of the States, but will deal very briefly with Federal power. This is limited by distributing it between the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. According to Lord Radcliffe, the Founding Fathers believed that "the very definition of tyranny consists in accumulating all powers in the same hands and that it makes no sort of difference for this purpose whether the hands are hereditary, self-appointed or elected."

There is a moral obligation and a responsibility on a state authority to limit its own power. It should be a matter of unalterable principle that no legislation may incorporate the transfer of power from another authority into the hands of the Executive. For example the Executive may not usurp the powers which rightly belong to the Judiciary. A classic case in South Africa was the High Court of Parlia-

ment Act of 1952 which converted both Houses of Parliament, sitting jointly into a High Court to review judgements of the Appeal Court on matters affecting the South African Constitution. The effect of this would have been that Parliament would sit in judgement on its own handiwork. As you will remember this Act eventually was invalidated by the Courts.

In South Africa today practically all power and authority are vested in the same hands—the hands of the Executive. There are many reasons for this, the foremost being the determination to secure the domination of the Afrikaner Volk and the implementation of the policy of Apartheid.

In a situation where only one-fifth of the population is enfranchised and the vast majority of South Africans have no say in the laws which govern them, the unpopular policy of apartheid can only be enforced by the use of excessive powers. The inevitable result of the accumulation of such powers by the Executive has been that it now exercises control over nearly every sphere of man's activity. There is no liberty left for Black people, for those White people who dissent there is little liberty and the average White person is largely unaware of how his liberty has been eroded.

Rights have been removed from individuals, the Judiciary, Provincial Councils, Local Authorities, the Press, Publishers, Artists, Industrialists, Businessmen and others and the control over all of them is vested in the Cabinet.

From the earliest days of a child's life, power dictates his future. Education, which

was formerly the concern of the Provincial Councils, has been taken over by the Minister of Education. He now controls every phase of your child's education which has to be Christian National. There must be conformity and no diversity. Individuality and the healthy scepticism which goes with it, must be subjugated. Our children are to be processed so that they will emerge all cast in the same mould.

African children have their own form of education. As a former Minister once said, the purpose of their education is to "keep the Bantu child a Bantu child."

Ministerial powers

The powers which the Minister has taken to control the lives of Africans, Asians and Coloureds is unreasonable and tyrannical. For all three racial groups there is no freedom and no respect for their aspirations.

I have so often before drawn attention to the immensity of the disabilities under which Africans suffer. In addition to all the previous controls, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill of 1969, which has passed its second reading in the House of Assembly, provides, among other things, that the Minister may by notice in the Gazette, prohibit the performance of work by or the employment or continued employment of a Bantu —

- a) in a specified area
- b) in a specified class of employment
- c) in a specified trade
- d) in the service of a specified employer or class of employer.

This is a monstrous piece of legislation and there is worse to follow. The promised Bantu Administration Boards Bill will remove the coveted exemptions of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act. In future no African will be able to qualify to remain in an urban area. He will be a contract worker, only allowed to enter a service contract for one year at a time. What is to happen to the natural increase in the urban areas fills one with apprehension.

These African workers provide the labour on which the whole of the Republican economy rests. Yet these workers are little more than serfs. They have no bargaining power; they are forced to be migrant; they are prohibited from becoming skilled workers; their wages are depressed and their family life is destroyed. They have no security of tenure and no hope.

All this misery is being imposed in the name of separate development. All this power is being misused to attain the unattainable end of separate development. The last 21 years of Nationalist rule have shown that separation of the races is impossible and development is negligible.

How can there be any meaningful development in the homeland when every African man from the age of 15 has to register with his tribal labour bureau for employment in the white areas. When the whole of the economically active male inhabitants of the homelands are liable for recruitment to work in the economy of the Republic, how can they develop their homelands at the same time?

Those rural Africans who have lived in what are known as Black Spots are being forcibly removed to closer settlements. Peasant communities which have practiced subsistence farming are being moved to small plots, a quarter to half an acre in extent, which is not sufficient land to grow enough for their own needs. They are not allowed to have livestock, other than hens. Many of these settlements are far from any town and there are no employment opportunities for the women whose husbands are working as migrants in the white areas.

Thousands of Africans are being endorsed out of urban areas and many have to go to resettlement villages. Some of these villages supply the labour for border industries; many of the villages, however have been built and settled before the industries have been established and in some cases there is no intention to establish industries at all. The people are poor, undernourished and have no employment, and the widespread malnutrition brings with it all the accompanying deficiency diseases.

The discriminatory apartheid legislation is causing such dreadful misery, insecurity and poverty. This is certainly not the exercise of power to ensure the greatest good for the greatest number.

Role of the Judiciary

It is not only in the field of apartheid legislation that the Executive has accumulated power. The role of the Judiciary has been curtailed and its powers and responsibilities have, through legislation, been vested in Cabinet Ministers. Detention without trial, banning orders, banishments, listing people as communists, confiscating and withholding passports are all punishment without trial. The unaccused have no recourse to the Courts

to establish their innocence or guilt. The Prohibition of Interdicts Act prohibits an African who has been ordered to leave his home from appealing to the Court for an interdict to stay the removal order, until he has returned to the area to which he was sent. This makes it impossible for him to claim the protection of the Courts before the punishment comes into effect.

Banning orders for many appear to be punishment without end, for an unspecified crime, if crime there was. Many banning orders of 5 years duration have been re-imposed when the original orders expire as has happened in the cases of Helen Joseph, Peter Brown, Mrs. Sisulu who has now had 12 hours house arrest added to her banning order.

Bannings and banishments are a particularly vicious form of punishment. To keep a person incommunicado, to all intents and purposes, for 10 years on end is nothing short of persecution.

The new BOSS Act is a further erosion of the rule of law. It states that anyone in possession of any document or information which relates to any military, police or security matter and who publishes it or communicates it to any person, in any manner deemed to be prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State, shall be guilty of contravening this Act. And who knows what is deemed to be prejudicial to the safety or the interests of the State. This is a concept behind which many Ministers have taken shelter when asked in Parliament to reply to awkward questions. The maximum penalty is a fine of R1,500 or 7 years imprisonment or both. The Courts cannot help you because if the Prime Minister or any other Minister issues a certificate stating that evidence which you might bring in your own defence could be prejudicial to the interests or the safety of the State, that evidence may not be heard in Court. The Judge has lost his right to decide what evidence is permissible and what is not.

Security Police

The police too, wield excessive power over individuals. Presumably it is on the advice of the Security Police that the Minister issues banning orders. In order to protect State witnesses the Security Police are empowered to detain persons for a period of 180 days. In a recent murder trial a man was detained by the Railway Police as a potential State witness. He was interrogated for several days, and for up to 12 hours at a time. He ended up in court, not as a State witness but as the

accused. In discharging the accused at the end of the State case, Mr. Justice Irving Steyn said: "There was not a tittle of other evidence against the accused" and he criticised the Railway Police for "third degree" interrogation. Mr. Justice Steyn also said: "It must have had a terrific psychological effect on the accused. If a witness is treated in this completely unsatisfactory way one can only pray for an accused . . ." "The State was trying to use statements made by the accused after these interrogations. The Court had no alternative but to reject the admissibility of statements made under these circumstances."

A month or two ago Major J. J. Swanepoel, the Chief Interrogator of the Security Police gave an interview to a member of The Star's Pretoria Bureau in which he was reported as saying: "That apart from getting information from the people he interrogated, his team of interrogators had managed to convert many a sworn Communist as well as sympathisers to another way of thinking.

"My department operates more like a psychiatric ward than merely a series of stark police officers. Everybody my department deals with is a Communist, a Communist sympathiser, or he is suspected of having some connection with Communists.

"The Communists use extremely effective indoctrination methods. They convert their people until they believe in the ideology like a religion.

"We use counter-indoctrination methods to re-convert these people. In many ways our methods are the same as the Communists — psychologically speaking — but for a different reason."

Major Swanepoel went on to say that interrogation is usually associated with Africans; but occurs with Whites as well. "Of course not all of them are charged."

The Terrorism Act goes even further than the 180 day detention law. It permits arrest with out warrant and detention for an indefinite period for terrorist activity which is so widely defined that the most innocent victim can fall within its scope. No person may visit and no person may obtain information about a detainee. He may however, be visited by a magistrate once a fortnight if circumstances permit. This Act gives the police absolute power over detainees who are held in secret. No one may ask or obtain any information about them. No one knows whether in fact, they have committed a crime prejudicial to the safety or the interests of the State. Only, if and when they are charged with an offence

can they be protected by the court. These laws and the power used to administer them have no place in a civilised society.

Apart from the powers of detention the Security Police have many other functions. At Black Sash demonstrations we notice that a member of the Special Branch takes a photograph of each and every one of us. People attending meetings or even visiting friends sometimes have their car numbers taken. We know too, that an army of informers keeps tabs on all of us.

Other than the Security Police the ordinary policeman on the beat has tremendous power — particularly over Africans. An African who is not in possession of identity documents or who has not paid his tax, can be arbitrarily arrested. The police have power to raid private premises in the dead of night if they suspect that some unauthorised person may be sleeping in the servant's quarters. They even raid private houses in Soweto during the night for the same reason. Not long ago a child and a visitor who was staying with the family, were carted off to the superintendent's office at about 3 a.m. because their names were not listed on the family housing permit.

This, in my view, is a gross misuse of power and causes great distress and humiliation.

Contempt for Parliament

A further example of the Executive's arrogance is its growing contempt for Parliament. The parliamentary question, a cornerstone of parliamentary democracy, is the customary procedure whereby members of parliament can obtain information on matters of public interest and they have a right to expect a full and factual reply from the Minister concerned. It has become regular practice in recent years for Ministers to refuse to reply to awkward questions on the grounds that it is either not in the interests of the State; or certain statistics are not kept; or to give an answer would involve too much work. For instance when Mrs. Suzman asked the Minister of Police on March 7, 1969 how many persons have been detained in terms of Section 5 of the Terrorism Act since June 21 1967 and for what period each man was detained, the Minister replied: "It is not in the public interest to make the particulars known." Again on March 25 this year, Mrs. Suzman asked the Minister of Police whether the alleged Soviet spy who was arrested in the Republic during 1967 is still in detention; if so in terms of what law; whether he is to be brought to trial; if so when and on what charge? The Minister re-

plied: "Except to confirm that the Russian spy is still being detained, I wish to refer the Hon. Member to my reply to her question in the House on 10 May, 1968, which was to say it was improper to furnish any other information about communist spies." Mrs. Suzman then asked arising out of the Hon. Minister's reply whether this man had asked for political asylum in South Africa. To which the Minister replied: "I do not think it is in the public interest to reply to that question." It seems to me improper for a South African author to be allegedly given access to the communist spy when Parliament is denied any information on the grounds that it is not in the public interest.

Powers of local authorities

The Executive has also assumed some of the powers and functions of Provincial Councils and Local Authorities. I have already mentioned Education which formerly was the responsibility of the Provincial Councils. It is now taken over by the State. Local authorities have little control over their own affairs. They have no discretion in the administration of non-European affairs, but are delegated by the Department of Bantu Administration to carry out the law and regulations according to directives issued by the Minister.

The Community Development Amendment Bill gives the Minister wide powers over the municipalities with regard to municipal owned land. There has been State interference with the right of the Johannesburg City Council to build a power station; finance has been withheld for the building of urban expressways; the control over factory premises and the labour employed in the private sector is exercised by the Minister of Planning. Everybody and everything is hedged around with red tape, Ministerial controls and decrees. No notice is taken of representations made by the people concerned. The Minister of Planning made a statement lately that he would not allow another acre of land to be zoned for industrial purposes in the Witwatersrand complex. Factories in Johannesburg have had to close because they were refused sufficient labour for expansion.

It is interesting that our Government criticises all-embracing direction from the centre in other countries, yet, here in South Africa free enterprise is so controlled and stifled by a multitude of laws and directives that, in my opinion, it can hardly be called a free enterprise economy.

One realises that bureaucracy is a concomitant of a modern industrial society, but in present day South Africa the number of public servants is out of all proportion to the size of the population or to the extent of the industrial development. The latest figures, (December 1968) state that there are 322,096 persons employed in the government service, 171,183 employed by the Provincial Councils and 204,690 by the local authorities. The vast number of officials required to administer apartheid laws, the numerous Government appointees, sitting on Boards, Commissions and Advisory Committees, the ever growing numbers employed in government departments is an increasing strain on the country's manpower. It is said that many government departments are collapsing because of the shortage of personnel. It is not surprising, in fact with so much power to be exercised it is inevitable.

Censorship

Although the public may not be aware of it there is extensive censorship of newspapers, publications, plays and films. The Press is censored in many different ways. Many laws such as the Suppression of Communism Act, the Prisons Act, BOSS, impose restrictions on the Press. The S.A.B.C. censors the views of the public. Only views acceptable to the State and the S.A.B.C. are ever broadcast. We know the kind of propaganda which comes over the air every night in the Current Affairs programme. This programme and the selection of news in the newscasts is an exercise in thought control.

There is hardly a sphere of activity which is not controlled by executive authority. It is fair to say that the lives of all South Africans are controlled by the State. They have little liberty left. All that they have are their thoughts, which as I have suggested, are conditioned by the skilful use of propaganda. The sequel to thought conditioning is a willingness to conform and a susceptibility to react to an emotional rallying cry.

Patriotism

In South Africa's present predicament of being unhonoured and unloved by most countries of the world, and with the threat of terrorism on her borders, the call to patriotism serves to divert public attention from the facts of South African life.

Patriotism is a call to submit. The White population is prepared to submit, in fact to do more than submit. It is prepared to go along

actively defending government policy as long as their economic health and their privilege are maintained.

What is patriotism? Dr. Johnson said it is the last refuge of the scoundrel. The Oxford Dictionary defines a patriot as one who defends or is zealous for his country's freedom and rights. In times of war and in the days of imperialism, patriotic fervour was regarded as a virtue, but in modern times when the accent is towards internationalism, patriotism is sometimes used as an excuse for despotism and tyranny. There are obviously two aspects of patriotism — the one, a natural love of and loyalty to one's country, and the other a blind and bigoted dictum of "my country right or wrong."

Patriotism does not mean loyalty to an ideology or to a political philosophy. Nor does loyalty to a political party imply patriotism. Patriotism is not sectional and it does not exclude the right to criticise and to question.

Authority in South Africa places the narrowest construction on the meaning of patriotism. It has come to mean, in fact, the compulsion to accept the policy of apartheid and separate development without question. One who criticises the policy is considered to be an enemy of South Africa; to protest, however lawfully, is construed as subversion, to expose any abuse or scandal is almost traitorous and to hold liberal opinions is unSouth African and dangerous.

When the police van tragedy was raised in Parliament by the Opposition, the Minister of Police accused them of doing so for political motives. He said: "While raising such matters for political gain . . . he (Mr. Mitchell) will probably, and I think in fact will, cause major damage to his own country." There is no admission of culpability or of the fact that major damage could be caused to the country simply because conditions made the van tragedy possible.

The public's refuge

It is a heinous crime to damage South Africa's image and one wonders what happens to our image when Mr. Froneman refers to the wives and children of urban Africans as "superfluous appendages;" or when Dr. Hertzog says "Maoris will sit at table with our men and girls"?

Patriotism has become the public's refuge and its apology for its apathy, silence and acquiescence. There has been a moral corrosion of the public mind. It has made it easy

for authority to depart from the accepted standards of humanity, decency and justice. Patriotism is not a valid moral basis for government. Neither is the acquisition of absolute power compatible with action based on moral principle. Authority requires a yardstick by which to measure its use of power. If power is exercised in such a way that individual rights are violated, parliamentary government gives way to tyranny, and tyranny has little respect for moral principle.

The principles laid down by Magna Carta in the 13th century have been cast aside. The abrogation of the rule of law; the total elimination of liberty of the African people; the restriction of the right of free speech and association; the gross inhumanity of enforced removals; the destruction of family life; the deliberate curtailment of employment and employment opportunities, and the control over every facet of human activity are indefensible,

no matter whether the ultimate end is moral or could be achieved. So much cruelty is perpetrated and justified by the fallacious argument that the end result is necessary or desirable or better. The Government has exchanged principle for the use of force — force to implement its policy — force to maintain law and order. As Lord Radcliffe said "Order for the sake of order is a sterile use of power; in the end it can never be adequate as a justification of the State's authority."

The Government of South Africa is guilty of monstrous misuse of power to secure the domination of the one and a half million Afrikaner Nationalists, at the expense of the welfare of the other eighteen million inhabitants of South Africa. What is an urgent need in this country is a separation of powers and not a separation of people. Power limited and power distributed would make for a happier South Africa.

THE ENGINEERING OF CONSENT

F. E. STREEK

Mr. Streek is the managing director of the East London Daily Dispatch. He was the guest speaker at the opening meeting of the Black Sash national conference 1969.

EDWARD BERNAYS, regarded as the doyen of public relations, has written several books on the art of influence. The first, "Crystallising Public Opinion" was published in 1923 and other — "Manipulating Public Opinion" in 1928. They are still readable.

He defined public relations "as the attempt, by information, persuasion and adjustment to engineer public support for an activity, cause, movement or institution.

Therefore, when one decides to conduct propaganda and enlist support for a cause and to enlighten and educate people towards it, one is busy with the engineering of consent, Bernay's famous shorthand definition of Public Relations.

The words propaganda, enlist support, educate and enlighten, come, of course, not from a Public Relations booklet but from the objects of the organisation known as Black Sash.

Black Sash is involved in communication and it is a fascinating field. Rand Corporation of America conducted a study known as the Delphi experiment in which 20 experts looked hard at the future. Four of their predictions which relate to communications are:

1. Automatic language translators will be available by 1976. These would revolutionise communications in Southern Africa with startling social consequences. We have to communicate in 17 languages.

This is an impossible task for one person and no one in this audience is capable of communicating to all South Africans.

2. Central data storage with side access for information retrieval will be available by 1991.

This means one will be able to tune into any information one wanted and obtain a print-out.

This would make research easier for speechmakers.

It might even make public speeches redundant. This prospect appeals to me.

3. The next prediction would reduce the number of interesting speakers available for

that task because by 2015 most psychotic cases will be amenable to physical or chemical therapy. This could result in fewer people seeking political office.

4. Audiences might be able to understand the erudite noises of speechmakers by 2022 when drugs will increase intelligence.

That would be a welcome change from the 60's when taking a trip was a way of life to escape the task of trying to understand.

When new communications technology is added to the Delphi oracle it becomes clear the consent engineers face a lively future.

A message, a medium, an audience

In communications one must have three things — a Message, a Medium, and an Audience (or public, if you fancy yourself as a Public Relations authority, or market segment if you are a Marketing fan).

The message can be many things. That of the Black Sash centres, I feel, on the observance of the principles of parliamentary democracy. If one believes in parliamentary democracy, and spokesmen of all shades of opinion claim to do so, one believes in the forces which buttress it and make it work.

Democracy is a system of government based on discussion, with people having the right to elect and to change their government periodically.

By basing itself on discussion, the democratic system recognises the moral and rational nature of the individual.

In all other systems he is regarded solely as an instrument; he is used for ends other than his own, e.g. for the good of the State.

The democratic system enables the individual to plan his goals and freely to pursue them.

To do these things, the freedoms of speech, the Press, association and assembly are necessary. As I shall demonstrate, the freedom of the Press has, or should have, a wider meaning.

Freedom of speech entails a belief that anyone can say what he likes provided he does not interfere with the rights of others.

Ivor Jennings in his work "The Law and the Constitution" wrote: "There are some rights, however, which are inherent in a system of government by opinion. For this system implies the right to create opinion and to organise with a view to influencing the conduct of government. There can be no such system if minority opinions cannot be expressed, or if people cannot meet together to discuss their opinions and actions, or if those

who think alike on any subject cannot associate for mutual support and for the propagation of their common ideas."

In other words, whether one's message is right or wrong, one should be allowed to communicate it. If it is unacceptable one will not engineer consent.

In a democracy one should have access to all media which everyone did when they consisted of newspapers, posters and public meetings. Today it is difficult, hence one must challenge the use of the word democracy.

Media in South Africa consists of the Press, Radio, Cinema, Direct Mail, Outdoor, Public Relations and Point of Purchase with Television in the wings.

Newspapers are morning, evening, weekly and week-end with further breakdowns in language.

Magazines are consumer i.e. for entertainment; and trade and technical — for specialised audiences.

Cinemas entertain, influence and educate.

Radio is a semi-monopoly. For all practical purposes it is controlled by the South African and Portuguese Government through the SABC and LM. It is a vitally important medium but it can hardly be said to encourage public debate. Its influence has spread with the growth of FM and the introduction of the transistor.

Direct Mail is a marketing medium of growing importance. Its name explains its function.

Outdoor refers to signs and posters.

Point of purchase is a marketing medium.

I have already touched on Public Relations.

Media are dependent on advertising for their survival. Their market shares are interesting.

The best breakdown I have is:

Press	57
Radio	8
Cinema	8
Direct Mail	8
Outdoor	10
Public Relations	3
Point of Purchase	6
	<hr/>
	100

Although it gained ground in 1969 the Press is losing its market share and will lose more.

If overseas experience is a guide it will suffer when television is introduced and in America today its share is 47 per cent.

English newspapers, trustees one feels for Pringle and others who fought for a free press

and the removal of injustices against the authorities of their day, are losing ground. The whole of our Press was, of course, established on the lines of Pringle's battle against authority and vested interests. The history of *Die Burger*, acknowledged as one of the world's leading newspapers illustrates this.

In 1965 English dailies had a 35 per cent share of Press and Radio advertising, in 1968, 2 per cent. The English Sunday Press held its share. Non-White media, Press and Radio, have increased their market shares.

Radio denied

I make these points because Radio is denied to you as a pressure group and Television, falling as it will under the SABC, is unlikely to be open to you — as a body.

The Press, democracy's best hope, may become financially weaker than other media.

The daily and weekly Press are political and provide the forums for our political debates. Parliament has, of course, long since ceased to be a place of debate in the accepted sense because of the implacable strength of the ruling party. Debates are confined to caucuses.

According to its denigrators, the Press threatens the Republic and gives comfort to its enemies.

These noises are familiar to students of history — and are appropriate to the republics of South America.

The Press's role in the prevention of crime by publicising offences; in campaigning for improvements in road safety and public health; in publicising decimalisation, metrication, the drug menace and economic problems is forgotten. Mention is rarely made of the Press Council which disciplines its members.

No such body is available for redress against other media.

The Press was instrumental in forming the Advertising Standards Association to prevent abuse in advertising. It has, therefore, created independent bodies of appeal against its products, i.e. advertising and news. They are in addition to any legal rights to which complainants might be entitled.

The Press suffers from many unfreedoms and restrictions. Horace Flather's classic definition of a South African editor's job as that of a blindfolded man walking in a minefield still holds. But the mines to which he referred are more powerful and closer together.

Restrictions such as those relating to defamation, injuria, sedition, electoral procedure and so on are justifiable. Those relating to disclosures of sources of information, certain

aspects of Prisons and Defence, and the battery of laws designed for entrenching the political theories of the ruling party are not.

Other restrictions are imposed by petty bureaucrats who seem to overlook that they are servants of the public and not its master. They are often unco-operative and obstructive.

It is not surprising that Francis Williams, a journalist and broadcaster of international standing, concludes in his detailed study of "The Rise of the World Press" that it is to the Press, not broadcasting, one must look for the assertion of the rights of freedom of speech.

He believes the freedom of the Press includes broadcasting (Radio and Television) *but in practice it doesn't in more of the world than it does.*

In the whole of Africa not a single independent radio or television service exists. Even in Europe a great many radio and television services are state owned or subject to an exercise of state control. Broadcasting is an amenable instrument from the government point of view. According to Lord Williams, the gap between the government media and the press will become larger.

This is true in South Africa. The Radio is state controlled and is often believed in preference to the Press when they differ on political matters. You can prove this in conversations, but if you want researched proof I'll send you a copy of a survey conducted by Rhodes University. It relates to the *Daily Dispatch*.

Communication between people of the same social standing is difficult. It is almost impossible where social strata are mixed with language complications. 17 languages are used to develop 17 nations in South Africa. This is *not* communication sense, because it impedes communication. Polyglots are rare and we need a lingua franca. The rationale is political and media are required to operate within this strait-jacket.

Changes in communication

Nevertheless, it will cheer you up to know changes in communication are certain.

— The world is smaller. You had an example of this in the moon landing when the SABC came up to scratch and gave a continuous commentary. How much better it would have been with TV.

— Travel is the world's biggest growth industry and more people travel in and out of the Republic.

- Immigrants used to democracy come to South Africa.
- Inevitably we will become more in tune with the world.
- It is quite different from that which our media lead us to believe.

It is clear that the most important medium open to people who wish to engineer consent, and who are denied access to the broadcast media, is the Press.

In the face of stronger competition from other media its future economic position may cause concern. My own belief is that the advertising industry faces rapid growth and the Press should progress with a smaller slice of a bigger cake. But we shall work harder for it and alter some of our approaches to the task.

Newspaper managers meet regularly and despite political differences find it easy to discuss matters of common interest of which advertising is the most important. Threats to their market share have caused a closing of the ranks.

Pleas for positive reporting

Threats to Press freedom have had a similar effect. They are made often under the guise of pleas for positive reporting.

The Minister of Defence said recently:

“We are not perfect, for we are only human, but I must warn against unfounded reports which undermine the morale of our forces. We have great sympathy for men who get hurt while undergoing training, but is it too much to ask the public and the Press rather to lay stress on the positive work being done by the Defence Force?”

Unfounded reports are wrong and perpetrators should be apprehended. But it would be equally wrong for the Press to ignore a department that spends almost R300 million a year and which has a tremendous influence on part of our youth.

The Minister of Defence, Dr. Mulder, said exaggerated, extremist, accusing political reporting maintained over a long period lost its influence and striking force in the long run because it was too one-sided, but in the meantime it could result in a harmful influence on healthy human relations, especially in a multinational country such as South Africa, where everyone had not yet attained the level always to judge in an objective and balanced way.

“If a newspaperman harbours bad feelings towards the group with a different way of thinking or even against the authority of the State, it is impossible for him to report objectively or in any way to see or reflect the

thinking or points of view of the other party, among which there probably are good ones, too” the Minister said.

In replying to Dr. Mulder’s speech Mr. Guy Cronwright of the Cape Times and a leading newspaper executive, agreed with the Minister that the Press should help South Africa and reminded him that in fact it had done so. In the eyes of the rest of the world our Press was one thing in South Africa which deserved praise. And Mr. Cronwright reminded the Minister that in addition to its duty to South Africa, it also had a duty to report the truth.

Mr. L. E. A. Slater, chairman of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, pleaded for an end to the internecine war among newspapers in his 1969 Annual Report. His advice has been followed.

Not only economic and political threats cause the Press to close its ranks. There is rapport among its members who are aware that their services to the public are often taken for granted and rarely recognised. But one would be dim indeed if one did not recognise the vital political role played by the Press. Joel Mervis of the Sunday Times, for example, who encouraged and backed Hennie Serfontein’s brilliant exposé of the Verkramptes and Verligtes deserves praise. I think the Sunday Times coined these expressive words. And Joel in his own style is quick to expose injustices.

One should pay tribute, too, to the skill and courage of Piet Cillie of Die Burger and Skalk Pienaar of Die Beeld. They acted as newspapermen despite heavy pressures. So did Barry Botha. He took on the establishment with Veg. And S. E. D. Brown and the Observer contributed to the debate. So do Dirk Richard, Adriaan van Schoor and Dr. Treurnicht.

It is not only the leading lights who maintain the traditions of the Press. In dozens of ways up and down the country its members keep people informed on other political activities — in town and divisional councils, for example. They are not always welcomed by authorities.

As a result of its attempts to stimulate debate the Press is reviled and castigated. But the favourite target, the English Press, has now become “the Press”. This is a welcome change and I look forward with interest to a greater solidarity in the Press.

My argument has run on these lines:

To engineer consent in a democratic state one must have access to all media. It is no longer valid to speak of freedom of the Press.

One must speak of freedom of the media, because only with such freedom can one communicate freely i.e. democratically. Governments have been quick to realise this.

With media under government control only selected information reaches the public and a mass myopia develops.

When media provide only certain kinds of information, even the most critical of thinking people have great difficulty in forming judgements on the basis of any other data than those reaching them.

Massive range of information

Only with a massive range of information can there be flexibility in thinking and democratic interchange.

It follows that if the public does not have access to data on which to develop informed opinion, their capacity for political judgment will be limited.

The Medium is often the Message in South Africa. This phrase comes from Marshall McLuhan's "Understanding Media." Described as the prophet of the electronic jungle he has captured the interest of many students of communication. His earlier book "The Gutenberg Galaxy" dealt with the impact of the printed word and how it revolutionised the distribution of knowledge, including that of music. He believes we are now returning to audio communication with visual accompaniments. This is inevitable because of the speed of communication.

He is difficult to follow but it is important to try. As an example the Black Sash Magazine and Veg carried similar comments a short while ago. Both attacked the Boss legislation. But their message is different.

One turns to one's favoured newspapers but feels the radio is biased. Or one relies on the objectivity of the radio because the Press is anti-South African. The medium is the message.

It is important to remember this because in your role of engineering consent you may find it more effective to communicate your message through media other than your organisation. There is nothing worse than a message which is ignored and if the medium fails to attract an audience, the message is doomed.

Bernays, incidentally, was unpopular with his colleagues for his definition of the engineering of consent. It has a sinister ring and was considered poor public relations. It was a cheek, I suppose. What one might call

Bernay's sauce. I hope the Black Sash retains its cheek.

The attempt to communicate with an unresponsive audience is discouraging and this is the payment one makes for being prejudiced towards democracy. One sees

- Inroads into freedom
- An apathetic public
- Peculiar rationalisations about poverty,
- Regressive laws
- A populace interested in sport and money.

There is the other side of the coin.

Those with other prejudices must pay for them too and in the long run they will. They will witness a move from their entrenched privileges towards the free world.

- Greater freedoms
- A concerned public
- Our sportsmen accepted — everywhere.

This is not a pipe dream.

These are some of the things everyone wants if they really believe in parliamentary democracy.

If you think I am a prophet of doom you are wrong. But it would be criminal folly for anyone in communications not to look ahead and consider the effect of new developments.

Commercially the Press in South Africa, a vital voice, albeit muted, should survive. But many of its able writers leave it. They go abroad, join Public Relations and business. Some will join TV. Some have trimmed their sails to the preferred dispositions of their public or owners.

The Press is aware of its economic problems and we will see some interesting changes in its management practices. There will be more research, a stronger emphasis on marketing and closer ties among its members.

My thesis is that new communications offer a challenge and a hope. The Press which conducts the only free political debate is under pressure politically and economically. The glib use of the words freedom of the Press should be changed to the freedom of the Media to remind people of yet another unfreedom. Other media open to you are direct mail, magazines and word of mouth. Because the media is often the message you should also consider operating as individuals thereby preventing prejudice against the message itself. You should establish an educational trust to ensure the message continues as your numbers decline.

Your pledge refers to forbearance and courage for the future. Both offer exciting pros-

pects. Many seemingly impregnable fortresses of regression, power and prejudice have crumbled against them. Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Emily Pankhurst and Emily Hobhouse proved it.

You have a message.

You know the media.

You have a wider audience than you suspect.

Your voice is as important as your opponents' many of whom have access to all media.

You should try to gain access to the broadcasting media.

But even with them denied to you, you will still communicate.

Your agenda indicates you are alert to the difficulties of engineering consent but are determined, nevertheless, to persist in the attainment of parliamentary democracy — in its fullest sense.

I wish you a successful conference.

National Conference 1969

A most successful national conference was held this year in Pietermaritzburg in October. The reports and papers presented there will appear in this and the next issue of Sash. There was a great deal of stimulating discussion and many plans were made for the coming year. At the opening meeting Marie Dyer, chairman of Natal Midlands Region, made the following observations:—

I WOULD LIKE TO WELCOME first of all our National President, whom we are all very delighted to see here tonight; also our guest speaker Mr. Frank Streek, who has come a very long way to address us; also all the delegates to the conference, some of whom, too, have travelled long distances to be here; and perhaps most importantly I welcome members of the public, without whose continued interest and response the work of the Black Sash would lose some of its significance.

It is five years since we last had a conference in Maritzburg, and when we look back to 1964 it seems to have been a very troubled time. It was the year of A.R.M. and 90-day detentions; and we remember the raids, the headlines, the countrywide concern and dismay.

In some ways we seem much more tranquil now. But the present settled peace of South Africa is much worse really than our former excitement and anxiety. It is right and proper that everyone should be involved, angry and upset when people all over the country are seized and imprisoned for long periods without trials. But this is still happening, on a much worse scale. Many more people than five years ago, are being held in indefinite detention, in worse conditions. Several have died in detention; and many of the detainees may be people whom the Government does not even suspect of committing any offence, but simply proposes to call as witnesses in some future trial.

We met last very soon after Peter Brown had been banned for the first time. We meet

now again when he has just been banned again for another five years. This again suggests that the whole situation is really getting worse.

Why do so many people who were aghast and indignant at the things that were happening five years ago simply ignore all these much worse ones? I don't think that even half the white people are so totally devoted to the Government that they identify themselves with all official action. Their silence is simply an indication of the deathly sickness of South Africa's moral life.

They demonstrate not a sympathy nor a hostility but a withdrawal — a kind of moral dying. It is worth remembering that the first spirits whom Dante encountered in Hell were the 'dreary souls' who had lived 'without blame and without praise'; who were 'not rebellious, nor were faithful to God, but were for themselves'. And of South Africans, as Dante said of these spirits, we could say, 'I had not thought death had undone so many'.

In this kind of atmosphere it is more and more difficult for organisations like the Black Sash to make any impact. And yet this is the kind of atmosphere in which the functions of the Black Sash are more and more indispensable. We have to try to be gadflies — to deflate complacency, to irritate apathy, to sting a sleeping conscience.

This is difficult and in some ways unrewarding work — and, for obvious reasons, unpopular. It takes more determination and fortitude than many of us can easily command.

Morsgat

900,000 Africans have been uprooted by the Government since 1959.

MORSGAT IS ONLY ONE OF MANY RESETTLEMENT CAMPS.
"WE HAVE BEEN THROWN AWAY"

- MORSGAT
- * more than 300 families are living there in tents and shacks. They have been moved off "white" land to this place — part of a future Tswanastan.
 - * the first people were taken there in December, 1968. Nine months later and only after the Rand Daily Mail investigation did the Government start building houses.
 - * some people have been moved from the slate quarries where they worked, others from locations in white towns and other places.

THEY LIVED WITH THEIR FAMILIES NEAR THEIR WORK.

- AT MORSGAT
- * most breadwinners earn R3.50 to R4. per week.
 - * return bus fares to work vary between R1.10 and R1.80.
 - * most men can only afford to pay these fares for weekends — not every weekend.

NOW MEN CAN NO LONGER LIVE WITH THEIR FAMILIES.

- AT MORSGAT
- * there is one water tank for the whole community — over 1,200 people.
 - * there is a layer of green slime on top of the water.

- AT MORSGAT
- * there are no latrines.
 - * people use the bush all round the settlement.

"THE STINK IS TERRIBLE AFTER THE RAINS".

- AT MORSGAT
- * there is evidence of malnutrition.
 - * there is no clinic.
 - * return bus fare to the nearest clinic is R1.10.
 - * people complain of diarrhoea and serious body sores.

One man has five children, three at school. When he was moved he had six children. Three months ago his two year old boy died "he had sores everywhere and his skin came off."

- AT MORSGAT
- * the people are allowed to build houses for themselves.

"At a meeting they told us the bricks cost R80. We can barely afford food".

MORSGAT, LIMEHILL, KLIPGAT, STINKWATER, MONDHLO, ILLINGE, MNXESHA — all resettlement areas, closer settlements.

HOW MANY MORE OF THEM ARE THERE ALL OVER SOUTH AFRICA?

"These Bantu live better than the whites in the stricken Boland towns".

Dr. Piet Koornhof as reported in Die Vaderland.

The earthquake in the Boland was a natural disaster, beyond man's control.

MORSGAT IS AN ACT OF GOVERNMENT.

Does Dr. Koornhof equate Government action with a natural disaster?

These are deeds done by *your* Government. It is your duty to denounce them.

PERSUASION OR COERCION?

R. N. ROBB

Mrs. Robb is the Director of the Athlone Advice Office and has just been elected chairman of the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash.

On March 11th this year the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, in answer to a question in the House as to how many Bantu were removed from the Western Cape to Mdantsane during 1968 said that "none were removed compulsorily. During 1968, 537 moved to Mdantsane voluntarily". Knowing how many women had come to the Athlone Advice Office in great distress because they had been ordered to leave the area, this statement filled us with amazement, not to say disbelief. We decided to try to discover by what stretch of the imagination they could be said to have moved voluntarily. Last year I quoted from page 10 of the General Circular No. 25/1967 (Head Office File No. V 164/1) issued by the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development to all officials of the Department and all magistrates and assistant magistrates employed by the South African and Transkeian Governments. "Persuasion must continuously be exercised by the district officials in collaboration with the responsible officials of local authorities to persuade persons who qualify and are not prepared to accept settlement in towns in their homelands, to be settled in towns in their homelands on ethnical grounds." Again "It must be stressed here that no stone is to be left unturned to achieve the resettlement in the homelands of non-productive Bantu at present residing in the European areas". Non-productive was defined as "The aged, the unfit, widows, women with dependent children".

I CAN ASSURE YOU that no stone *has* been left unturned and persuasion, if not coercion, has been used to make those 537 move "voluntarily" to Mdantsane and many more to other Resettlement Villages, such as Sada, Illinge, and Witzieshoek.

In most cases the African, usually a woman and often a widow, is sent for and told that she does not qualify to remain in her house and must move out of it before the end of the following month. This may be because she does not qualify to remain in the prescribed area of Cape Town as it is not yet quite 15 years since she first registered, although she may have lived there for 20 or more years. Or it may be because she does qualify but, as a woman, is no longer allowed to rent her house. In either case she is homeless — she, her children and grandchildren, her furniture must be out of the house by a certain date. She is then asked where she would like to go — either to the place she or her parents originally came from, or the place where her dead husband or his family belong, or to a resettlement village where she will get a nice new house. In vain she protests that she does not want to leave Cape Town — her children are at school — she must work to support them — she has no family left up country — there is no work there. Eventually when repeatedly asked which place she will agree to go to *since she cannot remain in Cape Town*, she

settles on Mdantsane or some such Resettlement Camp. She is then asked to sign a very long statement which states, among many other things, that "The above Bantu wishes to be resettled at Mdantsane."

Many Africans we have spoken to assure us that they had no idea what they were signing and in most cases we had no idea they had signed anything before coming to the office to ask for help. If they wanted to be resettled then why did they come to the Athlone Advice Office to beg us to help them to keep their house and to remain in Cape Town?

It must be remembered that the movement of one person involves the removal of the whole family or most of it. Caroline Mafeje first came to us in February this year and told us that she, her five children and four grandchildren had been ordered to leave their house by a certain date and that her furniture would be fetched a few days earlier. She had lived in Cape Town since 1936, had married in 1938, all her children were born in the Cape and had been educated there. Her husband had recently died and she had been sent for and told that she had only registered in November 1954 so did not qualify to remain in Cape Town and must leave and take all her children with her. I took her and two of her daughters to appeal to the City Council in February but they were unable to help her. In spite of that she still refused to go and

remained illegally in Cape Town. Eventually two of her daughters were arrested for being illegally in the area and it was agreed that Mrs. Mafeje would stand trial, as her daughters' qualifications depended on whether or not she was qualified. Many interesting points came out in the case. If indeed she had come to Cape Town in 1936 she did not have to have permission to enter the area at that date, as it was not yet a proclaimed area. So she had entered the area quite legally. But the official record at Langa showed that she had entered the area in 1938, although the figures 38 appeared to have been written by a different person from the one who had written the 19. It seemed very unlikely that she had come to Cape Town in 1938 in view of the fact that she was married in Cape Town on January 31st 1938 to a man she had never met before coming to Cape Town — a lightning courtship — whirlwind romance! Later it transpired that she too had signed a document agreeing to be resettled. In spite of the fact that she gave evidence that she had come to Cape Town in 1936, and had lived in Claremont, which a witness corroborated, she was found guilty of being illegally in the area and sentenced to R10 or 1 month suspended provided she left Cape Town within 2 months. On appeal to the Supreme Court the Judges agreed that it was impossible for her to have been married on January 31st 1938 if she only entered Cape Town that year. The Marriage Act of 1860, then in force, provided that at least 5 weeks must elapse before a marriage could take place — 2 before the banns were called and 3 during their calling. It was also agreed that the Langa record was not infallible and her appeal was upheld. As a result Mrs. Mafeje, her five children and six grandchildren are still living in their house at Guguletu and the younger ones are able to remain at school and the older ones are permitted to work once more. And this is a woman who had "agreed" to be resettled and would have "voluntarily" left the area to join the 537 who left in 1968. Is this persuasion or coercion?

Stellenbosch families

Nine families have "voluntarily" left Stellenbosch during the last couple of months. They were living in temporary houses they had erected at their own expense on sites allotted them. The men were in employment and they, their wives and their children, all qualified under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act to remain in Stellenbosch. Yet they were sent for, told their houses were

to be demolished and that there was no other accommodation for them. They were offered free transport to Mdantsane for their wives and families and belongings where they would be given nice houses. Given the choice of not being allowed to remain in Stellenbosch where there was no accommodation for them or going to Mdantsane they "voluntarily" went after signing a statement, which they could not read, to the effect that they agreed to be resettled. None of these people could have been forced to leave Stellenbosch — they were all qualified to remain — but they were persuaded to agree to go. The husbands have already returned to work and are living in bachelor quarters — there are plenty of those.

New regulations

Several new regulations, gazetted on 14th June last year, came into force on August 1st relating to the accommodation of Africans in urban townships. Family housing permits may only be allocated to males who are South African citizens who are over 21 years old, who qualify under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act to live in the prescribed area, who are employed in that area and who have dependants who normally reside with them. There are nine provisions which have to be satisfied before such housing permits may be allocated but there are 15 ways in which such a man can lose the right to rent his house once he has been granted it. If he is unemployed for more than 30 days or is not following some lawful trade or occupation he can be given 30 days notice to vacate his house (except in cases of illness). If he ceases to be, in the superintendent's opinion, a fit and proper person to reside in the township, or is convicted of an offence and is sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period exceeding 6 months, he can be evicted from his house. If he works for more than 30 days in another area, unless he does so while employed by the same employers, or if he or his wife leaves the area for more than 30 days, he may lose his house.

This means that women may not be placed on the waiting list for houses and are gradually being evicted from the houses they already rent. Such women, if they qualify under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) to remain in the area must find lodgings for themselves and their families — these are the women who have great pressure put on them to "agree" to be resettled. The regulations do say that widows who qualify in their own right may be allow-

ed to continue to occupy the house in which they have lived with their husbands, provided that they can pay the rent and that there are no legal problems, but in our experience such women are usually evicted and persuaded to agree to be resettled. It is laid down that African males who qualify under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) are not to be permitted to bring their wives from the "Bantu areas", and that if the wife "resides on a farm or elsewhere in a rural area outside a Bantu residential area" she may not be brought into the prescribed area but the case "may be referred to the Department with a view to resettlement in the Bantu Homelands". An African who qualifies under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) is not to be placed on the waiting list if he wishes to live with a woman born outside the Republic, so that not only can a "foreign" African never be allowed to rent family quarters but a South African citizen married to a "foreign" African woman has no hope of being allowed to reside with her in the urban area where he works.

No figures have been given since February 1967 as to the number of Africans living in Resettlement Villages — it was then 50,000 boys, women and children — an estimated 70,000 in all. But since the number of houses which have been built in the Bantu Homelands by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development the last few years was given as 64,931 on March 14th 1969¹ and the number of townships as 46, it seems as if 389,586² may have been resettled during the last few years, allowing an average of 6 people to a house which is probably a low estimate. Many of these townships are just outside large towns and house workers in Border and other industries, but others such as Sada, Illinge, Mnxesha, Witzieshoek, Selosesha — 24 in all, house people endorsed out of white areas and evicted from white farms, mostly women and children, the aged and the sick. There is no employment except that of building more houses for more "redundant" people. The only future for their sons is to work as migratory labourers on one year contracts in urban areas, leaving their wives and families in the Transkei or Ciskei.

¹ *Hansard* No. 6, Cols. 2531-2.

² *The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development stated in Parliament that approximately 900,000 Bantu have been resettled since 1959.*

The very elderly

Perhaps the saddest type of resettlement is that of the very elderly. One couple aged 77 and 69 have lived together in Cape Town since 1930 and they and their 14 living children shared a double house in Guguletu. Three years ago the husband, who was still working for a building firm, was injured at work, since when he has been a partial invalid. The Workmen's Compensation eventually arrived — R12 per month but by then they had got into debt and were behind with their rent. Now they have been told that they must leave the double house and take most of the children and grandchildren with them to Cofimvaba from where he came in 1930 and three wage earners may stay behind to work to support those who go. This man and wife qualify under Section 10 (1) (b) of the Urban Areas Act and all 14 children under Section 10 (1) (a), having been born in the area, yet all are to go. When I said "but how can you send qualified people out of Cape Town" the answer was — we can't but they want to be resettled and have agreed to go. When I asked her why she had signed the paper authorising the removal of her furniture, etc. on September 26th, she said the official made her put a cross on the paper — she was too frightened to refuse. It is sad enough for an aged couple to have to go to spend their last years away from all their friends, but when aged widows are sent away, leaving their families in Cape Town it is even sadder.

The great Trade-in

Then we come to the great "Trade-in". Widows and other breadwinners who do not qualify because it is not quite 15 years since they registered, may choose between taking their families to a resettlement camp, where there is no work, or taking them away and leaving them with friends and relatives and returning to a living-in domestic job in Cape Town. This is the great concession but it is trading in the right of children born in Cape Town who are in school and would soon qualify to work and be housed, for the immediate permit to work in order to support them. It is impossible to advise such people but there is really no choice — they cannot remain unless they remove their children, the children cannot remain if they give up their house and go.

Mrs. Sikiti has lived in Cape Town since 1945 and is legally employed at Fish Hoek. She has 7 children — three of them employed, four in school at Guguletu, and three small grandchildren. She was sent for in August

and told to take the whole family back to Alice where she was born. It was agreed that if she did this she could return to her employer as a living-in servant. She had to give up her house in Guguletu, take her daughters out of good jobs, and her younger children out of school, dump them at Alice and return at her own expense to live alone at her place of work. I have no doubt that she too signed a statement that she wished to be resettled in Alice. Mrs. Sikiti does not yet qualify as it is not 15 years since she registered but all the 10 child-

ren and grandchildren do, as they were born in Cape Town and have lived here ever since.

The Oxford Dictionary defines Persuasion as "the presenting of inducement or winning arguments to a person to induce him to do or believe something". Coercion is, on the other hand "Compulsion, the government by force". I think there is an element of both in this process of "leaving no stone unturned" to persuade those who do not wish to be resettled in their Homelands to be resettled in their Homelands.

You know, Mum, the man was really quite nice ---

ELEANOR ANDERSON

"IT REALLY IS ASTONISHING, is it not," remarked Mrs. B. to her shiny black cat Philistine, "how quickly things grow in Johannesburg?"

Philistine concurred, for he was in a concurring mood. He rubbed himself silkily against her right leg as she stood at the table, having strolled into the kitchen, he assured her, for that very purpose, and not because she had just finished opening a tin of Fancy Pack Light Tuna Meat. Mrs. B. gave him some, which he ate with an air of not caring a damn if he ever saw a piece of Fancy Pack Light Tuna Meat again, allowed her to stroke him with the heel of her hand, for her fingers were oily, and then settled himself bonelessly on the floor to stare at the cold slow combustion stove.

Mrs. B., alone in her tranquil yellow-painted kitchen, which faced east and not south, went on with her reflections. The climbing Peace rose, planted only two years ago, positively ramped up the pergola pillar. That five year old knot of deodars effectively bottled out the view previously blotted-out by the double storey house someone had chosen to build slap bang to the east of the B. family's stoep. And as for the pin oaks, well! It seemed no time at all since they had been at the veriest kindergarten stage and now, if you crouched low or sat, you could have tea under them. Yes indeed, things did grow quickly and, like a comely child, gave pleasure as they grew. Mrs. B. had never been out of South Africa, and not all that much out of Johannesburg, and was therefore well qualified to state that her roses were as fine, nay finer, than any to be seen and snuffed anywhere in the world.

She was a happy woman and therefore not likely to be the subject of a sensational newspaper article. More, though biggish bits and pieces of misfortune had tapped on her door, she had never, for some reason, been peevish about them and enquired of whatever gods there be, "Why should this happen to me?" Instead, when the veld where she walked her dogs was all tawny and toast-coloured, and when she paused ever and again to watch an egret stepping with infinite care behind a bonny brown cow, then it was that she sometimes remembered to enquire, "Why should THIS happen to me?" And there never seemed to be an answer. She had been born, she had lived and was still doing so, she had married the man she loved and loved still, and with his enthusiastic cooperation, had given birth to three nice, reasonably intelligent, entirely healthy children. First a girl child, then two boy children. She read a good many books, she sometimes lent a hand before being asked to do so, she gardened, she sewed on name tapes, she read to people who had measles, or mumps, she prepared meals, some of which were very good and some not. She worked quite hard really, and she loved her home. She was one of millions and, but for an accident of sex, could have been called the Man In The Street, But not, for such are the nuances of the English tongue, the Woman In The Street.

At the sound of the front door opening and closing, Philistine turned a languid head, and a moment later Mrs. B's daughter came into the kitchen. They greeted each other with affection. Barbara, as statistics had predicted she would, lived in the same area as her parents and came often, which was nice. She sat

down at the table, offered to chop the green pepper for the salad, and asked about her father, whom she had not seen for two days, and about her brothers who had attended the neighbouring school for several years and were gleaning adequately. Then she reported an astonishing piece of progress on the part of her baby daughter Joan who was named after her grandmother. After which there was an unhurried silence as the two women pursued their small task together, for the simplest salad, to be good, must be cunningly prepared in order to retain its simplicity.

Finally Mrs. B. said, "Well, how did you get on?" and Barbara replied, "You know, Mum, the man was really quite nice."

The man in question had been the official at the Pass Office where Barbara had gone to make enquiries on behalf of one African, a house painter named Ephraim. He had done a job for Barbara and her husband and, as painting is not done in a day, there had been cups of tea, and conversation, in the course of which he had admitted to her, with an effort at casualness, that he was looking for a house to live in. Where, then, was he living now? Well, as it happened, he and his wife and three children were lodging, temporarily, with his wife's parents and their three children in a house of quite astonishing smallness. It was quite crowded, as a matter of fact, though it had been more so when Ephraim's youngest child, now in a hospital near Germiston with suspected T.B., had been there too.

So Barbara had taken Ephraim, who carried a wodge of papers well-nigh as thick as the Concise Oxford Dictionary, first to Frederick Street and then to Market Street, to see what alternative accommodation could be acquired for him.

The man had examined quite a lot of the papers and then explained, very simply, to Ephraim and Barbara the problems of such a quest. Once upon a time, he said, fifteen years in one place, or ten years uninterrupted employment with one employer, had qualified a man (though he used the word boy) like Ephraim for a house. But now, of course, it was not so easy, for the fifteen years in Alexandra no longer counted, due to the people from there being moved, by the lorry load, elsewhere. Neither did the fact that Ephraim was a house painter help much, for it was unlikely that he had painted, and then painted, and then repainted, the same employer's house for ten years. It was tiresome of course, but there were the printed words, on Form X stroke

One, 978, Section c. to prove that the official was only carrying out his instructions. And he had pointed out the words with what, Mrs. B. was sure, would be described as a stubby forefinger. So it looked rather, did it not, concluded the official, as though Ephraim should start making plans to return to his homeland? And where would that be, enquired Barbara. And would it not perhaps be of interest that, wherever it was, the term homeland was a tiny bit silly, for Ephraim had no home, no friends, no roots, not even surface ones, anywhere but in Johannesburg.

The forefinger (stubby) again indicated the printed words, and its owner began to show the first twitches of impatience, for the queue was thickening and lunch time was nearing. And soon after that Barbara and Ephraim came away.

The younger woman stared at her mother as they sat in the familiar security of the yellow-painted kitchen. A bird in the lemon tree outside the window sang a small sonata, Philistine flicked the tip of a lazy tail, and the refrigerator motor cleared its throat.

Then Barbara said inanely, "But Mum, the man was really quite nice."

Mrs. B. laid down her knife, and pushed the large economy size jar of mayonnaise from her so violently that it crashed to the floor.

"Balls", said she rudely. "Why the bloody hell shouldn't he be? If you've got all the aces and all the trumps, and every card in the deck is wild, you can afford to be nice."

And all at once the ramping Peace rose, even from this distance, stank, and the knot of deodars blotted out more than the blotted-out view, and why it should be important that she could drink tea under the pin oaks if she crouched low or sat, Mrs. B. for the life of her could not imagine.

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Un-South Africanism

DUNCAN INNES

This article is the vote of thanks by Mr. Innes, NUSAS President, on the occasion of the 7th Day of Affirmation of Academic and Human Freedom Address on 18th August, 1969 at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The address by U.S. Congressman Ogden Reid was recorded in New York.

TONIGHT WE HAVE HAD TO LISTEN to a tape-recording of a speech that was to be delivered in person by Congressman Ogden Reid. He was invited by NUSAS to come to South Africa and to give us his views on academic and human freedom. Our government granted him a visa, but stipulated that while he was in this country he was not to make any public speeches. The Congressman refused to come under these conditions but at my request tape-recorded his speech and sent it out here to us.

Many South Africans and, indeed many people the world over, have asked themselves why this government should have taken such action against Congressman Reid. Our Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster has said that he would not tolerate foreigners interfering in our domestic affairs and we are thus forced to the conclusion that this is the reason behind the government's strange action.

But I regret that Mr. Vorster is sadly mistaken. Congressman Reid was invited to deliver his views on freedom. This he did. He criticised restrictions on freedoms throughout the world, and he did not neglect to criticise the failure of his own country to live up to the standards he proclaimed. At no stage of his address did he attempt to tell either the South African government or us how this country should be governed. His remarks were always of a general nature and never once did he dictate policy to us regarding the government of this country. So I must say to Mr. Vorster that he has made a very grave error. He has acted not as a prime minister should act with maturity, tact and fore-sight but he has instead acted as a schoolboy would act, rashly and with petty vindictiveness. He has judged what a man was going to say before he was aware of the contents of his speech. This error has caused Congressman Reid to be insulted and the name of South Africa to be dragged through the dirt once more. If South Africa is today the laughing stock of the free world it is because you, Mr. Vorster, have acted without manners and without sense.

To you, Congressman Reid, I wish to say the following: As the one who first extended the official invitation for you to be here with us tonight I am deeply ashamed. For as a result of our invitation to you, you have been insulted by the government of our country.

Yet despite this insult you have seen your way clear to send your speech to us so that we would not be deprived of your words. Sir, I want to say to you how deeply impressed I and my fellow South Africans are with the dignified manner in which you have conducted yourself over the past few weeks. Your words to us tonight have brought with them a feeling of concern for us and our problems. We have not had the privilege to meet you, but we are indeed privileged to have heard your speech. And may I, on behalf of all free-thinking South Africans, apologise to you for the insults you have suffered and assure you that we in NUSAS are proud to have extended our invitation to you.

In his address Congressman Reid said something which for me is of fundamental importance and which I would like particularly to draw your attention to.

After discussing some of his ideas on freedom he said: "Despite our failures as a nation, we in America have shown that progress is possible and that all our citizens have much to offer our society."

How I wish that that statement could be true of South Africa, but regrettably it is not. In South Africa we do not ask our citizens how much they can offer their country. We tell them what they can offer. White South Africans have the freedom to choose their own careers and their own destinies. Black South Africans do not. The vast majority must become menial labourers. They can never hope to rise above this. How many brilliant brains we must ask ourselves, stagnate cutting rocks in our numerous thriving gold mines? How many personalities are destroyed because they never have the opportunity to develop. I will never forget the words of an African friend of mine who once said to me: "As an African

in South Africa life offers me little. The White man has denied me all avenues of expression. I feel strangled here. I cannot even call this country my home. I am allocated a Bantustan and told that this is my home. This is not true. I was born in South Africa. I am a South African. I long for nothing else than to be recognised and accepted as a South African and to be able to serve my country to the best of my ability."

It is incredible that in 1969 a man should be denied the elementary right to develop himself to the best of his ability. And we must ask ourselves how long are we in South Africa going to allow this sort of thing to happen under our noses.

NUSAS has struggled for many years to see a more human attitude adopted towards all of the people of South Africa. We ask only that progress be made to allow our citizens to develop themselves to their fullest potential. Instead we see a steady erosion of human rights in South Africa and the uncomfortable similarity between conditions here and conditions in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. And South Africans who oppose this state of affairs are inevitably smeared as being enemies of their country.

For example recently the radio programme "Current Affairs" chose to criticise NUSAS for inviting Congressman Reid to South Africa to deliver the address you have just heard, NUSAS and the students it represents were labelled as being un-South African for this action.

Two questions

It is an interesting phenomenon this un-South Africanism; and we would do well to ask ourselves two questions about it: firstly, what is a good South Africa and secondly who decides what is good South Africanism and what is bad South Africanism?

If I may I would like to venture answers to these two questions. We are told that it is un-South African to invite a politician from the world's greatest democracy to address us on freedom. I disagree. I believe that it is essential for the development of freedom that men discuss and debate the many different points of view that exist on this fundamental topic. I believe that only in this way can man seek to raise himself and I believe that it is essential for the development of any country that such free and open dialogue exists.

I believe further that measures that impede or deny human freedoms act to the detriment of the country concerned because they deny

men the essential qualities necessary to develop themselves to their maximum potential.

Indignities and restrictions

I believe for example that a policy which seeks to impose indignities and restrictions on the majority of the people of this country is harmful to South Africa and is thus un-South African.

I believe that it is un-South African to deny the majority of South Africans the right to work and live where they choose.

I believe that it is un-South African to force move people to resettlement areas such as Limehill and Stinkwater.

I believe that the Sharpeville massacre was un-South African.

I believe that the Bureau of State Security which has the power to muzzle the Press and to stop the courts from pursuing the truth unhindered is un-South African.

I believe that it is un-South African to deny South Africans the right to an open trial and that the numerous bannings and 180-day detentions are harmful to South Africa.

And I believe that a government that has the audacity to introduce and implement such policies is un-South African.

I accuse the government of this country of having done immeasurable harm to the name of South Africa.

I accuse the government of this country of having done immeasurable harm to the people of South Africa. And I accuse the government of this country of having done immeasurable harm to the future of South Africa.

This brings me to my second question of who decides what is un-South African and what is not. Is it the government elected by a small section of the people that decides? Is it the Press? Is it Current Affairs? No, it can be none of these. There can be only one arbiter to decide what is un-South African and what is not and that is the people of South Africa. And when we refer to the people of South Africa we realise that we refer to people of different language groups such as Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, English, Afrikaans and others. But despite these differences in language all of these groups are united by the soil they live on — they are all South Africans. And I challenge Mr. Vorster to ask the people of South Africa whether NUSAS is un-South African or not? I do not doubt what their answer will be.

We stand here tonight in the name of South Africa. And if Mr. Vorster and his govern-

ment do not like what we are doing then I must assure him that we will not alter our path nor will we deviate.

NUSAS believes in the cause of human freedom. We will continue to advocate that cause.

NUSAS believes in the dignity of man. We will continue, through education of the poor, to uphold that dignity.

NUSAS believes in the future of South Africa. We will continue to strive for a just future devoid of racial prejudice and hate.

If the government finds that these beliefs are repugnant to them they may stamp us out if they will for they have the power to do so, but I give them warning now that our cause is the cause of mankind through the ages. As Congressman Reid told us tonight, our principles are those that have been developing since the days of Socrates and earlier, and though NUSAS may be stamped out, the message of our crusade will never die, but will ultimately "see the day of victory."



Student Power in South Africa

DAVE TUCKER

This is a summary of a talk Mr. Tucker gave to the annual meeting of the Cape Eastern Region of the Black Sash in Grahamstown. He was at the time a lecturer in Politics at Rhodes University.

STUDENTS ARE NO DIFFERENT intrinsically from any other section of society. They may be less experienced than their elders; on the other hand they often see things from a fresh perspective. Youth has the advantage over experience in that young people are more ready to accept changes — sometimes foolishly, but often wisely. In any event it is a great mistake to think there is something very special about students. It is an even greater mistake to make an assumption that they should dictate values to the rest of society. Student Power doesn't mean that students should dictate. It may mean however that, just like any other section of society, students should have a right not to be dictated to.

This is a very important right. It is not enough to say to a man "I am restricting you because you are a Negro," nor is it enough to say "I am restricting you because you are a student." Every human being has the right to ask "why?" in such a situation, but it is a sad fact in the world today that even in some of the most respected academic institutions

students are treated as though they have no human rights.

Students have every right to know why their freedoms are restricted — they have this right, not as students, but because they are human. Their claim is not that students are any different from other groups in society, but that they are the same — they are people who have a moral claim to have their rights respected.

More and more in this technological age it is becoming apparent that universities, both as research institutions and as training institutions, are essential to every modern society. They are not simply institutions which governments set up for their own convenience in order to produce skilled manpower. They are more than this — they have a right to raise questions which they believe are important and to give answers which they believe are true. Without this autonomy you cannot have a university.

Universities then are part of society and they also have claims or rights which the rest of society ought to respect. It is unfortunate that universities in the modern world are find-

ing themselves increasingly under attack. This manifests itself in different ways in various parts of the world. It may be ideological — in such a case nothing may be taught which is not in line with prevailing ideology. It may be administrative — students are often in conflict with the actions of the universities themselves. It may be social — certain sections of the population may be prevented from enjoying the right to participate in higher education as a result of prejudice or poverty. It may be political — universities may be used as bases from which people are recruited into political parties, with the result that students are discriminated against for their political beliefs.

The Student in South Africa

In 1957 the Separate Universities Education Bill was passed by Parliament providing for separate universities for non-Whites. These universities are now completely under the control of the Government. The Parliamentary Commission appointed at that time to look into the question of implementing this Act made clear that they had no respect for the autonomy of universities. They said, "A new tradition of academic freedom will have to be developed, since discipline and academic freedom are essential. In Germany, Holland and the United States experience has proved that government control and full academic freedom are completely compatible . . . University autonomy presents a separate problem. There is no reason why a university council should not have authority over all aspects of a university, provided that all the steps taken either by a Minister or a Council are calculated to promote the true interests of the institution."

As a result of this Act and the work of this Commission, non-Whites in this country have no university autonomy. But the Act also sowed the seeds for a direct attack against the autonomy of established universities. As we have seen, the Commission was quite prepared to allow autonomy provided it was in the interests of the universities themselves, neatly qualified by the little word "true".

The Mafeje case and the courageous stand taken by the students at Fort Hare have brought the students into confrontation with the authorities. You as students in South Africa today are faced by a Minister who threatens to "send his boys in" against protesters. It is clear that you cannot rely on your Council to back you, even if they do have the courage to take your side. We have already seen that the Minister is quite capable of threatening even the Councils themselves. If he

can threaten, he will not hesitate to take action.

You are living today in a totalitarian society and you will have to adapt yourselves to it, but you should not do this by shelving your responsibilities. Students do have power.

It is true that you are faced by police spies and by Special Branch men who make a show of prancing up and down your campuses. Force is against you, but there are some things on your side. Firstly, universities are crucial for the maintenance of the economy — the government cannot be too eager to overplay its hand. Secondly, you have right on your side and the rest of the world is watching the actions of your Government very closely. It is up to you to use power as your own consciences and sense of reality dictate.

The Suburban Lady Lies Awake

I cannot sleep.

Icy fingers of the rain
 Beating on my window pane;
 Wind whistling round the house
 Down the chimney, thus to dowse
 My fire and make me go to bed.
 But what's the good? For through my head
 Go all the memories of the day,
 A tragic, horrible display
 Of human want — that woman bent
 Beneath her double load, all spent
 With gathering scraps of wood — her child
 Dependent on her milk; the wild,
 Drenched, tattered men that slouch
 Past charming villas — show the grouch
 They feel in souls all sour with hate.
 Where are they now? The hour is late
 They must have gone to wretched den,
 Or holes beneath a bush. And are they *men*
 That lie thus beaten by the rain?
 Do little children share their pain,
 And shiver by their side? This wind
 Must pierce the sacking, daubed or tin
 Pondokkies, rake the old, the sick,
 The very new, that strangely live to pick
 From life a chance to show
 That dying is so slow.
 I lie hemmed in by woe.
 I cannot sleep.

JESSIE HERTSLET.

THE COLOURED ELECTION

GEORGE MANUEL AND EULALIE STOTT

George Manuel who wrote the first part of this article is a Cape Town reporter. Eulalie Stott is a Cape Town City Councillor and member of the Black Sash. She was the Black Sash National President for some years.

IT IS INEVITABLE that the outcome of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council elections in September will have a profound effect on the course of the 1970 General Election, for contrary to Government expectations, the anti-apartheid Labour Party of Mr. M. D. Arendse, which rejected apartheid, won 26 out of the 40 elected seats on the 60-member C.R.C. The pro-Government Federal Party, led by Mr. Tom Swartz, only succeeded in getting 11 seats.

The Federal Party total was further boosted by the addition of the Bokkeveld seat of the independent Mr. Solly Essop. The other two pro-apartheid parties, the Republican Coloured Party and the National Coloured Party each gained one seat.

The Labour Party victory will no doubt be used by the Verkramptes in the General Election for their attacks on the Verligte group in the Nationalist Party led by Mr. John Vorster, the Prime Minister. Hence Mr. Vorster dare not give in to the post-election demands of the Labour Party.

The Coloured voting attitudes in the past has always been against the Nationalists. This precipitated the removal of Coloured voters from the Common Roll after the Nationalists came to power in 1948. The subsequent trends show that the Coloured man was still anti-Nationalist. More so since a complex of race laws was enacted against him in the past 21 years. It was inevitable, therefore, that he voted United Party independent candidates into Parliament as "Coloured People's Representatives" and Progressive Party men into the Cape Provincial Council.

Now that he has been removed from the White political scene and given his own Representative Council, misnamed "Coloured Parliament", the Coloured voter once again rejected the Nationalists by returning a majority of 26 Labour Party candidates to the C.R.C., while the pro-Government elements were routed.

It had been anticipated that the Coloured people in the urban areas would either boycott the elections or vote for the Labour Party, while those in the country areas would favour the Federal or three other pro-apartheid parties. This was not the case however. Labour swept the boards in the urban areas and suc-

ceeded in winning, much to everyone's surprise, many of the country seats as well.

Labour won for instance the Berg River seat consisting of Paarl, Wellington and Hermon by 3,690 votes in a 30 per cent poll. The Breede River seat (Worcester, Robertson, Swellendam, Montagu and De Doorns) was taken by Labour with a 3,177 majority with a percentage poll of 45.

The Labour Party victory was repeated in several other country seats such as Genadendal (Caledon, Hermanus, Bredasdorp) and the Outeniqua seat (Oudtshoorn and George).

While the Federals took all three seats in the Free State, labour won all three Natal seats and was successful in two out of the five Transvaal seats.

The Labour Party's success in the C.R.C. elections can largely be attributed to its 11th hour decision to use the slogan "A vote for Labour is a Vote Against Apartheid". This also changed the previous election apathy of the electorate.

Regarded as a referendum the outcome of the election is unmistakable. The Coloured people reject apartheid or separate development.

Unlike any other election, where the party getting the majority at the polls rules and elects its prime minister, the C.R.C. is subject to a set of rules which enables the Government to nominate 20 members. It did so and chose 20 pro-Government (or pro-apartheid men). Significantly 13 of these men had been defeated at the polls. To cap it all it chose Mr. Tom Swartz, who was defeated at Kasselsvlei (Bellville etc.) and gave him the much coveted chairmanship of the executive committee of the C.R.C. (equivalent to a cabinet post in Parliament). The position commands a salary of R6,000 a year.

The C.R.C. will therefore be dominated by pro-separate development elements and the election victory of the anti-apartheid Labour Party has been nullified. The Government established the C.R.C. to work apartheid and to deal with such things as Coloured education, pensions and welfare, local government and rural settlements as well as finance, as far as it affects the Coloured community. It was therefore reasonable to expect it to choose 20 men to boost the total of Federal Party men to make the C.R.C. work. The Labour Party's declared policy is anti-apartheid. As such it could never have made the C.R.C. a success from the Government's point of view.

The total number of registered Coloured voters in all constituencies in the Republic is 573,985. The total votes cast in the election was 286,957.

The total votes cast for each party in all constituencies was:

Labour	—	140,631
Federal	—	87,781
Republican	—	21,693
National	—	17,759
Independent	—	13,351
Conservative	—	3,865

Vital opposition role

The Labour Party could play a vital part in the C.R.C. as the opposition. It will be a more realistic one than being an anti-apartheid party in power and making the C.R.C. unworkable. Its decision to elect a "shadow cabinet" indicates that it wants to be on the C.R.C. and be in the opposition ranks.

It can act as a strong pressure group to get rights extended and concessions made. It can also act as a watch dog to prevent any further inroads being made on the meagre remaining rights and freedoms of the Coloured people.

The C.R.C. is the only legal voice left to the Coloured people now that all representation in Parliament and the Cape Provincial Council has been taken from them. Eventually Coloured members of local authorities such as the Cape Town City Council, will also be eliminated. They will be replaced by the Coloured management committees which are already in operation.

The regaining and extending of their political status side by side with the White people does not lie within the powers of the C.R.C. The least the members of this council can do is to use the machinery and Government-given resources of the C.R.C. to build up the undeveloped thousands of Coloured people and to

wait until an enlightened and sympathetic group of White voters triumphs at the polls and rules South Africa.

PART II.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE not to be impressed by the fantastically difficult job that had to be done by the candidates in this election to reach their voters. For example, in the whole of Natal, there were only three seats and in the whole of the Free State there were only three seats. This meant that the candidate had enormous areas to cover and a considerable number of polling stations to man. The difficulties of running such an election without a well-established and financially sound party political background can also be well imagined by anyone who has had experience in running elections. The Labour Party's victory in the circumstances, is all the more commendable and surprising.

In the Cape Peninsula, where a relatively sophisticated Coloured electorate is available, many Coloured voters had not received any literature from candidates explaining who their candidates were or at which polling stations they should vote. The daily newspapers in the Cape Town area gave a good coverage to the election, but obviously these newspapers had a limited distribution in the Platteland. The Press gave factual information regarding candidates, polling stations, etc. In addition they carried articles by people in favour of boycotting the elections and others who were in favour of using the elections as the only method of expressing their point of view.

Most Coloured intellectuals have supported the principle of boycotting separate roll elections for many years. In the pre-1960 days there were, in fact, vigorous campaigns to keep people from going to the polling booths. Pickets were stationed, etc., and although this type of action did not take place during these elections, there was nevertheless still a strong stigma felt by many, in connection with the voting. This was particularly so in the Peninsula and accounts no doubt for the fact that there was only a 16 per cent poll in the Tafelberg constituency — covering District Six and the old areas of the town.

However, it is equally clear that the majority of Coloured people felt an urge to have their point of view towards apartheid actively made known. Since many of the leaders who advocated boycotts of elections have been banned, it is probably reasonable to assume that the boycott idea would have been more

effective if they had been free to express their views. Bearing in mind that so many Coloured leaders had been banned and that all political groups to the left of the Labour Party are virtually unable or unwilling to function, it is not really possible to judge from these elections what the majority of Coloured people would choose in a fully democratic election. It is however, safe to assume that the majority are against apartheid. One reaches this assumption by taking the votes of those who voted for the Labour Party and those who boycotted the elections.

First political rights

It would be interesting to know whether there was any special significance in the fact that the majority of the voters in the Cape and Natal, where non-Whites had previously had some limited political rights, supported the Labour Party while in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State a majority supported pro-apartheid candidates. Did the fact that the first political rights ever exercised by the Coloured people in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were introduced by the Nationalist Government have anything to do with their supporting pro-Government candidates in these provinces? It would also be interesting to know whether the dislike that some Coloured people have for Africans was responsible for their response to the "apartheid tolerant" Federal and Nationalist parties.

Coloureds' Reject Council

In conclusion, it seems worth recording here what the POST newspaper of October 19th had to say on its leader page: "When Minister Marais Viljoen heard the news that the Labour Party had won a great victory at the polls he told his followers: Don't worry, we won't let things get out of hand.

"He hasn't. In one of the most cynical pieces of political gerrymandering we have known he has packed the C.R.C. with the men rejected by the people.

"Let's call it the Coloureds' Reject Council. So this is our "parliament", our voice.

"Headed by — in a supreme gesture of buffoonery — that political non-starter, Uncle Tom Swartz.

"What a contemptuous slap in the face this was: a man who could barely save his deposit. That, more than anything else, has destroyed whatever prestige the C.R.C. might have enjoyed. Now we know exactly where we stand. 'Things', as the Minister said, 'will not get out of hand'.

"Coloured man, know your place.

"What a farce we can expect. Duplicates of Nationalist Party congresses in the platteland. 'We thank the Minister' resolutions. Doesn't it make you sick?

"And for this service Mr. Swartz will be paid a handsome R6,000 a year. Well, it's more than 30 pieces of silver.

"And now it's the challenge, Labour. We know how you feel, and we feel with you. But this is just the beginning. Five years may seem a long way ahead, but time passes. We know how you will use these five years to carve for yourselves an unchallenged place in the Council.

"It might appear to many people that the fight isn't worth it; that the boycotters were right. Don't let that spirit get the upper hand; the fight IS worth it.

"No other way will be allowed us, no other method of political expression. So let us take what little we have and build on that.

"Life is full of unexpected surprises; the C.R.C. might turn out that way. In fact, it has already provided its share of the unexpected. Labour entered the elections late and were doubtful that they had been able to get their message across in time available to them.

"And other voters said the voters were so apathetic that a dismally low poll would be cast. Both predictions were wrong. Labour did get its message across, and the poll was encouragingly high.

"This is a new era of political awareness, and the Government's foolish move will only enhance it".

Uncle Tom Swartz

Interestingly "Even Nationalists are gunning for Uncle Tom Swartz and his 'Cabin for Rejected Nationalists'.

"And once again it is the Nationalist Sunday newspaper Die Beeld which is providing the pin-prick for the tough Nationalist conscience. Last week, the newspaper's columnist, Rykie van Reenen, who admits to scant interest in politics, had as she called it a 'little question for Tom Swartz'.

"This little question was simply this: 'How does he feel about accepting the nomination as Chairman after his Party was over-whelmingly defeated in the election, and now has Government nominees to thank for holding a majority in the Council?'

"And perhaps even more to the point, the columnist adds: 'I mean: How do you face up to your conscience (hoe kom jy jouself verby?)'

Fundamentally Sound?

ANDREW SINCLAIR

Mr. Sinclair was, until recently, a Johannesburg business man. He is now living in London.

THE RECENT WITHDRAWAL of public confidence in the Stock Exchange, which is just as irrational as the overconfidence which preceded it has set the usual commentators on market conditions at odds with one another. After a month of declining prices and short-lived recoveries it is becoming clear that the heavy involvement of the small investor over the last year or two has severed the market from its anchor in economic realities and its short-term future is now largely a question of mass psychology. Which way prices will move from now on is anybody's guess but all seem to be agreed on one point, namely that despite the setback, the economy is still fundamentally sound.

At the risk of being considered a spoiler of the fun, I would like to take issue with this contention. In my opinion the South African economy has been fundamentally unsound for nearly twenty years. The extraordinary prosperity of the last decade, which was founded at least as much in external conditions as on our own efforts, has permitted a steady rise in living standards for all sections of the population and to some extent has disguised the real distortions in our economic and political systems. But all is not well on the international front and there are signs that the chickens might be coming home to roost. As the disturbances during the dead years in the early 1960's showed, our society is very vulnerable to any check in its economic growth. The following selection of some internal and external factors affecting the situation might well give cause for thought. First the internal factors.

1. The national cake is not divided equitably amongst the working population. According to a recent survey, over 67 per cent of families living on Soweto, the dormitory suburb of the largest industrial complex in Africa, live below the poverty datum line. The fact that they somehow manage to make do is not relevant when it is apparent to the most untutored observer that the people on the other side of the hill are receiving a totally disproportionate remuneration. Furthermore, the gap is widening. This is partly because artificial shortages caused by job reservation in all ranks of employment above that of labourer have created a seller's market and partly because the labouring class has no legal means of organising itself to bargain for a reasonable distribution. The manifest injustice of this situation will find

expression should there ever be a halt in the steady advance which we have been experiencing to date.

2. This point follows from the first. The acute labour shortage in all sectors is creating a real and increasing cost, and subsequently demand, inflation. Short of altering fundamental policy, the only way to control the inherent inflationary tendency is by inhibiting growth. In a normal economy credit squeezes can, and should, be shortlived but the South African disease is chronic. Hence, at the height of our prosperity, with liquidity bursting out of our ears, the authorities are obliged to maintain a tight control for fear of letting loose an inflation which might nullify any growth we could attain. My guess is that the squeeze will continue. Investment in new production has already been affected and must continue to diminish. This will ultimately affect employment opportunities for a labour force which is already vulnerable.
3. By the end of the next parliamentary session the central government will have unilaterally deprived virtually the entire South African labour force of both security of tenure and security of employment. Despite the preponderance of armaments in the hands of the governing classes I do not believe that anyone can afford to ignore the historical significance of these two factors.
4. Largely as a result of the labour situation referred to, South Africa's public services are now showing signs of grinding to a halt. This subject has been sufficiently aired recently for everyone to be aware of the seriousness of the situation. Suffice

it to say that unless increases in production can be accompanied by corresponding increases in services, such as transport, communications, social welfare and the provision of land for development, they will not take place.

Consequences of our internal policies

These internal factors have been with us for a long time. Because of our participation, as an exporter of primary products, in the phenomenal economic advance of the world's trading nations in recent years the potentially serious consequences of our internal policies have so far been avoided. However, we are not a closed economy and there are certain danger spots on the international scene which could have serious repercussions here.

1. The S.D.R. system

To say anything about gold these days is hazardous in the extreme, but here is an hypothesis:

There is now a real possibility that the world's liquidity problems and the current imbalance in currency values may not necessarily find a solution in an increase in the price of gold. The acceptance of the S.D.R. system, as a tentative experiment in the creation of paper credit is an indication of the determination of the monetary powers to find a workable alternative. The argument that they are doing this spitefully in order to avoid benefiting the gold producing countries is a little ungenerous. The fact is that no-one can be quite sure what the overall effect of a rise in the gold price will be and the real fear is of an uncontrollable inflation which could precipitate a world-wide depression on the 1929 pattern.

If the experiment works, and the United States is determined to make it, or a modification of it, work, this will call into question the long-term future of gold as a basis of valuation of currency. What is more important, however, in the short-term, is the effect this could have on South Africa's foreign exchange reserves and internal liquidity. The S.D.R. system will not be proved or disproved for two years or so. While there is some doubt, the attraction of the gold-producing countries to funk money seeking investment during the recurrent monetary crises which are endemic to the present situation will be seriously diminished. By the same token,

investment in gold by speculators on the international markets will lose some of its appeal. Hopefully we may still be able to dispose of our total gold production but if not, we may have to look forward to a double drain on our reserves for some time.

2. Foreign Trade

The last and most important point relates to our foreign trade. Being an exporter of primary products we are particularly vulnerable to any change in the rate of growth of the major industrial nations. Since the early 1950's the phenomenal advance in production in the Western democracies, particularly the United States, has been reflected in our own growth. It seems, however, to use an analogy, that their economies have been galloping too far ahead of their supply lines in the form of capital, skilled and administrative labour and services. For a long period these economies have been bedevilled by cost inflation as the price of labour and materials go up, followed by demand inflation as spending power increases while Governments have been unable to avoid compounding the inflationary tendency by massive public expenditure on services to support the growth.

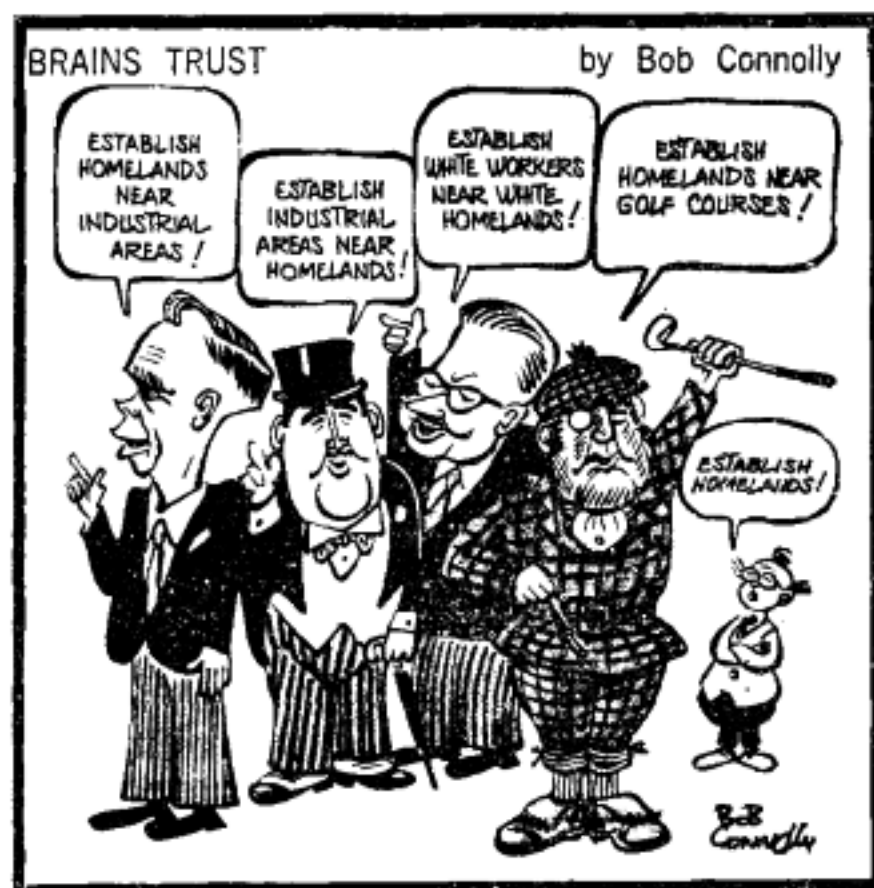
Admittedly we are living in an era of promises on the part of political parties but there must come a time when the rate of inflation threatens to outpace the rate of growth. In this situation an economy loses its elasticity and no responsible Government can do anything but call a halt.

There are signs that in the United States this point has now been reached. An historically high cost of capital is further diminishing new investment and the effects are beginning to be felt. In addition, the Nixon administration is apparently more determined about inflation than about welfare. If they succeed in bringing it within reasonable bounds this will involve a general slow-down in the tempo of economic activity throughout the trading world. At the very least we can look forward to an extended period of consolidation, a decrease in the rate of growth and a gradual return to a more rational valuation of equities relative to fixed interest securities.

Unhappy position

All this is hardly a disaster for a normal free economy, but South Africa's economy is neither normal nor free. Because of our internal situation we seem to be in a peculiarly unhappy position whichever way the cat jumps. Our political situation demands a continued advance while economic conditions indicate that this will probably not be possible. To speak of the economy, therefore, as being fundamentally sound, seems a trifle optimistic.

The key, of course, lies in our domestic policies. Sooner or later we are going to have to learn to live in our environment. If there is to be any hope of remedying the situation, the time has arrived when the business community will have to be more forceful in its representations on this score.



Review 1969

BARBARA WILKS

Barbara Wilks is the immediate past chairman of the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash. This is her address to the annual meeting of that region.

POLITICS IN OUR COUNTRY have suddenly and startlingly sprung to life again. There is the dramatic result of the Coloured election — and the shameful betrayal. And, after 21 years of adamant control and unquestioning unity cracks have appeared in the framework of the Nationalist Party, and wallpaper obviously isn't good enough. We may well see interesting realignments in the new Parliament. And a warning — history has a habit of repeating itself. In 1915 General Herzog and some followers — broke away from the ruling SAP, and by 1924, with his Nationalist Party in power the General was Prime Minister. In 1932 the "purified" Nationalists formed a splinter party, to come roaring into rule by 1948. While all aspects of Nationalist policy are ugly, some are even uglier than others.

But, whether verligte or verkrampte, the Nationalist party appeal is obviously based on fear — fear of the black man. Fear is one of the most easily aroused emotions, and one of the most irrational. And this fear is encouraged by the deliberate alienation of the object of our fear. If, instead of banishing the African, as a human being, from our midst, if, instead of eliminating all points of meaningful contact, we were permitted to get to *know* him, to sit down with him and talk to him, to discuss mutual problems face to face, eyeball to eyeball, what — after the first few timorous attempts — would we find?

Why! we would find that the black man is the same as ourselves, a member of the same species — homo sapiens — with the same

hopes, fears, emotions, who can also proudly claim "cogito ergo sum". And from then on, of course, we could move forward together in faith, trust and inter-dependence. This is the golden dream which we are working for, and must always continue to work for.

The bare-faced rigging of the CPRC is an absolute scandal, and spells out, in capital letters, the cynicism of this Government and its contemptuous attitude towards its Coloured citizens.

Labour won 26 seats in the election, as compared with Federal's 12, which means, obviously, massive rejection of apartheid with all its shoddy, shabby trickeries. Heaven knows, it wasn't a great deal the Coloured people were permitted to vote for — only a pitifully wing-

clipped Council with limited powers, where no laws can be introduced except with the approval of the Minister of Coloured Affairs.

But our Government couldn't, even for this meagre shadow-play of what it is pleased to call "political say" and "administrative responsibilities on an unprecedented scale", respect the expressed desire of its Coloured citizens. Oh no, it has slapped them in the face, humiliated and insulted them again. Of the 20 pro-apartheid nominated members of the Council, 13 lost at the polls, including the Chairman, Mr. Tom Swartz, he very nearly losing his deposit into the bargain.

Mealy-mouthed Government justifications about the total of votes cast, ensuring stability, and all the rest of the clap-trap which streams unendingly from our masters cuts no ice at all. It has totally discredited itself, and has shown the world what it really thinks of the ballot box, and what it really thinks of the Kleurlingsraad.

On 30th April 1968 (Hansard col. 4368) the Minister of Coloured Affairs assured the House "that if the time should come when this Coloured Persons Representative Council should feel that they want to elect all their members, that they no longer want nominated members, then I can give them the assurance that this Government will give such a request very favourable consideration". Why does he bother to say such things; whom does he think he is fooling?

Unattractive policy

Meanwhile the Government has continued to pursue its unattractive policy. In the dying days of the session 3 highly contentious bills — the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, the Population Registration Amendment Bill, and the General Laws Amendment Bill—were debated. The Government is always accusing the Opposition of being irresponsible, but is it not, in fact, the height of irresponsibility to rush through bills of such a nature at such a time? And 2 of them were tabled in the session's early days!

I think we are all well aware of the disquieting provisions of the General Laws Amendment Act, which has created the Bureau for State Security. Under Section 10 its activities are placed beyond public discussion, and under Clause 29 fallible Cabinet Ministers are enabled to suppress evidence. A Gestapo-like control can be extended over every citizen of this country, Court process can be totally excluded (all in the shadowy name of "the interest of the State") and assurance by Mr.

Frønenman that these powers will not generally be used are of little comfort. While the one-man Commission of Enquiry is a step in the right direction, its terms of reference appear to be befogged by arcane aspects of security. The Press may well have to function under a self-imposed censorship, which it has been muttering about for so long?

Further distasteful race-classification measures have been enforced under the Population Registration Amendment Act. The classification powers of the Secretary of the Interior can now be enjoyed by certain civil servants, and if, at any time, the Secretary (or, one presumes, one of the defined employees) "doubts" the correctness of a classification made by the Secretary, this may be referred to a Board for decision as to whether that classification should be altered. The use of the verb "doubt", particularly in an act of this nature, is utterly frightening, as are also the vast powers now granted to the Secretary's clerks.

Appeals against classification may now only be made "within 30 days after the decision of the Board has been given, or within such further period, not exceeding 2 months, as the said Court may, for sufficient cause, allow." If the appeal is *not* heard within that period, it falls away.

During the debate on this bill, when the Opposition (who put up an impressive fight) was questioning the Minister of the Interior, the latter remarked that he had written officially recently "regretting" that a certain classification had to rest. He was, he said, always sorry when he could not help a person. Now, the Nationalist Government is always assuring Coloured people that they have just as much opportunity as the Whites and that this glorious uplift is the best thing that has ever happened to them. So why, from his point of view, should the Minister really be sorry?

We are, as we have so often been in the past, deeply in Mrs. Robb's debt this time for her masterly analysis of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, the second reading of which was completed this session. Clause 11, briefly, destroys what little remains to Africans of job security; its object is clearly to enforce an all-embracing migrant labour system. In a slamming attack on the Government's economic and racial policy recently, the then immediate Past President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce warned of grave consequences, stretching far beyond a slower eco-

conomic growth rate, which would occur unless more effective use were made of the vast non-White working force, and said that the Chamber viewed with dismay the introduction of any additional measures — such as this bill — which would further reduce the supply of available manpower.

That is the business man's opinion. And, from a human point of view, it is, I submit, totally impossible to maintain a peaceful, contented community if it is denied everyday needs — continuing security and prospects at work, and continuing security of home life.

Government rationalisation is interesting, but not, of course, unexpected. Dr. Koornhof, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, assured the House that "this legislation, particularly Clause 11, has no other objective than to put a timely stop to labour integration, to put a stop to the work which was in the hands of the Whites, passing into the hands of the Bantu, which, as we have experienced, would soon have led to friction". And, at the very end of the debate, at the very end of the session, Dr. Koornhof appears to have felt the mantle of Moses descending upon him as he enunciated the following immortal words: "We on this side of the House pledge ourselves on the one hand to bear what is precious and noble of our white civilisation aloft through the throng, as befits civilised people, and on the other hand to lead the Bantu, to help them, as befits a civilised people, and as this Government is doing. It gives me personal pleasure to do this. That is why this legislation is a further contribution, as a result of which our people will be able to cry out: 'How brightly the future of my nation is unfolding!'"

It is remarkable that this gentleman, in his salad days wrote a thesis against migrant labour in South Africa. But he was then under the influence of English liberalism and the dreamy spires of Oxford University — perhaps this is proof positive that we should not take what students say too seriously! Or perhaps he really thinks he hasn't departed from this spring-time idealism, as in August this year he assured the Johannesburg Sakekamer that he knew of no other country in the world where the relationship between White and Black was as good and as basically healthy as in South Africa, that Government officials were taught early in their careers that the African was a human being just like the Whites, that he merited his own place in the sun, and that at all times the African was to be treated with full dignity and respect!

Even our friend, the ineffable Mr. Sampie Froneman also has his own "hippie" attitude to Government policy. In December last year he said he could not think of anything which would discredit South Africa more abroad and in this country than *if* the policy of separate development had to be coupled with unemployment and large-scale hardships. It is a great pity he does not read our Athlone Advice Office reports, or the fact papers on resettlement villages which were given at last year's Conference; he might come out of his "trough" then, although of course he *is* going to another one, to the fortunate Free State. A suitable award!

The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill is part one of a trilogy designed to enforce the blueprint of apartheid. Part 2, the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Bill, was tabled this session, and part 3, the Bantu Administration Boards Bill, is still in draft form. I think it is worth briefly referring to these latter bills because, unless there is a miracle, they will undoubtedly raise their ugly heads in the near future.

The Citizenship Bill is like those Greek gifts so feared by the Trojans. Its purpose is to link all Africans, whether they were born there or not, to a homeland, by conferring citizenship of these somewhat nebulous places, willy nilly, on to such Africans. They will thus become migrant citizens from captive non-States, and everyone will be able to ad lib ad nauseam about how it's the same here as it is for the migrants workers in Europe — purposefully forgetting that the majority of Africans will be made foreigners in the greater part of their own country.

And the Administration Boards Bill is another Greek gift. It does indeed create greater mobility for the African worker, by creating larger units of control but administrative responsibility for the urban African will revert to Pretoria, far away, anonymous, faceless, impersonal, and at the end of the draft bill occur these ominous words: "as from the commencement of this Act, no further qualification shall be required under paragraphs (a) (b) and (c) of Section 10 (1) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945".

Appalling effects

I don't propose here to enlarge on the appalling effects of such a clause, should it ever become law; rather let us turn once more to the fount of all knowledge, and hear what Dr. Koornhof has to say. "Let me", he remarked while still debating the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, "state emphatically that we

think that Section 10 is an obstacle in the implementation of our policy of distinctive development." (This new, chic word makes it all sound much nicer, doesn't it?) "... But Sir, we have respect for the Bantu and if we wanted to tamper with Section 10 then I... will have the courage of my convictions not to remove, in a sly way, the rights of the Bantu under section 10, but I shall have the courage of my convictions to come to this House with the necessary measures and to say to the world what we intend doing... When the time (for an amendment to Section 10) comes... we will then, as is our custom, give the Bantu the necessary quid pro quo. We will not do these things in a cunning manner."

It's very nice to know this, but, as Dr. Ellen Hellman has pointed out, in a masterly analysis on urban Bantu legislation, the last clause of this draft bill will have the effect that, with the gradual dying off of qualified Africans the whole urban African population will be reduced by the same status of complete rightlessness. Is this, or is it not, cunning and sly?

There is, of course, nothing new in this sterile policy. 45 years ago the Stallard Commission supported it, and in 1936 General Herzog informed the Africans: "we want as few of you as possible in the White man's area... When you come within the White man's area you should know that really you come, in the first place, to serve his interests."

General Herzog also said: "We are setting aside defined areas for you, in which you can go and live." Now, the eminent economist Lady Jackson, in her lecture delivered at the University this year, remarked that in 1968 just over 6,000 new jobs had been created, and some 48 million rand spent on the homelands. According to her calculations the aim could not really be less than about 80- to 90,000 jobs a year, which would probably require annual investment of the order of 900 million rand.

What, really, is the grand design and the grand intention for the homelands? To make them viable concepts — or merely pools for cheap Black migrant labour?

Under the new tax rate introduced this year, an African worker, according to the Financial Mail, earning R500 a year will pay R5.26 tax in addition of course to poll tax and indirect taxation. A White worker earning the same pays nothing in tax. At R1000 the African will pay, from March 1970, R12.22; the White Transvaler with two children pays R7.92. The significance of the poverty datum

line appears to have escaped the Government, since it has in fact increased the tax on incomes below that line. (You will remember that this grey-faced line, which is based on existence at its dreariest level has been set at about R55 per month for a family of 5 in Soweto.) The more useful concept of the effective minimum level, which puts the necessary income up by half, is out of reach for more than 60 per cent of the African families, none of whom have received any real tax relief, unlike the Whites.

White man's shoes

Mr. Langschmidt of Market Research Africa has revealed that the average income per head works out at R95 a month for Whites and R7 a month for Africans. Further, the White man's share of the nation's personal cash income is 73.3 per cent; the Africans 18.8 percent. What a shocking state of affairs it is when this small White minority takes nearly three-quarters of the nation's bounty.

But the sad truth is that the dolce vita of White life has induced a feeling of dolce far niente. It is too much to hope that in the coming election this privileged minority will at long last endeavour, through the ballot box, to help right these wrongs?

I hope too, through their votes, they will register their protest against the callousness which is so constantly exhibited towards the Africans. There was no public enquiry into that horrible prison van affair; We have heard the Minister of the Interior remark that his department was *not* Father Christmas when asked about compensation for the victims' dependants, and also Mr. Froneman's distasteful reference to "surplus appendages."

It is shocking to think that one African is arrested every minute of every day and every night throughout the year — not, of course, for pass offences, but for documentary offences. This subtle difference appears to give the Commissioner of Police great satisfaction, and, in some roundabout way, provides the perfect explanation for nearly 600,000 Africans being arrested during 1967/1968. But I cannot believe it gladdens the heart of the Africans concerned one iota. Imprisonment is imprisonment, a fine is a fine, endorsement out is endorsement out, and they smell no sweeter whatever the name of the "offence" may be.

Group areas

Group Areas were declared in Maitland Garden Village, Raapenberg and Diep River. And now School Street, Paarl, which was de-

clared a Coloured area in 1962 is again under the magnifying glass of the Department of Planning. All Group Area proclamations are nauseous, but this enquiry into School Street is particularly so, and must, at the very least, bring the law into disrepute. When will we all be allowed to live in peace and work out our own destinies?

As long as this Government remains in power, the answer is Never. Dr. Carel de Wet, kindly drawing aside the curtain which shrouds Cabinet discussion told a Nationalist Party meeting in August: "When we have to make a decision we always ask ourselves: 'Will it bring about greater separation of the races?' If the answer is 'Yes' we go ahead. But if it is 'no', and if it will bring great integration, then we turn it down." Contact, he added, must not be for contact's sake. It must always be done to bring about greater separation. For, in minds such as his, contact equals integration, which equals—oh, horror!—miscegenation.

And, of course, friction. The Government is obsessed with friction; it forgets that as a result it is breeding frustration, corrosive, eroding, totally damaging to mind and soul. There is nothing worse for a man than to be told "Get out, I don't want you", and this is precisely what the Government is really saying to the majority of this multi-racial country. Again and again we have drawn attention to what might well be the ultimate result of this fearful frustration: we are not heeded. What will the end result be? But we must remember always the words of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, himself a victim of violence: "The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil it multiplies it. Through violence you may murder the hater, but you do not murder hate."

Iman Haroun, a prominent and respected Moslem leader, died at the end of September in Maitland police cells, after some 4 months in solitary confinement under the Terrorism Act, without seeing his wife and children during this period. He died apparently between 9.15 and 10.15 a.m.; his wife was not informed of his death until after 7.30 p.m.

There are over 300 people banned, including the ex-Chairman of the now defunct Liberal Party, Mr. Peter Brown, who has been given a second five-year term. Since none of these banned persons has ever been brought to trial we cannot comment on their political activities except within the sphere of our know-

ledge only, and to us Mr. Brown, in particular, represents all that is best in South Africa—a man with friends from every facet of life, dedicated to his ideals of achieving peaceful existence in this multi-racial country.

We must constantly guard ourselves against accepting these inroads of Rule by Law as the normal way of life. The citadels of our minds must *never* capitulate; they must remain inviolate.

Grave malnutrition

There is, as we are all aware, grave malnutrition among Africans in many rural areas, which is a national disgrace. A crash programme must be introduced by the Government to provide more trained personnel, more hospitals, and above all more positive relief to combat nutritional diseases, such as gastroenteritis, kwashiorkor and pellagra, which stunt people's bodies and people's minds.

In Limehill at the beginning of this year sanitation was reported as being most inadequate, there were no proper creches for the children (although those mothers who were fortunate enough to find work had to rise at 5 a.m. and did not return home until 6.30 p.m.) and no organised interests for the young. Limehill, of course, is not unique.

I would like to end to quote a letter (it appeared in, I think, Post) which, in its simple dignity and its simple poetry outshines any sophisticated juggling with words. It is signed "Bantu" and reads: "I would like to write a prayer for this South Africa of ours. 'Lord, you have given great wealth to this country, some of it comes through our labouring, some of it comes through the riches that lie underground, which we dig by the sweat of our brow. We ask, O Lord, that some of this wealth be shared among us a little more equitably. We ask that the police be not so zealous in prosecuting us; most of us want to live in peace. We labour honestly five days a week; if we have left our pass behind, can there be no mercy? We ask you, our rulers, to remember that we are people, not just "Bantu". We ask your servants to deal with us as if we were people, not just "Bantu". If you did this, perhaps we could love you, and perhaps you could stop fearing us.'"

I would suggest that the writer of this letter has shown the necessity for an organisation such as ours to support him—in humbleness and humility on our part—in protest against injustice to fellowmen. I can never find this either sterile or frustrating.

Regional Reports

Headquarters

Early this year the "Star" named our National President, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, Woman of the Year for 1968. A signal honour for Jean, for her dynamic presentation of the role of President of the Black Sash, and for the organisation as a whole. The Star made a good choice and we are grateful to them for recognising Jean Sinclair in this manner.

Regional Matters

Although no visits were made by Headquarters personnel to Regions, the National President and the two National Vice Presidents were in contact with the Cape Western and Natal Coastal Regions while on holiday.

A report written by Wendy Jackson to the members of Border Region after the 1968 National Conference was discussed by Headquarters and sent to all Regions. This has been made a subject of debate for our Conference this year.

Dutch Reformed Church Commission to investigate the break-up of Family Life due to legislation

When this commission was brought to our notice it was decided that the Johannesburg and the Athlone Advice Offices should submit case histories of families broken up by the pass laws and influx control. The Commission is proceeding with its enquiries.

Legislation passed in the 1969 Parliamentary Session

All Regions co-operated in protest against unjust laws passed by Parliament this year. Demonstrations held, letters sent to the press and Press Statements made by Headquarters Region have been included in the Report of the Transvaal Region.

We are most grateful to Mrs. Helen Suzman and to members of the United Party for raising questions in Parliament on the enforced removal of Africans to their Homelands, and on the conditions in African areas. The smaller regions in particular, must be commended on their splendid work in this field.

The Parliamentary Session seemed to be a particularly unpleasant one, culminating in the rapid passage of the "BOSS ACT", with its most contentious clauses.

Headquarters in April 1969, wrote to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Devel-

Greetings:-

Mrs. M.M.

APPEAL IN TERMS OF SECTION (23) OF ACT No. (67) OF 1964.

Your appeal against the refusal of the Municipal Labour Officer to allow you to be in the prescribed area of Johannesburg for employment has been disallowed by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner (Witwatersrand).

You are warned to take immediate steps to remove from the prescribed area of Johannesburg within 72 hours.

With Greetings.

*BANTU AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER:
JOHANNESBURG.*

All that was missing from this "good news" billet doux was a greetings envelope. Just imagine receiving such a letter. This particular young woman was born in Johannesburg, went to school in Pretoria, returned to her father in Johannesburg when her Pretoria grandmother died, and has been trying ever since to remain with her father. He was the one who appealed to the Bantu Commissioner on her behalf. Now she has been told to go — no reason given, no attempt to find some place for her to live, no cognisance taken of the fact that Pretoria has denied her right to live there, no regard for what should be considered her inalienable right to be with her own father, no concern for the fact that she actually has nowhere to go. She must just go — to the wilderness, to hopelessness, to where? But no doubt she will feel better about it all because she has received "greetings."

Was there ever anything more cynical? Was there ever anything more cruel? Was there ever anything more callous? And she is no exception, though there is no way of knowing just how many people are receiving these greetings letters. It makes you want to puke.

Joyce Harris.

opment on the subject of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

In connection with protest, our sympathy went to the Students of the University of the Witwatersrand who suffered at the hands of hooligans. The police offered no protection.

A letter was sent to Mr. Peter Brown when his banning order was re-imposed in August.

Headquarters employed themselves busily with this matter for many months. It became

evident that the symposium could not be held this year, and in its place we will hear a discussion by Professor Hillston Watts on the subject of Urbanisation, a subject related to the one originally chosen by us. We are very grateful to him and to Mrs. Joyce Harris for her efforts in this matter.

Citizens' Action Committee

At the end of October, 1968, the Citizens' Action Committee, incorporating members of the Black Sash, sent to the State President a Memorandum on Enforced Removals and petition forms signed by about 22,000 people.

"Dagbreek and Landstem" published an article about the Citizens' Action Committee wherein they stated that Mrs. Joyce Harris was the mother of John Harris, and that the committee and Mrs. Jean Sinclair were extreme leftists. The Harris family objected and were given an apology. Mrs. Joyce Harris on her own behalf demanded an apology from the paper as did the committee and Mrs. Sinclair. As Mrs. Joyce Harris received an inadequate apology and the committee and Mrs. Sinclair had no apology at all, the matter was referred to the Press Board of Reference which found in favour of the complainants.

Visit by Mrs. Michelman

Mrs. Cherry Michelman from Massachusetts wrote to the Black Sash during 1968 to say that she was writing a doctoral dissertation on The Black Sash. She asked for information which was sent to her. This year she and her husband came over from America especially to see us.

She visited the Cape Town and Durban Regions and spent a day or two in both of them. She was in Johannesburg for about a week. She said she was returning home having got "the feel" of the organization and was pleased to meet the people whom she said she knew well in print. She was anxious too, to get more information and to understand the problems and difficulties with which the Black Sash is faced.

In June Transvaal Region informed all other Regions that it would not stand for re-election as Headquarters. After correspondence with the Cape Western Region, Transvaal withdrew its decision not to stand, and this year both Transvaal and Cape Western Regions have been nominated for Headquarters Region.

Mrs. Margaret Kirk and Mrs. Henrietta Raddale have had an exceptionally busy year. Without them the Black Sash could not function and we record our sincere thanks and

appreciation to them for their hard work, patience and co-operation.

We also thank all Regions for keeping us informed of their activities and for their generous response to suggestions and requests made by Headquarters.

Border

This is my fourth annual Border Black Sash Report and I have to confess it has proved the most difficult to write — difficult because there was so little to write about. One cannot pretend to be a bustling, alive organisation if one is not, and on the Border we have reached this sad state.

Our membership is 36, 3 less than last year. Here I would like to pay tribute to the late Mrs. McLean who was a loyal member of this Branch from its inception, and also to Mrs. Bamford, Daphne Curry's mother, who similarly was a foundation member and who never missed a meeting or a demonstration unless she was physically unable to attend or take part. She was at our last General Meeting in August. Our deepest sympathies are extended to both these families.

Of our 36 members only 6 are active in any way at all. Age and distance from East London are indisputable handicaps that face most and for which no one can be blamed. In fact I thank you one and all for remaining as members. I have no doubt of your pride and loyalty to the Sash.

I thank my Committee sincerely for helping me to battle through this year. Without them my courage would have failed. We have had 5 Committee meetings this year and 5 other General meetings at which the attendance was 13, 12, 18, 13 and 9. The following subjects were discussed:—

- a) Annual General Meeting — Resolutions for Conference.
- b) Report on Conference by Mrs. Streek.
- c) Student Affairs — Mr. Duncan Innes.
- d) My Homeland, the Transkei — Mr. Morgan Squiggi.
- e) Schools and schooling in Duncan Village — Mrs. Streek.

Again I thank Mrs. Marshall for wrapping and mailing our magazines at her own expense. I thank too those who have contributed to our Bring and Buy Sales and those who have donated regularly over and above their subscriptions. At least, thanks to you all, our finances are sound! I thank our Treasurer for her efficiency and Whiting and Griffin for auditing our books. I am grateful to Mrs.

Litchfield for typing and roneoing all our minutes and notices of meetings.

Our activities have been negligible. We did collect Christmas parcels and jumble for Mount Coke and I thank Mrs. Wood for her organisation of this.

We assisted Race Relations in collecting funds for school books for Africans.

We tried, apparently unsuccessfully, to get an "Operation Snowball" started by another, bigger, organisation.

We have made an attempt to collect information on the Transkei but this has proved a tremendous task for so few people to tackle.

What is left for us now but to keep our heads high, to keep ourselves informed, to argue against injustices and to do what we can when we can? No matter how small each of our individual contributions might be in the line of political pressure or protest, never let us stop doing it, never let us say that the spirit of the Sash is dead on the Border.

DEENA STREEK.

Natal Midlands

Meetings — Speakers

At three of our general meetings we have been addressed by outside speakers — on the difficulties of Coloured people in Natal; on the Gandhi Phoenix settlement and on the divisions in the Nationalist party. We find addresses like these interesting and rewarding, but they occasionally cause us to skimp our ordinary business, so we propose to alternate them with business meetings in future.

Public Demonstrations

We joined the students of Natal University in demonstrating in April on the 10th Anniversary of the University Act. Perhaps because students are news we got an unexpected amount of publicity for our statements and protests including — for the first time in ten years — a picture in the Natal Witness of a Black Sash woman with a poster.

In August we held a very successful public meeting to protest against the renewal of the ban on Peter Brown. It was addressed by Alan Paton and Edgar Brookes. The following day we held a protest stand against all bannings and arbitrary punishment. Some of Mr. Brown's friends asked permission to stand with us, and the City Council, which takes its responsibilities very cautiously, granted this on condition the total number of demonstrators did not exceed fifteen.

Press Statements

These were published in the Natal Witness in connection with the University protests, the

non-white doctors' dispute, Family Day and the banning of Peter Brown.

Multi-racial Tea Parties

These are held regularly every month at different members' houses. There is a pleasant and easy atmosphere and valuable contacts are made and maintained there. We have had a sari display, two slide shows, pottery and candle-making demonstrations, and a discussion led by a marriage guidance counsellor.

Booklet

Work is progressing slowly on a booklet we hope to publish on Education in Pietermaritzburg — a factual study of the facilities provided for all groups.

Study Tours

In July a group of senior high school students was taken on a two-day tour of local welfare organisations. The scheme was initiated by the Black Sash but officially sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations, of which many of us are also members. It seemed very successful; the children — about 25 — were appreciative and responsive; and we have had requests to organise similar tours for post-matric pupils at private schools, which we hope to do early in December. Our first tour took in old age homes for Whites, Indians and Africans, a hospital for crippled African children, the local Mental Health Society, which serves all races, a Welfare Home for White children and one (still under construction) for Indian children, a creche in an African township and a housing scheme for Indians. From our point of view the most valuable achievement was the confrontation of the school-children not only with the real problems of non-Whites, but with several capable well-educated and well-informed African social workers and ministers of religion who gave informative talks about their work.

General

We feel that we can maintain a kind of holding action in Maritzburg, not — alas — expanding or increasing much, but probably capable again next year of a similar rather unambitious series of activities. It is difficult to envisage any circumstance which could render us really dynamic.

MARIE DYER.

Natal Coastal

Report of Activities

Stands were held on 30/1/69 to mark the anniversary of the Limehill removals, in April against the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill and on 25/6/69 against B.O.S.S.

Students and members of the public have joined us each time.

Human Rights Committee

We try to help the banished every month through this body.

Booklet

Two Committee members have been working on a booklet similar to that produced by Border last year.

Letters to the Press

Were written about:

Students and University autonomy,
Family Day,
and about the re-banning of Mr. Peter Brown.

A report about home industries at Limehill was sent to the Daily News and published.

Letters were written by Sash members on Springfield Flats, doctors' salaries.

Multi-racial Tea Party

The first one was held at the home of Mrs. Fatima Meer and was a great success. Members have also been to meetings of the Indian Womens' Cultural Group and one member is on the Gandhi Centenary Committee.

A lunch was given for Mrs. Violet Padayachi and she spoke about students in the United States to a group of members and students.

Schools' Discussion Group

This continues to flourish and we try to have two meetings a term. We have had speakers on all sorts of subjects such as Gandhi, the rehabilitation of prisoners, the duties of students at Universities.

A Protest Meeting

A meeting against the re-banning of Mr. Peter Brown was held in August and about 200 people came, including some who are not normally seen at Black Sash functions. Speakers were Mr. Pat Poovalingam, Prof. Tony Mathews and Dr. Alan Paton.

Courts and Terrorist Trial

Some of our members have been to the Pinetown courts several times and others went up to Maritzburg to the Terrorist Trial.

Removals of Africans

Slides were collected of the Limehill story and together with a commentary were shown to NUSAS in Durban and to the Schools' Discussion Group.

Members keep us informed of conditions in Underberg-Impendhle area, in Weenen and Hammarsdale. Some of us have also visited Springfield Flats and Chatsworth which are both Indian areas outside Durban, and Wentworth which is a Coloured area. Two of us

visited the Housing Committee Chairman in connection with Springfield, and a letter was written to the Mayor as a result of our visit to Chatsworth.

General Meetings

We have seen the Limehill slides, have heard a tape of Lady Barbara Ward Jackson, and have had in person the American Consul-General, Mrs. Janie Malherbe and Mr. Gavin Maasdorp, Mrs. Bella Schmahmann and Mrs. Eileen Goldberg.

One of our members, Mrs. Mary Davidson, resigned her post at the Medical School in sympathy with the non-white doctors and their stand in the salaries dispute.

Another member, Mrs. Herries-Baird, has been very successful in interesting the African Health Inspectors in the existence or otherwise of latrines at African schools down the South Coast.

This has been an active year and an interesting one, ending with discussions on future policy. Even if there are no policy changes, the thinking and arguing has done us all good, and has made us consider the reasons for which we all belong to a not very popular organisation.

It has also been a most happy year for Sash with a most willing and cheerful committee who never refuse anything. Without them we could have done nothing and I hope that future Chairmen in this Region will be as fortunate as I have been.

MARY GRICE.

Cape Eastern

Grahamstown Branch

The encouraging thing about this past year of the East Cape Region has been the blood transfusion given us by the energy and vitality of the Grahamstown Branch. With nine new and youthful members, and the fact these these and many of the rest are directly or indirectly involved with Rhodes University, the Black Sash Committee has been able to make full use of the happy climate and support of some liberal thought. Membership now stands at 33, most of whom attend the general meetings regularly.

The Branch papers confiscated by the Special Branch last year had still not been returned at the time of the AGM in March. After a motion was passed and subsequently published, requesting Mr. Colin Bennet — the late MP for Albany — to ask a question in the House, the papers were returned by the Security Police in Pretoria, a month later.

In January Mrs. Hall (who would have been a delegate to this conference were she not expecting a baby) and I, Father Edmonstone and Professor Irving from the Sociology Department of Rhodes, visited the resettlement camps of Ilingi and Sada. A magnificent report together with photographs, was produced by Mrs. Hall, and will be reported upon at this conference by Mrs. Wyndham Kelly.

At a General Meeting Mrs. Hall gave an account of the Sada and Ilingi resettlement camps, as a result of which it was decided that a watching brief should be kept on camps such as these with a view to stimulating questions in Parliament.

A joint Council and Committee meeting was organised in Grahamstown for the purpose of discussing Joyce Harris' article on protest and the suggestion that regional HQ for the coming year should be taken over by Grahamstown. In the afternoon Mr. Tucker from the Politics Department at Rhodes gave us a fascinating talk on the "Third World", by which he meant those non-aligned countries such as India and the African States who are caught between the Western and Communist blocs, and reject allegiance with either.

In order to inform the student body and others about, and encourage membership in the Black Sash, roneoed pamphlets have been produced and distributed.

Together with the Progressive Party several hundreds of leaflets were handed out to cinema audiences after the showing of the film "Katrina", in order to point out that legislation and not racial colour "per se", had caused the human tragedy of the film's story. A few re-classification figures were also quoted.

The Committee sent an open letter to the Rhodes Council following Mr. Tucker's dismissal from the University, urging the Council to reconsider and moderate its verdict which at present was considered to be one of almost unparalleled severity. No reply has yet been received from the Council.

Mr. Wernecke, the Grahamstown Location Manager has been approached with a view to gaining his co-operation in the event of setting up an Advice Office. We hope to be guided by the wisdom and experience of Mrs. Robb of Capetown and Mrs. Murray of Redhouse.

After some discussion it seems likely that the UCM will be able to arrange a forum for us on Protest, to be held at the Rhodes campus later this year or early 1970. The meeting will be public.

Good reports have been received from the seven Africans Grahamstown support. Mr.

Metu in particular should be mentioned. He was one of the two Africans in the country to gain a distinction in J.C. last year. He is now at Healdtown in St. 9 and came first in his class in June.

We were very sad to lose Shirley Moulder, who after a severe operation and long illness left to join her husband in Tasmania. He was an unfailing support to her and others of the Branch in Black Sash work and they will be greatly missed.

The decision by the Grahamstown committee not to assume responsibility for Regional administration is I feel a sad one. With our unique political pressures in this highly industrial town of Port Elizabeth, deprived of a University in any liberal sense of the word, it becomes increasingly difficult to garner that encouragement and support we so badly need for effective protest and pressure.

Port Elizabeth

At our Regional Conference held last November, Mrs. Streek gave a report back on the National Conference and the Rev. James Moulder addressed us on the Church's message to the people of South Africa. We were most grateful to Mrs. Streek who sportingly boarded a plane at the last moment, due to Mrs. Moulder's illness.

Other talks throughout the year have been given on:

1. The Biafran war by Father Thorton who narrowly escaped from the last stronghold in Biafra.
2. The dilemma of the writer in South Africa today by Athol Fugard.
3. A report by me on the resettlement camps of Ilingi and Sada.

Letters were written by members protesting against the Government decision overruling that of the City Council to allow single African women to reside in the Adcock Homes; the wastage of milk in the face of the country's malnutrition problems; harsh influx laws; the persecution of NUSAS; Family Day; an appeal to parents to provide school books for African children in view of the free issue of such books to those who could best afford them.

This last letter provided interesting contacts with informed and concerned Indian and Coloured opinion, as well as sparking off the donation of money and books to various associations. We were approached by the Lotus Club (a non-European Service Club) and supplied with some very significant statistics. A total of 737 African pupils in P.E. and Uitenhage in St. 8 dropped to 35 in St. 9.

After discussion with the Lotus Club, they decided to provide the books for all the pupils in St. 9 and St. 10 to the tune of R1800, at the only African High School in Port Elizabeth. An interesting fact has subsequently emerged, is that this guarantee increased the enrolment from 35 to 82 pupils and this increase would have been far greater had many of the pupils known of such an offer earlier. The enrolment figures for this coming year should make interesting reading. Certainly a proof, if anybody needed it, of the inhibiting effect of the high cost of text books on the African parent.

A magnificent attempt was made by Mrs. Melunsky and Mrs. Joubert to stave off the iniquitous raising of rentals in New Brighton from anything to between 100 per to 400 per cent. Signatures were collected demanding a ratepayers meeting, but we subsequently learned that this is not automatic on the production of signatures. Apart from some encouraging publicity, we achieved no meeting, no satisfaction and the rents have been raised, with further increases expected.

In December we helped to run two film mornings for children which raised R260 for our Education Project. To date we have collected R672.28 and have paid out R478.39 to 15 scholars. Included in this number are several student teachers who have undertaken to repay this help when they are qualified and earning. Many of these helped have been investigated and referred to us by the New Brighton Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement. The small Alexandria Branch are to be congratulated on their effort at raising R29 for the assistance of two scholars.

One protest stand was held in Port Elizabeth on Family Day.

Our membership of the Region stands at 83, and we record with the greatest regret the resignation from the Council of Mrs. Melunsky and Mrs. Joubert. Their energy, initiative and courage have often inspired most of the worthwhile reading of the Port Elizabeth report.

URSULA RANDALL.

Cape Western

In the face of the insidious and demoralising effect of a strong government, pandering to the ease and comfort of white South Africa, it is the more important that we in an organisation such as the Black Sash keep ourselves alert and aware of the political needs of our fellow South Africans. Perhaps it is not easy

for us as a privileged group, whose basic needs are supplied and whose dignity is not challenged, always to feel for the dignity of the other man, but, as a "conscience" organisation we continually need to think about means of meeting the challenges surrounding us. May we remember Alan Paton's words: "There is only one way in which man's inhumanity to man can be made endurable to us, and that is when we in our own lives try to exemplify man's humanity to man".

This past year we have kept a close watch on legislation: we have had this explained to us in concrete and practical terms and we have protested against the indignities and deprivations involved, through stands and press publicity.

The ministerial statement that District Six, an integral part of cosmopolitan Cape Town, is to be set aside for the exclusive enjoyment of whites, has caused much sorrow. Our proposed slogan for the stand we held in protest, "A White District Six — a shameful memorial to the white man's greed" proved unacceptable to the City Council. This was the first time permission to hold a stand had been refused by the City Council, as also was our request to man a fact table while the stand was taking place. However, after reapplying and using old "Group Areas" slogans, we were permitted to hold the stand, at which at least 60 people were present. At most of our stands we invite members of the public to attend, and it is encouraging to have a number of men and young people join us. It was at this stand that we started using banners again. These seem to add cohesion and meaning to a stand and have the added advantage of being visible from a long way off.

At one of our All Branch meetings, Father da Costa, in charge of one of the parishes in District Six, gave us his feelings and impressions of the District Six proclamation. And we still are trying to find a suitable place to erect a plaque which would commemorate all those who have suffered under Group Areas removals.

The day total bus apartheid was started in Cape Town, we held a stand with posters reading "Total Bus Apartheid — an Insult and an Inconvenience" and "Total Bus Apartheid forced on Cape Town." This time we tried a more artistic banner—with green and orange buses on it — in an effort to get our message across more successfully.

On June 11th, the 10th anniversary of the signing of the University Bill by the State President, a stand was held in support of Aca-

democratic Freedom. Posters read: "The Right to Decide *Who* Shall Teach", "The Right to Decide *What* to Teach" and "The Right to Decide *Whom* to Teach."

The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill was explained to us by Mrs. Robb at an All Branches meeting, and copies of her memorandum on this Bill were sent to a wide range of people. The public meeting addressed by Mrs. Robb and Dr. Francis Wilson, a lecturer in Economics at U.C.T., threw much new light on the implications of this Bill and we are grateful to them both. Two successive stands in protest against the Bill were held on the 19th and 20th June. The posters read: "Total Insecurity for Employers of Africans", "Total Insecurity for African Wives and Children", and "Total Insecurity for African Breadwinners."

The General Laws Amendment Bill introduced at the end of the Parliamentary session was deplored in a letter to the Cape Times.

We remain indebted to Mrs. Beck for her clear-sighted appraisal of legislation, and while the tale she had to tell at our All Branches meeting at the end of the session was not a pretty one it was an absorbing and intelligible one. It certainly left us with no illusions.

We are also grateful to Mrs. Robb who keeps us so well informed on the doings of Parliament by reading Hansard. And to discover in Hansard that the Deputy Minister for Bantu Affairs quoted at length a letter written to the Press by our Chairman was gratifying indeed. By regular scanning of the Government Gazettes the Regional Council is kept abreast of latest Government proclamations. Recently we have subscribed to the Reports on the Transkeian Assembly.

Other than those mentioned letters to the Press we have written on the following subjects:

"Cape Times" — December 1968 — Declaration of Human Rights.

"Cape Argus" — 9.12.68 — Beach Apartheid.

"Cape Times" — December 1968 — Christmas and Migrant Labourers.

"Cape Times" — 5.2.69 — "The African Dilemma" and Removal of Africans.

"Cape Argus" — 18.3.69 — Enclosing copy of "Inter-racial Contacts".

"Cape Times" — 4.3.69 — 2 letters on Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

"Cape Argus" — 31.3.69 — Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

"Cape Times" — 21.4.69 — Community Development Bill.

"Cape Times" — 12.5.69 — On "raids" to en-

force registrations for the coloured cadet training centres.

"Cape Argus" — 9.6.69 — On African Education.

It is not always easy to reach and involve branch members, but this year a positive effort has been made to do so. The specific projects undertaken by branches have enabled individual members to become personally and actively involved and to contribute not only to their knowledge but to that of the Region. It is hoped the information so gained will be used for fact papers now and in the future. And here mention must be made of the magnificent work done by Elgin Branch in keeping in touch with the former residents of New Town who are now in resettlement villages.

Multi-racial parties this year have been novel and very well attended, on one occasion there being as many as 80 people present. False Bay's informal family braai was a happy, relaxed party dominated by the young. By the way of entertainment Wynberg had poetry readings, Gardens/Sea Point an evening of music, Rosebank a play reading and Claremont had an afternoon tea party. Again the Elgin Picnic, in the lovely surroundings of Miss Denniston's farm, where one could swim and play tennis, was a special pleasure.

Tuesday Club

The Tuesday Club began in 1967 as an activity of the Rondebosch Branch of the Sash. It was felt that the main aim of the branch should be to try to cross the colour line in a more real way than had been done before with occasional dinner parties. The idea was very well received by the Coloured women who were approached, especially in view of the fact that entertainment for Coloured people has been so curtailed through Government policy.

The first meeting took the form of a cookery demonstration. It was a great success and everyone there crowded into the kitchen to see how doughnuts were made. There were quite a few African guests amongst the 25 present. It was then decided to hold quarterly meetings and to be known as the Tuesday Club.

The next meeting was at the home of a Coloured lady. Our speaker was Miss Hattersley of the University of Cape Town Ballet School and 31 attended. The atmosphere was very pleasant and as well as the talk we had some delightful music and singing from two charming members of the Eoan Group. The evening, however, was notable for the fact that at

the end of the talk one of the guests who was known to be very embittered by our South African situation suddenly said in her resonant voice "And what may be the good of all this, in view of apartheid?" There was an embarrassed silence but Miss Hattersley answered the question with great sympathy, and very soon most people were opening up and expressing their real views. The evening ceased to be a polite meeting and became a real discussion group — some of the non-White women there were able to tell what they really felt and hear what we really thought. We believe that this has helped to put us on a real footing as a Club and to make it possible for members to get to know each other. The member who asked the question has been to every meeting since and usually stays last to help; she is a woman of considerable intellectual ability and enjoys the entertainment and discussion provided.

At Christmas 1968 a very successful evening garden party was held and some men guests were invited as well. It was a very happy occasion with a band and coloured lights, carol singing, a Coloured actor read "The Gift of the Magi" movingly, and films of the astronauts were shown.

The first meeting of 1969 accordingly took place at the Athenaeum in March — Miss Ray Carlier, a Coloured Teacher and one of the founders, became the Chairman of the Club and a committee was elected and an annual subscription agreed upon.

The new organised basis of the club was enthusiastically welcomed — there are at present 45 paid-up members. At each meeting people get to know each other better and it is felt that members greatly value their association. We have had recently a talk on life in Brazil, demonstration and talk by a very interesting Coloured teacher, a talk on Understanding Children by an expert, an hilarious Scottish evening with the whole assembled company joining in Scottish reels, and a talk on work in a Zululand mission hospital. Coming up shortly is a talk on "Life in British Guiana" and "What Makes Fashions Tick?"

The main point is that we feel there is a real contact between these few members of different communities so that people get to know each other and also get a picture of the life they lead, which has often surprised many of us. We have got to know some very charming and vital women.

A disappointing feature in the development of the Club has been that since we moved our meetings to the Athenaeum, our African fri-

ends have dropped out. It possibly appears less secure to them than meeting informally in a home. This is something the Club should turn its mind to — to try to regain our valued African members, and more of them.

People frequently ask whether there is not stiffness in our relationships, and a conscious effort on people's part to meet each other. This was so in the beginning but since then we think people, and this includes very noticeably our visiting entertainers, hardly think about peoples' colour.

Early on it was decided that the Tuesday Club should not be connected with the Black Sash. It is something outside the Sash and open to any approved member.

Opportunities for meeting people of other races in a relaxed atmosphere are becoming increasingly difficult and branches are to be commended for their efforts to make these meetings possible, and a special commendation to Mrs. Joan Dichmont who inspired the formation of the Tuesday Club. The pamphlet on inter-racial contacts still permissible by law has been very well received, and has been given as wide a circulation as possible.

All Branch Meetings

Monthly All Branches meetings give members a chance to exchange branch news and to discuss matters of general concern — an ideal way of giving all members the opportunity of gaining information and giving their views. Apart from the talks already referred to we have had at our All Branches meetings the paper entitled "Twenty Years After" by Mr. Hamilton Russell read to us. Mrs. Burton has told us about "Multi-racialism in the Argentine and Brazil". Mr. David Welsh, a lecturer at U.C.T. spoke on "Urbanisation and the Solidarity of Afrikaner Nationalism", and Mr. Theo Kotze of the Christian Institute on "Religion in an Apartheid Society."

On learning of the tragic death of the Imam Haroun on September 27th in Maitland Police Cells, after detention of four months, during which time he was held in solitary confinement, we put an obituary notice in the death column of the two local papers. Interestingly enough, although our original notice had been passed by our legal adviser, it was not accepted by either paper and we had to put in a much shorter version.

The Morning Market each year continues to be a great success financially, but it also enables members to get to know each other by working together, not only at the Market but during the year.

We were delighted to meet Cherry and Mike Michelman of the U.S.A. on their brief visit to Cape Town. Their eagerness to meet as many people as possible and their unflagging interest made them a joy to entertain. And we are sure it did us good to have objective and knowledgeable comment on the work we are trying to do. Cherry's observation in a letter to Mrs. Mary Birt helps to give us the inspiration we all need sometimes: "This trip has raised my sights. Meeting the Black Sash women made me realise a plodding thesis to get my degree is not enough. Now I feel its got to be good enough to capture someone's attention — it doesn't really matter where."

BARBARA WILKS.

Transvaal

In our efforts to keep as many members informed and up to date on our activities, meetings were rearranged so that every first Wednesday was a General Meeting. This has proved to be a successful change, although the last two meetings were not as well attended as previous ones. Efforts must be made to get as many members as possible to attend these meetings.

During the course of the year, discussions were held on various proposed pieces of legislation, with a view to possible action. It was not always possible or practicable to tackle every item.

Bills discussed and studied were:

- (1) Abolition of Juries Bill (no action).
- (2) Legal Aid Bill (no action).
- (3) Population Registration Amendment Bill.
- (4) Universities Bill (demonstration).
- (5) Bantu Homelands Citizen Bill (demonstration).
- (6) Bantu Laws Amendment Bill (demonstration).

Various other subjects (some arising out of last year's Conference) were discussed and Sub-committees formed to tackle them, but in many instances subjects not of immediate critical importance (Wages in Border Industries, Transport for Non-Whites) had to be shelved whilst more urgent problems were dealt with. We have a tremendous shortage of active members and have constantly to arrange lists of priorities.

Advice Office

A separate report is given. The office is becoming increasingly busy, workers are very scarce. A small but very willing band keeps the Advice Office functioning.

Publicity and Propaganda

As part of the general reorganisation publicity committee meetings were held as part of the general committee meetings. This proved an unsatisfactory arrangement and we have reverted to a publicity committee which is convened by Mrs. Harris. Whatever system is adopted the work is done by a small nucleus of people led by Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Duncan. It would be a major disaster if Mrs. Harris was unable to fulfil this function.

Letter to Star — Sabra Conference.

Letter to Star — Donation of R200,000 from Wynberg for Homelands.

Letter to N.U.S.A.S. — re actions taken against its office bearers.

Letter to Rand Daily Mail—Manpower Shortage and Apartheid.

Letter to Star — Statement on Limehill.

Letter to Rand Daily Mail — Handout on Black Sash demonstration.

Letter to Star—February—S.W.A. Act. Rule by Decree.

Letter to Star—April—Community Development Amendment Bill.

Letter to Rand Daily Mail—May—Indian Doctors' Salaries.

Letter to Star—May—Support for Student protest.

Letter to Star—June—Handout on B.O.S.S. Bill.

Letter to Star—June—Mrs. Lefefe—widow of prison van death victim.

Statement in Star — June — Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

Article in Star—July—Freedoms we have lost.

Article in Star—July—Family Day Pamphlet.

Letter to Star—Consulting Rooms for African Professional men.

Letter to Rand Daily Mail—Withholding of Passports for people wanting to attend Soccer match in Swaziland.

Letter to Star — Statement of Mineworkers salaries.

Demonstrations

- (1) January 1969—Vigil with flame outside Cathedral on removals.
- (2) January — Demonstration—Opening of Parliament.
- (3) March 26th, 27th, 28th 1969—Demonstration Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.
- (4) April — Demonstration Academic Freedom and University Bills.
- (5) June 1969—Demonstration B.O.S.S. Bill.
- (6) July 1969—Demonstration Family Day.

Although it is now considered almost impossible to dream up any completely new type

of protest demonstration which would be acceptable to the authorities, our stands have been well attended, at times by 70-80 people. Our problem then is one of maintaining discipline and dignity, but this is surely preferable to trying to drum up 20 people to attend.

We find the restrictions on venue and poster size and wording onerous. Two Family Day posters were disallowed.

Before most of these demonstrations took place handouts were distributed to members and the press.

In April a deputation saw the Mayor of Johannesburg, to ask him to call a public meeting about the Community Development Amendment Bill, because of our concern for the erosion of the powers and rights of local authorities.

Fund-Raising

The Region must sincerely thank Mrs. Hartford for her tremendous efforts involved in the slow grind of endless cake and book sales. She quietly and competently organises these regular fund raising activities which provide us with a much needed source of income.

The prospect of a Morning Market for the third consecutive year proved so daunting, that we decided we had to find an alternative scheme which would bring in as much money for one-third of the work. We agreed to hold a Dinner/Dance at a Restaurant. This proved to be a brilliant scheme. We hope the coming year will prove to be easier from a fund-raising point of view.

Contact System

The Contact System was reorganised along with the rest of the committees' work. At present it is working satisfactorily and we hope to keep it so during the coming year. Our thanks to all members who help operate it. It is a dreary job. I myself can never decide whether it is preferable to have to contact people who are always out or people who talk for half an hour each time they are phoned.

Branches

The death of Rosalie Driver was a great loss to the Black Sash as a whole and Waverley Branch in particular. We are immensely pleased that Waverley is carrying on, and is functioning as well as ever. They support the Region constantly and generously and we are indeed grateful to the Chairman, Mrs. Kay Stucken and her committee for their admirable work.

Witbank has stopped functioning as a branch. Members will retain their member-

ship but it is too difficult to operate as a group. Indeed it is remarkable that Witbank kept going as long as it did. This was due to the spirit and courage and enthusiasm of a number of the Witbank members. We shall make a point of not losing contact with them.

Rustenburg still maintains contact with us and supports us whenever and wherever they can particularly with fund raising. We visit once a year, and I think if possible we should try and fit in another visit annually. It is certainly not easy for members in these outlying areas to remain involved. Rustenburg always has and we must give them as much support as we are able.

Saturday Club

This has not functioned throughout the year. This is most unfortunate and must be rectified in the coming year. A reunion is planned for the end of November. This will be a lunch and swimming party. At this meeting we will arrange a programme for the first six months of 1970.

Discussion Groups

These groups have not been held this year. Strenuous efforts must be made to resume this activity in 1970 as we are convinced of their value and use.

Evening Meeting

September 1st — Mr. Erasmus.

It can clearly be seen what our difficulties in this region are. Not only are we critically short of active members but there are fewer outside people to draw on. Lecturers and discussion group leaders are almost impossible to find. I can foresee the time when members will have to disguise themselves as professors and give learned addresses at meetings. One thing is very clear. It is absolutely fatal to stop any activity for a period of time, for however valid a reason. There is never time to pick up the threads again. One wonders how it was ever done in the first place.

This year we have concentrated on putting out quantities of publicity, which will be discussed in greater detail during Conference. We will have to work even harder next year to keep up this volume of propaganda, and get back to those activities which have fallen by the wayside.

Finally in case anyone should get the impression that we have been slacking it was decided to reorganise the filing system in the office which meant going through all the files in existence since our beginning. This has been a major undertaking but a very necessary

one. Apart from the extra work which has been done relentlessly by your National President and a handful of others it has placed an even greater burden on our office staff.

The committee has borne patiently with all the changes that have been tried out, and have co-operated magnificently throughout the year. My sincere thanks to all members of the committee for their hard work and saintly control and especially to the "dogsbodies" appointed monthly to do the nasty chores. They have been a great help.

I deliberately mention Mrs. Johnston, Mrs. Kirk and Mrs. Radale last because many people might not have the time or the inclination to wade through this lengthy report, but everyone fastens onto the last paragraph avidly. I say unhesitatingly that if we did not have people of the calibre of Mesdames Johnston, Kirk

and Radale this region would not be able to function. Mrs. Johnston is absolutely tireless and consequently has all sorts of additional burdens thrust on her. She has asked for four months leave and deserves six months, but she cannot be spared for as long as that. Mrs. Kirk is a real strength in our office. She copes with the demands of all these frantically busy women competently and even more important so pleasantly and imperturbably. Mrs. Radale interprets, roneos, makes tea simultaneously and very cheerfully. Our sincere thanks for your efforts. They could not be bettered.

The Friday before conference Mrs. Radale's baby son died of measles. We extend to her and her husband our love and deepest sympathy at this time of tragedy.

JEANETTE CARLSON.

Johannesburg Advice Office

The work in the Johannesburg Advice Office has become more complicated, more depressing and it is more difficult to resolve problems.

The number of people who came to the office for advice increased from 431 to 698.

A spectacular increase in the volume of work has occurred during the last three months. It would appear that there is a concerted effort to endorse as many women and children as possible out of the area.

One can only assume that the reason for this harsh policy is to ensure that the children of these women, many of them born in Johannesburg (and thus entitled to remain here) cannot be left here without their mothers and are forced to leave with them, thereby forfeiting their rights of domicile and their exemptions under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act.

Many women who are endorsed out can furnish the proof that they satisfy all the conditions of Section 10 (1) (a) or (b). Even on appeal it is proving difficult to have the endorsement out reversed.

Some of these women have been arrested and on request for a remand of the case to the Prosecutor, the charges are withdrawn.

The procedure conforms with the stated policy of ensuring that in the future all labour in the Urban Areas will consist of migrant workers.

Of all sections of the Urban Africans women and children suffer the most.

In all this year the Advice Office has handled 280 cases of endorsement out — mainly women, teenagers and children. The number of 280, however is not conclusive as most of the 104 or more people who are applying for residential permits and reference books will be endorsed out.

Reference Books

Another method used to reduce the number of Africans in the Urban Areas is the refusal to issue reference books to teenagers unless they have irrefutable proof that they have lived continuously in the areas since birth. Those who lose their reference books and apply for duplicates are in the same position.

As the law states that every African from the age of 16 has to be in possession of a reference book it appears that to refuse to issue a reference book where it is applied for is a failure to comply with the law on the part of the Department. As far as I know the Act does not stipulate that a reference book can be refused on the grounds that an applicant does not necessarily belong in the area.

This practice causes untold hardship. Many people have no other area to which they are entitled to go to obtain a book. They are in constant danger of arbitrary arrest and no matter how they try they cannot get their position regularised.

Teenagers

Teenagers are amongst the most hard hit by the refusal of a reference book. The par-

ents who unwittingly send their children to rural areas for a period of their childhood without ensuring that their children's names are kept on the family housing permit, find that when these children return home they are not permitted to remain.

Teenagers have been a cause for concern for several years now and their position gets worse and worse.

It has come to our notice recently that the authorities are refusing to accept affidavits as proof of statements made to establish individual rights with regard to residence and to rights to work in the area. Children of domestic servants have great difficulty in establishing proof of their birth and continuous residence in the area, because as often as not their names have never been listed on a housing permit — they probably have no birth certificate and they can furnish no proof other than an affidavit. If they do not belong in any place other than where they were born, they probably will be sent to a resettlement area.

Ex Prisoners

The provision contained in Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act which cancels the exemption provisions of a qualified person if he has been sentenced to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months or to a fine of R100. makes it difficult for an ex prisoner to rehabilitate himself. He cannot stay in the area where he may have relatives and a home and he often has nowhere to go. He often stays illegally where he is and being unable to take employment it is not long before he is once more in trouble.

Cases

MRS. M.B.Q. has been endorsed out of Johannesburg. She first came here in 1919 and says she has lived here ever since. She is mentally senile but her family in Johannesburg want to look after and wish her to remain in her daughter's house. Unfortunately she is so mentally confused that it has been difficult to collect the proofs of her long time in Johannesburg. She has formed the habit of tearing a page out of her reference book every time a stamp is put in and is now left with a few pages conveying little information. Added to this she states that such letters of reference as she did have in her possession have been retained at the Bantu Commissioner's office. (This is a very frequent occurrence and has serious consequences for many of the cases.)

We are attempting to have her application for a new reference book accepted in Johan-

nesburg and to help her to appeal against her endorsement out.

MRS. L.P. was born in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, in 1943 and has never lived out of the area. Her reference book was stamped "resident of Meadowlands" until November 1967. At that time she wished to resume work and when she applied to be registered in her employment this stamp was cancelled. Since that date she has been trying to establish her right to remain in Johannesburg.

Her husband has been in Johannesburg since 1947 when he came here with his parents and is the legal tenant of a house in Meadowlands. There are two children born in Johannesburg.

MRS. P. has a great deal of proof: Her baptismal certificate dated 1943, a school certificate covering the years 1952 to 1960, her husband's house permit with her name and the names of the children on it dated 1967, a letter from the ante-natal clinic in Meadowlands covering some months in 1963 before the birth of one child and a birth certificate of the child born in 1967, a marriage certificate dated June 1966 and two letters of reference from employers covering some months in 1965 and 1966 when she worked unregistered for a time. All these documents were issued in Johannesburg and in addition she has an affidavit sworn by her aunt stating that she was born in Sophiatown in 1943 and has never left the area.

When she came to our office in August 1969 she had already appealed against her endorsement out of the area and this appeal had been refused. We re-opened the appeal having made sure that all her documents were in order. This appeal was again turned down on the grounds that the original residence permit was issued in error and that the affidavit was "all lies".

This decision is not acceptable. No other reasons or explanations have been given to Mrs. P. and legal action is being taken.

S.S. is a young man 18 years old. He has been refused the issue of a reference book in Johannesburg and has been endorsed out of the area.

He came to the advice office with his mother after his appeal against the endorsement out was refused.

He was born in Johannesburg at the Bridgeman Memorial Hospital and attended school in Johannesburg from 1959 to 1964. He has a school certificate. His mother says that his name was on his grandfather's housing permit in Orlando West until 1964 when it was re-

moved in error. His grandmother died at that time and when his grandfather asked for the name to be removed the Superintendent checked on all the occupants of the house. S. was temporarily staying with his mother in Jabavu and the superintendent struck his name from the permit.

His mother's papers are all in order and there seems no doubt that S. has never been away from Johannesburg.

S. is only one of hundreds of tennagers who are refused a reference book when they apply and are endorsed out at once. S. has no home other than Johannesburg and unless his reopened appeal is successful he will be a displaced person.

MRS. F.T.N. was deserted by her husband some years ago. She was told to leave her house in Emdeni South by the end of September this year. It is the present policy not to allow deserted women to be the legal tenants of houses in Soweto. They are expected to find lodgings and become sub-tenants in someone else's house and this is extremely difficult as there is a serious shortage of available accommodation. Mrs. N. has six children, her own papers are all in order, and her rent has been kept up to date. Sometimes in cases like hers it is possible to get assistance from the Superintendent or the welfare officer in the township concerned in the search for lodgings but in other cases these evicted people must begin a long foot slogging search for someone who has a room to let and will take them in. The sudden growth of a shantytown in Soweto two months ago was a symptom of the tremendous pressure and overcrowding there.

MRS. Q.N.M. is an old lady in great distress. She thinks she was born in 1903 and that she first came to Johannesburg in 1932. She has never been in registered employment and has never been on a housing permit. Her only surviving child, a daughter, developed epileptic fits after the birth of her own little daughter and subsequently fell under a train and was so seriously injured that she is paralysed from the waist down. Mrs. M. has to establish her right to be in the area before she can be given an old age pension, the same applies to the daughter if she is to be given a disability grant, and the hospital welfare worker told us that she could not even be given a wheel chair until she had a legal address in Soweto. At the moment the Church is providing the family with food parcels and is trying to appeal for them to be found accommodation and allowed to stay on compassionate grounds so that the daughter can remain near to the ne-

cessary medical attention. If this appeal fails they too will be displaced people.

MRS. A.E.Z. was born in Standerton in 1942 and took her reference book there in 1957. She worked on a farm from 1957 to 1958, at Platrand and came to Johannesburg in January 1959. She has remained here ever since except for one day in September 1959 when she visited the farm at Platrand. The farmer signed her book on and off on the same day which is probably the cause of all her difficulties. She married a 10(1) (b) qualified man in 1961 and three children were born to them in Johannesburg in 1961, 1963, 1965. She has their birth certificates and a marriage certificate, all issued in Johannesburg and an affidavit from the Minister of her Church in Meadowlands stating that he has known her as a member of his congregation since January 1959.

She was endorsed out of Johannesburg in March 1968. A lawyer is appealing on her behalf on the grounds that she entered the area lawfully, ordinarily resides with her legal husband, has not broken her residence here and there is accommodation for her in her mother-in-law's house in Soweto where the family has been living.

G.N. is a young man who was born in Johannesburg, went to school in Duiwelskloof where he took his reference book, and has been endorsed out of Johannesburg now that he wishes to start work.

His case is included in this report as an example of the difficulties that arise through errors made by officials in documents. G.N.'s name has always been on his father's housing permit and his family fulfilled all the legal requirements when he went away to school but his father's surname and his surname are spelt differently on the housing permit (the initial letter is different). The father is illiterate and never realised this until his son was endorsed out. The superintendent said G.N. was unknown to him when he was sent from the labour office for a domicile check.

This is a factual report and perhaps fails to convey the pitiful suffering and tragedy of these Africans and their children. Their situation is one of gloom and hopelessness. If only authority would realise that Africans are warm blooded, gentle people who have the same hopes, desires, affections and ambitions as any other people. To hound and persecute them as is being done, reflects the callous inhumanity of the dominant white group.

JEAN SINCLAIR.

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

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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.