

THE BLACK SASH



DIE SWART SERP

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ISSUE



- THE RULE OF LAW

- THE BANTU LAWS
AMENDMENT ACT

- THE EVILS OF
MIGRATORY LABOUR

- THE BLACK SASH
ADVICE OFFICES

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COVER PICTURE: Silhouette of a Black Sash woman on vigil at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, during the early demonstrations against the Senate Act in 1955.



SOUTH AFRICA IN CRISIS

ADDRESS TO THE TENTH ANNUAL NATIONAL
CONFERENCE OF THE BLACK SASH

By

Jean Sinclair

National President

“THE TEMPTATION OF OUR DAY is to accept the intolerable, for fear of still worse to come”.

These words of Hermann Raushning, written of a period in Germany which we all have grim cause to remember, have become tragically applicable to South Africa to-day. After sixteen years of Nationalist rule, the volume of protest against the Government's administration has decreased proportionately to the increase in totalitarian measures and Apartheid laws passed by Parliament.

For the first six years of this régime there was widespread public anger and indignation at the laws which were passed, and the devious methods which the Government employed in order to deprive the Coloured voters of the Cape of their franchise rights. The public revulsion against their intention to subvert the entrenched clauses of the South African Constitution was responsible for the rise of the Torch Commando. This powerful group had, in its heyday, a quarter of a million members. Contrast the attitude of public opinion then, with the apathy which prevails today.

How, one may ask, has our present Government, in a few short years, managed to prostitute the morality of an entire people, who, by and large, had a traditional and well recognized respect for the rule of law? How have they managed to seduce an honest people into the political thugery of sectionalism?

The silence of acquiescence

When the Black Sash was originally formed in 1955 to protest against the debauching of our Constitution by the Senate Act — and I say debauching deliberately, because the assertion of legality arising from the manipulation of an unfortunate loophole in the Constitution, does violence to our intelligence — we little thought that in so short a time we would be called upon to defend the fundamental human rights and dignities which have been the prerogative of civilized peoples since the middle ages.

In this century, having lived through two major global conflicts, and seen at first hand the hideous end results of racial persecution, we might be expected to be a little disturbed at the “herrenvolk” doctrines of our rulers. The moral debasement of our people, has, however, been accomplished with such base cunning, with such calculated management of group psychology and the inherent weaknesses and fears of the human animal in society, that hardly a voice has been raised in protest, and each new infringement of our rights has met with less and less positive response, until today it has become the silence of acquiescence.

World changes

South Africans appear to be quite unable to face the fact that the world is going through a period of change. Yet we have no right, or title, to depart from our legal, moral and ethical traditions — and this we have done.

Just as the campaign to abolish slavery was a feature of the nineteenth century, because the world began to realize that slavery and the slave trade were contrary to the standards of Christianity: so the abolition of race discrimination is an overriding issue of this century, because it has come to be realized that all human beings are equal in the sight of God, and therefore have a right to respect for the dignity of man, and that it is morally indefensible to discriminate on grounds of race alone.

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At a time when Britain, other Colonial powers, and the United States of America have realized not only that it is a necessity, but that there is a moral obligation, to hand over to emergent countries their right of self-determination, South Africa has seen fit to make "separate development" and race discrimination the country's official policy. When the whole world, with the exception of Russia and her satellites, is attempting to fulfil the terms of the Declaration of Human Rights and is trying to break down old prejudices, South Africa is actually fostering racial prejudice and encouraging it. Is it any wonder that we have become the best-hated nation on earth?

This is the reason why the United Nations is exerting pressure to try to force South Africa to abandon her policy of Apartheid. This is why we have been forced into isolation and why there are threats of sanctions, boycotts and expulsions from world bodies.

White South African attitudes

White South Africans are antagonized by the condemnation of the world. They believe that the overseas press has misrepresented the situation, that our unfavourable image abroad is unjustified. They seek to find justification for Apartheid by drawing attention to the money spent on welfare and housing for non-Europeans, to the increased numbers of African children who are now at school, and to the standard of living, which on the average is higher than in any African state. But they fail to remember two things: firstly, that African wages are not in accordance with the prosperity of the country, and, secondly, that the differential between the wages of skilled White workers and unskilled African workers is too great. They fail to remember that man does not live by bread alone: they do not respect the dignity of man, and still regard the African as a being some degrees lower than themselves, without the aspirations and desires which are common to all people.

This attitude is seen very clearly when one examines the South Africa which appears on the surface. On the surface the picture is rosy. This is a land of milk and honey. We have a wonderful climate, wonderful scenery; we have all the amenities of a modern industrial society. The standard of living for Whites is higher than almost anywhere else in the world. It is one of the few countries left where gracious living is still the rule: adequate domestic help is available at a comparatively small cost. The economy is flourishing, industrial development is expanding; our gold reserves are rising and we balance our budget. There are no obvious labour troubles except the shortage of artisans and semi-skilled workers. The building programme has reached a new peak, with luxury offices, shops, luxury flats and private homes springing up like mushrooms. Life is pleasant, comfortable and easy, for the Whites.

Ivory tower

Having examined this rosy picture of South Africa, let us turn to the other side of the coin. Does the average White South African stop to think why life for him is so comfortable? Does he know that his labourer is more or less compelled to work for him, even if his wage is small, because he cannot give up his job for fear he might be "endorsed out" to his home in the country, or possibly to a strange tribal area? Does he remember that his African employee probably leaves home at 4.30 a.m. to be in time to start his work at 6 or 7 a.m.? Does he remember that an African is not permitted to strike for better conditions? Does the average White man or woman know, or want to know, what are the conditions under which the Coloureds, Indians and Africans have to exist? — one could hardly call it living.

Our three million Whites are living in an ivory tower. The other thirteen million citizens eke out an existence and are without rights of any sort, political, civil, economic or human.

We accept that there are people who are worried, who know that injustices are being done in their name; but what are they doing about it? Many of us, on meeting a German national, are tempted to ask, "What did you do to protest during those years under Hitler?" It is fundamentally tragic that, in similar circumstances, one can ask a similar question of a South African today, and get the same reply — "Nothing".

Dedicated to Apartheid

It is time we were prepared to admit that the Nationalists are dedicated to a political dogma, and are fanatical in their determination to implement Apartheid regardless of the consequences. One must also face the fact that the Official Opposition, too, believes basically in Apartheid, although I would say at once that I do not think the Opposition would implement the policy in the arbitrary and inhumane manner in which the present Government is enforcing it.

Why is the Government so determined, and so dedicated to Apartheid? I believe the real motive behind its policy is to build a Nationalist Afrikaner Nation and to establish its supremacy in South Africa for all time. To this end all its policy and actions are directed, regardless of who will suffer. To make Afrikanerdom exclusive, it is imperative that the Government must divide and rule. Hence the separation of Afrikaner life and culture from that of all other groups, and of all other groups from each other. All are to be subservient to the "volk".

The pattern, then, is separation — separation of Afrikaans- and English-speaking in the schools, in the universities, in the churches, in cultural organizations, in commercial and industrial associations, in charitable organizations, in the Press, and in every sphere of our society.



"YOU IN YOUR GROUP AREA, AND I IN MINE"

All Whites must be separated from non-Whites, physically, politically and culturally, the Indian in his own race-tight compartment, likewise the Coloured and the African. The African is further sub-divided into his ethnic group areas. All contacts and association with people of a different group are cut to a minimum.

Intolerable humiliation

The pattern of Apartheid has been unfolding over the last sixteen years, and the Apartheid laws, inhuman and unjust as they are, have borne hardly on the non-White people. They have endured endless assaults on their dignity, and have suffered intolerable humiliation.

The Coloured people at the Cape have been deprived of their franchise rights, a right they enjoyed for over a hundred years. They have experienced the horrors of the Race Classification Board. They have been the victims of job reservation and have had the amenities of the beaches and pleasure resorts at the Cape denied to them.

The Indians, who have been told that they will never have any representation in the central Parliament, have suffered gross hardship under the Group Areas Act. They have been uprooted from their homes and places of business and moved to Group Areas of the Government's choosing. All this has been done without consultation with the people who are affected. Were we not in South Africa it might possibly have occurred to someone to enquire how a minority government could dare to deprive any citizen of his private property or means of livelihood without compensation or redress. Nevertheless it has taken place with hardly a protest from White South Africa.

Human misery

For the Africans Apartheid spells human misery. It is true that the Transkei has been established as a supposedly self-governing Bantustan; but if one examines its Constitution, it certainly is not

independent, nor, I believe, is it intended to be. It has no viable economy and even with substantial grants from the Republican Parliament, it cannot hope to support its population in the foreseeable future. Tswanaland is the next Bantustan on the list to be established. This consists of small portions of land all strung together and is probably even more impoverished than the Transkei.

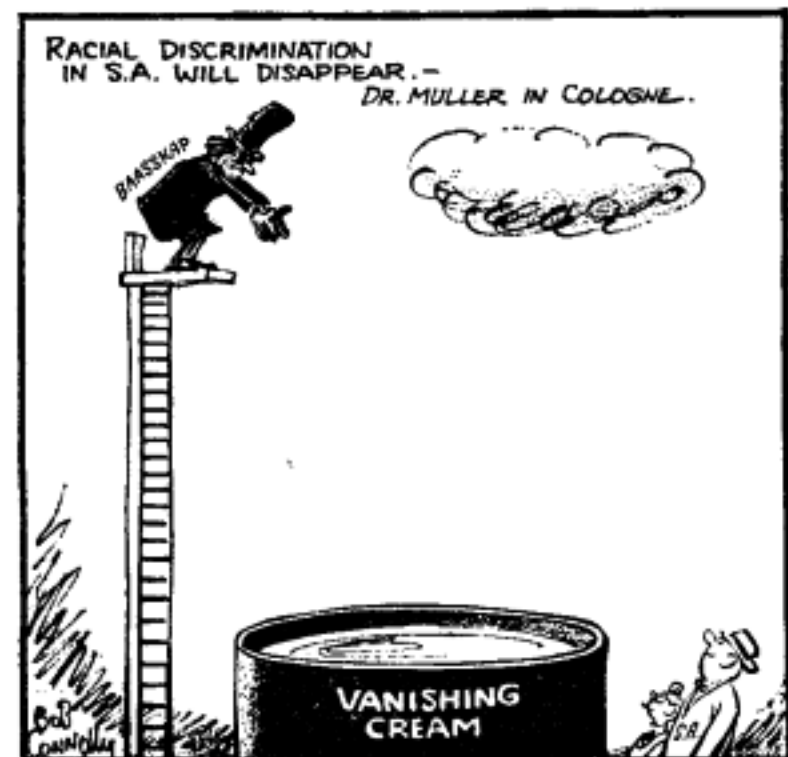
For the seven or eight million Africans who live and work in the White areas, life, on the whole, consists of a struggle to live and work within the law. The African is a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. He has been turned, virtually, into a migrant, rootless serf with no rights or security of any kind. I do not need to remind you of the part which insecurity of tenure alone has played — in other revolutions, in other places.

The Black Sash is fully conversant, through the work in its Advice Offices, with the implications of the laws which affect the urban African. The Foreign Minister, during his recent trip to Germany, said in Cologne: "It is the Government's aim to end racial discrimination . . . Full implementation of our policy will bring about a situation in which racial discrimination will disappear". The Native Urban Areas Act of 1945 is now to be surpassed by the horrors of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, which is racial discrimination *par excellence*.

Sins against humanity

These laws have converted the African from a human being into a statistic, juggled with and pushed hither and thither by officials who are bound to carry out the letter of the law. Thousands of Africans are "endorsed out" of the urban areas back to the tribal areas every month. Thousands of families are broken up and thousands of

(Continued overleaf)



High Jump.

(Rand Daily Mail)

children are deprived of paternal care and discipline. Thousands are homeless, rootless and workless and many are even stateless. **Can we, I ask, forcibly remove a man from his wife, a woman from her children or a family from their livelihood and still call ourselves a Christian nation?**

Thousands of employers spend thousands of hours in pass offices in an endeavour to have their labourers registered. Thousands of Africans spend thousands of hours standing in queues waiting for permits to seek work. Thousands of Africans travel thousands of miles to their homes in the country to await permission to travel back to town to take up the employment offered to them. Thousands of employers spend from four to ten weeks waiting for their labourers to get permission to come back from home to take up that employment. Thousands of Africans come illegally to the urban areas every month and thousands of them are "endorsed out", back to the country where, in many areas, starvation is rife and employment almost unprocurable. Thousands of urban families lose thousands of hours of pay by going to pass offices to get permission for their teen-age sons, who were sent to school in the country, to come back home to live with the family and work in town.

We are all paying for this, not only in vast sums of money, but in man hours wasted, in terms of bitterness and frustration, and in the inefficiency of the labour force. When the day of retribution comes, and come it will, I pray that the African people will not demand an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. I am ashamed, as a member of the White group in this country, that we are perpetrating such sins against humanity and such injustices on our fellow citizens. **How can a people, so incensed at the Senate Act nine years ago, now be sunk into such apathy that the passing of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill leaves them unconcerned by the human misery such legislation will cause?**

Abrogation of the Rule of Law

At the same time as the Government has been unfolding the pattern of Apartheid, it has been forced to silence legitimate non-White protest and to deal with situations which arose from the implementation of Apartheid. We have, therefore, had a steady succession of laws since 1948 which have progressively become more arbitrary and have progressively abrogated the rule of law. From the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953, they have proceeded to the General Law Amendment Act (the Sabotage Act) of 1962, and its amendments in 1963 and 1964, the worst clause of the 1963 edition being the notorious **90-day detention clause**. Gradually, step by step, justice has been diminished by the specific exclusion of the jurisdiction of the courts, and the right and liberties of the individual have been correspondingly reduced.

To-day, to our shame, South Africa has sunk to the level of a law which imposes 90-day detention,

without charge and without trial — and in solitary confinement, which has been scientifically proved to have caused serious mental aberration in certain people. It is a measure which offends all the tenets of Christian teaching, civilized values, decency and justice. In the eyes of the world it puts South Africa in the same category as Nazi Germany, Russia and Ghana.

Seven hundred and fifty years ago, Magna Carta laid down the basis on which Western civilized standards of justice have been founded. In sixteen years, with the help of a mass of statutory legislation, this Government has plunged South Africa back into the social anarchy of the middle ages. It has abandoned centuries of political progress, manipulated Christian doctrine to suit its own philosophies, and subverted the common law in the interests of sectional dogma.

Whatever the future policy of this Government may be, the fact remains that for sixteen years it has entrenched discrimination, abrogated the rule of law and diminished the human rights and civil liberties of all South Africans. All this has been done with the object in view of maintaining Nationalist Afrikaner dominance in South Africa for all time.

Bogey of Communism

All through these years opponents of the Government have been silenced. With the skilful use of propaganda the bogey of Communism has been magnified and the Suppression of Communism Act has been used to ban, put under house arrest, detain or charge anyone who has had the temerity to oppose the Government publicly, and to charge them with furthering the aims of Communism. Political organizations have been declared unlawful, and, for the non-Whites certainly, all avenues of legitimate protest have been closed. The S.A.B.C. pours out incessant propaganda on Communism, equating it with liberalism, and, in fact, with all criticism of Government policy. In talks given by Mr. Kruger, Mr. Benson, Mr. A. M. van Schoor, Mr. Blyth Thompson and other broadcasters there has been a campaign attacking Liberals and liberalism, the English Press, Churchmen, academic humanists, the Progressive Party, "Communist" lawyers and lecturers and so on. The news casts highlight racial disturbances wherever they occur in any part of the globe. The fear of Black Nationalism is instilled and the rightness of separate development is hammered incessantly.

The S.A.B.C. was established as a public utility to serve all sections of the community and is sustained by the licence fees paid by people of all political affiliations. It is now being used to disseminate the views and beliefs of the Nationalist Party. No time is ever allowed for the views and beliefs of those groups or individuals who do not support Government policy.

Sabotage and terrorism

All these factors have led to the unhappy situation in which South Africa finds itself to-day.



Ordinary decent and law-abiding people, who in the past were committed to non-violence, have felt themselves impelled to resort to the use of violence. We in the Black Sash condemn, absolutely, violence in any shape or form, from wherever it may come; but we blame the Government for having created, by its intransigence, a situation in which violence increasingly occurs. It is right to remember, too, that violence by authority towards human dignity, and, in some cases, physical violence, preceded, by many years, this era of sabotage and terrorism. We appeal to those who are using sabotage and violence to stop doing so; and we appeal to the Government to return to the rule of law.

Two faces

In giving you the picture of the two faces of South Africa, I have tried to illustrate, on one hand, how the determination of the Government, (and here I couple with it the Broederbond), to achieve the exclusiveness and the dominance of the "Volk", is resulting in great hardship, human misery and injustice to the non-White South Africans; how the arbitrary laws necessary to implement Apartheid have led to sabotage and terrorism. On the other hand, despite these facts, the South African economy is flourishing and buoyant. On the surface there is prosperity, and, for the Whites, stability and calm.

This state of prosperity is a factor which contributes to the apathy of the White public; but it is not the only factor. Another very important factor is FEAR.

Fear

Fear is the deadly enemy of a free society. When fear governs, freedom ceases to exist.

Fear distorts perspective and unreasonable and unconsidered action may follow. Fear impairs judgment, disregards beliefs and intentions, and irresponsible action or inaction results.

Fear inhibits independence of thought. It may not be comfortable to think differently from friends or business associates, so silence is prudent. On the other hand outspoken criticism could bring to light a surprising amount of sympathy and support. Courage to speak out gives courage to others to do likewise.

Fear causes insecurity; it takes away peace of mind and it destroys faith, hope and even love. It leads to escapism, it obscures the facts and it forces the victim into the isolation of an ivory tower.

Fear blinds the truth. It inhibits understanding, it stills the conscience, because the truth often demands action. Ignorance may be bliss; but it will surely lead to disaster.

Fear can reduce a people to an amorphous mass of indecision, of escapism, of subservience to authority, floundering about, soulless and impotent, in a tyranny which it has no power to change.

We saw fear take hold in Germany in the 1930's. It has taken hold of us and if we do not come to our senses now, we are doomed. The majority of the White electorate, it would seem, is governed by fear — fear of the unknown, of Black Nationalism, of change, of criticism, of losing a job, of losing a contract, of speaking out, of offending the Government, of liberalism and Communism, and non-conformity. Let us not forget that fear begets fear.

Freedom is precious

Let all South Africans join the forces of right and justice. Let us inspire courage; refuse to be intimidated. Take heed of what the Churches are saying; of the courage of the English-speaking press; of the fight that some of our national leaders are putting up; and remember the stoicism of the African, the Coloured and the Indian people. In the words of the Rev. S. P. Freeland, "It is time to get off the fence — Take sides — Freedom is precious."

In conclusion, I quote from the writings from prison of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a theologian imprisoned and executed by the Nazis:

"To do and dare — not what you would, but what is right. Never to hesitate over what is within your power, but boldly to grasp what lies before you. Not in the flight of fancy, but only in the deed there is freedom. Away with timidity and reluctance! Out into the storm of event, sustained only by the commandment of God and your faith, and freedom will receive your spirit with exultation."

THE TENTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE BLACK SASH

DELEGATES to the Tenth Annual National Conference of the Black Sash held in Pietermaritzburg were greatly encouraged by reports from all Regions of the increasing interest in Black Sash work shown by members of the public, many of whom had visited offices in the various centres during the year

The Conference opened on the evening of the 20th October with a public meeting in the Supper Room of the Pietermaritzburg City Hall, with Mrs. M. Corrigan, of Natal Midlands Region, in the Chair. The Guest Speaker, Mr. Gerald Walker of Natal University, spoke about the apathy of so-called opponents of the Government in Natal, after which Mrs. Jean Sinclair delivered her Presidential Address, "South Africa in Crisis".

● Much of the first day of the Conference was spent on an analysis of the work of the Black Sash Advice Offices throughout the country. The implementation of the "Pass Laws", which have broken up thousands of African families, and the bewilderment of the Africans, who cannot understand the laws by which they must live, have brought nearly 5,500 cases to the Advice Offices this year.

It has been made very clear that these laws deny to Africans the right to the everyday satisfactions of life taken for granted by all other citizens of this country.

● Conference recorded its congratulations to Rev. Martin Luther King upon the Nobel Peace Prize award for his work for peace and non-violence, principles to which the Black Sash firmly adheres.

● The Black Sash decided to intensify all its activities to counter the spreading growth of fear in everyday life induced by Nationalist propaganda and Nationalist legislation. Conference also decided to study the techniques of the propaganda used by the Government in order the more effectively to counter it.

● Delegates resolved that during the coming year they would attempt:-

- (a) To foster the social attitudes appropriate to a multi-racial country;
- (b) to persuade a wide public of the value of Black Sash aims;
- (c) to design a programme of political education suitable for young people.

● Plans were discussed for new forms of demonstrations as well as the traditional silent vigils.

● It was decided that an even greater effort must be made to inform South Africans of the facts and the effects of migrant labour as probably the major social evil of our time. The Government still plans to base the economy of the country on African labour, so there can be no question of

true separate development. It aims to turn the majority of workers into migrant labourers, herding men, many of them married, into single quarters. The Black Sash believes that, in order to achieve a peaceful solution to our problems, it is the duty of moderates to be as militant in their moderation as extremists on both sides are in their extremism.

● Conference condemned the Government's use of the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation as a Nationalist Party propaganda weapon.

● It expressed appreciation of the stand made by many newspapers in defence of the freedom of the Press in South Africa, and determined that the Black Sash would do all it could to oppose Government control of the Press.

● Delegates reiterated their abhorrence of the 90-day detention clause, because:

- (a) it destroys freedom from arbitrary arrest;
- (b) it denies to citizens the right under the criminal code to be brought before a police court on a specified charge within 48 hours of arrest;
- (c) the mental and physical torture inflicted by prolonged isolation and questioning are incompatible with civilized standards of justice;
- (d) the operation of the clause and the indignation which it causes distract attention from the root cause of unrest. The pass laws, the Group Areas Act and all discriminatory legislation are responsible for this unrest.

● Conference condemned legislation which permits arbitrary bannings, listing or namings under the Suppression of Communism Act, against which there is no appeal to the courts; and police searches of innocent people, causing indignity and suspicion against which there is no redress.

● Conference condemned the Government's intention to ban from the teaching and legal professions persons alleged to have certain political leanings.

APPRAISEMENT OF CONFERENCE

by JEANETTE DAVIDOFF

Past National Vice-President of
the Black Sash



THIS was not a Conference of controversy nor one of burning issues, but it was momentous for its sound and sober appraisal of Black Sash work, and for the somewhat dynamic planning for the coming year.

In the nine-and-a-half years since the Black Sash was formed, the issues facing our members have crystallized. Members are single-minded in working for good government in South Africa. They face the realities of a country of more than 17,000,000 people, of whom less than 3½ million are White. They realize that the fair-minded, the unafraid, must speak out, must not be diverted or intimidated by the Government's fulminations against "liberalism" and against all critics of its policies. They fairly appraise the incessant Government propaganda on Radio South Africa. Delegates to Conference, therefore, faced the issues squarely, and planned accordingly.

Drastic effects of Apartheid legislation

The tone of the Conference was set by the excellent analytical and thought-provoking address of the National President, Mrs. Jean Sinclair. Thus the matters discussed by delegates covered a wide field. The education of themselves, of the Black Sash as a whole, and of the general public, on the drastic effects of the never-ending apartheid legislation, was seen as a matter of primary importance. Under this heading came assessment of previous methods, followed by new plans for silent stands, demonstrations, exhibitions, and carefully considered ideas for countering Government propaganda.

The reports of the Advice Offices, to which more than 7,000 Africans have come for help in dealing with problems caused by rigorous en-

forcement of influx control, "pass laws", Group Areas proclamations, etc., were also of primary interest. It was obvious that the women who give voluntary service in these offices are becoming more and more aware of the complexities of the mass of legislation hedging round the lives and prospects of the non-Whites. Black Sash members appreciate the burden of injustice suffered; they understand the dread of being "endorsed out", and share the anxieties of those who come to them for help.

Migratory labour

Conference again stressed the duty of the Black Sash to make the general public more keenly aware of the dire consequences of the migratory labour policy of the Government — the consequences to the Africans, to the Whites and to South Africa.

In praising highly the special issue of the Magazine, "Let No Man Put Asunder", Conference re-affirmed that this publication was one of the Black Sash's most potent weapons. The wide demand for copies from many persons and organizations here and abroad, and the technical use to which it will probably be put by educationalists, are very encouraging.

Condemnation

Strongly worded expressions of abhorrence of 90-day detention; arbitrary bannings and listing; police searches of the homes of innocent people; the proposed removal of persons alleged to have certain political leanings from the legal and teaching professions; the threat to control sections of the Press which criticized Government action — all proved that the Black Sash aims and objects

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A YEAR OF HARD WORK AND ACHIEVEMENT

THE GROWTH of apathy and the fear of being "implicated" have almost silenced the voice of extra-Parliamentary opposition to the Government's policies. It is therefore the more gratifying to report that not only in the Republic but in other parts of the world there is the knowledge that the Black Sash, at least, takes every opportunity of drawing attention to the evil effects of past legislation, as well as criticizing new legislation proposed by the South African Government. It is no mean feat to have kept the voice of protest alive for more than nine years.

For the second year in succession, much of the attention of all Regions of the Black Sash has been focussed on the far-reaching provisions of the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, which was enacted this year. Study of this legislation, in conjunction with the experience gained in their Advice Offices, has made Black Sash members more than ever aware of the evils of the migratory labour system which the Government seeks to perpetuate. Together with the notorious 90-Day Detention Clause, this heartless law has formed the basis of Black Sash work throughout the year.

All Regions have had a very active year, all report a fairly stable membership, and all report an encouraging public interest in Black Sash work in spite of general apathy.

The following short accounts of the work in the different Regions will give some idea of the courage and tenacity of the women of the Black Sash.

HEADQUARTERS REGION

AS TRANSVAAL is the Headquarters Region, it is very difficult to separate the National from the Regional work, and there is of necessity some overlapping. If, therefore, some of the purely Regional work of Transvaal is ascribed to Headquarters, we hope the Region will forgive us.

Transvaal becomes Headquarters for the fourth year in succession, with Mrs. Jean Sinclair elected National President, also for the fourth time. The two National Vice-Presidents, elected at Conference, are Mrs. Dora Hill and Mrs. Bobby Cluver.

Mrs. Roberta Johnston, who for two years has combined the onerous positions of National and Regional Secretary, was unable to continue for a third year, but has nobly agreed to carry



Mrs. D. A. Hill and Mrs. M. W. Cluver, who were elected National Vice-Presidents at Conference.

on until the end of the year. Mrs. Gita Dyzenhaus, who took over as National Treasurer early in the year, was re-elected to the position, while Mrs. Dorothy Grant will continue to edit the Black Sash Magazine, with Mrs. Joyce Harris as Magazine Secretary.

Publicity and Propaganda.

During the year, numerous statements and letters were sent to the newspapers or addressed to Cabinet Ministers or other persons. The subjects dealt with included the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, the treatment of members of the Indian Women's Association at the Union Buildings, the distressing "Christmas cards" sent to members of the Black Sash, the "Break-up of African Family Life", the Black Sash Advice Offices, the restriction of Johannesburg public halls to one racial group, the effects of solitary confinement, a multi-racial convention, condemnation of sabotage and violence, the abrogation of the Rule of Law, the treatment of detainees, the banning of Mr. Peter Brown and others, the threat to ban certain persons from legal and teaching professions.

APPRAISEMENT OF CONFERENCE (Cont. from Page 7)

must and would be worked for tirelessly and fearlessly.

Congratulations

Conversely, Conference stated its admiration and appreciation of the forthright stand taken by many newspapers, and congratulated them on their excellent leading articles, which ruthlessly expose the evils which beset South Africa. This courageous stand contrasted strongly with the apathy and fear of the majority of White South Africans.

One of the most gratifying features of Conference was the report from all Regions of a year of hard work and achievement, coupled with the interest shown in the Black Sash by new members, and by the many people, here and abroad, who visited our offices or wrote seeking details of Black Sash work.

The local English newspapers give the organization much support and encouragement, and publish letters and statements in a prominent position. Unfortunately, not much publicity is given to Black Sash demonstrations in the Transvaal, owing, no doubt, to lack of incident and publicity value.

A number of letters have been received from overseas individuals and organizations, asking for information about the Black Sash, and for permission to publish articles and photographs. There continues to be gratifying mention of the Black Sash in overseas publications. Many local



Mrs. R. Johnston, National Secretary, and Mrs. D. Grant, Magazine Editor.

It was understandable that the Black Sash, with its principles of promoting good government and securing civil liberties by non-violent means, should record its congratulations to Dr. Martin Luther King upon the award of the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in this direction.

Several familiar faces were missing at Conference this year for various reasons; but there were several new faces, and young minds with dynamic ideas crisply put and deservedly acclaimed.

The arrangements for Conference were faultless. The hospitality and kindness of Natal Midlands Region were noteworthy, and delegates were unanimous in their thanks and appreciation.

I am proud to belong to an organization whose members have been tried by their own consciences; I am honoured to have served it for three years in the capacity of Vice-President.

and overseas persons seek interviews with the National President to discuss Black Sash work and views.

Bantu Laws Amendment Act.

In November, 1963, a deputation of five members of the Black Sash met Mr. de Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and three advisers, in an effort to obtain some alleviation of the harsh provisions of this Bill. The interview lasted three hours, the Minister and his advisers listened attentively and gave the members of the deputation every opportunity to express their views, but regrettably the Bill had not been modified in any way when it at length came before Parliament.

Appreciating the urgent necessity of making the public aware of the disastrous consequences of this legislation, all Regions have worked during the year to publicise the evils of migratory labour.

In Johannesburg a successful 2-day Forum entitled "Let No Man Put Asunder" gave rise to a unanimous resolution calling on the Churches to convene a National Conference on the subject, to ensure that publicity be given to the dangers to African family life implicit in the provisions of the Act. This forum formed the subject of a special issue of the Black Sash Magazine.

(Continued overleaf)

A YEAR OF HARD WORK (Cont.)

The 90-Day Detention Clause.

During November, 1963, the Black Sash was approached by the Headquarters of the National Council of Women in Durban on the subject of the families of the 90-day detainees. They asked for co-operation and comment. Black Sash Headquarters sent them a Memorandum detailing its objections to 90-day detention, and invited the National Council of Women to seek a joint interview with the Minister of Justice. The N.C.W. accepted, and accordingly a joint letter was drafted and sent to the Minister. He replied in a discourteous letter signed by his Private Secretary, brushing aside these two responsible women's organizations as "leftist", and "having no concern for the safety of the Republic".

As both these organizations wished to form a Protest Committee to organize protest against 90-Day Detention, they began to plan a campaign. At the same time, the Civil Rights League in Cape Town was working along the same lines. It was therefore agreed by all concerned to establish a Protest Group under the National Chairmanship of **Mr. Hamilton Russell**.

The Black Sash played a prominent part in organizing Protest Meetings all over the country and in the wide distribution of the booklet "**Tyranny 90**" produced in Cape Town.

The Black Sash has unceasingly protested against the 90-Day Detention Clause. By means of statements, protests and posters it continues to express abhorrence of this inhuman legislation and practice, and the abrogation of the Rule of Law.

TRANSVAAL REGION

TRANSVAAL REGION now consists of a number of Town Branches and Groups, namely **Bryanston Branch, Northern Group, North Eastern Group, North Western Group, Waverley Branch**; and Country Branches in **Rustenburg and Witbank**. There are groups of members in **Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Springs, Barberton, Mataffin and White River**. The Region is run by a Committee of twenty-five, with **Mrs. Dora Hill** in the Chair and **Mrs. Bobbie Johnston** as Hon. Secretary. **Mrs. Bertha Beinashowitz**, who has been Regional Treasurer for many years, was obliged to give up during the year for personal reasons, and her post has been taken over by **Mrs. Kay Gaynor**. The Black Sash Office is run most efficiently by

OBITUARY

MRS.
KATHLEEN
FLEMING



IT IS with deep sorrow that we record the death of Mrs. Kathleen Fleming, one of the founders of our nine-year-old organization, who died on the 21st August.

Kay Fleming was known to every member of the Black Sash, and took a prominent part in all our early activities. Her enthusiasm had much to do with the original protest march in Johannesburg against the Senate Bill, and the cold winter "sleep-out" in the gardens of the Union Buildings. In 1956 she drove her car in the great convoy to Cape Town, and stood outside Parliament during the passing of the Separate Representation of Voters Act.

She was a member of the original Black Sash Committee, and thereafter a member of Transvaal Regional Committee. She was also Chairman of the North Western Group of the Transvaal Region, and held this position until the end of last year. In 1961, she was elected National Treasurer of the Black Sash, and remained in office until November, 1963.

Kay's hard work and generosity were an inspiration to us all. Her cheerfulness, her organizing ability, and the quiet way in which she undertook any task that came her way, will always be remembered by those who worked with her. We shall miss her greatly.

Mrs. Margaret Kirk, with the assistance of Mrs. Henrietta Radale, who also acts as interpreter in the Advice Office.

Meetings.

Over thirty Committee and Council meetings were held during the year, and six General Meetings. Speakers at General Meetings in Johannesburg have been **Dr. R. B. Ballinger**, on "South West Africa and U.N.O.", **Mr. I. A. Maisels** on "The Rule of Law", and **Mrs. Jean Sinclair** on the "Black Sash Advice Office." During the year

one General Meeting was held in **Witbank**, and one in **Rustenburg**.

Newsletter.

The Region now issues a monthly Newsletter to all its members, and this has been found an excellent means of keeping members informed of all Black Sash activities.

Demonstrations.

Numerous demonstrations have been held during the year, all with posters. Most of these have taken place near the C.N.A. Fountain opposite the University during one of the traffic peak hours. Now that the City Hall steps have been banned, this is felt to be the most effective venue. Permission is always obtained from the City Council to hold demonstrations, and they have been quiet and without incident. Earlier in the year, police cars patrolled the vicinity, but this has now ceased.

At a demonstration held in the centre of Johannesburg at the end of last year, posters were used reading: "**The Crime Apartheid — the Penalty, Isolation**", and listing the inhumanities which add up to "apartheid", and the various ways in which South Africa has been isolated as the result of the policy.

In December, members went to Pretoria to take a letter to the Prime Minister complaining about the treatment of Indian women, who, when seeking an interview on the **Group Areas Act**, were dispersed by police dogs. A half-hour stand at Union Buildings followed the delivery of the letter.

During the second reading of the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill** in February, continuous demonstrations were held, the posters used being those prepared in anticipation of the passing of the Act in 1963.

On the 11th July, **Family Day**, a demonstration was held with the poster, "**Every day Apartheid breaks up African family life**".

Many of the demonstrations during the year were in protest against **90-Day Detention Clause**, and one, in August, included **Sabotage and Violence**. The posters used on that occasion were: "**We Protest Against Sabotage and Violence**"; "**Sabotage and Violence are not our South African Way of Life.**"; "**Our South African Way of Life is the Rule of Law**"; and "**90-Day Detention is Outside the Rule of Law**". Other posters used at demonstrations have been, "**90-Day Detention Must Stop**", and "**Solitary Confinement is Mental Torture**".

These demonstrations are now held once a week, from 7.45 a.m. to 8.45 a.m. Invitations have been issued to members of Churches and interested organizations to join in the demonstrations, and the results have been encouraging. Several new members have been acquired as a result of these stands.

90-Day Detention Protest.

On the 26th February, a public meeting organized in Johannesburg by the Black Sash was addressed by **Mr. Hamilton Russell**. At the end of April, **Mr. H. C. Koch** was approached, and he consented to organize a Church protest meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall on May 20th. The meeting was most successful, and was addressed by the Bishop of Johannesburg, **Rev. Leslie Stradling**; the **Rev. Mr. Dugmore** of the Methodist Church, and the **Rev. Mr. Welch** of the Congregational Church, with representatives of other denominations on the platform.

Halls and Multi-Racial Meetings.

After consulting all Regions, and finding that Johannesburg was the only large centre which did not allow multi-racial meetings in big halls, the Region wrote to the City Council asking them to change their policy, particularly in view of the disappointment of many Africans over the 90-Day Detention meeting in the uni-racial City Hall. The City Council has refused, but the Black Sash will pursue the matter.

Migratory Labour.

In June, the Region held a two-day Forum on the evils of Migratory Labour. A full report of this Forum, giving the full text of all the papers read, was published in the special issue of the Black Sash Magazine, "**Let No Man Put Asunder**", issued in July.

The speakers were **Dr. Margaret Ballinger**, **Mr. E. P. Bradlow**, **Mrs. Felicia Kentridge**, **Professor P. V. Pistorius**, **Mr. J. Blacking**, **Dr. Ellen Hellmann**, **Professor P. Mayer**, **Father L. T. Rakale**, and **Mr. R. T. Hofmeyr**.

A tremendous amount of work was involved in the organization of this Forum, and **Mrs. Jeanette Davidoff**, the Convenor, who originated the idea and carried it into execution, was heartily congratulated upon her inspiration, her tireless efforts and the great success of the event.

As a result of a Resolution passed at the Forum, the Christian Council of Churches agreed to pursue the subject of Migratory Labour.

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A YEAR OF HARD WORK (Cont.)

The Saturday Club.

The Saturday Club, a multi-racial social club, has been reorganized this year, and the Group Discussion technique is being tried out, as it is felt that this might be a valuable method of making interracial contacts. The discussions are being conducted by **Mrs. Eleanor Lewin**, who is trained in this technique.

The idea is that ultimately participants in the first group will become competent to run similar groups elsewhere, thus extending the scope of the present Saturday Club, and building wider bridges between a greater number of culturally different groups.

BORDER REGION

BORDER now operates as a one-Branch Region, with headquarters in East London. As many of the members are country members, and others are with the Black Sash in spirit but are unable to help actively, the Region's activities this year have of necessity been limited, and most of its energies have been concentrated on the establishment of an Advice Office in East London.

Mrs. Daphne Curry continues as Chairman, and the secretarial work is shared by members of the Regional Committee, which consists of 9 members. **Mrs. Deena Streek** is the Regional Treasurer, and members record their grateful thanks for her able performance of the difficult task of "keeping their heads above water."

The opening of the Advice Office was the highlight of the year, and gave members something concrete to do, but they are badly in need of more helpers.

Frequent poster demonstrations are held in East London in protest against current legislation, and photographs of these stands are often published in the local newspapers.

Meetings.

During the year four members' meetings were held, one being in the form of a **Bring and Buy Sale** to raise funds to send two delegates to the National Conference.

In March a members' meeting was held during which **Mrs. Herslet's** tape on **migrant labour** was played. Nineteen members attended, and it was decided to offer the tape to as many women's church organizations as possible.

In June members were called together to discuss the proposed **zoning of beach areas**. A Com-

mittee of Enquiry had put forward a recommendation for separate beach amenities for Africans and Whites. Members were urged to write letters to the press deploring this move and a letter to the City Council opposing this proposal was drawn up. The desirability of a petition to the Mayor and City Councillors earnestly requesting that the proposals should be rejected in favour of the present conditions, was discussed, and members readily agreed to obtain as many signatures as possible from owners and occupiers of property within the city. The petition was submitted to the City Council.

Mrs. Curry and **Mrs. Streek** then described to members their visit to the **Mount Coke Transit Camp**. 20 members and one visitor attended.

In September members again came together to hear a talk by **Mrs. Rice** on her recent visit to **Nyasaland**. This was very well received and, in spite of the rain, was attended by 16.

Mayor's School Feeding Scheme.

This scheme caters for the schools, both White and African, attended by needy children, providing a daily meal. It operates solely on donations. It has, on one or two occasions, threatened to go under due to lack of funds. Black Sash has undertaken to assist in the operation of a collection box system in city businesses.

Gwentshe Fund.

Border continues to support the African man, **Gwentshe**, who was endorsed out to the **Tsomo District** where he is unable to find employment. They make a monthly payment of R6, which amount is made up of individual donations from members.

NATAL COASTAL REGION

A COMMITTEE of twelve runs this Region as a whole, with **Mrs. Susan Francis** in the Chair, **Mrs. Mary Grice** as Secretary, and **Mrs. Mavis Hayes** as Treasurer. Natal Coastal has had a fairly active year, for three months of which **Mrs. Guinivere Ventress** acted as Chairman during **Mrs. Francis'** unavoidable leave of absence.

Meetings.

Membership of the Region is growing slowly, and meetings are found to be the best recruiting ground. With the exception of Conference and report-back meetings, all meetings are open to the public (ladies only!), and after hearing accounts of Black Sash activities many are moved to join.

OBITUARY

COUNCILLOR MRS. MARJORIE SHEARER

IN APRIL, Natal Coastal Region lost a loved and valued member through the death of Mrs. Marjorie Shearer, a foundation member of the Black Sash. She was an indefatigable worker in all Black Sash activities, and served on the Branch and Regional Committees.

Mrs. Shearer's particular interest was civic affairs, and for several years she attended all open meetings of the Durban City Council, keeping the Black Sash briefed on all important developments, especially those which she felt presented a moral challenge. When she herself was elected to the City Council, she proved a valuable contact, and her loss is irreparable.

Her kind heart and feeling for others were notable: Up to a few days before her death she was deeply concerned about the fate of the Indian fruit vendors at the bus stops. We shall sorely miss her warm personality, her tireless zeal and her indomitable spirit.

Ten general meetings were held during the year, with some interesting speakers: **Miss Molly Reinhardt**, **Archbishop Hurley**, **Mr. Bill Toomey** (U.S. Consul), **Mrs. Sinclair** and **Miss Seedat** spoke on a variety of topics. At other meetings, **Jessie Hertslet's** tape-recording on **Migrant Labour** was played, and **Mrs. Peggy Roberts'** talk on the same subject was read.

Mrs. Hertslet's tape was played at meetings of three church groups, organized by members of the Black Sash in their individual capacity.

90-Days Detention Clause.

The Region was represented on a committee of aid to the dependants of detainees, and also on a committee of protest against the renewed implementation of the clause in June. It is planned to hold a **Forum** on this clause in February next year.

Letters to the Press were written on the subject of "**Black Spot**" Removals, the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**, the **90-Day Clause**, the banning of **Peter Brown**, **Group Areas**, the banning of **David Evans**, the threat to remove the **Indian Market**.

The Banished.

The Region sends a monthly donation of R10 to these people (contributed by members as individuals), and held a successful **Bring and Buy Sale** to provide Christmas Cheer parcels.

Demonstrations.

A demonstration to protest against the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill** was held in February, on the day of the second reading of the Bill, using the posters and pamphlets prepared the year before. A protest against the **90-Day clause** was held for an hour on August 14th at lunch time, and thirty women took part.

Advice Office.

The main concern of the Region has been the running of their Advice Office, which was opened in November last year. A report of their efforts appears elsewhere in the Magazine.

Magazine.

The circulation of the Magazine in the Region has been handled most efficiently by **Mrs. Isabel Schwartz**, who has been doing this work since the first issue. The Region is planning to spend some time next year increasing the circulation of this publication.

NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE of Natal Midlands consists of eleven members plus the Chairmen of Mooi River and Matatiele Branches, under the guidance of **Mrs. Mary Corrigan** with **Mrs. Olive Forsyth** as Regional Secretary and **Miss Iris Friday** as Regional Treasurer.

The Region has Branches in **Pietermaritzburg**, **Mooi River** and **Matatiele**, and Groups in **Kokstad**, **Underberg/Himeville**, **Howick** and **Ixopo**.

Meetings.

During the year, nine General Meetings were held in Pietermaritzburg, three Branch meetings in Mooi River, and four meetings in Matatiele.

Three **Public Meetings** were held in Pietermaritzburg. The first, held in March, was a Protest Meeting against the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**, and was very well attended. The speakers were **Dr. Edgar Brookes**, **Mr. Gerald Walker**, **Father Sweet**, and **Dr. Hans Meldner**.

A meeting by invitation only was organized to protest against the **90-Day Detention clause**, the speakers being **Dr. Edgar Brookes**, **Dr. Calvin Cook**, and **Mr. Tony Matthews**. At this meeting, a **90-Day Protest Committee** was formed, and a Public Meeting subsequently organized in the City Hall. The speakers at this meeting, which was fairly well attended, represented various religious denominations in Pietermaritzburg. The Black Sash organized both these meetings, but was not

(Continued overleaf)

A YEAR OF HARD WORK (Cont.)

publicly associated with them. The 90-Day Protest Committee has now gone into recess but can be re-convened at any time.

A very successful Public Meeting was held in August to protest against the banning of Mr. Peter Brown. Dr. Edgar Brookes was in the Chair, and the speakers were Mr. Alan Paton, Mr. Colin Webb and Lieut. Col. A. C. Martin.

Co-operation with Other Organizations.

Pietermaritzburg Branch was invited to attend a National Council of Women's meeting, at which the N.C.W. and Black Sash Memoranda on the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill were discussed.

The Black Sash provided collectors for a street collection to aid the Coloured Ex-Servicemen's League.

Members stood, by invitation, with the University of Natal students and staff in their placard protest against the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill.

Demonstrations.

Twelve demonstrations were held during the year in Pietermaritzburg, almost all against 90-Day Detention and Banning without Trial. One was held on Human Rights Day, another on Family Day. A two-hour stand was held in Mooi River against 90-Day Detention, eight members taking part.

Multi-Racial Tea Parties.

The Region still holds these get-togethers from time to time, and they are greatly enjoyed by all. It is felt that they are a very important way of building bridges across the colour line, because those who attend meet as women and discuss things of particular interest to housewives and mothers.

The Regional Committee has held ten meetings during the year, to discuss Headquarters and Regional affairs. Resumés of the work of the region have been sent regularly to all members. Branches and Groups have been kept in touch with all Black Sash activities, and with each other.

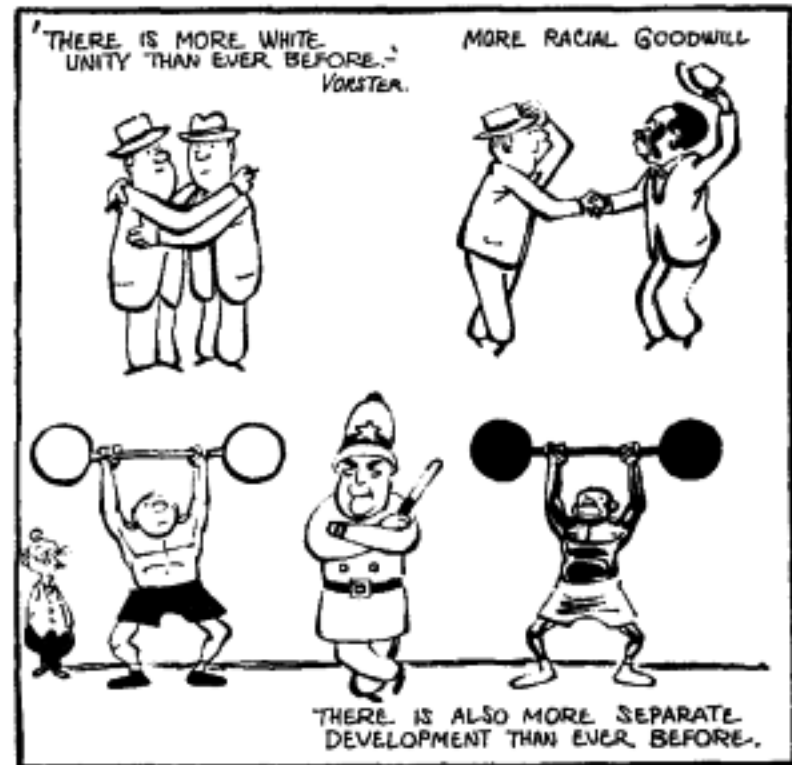
Branches and Groups were asked to form 90-Day Protest Committees, but only Pietermaritzburg Branch was able to do this.

Letters to the Press.

The Regional Committee writes letters to the "Natal Witness" whenever necessary on a variety of subjects. National Statements are given to the local Press in this way. Matatiele Branch sent two letters to the local press, one on the break-up of African Family Life, the other on the 90-Day Detention Clause.

More than ever before.

(Rand Daily Mail)



Group Areas.

Members in Mooi River are keeping a watchful eye on any propaganda for the implementation of Group Areas in their area.

CAPE EASTERN REGION

THIS REGION now consists of a main Branch in Port Elizabeth, and two other Branches, in Addo and Alexandria. There are also members in Adelaide, Jeffrey's Bay and Grahamstown.

A working Committee of nine runs the Region, with Mrs. Peggy Levey as Chairman, Mrs. S. Penny as Hon. Secretary, and Mrs. A. Bolton as Hon. Treasurer.

Meetings.

During the year, the Region held seven Council Meetings, six General Meetings, and an all-day Regional Conference on the 15th April. The morning session of this Conference was devoted to the election of office bearers and the outlining of the work for 1964. The afternoon session consisted of a talk on "Political Education and Enlightenment", by the Editor of the "Evening Post", Mr. John Sutherland.

On July 26th, six members of Port Elizabeth Branch went over to Addo, where each member gave a short talk on some aspects of Black Sash work. This experiment proved so successful that the Region intends repeating the programme shortly in Alexandria.

An Advice Office was opened in this Region in March, with Mrs. Arderne as Convenor. A report

on this work is included in the article on Black Sash Advice Offices elsewhere in this Magazine.

Aid for the Banished.

The Region continues to assist these people, and food and clothing parcels are sent from time to time, paid for from funds contributed by members in their individual capacity.

Also in their individual capacity, members of the Region have worked with other organizations in assisting the dependants of political detainees.

The 90-Day Clause.

In May, the Region approached the Editor of a local paper and suggested a daily "quote" on the subject of the 90 day detention clause, throughout the month of June. The idea was approved, and a number of three or four line extracts from "Tyranny 90" were submitted by the Region. Twenty-one of these were published. The name of the Black Sash was not used.

Demonstrations.

A demonstration against the **Bantu Laws Amendment Act** was held in March, fifteen members being present.

Up to the time of the National Conference, the Region had been unable to stage a demonstration against the **90-day detention clause**, because permission to demonstrate could not be obtained from the Town Council. In August, a number of Rhodes University students held a poster demonstration protesting against the detention of several of their lecturers, and members of the Special Branch confiscated their posters and told them that a charge would be laid against them. No charge was made, however. Subsequently, when the Black Sash applied to the Council for permission to demonstrate against the 90-day clause, they were informed that the Special Branch would not allow the demonstration.

The Black Sash Secretary approached the Special Branch, who informed her that it was not their responsibility, and referred her to the Chief of Police, who, in turn, referred her back to the Town Council.

After some investigation into the legal position, it was established that the power to grant or refuse permission lay in the hands of the Council. The Black Sash again applied for permission to demonstrate, and after some delay and some press publicity, permission was granted to hold what was acknowledged to be a perfectly legal demonstration, a normal Black Sash poster stand. This is planned for late November.

CAPE WESTERN REGION

CAPE WESTERN is still the largest Region of the Black Sash, with town branches in **Claremont, False Bay, Fish Hoek, Gardens, Pinelands, Plumstead, Rondebosch, Rosebank, Simon's Town, Wynberg**, and Country Branches at **Elgin and Somerset West**. The Regional Committee consists of twenty members, with **Mrs. Moira Henderson** in the Chair, **Mrs. Barabara Wilks** as Hon. Secretary, and **Mrs. Barabara Willis** as Hon. Treasurer.

This year saw the passing of the **Bantu Laws Amendment Act**, the **Coloured Representative Council Act**, and the **General Law Amendment Act of 1964**. In the Cape there have been further rigid proposals for the application of the **Group Areas Act**, and very intensive endorsements-out of Africans — particularly women — from the Western Cape.

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act.

A stand was held on the three days of the second reading of this Bill from 2 p.m. to 6.30 p.m., two large pictorial banners being used, reading: "**Bantu Laws Amendment Bill Entrenches Migratory Labour System**", and "**Stay together and starve, or work without wife and family.**"

A further stand was held against this Bill after the Parliamentary Easter recess. This stand followed a new pattern as it continued for eight days, starting with three posters, further posters being added each day until there were 17 in all. Each poster drew attention to the removal of yet one more right under this Bill.

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"It's a free country. YOU'RE free to vote for whom you choose; I'M free to choose for whom you may vote."

(Forward)

A YEAR OF HARD WORK (Cont.)

The Region has conducted a lengthy and most unsatisfactory correspondence concerning the Bill with the **Chief Bantu Commissioner** for the Western Cape, and has forwarded photostat copies of the correspondence to Mr. de Wet Nel.

A **Citizens' Protest Meeting** against the Bill was called by a number of organizations including the Black Sash, and was held in the Drill Hall, over 1,000 people of all races being present. The main speaker was **Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P.**, and **Mrs. Molly Petersen** spoke on behalf of the Black Sash.

General Law Amendment Act, 1964.

A stand against this Bill was held on June 17th, posters reading: "Rule without consent leads to more and more oppressive legislation."

Group Areas.

In March the Black Sash lodged objections with the Group Areas Board against the proposed zoning of **District Six, Cape Town Central and Green Point**. For the first time, the Black Sash was invited to give evidence at the hearing, and was ably represented by **Mrs. Eulalie Stott**.

The Region collected signatures for a petition to the Mayor asking him to call a Meeting of Ratepayers at which they could voice their opposition to the proposed zoning. He decided against the request, and the Black Sash accordingly organized a meeting on October 15th, to give citizens an opportunity to voice their objections to the various new Group Areas proposals in the Western Cape, with special reference to **Claremont**. **Mrs. Stott** spoke on behalf of the Black Sash.

90-Days Protest Committee.

The Black Sash is represented on the *ad hoc* Committee to organize public protest against the "90-Days Clause" of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963, under the Chairmanship of **Mr. Hamilton Russell**. The Committee has produced a pamphlet, "Tyranny 90", 20,000 copies of which, in both official languages, have been widely distributed.

A **Protest Meeting** called by various church representatives was held in the City Hall on May 24th. It was an historic occasion in that the speakers included the Archbishops of the **Catholic and Anglican Churches**, a **Jewish Rabbi**, a **Moslem Sheik** and a non-conformist priest. The meeting overflowed into the Banqueting Hall and on to the Grand Parade.

The Black Sash is also represented on a Committee to aid the dependants of detainees, under the Chairmanship of **Dr. Oscar Wollheim**.

Meetings.

The Region has continued the practice started last year of having an informative talk on current events during the monthly **All-Branches meeting**. These have included **Mr. Stanley Uys** on the **Transkei**; **Mr. Hamilton Russell** on the **90-Days Clause** and the whittling away of **Civil Rights** in the Republic; **Mr. Anthony Delius** on the **Cairo Conference**; **Mrs. Noel Robb** on the **Bantu Laws Amendment Bill**; **Mrs. Peggy Roberts** on the **Evils of Migratory Labour**; **Mrs. Eulalie Stott** on **Group Areas** and **Mrs. Mary Stoy** on the work of the **Defence & Aid Fund**.

Public Meetings held during the year have included a Symposium on the subject of "Can Bantustans solve Black/White problems in South Africa?" A meeting on **Human Rights Day** was sponsored jointly by the Black Sash, the Civil Rights League, the National Council of Women and the United National Association. **Dr. Albert Geyser** gave an address on the "Quality of Equality".

Migratory Labour.

The Region has done a good deal of work on this subject. Two meetings have been held with representatives of various women's church and other organizations. They have distributed literature and tape recordings amongst their members and some have visited the Athlone Advice Office. Members of the Black Sash, particularly **Mrs. Robb**, **Mrs. Birt** and **Mrs. Versfeld**, continue to give talks wherever possible on the whole subject of migrant labour. Tape recordings by **Mrs. Jessie Hertslet** and **Professor Monica Wilson** are being widely used.

Statements, Letter, Interviews.

In addition to all its other work, the Region manages to write numerous letters and statements to the Press, and interview officials and members of Parliament.

Multi-Racial Parties are held from time to time, and are found to be very happy and informative occasions thoroughly enjoyed by all who attend them.

Last, but very far from least, Cape Western Region continues to run the very successful **Athlone Advice Office**, which is dealt with elsewhere in this Magazine.

THE RULE OF LAW

by ADVOCATE I. A. MAISELS

THE PREAMBLE to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 16th, 1948, declares, *inter alia*:

"It is essential, if man is not to have recourse as a last resort to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the Rule of Law."

I may say that the principles laid down in this Declaration have been subscribed to by most nations of the world, two of the most noticeable exceptions being Soviet Russia and South Africa. That is not to say, of course, that merely because other nations have subscribed to the Declaration all of them adhere to it in practice; regrettably, that is far from being the case. I hasten to add that this Declaration was adopted long before one heard of the so-called "Afri-Asian bloc".

What is the Rule of Law?

What is the Rule of Law to which reference is made in this Declaration? Broadly speaking, it means that the exercise of powers to govern shall be conditioned by law, and that the subject shall not be exposed to the arbitrary will of the ruler.

The late Professor A. V. Dicey, in his work "The Introduction to the Study of Law of the Constitution", first published in 1885, made one of the greatest contributions to this subject in his exposition of the Rule of Law. Writing of the position in England, he pointed out that under the expression "Rule of Law", or, as it is sometimes called, "Supremacy of Law", there were included at least three distinct conceptions.

● There is meant, in the first place, that **no man is punishable, or can lawfully be made to suffer in body or goods, except for a distinct breach of law established in the ordinary legal manner before the ordinary courts of the land.** In this sense, the Rule of Law is contrasted with every system of government based on the exercise by persons in authority of wide arbitrary or discretionary powers of constraint.

● Secondly, there is meant that **no man is above the law, but that every man, whatever be his rank or condition, is subject to the ordinary law of the realm, and amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals.** That is to say, not merely the ordinary citizen, but every official, from the Prime Minister down to the humblest civil servant or member of the police force, is under the same responsibility for every act done without legal justification as any other citizen.

● The third sense in which the Rule of Law is used is stated by Dicey to be a special attribute of English institutions. It is that the Constitution

is pervaded by the Rule of Law, on the ground that the general principles of the Constitution (as, for example, the right to personal liberty or the right of public meeting) are in England the result of judicial decisions determining the rights of private persons, in particular cases brought before the Courts; whereas, under the Constitutions of many countries, the security given to the rights of the individual results, or appears to result, from the general principles of the Constitution. In South Africa, the rights thus given flow in the same way as in England, but are subject to legislative encroachments of increasing intensity, and with some of these I shall deal more fully presently.

All-embracing definition

In regard to this third concept, it may at once be stated that most countries of the world have Constitutions which in form, at least, give protection to the rights of individuals. The extent to which, and the method by which, this protection is achieved, are not the same. If one were to seek an all-embracing definition of the Rule of Law covering all the matters mentioned by Dicey, I would, with respect, adopt the one suggested by Mr. Norman Marsh, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, and former Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists, in a paper delivered by him to a Congress of that body held in New Delhi in 1959. That definition reads:

"The principles, institutions and procedures, not always identical, but broadly similar, which the experience and traditions of lawyers in different countries of the world (often themselves having varying political structures and economic backgrounds), have shown to be important to protect the individual from arbitrary government, and to enable him to enjoy the dignity of man."

It will at once be noticed that this definition associates legal principles, institutions and procedures with the values they are designed to protect. These legal principles, institutions and procedures must, of course, be known. There must be certainty in human relations: indeed, the Rule of Law in its most direct and literal meaning

(Continued overleaf)

THE RULE OF LAW (Cont.)

implies certainty in human relations. Men should know their rights and duties in society. The supremacy of law and its corollary — certainty of law — are the antithesis of arbitrary government, but, as Mr. Marsh rightly points out, supremacy and certainty of law do not supply all the elements of the Rule of Law.

Certainty of law is a relative conception, to be weighed against discretion by reference to extraneous values. Freedoms that have long been accepted as fundamental may be curtailed by laws certain and plain in their meaning. The freedom of security of person; of not being subject to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; of movement; of free association; of speech; have in this country been curtailed by laws which are certain and plain in their meaning; and, no doubt, the same position prevails in other countries — for example, Ghana.

Concept of the dignity of man

When these freedoms to which I have referred are curtailed by laws certain and plain in their meaning, there is undoubtedly Rule by Law, but not Rule of Law. I think it is quite obvious that in a country where the laws themselves are unjust or inhuman, certainty of expression and of import will afford poor consolation to the victims. These extraneous values to which I have made reference are to be found in the conception of the dignity of man, and include the political and civil liberties; the right to responsible government; freedom of speech and association (by which, in the historical development of many countries, men have asserted that they are the masters, and not the servants of the State).

The concept of the dignity of man recognizes that without a minimum standard of education and economic security, political and civil freedoms may be more formal than real. Thus, it is recognized that a just balance is necessary between measures designed to enhance man's dignity as an economic and social being, and his political and civil rights. Many of the measures regarded (and, without doubt, rightly regarded) as modern-day necessities for the protection of the economic and social rights of man, such as wage regulating measures, rent control legislation, marketing laws and hire purchase legislation, infringe upon the rights thought to be held by citizens in a free society; for example, the right to contract freely in regard to the wages they should pay or receive, the rent they should be entitled to receive or required to pay, the prices at which and the manner in which they can sell the produce of their land, or the methods under which they should sell goods on hire purchase.

Yet, if these measures are designed to enhance man's dignity as a social and economic being, they can not only be justified but are indeed necessary

to the broad scheme of economic and social progress. This aspect of the Rule of Law has been admirably put by the **Hon. Vivian Bose**, a distinguished Indian jurist and retired Supreme Court Judge, and President of the International Commission of Jurists:

"The object of the Rule of Law is to ensure that men will be able to live as free men in a free atmosphere, subject only to such obligations and duties as will ensure that freedom is not licence; and that freedom for one man does not mean freedom to trample on the rights of his neighbour."

Absence of arbitrary power

In a well-known work on Constitutional Law, by Wade and Phillips, it is said that the Rule of Law involves the absence of arbitrary power and effective control of, and proper publicity for, delegative legislation, particularly when it imposes penalties; that when discretionary power is granted, the manner in which it is exercised should, as far as practicable, be defined; that every man should be responsible to the ordinary law, whether he be private citizen or public officer; that private rights should be determined by impartial and independent tribunals, and that fundamental private rights should be safeguarded by the ordinary law of the land.

I think it appropriate at this stage for me to refer to certain examples of breaches of the Rule of Law in South Africa — a country where we undoubtedly have Rule by Law.

Native Administration Act of 1927

Under the Native Administration Act of 1927, Section 5(1)B, "the State President, whenever he deems it expedient in the general public interest, without prior notice to any person concerned, may order that, subject to such conditions as he may determine, any Native shall withdraw from any place to any other place or to any district or province within the Republic, and shall not at any time thereafter or during the period specified in the Order return to the place from which the withdrawal is to be made, or proceed to any place other than the place indicated in the Order, except with the written permission of the Secretary for Native Affairs."

Neglect or failure to comply with the Order lays the person concerned open to conviction, for which he may be fined R100, or imprisoned, with or without the option of a fine, for a period not exceeding six months. This law is quite plain in its meaning, and it is this: that whenever the State President (who acts in these matters, under our Constitution, on the advice of the responsible Ministers, who, in turn, act upon the advice of their officials), thinks it desirable in the public

interest, he may deprive an African of his right to live where he has lived and worked all his life, and this without any inquiry by any independent tribunal. This is a gross breach of the Rule of Law.

I shall deal later with the principle upon which it is argued that there may, in certain circumstances, justifiably be a breach of the Rule of Law. When I use the term "principle", perhaps that is the wrong term; I should say the "argument" which is advanced to justify a breach of the Rule of Law.

It should not be necessary for me to point out the very wide power given in this way — and virtually to minor officials — to regulate the lives of other citizens of this country (and Africans are citizens!).

90-Day Detention Clause

You have doubtless read a good deal in the newspaper about the 90-day detention provision. This was introduced by the General Law Amendment Act No. 37 of 1963, and it provides, in Section 17 (1) that a commissioned officer of the police may, without warrant, arrest or cause to be arrested, (1), any person who he suspects has committed or intends to commit sabotage or any offence under the Suppression of Communism Act or Unlawful Organizations Act (for example, carrying on the activities of a banned organization having the statutory aims of Communism; publishing or disseminating a banned publication; failing to comply with the terms of a banning notice); or, (2), any person who in the police officer's opinion is in possession of any information relating to the commission or intended commission of such offence.

(Cape Times)



"So you're an Anti-Communist, hey? Well I don't care what kind of Communist you are."

A person so arrested will be detained in custody for interrogation at any place the police officer thinks fit, until this person has, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police, replied satisfactorily to all questions put to him. No one may be detained for more than 90 days on any particular occasion, but a person may be re-arrested immediately on the completion of a period of 90-days detention, and then held for a further 90 days, and this process may be repeated.

It is expressly provided that no Court shall have jurisdiction to order the release from custody of any person so detained, but the Minister may at any time direct that the person be released.

The original Bill brought before Parliament actually contained a provision that except with the permission of the Minister of Justice or a commissioned Police Officer no one should have access to the person so detained; but the Minister in Parliament accepted an amendment by the United Party that a detained person shall be visited in private by a magistrate at least once a week. He refused to insert another proposed amendment to the effect that detainees might be visited by legal practitioners.

Draconian provisions

Whilst the draconian provisions of this section of the Act were new to the Whites of South Africa, they were not new to persons living in the Transkei, where for some time proclamations have been in force which enable a Bantu Affairs Commissioner, or Commissioned Officer or N.C.O. of the police to arrest, without warrant, any person in the Transkei suspected of having committed or intending to commit an offence under the proclamation or any law; and any persons considered to be in possession of any information relating to an offence. Such persons may be held in custody until it is considered that they have fully and truthfully answered all relative questions put to them and may meanwhile not consult with a legal adviser, save with the Minister's consent.

Gross breaches of Rule of Law

One of the elementary principles governed by the Rule of Law, and enshrined, for example, in the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" to which I have referred, is that no one is to be subject to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile. Here we have two examples of a gross breach of this rule. Persons are subject to arbitrary arrest and to detention. I have already given an example, by reference to the 1927 Native Administration Act, of arbitrary exile. However, it is to be borne in mind in the last two examples I have given that it is not only persons who are suspected of having committed an offence, who, as it were, can be locked up forever without trial, but persons who are not themselves suspected of any offence, but merely of having information relating to the commission of an offence.

(Continued overleaf)

THE RULE OF LAW (Cont.)

It is, furthermore, accepted by every civilized country where the Rule of Law operates, that everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him. The powers given by Parliament to the Police, and the powers given by proclamation in the Transkei to the Police and Bantu Commissioners run counter to this accepted principle. Under the 90-day section, to my own knowledge, a son has been detained because he refused to give information as to where his father was. It so happens that, in this case, he did not know where his father was, but even if he did, is this sort of conduct not more consistent with that of the Nazis in Germany, or the OGPU in Russia?

The "Sobukwe" Clause

But there is a further provision in the General Law Amendment Act No. 37 of 1963 to which attention should be drawn, and that is that persons sentenced to imprisonment for offences under the Public Safety Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1962, and the General Law Amendment Act of 1963, are no longer entitled automatically to be released upon completion of their term of imprisonment. Section 4 provides that if the Minister is satisfied that such a person is, after his release, likely to further the achievement of any of the statutory objects of Communism (notice the words, "statutory objects of Communism"), the Minister may issue a notice prohibiting this person after serving his sentence from absents himself from the prison for a period during which the notice is in force. **This means that such a person can be kept there forever.**

It was explained by the Minister of Justice in Parliament that these powers were urgently needed, because Mr. R. M. Sobukwe, President of the P.A.C., would shortly have completed his present sentence, and had undergone no change of heart. His detention was said to be necessary for the security of the State.

"Justification"

This brings me to what is said to be the "justification" for the admitted breaches of the Rule of Law, or those incursions into the rights of ordinary citizens, long fought for over the centuries by people desiring to be free.

In Plato's "Republic", where one has the *res publica*, the judiciary often has to state that action taken by the executive is justified on the principle "salus republicae suprema lex est" (The safety of the Republic is the supreme law). It is stated by the defenders of legislation of the type of which I have spoken that the safety of the State demands legislation of this nature. It has long been recognized by persons who respect the Rule of Law

that there may be a necessity for the suspension of one or more of the rights of the individual in a time of public emergency, for the safety of the State; and the law-maker (that is, Parliament) has justified its action — and can **only** justify its action — on the basis of public emergency.

If this is so, it is sad to think that the people in the Transkei have been living in a state of public emergency for many years, and that the rest of the country of South Africa is also presumed to be living under a state of emergency. Africans, of course, are presumably constantly living in a state of emergency.

The banishment provisions of the law to which I have referred are examples of gross interference with the rights of a citizen without hearing. They are, in fact, rights of detention, and the principles of *habeas corpus* do not apply to those persons, as, indeed, they do not apply to persons detained under the 90-day section of the General Law Amendment Act. **The provision in this section specifically prohibiting interference by the Courts indicates quite plainly that an almost sacred right of the citizen has been taken away from him.**

Functions of Judiciary and legal profession

It is, I think, necessary when dealing with a subject such as the Rule of Law to say a few words on the judiciary and its functions, as well as the functions of the legal profession. It is accepted as axiomatic in any country where the



(Sunday Times)

Rule of Law applies that there is to be an independent judiciary, and a free and independent legal profession. By "independent judiciary" one means that the judiciary is to be free from interference by the executive or legislature in the exercise of its judicial function; but "independence" does not mean that the Judge is entitled to act in an arbitrary manner. His duty is to interpret the law and the fundamental principles underlying it to the best of his ability, and in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience.

Consequently, as was pointed out by **Dean Griswold** of the Harvard Law School, in an article on the South African Treason Trial in the "Times", September 25th, 1958:-

"However fair and competent a Court may be, if the underlying legal situation is deeply unsound, the Court may, simply because it must act according to law, be compelled to unsound results."

I have already spoken of the necessity for an independent legal profession, and this follows from the recognized principle that **where a man's life, liberty, property or reputation are at stake, he should be free to obtain legal advice and representation.** If this principle is to become effective, it follows that lawyers must be prepared to defend persons associated with unpopular causes and minority views, with which they themselves may be entirely out of sympathy; nevertheless it is their duty, if called upon to do so, to defend such persons.

Regrettably, perhaps, not all members of the public seem fully to understand the rights and duties of members of the legal profession in this connection, and many of them quite wrongly and unjustly identify lawyers with the views or deeds of the person whom they are called upon to defend in a Court of Law.

The value of the individual

In conclusion, I wish to stress one thing — the Rule of Law is not the exclusive responsibility of lawyers. It is, as was stated by Mr. Norman Marsh, "behind all the legal technicalities which may hide it from the layman, **an attitude of mind to be shared by all members of society.**"

It recognizes the indestructable value of the individual personality as the source and justification of organized living, but, as Mr. Marsh points out, man's existence, his distinct moral entity, involves his own fallibility. Thus it follows that towards all authorities and institutions set up by man, there must be a critical approach, critical in the sense that man must constantly ask himself whether these authorities enhance or depress the dignity of man; for, above all, **the Rule of Law is designed to enable the individual to enjoy the dignity of man.**

THE NATTIEST TWIST

*Let Radio South Africa
Decide, revise, select
In order to make clear to us
The views of the elect.*

*And if those views portray a slant
Or show a little twist,
It merely adds to interest
While giving us the gist!*

*Straight news can be so tedious —
What's duller than a fact?
A little skilled embellishment
Gives all it may have lacked!*

*And if some stuff's omitted — well,
It's surely for the best;
Imagination, given play
Will conjure up the rest!*

*Our leaders know what's best for us,
And this is clearly shown
By silencing, where possible,
Views other than their own!*

*Thus, to be spared the pangs of doubt
Roused by divergent views,
And keep your peace of mind intact —
Just LISTEN to the news —*

*Don't READ it — that would be unwise
Although temptation's strong:
Some journalists might dare to hint
Our leaders may be wrong!*

Tarantula

THE BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT AND ITS EFFECTS UPON THE WHITE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

by PROFESSOR P. V. PISTORIUS

IT IS OBVIOUSLY IMPOSSIBLE, in the space of a short article, to deal fully with the Bantu Laws Amendment Act. Its main provisions are already known to the readers of this publication, and many facets of it have been discussed on public platforms and in the press, and except for one or two cases I shall not go into any detail on the various provisions of the Act. In fact, I shall deal with two questions only, questions that are directly related to the Act.

The first question will deal with the state of mind amongst the Whites in South Africa as revealed by the events accompanying the passing of this Act in Parliament. I do not for a moment say that we are over-stressing the effect which laws of this nature have on the various Non-White groups, but there is a great danger that we forget the effect they are having on the politically dominant White group. This group is one of the most important ingredients in the South African situation. One could go so far as to say that no lasting solution of the problem of colour and race in South Africa can even be visualized without the fulfillment of various conditions attaching to this group.

A multi-racial country

In the first place the sincere and devoted co-operation of this group will be necessary before any solution can succeed. To achieve that, the majority of its members will have to be unquestioned in their integrity. They must be convinced, either on moral or political or economic grounds, that the solution is one that will do justice to them as well as to all the other racial groups in the country. As a matter of fact, they must so much have ridden themselves of group consciousness that they no longer see the South African political scene as a battle ground where group interests are demanded or preserved or surrendered, but as a multi-racial country, where the suffering of any one group inevitably entails the detriment of all the other groups.

Nor would it be enough if this state of mind were based wholly or even mainly on considerations of political safety or economic advantage.

Naturally we believe that it will bring political safety and economic advantage if such a state of mind should become a reality in South Africa, but if those are the main considerations, there will always be the temptation on the part of the various groups to see how far they can go in securing special privileges for their own group without endangering their political safety or economic welfare.

In other words, the main condition required is that the White group — and the other groups naturally also, although we are not dealing with them here — must include within their moral responsibility all individuals of all groups in South Africa.

At the mercy of the Government

What state of mind in this respect is revealed among the Whites of South Africa? It is true that there has been a strong minority who have gone out of their way to protest against the Bill on the grounds that they could not morally justify a number of its provisions. It was pointed out that while the Reserves themselves are as yet almost totally undeveloped, and while Africans are being compelled by economic necessity to pour out of those Reserves in increasing numbers to work in the White industries, the new Act deprives them of practically all security in the areas where they work, and places them almost completely at the mercy of the Government and its officials.

But these people were clearly in the minority. The majority of the Whites either actively expressed their support of the Bill, or otherwise

were passively indifferent. Very few of either of these two sections have taken any trouble to find out what the Act really entails.

Passive indifference

It is this passive indifference, rather than the active support, that is so frightening. I can see more hope for the active supporter of the Act of changing his stand, than I can for the passively indifferent individual. The former group are at least politically conscious. Let their motive be what it will, and there are numerous motives behind political consciousness and activity, from the very reprehensible to the very praiseworthy, but at least they are active. Should they change their minds for any reason, they will still be active, and they may one day become our supporters.

But the passively indifferent person is in a quite different category. What his views are is not really important, because he will neither say nor do anything about it. He remains neutral in the most critical moral struggle that South Africa has ever gone through. Nothing short of the threat of imminent destruction will ever rouse him from his lethargy. His only active role in the political scene is the undeserved compliment he pays himself, in that he believes the Special Police are watching him. I have met some of them who have openly implied that they regard themselves as quite remarkable heroes because they have for once attended a meeting of a legal and constitutional party that happens to be in opposition to the Government.

Disaster for South Africa

Their self-admiration is of course completely unwarranted. The Special Police will never take any interest in them. But although the police will take no interest in them, they are nevertheless the people who spell disaster for South Africa, because they form a most effective block against any moral awakening in the sphere of race relations, and without that we have very little hope.

One need only ask a few simple questions to prove that these people constitute probably the majority of the Whites. How many people, for example, know what the Bantu Laws Amendment Act entails? Or the Population Registration Act? Or the Criminal Laws Amendment Act? Or the Group Areas Act? Or any of a number of other Acts and regulations?

When some months ago I took part in a debate with some prominent Nationalists in Durban, belonging to both language groups, they cried out

in horrified denial when I pointed out that under the Bantu Laws Amendment Act an African child of fifteen, who is not either at school or in employment, could be arrested without warrant, declared an idle African and banished, without any obligation on the part of the authorities to inform the parents, and, as the Act expressly states, irrespective of whether the parents of the child are in fact adequately providing for it. Yet they were loud in their support of Government policy. They had not even taken the trouble to read what that policy means.

Hypocrisy in reverse

But the fact that they were horror-struck at least shows that they were morally sensitive. There is more hope for them than for the person who is passively indifferent.

The second question that follows almost logically from the first one is this: How is this moral situation going to affect our ability to cope effectively with the increasing pressures on South Africa from the outside world?

It is true that there has been a change of position in these pressures. Western countries are no longer speaking of one-man-one-vote. They are in fact beginning to agree on the necessity for a rigid constitution, a bill of rights and other such things. But the fact still remains that in external pressure there is the terrible risk that forces may be unleashed over which we have no control.

It is a well-known fact that a man who does not stand morally strong, cannot easily face an opponent. He is often beaten before the fight starts.

That may be one of the worst effects of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act. It will entail suffering to Africans, and because we have been conditioned to think that moral disapproval of Government action is liberalism and near-communism, involving house arrests and ninety days' detention and bannings, the majority of Whites will remain untouched or pretend to remain untouched, a type of hypocrisy in reverse, since the hypocrite is bad and pretends to be good, and this type is good and pretend to be bad.

And somehow, without arguing the point here, I feel that such hypocrisy in reverse is far more reprehensible and far more frightening than the straightforward type.

It is time that more attention be paid to the devastating effect which some of our laws have on the Whites of our country.



THE EVILS OF MIGRATORY LABOUR

by MARGARET ROBERTS

Vice-Chairman of the Cape Western
Region of the Black Sash

THE MIGRATION OF WORKERS on a large scale from certain regions to others — especially from agricultural to industrial areas — has been a familiar phenomenon in many countries. It is a sign of economic imbalance between on the one hand developed and progressing regions, where opportunities for employment are relatively numerous, and on the other under-developed and stagnant regions, where poverty and unemployment are rife. In most countries in the process of industrialization such migration has continued until the imbalance has been corrected.

This process has seldom been a smooth and easy one. Urban congestion, sweating of unskilled labour, industrial disorganization resulting in frictional unemployment — these are familiar problems that have had to be dealt with by familiar means: publicly financed housing, industrial regulation, economic planning, etc.

Development in South Africa

South Africa, until about half a century ago, was essentially a country of primary producers — in the African tribal areas a primitive peasant agriculture, elsewhere extensive White farming based on primitive African labour; and mining, financed by White capital, and operated through White management and technology and unskilled African labour on temporary contract, housed in compounds.

From the First World War onwards, secondary and tertiary industry developed on a considerable scale. This resulted in the historically familiar migration of White workers to the developing areas, as also of Coloured workers in the Cape and Indian workers in Natal. That this process ultimately achieved the balance I have already referred to, generally, is evidenced by the virtual disappearance of what we once knew as "poor Whiteism", and relative increases in the standards of living of at least a minority of the Cape Coloured people and even of some Natal Indians.

As to the Africans, the vast majority of our people, initially the same process began to affect them also. It was relatively less in degree as compared with the other races, since more primitive living standards and cultural patterns tended naturally to attach them more firmly to the tribal areas; and the semi-feudal relationship of master

and servant in the other rural areas tended to have the same or similar effect there. Nevertheless, increasing population pressure on rural resources, combined with growing industrial labour demand, affected them also, and a permanently urbanized class of African workers emerged. Had the process been permitted to continue without legislative interference, no doubt — though more gradually — the same balance that has been achieved by other population groups would ultimately have resulted. Relief of congestion in the tribal areas might have provided at least the preconditions of a more progressive agriculture there. Relative shortage of African labour in the White-owned rural areas might have led to more efficient use — and thence training — of *platteland* Africans, and the emergence of an African tenantry with a rising level of productivity under the guidance of White landlords and employers, and even to African peasant-ownership. And the permanent urban African working class would have developed a degree of industrial skill in proportion to their familiarity with an industrial environment, stability of employment and experience of industrial techniques.

Inhibited by legislation

As it is, all these tendencies have, in some degree, made themselves felt. But from an early stage they have been inhibited by legislation.

From 1913 onwards, the Native Land Acts prohibited the acquisition or hiring of rural land by Africans outside the tribal areas. From 1923 onwards a succession of ever more stringent Urban Areas Acts — later supplemented by amendments to the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 (which was originally applicable only to African compound labour in mines and works) — enforced

urban segregation in municipal locations and compounds; prohibited the acquisition of leasing or urban land and premises and hence denied opportunity for African family settlement in industrial areas; and prohibited African entry into and employment in such areas without official permission, that is, **passes** — permission generally restricted to male work-seekers and not granted to their wives and other dependants. Indeed the present African female and child population of the cities are predominantly descendants of families who entered before the present restrictions were enacted or before they were so rigidly developed and enforced.

Result of legislation

The over-all general result of this legislative process is:

(1) The "freezing" of the permanent African population — about a quarter of the total — except to the extent that it is augmented by natural increase.

(2) The anchoring of the population of the African areas — about 45% of the whole — to these congested areas, comprising about 13% of the country.

(3) Likewise the anchoring of the *platteland* African population — about a third of the whole — as a landless class of servants, to the landed estates of White masters.

Artificial maintenance of imbalance

Yet our expanding industrial economy remains dependent on Africans for its unskilled, and to some extent its semi-skilled, labour needs. These are supplied partly by the urban African male labourers from the reserves. **Nor is such labour hard to come by.** These congested areas would be quite incapable of supporting even half their present population from the earnings of peasant agriculture, even if holdings were redistributed on anything approaching an economic basis — and then only at a very low level. Since African rural land settlement elsewhere is prohibited by law, that same law, in effect, **forces them into White employment in the industrial areas.** And since, as already explained, settlement there with their families is likewise prohibited by law, this means employment of many hundreds of thousands of men hundreds of miles away from their homes and families as casual, migrant labourers. And since they are forced to accept employment on any terms, under conditions of complete dependence on employers, the obvious and inevitable result — as indeed it is a major objective of the whole system — is **cheap labour.** That is the essence of the migrant labour system. It amounts to the artificial maintenance by law, so far as

the African population is concerned, of the economic imbalance between wretched, congested rural slums, on the one hand, and the developing industrial areas, on the other, and supplying the labour needs of the latter areas from the helot population of the former.

Malign system

I use the term "helot" advisedly. Let us take a closer look at the machinery of "influx control" whereby this malign system is operated.

Starting from the rural end: a man may not be employed in an industrial area unless "recruited" there for compound labour on the mines or some other industrial undertaking by a licensed agency, or unless permitted to proceed to some industrial area by his district labour bureau in response to a requisition from a regional labour bureau to the effect that labour is needed in a specified class of employment. In the latter instance, on arrival in the area concerned he must register at the local labour bureau, which may permit him to work for a particular employer, in a particular class of work only. If he loses his job, he may be allowed to accept other employment of the same class, or he may be "endorsed out" — that is, ordered to return to his district. Even if allowed to work, should none of the permitted category be available within a period of 2 or 3 weeks he will be endorsed out.

In these circumstances it is obvious that the worker is completely bound to a particular employer, and terrifyingly at his mercy. Dismissal in effect means banishment to an area hundreds of miles away where all opportunities are lacking.

Trespassers or vagrants

But influx control, though thus dreadfully affecting the people actually belonging to the reserves, is indeed far wider and more drastic in its scope. The majority of Africans have never been near the reserves. And on them the effects of the system are worse still.

An African farm worker who loses his employment, with consequent eviction from his home, has literally **no** place where he and his family have the right to live and work. Unless he immediately finds other farm employment — most unlikely, as the drought or price-drop or whatever made his services redundant on one farm would be likely to apply to most of its neighbours — he and his family are, in law, trespassers or vagrants wherever they live or go. He cannot, like one from the reserves, seek permission from his district labour bureau to work in an industrial area, since there is nowhere for him legally to accommodate his family. **It is worth remembering that with their dependents African workers on White-owned farms constitute a population of about three million people.**

(Continued overleaf)

MIGRATORY LABOUR (Cont.)

No right to live anywhere

Again, an African who actually lives in an urban area qualifies to remain there only if he was born there or has lived there continuously for at least 15 years — and has never thereafter left it to work or live elsewhere — or has worked for the same employer for an unbroken period of ten years. Many thousands who have lived in cities with their families for many years and have lost all touch with, or right to live in, any rural area, are endorsed out on losing their employment.

Again, influx control is of course not limited to movement from rural to urban areas — it extends to movement from one urban area to another. Thus if an African born and living, say, in Cape Town, gets permission to work, say, in Simonstown, he loses his right to live in Cape Town, and acquires none in Simonstown unless permitted to remain there for the next 15 years, after which, unless the law is changed by then, he would have a right to stay; otherwise he is liable to "repatriation" to a patrie that does not exist.

It follows from all this that literally millions of African families — very probably the majority — have no right to live anywhere, may do so only as a matter of grace and permission.

Poor and desperate men

What these laws mean in human terms — in the break-up of families; in the despair of poor and desperate men, whose only plea to the powers-that-be is for permission to work for an employer only too willing to employ them; in the desperate plight of the aged, the sick, the injured, unable, temporarily or permanently, to work, who are endorsed out with nowhere in the world they may legally go — has to be seen to be believed. At the Athlone Advice Office, conducted by the Black Sash and the Institute of Race Relations, hundreds of such cases are dealt with every week, and in all too few can anything be done for them. One of the worst features of an unbelievably wicked system is that it is no concern of the officials, whose duty it is to break families and hearts and lives in this way, where the wretched individual concerned is to go, or whether he or she has anywhere to go. I am not, of course, putting personal blame on the officials concerned. They are administering laws that bind them as well as the victims, and which leave neither with any choice. But I tremble at the cauldron of racial bitterness and hatred this inhuman and unjust system is stirring to boiling point in the hearts of millions of our compatriots. I tremble at the catastrophic consequences that some day must overtake our country, as they must overtake any country that is guilty of the supreme inhumanity of treating men and women not as ends in themselves but as means to the ends of others — here, in South Africa, as mere units of labour.



(Rand Daily Mail)

How can injustice be humane?

You may ask — and rightly — what can be done about it? Well, I can reply only that the only way any great social abuse has ever been reformed in time to save its authors from the wrath to come has been by tireless exposure of its pernicious effects. More particularly, with this abuse, we must strip to threads, for all the world to behold, the shallow and false pretences both of its authors and its apologists, its apologists in any degree.

Let me start with the latter. The Official Opposition, and many who support them, pretend that it is possible to maintain influx control and its attendant pass laws (which it is not the Official Opposition's policy to repeal), but to administer them "humanely". How do you "humanely" force the break-up of families? How do you "humanely" deny to any man the right to work where he can find work to keep his children alive and healthy? How can you "humanely" prevent a man from doing work for which he is fitted and which is offered to him? How can you "humanely" prevent a man who is in employment anywhere from making what arrangements lie in his power to buy, hire or build a home to shelter himself and his family? How can injustice be humane?

The naked truth

There are those who say influx control is necessary to prevent "flooding" of cities by unemployed Africans and the growth of peri-urban slums. Has no other country faced such problems under comparable conditions? I began this talk by indicating their world-wide familiarity. Can anyone mention a country that has tried to deal with unemployment by chasing the unemployed away, to areas where it is known they must remain unemployed? Is there anyone who has heard of dealing with housing as a racial rather than an industrial

problem? What sort of solutions does influx control offer for deep-seated economic imbalance and social maladjustment? Is it in truth the malicious lies of the "English press", whether "bad" or "very bad" or "very bad indeed", that have earned South Africa the title of "polecat of the world", or is it widespread realization of the naked truth, just one aspect of which we have dealt with here?

Impossible!

And now as to the Government itself, which with its army of commissioners, labour officers, inspectors and police, ruthlessly enforces these laws, through raids and gaolings and endorsing out. Go to any Bantu Commissioner's Court any morning and witness the majesty of the law operating in all its fury upon the defenceless heads of the abjectly poor, of the hungry and ragged work-seekers, of the desperate victim of an endorsement out, with nowhere under heaven to lay his head.

The excuse? Separate development! Some day, somewhere, there'll be work and prosperity and homes in "Bantu homelands"!

Impossible, on the Government's own showing, for generations to come. Impossible for ever, as all who have soberly studied the facts have tirelessly demonstrated. Impossible indeed for the obvious reasons that the reserves cannot support even half their present population, and that population is far less than half the whole African population. Impossible also by reason of the obvious determination of the Government to continue to base the entire national economy on Black labour. Separation indeed! As a friend and colleague of mine said recently, you cannot separate yourself from a man if you persist in riding on his back.

ESCAPE ROUTE

(Rand Daily Mail)



What possible justification?

But even if this false and dishonest picture of "pie in the sky" had any conceivable prospect of substance in generations to come, what possible relevance has that to the agonies of the present? If the Government think they can create separate, Black, economically independent States, and rebuild the White economy without Black labour, let them try. But in the meantime, what possible justification can there be for denying Black freedom of movement, employment and residence? If the Government's dream came true, there would be no need to drive the African workers to the Promised Land, teeming with opportunities superior or at least equal to those presented by service for White masters. They would obviously go; they would be enticed, as Government spokesmen have put it. But until then, livelihoods must be earned, families reared, opportunity offered for honest endeavour, reward accorded to honest service, compassion extended to the unfortunate, equal and impartial justice meted out to all. Until then, why not let a man live decently with his wife and family, if only to avoid the Nemesis that African hate and hunger and heavy-heartedness are building for the Whites — quite unnecessarily?

One day a few years ago I drove home from her work a young woman friend of mine who was on the staff of the Institute of Race Relations at the time when they themselves still handled all the case-work of which they now send most to the Athlone Advice Office. She was in a rather shocked condition. She had been learning Xhosa, and that day had decided to try it out, to do without the interpreter. She explained to the tall, serious African, who had three times mortgaged his cattle to the local store in the Transkei to buy a rail ticket to Cape Town, and had twice been sent back to get magisterial permission to take a job offered in Cape Town — which each time was no longer available on his return — that there was nothing more the Institute could do for him: the law required his expulsion from this proclaimed area. His expression remained so wooden that she thought her Xhosa had failed and said, in Xhosa, "Do you understand?" In the same language he replied "I understand — that my children must now starve."

"Arrangements"

May I sum up by answering "Die Burger's" grand claim that this Government's policy is for "separate freedoms"? This claim would make some sense if the Whites of South Africa had the slightest intention of doing without Black labour. They have not. What they intend are arrangements whereby a Black man, if he wants to feed his children, can get to sleep with his wife, if he's lucky, for about 3 weeks a year, and whereby he has absolutely no bargaining power in his job: inferior wages and conditions are greatly superior to being endorsed out. The name of these arrangements is not "separate freedom". It is "migrant labour."

THE BLACK SASH ADVICE OFFICES

THEY COME each morning of the week to a small, simply-furnished office near Langa — old women, young mothers with babies in their arms, and men. They take their places on long wooden benches and wait. The women gossip quietly among themselves. The older ones are clad in sober black; the young mothers wear brightly coloured "doeks" and shawls. Sometimes there is laughter; but mostly there is not. For these are people in trouble — people who have been caught in the tangle of legislation governing the lives of Africans in the Western Cape.

'They come to this office for advice and help. Sometimes they go away with lighter hearts. A 'phone call to an official has solved a problem. But more often it is not so simple; a wife is told she must return to the Transkei; the law says she may not remain with her husband.'

These are the opening paragraphs of a recent article in the "Cape Times", an account of the work of the Athlone Advice Office, established by the Black Sash and now run by them in co-operation with the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. There are now five other similar Advice Offices, operated by the Black Sash in different parts of the country. Such newspaper accounts, which usually tell pathetic and sometimes tragic stories of the lives and troubles of simple people, are appearing more frequently in our newspapers, as the problems of the Africans increase and the work of the Advice Offices grows with them, and becomes more widely recognized.

An account of the work of the Athlone Advice Office alone, with stories from its files, would fill a good-sized book. In the following pages we have room only for a brief outline of some of the work of each of the six Black Sash Advice Offices.

The Athlone Advice Office.

NOW more than six years old, this office deals with thousands of cases a year, and has accumulated files, which are available for research purposes, covering nearly 7,000 authenticated cases. Mrs. Robb of Cape Western Region was one of the five members of a Black Sash deputation interviewed by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development last year to discuss the proposed Bantu Laws Amendment Bill. Throughout the three-hour interview, she was able to refer to cases encountered in the Advice Office, and later sent him copies of file records of the cases.

The office is run by 30 volunteers, 1 full-time organizer, 2 full-time interpreters and 1 interpreter from the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, who comes twice weekly. During the past year, the Advice Office has had over 100 visitors, the

majority from overseas, from all corners of the earth. All visitors are welcome, but the Office is particularly happy to receive visits from interested South Africans.

The cases dealt with fall into various categories, by far the largest at present being that of men and women "endorsed out" of the Western Cape and seeking permission to remain. The Advice Office assists these people, whenever possible, to establish their right under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act to be in the Cape Town urban area, or otherwise to obtain permission to remain there. The principle is to keep within the law, but to obtain the best they can under the mass of laws affecting them.

The Contract Labour System.

Many other cases this year have dealt with contract workers, men who have been brought into the area on a year's contract to specific firms, but who have been dismissed after a few weeks or months for various reasons. In some cases, Advice Office workers have managed to persuade the authorities to allow them to work out the remainder of their contract with another firm, but most of them have been "repatriated".

The firm introducing such a contract worker is responsible for repatriating him, but most firms deduct money each month from wages paid, towards the cost of the fare home. The Contract Labour system is unsatisfactory from all points of view. Employers cannot choose their workers, and they often prove quite unsuitable or become redundant during the contract year. Employees cannot choose their jobs or sell their labour in the open market. If either employer or employee is dissatisfied, the employee cannot change his job but must be repatriated and contract for another job from his home. The employer must contract

for another worker, who may be just as unsuitable as the first. Attempts to recruit specific workers have often been unsuccessful, even when the worker has previously worked for the same firm for many years.

Shortage of Labour.

There has been a shortage of labour throughout the year but in spite of this workers with offers of employment have been consistently endorsed out. Before an application can be made to bring in African workers under the contract system, a certificate must be obtained from the Coloured Affairs Department to say there is no suitable Coloured applicant for the job.

The reason given for all these labour restrictions is that the Coloured people's employment must be protected, but there is very little unemployment among employable Coloured people, and no evidence whatever that they wish to take jobs vacated by Africans endorsed out.

One-sided System.

The Contract System is one-sided, and affords no protection to the African contract workers, who are all too often at the mercy of unscrupulous employers who take advantage of anomalies in the system. Not only can workers not choose their place of employment or bargain for a living wage, but when the job proves unsatisfactory they must choose between completing the year's contract or being jailed for desertion and then repatriated. The Advice Office has an extensive file concerning six dairy workers who complained of long working hours, poor food, poor working conditions and poor pay. Their story is one of endless appeals to various authorities, arrest for desertion, week-ends in jail, appearances in court, the payment of fines or imprisonment. All six are now back where they were before, poorer and more dispirited.

Trips to Paarl.

Workers from the Advice Office have made four trips to Paarl this year, to investigate cases of Africans who have been refused permission to remain in Paarl, but have no other home. **There are over 100 such families known to the Advice Office.** Representations have been made on behalf of these people to various authorities, and interviews sought with the Mayor of Paarl, the Magistrate, and officials of the local Bantu Affairs Department.

The Elgin Advice Office.

THIS OFFICE has been operating for a very short time, but has already dealt with thirty-five cases, mostly in connection with job reservation.

Job reservation is very stringently applied in the area, and no transfers are given from one category to another. That is, workers are not allowed to change the class of work for which they are registered, even if they are unemployed and work is available in another category.

The Port Elizabeth Advice Office.

THIS OFFICE has been open for six months, and operates on two mornings a week. The voluntary workers deal with an average of twelve cases per morning.

Probably 80% of the cases have concerned the dependants of political detainees, of whom there are now 400 in Port Elizabeth. Their problems are many and varied, including Reference Book problems, demands for rent arrears, the collection of wages due to husbands, payment of instalments on furniture.

In many cases the Advice Office acts as a channel to direct applicants to the right associations to give them help. Several have been sent with letters to the Port Elizabeth Charity Association, the Blind Society, Social Welfare, the Department of Coloured Affairs, etc. Others have been taken to the Bantu Affairs Department, and helped with all the formalities connected with applying for maintenance grants. Others are assisted in obtaining compensation in connection with accidents.

The officials of the Bantu Affairs Department are most accessible, their headquarters being almost opposite the Advice Office, and on the whole they have been most co-operative and approachable. The Municipal officials, being further away, are usually contacted by telephone, and they, too, are as helpful as possible.

Natal Coastal Advice Office.

THE Durban Advice Office is unique in that so far it has had more successes than failures. The office has been open for nearly a year, and is open each morning of the week, with one volunteer worker and a paid interpreter on duty each day.

Cordial relations have been established with the Municipal Influx Control Department, and an official has been detailed to look after Advice

(Continued overleaf)

Office cases. As Influx Control has not yet been applied to women, all the work lies among the men.

Natal has many reserves from which young men come to Durban to seek work. Some of these find their way to the Advice Office after having been endorsed out, and told to report to their local labour bureau. It seems there are no proper labour bureaux in most reserves, and no work to be had. They must return to such places as Impendhle, where little can be grown on the barren, precipitous hills and valleys and where there is no employment.

With the assistance of officials, the Advice Office has been able to have 118 of these men admitted to the urban area to seek work, and some have been classified as Durban residents.

The East London Advice Office.

THE East London Advice Office opened on the 8th April this year, in a small barely furnished room behind a tailor's shop. The office is at present run by six volunteers, who operate in pairs. It is open on three mornings a week, from 9 a.m. to noon.

Up to the end of September, 141 cases had been dealt with, and thirteen had been brought to a successful conclusion. A number had to be written off as unsuccessful or hopeless, but more than 100 cases are still pending.

Of the hopeless cases, the majority are endorsements to the Transkei and the Ciskei. Most of the successes were on behalf of Africans who had received no attention when they applied to the authorities on their own. When they were accompanied to the Registration Office by an Advice Office worker, they received satisfactory attention from the officials.

A number of Africans were given assistance in obtaining permission to remain in the urban area while they sought proof of 15 years' residence there. Advice Office workers then helped them to obtain proof of employment from former employers, and in some cases managed to have them registered for new employment in the city.

Children's Rights.

In many cases Africans seek permission for their children to live and work in East London. If a child has broken his urban residence by attending school in his parents' area of birth, he forfeits his right to come back, in spite of the

"WHOM GOD HATH JOINED TOGETHER . . .

ELIZABETH M . . . was born in Wynberg, Cape Town, in 1940, and lived there with her parents until she married in 1958. Her husband, Wilson M . . . , was born in Indwe, but in 1941 he moved to Stellenbosch, where he has lived and worked ever since.

Two weeks after she went to live with her husband in Stellenbosch in 1958, Elizabeth was arrested and charged with being illegally in the area for more than 72 hours. Her father arranged legal defence for her, and after the case had dragged on for six months she was fined R2. **Her father was criticized for allowing his Cape Town daughter to marry a Stellenbosch man**, and was told to take her home again. After an appeal to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, however, the Stellenbosch Registering Officer was instructed to allow Mrs. M . . . to live in Stellenbosch with her husband, with a written permit stating that she was an exempted person.

However, in 1959, when she took a Reference Book for the first time this permit was not renewed; instead, she was given permission to remain in the Stellenbosch area while residing with her husband. At first this permission was given yearly, but gradually the periods covered by the permit were reduced to one month, and finally she was **endorsed out and ordered "to return to her husband's home in Indwe"**. In vain she explained that he had no home in Indwe, having left there in 1940 and worked in Stellenbosch continuously since 1941.

The Athlone Advice Office tried to obtain permission for Elizabeth to live with her mother, who has a permanent home in Nyanga East (Cape Town area). This was refused, although Elizabeth has returned to her mother to have each of her four children.

Although Mr. and Mrs. M . . . have a well-furnished house in Kuils River they will not be allowed to live in it after a certain date. Wilson must move into "bachelor" quarters at the factory where he works, and Elizabeth must leave Stellenbosch.

This is not an isolated case of hardship; many thousands of other African families are being broken up by apartheid.

. . . LET NO MAN PUT ASUNDER"

fact that his parents are very often legal residents in the area. However, if he can prove that he returned to the city immediately after the completion of his schooling, without taking up employment in the outside area, he is sometimes permitted to remain in the city. The Advice Office has tried to help these people by writing to the schools concerned, and by making out affidavits, but the necessary proof is difficult to obtain.

Insecurity of Old Age.

One case still pending is the application for a pension for a very old woman whose children are dead, and who has no home or people in the Transkei. She has been told that she must go back to the place of her birth, where she has not been for many years, but she prefers to beg for a living in the city streets, rather than face the insecurity of old age in a strange place. The Advice Office is endeavouring to find a suitable living place for her in the small strange town, in which, according to the law, she rightfully belongs.

Transvaal Advice Office.

THE WORK of the Transvaal Office has expanded during this year, the second year of its existence, as more people are beginning to hear about it.

Unlike the Athlone Advice Office, workers in Johannesburg are not permitted to accompany clients to see the officials. All representations have to be made on the telephone or by letter, which makes the work more impersonal and therefore more difficult. However, in addition to doing their best to ensure that anyone who comes to the Office gets a chance to establish his legal rights, limited though they are, workers constantly try to stress the human aspect in their appeal letters and conversations with officials.

Two appeals were taken direct to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, and one is still pending. The other was refused after a long time. The Advice Office has, however, managed to obtain a permit for the second man to remain in the area, although they were not able to establish that he has a right under Section 10 (i) (d) of the Urban Areas Act to be in Johannesburg.

Work Permits.

There are some categories of work in which there is a shortage of labour, but the difficulty is in finding an employer willing to make application

and wait for from four to ten weeks for his labour. This comes about because the work-seeker is obliged to return to his home area before an application to employ him in the urban area can be made. The application is then referred back and forth between the Bantu Commissioners in the rural and urban areas, and at long last the worker may be permitted to come back to the urban area to take up the employment, which may or may not still be open to him.

As far as women are concerned, it is very difficult to get permits for them to work or to live with their husbands in the urban area.

In the last few months there has been a noticeable tightening-up all round, and regulations are being implemented to the letter.

Employers in domestic service are often negligent in registering their employees, which makes the task of providing proof of residence in the urban area more difficult.

Alexandra Township.

There are many cases of people living in the area illegally, particularly in **Alexandra Township**. Many of them have lived there for many years, and either have no permit to be there or their permits have been cancelled. They cannot work in the area, as they are living there illegally, and they are refused permission to live in Soweto. They spend their lives being arrested, going to jail, and on release snatching a few weeks of illegal employment, and then being arrested again.

Legal residents of Alexandra who have never had employment in Johannesburg are now refused permission either to seek work or to take up firm offers of employment in Johannesburg. As employment in the peri-urban area is somewhat limited, other than as farm labourers, this is causing hardship to the better educated and better trained people.

Unhappiness and Suffering.

IT IS sometimes suggested that the Black Sash, in running these Advice Offices, is to some extent defeating its own purpose: that by trying to disentangle the mass of unjust laws which it so strenuously opposes, it is helping an almost unworkable system to work more smoothly. Yet how can women of conscience stand aside, when they see so clearly that the rights to home and family security which they have always enjoyed and taken for granted are denied to many thousands of their fellow citizens?

(Continued overleaf)

THE BLACK SASH ADVICE OFFICES (Cont.)

The women of the Black Sash do all in their power to help in the problems that are brought to them in their Advice Offices. At the same time, they try to influence public opinion by drawing attention to these problems and the hateful system that gives rise to them, **emphasizing that they are not isolated cases of hardship, but are multiplied a thousandfold.** More and more people are reading about these cases, visiting the Advice Offices, hearing the stories at first hand, and coming away shocked and disturbed.

The public conscience, insensitive to abstract accounts of human misery in the mass, is easily touched by stories of individual unhappiness and suffering. Surely, sometime, the efforts of the women of the Black Sash and others like them must be rewarded. Constant investigation of the cases and publication of these stories must in time have their effect, and the White people of South Africa as a whole will awaken to a realization of the inhumanities perpetrated in their name — **the basic reason for the world condemnation which they so bitterly resent, and which they now find so hard to understand.**



THE BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT OF 1964

Cape Town members of the Black Sash demonstrate against this law, which entrenches the migratory labour system and contributes to the break-up of African family life in South Africa.

Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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

BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

HEADQUARTERS

National President: Mrs. J. Sinclair, 203 Santa Margherita, Eighth Street, Killarney, Johannesburg. Tel. 41-1062.

National Vice-Presidents: Mrs. D. Hill, 41, The Valley Road, Parktown, Johannesburg. Tel. 41-1832; Mrs. M. W. Cluver, 21A, Argyle Street, Waverley, Johannesburg. Tel. 40-1306.

Hon. National Secretary: Mrs. R. M. Johnston, 37, Harvard Bldgs., Joubert Street, Johannesburg. Tel. Office 23-1032, Home 40-1973.

National Treasurer: Mrs. G. Dyzenhause, 16, Northwold Drive, Saxonwold, Johannesburg. Tel. 41-8676.

Magazine Editor: Mrs. D. Grant, 16 Knox Street, Waverley, Johannesburg. Telephone 40-2830.

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

BORDER

Chairman: Mrs. D. Curry, 3 Carisbrooke Road, Stirling, East London. Tel. 8-8979.

Treasurer: Mrs. D. Streek, 22, Turnberry Avenue, East London.

CAPE EASTERN

Chairman: Mrs. P. Levey, 130 Main Road, Walmer, Port Elizabeth.

Secretary: Mrs. S. Penny, 242, Church Road, Walmer, Port Elizabeth.

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

CAPE WESTERN

Chairman: Mrs. M. Henderson, Cranborne, Robinson Road, Kenilworth. Tel. 77-3788.

Secretary: Mrs. B. Wilks, Goring, Rhodes Drive, Constantia. Tel. 77-3329.

Treasurer: Mrs. B. D. Willis, Boulders House, Simonstown. Tel. 86-6182.

Office: (for correspondence): 1 and 2, Atgor Chambers, Ralph Street, Claremont, Cape.

NATAL COASTAL

Chairman: Mrs. S. Francis, "Rochespoint", Hillcrest. Tel. 7-8756.

Secretary: Mrs. M. Grice, P.O. Gillitts, Natal.

Treasurer: Mrs. M. Hayes, 18 Baden Road, Westville.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Acting Chairman: Mrs. M. Corrigall, 306, Alexandra Road, Pietermaritzburg. Tel. 2-3749.

Secretary: Mrs. O. G. Forsyth, 369 Commercial Road, Pietermaritzburg.

Treasurer: Miss I. Friday, 320 Loop Street, Pietermaritzburg.

TRANSVAAL

Chairman: Mrs. D. Hill, 41 The Valley Road, Parktown, Johannesburg. Telephone 41-1832.

Hon. Secretary: Mrs. R. M. Johnston, 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg. Tel. Office 23-1032; Home 40-1973.

Treasurer: Mrs. K. N. Gaynor, P.O. Box 154, Randburg, Transvaal.

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

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