

Vol. 16. No. 7
Nov. 1973
Price: 40c

SASH

The Black Sash magazine

CONTENTS

NOVEMBER, 1973

CONFERENCE EDITION

	Page
CELEBRATE WHAT? Jean Sinclair	1
BANNED David Russell	7
IN THE LAND OF A BANNED MAN David Russell	8
TIME TO GET DOWN TO BUSINESS Babette Kabak	11
HOMES FOR THE HOMELESS Joyce Harris	14
AREN'T THEY AFRAID? Eleanor Anderson	15
AFRICAN'S <i>DO</i> PAY TAX Gita Dyzenhaus	16
PEOPLE ARE LIVING HERE Mercia Wilsworth	18
FINGO VILLAGE MUST GO Mercia Wilsworth	20
AND STILL THE REMOVALS GO ON ... AND ON ... Barbara Waite	25
FEDERATION — YES OR NO? Sheena Duncan	27
AROUND THE REGIONS Sheena Duncan	29
ADVICE OFFICES Sheena Duncan	33
WILL THERE BE NO MORE LEARNING? Sheena Duncan	35

Celebrate what?

JEAN SINCLAIR

This is the text of Mrs. Sinclair's presidential address to National Conference.

This year the Nationalist Government celebrated its 25th year in office — 25 years of increasing power and increasing authoritarianism but what has South Africa got to celebrate?

Twenty five years of apartheid; of racial discrimination, injustice, inhumanity, banings, banishments, detention without trial, confiscation of passports, refusal of visas, deportations, race classification, immorality laws, groups areas, enforced removals, resettlement villages.

Migrant labour, bachelor hostels, endorsements out, broken families, permits to live, permits to work, to reside.

Bantu Education, tribal universities, attacks on students, a Schlebusch Commission.

Bantustans, poverty.

A Coloured People's Representative Council, an Indian Council.

Separate entertainments, separate buses and trains, separate entrances, separate lavatories, separate ambulances, separate hospitals, separate blood.

International isolation in sport, theatre, travel, conferences and agencies.

Immigrant "scum", a flag with a "scab" which will drop off, Boerehaat, Current Affairs, censorship, Marais Steyn.

Ministerial threats, attacks on the English-speaking churches and the Press, threats of further Press censorship.

The Physical Planning Act, border industries.

Fear, Doubt, Tension — you name it, we have it.

Sackcloth and ashes would be more appropriate to the situation than celebration.

One of the notable occurrences of this year has been the wresting of some political initiative from Whites by Blacks. The repercussions of the Bantustan policy are immense and far-reaching.

In 1960 Dr. Verwoerd said that the Africans could develop to their limit in the Bantustans and that these would be fully independent states. This promise has become a major plank in the Government's justification of the whole apartheid system and black leaders are successfully using this fact by refusing independence until they have just land consolidations, proper boundaries, a fair share of our national wealth and are accorded the respect and freedom due to leaders of the various legislative assemblies.

The Chief Ministers are demanding more land. They demand that the Bantustans be consolidated into viable geographic entities. They are not satisfied either with the consolidation proposals or with the inequitable distribution of land as set out in the 1936 Land and Trust Act in terms of which 7 250 000 morgen of land were to be acquired for the then reserves. When all this land is handed over to the Bantustans the total amount of land owned by all the Bantustans will be only 13,7 per cent of the surface area of the Republic. It is understandable that the Black leaders find this unequal division unacceptable.

Only the Transkei and the minute Basotho Qwaqwa are geographic entities and even in the Transkei certain White towns including Port St. Johns, are to remain in the Republic. All other Bantustans have scattered blocks of land surrounded by White areas, such as KwaZulu with 29, BophuthaTswana and the Ciskei each with 19, the other "homelands" varying from two to four blocks of land.

The South African Government's consolidation proposals reducing the number of blocks to a smaller number of larger, but still scattered blocks are not acceptable. The leaders are also totally opposed to the massive enforced removals which the consolidation proposals would entail.

All White interests are consulted about consolidation proposals but the Black people

who will suffer the major upheavals and who are most closely affected are not given any official chance to express their views.

Bantustan governments require finance for development of industry and for an infrastructure. They are asking for the right to accept investment from abroad with no strings attached.

Chief ministers Buthelezi, Matanzima, Mangopi, Phatudi and Ntsanwise are increasingly critical of apartheid. They oppose the migrant labour policy. They want freedom of movement for their citizens in the White areas as well as in the Black ones. They criticise influx and efflux control, poverty wages and the lack of trade unions.

In March this year Chief Buthelezi is reported to have told business men and trade unionists that what Blacks wanted from Whites was economic security, social stability and free and compulsory education for their children.

Chief Buthelezi regrets the lack of dialogue between the South African Government and the Bantustan governments. He objects to communicating with cabinet ministers only through the Commissioner General.

KwaZulu's request for its own radio station and its own defence force have been turned down. Chief Buthelezi was not even allowed to have the private secretary of his choice.

All the demands and criticisms of South African policy by the Bantustan leaders are obviously an embarrassment to the Republican government. Separate development is not working out in the way it was intended.

Black consciousness and Black political awareness are now a fact of life. Black consciousness is the determination of the Black man to know himself — to realise his worth as a person and to depend on himself to achieve his aspirations. The analogy in this country is the growth of Afrikaner nationalism which began in exactly the same way as Black consciousness.

Black consciousness is spreading both in the rural and the urban areas. It is producing a consolidation of opinion among all Black groups including the Coloured people and the Asians. The Coloured Persons Representative Council is not working. The Coloured people, having been deprived of the political rights which they once had in the Cape, do not regard the Council as a meaningful alternative

to the vote on the common roll. The policy with regard to the Coloured people and the Asians is so vague and undefined that it pleases no one.

Young Black people, like the young everywhere, are not as moderate as their parents. To them no White of any shade of political opinion has any credibility and they have decided to go it alone.

This year the banning of eight Black student leaders and of young political leaders has led to a hardening of attitudes. Confrontation with authority at the Black universities and some secondary schools has become endemic. Unrest flared up at Fort Hare at the beginning of August. One hundred and fifty students were suspended and the following week hundreds of students walked out. Students at the Federal Theological Seminary staged a sit-in.

In Damaraland students of the Martin Luther High School boycotted classes in sympathy with students of the Augustinium College in Windhoek who had staged a mass walk out the week before after refusing to comply with certain of the college's regulations.

Two Saso officials were banned in August. More have been banned since. Then there were the disturbances at the University of the Western Cape.

The actions of the South African Government have led to the growing solidarity of all Black people, politicians, professionals, academics, workers and students. A meeting held recently in Athlone was attended by 12 000 people who came to demand the unconditional readmission of all the students of the University of the Western Cape.

The Black People's Convention — a new political movement — is aimed at Black solidarity, and like Saso, it rejects the Bantustan policy. It feels that by accepting office in the Bantustans the leaders have become part of the system.

The Coloured people, having been rejected, deprived of their rights, their dignity, insulted and assaulted, are bitter. They are bitter about their education, though from next year free and compulsory education is to be introduced for all Coloured children. They are bitter about the Group Areas policy whereby they have been moved from their long established homes; they are bitter about the horrors of race classification, about separate entertainments and about the futility of the Coloured Persons Representative Council.

The Asians, too, have been victims of the Group Areas Act, have lost their homes and their businesses in their enforced removal to areas of the Government's choosing. They too have associated themselves with the call for Black solidarity.

The unrest in South West Africa is evidence of the growing dissatisfaction of the Ovambos. The strikes started in 1971. Since then, although a state of emergency was declared, there have been spasmodic outbreaks and disturbances. In the recent election of the Ovambo Legislative Assembly only 2½ per cent of the electorate cast their votes — hardly a demonstration of enthusiasm for separate development. Since the election violence has erupted again in Katutura township.

In the urban areas of the Republic and in South West Africa, the migrant labour policy, the pass laws, the lack of family housing, the poverty wages, continue to harrass the African people.

In March this year the strikes in Natal caused consternation and even fear among White employers. These strikes are significant because they were spontaneous and unorganised. With the rising cost of living the wages most workers were earning were not enough to keep either the men or their families in health or decency. Wages were increased throughout the country but still a large percentage of workers are earning well below the poverty datum line.

The exposure in the British Press of the poverty wages paid by British companies operating in South Africa resulted in the appointment of a British Parliamentary Commission to enquire into the position. There has been some heartsearching among employers as a result of the strikes, with regard to wages, lack of communication and lack of training. It is sad but true that wage increases for Black workers have still not matched the increases given to White workers and in many cases the gap has been increased.

Sporadic strikes have broken out all over the country and are continuing. It is imperative that the disparity in the wages between Black and White workers be narrowed and that all workers be paid a living wage as soon as possible.

The migrant labour policy is one of the main causes of low wages. There are several very important factors which seem to be disregarded by employers.

Firstly, it is not the fault of the migrant worker that he has neither education nor training.

Secondly, he is forced by law to be a migrant and can never be anything but a migrant.

He has to live in a bachelor hostel all his working life, while his wife and family eke out an existence in a Bantustan, frequently in a resettlement village. He has therefore to try to support his family on his meagre pay *and* pay his own rent and food in the urban area where he works.

Thirdly, he pays income tax. Officially he does not pay income tax, but he does pay tax on his income which he must pay when his earnings reach the shamefully low level of R360 a year, far lower than the level at which a White man starts to pay income tax. The tax increases as his income rises and he receives no rebates for being a married man with or without children. In addition he pays a general tax of R2,50 a year and in his Bantustan he has to pay hut tax. He pays exactly the same as a White person for food, clothing and household necessities and in the Black townships many essentials cost more than they do in White towns. From this it must be realised that the rising cost of living is a much more serious matter for an African than it is for a White man.

It is true that the migrant worker is often inefficient and his productivity low, but is it surprising when his service contract is for a maximum period of a year; when his living conditions are appalling; when he has no security, no family life, often poor feeding and no privacy? All these factors mitigate against efficiency and stability.

The migrant labour policy is evil and indefensible and should be abandoned. It has dehumanised the worker, turned him into a "labour unit" and virtually a serf.

Education and training are an urgent priority. Emphasis on this comes from all sections of the population—Black and White. The Government should abandon separate Bantu education and educate all children for an equally productive role in society. Whether or not White skilled immigrants will continue to come to this country, South Africa has a moral obligation to teach and train her own population. A crash programme is needed in the short term and many industrialists, I am sure, will help.

As a first step it would help if the Government stopped endorsing out the thousands of teenagers in the urban areas and set up emergency vocational schools to teach them skills.

This year the Bantu Administration Boards took over the administration of African affairs from the local authorities. A stated objective of the Boards is to give more mobility to labour. The deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education has announced that all legislation affecting Africans is to be simplified. It certainly needs simplification but this will probably entail the final removal of the few remaining loopholes.

There is no suggestion of repealing any of the harsh provisions of influx and efflux control or of reintroducing home ownership and freehold tenure. Neither is there any word of allowing all African workers to live with their families in the places where they work. There is no evidence that "endorsements out" are being reduced nor that any of the regulations are being relaxed — quite the opposite in fact.

The chief ministers of the Bantustans are equally disturbed about the "endorsements out". In the already overcrowded Bantustans there is large scale unemployment and poverty and the enforced repatriation of the urban dwellers merely serves to aggravate the situation, causing more misery, more broken families, more malnutrition and more hardship.

Although the apartheid laws and regulations have not changed much over the last year, the attitudes of the Black people have changed as I have demonstrated. They are becoming increasingly bitter and exasperated with the injustices, the discrimination in every sphere; in employment, education, wages, living conditions and housing. The Blacks are grasping the political initiative while White South Africa seems incapable of moving to bring about radical change.

We now turn to White politics. The most obvious trend appears to be the Government's unwillingness to admit to the failure of its policy and to face the fact that it is futile to persevere with a plan which is unacceptable to the majority of the people it governs.

When Dr. Verwoerd launched the policy of separate development he said the fragmentation of South Africa was not what we would have liked; but it had to be done to reduce the pressures on South Africa from abroad.

In theory separate development was intended to present the moral justification for apartheid. In practice, as well as the injustices, many anomalies have been uncovered and unexpected demands have revealed the shortcomings of the policy. The Government's failure to fulfil many of the promises originally given, such as the consolidation of the boundaries and the fact that certain towns like Richard's Bay in KwaZulu and Port St. John's in the Transkei have been excluded from their territories has caused disillusionment and bitterness. Dr. Verwoerd led his party into a cul-de-sac down which it stumbles blindly.

The Government, finding itself in this uneasy situation, has three courses of action open to it. To admit defeat and change its policy; to resign and allow another government to take over, or to rule by force in the face of the increasing anger and frustration of the Black people. The last option is what the Government has chosen to do, and in so doing has adopted authoritarian methods and abandoned the democratic principles of government.

Early on in its administration the Government realised that it could not implement apartheid without legislation designed to curb extra-parliamentary opposition. Such laws as the Suppression of Communism Act, which provided for the imposition of banning orders without trial, were passed.

In the years that followed a mass of apartheid legislation and other laws which abrogate the rule of law were put on the statute book to restrict and silence opposition to and criticism of Government policy.

During this 25th year of Nationalist rule, in the name of state security, the Government has taken the most undemocratic and despotic action against those who refuse to conform.

The attack on the English-speaking students and Nusas began some years ago. Last year we had the police assaults on students peacefully demonstrating. This year the Government gave us the Schlebusch Commission appointed to investigate four organisations: The National Union of South African Students; the now defunct University Christian Movement; the Institute of Race Relations and the Christian Institute.

All are organisations openly critical of apartheid; all are working for justice and reconciliation; all are opposed to racial discrimination; all are trying to establish contact and

goodwill among all racial groups. All the organisations are respected and none of them can rightly be accused of subversion or of being a threat to the security of the state.

Those witnesses who, in conscience, have refused to give evidence before the Commission, regard it as a denial of justice but would be prepared to give evidence to a judicial commission. The members of Schlebusch are party politicians, some of whom have expressed publicly their one-sided opinions of certain or all of the organisations. The work of the Commission is carried out in secret and witnesses are denied the right to have their legal advisers cross-examine. This is a travesty of justice.

After the publication of the Commission's report the Government banned eight student leaders without giving any reason. What cowardly action to silence criticism.

As I write this, Dr. Beyers Naudé has had his passport withdrawn. An undated order to surrender his passport was handed to him at the airport when he was about to leave for Europe. The fact that Dr. Naudé had failed to notice his passport had expired is beside the point. The newsrooms of the world have broadcast this story about a man — a world figure, honoured and admired by all freedom-loving people.

Incidents like these as well as the abrogation of the rule of law, the discrimination and the injustices have caused anxiety and criticism from many Afrikaner intellectuals, academics and businessmen.

They are deeply concerned about the inequality of opportunity and the lack of communication and meaningful dialogue. They see the dangers for the future of South Africa and have launched a new movement, Verligte Aksie.

Membership of the organisation is open to all South Africans regardless of race or shade of political opinion. This obviously is a step in the right direction and we wish them well.

I do, however, wish to stress that the implementation of this Government's plan for separate development is a sham designed to ensure that White South Africa can make use of Black labour without in any way sharing power, prosperity or privilege. We therefore believe that it is illogical to support separate development while opposing the negative and totally evil aspects of what is erroneously call-

ed "petty" apartheid. It is also impossible to enforce the policy without abandoning any pretence to govern within the rule of law. For these reasons we cannot see how it is possible to belong to, or vote for the National Party, and at the same time to be a member of Verligte Aksie. Separate development is inherently discriminatory.

It is well known that the Black Sash is totally opposed to apartheid and all that it entails. We oppose coercion which has been employed to establish the Bantustans. If the policy is to have any moral basis at all there must be consultation and agreement with the governments of these territories. It is common cause that the Bantustan governments are unwilling to accept independence until their territories are consolidated into a cohesive whole and until they are given adequate land, a fair share of the country's resources and access to the sea. They must also be given full control over their own affairs.

However we are not convinced that Black people, if given a free choice, would choose to fragment South Africa. The only alternative is full citizenship for all South Africans.

One of the most unfortunate aspects of White politics over the years has been the failure of the United Party either to present a positive and understandable policy to the electorate, or to give firm and dynamic opposition in vital matters of principle. Its shilly-shallying over authoritarian legislation; its connivance at the erosion of the rule of law; its willingness to serve on the Schlebusch Commission and its tacit acceptance of apartheid with all its inhuman restrictions, has given the Government the green light to fill the statute book with legislation which has no place in a democratic society. Now that the party has been relieved of the burden of Mr. Marais Steyn it may listen to its more dynamic young leaders.

The Progressive Party with its one remarkable member of Parliament, Dr. Helen Suzman, has provided the only real opposition in Parliament. She fights alone for the rights of 16 million South Africans, most of whom are unenfranchised. In her 21 years in Parliament she has opposed each and every undemocratic bill. Her performance has earned for her the reputation of being one of the greatest parliamentarians of the day.

It is unfortunate that the White electorate has guarded its privilege and its material

wealth and has closed its eyes to injustice and the need for meaningful change. Its unwillingness to make any sacrifice of its comfort has denied the Progressive Party the support which its principles deserve.

A new political party is about to be formed. Mr. Gerdener's Democratic Party. It may break the present log jam in White politics. We hope it will, but one thing is certain, in our present situation nothing will succeed unless there is consultation and consensus on the policies to be adopted.

We have become used to the Prime Minister's fulminations at National Party congresses, but his recent threat to the freedom of the Press is ominous. The Press is the only institution which gives South Africa's image an air of respectability. Mr. Vorster's excuse for threatening to impose further curbs on the Press is that he says it is guilty of incitement to racial hatred.

The Government should realise that it is thanks to the English-language Press that any element of goodwill still exists; that the Press is an outlet for Black people to voice their element of goodwill still exists; that the Press is the one institution which practises the Government's stated policy of dialogue. If it were not for the Press the lack of communication would be even greater than it is.

If incitement to racial hatred is the Prime Minister's worry it would be more appropriate to censor the actions and utterances of his Cabinet and members of his party. The use

of such phrases as "superfluous appendages", "labour units", "immigrant scum" are certainly incitement to racial hatred, not to mention the campaign of Boerehaat, revived last year by the Minister of Defence during a by-election campaign. More importantly, the whole apartheid policy is incitement to racial hatred.

Another threat hanging over our heads is legislation which will effectively silence our universities. The only comment one can make is "those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad."

The time has come for a change and all of us who fear for the future of South Africa must stand together to oppose the forces of despotism.

The Black Sash has for the last 18 years protested against injustice, racial discrimination and the erosion of the rule of law. It will continue to do so. It will continue to fight for a change of heart and a change of policy. It will continue to expose the facts and the effects of apartheid on Black people. It will continue to try to create goodwill and understanding among all South Africans.

We shall look for new ideas and ways and means to meet the new challenges of our day. As Chief Buthelezi has said "the ball is in White South Africa's court and it is up to White leadership to save us all from a confrontation that is bound to destroy all of us, and whose aftermath is too terrible to imagine".

Affirmation

THE BLACK SASH reiterates its total opposition to any further encroachment on the freedom of the Press and promises its wholehearted support to the newspapers who have so courageously stood for justice in South Africa and integrity in their profession.

BANNED

Seventy people have been served with banning orders this year.

- MOST of them are Black.
- MANY of them are students.
- MANY of them are committed churchmen.
- NEARLY all of them are young.
- THEY care about the future of South African and ALL her people.

IF this Government persists in destroying the work of all those who are working constructively to bring about peaceful, evolutionary change and reconciliation in South Africa, then the responsibility for total chaos and irreconcilable conflict between our people in the future rests squarely on its shoulders.

january, nyembe, vikilahle, biko, cooper, curtis,
ensor, keegan, koka, lapinsky, le roux, mafuna,
modisane, moodley, nengwekhulu, pityana, preto-
rius, turner, wood, ndhlovu, matlana, moodley, booi,
diko, dingana, dlevu, hobo, mbekela, ngqondela,
ngwema, stadi, yonge, moseneke, shinnars, isaacs,
naidoo, vandeyar, nanabahi, mohlangu, moetsi,
nene, josie, willem, buthelezi, madibeng, moodley,
arenstein, motau, ramgobin, mathe, issel, langa,
baqwa, khoapa, qambela, dangor, mokoditsoa,
phillips, mxenge, sewpershad, nhlapo, diseko, issel,
nhlapo, makatamene, mbandla, mokoape, mattera,
chetty, naidoo . . .

HOW MANY MORE WILL GO BEFORE CHRISTMAS?

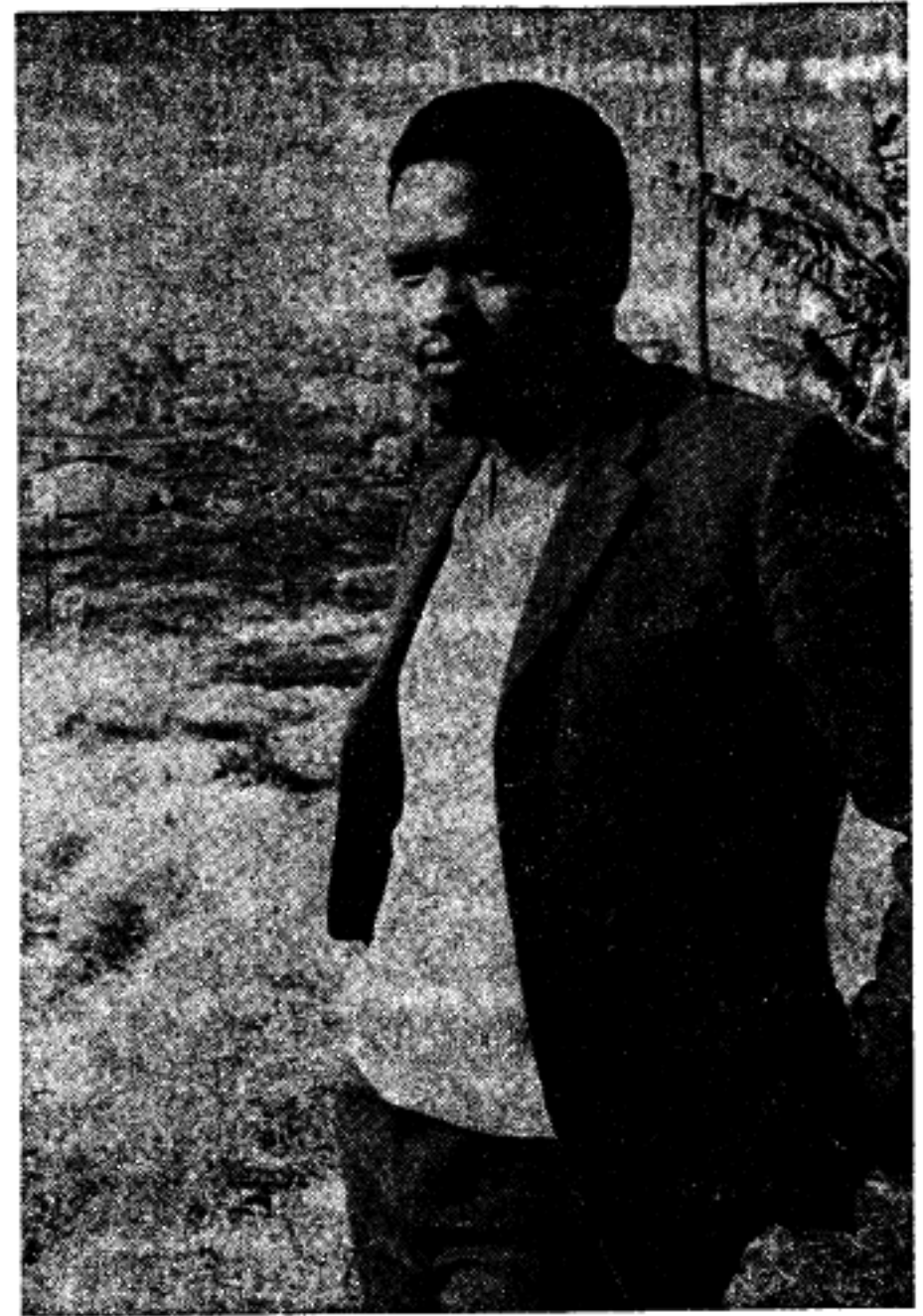
In the land of a banned man

DAVID RUSSELL

Steven Biko is King's banned man. There are almost 400 of "them" in South Africa, our banned citizens. In the Border area we have 30 in our midst — all black as it happens. They "live" mainly at Mdantsane, Zwelitsha, Dimbaza and Ilinge. Thirty people . . . a list of names, a mere statistic to many unless one of them happens to be in your parish and you his priest and friend.

Steve Biko was banned on February 26, one of a group featured in the Press as "the Saso Eight." He was in fact the founder of the South African Students' Organisation but, actually, at the time of his banning Mr. Biko was working full-time for an organisation called Black Community Programmes an offshoot of Spro-cas. He is still working full-time at this.

He is banned to the magisterial district of Kingwilliamstown — to his home which is in Ginsberg location. This means that for five years, and who knows for how long after, he cannot travel at all. He cannot receive guests or relatives at his home. He cannot attend any gatherings, cannot visit friends with



his wife. He cannot . . . the restrictions are legion.

Steven is a dedicated and committed person. He seems older than his 26 years and he simply cannot be discounted as an irresponsible hothead. He is a married man with a young child.

His stand at rock-bottom is a fundamentally biblical one. He longs for justice for his people — Black people, not in any narrow racist sense but as those who are by law or tradition a group in the South African society and who identify themselves as a unit in the struggle towards their aspirations for a just society.

Such a definition is existential: a description of actual experience. It is empirical — based on an objective analysis of the facts of the South African situation. Furthermore it has rich parallels with the Mosaic tradition; the story of the Jewish struggle for freedom from Pharaoh's yoke.

Steven is a man of outstanding talent, a formidable person to encounter. He has an incisive and impressively objective and analytical mind. He is also a perceptive and sen-

sitive human being. Such people tower above their petty and bullying persecutors. The fact that he could, by the stroke of an arbitrary pen, be relegated to the role of a social cripple is a living indictment of our social system.

However, I detect in him no moping mood of self-pity. He is only too keenly aware of the lot of his brothers, confined to poverty-stricken reserves and obliged to go cap in hand to a White boss for work at a wage which too often falls far below the poverty datum line. These serfs of South Africa are banned in their own special and drastic way. Life under banning orders will be a lonè, grim, unnatural grind. But it will not crush him, he will come through victorious.

The Bikos are one of the families in our local congregation whom I have been visiting from time to time in the last three-and-a-half years. Steven's mother has been a widow since 1950. She has four children and Steven is her second son. So when I heard on the 6.30 a.m. news that a son of the family had been banned, I decided to visit his mother to offer my help and support as their priest.

I met her coming up the hill after a weary day's work at the hospital. She took the news as one who knows her would expect, with quiet strength based on a deep Christian faith. But such faith does not, of course, provide an escape from suffering and anxiety — the worry of knowing that even the slightest infringement of the banning orders may spell jail for her son. It is a heavy burden for any mother to bear.

When Steven was brought back home to serve his long five-year term of banning, I had him to my house for supper. At some stage there was a knock on the door. I went to answer and found that an old friend of mine, now a priest in another diocese, had come to visit me.

I had to explain that he could not come in because Steve was with me. My friend was keen to greet him so I had to go outside to enable them to have a chat. It was so utterly absurd and unnatural, yet if I had not gone out of my own house on that occasion Steve could have been found guilty of breaking his ban and been liable to a sentence not exceeding three years.

On another occasion when I was visiting his mother at their home, her banned son came home earlier than expected. I was oblig-

to step outside the house to enable him to pass through the lounge to his own room, before I could resume my conversation with his mother. I was beginning to have some inkling of what it is like in the land of a banned man.

Banning orders have a strong tendency to turn a person into a social leper. Few know how to interpret these weird and bizarre regulations. Neighbours and friends and even relatives are liable to get the impression that it is somehow illegal to enter the home of a banned person or to invite him into one's own house.

This is not the case at all if a house arrest order is not included in the banning order. It is pleasing to see that many people of the Ginsberg community realise this and have rallied around, refusing to bypass their banned neighbour.

But the uncertainty in many people's minds often makes them prefer to play safe to protect their friend, thus the insidious process of isolation sets in.

Worse than this, ordinary people might easily become afraid of befriending a person who has been set aside by Big Brother, the state, for public disfavour and subtle punishment. It is too easy for people to slide into the false conclusion that the victim is somehow guilty.

In fact, the opposite is true. What makes banning orders so deeply unjust is the fact that the unfortunate victims are precisely the people who have in a very real sense been proved innocent.

Criminals are by definition those who have been found guilty in the courts of certain anti-social acts. The banned have never been brought before the courts at all. They are people who have persevered fearlessly in their convictions, and incurred the wrath of a regime whose treatment of citizens has been condemned by the world-wide Christian community.

One can be quite sure that if the state had one shred of evidence that someone like Steve were guilty they would have brought him gleefully before the courts. But they know he is innocent so they ban him. In spite of a legal structure bristling with wide and tyrannical powers, they cannot find him guilty so they ban him.

Bannings are the loudest testimony yet devised by the state to proclaim: "this man has done nothing wrong".

The banned are legally innocent citizens incarcerated in an inhuman twilight existence. It is no exaggeration to say that banning is a form of violence — violence to justice, violence to family, violence to persons.

At the stroke of a vindictive, all-powerful pen, any innocent citizen can be banned all his life. He has no means of appeal or recourse to a just hearing at all. If he has a meal with friends, he can be dragged before the courts and smeared as a common criminal. He can be found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for anything up to three years. This is our South Africa. This is nothing less than a subtle form of state-controlled intimidation and anyone who tries to argue otherwise is surely deceiving himself.

Steven Biko was banned as a result of his emergence as one of the prime articulators of the process of selfawareness — almost a rebirth — which is surging through the Blacks of South Africa. This phenomenon is like some great groundswell of history. The violence of bannings will not stem this new fact of life. (The latter-day Canutes who rule today, will not stem this thrust for human dignity).

Christ died to set man free at every level. Steve was claiming that freedom when he was silenced and confined under a banning order. His claim lives on and I am convinced that we have not heard the last of Steven Biko.

We are grateful to the Cape Times for permission to reprint this article.

WHEN MEN can freely communicate their thoughts and their sufferings, real or imaginary, their passions spend themselves in air, like gunpowder scattered upon the surface; but pent up by terrors, they work unseen, burst forth in a moment, and destroy everything in their course.

THOMAS ERSKINE, 1792

SASH — The Black Sash magazine

GIVE SASH FOR CHRISTMAS

You may not win friends but you might influence people.

Published quarterly: Annual subscription R1,60

Individual copies 40 cents

Order from: **The Black Sash,**

37 Harvard Buildings,

Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

Time to get down to business

*This paper was researched by a working group in the Transvaal Region
and written by BABETTE KABAK.*

The sub-committee carrying out this survey hoped to obtain a sound statistical background. Against such a background we felt that we could better assess both the present state of housing and education and also all comment by officials and private individuals.

The gathering of statistics proved to be very difficult. For example, at the time of the 1970 Census the Coloured community in Johannesburg area was 82 000 people. No more recent official figure was available to us.

Senior officials of both the Government Administration of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs and the municipal Department of Coloured and Asiatic Affairs now estimate the community at between 80 000 and 120 000 people. In this survey therefore the community is estimated to be about 90 000 people. A GROUP from the Transvaal Region did a preliminary survey of living conditions of Coloured people. We visited many areas, interviewed officials and Coloured people and read reports on their situation.

The average family consists of nearly six people, not including old dependents and newly-wedded couples living with parents. The average woman bears 6,6 babies; the birth rate among Coloured people being the highest of any population group. The average family has more young people than any other group — 27,2 per cent between 5 and 15 years old.

Among Whites only 20,9 per cent are in this age group. This means the average family is under severe financial strain — has more mouths to feed, more young ones to clothe and school. It means that Coloured people have a lower savings ratio than White people and a lower rate of capital growth. Whatever they earn they need for current expenses, rent, food, clothing. For the public sector it means a larger expenditure on essential long-term social services, schools, nursery schools, creches, recreational facilities than has been planned till now.

In South Africa three-quarters of a million Coloured people are economically active. Nearly a third of these do artisan work, clerical, managerial, police, transport and professional. One third earn from R80 to R160 monthly. Some earn more and most earn less.

The living conditions of Coloured people in Johannesburg differ widely. In one or two suburbs a small proportion enjoy as good a life as most of us in fine middle class homes. Nearly half the city's Coloured population live in very simple, but acceptably adequate circumstances.

But for the other half the scene is markedly different. Twelve thousand live in what one city official recently described as "critical conditions" — in tents, shacks, makeshift garages. Another 20 000 survive in what is officially termed "slum housing". He estimates that between 30 and 40 000 people need rehousing. At roughly six per family this represents 5 500 houses. Another senior official puts the number of new units needed as high as 8 000. This means that officialdom is aware that nearly 50 000 people require rehousing urgently.

Western Township, Newclare and Kliptown are the worst slums we saw. Responsibility for them is divided between the City Council and the Department of Community Development.

What we saw last month is what was officially described 3½ years ago in a report by a highly placed health official as follows: "Kliptown consists mostly of the old area in which houses have been condemned but still a large portion of the population both Coloured and Bantu are living in unbelievably filthy, unhygienic conditions and surroundings; the houses or rooms are beyond repair; there is no drainage system and a thick black sludge runs in rivers over the streets, clogged with all the filth and litter imaginable.

"Latrines are bucket system . . . and usually the buckets are emptied in the heat of the day, when the stench of the cart is unbearable. It is a common sight to see children squatting openly in the street. Rubbish and filth collected over 20 years is piled up and litters all the streets; roads are shocking and often impassable. Every house, shack or room is grossly overcrowded, these are usually rented . . . for anything from 75 cents per month to R10. Rats, flies, bugs and scabies abound."

". . . On the other hand in the Nancefield area where the new houses are under construction by the Community Development Board, there is more order and hygiene though sometimes still overcrowding. There is sewerage to each house and water laid on. At present there is no electricity in Kliptown or Nancefield.

"The number of new houses occupied to date is 1 100, they aim at 5 000 houses, and estimate they can build 1 000 houses per year, but they are far behind the schedule and at present the rate of houses ready for occupation is 10 per week.

". . . Families from outside areas are often allocated these houses. At this rate old Kliptown may continue for another 10 years or more."

Families referred to in the above report are often those removed from adequate residences under the Group Areas Act. The slum dwellers whose need could not be more desperate are left to languish in the squalor.

It is astonishing to us that diseases of epidemic proportions have not broken out in these Coloured areas and spread to other suburbs.

Although conditions have been brought to the notice of the central authorities by numerous city officials both White and Coloured, in our recent visit to the areas we saw evidence that not enough has been done to remedy the situation.

A reply from a very high official in the Administration of Coloured and Rehoboth Affairs indicated at the time that the Government believes it is uneconomical to clear the rubbish which has accumulated through the years because the area is scheduled to be developed.

In the meantime — and that time may extend to 10 years or more — to have to survive in that environment; to wake in the morning, to face a day in those slums — or to return there at the end of a working day debases

these forsaken people. Many are physically, mentally deadened and unable to pull themselves together — to clean up after themselves. It's an Augean stable.

A leading Coloured elected representative suggested that rehabilitation centres be established where social workers could live with them and teach them the simple fundamentals of how to keep clean and take care of themselves.

According to a senior health official the population in Kliptown contains an excess proportion of unassimilables — people unable to pay rent and unable to occupy new housing without rapid deterioration of the premises ensuing.

His remedy is to effectively reduce the density of population that produces such slum conditions. He suggests a "site and service" scheme. One family could be placed on each site with proper provision of water, sanitation and refuse removal. His view is that people adapt more gradually and successfully to makeshift accommodation they put up themselves.

In our opinion a study should be made of the portion of our 50 000 Coloured people who fall into this unfortunate category and the methods, feasibility and cost of rehabilitating them.

Thirteen years ago the Johannesburg City Council conceived a residential scheme for Coloured people at Riverlea, consisting of undeveloped land for home building; homes for sale, and economic and sub-economic houses to rent.

Because of its siting and clearly not because of its inhabitants the sub-economic section of 719 units is already developing into a slum. There was no more undesirable or bleaker spot to erect a model township. Built below a mine dump the houses are practically set in a sand pit. To keep a place clean is a promethean and repetitive job. A combination of outside elements and inferior construction is literally blowing these pitiful dwellings into the ground. The wind is so powerful it drills holes through steel doors.

A huge empty space is being used as a free-for-all refuse dump — not by the tenants as much as by construction firms. Who is responsible for removing this rubbish? Street lighting? — Non-existent. Transport? — A half hour walk away on dusty, wind-swept or sloppy, muddy roads to reach the nearest railway connection to a job in Johannesburg. The

bus service is inadequate. Why not a station to serve Riverlea's 8 000 people? Because they are voteless and their needs can be ignored safely.

Eldorado Park, which is a project of the Department of Community Development is a fine example of middle and lower middle class living but construction is regrettably slow. And only 10 per cent of the allocation is for slum dwellers desperately in need of decent housing. According to a prominent official in the administration 90 per cent is for people removed from areas proclaimed White. At this rate the solution to slum clearing and rehousing is not years but decades away, in our opinion.

Another problem is the rising cost of rent. A wage earner is expected to budget one fifth of his earnings for rent. According to a city official teachers and others paid similar salaries have refused to move from cheap slums to new and better homes because they felt they could not afford to feed their families and pay triple rents.

Rent on an economic and sub-economic basis is worked out on a graduated rate dependent on many factors including total income of all inhabitants of a house and the percentage return ranging from one to nine per cent on the capital building cost.

Tenants must not earn more than R80 monthly to rent a sub-economic house. These houses at rents of between R4 and R23 are built of cement, have no ceilings or inner doors, no internal washing or cooking facilities, no electricity.

Tenants earning not more than R221 and R320 monthly qualify for an economic house consisting of two bedrooms, living room, kitchen, bath and toilet, water, electricity and fencing, renting at up to R36. In 1962 such houses cost from R700 to R900 to build. Today costs have risen to R3 400 to R4 400. Rents rise accordingly.

Some Coloured people indicate a willingness to buy or build their own homes. They claim there is not enough land in the area restricted to them under the Group Areas Act. Stands of an eighth of an acre that were originally bought by the City Council for R400 to R500 are now valued at R3 000. This means an acre of land allocated for a Coloured dwelling is worth R24 000.

It appears to us as lay people and not experienced realtors that these values seem artificially inflated. The cause appears to be dis-

criminatory legislation that limits the supply for Coloured occupancy where there is great demand. It is to the credit of the Johannesburg City Council that they sell these stands at their original prices. They also sell houses for R4 000 to R5 000 with a R200 deposit and 30 years to pay at 8 per cent. In our opinion this interest seems high for low income families who need Government help.

Coloured people run up against many obstacles we Whites don't experience. They fear that under the Group Areas Act their suburbs may be deproclaimed. They hesitate to improve their property for fear of being removed and then poorly compensated. The Government should make clear to them where they may settle permanently or better still scrap discriminatory legislation altogether. Coloured folk find it hard to obtain small, low-interest loans from the Government and from building societies. Although their wages are still on the low side nearly a third of Coloured people are in steady skilled jobs or higher positions. It seems to us that low-interest facilities should be extended to them. If more land was available we feel that a fair portion of the 8 000 families needing housing in Johannesburg would build for themselves.

Private enterprise should also be encouraged to help break this construction backlog by building for Coloured people at decent economic interest rates. This way the Government and the City Council is left to tackle what is already a mammoth responsibility — economic and sub-economic units to replace slums.

The length of time between the initiation of a housing plan and its completion is deplorable. The Department of Community Development must proclaim the land. The City Council must apply to the National Housing Commission for a loan. They then submit plans to the Department of Community Development which must pass them or return them for revision. The City Council then calls for tenders. Finally the houses are constructed. This process can take years, by which time costs have risen enormously. One city official said the only remedy is a crash programme of 3 000 houses built in one year to break the back of the problem. It is expected that 1 000 to 2 000 will be built this year. It is hoped by 1975 the housing position will be improved and by 1980 it will be solved. If the past is a guide to the future these forecasts are hopelessly optimistic. It's time that bureaucracy got down to business.

Homes for the homeless

JOYCE HARRIS

Lack of home ownership and the right to freehold tenure, while not being by any means the most severe deprivation suffered by Black people, is nevertheless an important aggravating factor in their rootlessness and utter lack of security.

It is very difficult to uncover the exact degree of availability to Blacks of land for freehold tenure, but it is quite obvious that it is very small.

It is not available at all in the common areas or in the White urban areas. Such freehold rights as did exist for Africans have been abolished by this Government.

When all the trust land for the Bantustans has finally been acquired for them, they will own 13,7 per cent of the total land area of the country, that is 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ million ha in a total land mass of 427 359 square miles.

Transvaal Region is presently trying to ascertain, through the chief ministers of the Bantustans, how much of this land is available for individual freehold tenure and how much is tribally held. A recent statement by Chief Matanzima said that Transkeians would be able to buy freehold tenure in 25 of the Transkei towns, but this is not yet a fait accompli, nor does it present anything like a total picture for the Transkei.

The Government is spending money in the Bantustans on the building of resettlement townships and closer settlements, but there is no indication how many of these properties will become available for purchase with freehold tenure, even assuming that any of the inhabitants could find the necessary money.

Modern townships close to employment are also being built, but a great deal of money is being spent on housing for key White personnel. For instance it has come to our notice that Giyani, the brand-new town which is the capital of Gazankulu, is largely inhabited by White personnel, while the Africans are con-

finied to a location outside the town — and this in a “homeland”!

There are apparently residential areas with grazing rights in the Bantustans, but to what extent we do not know, nor do we know the conditions under which they are made available.

Everywhere there are indications of the denial of home ownership to the vast majority of Black people, yet every human being knows, and surely acknowledges the sense of security derived from owning the roof over one's head, knowing that one's home is one's own and cannot be invaded, enjoying the privacy of one's own four walls.

Throughout the Blash Sash conference, papers and reports from all regions demonstrated that the lack of housing in both rural and urban areas for Black people has now reached critical proportions.

People are being moved out of houses where they may hold freehold title to be settled in other places where characterless corrugated iron or cement block houses are built for them or where they are sometimes expected to build for themselves on a site allotted to them.

Money and resources are being used to build houses for those who already have them in pursuit of the Government's ideological master plan while many people remain entirely homeless or are living in critically overcrowded conditions or in shacks because they have no alternative.

The proper provision of towns and suburbs offering freehold title would mean that some at least of South Africa's Black population would provide their own houses. A complete embargo on the removal of families from existing houses would allow the authorities to set about providing accommodation for the homeless with the urgency which the situation warrants.

Aren't they afraid?

ELEANOR ANDERSON

"Aren't you afraid of being arrested?" joked the man I had just been introduced to.

He was middle-aged, White, kindly and due to his steady efforts in the running of a small machine tool factory, long since unacquainted with poverty or with the problems of people he rarely saw. He made his little joke when I told him I was going to a Black Sash meeting and had been one of the delegates at the recent conference in Durban.

Well now, what about this business of being arrested? Black people are when they are found not to be carrying a pass. Priests and students and lecturers are house arrested or banned for reasons which are not clear because they are not brought to trial. So we're left guessing. Have they been got at because they spoke unflatteringly about poverty, or inadequate education, or lousy housing, or migrant labour, or the Government's jolly little habit of sending a man off in one direction and his wife in another? These are things the Black Sash women are constantly making a fuss about. So perhaps they should fear arrest. Perhaps they do.

None of this apprehension showed, however, at the conference where women from the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal gathered together to share their thoughts, report on their activities, and listen to addresses by experts in their several fields. A doctor from a hospital in Zululand gave a brilliant speech on the tragic, often mortal difficulties suffered by women and children separated by law from ill-paid husbands and fathers who could not afford to send home more than R10 a month.

There were addresses by social workers and health educators, Black and White, and all told the same story of families in "homelands" struggling to cope with situations where pretty well all the amenities of life were not to be had.

The cost of transport to clinics was repeatedly stressed, and the shortage of water, of food, of fuel, of employment.

An Indian woman, a sociologist at the University of Natal, gave a talk. By what weird alchemy, she wanted to know, do Black and Brown people suffer less than Whites would suffer when faced with such fundamental dilemmas as poverty, illness, crowded accommodation, the high cost of living? All this too, while trammelled by job reservation and the group areas restrictions.

Someone read a paper about the taxes paid by Africans. Poll tax, hut tax, a tribal levy and income tax if their annual earnings are over R360. Neither are there any alleviations, as for Whites, in such matters as illness, unemployment, or the need to care for children or elderly dependants.

Someone else talked about the plight of the 6 000 Fingo villagers who are to be moved "voluntarily" from Grahamstown to desolate Committees Drift 50 km away. Again the same agonizing questions arose. What about jobs, a clinic, transport (if the men were lucky enough to have a Grahamstown job to be transported to), schools? Would life not be insupportably harsh?

A delegate, the wife of a priest, remarked that she had been in Committees Drift the previous summer and found the temperature to be 150F. on the stoep of a house she had visited. She added quietly, "the Government will not have to pay old age pensions to the ailing for very long".

The conference rejoiced when something goodly cropped up — increased wages, for instance, the success of literacy classes long a feature of mine life but now being offered all over the place.

Black Sash women lead double lives. During the short tea intervals they rattle on about sewing and gardening and recipes, about grandchildren and little blue-eyed sons and daughters. They're nice, and rather intelligent too, though some hard-pressed husbands in moments of marital exasperation might substitute the word "illogical" for "intelligent".

Teacups drained, back to the meeting, the subject now being the sorry state of the Coloured people of the land.

In view of the no-reason-given why so many spokesmen are banned or detained, are these women not afraid of voicing their concern about what they regard as social injustice? Possibly. But are they going to pass by silently on the other side of the road? Not bloody likely.

Africans DO pay tax

GITA DYZENHAUS

In South Africa, Whites, Coloureds and Asians pay income tax graded on the same structure.

African people have a separate tax structure including a type of income tax introduced in 1969.

Before I discuss this structure I would like to quote the figures as at April 1973 published by the Institute of Planning Research of the University of Port Elizabeth of the secondary poverty datum line — that which includes rent and transport.

These figures for the major urban centres of South African are:

Cape Town	R81,80
Port Elizabeth	R78,58
East London	R76,63
Kimberley	R78,48
Durban	R78,13
Pretoria	R75,44
Johannesburg	R74,68
Bloemfontein	R74,55
Ladysmith	R74,66
Kingwilliamstown	R68,96
Uitenhage	R76,44

Before any tax is levied on income, Africans are obliged to pay the following taxes:

All African men 18 years and older pay an annual tax of R2,50 proof of payment of which must be affixed in the reference book.

In the year 1970-1971 there were 105 576 prosecutions for infringements of this law.

Then there is Homeland Tax.

For occupation of land under communal tenure R1 for each wife's group of huts up to a maximum of R4,00. This tax is also applied to widows holding allotments in the name of a deceased spouse.

Quitrent is paid for land held under individual title.

If a tribe or community decides and, with the approval of the authorities who must be satisfied that the majority of taxpayers are in favour, a further amount varying between R1 and R2 may be levied.

A general levy imposed by several legislative assemblies has been imposed varying from R2,50 to R3,00 a year.

Urban taxation is imposed under the 1954 regulations by the local authorities as a school levy to build primary and lower secondary schools. This levy is 20c per head of family per month. In Soweto at the request of the citizens the levy stands at 38c per head of family per month.

Indirect taxation is subject to the usual excise and sales taxes as paid by all citizens of the country. The value of the African contribution to the R970 326 000 raised in this manner as anticipated to finance the 1973 revenue account cannot be established.

Whites, Coloureds and Asians begin to pay income tax at R676 for an unmarried person, R1 151 for a married person, R1 601 for a couple with one child and R2 601 for a couple with three children.

- An amount not exceeding R500 is deductible from the earnings of a married woman or all her earnings if these are less than R500.

- Expenses incurred in earning income including travelling and entertainments expenses are deductible.

- Compulsory contributions to pension funds are deductible.

- Donations to certain educational institutions and funds are also deductible.

- Abatements vary with age and circumstances but in 1972 they stood at R1 000 for married couples and R600 for single people under the age of 60. Older people are entitled to additional abatements.

- R450 for each of the first two children and R550 for the third and successive children.

- An additional abatement of R100 if a child is born during the year.

- Other dependants.

- Insurance premiums and contributions to medical aid funds, benefit and provident funds paid during the year.

- Medical and dental abatement according to

marital status and age (under 60 years R150 for married and R75 for single people). This is reducible as taxable income goes up.

Widows in these population groups pay tax as if they were a married man.

All African people start paying tax if their incomes are over R360 a year. R30 a month is less than half and often not much more than one third of the secondary poverty datum line. Income for husband and wife is taxed separately.

The only deductions allowed from the gross income are the compulsory contributions to Unemployment Insurance Fund and contributions to pension or provident funds if membership of such funds is a condition of employment.

No abatements are allowed:

- for dependent children
- for dependant relatives
- for medical contributions or for medical expenses
- for age
- for expenses incurred in earning income.

Taxation levels

R360 to R480 p.a.	.....	R1,20
R480 to R600 p.a.	.....	R2,76
R600,01 to R749,99	.....	R4,32
R750 to R779,99	.....	R4,92
R780 to R809,99	.....	R5,52

and so on as remuneration increases.

I am quite sure that no Black man would object to paying income tax at the same levels as other groups if he earned enough to do so. It is a violent injustice to allow deductions and abatements for other citizens of a country

and to penalise the poorest section of the community already subject to a fixed tax for adult men and tribal levies, homeland taxes and urban levies.

One further point from the Bantu Taxation Act of 1969, Section 7 c 2:

All lump sum payments received from a pension, provident, retirement or annuity fund exceeding the following must be referred to the Secretary via the local Bantu Affairs Commissioner for a tax directive. These are amounts exceeding:

Retirement Annuity Fund and Pension	
Fund	retirement R 600 death R5 000
Provident Fund	retirement R2 000 death R5 000

This excludes lump sum payments received from Government Railway or Provincial pension funds or provident funds established by law or otherwise for the benefit of any local authority's employees.

It should be noted that if an African fails to pay his tax by the due date, he may be sentenced to a fine of R100 or three months imprisonment *by criminal law*.

If other race groups fail to pay, *civil action* is taken, i.e. the amount owing is taken by declaring the person bankrupt, removal of assets, (property) etc.

The total amount of tax collected for 1971-1972 according to an IRR survey in 1972 was:

Whites:	.....	R452 million
Coloured:	.....	R 5 million
Asians:	.....	R 6 million
Africans:	Basic tax	..... R8 million
	Additional tax	..... R6 million
	Tribal tax	..... R2 million
	Local tax	..... R1 million
		<hr/>
TOTAL		R17 million

Obituaries

THE BLACK SASH records with deep regret the deaths of Mrs. E. Orpen and Mrs. Retha Steuart.

PEOPLE ARE LIVING HERE



Why don't we house the homeless
instead of uprooting settled communities?

Fingo Village must go

MERCIA WILSWORTH

This fact sheet was prepared from material and resources of the Fingo Village Action Group.

Fingo Village location in Grahamstown was the last area in "White" South Africa in which land and property could be owned by Africans under freehold title.

The Mfengu have been residents of Grahamstown for over a hundred years. A product of the social and political turmoil caused by Zulu imperialism in the early 19th century, they were forced into Xhosa territory in the 1820's, a fragmented and refugee people.

In about 1885 some were granted freehold title by the Governor of the Cape, Sir George Grey, to 320 erven set aside in a "location for Fingos" in Grahamstown, then a major centre on the Eastern Cape frontier. There is a strong oral tradition that the land grants were in recognition of their services on the side of the Whites in some of the colonial wars fought in that period.

As early as 1941 a proposal by the town clerk of Grahamstown that all Fingo Village properties be expropriated was contested and quashed by local residents. The village first came to the notice of the Group Areas Board in 1956. Again, there was widespread local opposition to expropriation. Further investigations by the board occurred in 1959 and 1963, each time with opposition from Grahamstown. But in 1970 the axe finally fell, with the proclamation of Fingo Village as a Coloured group area.

In a visit to Grahamstown the following year, Dr. Piet Koornhof, then deputy minister of Bantu Administration and Development, announced that the Fingo Villagers together with thousands of other Africans in the Eastern Cape were to be moved to Committees Drift, a desolate spot 50 km from Grahamstown, where what he called a "model city" of between 100 000 and 200 000 people would be established.

Since the proclamation, representations have been made by the City Council, Rate-

payers' Association, the Urban Bantu Council and the Fingo Village Action Group (members of Black Sash, the Institute of Race Relations, Grahamstown and Districts Relief Association, academics and others) for the plans to be reconsidered and revised, but the Government will not be persuaded.

The uncertainty of the past 15 years has left its mark. The village's physical and environmental conditions have deteriorated, although it cannot be described as a slum. Despite the hardship of living with an unknown future it is still a community with considerable pride. Overcrowding and backyard dwellings in the township are at least somewhat due to the fact that the Government has prohibited the building of any additional houses for Africans in the municipal area for 10 years.

There have been assurances that the move to Committees Drift is to be voluntary. But Dr. Koornhof in a letter to the Chairman of the Grahamstown Urban Bantu Council was explicit regarding the paradox:

"No Bantu who qualifies in terms of Section 10 1 (a) and (b) of the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 will be removed from a prescribed area against their will, but the Fingo location has however been proclaimed as a Coloured group area and the Bantu who reside in this area at present will have to leave when Committees Drift is ready."

But in fact it is not only 6 000 Fingo Villagers, rendered homeless in their rightful homeplace by a group areas proclamation together with a ban on building alternative houses, who are to be removed against their will.

The irony of the situation is compounded: in 1969 the City Council was pleased to announce its success in having achieved border

industry status for Grahamstown. Negotiations leading to this had been undertaken precisely because of the city's existing problem regarding underindustrialisation and unemployment, particularly among its African population. The initial excitement has been replaced by the recognition that such concessions mean very little.

In the first place the Government has granted similar concessions to several Eastern Cape Towns and the results are consistently unspectacular. Secondly, the area as a whole is one with few natural advantages and several disadvantages for attracting industry. But the most tragic fact is that it is now transpires that a condition of granting border area status is that the families of Black workers must be housed in the nearest Black homeland. According to Dr. Koornhof "It therefore follows that Bantu families other than those in Fingo Village will eventually be removed to Committees Drift" which implies every Black person in Grahamstown.

It has been said that in no previous removal have so many near-utopian promises and assurances so repeatedly been given both in public and private by Government spokesmen.

● Committees Drift (which will have a population of up to four times that of the entire population of Grahamstown) is to be the finest Black city in Africa, according to Dr. Koornhof. Subsidised bulk transport will be provided and "... travelling costs to and from work should therefore have a negligible impact on the cost of living structure and it should not be necessary to increase wages or even shorten working hours."

A bus service, which should be an "excellent opportunity" ("for a Bantu entrepreneur") will be instituted and may afterwards "as the demand arises" be supplemented by a train service.

● Low housing costs and 3½ per cent interest on building bonds in the homelands should "more than offset the cost of transporting food, clothing, household requirements, etc."

● Welfare work: "... various factors contributing towards the necessity for welfare work will be eliminated once these families remove to Committees Drift. In 1967 there were already 5 862 pensioners and widows and it was estimated that almost every Bantu family had one illegitimate child. Bantu and Coloured intermarry, serious crimes, especially

knifing assaults are an almost daily occurrence and can mainly be attributed to overcrowding and unemployment. Due to lack of control, many unemployed Bantu of surrounding farms enter the townships illegally and in 1969 there were about 1 300 unauthorised buildings.

"During 1969, it was estimated that the amount spent on liquor was in the vicinity of R200 000 and on Bantu beer R26 000, which is a further cause of the social decay of the community.

"Once these unproductives, pensioners, etc. are settled in the homelands, there should be little need for welfare work as rentfree houses will be available . . . for deserving cases and pensioners shall continue drawing pension. Furthermore, there is nothing preventing welfare organisations from continuing with their work even in the homelands."

In a further communication Dr. Koornhof writes: "As in the case of other Bantu townships, welfare work will be undertaken. Resettled Bantu with large families and no income will be provided by the Ciskeian Authority with a free house and if necessary, free fuel and food according to a fixed scale."

(Will this be the scale applied in Sada, Ilinge and Dimbaza?)

"Schoolgoing children will also be issued with daily soup rations and adequate supplies of milk and soup powders will be available."

● Regarding clinics, hospitals, etc., Dr. Koornhof writes that clinics, doctors' consulting rooms and other amenities will be provided before the people are moved, but regional hospitals will be built as the homelands become more densely populated and in the meantime Grahamstown hospitals "... would be quite accessible from Committees Drift."

Until such time as facilities for specialised treatment can be provided, all such cases as well as those requiring follow-up treatment will have to be referred to Grahamstown. An ambulance service "... in due course will no doubt be provided by the Ciskeian Government but at this stage it is not possible to say to what extent provision will be made for a free service . . ."

The action group was assured by Dr. Koornhof that many Black people who by experience realised the sincerity of the Government

in matters concerning their welfare had assured the Government of their support and expressed their appreciation, and that the future "will no doubt prove that the Bantu will be happier living in the area of their own government and thus enjoying rights not provided for them in the White area."

In terms of normal urban African family structures, the Fingo Village Action Group calculated that 2 000 classrooms, 200 teachers, 40 doctors and nearly 7 000 hospital beds would be the rightful requirements for these people (a proposed population of 200 000).

● Regarding employment for this community, there is a welter of ambiguous statements out of which only one clear fact emerges — that the Government has been able to give no evidence whatsoever that jobs will be created on the scale required to support a population of the size envisaged.

Not only Dr. Koornhof but also many Grahamstonians, place much emphasis on the question of industrial development in this area. It may not be fair to go so far as to suggest that the border area concession which Grahamstown so deeply coveted — and for which it has paid a heavy price in human terms — are quite meaningless.

But in realistic economic terms, even with border area status, furthermore, even with growthpoint status (and a very generous interpretation of the criteria laid down in the recent White Paper on Decentralisation would be necessary if Grahamstown were to obtain such status), to radically change the existing industrial face of Grahamstown will be a very time-consuming and costly business.

Some of the statements which have been made by Dr. Koornhof are:

"The European population increased from 10 600 to only 11 000 over the past nine years, whilst that of the Bantu increased from 16 100 to 26 000. In view of the fact that Grahamstown has no very large industries — in 1969 only a pottery and a brickyard — it must be abundantly clear that the employment market has reached a saturation point. During 1969 there were 1 400 (registered only) unemployed and this figure can be expected to rise sharply in the near future if corrective measures are not taken.

". . . (those) at present working in the prescribed area of Grahamstown, will be allowed to continue working there and commuting daily to Committees Drift. All other unemployed Bantu will have to register as workseekers . . . and will also be allowed to take up employment in Grahamstown or the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage industrial complex on a contract basis.

"These contract employees will be housed in single quarters and will be enabled to visit their families over the weekends . . .

"Bantu removing to Committees Drift will, therefore, be in a better position than before as far as labour opportunities are concerned . . .

"All Bantu i.e. adults and minors who at present have residential rights . . . insofar as the prescribed area of Grahamstown is concerned, will automatically lose these rights by virtue of their removal from the area . . . It will thus not be necessary to establish which Bantu have these rights . . .

"The granting of border industrial concessions should be an incentive to industrialists . . . many more jobs will become available . . . it is sincerely hope that the establishment of industry in the area will greatly improve the position . . . the priority for filling such jobs (will be) given firstly to residents of Committees Drift . . ."

To develop and maintain a township the size of Committees Drift will also require a substantial labour force and it is interesting to note that since the Ciskeian Government departments were set up in 1968, the number of posts held by Bantu have increased by 50 per cent in the Department of Agriculture, 63 per cent in the Department of Works and 30 per cent in the Department of Community Affairs . . .

". . . The homelands offer many business opportunities to Bantu showing some enterprise . . . It must be remembered that an industrial area is also planned at Committees Drift.

"The assumption contained in your memorandum that Fingo Villagers resettled . . . will have to compete with the existing Bantu population in the Peddie area as well as others resettled there is quite correct, but this is no doubt a big improvement on present conditions where, due to lack of sufficient employment opportuni-

ties, many of these people do not stand a chance of ever finding lucrative employment in Grahamstown or elsewhere . . .

“Industrialists are constantly being encouraged to establish industries in the Grahamstown/Committees Drift area but it is impossible to say when the requisite scale of economic and industrial development will be reached.”

Without a real economic base no human settlement can be viable. For the new “model city” to offer realistic employment possibilities about 50 000 jobs would have to be available. For commuting to be a reality, on the basis of 60 workers to a bus, a fleet of 900 buses are needed.

As Mr. Jesmond Blumenfeld put it at a public symposium to discuss the future of the Fingo Villagers (to which the Fingo Villagers were prevented from coming) “. . . we have found little to reassure us and much to disturb us . . . In fact, it has become abundantly clear to us that for all (the) bland assurances . . . the foreseeable future will not even bring sufficient industrial development to solve Grahamstown’s unemployment problems.”

For all the nice-sounding cliches, the truth is that Committees Drift is to be nothing more than a vast labour pool and a dumping ground for the aged, the infirm and the very young. Perhaps a few thousand will find work in and around Committees Drift. For the rest the future is bleak.

In the case of Fingo Village the alternative to Committees Drift is obviously to leave the people where they have been in peace, if not actually in prosperity, for over a hundred years and spend the money earmarked for Committees Drift on removing the unsatisfactory features of their existence in Grahamstown. If the Village must be redeveloped, let it be redeveloped for those who live there.

Recognising the Government’s firm resolve on the question of land ownership; conceding that the present condition of the Fingo location is not the most satisfactory and hence that redevelopment in one form or another may be necessary and accepting that modernisation and urbanisation in the African reserves could confer significant advantages on the people in these territories, the Fingo Village Action Group evolved a set of alternative proposals which would meet the above-mentioned three-

fold objectives of removing the “objectionable” aspect of freehold tenure outside the reserves, of redeveloping the village, and of promoting urban development in the homelands, while at the same time mitigating the effects of the present proposals.

The five main features of the alternative proposals were:

- that the Government begin the development of a new town in the Ciskei by resettling some of the present inhabitants of overcrowded rural areas inside the homeland;
- that a start be made now on the industrial development necessary to provide an economic base for the new town;
- that all the privately owned land in Fingo Village be expropriated (with adequate compensation) for comprehensive redevelopment to modern standards and to higher densities;
- that present owners of freehold property in Fingo Village be offered the choice of either a long term lease (say 30 years) on a suitable dwelling unit in the redeveloped Fingo Village (or if practical reasons necessitate it, elsewhere in the Grahamstown location) or freehold title to property at the established urban nucleus in the Ciskei: and
- that the present tenants in Fingo Village be offered the choice of monthly or other short-term tenancy in the Grahamstown location or long-term leasehold title in the new settlement, with an option to purchase after a period.

In addition to achieving the Government’s threefold objectives, it was felt that this scheme would have the advantage of facilitating the establishment and development of a new town inside the homelands by urbanising a rural population rather than by uprooting and ruralising a stable, established urban population. It would relieve the pressure of population on the land inside the Ciskei reducing the loss of security to Fingo Village property owners; provide all displaced persons with a choice which would eliminate the element of compulsion from the present plan;

and above all, it would mean that the flow of people back to the Bantustan would depend upon the ability of the Ciskei to attract people on the basis of its intrinsic and observable merits and advantages. This would in turn ensure that the high standards of development promised by the Government in relation to places such as Committees Drift would in fact be realised.

The group did not delude itself that this proposal in any way represented a perfect solution but it did seem to provide a possible starting point for serious discussion. However, the alternative proposals were not accepted and the group was informed that "As far as the proposals . . . are concerned, the Honourable the Minister can only state that the planning of the Bantu township at Committees Drift has already reached an advanced stage . . ."

A request for clarification on the timing of the removals subsequently drew the following response from the new Deputy Minister, Mr. T. N. H. Janson:

"The position regarding the planning of the . . . site is that the paper work will be completed during 1973. The area will then have to be surveyed and the erven pegged. The provision of services such as roads, water, sewerage disposal works, clinics, schools etc will then receive priority attention. Only when these essential services have been provided can Bantu be settled."

In the last communication it was stated that "it must be emphasised that the decision to establish a township at Committees Drift was not taken lightly and a large amount of money has already been expended on the planning of Committees Drift . . . the Bantu of Fingo Village will be given adequate notice of the date on which their removal . . . will take place."

This paper has been critical of Government plans to remove Black residents of Grahamstown and elsewhere against their will to a place from which some "lucky" few will have forced on them two or more extra hours away from their family each day as well as the additional expenditure of transport costs (81 per cent of Fingo Villagers at present walk to work), and from which the majority will go

as contract labourers, leaving a city of pensioners, women and children.

But a word must also be said about the existing plight of these people vis-a-vis the White community of Grahamstown.

In its first memorandum to Dr. Koornhof the action group pointed out that working mothers would be particularly affected and that an estimated 47 per cent of all employed Blacks in the location were women. (The average wage for women domestic workers in Grahamstown is just over R8 a month.)

In its second memorandum it stated that "even if bus fares to Committees are kept down to this (Mdantsane) level, this outlay must be seen in relation to the fact that . . . one third of all employed persons (earn) less than R10 per month."

To which the Minister replied:

"The fact that one third of all Bantu employed in Grahamstown are earning less than R10 a month is very much to be regretted and is a cause of concern. It would appear that your group could concentrate on this aspect to improve the image of your town and alleviate matters for the employees."

The Fingo Village Action Group will of course continue to concentrate on the proposed removals. But as the Witwatersrand University students recently put it: the blame for the shooting at Carletonville did not lie entirely with the police but also with an exploitative labour structure, and the Fingo Village tragedy cannot be seen only in terms of the present threat.

White Grahamstown is predominantly English-speaking and with a singularly large professional population of university staff, teachers, lawyers etc. In the past the Black Sash in its role of protest organisation has concentrated mainly on protesting against the erosion of human rights by Government policies. The Black Sash is (regrettably) a largely English-speaking organisation. Might it not be that we should also attempt to put our own language group's house in order.

And still the removals go on...



...and on

BARBARA WAITE

Few will deny the Government's skill in the use of euphemisms to cover hideous and horrifying truths with a veneer of respectability. For example, the forced uprootings and upheavals of people from their ancestral homes and dumping them in distant labour reservoirs is euphemistically translated as "the voluntary resettlement of people from Black Spots to their homelands".

There is at the moment a stirring amongst moderately human beings about the evils of petty apartheid. This is how gross apartheid manifests itself; where it is at its most obvi-

ous and disgusting petty apartheid is merely the symptom of gross apartheid.

As the suppurating sores of smallpox are the symptom of a foul and deadly disease, so is petty apartheid the symptom of one of the most evil doctrines ever conceived by the human race. Racism must surely be the ultimate sin against the Holy Spirit.

The White man acknowledges that he was made in the image of God but denies the Holy Spirit in his (Black) brother.

He ignores the fact that "the earth is the Lord's and all that therein is" and promul-

gates the 1936 Land Act as if it were scripture, refusing to alter or amend it.

He carves up and portions out 13 per cent of the land to 16 million Blacks and keeps 87 per cent of the land, including all the economically developed areas, for 4 million Whites.

He decides to label himself Christian and uphold the sanctity of his own marriage but of his brother's marriage he is not the keeper. The fact that 1 400 married men occupy "single" accommodation in the Alexandra Hostels does not offend his Sunday-sensitive conscience. In fact, he thinks it is such a good idea that he is building hostels at Delareyville, Lichtenburg, Carletonville, Coligny, Fochville, Hartebeesfontein, Klerksdorp, Leeuwduin, Orkney, Ottosdal, Potchefstroom, Sannieshof, Stilfontein, Tongaat, Ventersdorp, Wolmaransstad, Potgietersrus, Nelspruit, Louis Trichardt, Pretoria, Boksburg, Volksrust, Grahamstown, Roodepoort — to name but a few, and is removing the wives and children of the working men to the Bantustans.

Does it not matter to White South Africans that Black children die of disease and starvation, are uneducated, become corrupted? That hearts are torn out with hopelessness, helplessness and grief; that young minds crack under the burden of despair and disillusionment, and turn to violence and brutality; that young men must sit rotting away their lives in the hot sun because they are not allowed to seek work or to test their God-given skills? They are not permitted to grow and develop and become fulfilled and joy-filled beings. There are 300 000 unemployed Black in South Africa and yet 32 776 immigrants were permitted to enter South Africa in 1972 alone.

The Government knows that 85 000 jobs must be created annually in underdeveloped areas. It has taken since 1962, that is over ten years, to produce just that number. Yet in the face of these figures it blindly perseveres with its policy of territorial separation.

In March this year the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 175 788 Africans had been removed from Black Spots since 1948 and about 69 000 remain to be moved.

By the end of 1972, 44 885 Coloured families, 27 694 Indian families, 71 Chinese families and 1 513 White families had been re-

settled in terms of the Group Areas Act.

By the time it has completed its consolidation programme about two million, almost 10 per cent of the total population will have been removed.

The population density in the Bantustans is 46 per square kilometre compared to 13 per square kilometre in the rest of the Republic.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, and his deputy minister said in April this year that an estimated 364 000 Africans will have to be moved and resettled in the process of consolidating the homelands.

About 33 000 Zulus would be involved in moved in the consolidation process of the Swazi, Lebowa, Venda, and Gazankulu Bantustans in the Transvaal.

This involves excising 422 000 ha of African lands and the purchase of 650 000 ha of White-owned land.

About 33 000 Zulus would be involved in Natal, which includes the entire African population in the Tugela catchment area.

Richards Bay, Empangeni, Eshowe, Mtonjaneni and Babanango will remain White.

Recently the Lebowa Land Commission was told that more than 200 000 ha would have to be vacated to make room for Whites and for the "resettlement" of the Gazankulu and South Ndebele homelands. This officially involves the moving of:

25 930 families from the Matoks-Ramagopa area;

18 400 families from the Pala area of Seleka-Shongwane;

29 050 families from the Denilton-Elandsdorn area;

1 500 families from Seloane in Phalaborwa; and more than

6 000 families from the Mapulaleng area of Bushbuckridge.

These areas do not include the areas of Chieftainess Victoria Dinkoyane and of Chief Semanya and other small areas, nor do they include those at present living in White-owned farms.

"In the Eastern Transvaal alone the estimated unofficial figure is more than 8 000 families", according to the Rand Daily Mail of September 26.

Federation—yes or no?

The Black Sash was founded to defend the constitution. There is very little left worth defending. A new federal constitution might offer one of the ways in which the Republic might hope to escape stagnation and prevent collision. Discussion of federal structures is being undertaken in different parts of the country. The following selection of ideas from Dr. Leo Marquard's book "A Federation of Southern Africa" was prepared by a working group in the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash.

What is a federation?

● It is a system of government where power to make and administer laws is divided between a central authority and individual states. (In a union, parliament is sovereign and can veto provincial decisions. In a federation, there is strictly speaking, no sovereignty except that which resides in the constitution).

It is assumed that each state will be governed on a democratic basis. A democracy accepts the principles of constitutional replacement of government, the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary.

● Whichever way people of different regions decide to federate, cases are bound to arise where the constitutional rights of the region conflict with those of the central authority. It is therefore essential to have a legal means of settling such disputes. This is the function of the supreme court. In a federation the supreme court has the special function of interpreting the constitution and thus deciding the issues of conflict.

● Whatever constitution a unitary state may have, written or unwritten, parliament remains sovereign and the supreme court cannot question an act of parliament. When a number of regions federate, an act of parliament cannot change the constitution. Each region has its "sovereign" parliament, no one of which can, by itself, alter the constitution. To meet the need for altering the constitution when changed circumstances demand it, federal constitutions provide that, say, a majority of two

thirds of the votes in three quarters of the regions are necessary for an amendment.

To sum up, these are the main differences that distinguish a federal from a unitary form of constitution: a division of powers; the special function of the supreme court; the machinery for constitutional amendment.

● There is one further proviso of a federal constitution. It must embody a bill of rights, constitutionally entrenched, and guarded by an independent judiciary, the supreme court. Herein lies the greatest security for individual liberty in a modern state.

Is federation desirable?

● It is not desirable if it aims to secure the supremacy of one group over another.

● It is not necessary for achieving political and civil freedom. But there are political goals that can be attained only through federation.

● It is desirable in that it is pragmatic. It allows compromise and accommodation. It allows for integrative and differentiating forces. It provides a practical method of securing peaceful co-existence.

● It is a way that will neither destroy nor endanger those human values that we associate with smaller, rather than larger geographical areas.

● It is a way of combining economic planning and development with local cultural au-

tonomy. The release of economic energy that might well be brought about would enable us to tackle a major root of prejudice — economic want — with greater hope of success.

● It is a way that might reduce the pressure of fear that keeps social prejudice in all its forms active — the fears that Blacks have of hunger, of White domination; and that Whites have of Black domination. Both sets of fears are real and almost identical.

What are the problems?

● Perhaps the most delicate practical problem that arises is that of financial arrangements between the central and regional authorities.

Each authority, central and regional, must have unconditional authority over its finances. Therefore each authority must have the power to tax. If there are to be grants to poorer regions, these must be set up so that they do not depend on the goodwill of the wealthier regions. They must be laid down as part of the constitutional agreement, so that each region receives its share of the national cake as of right and not as an act of charity.

● There must be no delay in reconsidering our constitutional arrangements. The problem is to retain our sense of perspective. Apparently insuperable difficulties may be easy to solve in 10 years. These considerations will take time to mature.

● Problems will arise when such matters as social habits, social, religious and language differences are distorted and given exaggerated values which they do not possess. It is unwise to accept or reject federation solely on the grounds that these aspects are immutable.

What about a Southern Africa federation? Is it possible?

An affirmative answer is conditional and based on a number of assumptions.

● That the Whites have become aware that the present racial policies cannot succeed and that alternative policies have a better chance of doing so under a federal constitution.

● That Whites have made the distinction between their desires and their interests in relation to the rest of the population.

● That the Whites have made the distinction between the surrendering and sharing of power. They have calculated the risks and gains and they would have weighed the price of federation against the price of apartheid.

● That the Blacks have been effectively consulted and that their positive consent has been given.

That no Black leaders would welcome race war for revenge.

Federation would be possible if these conditions were largely fulfilled and if these presumptions were for the most part valid.

Its form?

What the author envisages is a federation of some 15 regions. The present boundaries of the Republic would be redrawn and replaced by approximately 11 autonomous regions. The size and population of each region would be roughly comparable to those of our three black neighbours, who may find us more attractive in smaller groups.

The partitioning and federating of the Republic with 11 regions, would be followed by federation between these regions and Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Namibia. Each region would have its own parliament and all citizens would have equal rights, protected by a bill of rights written into a federal constitution with a federal supreme court safeguarding it.

How?

Before federation can become a reality it will have to have the approval of all South Africans. Since many of the factors are complex, political leadership must obviously play a dominant part in helping individuals understand these problems and convincing the majority that federation is desirable and practical. It will take skill and much time to arrive at the conference table. It will involve political parties, leaders of every community and pressure groups.

Around the regions

Space does not permit us to publish reports from all regions in full. In all areas a great deal of valuable work has been done in the field of dissemination of information to the public. Dozens of articles have appeared in the Press and letters have been written to the appropriate authorities on various matters. Meetings of members and their visitors have been addressed by informed speakers. Most regions have projects which they have been working on steadily and with perseverance. The following extracts from regional reports presented at conference are illustrative of the kind of work undertaken by the Black Sash.

National Headquarters

THERE IS little doubt that knowledge of the paign on African women has been the mount-slowly.

The main project for the year in the campaign on African women has been the mounting of a photographic exhibition to expose the plight of African women — the terms of reference being the Charter for Women. If this exhibition is a success we will consider mounting it in other venues — though they are not easy to find — and it may also be possible for other regions to use the pictures.

It is all very well to decide to mount a campaign on a particular issue but, as with the campaign on African women, we found ourselves faced, in the campaign on migrant labour, with what we could actually do — what effective steps we could take to disseminate the facts about migrant labour and build up sufficient pressure to bring about its abolition.

Mrs. Sinclair visited Mossel Bay to demonstrate the support of the Black Sash for the pilgrims who were at that time marching in protest against the migrant labour system. She spoke at a service in the Anglican Church at Mossel Bay and the next morning walked for a short distance with the pilgrims. We intend to publish information on the effects of the system early in 1974.

The information-packed booklet on the pass laws has been one of our most successful and sought-after publications and we are now down to our last few copies. It will now be reprinted. This is a project of which we can be justly proud.

Mrs. Duncan was invited to attend as an observer the Conference on Legal Aid held at the University of Natal from July 2 to 6. The conference was organised by Professor Matthews and subsidised by the Ford Foundation.

A memorandum was sent to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs and Education in response to his invitation to present suggestions to him for the easing of the burden placed by legislation on African people living and working in urban areas.

A large number of overseas visitors have come to the office during the year and it is a constant source of surprise to find we are so well-known. These visits offer a valuable opportunity for the interchange of ideas, and are most interesting.

JOYCE HARRIS

Transvaal

WENDY DELORM, Joscelyne Bloomfield and now Janet Kempster have undertaken the arduous task of tracing from the Government Gazette numbers of people to whom workmen's compensation money is owing. We hope that recent publicity in the Star and the Financial Mail will make employers more aware of their responsibilities to their working people. I cannot see that to note an employee's home address would be a very difficult administrative task for any firm.

Four study group began work at the beginning of the year. Thus far the Sprocas publications "Towards Social Change" and "Power, Privilege and Poverty" have been studied in depth. New ideas have emerged from these groups which are interesting and

rewarding. Women who are not Sash members are encouraged to participate.

The quality of education sub-committee is a new committee recently formed and chaired by a new young member, Jill Skowno. The first projects undertaken are a study of high school teaching and teacher training and a study of in-job training possibilities and literacy training. A fact paper is being presented to this conference on the mine training programme as a result both of the study group work and the interest of the education sub-committee.

The map committee is a committee of one, Barbara Waite. She is presenting an updated paper on removals to conference. Our thanks go to Natal Coastal for their aid in obtaining information from the Department of Geography and the Natal Agricultural Union on their views on the viability of the proposed so-called consolidation of KwaZulu. We have written to the Department of Bantu Administration for permission to visit BophutaTswana in November. We have written to a number of Bantustan prime ministers for information about land usage and unemployment and hope in this way to give Barbara more help.

The Coloured Affairs committee came into being because of mid-winter evictions of a number of families. The Coloured population of Johannesburg is growing daily and its problems are very complex. Frequent visits to Coloured areas and contact established with many people have led to the fact paper to be presented to this conference.

The Saturday Club held a "workshop" at the beginning of this year, in order to sort out its priorities and to plan the year's activities. Miss José Emery, a trained group leader, led the discussions. Most members felt that the Junior Club was absorbing too much of their time and their energies and that the Senior Club was suffering as a result. The dilemma was that the Junior Saturday Club was undoubtedly an important part of our activities and one which attracted some welcome and unexpected publicity for the Sash.

Because of the time factor a decision was taken to curtail junior activities to once every three months and to revert to the old pattern of monthly meetings of the Senior Club.

Miss Emery's guidance in helping the club towards a sharing of responsibility in the planning and execution of activities has contributed enormously towards its cohesiveness.

The children complain at the lack of junior

meetings. We had doubts as to the quality of contact that was being established between the children and the inter-family visiting does not seem to fill the gap. We hope to review the Junior Club activities at the first meeting in 1974.

GITA DYZENHAUS

Natal Coastal

AFTER THE banning of Nusas and Saso office-bearers, monthly demonstrations were arranged. These were discontinued after three months. Feeling is sharply divided in the Region as to the real value and impact of these stands.

After the Durban strikes in February, the Mayor of Durban called a meeting of employers and businessmen to discuss the causes of the strikes. As the composition of the meeting seemed one-sided, with no representation from either the workers or the trade unions, the Black Sash asked to have a representative at the meeting. This was refused in a vague, unsatisfactory manner.

In February, Mrs. C. Lamb and I visited a discussion group formed by several young married women who wished to know more about the Black Sash and its aims. We spent a very interesting morning with the group and gained one enthusiastic young member.

Feeling that Durban authorities should know more about the Black Sash we asked the Mayor of Durban if he would meet three of our members. The delegation led by Mrs. Piper, accompanied by Mrs. Chase and Mrs. Grice spent a pleasant 15 minutes with the Mayor.

Letters were also written to Nusas and Saso on the banning of student leaders; to the Chamber of Commerce asking whether the increase in unemployment was the result of the higher wages paid or lack of work — the Chamber replied that they did not have the necessary statistics to answer the question; to the Mayor of Durban thanking and congratulating him on his efforts to abolish "petty apartheid" wherever possible.

Discussion groups have been organised for high school children and attended by children from six schools.

K. M. GAYNOR

Border

SEVENTY-SIX Poverty Datum Line booklets by the Research Department of the University of Port Elizabeth were sent to lead-

ing East London businessmen. Fifty others were distributed by members; One thousand "You and Your Pass" Xhosa/English booklets from Nusas were distributed to Africans.

"This is Our City — East London 1973" — members have researched the facilities for Whites and compared them with those for Blacks. A 21-page booklet has resulted — an updated and enlarged version of a similar booklet produced five years ago. One thousand copies are currently being printed to be distributed free to the public.

Letters were written to the Press on Government restriction of open-air protest and on Family Day.

Mrs. Streek was invited to talk to the Anglican clergy on the work of the Black Sash.

A group areas film was borrowed from Cape Western and shown to about 100 people.

An average of 15 Sash members and non-Sashers meet on one morning a month. Some Sprocas publications have been read and discussed. Talks have been given on different countries. The Sash tape on migrant labour was played.

Our Committee has been enlarged from four to six to eight. For the first time in at least 13 years we had more nominations than we needed — a healthy experience. A vice-chairman will be appointed shortly.

We are proud to announce that after eight years we re-opened the Advice Office on September 8, and operate once a week on Saturdays from 9.00—12.00 in the Race Relations offices. After four sessions we have seen eight clients, with one completed successful case so far.

DEENA STREEK

Cape Western

MIGRANT Labour was the subject of our opening-of-Parliament stands, when we stood at the bottom of Government Avenue during the lunch hour on the four Mondays in February. We had 18 different posters which we varied each week. As with our other stands we issued explanatory statements to the Press, and we distributed about 1 000 fact sheets on migrant labour to the public.

The Gatherings and Demonstrations Bill marked the end of our 18 years of protest outside the Houses of Parliament and at the bottom of Government Avenue and restricted open-air protest over a large area of the city of Cape Town. The Black Sash issued Press statements during the third reading of the

Bill, and held a four-hour stand at the bottom of Government Avenue. There were at least 12 members present throughout, and at its peak, about 40.

Representatives of the Citizens' Protest Committee held a simultaneous stand on the steps of the Cathedral nearby. Mrs. Sinclair, our guest at the time, represented the Black Sash at this stand. The police took the names of all those standing on the Cathedral steps on the basis that the stand was illegal. Summonses were issued but subsequently all charges were withdrawn.

We have continued to protest against bannings each time a banning is brought to our notice. We have held six such stands this year. Our posters depict how many people are under banning orders and draw attention to the most recent addition. This often is someone not in the public eye and whose banning consequently is likely to go unnoticed by the general public. We notify the Press and state why and on whose behalf we are protesting. Our banning stands have taken place in the suburbs, along busy traffic routes during rush hours, and we usually have between 30 and 40 people present.

With the banning of eight Nusas leaders we regrettably lost the services of two new members, Mrs. Sheila Lapinsky and Miss Paula Ensor. We made Press statements and wrote letters on the subject of these and the Saso bannings. We wrote individual letters to those banned and have tried to keep ourselves informed of their welfare and difficulties.

About 20 people attend a study group on migrant labour every second week. This group met for the first time on June 18 under the leadership of Mrs. Robb and with Francis Wilson's book as the basis for reading and discussion. These meetings will continue and Mrs. Henderson will start a second group. It is hoped that through these groups members will learn to speak publicly on this and other topics.

Mrs. Versveld addressed the Catholic Women's League and Mrs. Robb has talked on migrant labour on three occasions in local churches, two of these as part of the Family Day services.

We have arranged as many visits as possible to the townships, concentrating on the hostels for migrant workers. Our own members, as well as members from other organisations have been included in these tours. Our Ad-

vice Offices offer other means of shocking people into awareness of suffering. We have tried to encourage all our members to visit the Athlone Advice Office this year and to bring others with them. It also has been suggested that Advice Office reports be studied at branch meetings by working through specific cases step by step, and so learning to understand the morass of laws that govern the lives of our African people.

More and more our work involves and demands co-operation with other bodies and organisations working towards the same ends. This often allows for greater impact, greater co-ordination of resources and for less overlapping, even if it does mean that the Black Sash as such is not seen to be involved. For Family Day the Black Sash undertook the responsibility of publicising the Ecumenical Service held in the Cathedral. The theme for this service and for Family Day generally was migrant labour.

The Rondebosch Branch developed the questionnaire on domestic workers, initially to Rondebosch members, and then to the entire Region. The questions put were challenging and, whatever one's response, they call for an increased sensitivity to one's domestic workers' needs.

Rondebosch Branch looked at the subject of wages in general, and by concentrating on certain facts members produced a short study in depth.

Mrs. Henderson represented the Region on the UCT Wages Commission.

The Claremont Branch and other members are involving themselves in an ecumenical project to provide eating and other facilities for shoppers and workers in Claremont.

Picnics round the Peninsula and other investigations have resulted in valuable information being gathered on comparable beach and swimming facilities in the area. Inquiries have been made into which local hotels and restaurants are able and prepared to accommodate Black and Brown people and what rest-room and other facilities are available for people in the larger stores of Cape Town. Some of this information together with information on housing, transport, the Nico Malan Theatre will be used in a memorandum on the Coloured people at present being prepared for the Theron Commission.

Natal Midlands

MRS. PAMELA WELLINGTON took over as organiser of demonstrations at the annual general meeting in March.

On October 20, student members stood in protest against African wages while members of the University Council assembled for a meeting; March 7 saw a protest stand against the Nusas and Saso bannings; on June 9 there was another protest against bannings; a stand about Family Day was held on July 7 and on August 31 we held a protest against the many refusals of passports and visas.

An investigation was held into what toilet facilities are provided for Black shoppers in the city centre. The City Council is to investigate the possibility of providing more of these amenities. We hope the Sash's approach to the City Council had something to do with this decision.

In the study group Francis Wilson's "Migrant Labour" was read and discussed. All members were sent notices of this. Ten responded. Those who attended found the meetings interesting and helpful.

Mrs. Wellington and Mrs. Park Ross are prepared to talk on the Women's Charter to women's groups if they are approached to do so. There is a feeling among some members that it is African women who should fight for African women's rights. Perhaps something can be done in this direction.

MARY CORRIGALL

Albany

WE HAVE tended to see the role of the Black Sash in Albany more and more as a pressure group encouraging action where needed. For example there have been no developments on the removal of the people from Fingo Village to Committees Drift since our report to conference last year, but we have kept the issue alive through articles in the Press and being well represented on the Fingo Village Action Committee.

We held a protest stand on the Saturday after Family Day drawing attention to the evils of migrant labour and were interrupted by the police on a minor technical matter. We lodged a complaint to the Town Council about this and held another stand on the same theme

a month later. In Grahamstown we have to apply for permission to have a stand 31 days in advance.

Our A.G.M. was held in March and a film on multi-racialism in the Diocese of Zululand was shown. Shortly after this we were delighted to have a visit from Jean Sinclair, and we held a joint cheese and wine party in her honour with Nusas and the SRC members from Rhodes University. This was followed by a meeting at Rhodes where Mrs. Sinclair spoke on migratory labour.

In May we had a discussion evening entitled "protest through action", and various small groups were formed to look into and draw attention to a variety of local issues such as inadequate lunch hour facilities for Blacks, a literacy campaign and a cottage industry. We also started at this time the Advice Office which is currently being run on Saturday mornings by Black Sash members, Race Relations members, and law and social work students.

C. PRIDMORE

ADVICE OFFICES

Natal Coastal

THE PRESENT Natal Coastal Advice Office opened on February 20 following a request by the Garment Worker's Union in the James Bolton Hall for our assistance in dealing with the many problems peculiar to Africans, which arose when they started a Benefit Fund for African people. Since February we have dealt with 727 cases 569 of which concerned people seeking permits to work.

Most of the people coming to the office want permission to work in the Durban area. Only people qualifying under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) have this privilege or those who have permanent and lawful accommodation in the area.

No one can get a work permit without proof of legal accommodation and no one can get registered as a lodger or in a hostel without proof of employment, so it is a vicious circle and the result is that there are probably thousands of illegal residents in Durban and an equal number either unemployed or working illegally.

What alternative has the Black man? As a migrant worker he must go back to his Bantustan when he becomes unemployed. There any means of earning a living is non-existent. In Nqutu alone there are 85 000 people unemployed, in conditions so overcrowded that individual farming is impossible. When a man returns to his Bantustan he must register with the local tribal labour bureau and wait

for the recruiting officer to come and requisition for his services. He can wait for anything up to five years, in fact except for mining recruitment available in some areas, no other form of recruiting seems to take place in many districts.

In an article which appeared in the Natal Mercury in March this year, Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, was quoted as stating that there are nearly 20 000 Africans unemployed or registered as work seekers in the Transkei and 90 000 in other parts of the country.

Africans from the Transkei, especially from the areas which are right on Natal's borders seem to find it absolutely impossible to get work permits for any form of work. Many come to the Advice Office not knowing what to do or how to go about earning some sort of living and we find that we just cannot help them.

The housing situation in Durban for Africans is absolutely critical as it is for Coloured people and Indians. Accommodation is at a premium and the waiting lists are anything up to four years and more. Only people qualifying under Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) may apply and then only married men.

The new Bantu Administration Boards for Natal came into effect on August 1. Natal is divided into three main areas viz. Northern Natal, the Drakensberg and Port Natal which is the area that concerns us. Port Natal stret-

ches from Port Alfred in the south to the lower Tugela in the north and inland as far as Camperdown but excludes those parts of KwaZulu which lie between. We do not visualise any changes under these Boards although all sorts of promises have been made by the chairman and his deputy.

SOLVEIG PIPER

Grahamstown

THE GRAHAMSTOWN Advice Office, set up by the Grahamstown Branch of the South African Institute of Race Relations, is staffed by the Institute, the Black Sash and students of the Faculty of Social Science at Rhodes.

The office opened on May 12, at the same time as the new legal aid office which operates at the same address and is run by Rhodes law students under the supervision of the local law society.

The Advice Office keeps a close liaison with the Legal Aid Office, referring legal problems to the law students. The law students, in turn, can call on a roster of qualified legal people when problems are beyond their competence.

The co-operating groups established the office partly to help with existing problems and partly in anticipation of the legal and social problems which will come up when the Government implements its plan to deprive black Fingo Villagers of their right to own property in Grahamstown and to send thousands of Grahamstown residents to Committees Drift, 22 miles away.

In the four months since we opened in an old church hall which is used as an office by the local distress relief organisation during the week, we have handled 17 cases, 10 of which have required legal help as well. The office is now open for two hours every Saturday morning.

One of our main concerns now is to try to help the victims of a bus accident which hap-

pened here last year. It appears that, due to the intervention of an agent between the victims and the insurance company, some of the victims received as little as 15 per cent of the money which the insurance company paid out for them.

We are now working to a deadline as February is the latest date when these matters can be brought up in court. So far, six bus accident cases have come to us and they will see the magistrate on September 20 to make sure they qualify for state legal aid.

SHIRLEY MCLENNAN

East London

THIS Advice Office opened in the offices of the Institute of Race Relations on September 8. At the moment it is open only on Saturday mornings. Thirteen cases were dealt with in the first weeks, three families wanted houses, two people wanted help in obtaining disability pensions, and there was one complaint about an employer.

This office expects to receive many queries from released political prisoners who are confined to Mdantsane, some with banning orders. They find it very difficult to find employment especially if their banning order forbids them to enter factory premises.

There is a serious unemployment problem in East London. It is estimated that there are 160 000 adults in Mdantsane (a large resettlement town), 46 000 adults in Duncan Village plus 100 000 people who are illegally living in the East London area. Only about 30 000 people are employed in the city.

DEENA STREEK

Reports of the Athlone and Johannesburg Advice Offices will appear next year.

Will there be no more learning?

With the report of the Van Wyk de Vries commission into the universities almost certain to be tabled at the next session of Parliament it seems likely that the next year will see still further inroads into university autonomy and academic freedom. At National Conference, the Black Sash reiterated its stand on academic freedom. Here SHEENA DUNCAN takes a brief look at just what that freedom means.

What is academic freedom and why is it so important? An understanding of the value of free universities in any society is essential for South Africans at a time when the Government has already imposed serious restrictions on our universities; when severe penalties without any kind of judicial procedures are being imposed on lecturers and students who effectively express their opposition to this Government's policies and when it is possible that the next session of Parliament will produce legislation which will completely destroy what is left of academic freedom in our country.

It is necessary to decide what universities are for. Is their function merely to produce technocrats in sufficient quantity to fulfil the requirements of government and big business or should they be primarily concerned with the search for and the safeguarding and dissemination of the truth as far as it is discoverable.

Academic detachment and objectivity are very valuable and indeed essential components of any rational judgment of policies or actions. A democratic society cannot function without continual questioning and readjustment; without continual tempering of policy to the needs of the people. If the search for truth brings universities into conflict with any government then that government must accept this fact as one of the necessary limitations on the power of politicians in a democracy.

This control over and balance to the actions of a political party in power is as necessary as the limitations which are imposed by independent courts of law and a free Press. Without it government would cease entirely to be responsive to the needs of those governed and would be able to act exclusively in the inter-

ests of a tiny handful of those in whom power is vested.

Good government can be defined as the successful, just reconciliation of the interests of all groups in a society and this cannot be achieved without independent academic institutions to research, evaluate and propagate true values and principles.

The average person readily understands that the scientific disciplines must be allowed to function in research, teaching and the practical application of knowledge without interference by those who are not qualified to make scientific judgments. Obviously physical disasters would occur were this not so.

No one seriously suggests that limitations be placed on the freedom of scientists to seek and disseminate knowledge. Scientists may have to accept that projects soundly based in scientific theory may not necessarily be in the best interests of the society and are therefore undesirable or impractical but it is acknowledged that they must always be free to propagate their theories.

Why then is it so difficult for the man in the street to accept the necessity for the same freedom to be accorded to those whose work lies in the philosophies, the humanities and the arts?

Some of their findings may be untrue or not in the best interests of a community but freedom to discuss and teach their honest thought is essential if humankind is to survive at all in a technological age. Those who work in these disciplines are more likely to find themselves in direct conflict with political ideologies but their work would be completely sterile were it not to be tested against the ideas prevailing in the society outside the university.

In a modern society money to keep universities going must inevitably come from the state but it is essential that this money is given with no strings attached. It is not in the interests of a society that money be given conditionally or that the threat of withholding money should be used to control the thought or free expression of university administrators, teachers or students. To do so immediately destroys the very idea of a university and makes worthless the work which can be done in such circumstances. Conformity is the very antithesis of academic values.

For government to control the appointment of academic staff or the actions of students is to create yet another multitude of civil servants who are precluded from expressing political dissent or acting against a political party in power.

Government must realise that no money belongs to it to use at will. The money it spends it merely uses on behalf of those to whom it belongs. All citizens contribute through various taxes to the general revenue and when the

money is spent on academic institutions the taxpayer's return comes from the increase of knowledge placed at the disposal of the society for its spiritual, mental, physical and economic welfare.

The Nationalist Government in South Africa has already destroyed academic freedom by taking away the right of universities to decide whom they will admit as students. If the next step is to be control over who will be allowed to teach and how it may be taught, as well as over the free expression of academic opinions, then control over what may be taught will be accomplished.

Those of the world's best intellects who are still prepared to work here in our universities will no longer do so, our degrees will no longer be accepted anywhere else, our isolation from contemporary thought will be complete and we will become a nation of zombies without an independent idea among us.

There will be no more learning, only a system of indoctrination to fit us for the half lives we will be allowed to lead.

THOUGHTS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM

‘IF there is not freedom in the universities it will not flourish anywhere else. It is not enough that universities should be free, but it is essential. Freedom to academic life has the same relations as courage to an army. It is a sine qua non to its efficient functioning, for without freedom universities cannot explore and cannot discover.’

The Rt. Hon. Jeremy Thorpe, M.P.

‘WE should define the ingredients of academic freedom to be the right to decide what may be taught, how it may be taught, who may teach and who may study. These are interdependent. A limitation on any one of these rights hampers the search for truth.’

The Rt. Hon. R. A. Butler

‘THE members of a university should therefore have the right, so long as it occurs on strictly scientific lines, to think freely, to seek the truth without restraint, and to give free expression to their thoughts and findings, even if these should be erroneous. The only way to show that a view is wrong, is to answer it by refutation and not to stifle it by authority imposed from above.’

The Holloway Commission

‘IF a university, committed to the pursuit of truth in the light of reason, is compelled to adopt a practice based, in one of its activities, on non-academic criteria, there must arise the fear that advances in knowledge may also be judged by equally irrelevant considerations. A country where such fear is created will neither retain its own best scholars nor succeed in attracting distinguished scholars from abroad.’

“The Open Universities in South Africa”

BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

HEADQUARTERS

National President: Mrs. J. Sinclair,
4a—2nd Avenue, Parktown North,
Johannesburg. Tel. 42-4649.

National Vice-Presidents: Mrs. R. M.
Johnston, 86-9th Avenue, High-
lands North, Jhb. Tel. 40-1973.

Mrs. J. Harris, 29—5th Street,
Lower Houghton. Tel. 728-2712.

Hon. National Secretaries: Mrs. S.
Trathen, Mrs. A. van der Riet, 37
Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street,
Jhb. Tel. 23-1032.

National Treasurer: Mrs. Beinashowitz,
37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert St.,
Johannesburg.

Magazine Editors: Mrs. S. Duncan, 45—
22nd Street, Parkhurst, Johannes-
burg. Tel.: 42-9713.

Mrs. P. Tucker, 36—5th Avenue,
Parktown North.

Office: 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert
Street, Johannesburg. Tel. 23-1032.

BORDER

Chairman: Mrs. D. Streek, 22, Turn-
berry Avenue, East London. Tel.
87852.

Treasurer: Mrs. B. Sparg, 33 Elizabeth
Court, Inverleith Terrace, East
London. Tel. 25879.

Secretary: Mrs. V. Sullivan, 3, Warwick
Road, Vincent, East London.

CAPE EASTERN

Treasurer: Mrs. A. Bolton, 19, Linton
Road, Mill Park, Port Elizabeth.
Tel. 36064.

ALBANY:

Chairman: Mrs. C. Pridmore, P.O. Box
103, Grahamstown. Tel. 2577.

Secretary: Mrs. R. V. W. Smith, P.O.
Box 103, Grahamstown. Tel. 3076.

Treasurer: Mrs. R. Vaughan, P.O. Box
103, Grahamstown.

NATAL COASTAL

Chairman: Mrs. G. Ventress, 9, Dan
Pienaar Road, Kloof. Tel. 779203.

Secretary: Mrs. M. Muil, 10, Lynton Rd.,
Kloof. Tel. 777422.

Treasurer: Mrs. S. Burns, P.O. Box 171,
Gillitts. Tel. 777669.

CAPE WESTERN

Chairmen: Mrs. S. Turner, 21, Croft
Road, Rondebosch. Tel. 68391.

Mrs. R. N. Robb, Silverhurst, Alex-
andra Road, Wynberg. Tel. 774185.

Mrs. M. Henderson, Cranbourne,
Robinson Road, Kenilworth. Tel.
773788.

Secretary: Mrs. M. Barker, 11, Twicken-
ham Road, Mowbray. Tel. 694401.

Treasurer: Mrs. M. Burton, 75, Sandown
Road, Rondebosch. Tel. 64381.

Office for Correspondence: Open Morn-
ings Only, 310, Rosco Buildings,
105, Main Road, Claremont, C.P.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Secretary: Mrs. M. Corrigall, 71, Derek
Hall, 172, Loop Street, Pieter-
maritzburg. Telephone 2-3749.

Treasurer: Mrs. Phoebe Brown, P.O. Box
71, Hilton, Natal.

TRANSVAAL

Chairman: Mrs. G. Dyzenhaus, 108 Hyde-
gate, Hyde Park, Sandton. Tel.
42-3372.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. A. van der Riet,
37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert St.,
Johannesburg. Tel. Office 23-1032.

Treasurer: Mrs. L. Brand.

Office: 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert
Street, Johannesburg. Telephone
23-1032.

SA ISSN 0036-4843

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

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

Published by the Black Sash, 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg, and printed by Messrs. Pacific Press (Pty.) Ltd., 302 Fox Street, Johannesburg.

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 vertrouwe 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.