

Vol. 15. No. 2.
September, 1971
Price: 30c

SASH

The Black Sash magazine

CONTENTS

SEPTEMBER, 1971

	Page
EDITORIAL	1
REALITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA	2—7
by Neville Curtis	
THE PROPHET SPEAKS	8
D. S. C. OOSTHUIZEN MEMORIAL LECTURE	9—13
Jean Sinclair	
EPITAPH FOR GEORGE JACKSON	14
OPEN LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER VORSTER	15
‡ EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN S.W.A.	16
A TIME TO LISTEN	17
by Right Reverend Colin Winter	
SOUTH WEST AFRICAN CHURCHES VS. SOUTH AFRICAN STATE	18—19
by David de Beer	
IN MEMORIAM OF DOREEN RANKIN	20
DESCENT FROM RULE OF LAW	21—22
Barbara Wilks	
THE CHURCH AS THE CONSCIENCE OF THE STATE	23—25
by Terry Tastard	
ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE REPORT	26
JOHANNESBURG ADVICE OFFICE REPORT	27—28

The Black Sash Die Swart Serp

Doctor Banda has come and gone and apartheid, we are told on all sides, will never be the same again. After all Mr. Vorster was photographed sitting between two Black ladies ("Native girls"? "Bantu women"?). Doctor Koornhof has visited some of the resettlement areas and has said that something must be done. Afrikaner academics and others have called for a better deal for the Coloureds. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is being most articulate and outspoken in his demands. American and other firms are improving the wages and working conditions of their employees.

These and other recent events seem to have induced an almost euphoric state in certain sections of the English Press and among Opposition spokesmen. We are assured that the political situation is very fluid; apartheid is in the melting pot; the monolith is crumbling.

When you are not starving or being tortured or being arrested for a Pass offence, or being endorsed out to a "homeland", perhaps you can afford to take comfort in such "enlightened" development. If you can, it is a great salve to your conscience: you don't have to do anything drastic because things are changing. And, above all, you yourself will not have to change if apartheid can be abolished by such means.

But we would suggest that far from showing weakening of apartheid, recent events rather indicate a renewed resolve by the Government to entrench White supremacy in South Africa and beyond. Mr. Alistair Sparks suggested in the "Rand Daily Mail" that the purpose of Doctor Banda's visit was "to be able to treat our own Black people on a basis of social equality without calling it integration". It seems more likely that the real purpose was to extend White South African influence beyond the borders of South Africa. In other words it was simply a step, however reluctantly taken, in the cause of White imperialism, which portends nothing to the advantage of the indigenous Black population.

No doubt Doctor Koornhof was emotionally moved by the misery of Sada, Illingi, and

Dimbaza. He may well do something to alleviate the effects of the Government's policy. But what chance is there that he will even attempt, or want to attempt, to change the policy which is the cause of this misery? This misery, which is still being caused, is the direct result of the Government's stated and oft-repeated policy of decreasing the number of Blacks in the White areas. The only really effective steps that Doctor Koornhof could take would be to stop endorsements out of the urban areas and to rescind the Departmental Circular (No. 25 of 1967), which provides for the establishment of such places as Sada, Illingi, and Dimbaza. There has been no hint of this intention to do this. But by eliminating the more obviously inhumane effects of the policy, he may quell some of the criticism and opposition and so be able more effectively to implement the ideological principle of ridding the White areas of "superfluous" Blacks.

The whole debate about the so-called Coloured question is quite irrelevant. Once again it is the Whites deciding in their wisdom what is best for another group. Would it be too cynical to suggest that while doing so they are furthering their own interests? If the Coloureds are accepted by the Whites (presuming they would want to be), it would help to entrench apartheid by dividing the Black opposition.

Any "improvement" in conditions in the "homelands" or in working conditions in the urban areas is likewise more beneficial to Whites than Blacks in the long run. The more Blacks there are who can be made content in their "homelands" or with the wages they receive in the White areas the less there will be to trouble the consciences or endanger the comfort of the Whites by demanding real equality. The whole argument for overseas investment is based more on a concern for maintaining the status quo — i.e. White supremacy and domination — than on a genuine desire radically to change the conditions of the Blacks.

A recent survey showed that educated urban
● *Continued on page 22*

Neville Curtis on Realities of South Africa *

This article is composed of extracts from an interview given in February 1971.

Repressive Legislation

We have developed in this country one of the most refined sets of anti-protest legislation that exist. Extending back to the early 50's when the African movements used passive resistance and Act 8 of 1953 (which is basically the law which makes it an offence to break a law — any law, any regulation, traffic offence — in protest of a law) imposes severe penalties — up to 10 years in jail and or 10 lashes. From there, of course, you go through the whole gamut of Riotous Assemblies Acts which carry more severe penalties. The legislation is not specifically anti-protest, but it's certainly anti-change or anti any opposition-politics, such as the Suppression of Communism Act, which defines communism as any action for economic or political change brought about by force; and of course the well known Terrorism Act — all of which have very little regard for any normal citizens' rights — right to appear in court; right to a defence; and so on.

We have had a very quiet decade in this country and political activity, particularly amongst blacks, is beginning to re-emerge. In a system where you have no tolerance for political activity, this means that things are going to get more difficult for them. And none of us kid ourselves that the security police are concerned with the security of the State — they are concerned with the security of the governing Nationalist Party and they regard the whole political sphere as their legitimate field of operation. This has been proved time after time. So that as political activity increases, security branch activity increases and soon the Government intervenes — and this is the old pattern that we have seen in this country before. In broader terms, the Government is in a fairly difficult situation and will probably, I think, clamp down in the course of the next couple of months one way or another.

* Neville Curtis is the President of the National Union of South African Students.

I think the Government is in trouble — the supporters of a white minority are in trouble. It is difficult to see exactly how the change is going to come — they are going to get change and very rapid change. The tragedy is they have set the country up in such a way that the change they are most likely to get, the change that they have forced people into, is violent change, since they have left so few, if any, real alternatives open and they are going to have to contend with this.

There are three alternatives. There is the alternative which we have seen in the last decade — that of growing white oppression; there is the alternative of complete and bloody conflict; and there is the third possible alternative which is the resolution of these differences by some sort of political system. As I said, I see in the Nationalists every inclination to increase the oppression and I see in them the resolution to use force and violence if they feel it is required — at the same time, though, while they have destroyed any possibility of a common political mechanism to resolve problems in this society, they are creating on separate mechanisms, which might to some small degree avoid the crisis. We have institutions like the Labour Party which is using, exploiting, the separate coloured systems set up. People like Buthelezi, to a much lesser degree Mantanzima, who are exploiting the separate black homelands systems and there does seem a faint hope that there might be some sort of minor interregnum which could possibly resolve this conflict.

But Parliament and the Nationalist Party are not in any way the seats of power — I think that has shifted elsewhere and I think that if it became expedient, Parliament and the party might both fall away and I don't think that is too far away either. The whole impetus of nationalism has been to gain control and to exercise power, anything that threatens that control, will merely motivate them to increase it.

NUSAS

When we restructured NUSAS we didn't just change our structures or change projects and programmes, we put as our essential emphasis consideration of what we are doing. For me there are two snares in the world. The first is apathy, which always props up the system and the second is mindless activity which is what perpetuates systems. I don't think your average person in Western society is in any sense happy or meaningfully realising his aspirations — he has just got himself locked into a sort of activity which is totally mindless and he can't get out of it.

The police force in this country out-numbers the 30 000 students in NUSAS and when you get down to Security Police, they have built up a huge force in the last 10 years and

one can't address a group of students of more than 20 without at least one special branch informant being there. At Fort Hare, which is a black university, they estimate that 1 in 11 students is an informant. You find you have to get used to living with them.

They have invaded just about every organisation on the political left. It is difficult to see what they are after. I think they are trying to intimidate and smear us by association — after all, "respectable people" don't get raided. Besides that they took something like 1 078 items from our office which included full files, all our financial records, and the same is true of all other places they raided. And I think they were hoping they could find something — anything — that they could hang some sort of legal case on.

SASH -- The Black Sash magazine

Published quarterly: Annual Subscription R1.20

Individual copies 30 cents

Please put my name on your mailing list:—

Name :

Address :

.....

I enclose:— R.....

Please bill me later:—

Post this coupon to: The Black Sash, 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Str., Johannesburg.

The Prophet Speaks

“What I do foresee,
and what I hope will happen,
is that majorities will
refuse to allow minorities to dictate to them,
and threaten them with violence
if they cannot have
their way.”

— Mr. B. J. Vorster

THE DIFFERENCE IS, OF COURSE, THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WAS
TALKING ABOUT SPORT — A CANCELLED CRICKET TOUR.

D. S. C. Oosthuizen Memorial Lecture at Rhodes University —
given on September 7, 1971

Black Power and Contemporary Liberalism

By JEAN SINCLAIR

National President of The Black Sash

Some two years ago I attended the funeral of one of South Africa's greatest historians, a doughty champion of academic freedom, Professor Etienne Marais, of the University of the Witwatersrand.

Dominee Beyers Naudé, who gave the address, took as his text John 8.23, "And you will know the truth and the truth will make you free". He talked about the qualities which made Etienne Marais such a great man, his search for truth; his demand for integrity and his stand for social justice.

On Professor Marais' stand for social justice, Dominee Naudé said, "The urge for truth and integrity inevitably and unavoidably leads a human being to involvement in social concerns. One who loves truth, who values integrity, is also the one who advocates for social justice. This explains why Etienne Marais could never be the kind of person who would be satisfied to live in an academic cloister — he had to move out to meet men where they live and suffer. This was the reason for his willingness to become chairman of the Open Universities Liaison Committee when the threat of exclusion of non-white students from the campuses of our universities was imminent. The same explanation applies to his chairmanship of the Academic Freedom Committee where he was willing to champion worthy and lofty causes however unpopular this made him to many.

"These worthy characteristics were linked to one another; truth, integrity and justice enacted in deep sincerity."

The work which Etienne Marais did for the age-old cause of freedom is still carried on in our Open Universities. Each year they re-dedicate themselves to the principle of academic freedom and resolve to continue the struggle for its restoration.

Freedom, of which academic freedom is a part, is that elusive state so difficult to define, and still more difficult to preserve. It is the only state in which man's individual rights are safe and in which his dignity can

be assured. Alexis de Tocqueville, the great French political thinker of the 19th century, believed that freedom and equality were inextricably bound together. "Equality without freedom was as untenable as freedom without equality".¹ He also held that "A general law has been made and sanctioned, not only by a majority of this or that people, but by a majority of mankind. This law bears the name of Justice. The rights of every people are consequently confined within the limits of what is just".²

The preservation of freedom therefore is dependent on the respect which any government, and the people it governs, have for the inviolability of justice. Edmund Burke said "Kings will be tyrants from policy, when subjects are rebels from principle".

Somewhere along the road of South Africa's history the concept of freedom became clouded, and for more than 100 years freedom in all its aspects has been steadily eroded. There were periods in the Cape when liberally minded people did ensure that political rights were protected without discrimination on grounds of colour. The degree of liberalism in any country is surely a measure of its civilisation. Except for the Cape Colony, South Africa has had a sorry history with regard to liberalism.

In seeking the reasons why the growth of liberalism is inhibited here, we must go back to the time of Milner's administration. Milner assessed his task to the upholding of British paramountcy in the relationship between Whites and non-Whites. According to G. H. L. Le May quoting from a letter from Milner to Asquith, Milner considered that he should guide his work to "restore good relations between the Dutch and English" and to "secure for the Natives... adequate and sufficient protection against oppression and wrong".³ He felt that he could unite Boer and Briton if he was prepared to subordinate the rights of the African, reluctant as he was to do so.

South Africa's history from the beginning of the 20th Century has been one long story

of compromising the rights of the Blacks in the interests of the Whites.

All through the years of this century, the rights of the Blacks have been steadily eroded and since 1948 the pressures have increased with the Nationalist policies of Separate Development and Apartheid.

Apartheid as practised in white South Africa has resulted in hardship and misery for millions of people. Whole communities have been uprooted and moved to places of the government's choosing; thousands of families have been broken up, women separated from their husbands and children from their parents; employment opportunities are seriously restricted, poverty, malnutrition and despair are everywhere evident in urban and rural areas. The denial of the Black man's humanity and the resulting psychological deprivation has led to the alienation of the Blacks and to the emergence of Black Power. The government's besetting sin is that, in implementing its ideology, it has left out of its calculations that black people are people, and that it is people and not statistics who are the victims of its plans.

It is not surprising that Black Power is emerging in South Africa. The world is going through a major revolution with regard to attitudes to colour and race. The old taboos which consigned people of colour to an inferior status are being discarded and it is certain that no country will discriminate with impunity ever again, and South Africa, sooner or later, will be obliged to abandon race discrimination whether it likes it or not.

The Black man is developing a black consciousness of his own and is resolved to assert his African personality. Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, the statesman from Ghana, describes in his book "Africa Unbound" the yearning of Africans to re-discover their identity. He says on the African personality . . . "the present-day African wishes to re-discover to re-create, in order to understand who he is, whence he came and since he knows that no personality can be fully and effectively realised except in the open air of freedom and independence, he wishes not only to obtain these conditions for himself but to recover what his ancestors once had achieved before he finally succumbed, through conquest, bribery, treachery and bad faith, to European power. Yet he knows, too, as a result of colonial domination, that his struggle to attain a personality and individuality and the equality, dignity and respect that accompany it, is

more difficult for him than for peoples of other colours — and largely because the white man has needed to depict him as, in effect, subhuman in order to justify his own cruelty and rapacity . . ."⁴

In America the Negroes' struggle for race equality has been brought about for the same reasons and because of the same causes. According to two black psychiatrists, Grier and Cobbs, who have analysed the reasons for Black rage in America, white prejudice and black deprivation date back to slavery. They say "when slavery ended and large scale physical abuse was discontinued it was supplanted by different but equally damaging abuse. The cruelty continued unabated in thoughts and feelings and occasional lynching. Black people were consigned to a place outside the human family and the whip of the plantation was replaced by the boundaries of the ghetto . . . The practice of slavery stopped over 100 years ago, but the minds of our citizens have never been free".⁵

If this is true in America how much more so is it true in South Africa. Like white Americans, white South Africans "are born into a culture which contains the hatred of Blacks as an integral part".

Grier and Cobbs record how one cold morning they sat watching a group of unemployed black men standing outside an office for casual labourers — a truck drove up and the two psychiatrists tell how a white man leaned out of the cab . . . "One could almost hear his thoughts" they said, "This one is too thin . . . that dark one looks smart-alecky and is probably slow . . . the boy at the back might do".⁶ Can one not visualise exactly the same scene outside a tribal labour bureau in the homelands when a recruiting agent comes to choose a group of migrant workers for employment in White South Africa?

In America authority is against racial discrimination and has outlawed it. The American public is slow to change its attitudes, but undoubtedly strides have been made and race prejudice is diminishing, albeit slowly. In South Africa discrimination is entrenched by law which makes it all the more difficult to persuade white South Africans that race prejudice is morally unjustifiable.

It is not surprising then that the effects of oppression, deprivation and repudiation are resulting in the withdrawal of a section of Blacks from contact with Whites. When referring to Blacks I include the Coloureds and Asian people who, too, are suffering from the

same indignities and discrimination. Circumstances have forced Blacks to encourage their own nationalism and it is interesting to note the many similarities between the growth of Afrikaner and Black nationalism.

The Afrikaner withdrew from contact with English speaking South Africans. He promoted his language and his culture and formed his own organisations. He put his children into separate schools. He struggled until he attained power. Black nationalism is following much the same course. "The Black is Beautiful" idea — pride in their culture — a new feeling of independent thought setting up of their own organisations, for example the student body SASO of the Black universities, is all part of the growth of Black nationalism. The struggle for Black Power has begun.

In practice the government has two policies — Separate Development and Apartheid. The first one is the establishment of separate ethnic homelands with their own Territorial Authorities which have been promised independence eventually. The second one is Apartheid as practised in the urban areas. Both policies have been imposed on the Africans as have the Coloured and Indian Representative Councils on the Coloured and Indian people. The leaders of all these separate areas and councils are making demands for more land and more power. These demands are logical and understandable, but they have been met with abrupt refusal by the Republican Government.

The betrayal of the Coloured people is one of the most disgraceful episodes in our history. The Government's behaviour to them has shown up the cynicism of separate development. The government realises the impracticability of giving them a homeland and has sought to bluff them by giving them a Representative Council which has no real power. The Coloured people are our blood brothers and belong to our society. They have borne all their tribulations with the greatest patience; the enforced Group Areas removals; the separate amenities, cultural, recreational and civic; the loss of their political rights and the repudiation by the government. All the insults meted out to them in statements by men in government and in the ruling party, are a constant assault to their dignity, and the Prime Minister's ineptitude in stating that he does not know what their future will be, does nothing to ease their burden.

The Asian people have been treated in much the same manner. They have suffered greatly

by group area removals. Thousands of them have lost their homes where they and their families have lived for generations. Many of them have lost their livelihoods and their businesses.

All this discrimination and injustice has served to unite the Coloured, Asian and African people in their anger against white domination and they are all now publicly voicing their grievances and making demands.

Only last month, Chief Kaizer Matanzima threatened that if the United Party comes to power, with its policy of rejecting complete independence for Africans in their homelands, the Transkeian Government would declare U.D.I. Earlier in the year he demanded that certain white areas in the Transkei be handed over to his government.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, too, has asked for more land and that the Zulu homeland be consolidated into a geographic unit. His recent call for a national convention is a most statesmanlike suggestion. The complete lack of recognition of the black man is shown in Mr. M. C. Botha's response to the call. He is quoted as saying: "We in the National Party know precisely what path and course to take for the future and there is no necessity for a national convention.

"As far as we are concerned we have a policy, we are not seeking a policy and there is no question about the political future of this country." This statement demonstrates the arrogance which stands like a stone wall between us and our hopes for the future. A national convention has great possibilities and is certainly in conformity with the government's policy of "dialogue". Chief Buthelezi reacted to this snub by Mr. Botha by saying that "if whites don't want to attend they should not be dragooned. A Black summit would not accomplish much by itself, but it would cement Black solidarity. People who don't listen now, might then pay heed. I am optimistic that if there is Black solidarity, Whites would be less likely to ignore the Black voice". Mr. Botha's statement hardly conforms with the state government policy of good neighbourliness.

In a subsequent statement by Chief Buthelezi setting out his own philosophy with regard to race, he disclosed what his policy will be when Zululand gets its independence. He said that Whites had nothing to fear from the Zulus and they would be welcomed if they were prepared to become citizens of his country. The Chief's attitude is in stark contrast to

the attitudes of the Prime Minister and Mr. Botha.

Their attitude to Chief Buthelezi is inexplicable in view of the recent State visit to this country of President Banda of Malawi. The red carpet treatment with all the pomp and ceremony was evidence of a desire to ingratiate ourselves to the Head of a neighbouring state. President Banda was brought into contact, official and social, not only with white members of the government, but also with Black homeland and urban leaders. This has resulted in President Banda issuing an invitation to these leaders to attend the annual convention of the ruling party in Malawi. This has brought a new dimension to Mr. Vorster's Outward Policy. Perhaps it was not envisaged. It is not only the white Republican government with whom Black Heads of State wish to talk, but also with the Black Homeland Heads of State. This is good. For the first time South African Blacks have broken out of their isolation.

Just over a year ago the Black students at the Black Universities broke away from NUSAS and formed their own all-African student body, SASO. Like students everywhere, they are angry young men. They are not in favour of the homelands policy because they feel it inhibits Black Unity. Their attitude is "Black is Beautiful" and they say to the Whites "Get off our Backs".

In February this year leaders of SASO made some very significant statements in speeches delivered to the "workshops" of the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies. Steve Biko, the immediate past president of SASO, in discussing various groups and policies, had this to say of white liberals:

"Total identification with an oppressed group in a system that forces one group to enjoy privilege and to live on the sweat of another is impossible. White society collectively owes the Blacks so huge a debt that no one member should automatically expect to escape from the blanket of condemnation that must come from the Black world.

"It is not as if Whites are only allowed to enjoy privilege when they declare their solidarity with the ruling Party. They are born into privilege and are nourished out of and natured in the system of ruthless exploitation of Black energy.

"To come then, at the age of 20 and expect to be accepted with open arms is surely to overestimate the forgiving powers of the Black people. No matter how genuine a liberal's

motives may be, he has to accept that just as much as he did not choose to be born into privilege, the Black cannot but be suspicious of his motives". He ended his speech by saying:

"One cannot but welcome the evolution of a positive outlook in the Black world. The wounds that have been inflicted on the Black world, and the accumulating insults of oppression over the years, were bound to make of the Black people reactionary beings. Now we can sit and laugh at the inhumanities of our powerful masters. Over the years we have attained moral superiority over the White man".

In this statement all the bitterness and frustration are manifest. These young people have struggled against all manner of obstacles to reach a university standard of education. In their school years all the normal facilities which make study easy and congenial are denied them — facilities which white children take as a matter of course. In most African homes, in the urban areas, there is no room set aside where children can do their homework. Probably there is not even electric light. There is often a shortage of money; parents may have fallen into difficulties with the pass laws; the whole family may be living as lodgers in one room, or one parent may have died or been endorsed out of the area; and all the hundred and one other problems which confront African children make education for them a superhuman effort. And when they have finally managed to get to a university the rules and regulations which interfere with their search for truth and their activities on the campus, deny them the freedom which students ought to have. Added to all this, their future prospects of suitable and congenial employment are circumscribed by a plethora of laws — the pass laws, job reservation, the Group Areas Act and others.

The withdrawal of Blacks from contact with Whites has become evident over the last two or three years. The rejection by Blacks of white liberals is a disappointment, but they are viewed as part of the system and their motives are suspect.

The rejection, for the time being, at least, of the values and standards of liberalism is sad. But the principle of liberalism have survived the years and they will continue to survive. This philosophy must be fought for, and all people who love freedom will have to overcome the frustration of being discredited

by the right wing and rejected by the left. They will have to make it plain for all to accept that the liberal philosophy is the only philosophy that provides for the freedom and justice for the individual.

We who are liberally minded must resist going into a corner to lick our wounds. Equally we must resist clinging to out-dated ideas. We must examine our attitudes in the new situation, with particular reference to Black rights. How do we react to Chief Buthelezi's saying we must logically be prepared to arm the Zulu nation? If our farm is necessary to a more equitable distribution of land between homelands and white South Africa, what is our attitude? How do we feel about sharing political rights; sharing social facilities; working for a more highly skilled black man; paying equal pay for equal work? Do we feel that because we pay above average wages to Blacks we are doing enough because we are providing work? Is our attitude to removals and resettlement that it would be alright if proper facilities were provided first? These are questions which bring the practice of liberalism down to a personal level. I am convinced that those of us who value liberalism in this country are prepared to abandon privilege and all discrimination. But many more people of all races must be persuaded that a sharing of rights is the only moral and just attitude to hold.

We must be careful not to fall into the trap of accepting alleviation of hardship as the answer, when the principle of discrimination remains intact. An example of this is a relaxation of job reservation by the granting of blanket exemption permits to industrialists to enable Africans to perform skilled jobs which have been reserved for the white group. No matter how many regulations are relaxed it will not cause the collapse of apartheid as long as the laws themselves remain on the statute books. The long and the short of it is that the electorate must demand a change of policy.

All discriminatory legislation must be repealed. White South Africans must make up their minds to the fact that they must not ignore moral principles, nor can they defy justice and world opinion forever by trying to keep Blacks in a position of inferiority.

It is our duty as believers in liberalism, humanitarianism and justice to try to ensure that when change comes it will come about peacefully. No one can predict or prophesy what will bring about the end of apartheid.

We cannot underestimate the difficulties, they are immense. We have an intransigent government determined to maintain power over Whites and domination over Blacks. We have a small white, affluent society, prejudiced and privileged — also in favour of domination though a substantial proportion are anti-Nationalist. The Official Opposition is weak and imbued with the race superiority syndrome. On the other side, the Blacks, angry and frustrated, withdrawing from contact with Whites, and in between those who are committed to the cause of justice and freedom. The role of the last group is to continue to oppose and expose injustice, discrimination and immorality in government. Protest is a valid ingredient of the democratic process. It must be continued and directed at those responsible. It is unforgivable "to remain silent in a moral crisis."

White liberals have spheres of influence denied to Blacks, such as the vote, and the opportunity to work within the white group. It is therefore incumbent upon us to canvass the public to adopt a more liberal policy, to be receptive to change, to meet new situations with new attitudes, to understand contemporary pressures from within and without South Africa.

The days when gradualism might have been possible have gone and a change of attitude on the part of the white public is now a matter of urgency. Young people have a challenge to face. Freedom, and justice must be restored to this land. What is required of us all is self discipline. In the words of Dietrich Bonhoeffer "If you would find freedom, learn above all to discipline your senses and your soul . . . None can learn the secret of freedom, save by discipline".

In your re-dedication to the values of Academic Freedom remember that there can be no real search for truth, no integrity and no justice without freedom or that without truth, integrity and justice there can be no moral solution of the many problems besetting this country.

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, a Biographical Study of Political Science — J. P. Mayer.
2. *ibid.*
3. British Supremacy in South Africa 1899-1907. G. H. L. Le May.
4. Africa Unbound — Alex Quaison-Sackey.
5. Black Rabe gy William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs.
6. *ibid.*

Epitaph For George Jackson

of San Quentin and Soledad Prisons, U.S.A.

"If I leave here alive, I'll leave nothing behind. They'll never count me among the broken men, but I can't say that I'm normal either. I've been hungry too long. I've gotten angry too often. I've been lied to and insulted too many times. They've pushed me over the line from which there can be no retreat. I know that they will not be satisfied until they have pushed me out of this existence altogether. I've been the victim of so many racist attacks that I can never relax again . . . I can still smile now, after ten years of blocking knife thrusts, and pick handles of faceless sadistic pigs, of anticipating and reacting for ten years, seven of them in solitary. I can still smile sometimes, but by the time this thing is over I may not be a nice person. And I just lit my seventy-seventh cigarette of this twenty-one hour day. I am going to lay down for two or three hours, perhaps I'll sleep"

Extract from "Soledad Brother — The Prison Letters of George Jackson.

*To bring the dead to life
Is no great magic.
Few are wholly dead:
Blow on a dead man's embers
And a live flame will start.*

*Let his forgotten griefs be now,
And now, his withered hopes;
Subject your pen to his handwriting
Until it prove as natural
To sign his name as yours.*

*Limp as he limped,
Swear by the oaths he swore;
If he wore black, affect the same;
If he had gouty fingers,
Be yours gouty too.*

*So grant him life, but reckon
That the grave which housed him
May not be empty now:
You in his spotted garments
Must yourself lie wrapped.*

Taken from Robert Graves . . . "To Bring the Dead to Life"

Open Letter to His Honour

The Prime Minister South Africa

His Honour,
The Prime Minister,
Mr. B. J. Vorster,

His Honour,

After the decision of the World Court at the Hague was made known on 21st June, 1971, several leaders and officials of our Lutheran Churches were individually approached by representatives of the authorities with a view to making known their views. This indicates to us that public institutions are interested in hearing the opinions of the Churches in this connection. Therefore we would like to make use of the opportunity of informing your Honour of the opinion of the Church Boards of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in SWA and the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church which represents the majority of the indigenous population of South West Africa.

We believe that South Africa in its attempts to develop South West Africa has failed to take cognizance of Human Rights as declared by U.N.O. in the year 1948, with respect to the non-white population. Allow us to put forward the following examples in this connection:

(1) The government maintains that by the race policy it implements in our country, it promotes and preserves the life and freedom of the population. But in fact the non-white population is continuously being slighted and intimidated in their daily lives. Our people are not free, and by the way they are treated they do not feel safe.

In this regard we wish to refer to Section 3 of Human Rights.

(2) We cannot do otherwise than regard South West Africa, with all its racial groups, as a unit. By the Group Areas Legislation the people are denied the right of free movement and accommodation within the borders of the country. This cannot be reconciled with Section 13 of the Human Rights.

(3) People are not free to express or publish their thoughts or opinions openly. Many experience humiliating espionage and intimidation which has as its goal that a public and

accepted opinion must be expressed, but not one held at heart and of which they are convinced. How can sections 18 and 19 of the Human Rights be realised under such circumstances?

(4) The implementation of the policy of the government makes it impossible for the political parties of the indigenous people to work together in a really responsible and democratic manner to build the future of the whole of South West Africa. We believe that it is important in this connection that the use of voting rights should also be allowed to the non-white population.

(Sections 20 and 21 of the Human Rights.)

(5) Through the application of Job Reservation the right to a free choice of profession is hindered and this causes low remuneration and unemployment. There can be no doubt that the "contract" system breaks up a healthy family life because the prohibition of a person from living where he works, hinders the cohabitation of families. This conflicts with sections 23 and 25 of the Human Rights.

The Church Boards' urgent wish is that in terms of the declarations of the World Court and in co-operation with U.N.O. of which South Africa is a member, your government will seek a peaceful solution to the problems of our land and will see to it that Human Rights be put into operation and that South West Africa may become a self-sufficient and independent State.

With high esteem,

Bishop Dr. L. Auala

Chairman of the Church Board
of the Ev. Luth. Ovambokavango Church

Moderator Pastor P. Gowaseb
Chairman of the Church Board
of the Ev. Luth. Church in S.W.A.
(Rhenish Mission Church)

Windhoek, 30th June, 1971.

Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church Evangelical Lutheran Church in S.W. Africa (Rhenish Mission Church)

THE CHURCH BOARDS

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Jesus Christ,

We greet you with the words of Jesus: "Peace be with you" (John 20:19). On the 30th June, 1971 we gathered together as the Church Boards of our two Lutheran Churches because we felt that we must direct words of leadership and guidance to our congregations in this hour of need.

We are concerned about the future of this country and about the future of the various peoples who live here. We not only feel this concern today but because of the judgment of the World Court given on the 21st June, 1971, we can no longer remain silent. We feel that if we, as the Church remains silent any longer, we will become liable for the life and future of our country and its people.

The judgment of the World Court was the answer to the prayers of many of our people, because this judgment involves the hope of freedom and recognition of personal worth. We believe that our people would not have betaken themselves to other bodies and also not to the U.N.O. if the Government of South Africa had not withheld from them the basic rights of man.

The mandate which was given to South Africa included the obligation to create conditions of peace and freedom and to guarantee such conditions for all the inhabitants of South West Africa.

True peace does not allow people to hate each other. But we observe that our people are caught up with fear and that the hate between people is increasing, especially between white and non-white. In our opinion this fateful development is caused and upheld by the policy of apartheid. We believe that a false impression arises when it is stated that peace reigns in our country. The "peace" is maintained by forceful measures.

To the freedom of the people belongs also the freedom of the spread of the gospel. We are concerned that Christians of various population groups are hindered by numerous laws and regulations from freely gathering together for the word of God.

As a result of the application of the Group Areas Laws the activities of the Church are severely restricted and the unity of the various races of the Church curtailed. Individual

Ministers of the Gospel and Christians are filled with fear and distrusted. They are also sometimes hindered in their evangelizing by the refusal of permits.

The true development of the inhabitants of South West Africa on a Christian basis ought to lead to unity and fraternity between the races. We are convinced that this must be the lasting goal for further and future development.

The Government, by the application of the Homelands Policy, constitutes to the creation and continuation forever of the divisions between the races. It is stated that this policy is intended to lead the races to self-government and independence. *But our small race groups cannot really be aided by separation. They will be isolated and denied the chance to take a proper part in the development of the country.*

We want to also inform the members of our congregations that we are determined to inform the Government of this state of affairs and of our convictions of what changes must occur. We appeal to you to maintain the peace and with a peaceful disposition to continue seeking our brothers in all racial groups. We want to advise you also to build bridges and not to break down contact.

Dear Congregants, we, as your Church Boards, do not intend sowing seeds of animosity, discord and strife. Our purpose is to stand for the truth and for a better future for our people and races, even when it involves suffering for us.

May the Lord be with you in His Mercy and give you guidance through His Spirit. Let us continue praying for all authorities (I Tim. 2:1-2), so that they may be prepared to alter the grievous circumstances and to take cognizance of the true interests of this country and its people.

On behalf of the two Church Boards

Dr. Leonard Auala

Chairman of the Church Board
of the Ev. Luth. Ovambokavango Church

Paulus Gowaseb

of the Ev. Luth. Church in S.W.A.
Chairman of the Church Board
(Rhenish Mission Church)

Windhoek, 30th June, 1971.

A Time to Listen:

A Statement by The Right Reverend Colin O'Brien Winter

Bishop Leonard Auala and Moderator Paulus Gowaseb have produced an important document. It behoves all people of this territory, and especially those who govern us from Pretoria to read it, but best of all to listen to what these men are saying. From just living in this land one knows from experience that it has taken a great deal of courage for two black leaders to dare to say the things these men have said. South Africa does not take kindly to criticism of her policies. Time and again such people are dubbed 'agitators', 'communists', 'anti-South Africa', 'fanatics'. Abuse and rejection and sometimes violence are the lot of those who dare to express contrary opinions to those of the government. When will the white rulers of South Africa, and the vast majority of whites, listen to the sincerely held opinions of the blacks of this land? Surely if ever there was a time to listen that time is now. If ever there was a need for a round table conference with black leaders that time is now. To continue to reject what they are telling us is to return to a never-never land of make believe. These two Christian leaders are calling us back from a path that all of us in our heart of hearts know can only lead to bloodshed. We cannot ignore or suppress black opinion forever. My question is, Will they be listened to by our rulers and by the majority of whites in this country?

May I, as a Christian Bishop, be allowed to comment on the effects this document has had on me personally?

First, it confirms what all of us who have contact with the blacks know to be true, that the overwhelming majority of blacks in this land totally reject apartheid. The Bishop and Moderator make five points why this is so. They are: 1) that blacks are not free people in this land; 2) that the free movement of the blacks is denied them; 3) that blacks are afraid to express their opinions for fear of reprisals; 4) that voting rights are denied black peoples; 5) that job reservation hinders the development of the black peoples and destroys their family life.

Apartheid has been foisted onto the black people against their will. It is in essence the white man's way of rejecting his black brother, no matter how much successive South African governments toy with words or battle

to define ideologies. What Bishop Auala and Moderator Gowaseb's document is saying clearly to me is, that we whites have deluded ourselves into thinking that we have found any solution to this country's problems in the apartheid regime. They expose apartheid as a violation of the Declaration of Human Rights upon which every free nation of the world bases its laws. New schools, new hospitals, new roads, new Bantustans all beg the real basic issue. The black man is still suffering in this land, is still exploited, is still denied those basic human rights, without which life in the modern world becomes intolerable. These two Christian leaders are telling me loud and clear that they and their people are not free, that they yearn for freedom, and that they can never be free in a state which bases its legislation on racial discrimination.

Because these men are Christian leaders of respected Christian churches, because they are black leaders in touch with the mood of their peoples and therefore better able than most of us to speak for the black man, they have the right to be heard and they will be heard throughout the free world. Will we listen to them in South Africa? Experience teaches me to doubt it. We whites for the most part have not only become deaf but silenced our consciences as well.

Christian leaders such as Bishop Auala and Moderator Gowaseb must not be allowed to stand alone. For this reason, and because I know them to be men of integrity, I wish to say that I agree with their assessment of the situation as it exists in South West Africa today, and that I stand by them in their views. It is vital that all Christian leaders in this territory make their views known also. Men such as these must not be allowed to carry the brunt of the consequences of what they have said. The Christian Church as the conscience of this nation must now speak out with clarity and without fear. Apartheid must be denounced as unacceptable before God. Who else but the leaders of the Churches can do this?

†Colin Damaraland.

The Diocese of Damaraland
Diocesan Office
P.O. Box 57
Windhoek, South West Africa
25th July, 1971.

South West African Churches

VERSUS

South African State

By DAVID DE BEER

Anglican Diocesan Secretary of Windhoek, Namibia.

Two weeks after the World Court gave its advisory opinion that South Africa was illegally in South West Africa, the Johannesburg 'Star' commented that "minority groups in the territory were acting as if some kind of liberation was already at hand". In this it was referring to a statement by Mr. Clements Kapuuo, Chief of the 60 000 Herero inhabitants of the territory, and to the action of the Rehoboth Baster Council, after it had won an overwhelming election victory. Chief Kapuuo called on the whites who wished to stay in the territory to sever their allegiance to the "outgoing" South African Government and to align themselves with the indigenous people of South West Africa. The Baster Council immediately after its re-election sent a plea to the United Nations Security Council to intervene in South West and have the South African Government ejected.

Whites in the territory were not unduly worried. After all these were distinct "minority groups" in a population of over 600 000. The Ovambos, by far the largest group in the territory, supported the S.A. regime, they thought, re-assured by the utterances of Headman Ushona Shiimi, Chief Councillor of the Ovambo Legislative Council. And even though a group of Ovambo government clerks in Ondangwa challenged Shiimi's statement, these could well be a SWAPO-inspired group of agitators, and some of them were sacked for their political action. Nothing new; South Africa firmly in control, with almost everybody happy. Or so they thought.

It was up to the Churches to burst the bubble of self-satisfaction. On Sunday, 18th July, just four weeks after the World Court ruling, the joint Church Boards of the Evangelical Lutheran OvamboKavango Church (ELOK) (formerly the Finnish Mission) and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South West Africa (ELK) (formerly the Rhenish Mission) disclosed the contents of an open letter sent to the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, on behalf of the two Boards. In this letter, signed by Bishop Leonard Aula of ELOK and Moderator Paulus Gowaseb of ELK, the South African Government was accused of denying people their basic human rights, and there was a call for South West

Africa to become a "self-sufficient and independent state." In the same day copies of the letter to Mr. Vorster and copies of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights were distributed to the congregations, and a pastoral letter was read from all the pulpits throughout the Territory. This pastoral letter acclaimed the World Court decision of June 21st as an "answer to many prayers" and said that the advisory opinion "held the hope of liberty and a dignified way of living for many."

What surprised the whites was not so much what was claimed, although the pastoral letter went so far as to say that the peace that South Africa claimed existed in the territory was only maintained by force, but who made the claims. They had become used to such statements from SWAPO and SWANU, the two best-known political parties struggling for South West African independence, and in their uninformed and off-hand way, had learned to shrug off such "indictments" as "distortion or exaggeration". The disturbing factor in this case was that the action had come from, as the 'Windhoek Advertiser' termed them, "widely respected men . . . moderates . . . Not given to political activism." It was this departure from their previous conservatism that gave their action the greater impact, for in the past years of South West Africa's political history the Lutheran Churches had

remained for the most part disturbingly quiet when issues seriously affecting their 295 000 members had arisen, and many foreign political observers had written off the churches, as a means of change in the Territory.

The Administration was not slow to recognise the seriousness of the statements. When the controversy over the South African plebiscite offer at the World Court still raged Government officials confidently assumed that the Ovambos would support them, and gave wide publicity to the statements issued by Chief Councillor Ushona Shiimi that the Ovambos would always support South Africa. Now the largest church was openly challenging this. In relative terms the Dutch Reformed Church among the whites, holds as much sway as the Lutheran Churches do among the blacks in SWA, and to have a body of that force turn against the South African Administration was not a matter to be taken lightly.

Bishop Auala was soon summoned by the Commissioner-General for the Native Peoples of South West Africa, Mr. Jannie de Wet, reprimanded as to the "serious consequences should the action of the Church Boards be misinterpreted", told to explain to his people the great benefits in the medical and educational spheres that the South African Government had brought to the Ovambos, and was promised a meeting with Prime Minister Vorster who was to tour the Territory in August.

But no Government official mentioned the real issue of Human Rights.

Over the week-end of July 25th the Anglican Bishop of Damaraland associated himself fully with the stand of the Lutheran Churches. "The black man is still suffering in this land", he said, "he is still exploited, he is still denied those basic human rights without which life in this modern world becomes intolerable. New schools, new hospitals, new roads, new Bantustans all beg the real basic issue. These two Christian leaders are telling me loud and clear that they and their people are not free, that they yearn for freedom, and that they can never be free in a state which bases its legislation on racial discrimination."

As he had promised the Commissioner-General, Bishop Auala issued another statement. Together with Moderator Gowaseb a further statement was released saying that they had read the newspaper reports about the whites' dissatisfaction with them following their letter to Mr. Vorster. "The newspapers and other whites say that the Churches cannot talk like this. Our own people who ex-

perience the true state of affairs day by day are grateful for what the Church Boards have done. So we can only stand by the words which have been given out . . . We are all aware of the development of hospitals, schools, education, etc. A beginning has been made, and our people are grateful for it. But we as people are not fully recognised and in fact in the course of life or belittled. This hurts us, and this main point must be rectified."

Further support for the two Lutheran Churches came when on August 11th the two Roman Catholic Bishops in South West Africa published a statement which supported the Lutherans as far as their demands for Human Rights was concerned. Their statement came one week before the meeting of Mr. Vorster and the Lutheran delegation was to take place, and meant that the Lutherans could go into their meeting with the backing of the other major churches working in Ovamboland.

On August 18th Mr. Vorster spent nearly four hours of intense meetings with the church leaders, two hours longer than was scheduled. His comment afterwards was that the meeting had been 'purposeful', but that he had insisted that South West Africa would be developed along Bantustan guidelines. The Lutherans had slightly more to say. Both Bishop Auala and Moderator Gowaseb released statements which they had presented to Mr. Vorster outlining their grievances, and they still insisted that South West become a 'unitary independent' state. Neither side had backed down.

What future developments will be is hard to say, but South Africa has heard much of a "Church-State" clash in the Republic, but this has mainly been about what the State is doing to the Church leaders and ministers. *In South West Africa the issues are far greater, for the churches representing nearly all the blacks have now openly challenged the S.A. Government on what it is doing to their members.*

The Black Sash Magazine

Annual subscription:— R1.20

Individual copies:— 30 cents

Order from:—

The Black Sash, 37 Harvard Buildings
Joubert Street, Johannesburg

In Memoriam

The death took place on Friday, 3rd September, of Doreen Rankin, one of the foundation members of the Black Sash. On the day after the inaugural "teaparty" Doreen and I were asked by Jean Sinclair to go to Ruth Folley's house to discuss the disgrace of the proposed Senate Bill for the removal of the coloured voters from the Rolls and to plan the action that women voters should take to show their disapproval of this Nationalist trick.

If I remember rightly, the idea of a country-wide petition was Doreen's, and we all set to work to draw up the wording, organise the printing of the petition and to create the machinery for distributing the forms and gathering the signatures.

When I say "set to work", I use the term advisedly when referring to Doreen, because she had a tremendous capacity for getting to grips with work of all kinds and also for working with words. Her faith in the power of persuasion rather than vituperation, anger and protest inspired her later to draw up and have printed, numerous booklets for distribution to the voters, in an effort to change their thinking and feeling towards oppressive legislation. Doreen had a real respect for the simple person, so often ignored by those whom she accused of intellectual arrogance and she was ready with patience and understanding to look at problems from that point of view.

Her efforts in this direction did not find favour in the Black Sash and, as she felt the need for more constructive work than protest, she threw her energy for some years into the Education Vigilance Committee. A group examining educational practice and materials in order to detect, and if possible eradicate, Nationalist indoctrination in the schools. The last few years her interest has been directed through the English Academy to the improvement of English teaching in the African schools and here, too, she will be sorely missed. She travelled thousands of miles, raised thousands of rands and gave generously of her time and perhaps too much of her energy to this work which she found very rewarding and which was much appreciated by the teachers and inspectors with whom she came in contact.

So much for Doreen, the worker-for-causes, but this was only one side of her personality. She was just the right wife for Sandy, a

dynamic civil engineer who set very high standards for himself and others and who was therefore, thought very lovable, not always easy. Doreen never got over his unexpected death five years ago after a brief and distressing illness, although she put up a brave front to the world and appeared to forget her sorrow in work and in friendship. As a loving daughter and dutiful daughter-in-law to three old people, who one after the other lived in their home and ended their days there, she was wonderful beyond belief, though always practical and unsentimental. Her two daughters and their families have found her always ready to help them imaginatively and if necessary with a degree of self-sacrifice which she herself seemed to consider quite unexceptional but which others did not. Doreen and her twin sister Eileen Shaw, recently widowed, were sharing a flat and were both busy in their own spheres in education for African children and adults respectively, when this sudden illness, necessitating a brain operation, took Doreen away. Our very deepest sympathy goes to Eileen and to the daughters.

The people related to Doreen and those for whom she worked will most naturally miss her, but a very large and varied group of people, men and women, young and old, white and black, who counted her as a friend are losing something of indefinable value. Her small output of published poetry, which she herself never mentioned, gave an insight into a sensitive, perceptive and articulate mind; her Christian beliefs she lived, but did not preach. Her company was always stimulating because earnestly held theories propounded with great earnestness and a certain dogmatism, would suddenly be illuminated with gaiety and humour, and her enthusiasm for any project in hand would strike sparks from others involved. A warm-hearted and generous response was always ready for friends in need of comfort or cash, a game of bridge or golf, or just cheerful company for dinner followed perhaps by a little mild gambling when the time and the place offered the opportunity.

The deep sense of loss I and others feel will just have to be tempered by the memories of companionship and affection enjoyed for many years and we shall say to her, as she often said to others: "Bless you, dear."

NELL GREEN

Descent from the Rule of Law

By BARBARA WILKS

Chairman of Cape Western Branch of The Black Sash

Embodied in Magna Carta, the ancient and abiding cornerstone of Anglo-American jurisprudence, is the hallowed principle that no man may be deprived of his life or liberty save by fair trial according to law.

One of the effects of this, the Rule of Law, is that the executive government has no right to imprison an individual on suspicion, or for an indefinite period. Arrest and imprisonment can be justified only by making a definite charge against a prisoner, and by putting him on his trial without unreasonable delay.

Although the executive governments of this country would seem never to have had this regard for the Rule of Law (e.g. autocratic powers of banishment were granted by the Native Administration Act of 1927, and amendments) South Africa's descent was accelerated in 1950 by the *Suppression of Communism Act*, which introduced the evil of banning. The Minister was empowered to ban persons, not only if they were members or active supporters of a declared illegal organisation, but also if he was satisfied that these persons' activities were promoting the objects of Communism, or that they were "Communists", as widely and artificially defined in the Act. *Persons can, therefore, be banned under this Act even if they have nothing in common with the accepted policies of Communism; State action largely depends on the Minister of Justice's assessment of activities.*

These banning powers are, as is well known, extremely wide and drastic. Not only can persons be confined to stipulated areas and prohibited from being in specified places, and their public voices stifled, but they can also be subject to "house arrest", confined to any place (which may include a flat or room), and prohibited from receiving more than one visitor. By 1965 there were at least 25 variations of banning orders.

The *Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act* of 1954 entitled

the Minister to ban "named" persons, or those convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act *without* giving them the opportunity of a fair and impartial hearing, or without the Minister furnishing his reasons. Such a person was thus robbed of knowledge of *all* material information in the Minister's possession because the latter, advised by the police alone, became the sole judge, to the exclusion of the Courts.

In the following year, under the *Criminal Procedure Act*, search warrants could be issued if there was reasonable belief that an offence was being, or *likely to be*, committed on any premises. Also, *any* policeman could proceed *without* a warrant if he considered the delay in obtaining one would defeat his object.

Part of the *General Law Amendment Act* of 1962 was concerned with the offence of sabotage. A person accused of sabotage was to be deemed guilty until proved otherwise, and preparatory examinations could be dispensed with. And a person who had been acquitted on a charge of sabotage could be tried *again* in respect of the same Act on some other charge.

The 1963 *General Law Amendment Act* contained the notorious 90-day clause (suspended on 11 January 1965, but still on the Statute Book), and also empowered the Minister to detain a person *after* completing his prison sentence, if he was satisfied that such a person was, after his release, likely to further the achievement of any of the statutory aims of Communism. It was, of course, under this clause, renewable every year, that Mr. Robert Sobukwe was detained.

The "180-day" clause (an insertion of Section 215 *bis* in the Criminal Procedure Act of 1955 as amended) was introduced in 1965. Whenever, in the opinion of the Attorney-General, there was danger of intimidating a possible witness, or whenever he deemed it to be the interests of the administration of justice, he could issue a warrant for arrest and detention, which would last until the conclusion of the criminal proceedings concerned, or

for six months, whichever might be shorter. The detainee could, therefore, be held in solitary confinement, the elementary right of seeing his legal advisers was withheld, and the court's jurisdiction to investigate the legality of the detention was excluded.

The *General Law Amendment Act of 1966* empowered any police officer of or above the rank of Lieutenant Colonel to arrest without warrant any person he had reason to believe was a terrorist, or *favoured terrorist activities*, or had undergone terrorist training, and detain him for interrogation for up to 14 days. This period could be extended on application by the Commissioner of Police to a judge of the Supreme Court, who would decide on the date. The detainee could appeal against this in writing. No Court of Law would be competent to order the release of a detainee.

The following year the *Terrorism Act* (which of course includes the notorious Section 6) was passed. Under this section any police officer of or above the rank of Lieutenant Colonel was empowered to order the arrest without warrant, and detention in solitary confinement for an indefinite period, of any person whom he had reason to believe was a terrorist, or was withholding from the police information relating to terrorists, or to offences under the Act. Access to legal advisers was withheld, and no Court of Law could pronounce upon the validity of any action taken under this section, or order the release of a detainee.

In 1969 the Bureau for State Security (BOSS) was established. Under Section 10 of the *General Law Amendment Act* of that year the activities of the Bureau were placed beyond public discussion, and Section 29 empowered the suppression of evidence in a court case if a Minister so decreed.

Over 2 000 years ago, Aristotle, whose voice still echoes toweringly in the corridors of thought and of learning, stated the essential case for the existence of the Rule of Law, in words we would all be wise never to forget. "The rule of law is preferable", he said, "to that of any individual . . . He who bids the law rule may be deemed to bid God and reason alone rule, but he who bids a man to rule

adds an element of the beast; for desire is as a wild beast and passion perverts the minds of rulers, even when they are the best of men. The law is reason unaffected by desire."

(N.B. I would like to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Miss Muriel Horrel's invaluable *Annual Surveys of Race Relations*, and to Professor Donald Molteno, of the Faculty of Law, University of Cape Town.)

ERRATA

With apologies to Mr. Keith Gottschalk for errors in previous issue

Page 4, para. 2—"the D.E.I.C. merchants . . . were opposed to a colour bar . . . delete *not*."

Page 6, top of 2nd col.—"whhite employee say R200 monthly."

Page 6, 2nd col., 6th para.—"white bricklayers at resettlement camps get R24 monthly."
and "The wage differential of 41 to 1 for the same."

Page 7, col. 2, para 4—"from the direct or indirect effects of malnutrition every 3 or 4 minutes around . . ."

Page 10, last sentence: "The political consequences of urbanisation and economic integration are neutralised for the ruling group by INCREASING political and social segregation."

EDITORIAL

(continued from page 1)

Blacks overwhelmingly desired political rights in the whole of South Africa more than better wages, houses or anything else. None of the much-lauded recent developments give any indication that the Government will accede to this desire. If the Government, *per impossibile*, were to give some real political power to Blacks, then indeed we might rejoice that apartheid was crumbling. Apartheid means white supremacy through political and economic control and anything the Nationalist Government does, however philanthropic or altruistic it might appear, is calculated to that end. Therefore there is no room for euphoria with its attendant danger of apathy.

The Church as the Conscience of the State

By TERRY TASTARD

A Johannesburg journalist, graduate of Rhodes University and member of the Anglican Church

Supporters of apartheid argue that its ideological basis is derived from a natural desire of different peoples to live and progress among those of their own race. Racial mixing beyond what is economically strictly necessary is, we are told, both unnatural and liable to create friction. This argument applies most obviously to Black-White relations; but devotees of apartheid sometimes oppose mixing among Coloureds, Indians and Africans.

The evidence around us suggest, instead, that underlying this alleged principle of apartheid there runs a strong current of fear. It is both a fear of the unknown and a fear of being deprived of a position of privilege. As Father Martin Ekwa puts it:

"To satisfy its thirst for power, influence and control, a group will set itself up as superior to some other group. This psychosocial brand of racism, the defensive gesture of a threatened person, is found in varying degrees throughout the world. Indeed, the whole notion of the 'inferiority complex' may provide much of the psychological explanation for racism. The frightened person shuts himself up within his own group, arms himself, tries to hold on to ground he has gained and the material advantages he has acquired, and creates ghettos with their stifling atmosphere."²

Father Ekwa has outlined a profile of the South African situation. But it is not a complete profile. Surely here among the White people of South Africa there is a more deeply hidden and suppressed fear: the fear of being confronted with the tragic human effects of apartheid itself.

Psychologist Abraham Maslow points out that we can often avoid knowing facts in order to reduce any consequent anxiety. He is echoed by Herbert Marcuse, who suggests that an individual's awareness of a prevailing repression is blunted by manipulated restriction of his consciousness. He is, says Marcuse:

"... in a state of anaesthesia from which all detrimental ideas tend to be excluded. And since knowledge of the whole truth is

hardly conducive to happiness, such general anaesthesia makes people happy."³

The steadily-growing machinery of censorship, restrictive press laws on the quoting of banned people, and Government control of radio (and TV) could well be subconsciously supported by the majority of South African Whites who close their eyes as often as they can to the uglier side of apartheid. This sort of machinery not only protects them from what his Nationalist Government considers detrimental, un-South African influences; it also serves to filter factual information about the South African situation, about how cruel and callous apartheid is.

South African Whites do not want to know about these things because knowledge, anxiety and action are closely bound together. Realising the cruelties of apartheid might leave a nagging doubt in a hitherto unsuspecting mind that 'something ought to be done about it' — and maybe by himself.⁴

Perhaps this helps explain the violent reaction and threats levelled by apartheid supporters against 'political' clergy and organisations such as the Black Sash, when these people bring into the public eye sores of apartheid as Limehill and Sada or Dimbaza, or the way families are torn asunder. This might help explain the house arrest of Father Cosmas Desmond.

Apart from harming South Africa's image overseas, they are challenging the White South African conscience, which, finding itself compromised, is angered.

After all, as Thomas Merton pointed out, suspending one's conscience is an easy, and

even sometimes delightful act — provided that everybody makes it at the same time.⁵

Merton was referring especially to suspension of conscience at wartime, when everything seems to be at stake. But even here there are parallels with South Africa. We are continually being reminded that we are fighting Communism, and that men are fighting and dying to defend us on the borders. To some people this makes any sniping at the Government on grounds of racial injustice seem disloyal, tantamount to treason. The implication is that faced as we are with this external threat, we should concentrate on internal (White) harmony, at the cost of our consciences.

There are individuals and institutions in South Africa that starkly stand out as being aware of racial injustices. They are willing to tackle racial injustice, to act as a conscience when others fail.

This is true of some of the Christian Churches and of many churchmen in particular. The Church cannot acquiesce with the suspension of conscience Merton referred to, even if its refusal to do so only intensifies the Church-State conflict.

The implications here, though, are ugly. One can almost sense a resentment on the part of some church leaders when their clergy or laity draw attention to an ugly aspect of racialism. They are queering the pitch of leaders who had the ear of men of state and were therefore able to cajole favours from them. If the present sharpening conflict between Church and State is having only one good effect, it is the way it must be bringing home to church leaders the impossibility of trying to bargain with the State.

In fact, the Church must steadfastly stand by its role as the conscience of the State.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi stated recently that: "The Church is probably the only agency left in South Africa which could play a decisive role in creating a conscience among White South Africans who could help bridge the credibility gap between the races."⁶

Conscience Groups

This conscience role will surely grow clearer and more significant as the churches themselves draw nearer to unity, and as groping,

isolated groups of committed Christians in each church discover each other and begin to work cohesively — both among themselves and through their churches' networks tackling racial injustices.

Pope Paul in a speech made in 1966, made it clear he saw this as the role of the universal Church, which he saw as "a downright challenge to mankind" and as "a goad to the conscience of all men." As a course of action against social injustice he suggested trying to make the facts . . .

"in their dramatic magnitude, more widely known; to assist the uncovering of their gigantic extent; to make men aware of the means by which the situation can be remedied"⁷

But what about the other aspect of conscience mentioned earlier, the refusal of people to contemplate the horrors of apartheid because this lack of insight intensifies as it were, their own *angst*.

The Church has a positive duty to bring out into the open the conflicting, and so often repressed racial fears felt by all South Africans.

Maslow points out that one way of neutralising anxieties is to bring them out into the open. To a person tormented by such fears

". . . the unfamiliar, the vaguely perceived, the mysterious, the hidden, the unexpected, are all apt to be frightening. One way of rendering them familiar, predictable, manageable, controllable, i.e. unafrightening, and harmless, is to know them and understand them."⁸

This should surely be true of the White fear of domination by Blacks. It should be true too, of the anxiety felt by many well-meaning White church people who want to approach and get to know their Black brothers and sisters in Christ, especially at inter-racial church gatherings.

It is precisely here that the churches have fallen manifestly short of a potential target. Instead of striving to demonstrate in their own lives, that inter-racial love and fellowship are possible, they have continued to an amazing extent, to perpetuate in their own ranks the racial divisions and racial fears of the country.

Instead of being a microcosm of love and koinonia overcoming racial barriers they have become stifled with the South African spirit of separation.

How often, outside formal occasions such as synods and assemblies, do people of different races within the same church meet? And when such meetings do take place, they often contain only a nominal number of laity, some of them silenced by a not unnatural fear of the strangeness of the occasion.

In a regrettably underpublicised address, the then Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Jack Dalziel, told his church's General Assembly:

"There is a disturbing gap between the Black and the White . . . We very rarely meet one another, and when we do it is nearly always in either a patronising paternal way . . . We rarely gather in a way in which we could really say we are part of the same community, part of the same Body of Christ."⁹

An expert on Christianity in Africa, T. A. Beetham points out that even when inter-racial worship is practised there is often an unwillingness to extend this fellowship socially.¹⁰

Duty of Church

It is the duty of the Church, to maximise on a far more radical level than it is doing at the moment, opportunities for genuine inter-racial encounter — when members of different races can be perfectly frank with each other. Without such meetings they will be unable to build up an inter-racial trust to demonstrate to society at large just how over-rated racial differences can be and just how basic humanity is.

But what does all this have to do with the Church as the conscience of the State?

On the most obvious level, where a true love and fellowship is created by church people of different races it shows up the shallowness of apartheid in all its artificiality.

But on another, far deeper level of significance, it links conscience with action. Conscience implies action, and action implies knowledge. First, White Christians must see what racialism does to Black People; and they

must see what they can do to change the situation.

Rene de Voillamue wrote: "The path to friendship consists of *learning to share*, *learning to give*, and *learning to receive*."¹¹ Of these three aspects he italicises the first. We should share, in spirit, the pain and humiliation of apartheid, otherwise how can we fight it effectively?

And in the end, allowing our consciences, singly and collectively, a fuller rein, makes us more human. A limited conscience implies a limited friendship. Without a growing conscience how can we have what Jesus asks of us — in the words of Voillaume, "a heart sufficiently open and humble and alert to others, and above all spontaneous enough to be capable of friendship should it become possible here and now."¹²

1. Several Non-White campus administrations have restricted the activities of SASO, the all-Black student organisation because inter alia "there was nothing in common between the African, Indian and Coloured socially or culturally". See news item "Campuses Banned from SASO" by G. R. Naidoo *Rand Daily Mail*, July 7, 1971. Group Areas officials have also interfered in sport between Africans, Coloureds and Indians.
2. Fr. Martin Ekwa, S. J. "Racism". *Concilium* Vol. 9, no. 3, Nov. 67.
3. Herbert Marcuse. *Eros and Civilisation*. London, 1970, p. 97. This does not imply that I accepted all Marcuse's hypotheses.
4. Maslow, Abraham. *Towards a Psychology of Being*. Princeton, 1968, p. 65. Earlier Maslow reference is same work, p. 66.
5. Thomas Merton. *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander*. New York, 1968, p. 228.
6. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. "A Fair Share is all We Want". *Rand Daily Mail*, June 30, 1971.
7. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*. Vol. LVIII No. 6, June 30, 1966, p. 441.
8. Maslow, *Ibid* p. 65.
9. Dr. Jack Dalziel. *Seek ye first the Kingdom of God*. Moderator's Address to Presbyterian Church of Southern African General Assembly. Sept. 1969, p. 4. Mimeograph.
10. T. A. Beetham. *Christianity in the New Africa*. London, 1967, p. 45.
11. Rene Voillaume. *Brothers of Man*. London, 1966, p. 56.
12. Voillaume, *Ibid*, p. 62.

Part of a Report from the Athlone Advice Office

Removals of Africans from *Bonnievale* have apparently been halted or the pace slowed. This would presumably be a temporary respite, but it suggests that greater care will be taken over the resettlement of the people. The school has reopened and the remaining families are still there. It is reasonable to hope that the authorities are not going to force the issue of their departure, at least until the practical issues are carefully arranged. But there are fresh signs of anxiety among qualified residents of *Kayamandi*, the Municipal township outside Stellenbosch. Demolition of temporary housing there is close, and no rehousing of qualified residents is planned — except that working men can always move into single quarters. The 60 permanent family houses are all occupied and have very little room for lodgers.

The basic issue in both areas, and probably in many others, remains the right of qualified residents to family housing. It is earnestly to be hoped that town councils will revive their own building schemes for family housing for qualified residents. The growth in the number of these is already so fiercely stunted by legislation which local authorities are obliged to implement, that the State man-

date to "reduce numbers" is surely met, without, in effect demolishing Section 10, at local level by refusing to accommodate people. Always the most stable people, who have persevered so long in order to gain residential rights.

Frustration of the most ordinary, decent human hopes and ambitions is unfortunately the central aspect of life for most Africans in the Republic. Very largely, they find themselves unable to build up any family life within reach of their work and therefore, of necessity, at all. They cannot choose their occupation or better their position to any extent, sometimes at all. When, with great effort and sacrifice, they achieve scholastic qualifications such as Matric, the hard won certificate may become virtually a liability. A telephone call received by the Advice Office during the past week was from the manager of a local firm who wanted to help a young matriculant find a suitable opening locally in commerce or industry. He was from the Transkei, lured, permitless, by the obvious scope for his capabilities in Cape Town. But this is closed to him, contracts are for labouring jobs only.

Education beyond Apartheid

Report of the
Spro-Cas Education Commission

which is available

in both official languages and

may be ordered from

Spro-Cas, P.O. Box 31134, Braamfontein,

Johannesburg

or from leading book shops.

The price is R1.

A farm school may only be registered if there are 12 or more children. In some cases children from neighbouring farms must be found to make up this number. These children must obtain the written consent of the farmer on whose land they live, and also of the owner of the land on which the school is situated. A land-owner may at any time withdraw his consent, thus jeopardising the future education of the children. In addition, land-owners may refuse school sites on their farms. In 1961 the Secretary for Bantu Education stated that only 25 per cent of African children between 7 and 16 who were living on white-owned farms were actually attending school. In 1967, 151 new farms schools were opened, while 52 were closed.

Johannesburg Advice Office Report

The Bantu Labour Regulations of 1965 state that an appeal against a decision of a municipal or district labour officer shall be to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner and shall be in writing in the form of an affidavit and "shall *within seven days of such decision or order* be lodged with the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in whose area such decision or order was given"

The requirement that an appeal be lodged within seven days causes African people enormous difficulties when they have been endorsed out of a prescribed area. Often they do not know and are not told of this requirement. Those who do know what to do, are often unable to collect documentary proofs to substantiate the statements made in the Affidavit within the seven days allowed. They really have six days available for the purpose because if they do not arrive at the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office early in the morning of the seventh day, they may be told to go away, the queue is too long and they must "come back tomorrow."

If an appeal is lodged after the seventh day the person concerned is eventually served with a notice which says "With reference to your appeal I have been informed by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner as follows:

'As the provisions of Regulation 31 (2) of Chapter VIII of the Bantu Labour Regulations published under Government Notice R 1892 of 3rd December, 1965, have not been complied with, in so far as the time laid down for lodging an appeal under Section 23 of Act. No. N67 of 1964 is concerned, there is no appeal properly before me'.

You are warned to take immediate steps to remove from the prescribed area within 72 hours. With greetings, Bantu Affairs Commissioner".

In addition to the onerous requirements of the law there seem to be certain administrative procedures and attitudes which make it almost impossible for some individuals to have their appeals considered. Several cases have come to our notice this month where someone has attended at the offices of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner within the seven

days with an Affidavit of appeal and such documents as have been collected. The papers have been handed to the Commissioner who has handed them back and asked for a further document to be obtained and submitted. The person concerned then goes away to obtain the required paper, which may take several days. When he returns to the Commissioner's office the documents may be accepted or he may be asked for something further. Either way the seven days have elapsed and he has eventually been served with the notice quoted above.

Several people have complained of great rudeness and discourtesy encountered when lodging their appeals.

Cases

Mr. E.S.M. — who first came to Johannesburg in 1933, young Mr. MM who was born in Johannesburg and has always lived here, but whose parents did not put his name on their residential permit and Mr. E.M., who was born in Sophiatown but is an orphan and unable to prove his birth, were all warned to leave Johannesburg within 72 hours. They did not know that an appeal must be lodged within seven days and when they did attend at the Commissioner's office their appeals were not considered because of this requirement. They all feel that they have a right to remain in the area because they can prove their long residence in Johannesburg but they are unable to have the facts considered by the authorities.



Mr. *M.D.A.* was born in the Bridgeman Memorial Hospital and has always lived in Johannesburg. When he applied for his first reference book he had difficulty in proving that Johannesburg is his only home but the reference book was eventually issued. On 29th June 1971, his book was stamped that he was warned to leave the prescribed area in 72 hours. On 5th July he took his Affidavit of appeal and such documents as he had collected to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office. He was asked to bring an Affidavit from his mother. She was ill at the time but she did make an affidavit at a police station. Mr. *D.M.S.* was then asked to bring original documents, as some of his papers were photostat copies, the originals being in the possession of the Municipal Labour Officer. He had lost the original copy of a letter from his school principal and was unable to get another one signed, because the Principal refused to do so until Mr. *D.M.S.* had been to see him three times. However, by the 30th July he had obtained everything he had been asked to bring, and is now hopefully awaiting the outcome of his appeal.

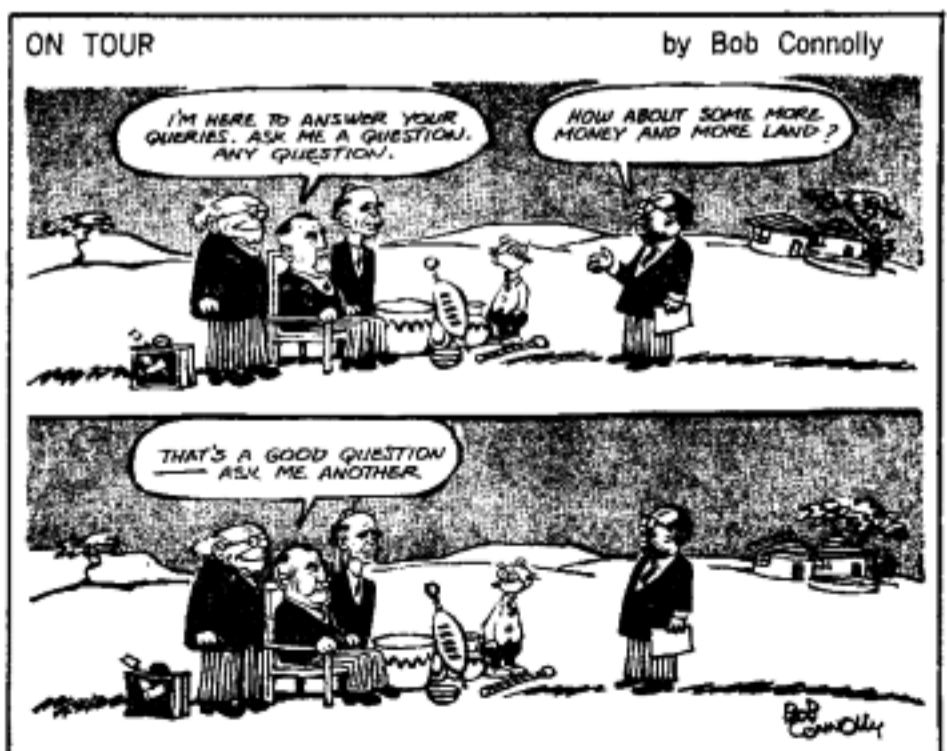
Mrs. *T.E.M.* was endorsed out of Johannesburg on 16th June 1971. She did not know what she should do and came to our office for help on the 28th June. She has been in Johannesburg since 1947 but none of her employers had ever registered her. She collected letters from several of them and a letter from Baragwanath Hospital which together proves her presence here from 1958. She made an Affidavit of appeal and took all these documents to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's office. There an official looked quickly through them, handed them back to her and with considerable rudeness, told her to go away.

Mr. *S.E.T.* was endorsed out of the prescribed area on 28th April 1971. He lodged his appeal within the seven days. His papers were handed back to him and he was told to bring a further document. He took the document and was then asked to bring other papers. On 15th June 1971, he was given temporary permission to remain in Johannesburg while the appeal was considered. On 16th July he was served with the notice quoted above and told to leave Johannesburg. His appeal was deemed to have been lodged late.

PASS OFFICE SONG

*Take off your hat.
What is your home name?
Who is your father?
Who is your chief?
Where do you pay your tax?
What river do you drink?
We mourn for our country.*

Anonymous



BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

HEADQUARTERS

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

National Vice-Presidents: Mrs. A. Marais, 22, Kerry Road, Parkview. Tel. 41-2647.

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

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

National Treasurer: Mrs. D. Hill. Tel. 41-1832. Mrs. Beinashowitz, 37, Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

Magazine Editor: Mrs. A. Cobbett, 31 Sturdee Ave., Rosebank, Johannesburg. Tel. 42-3614.

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

BORDER

Chairman/Secretary: Mrs. D. Streek, 22, Turnberry Avenue, East London. Tel. 87852.

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

CAPE EASTERN

Secretary: Mrs. D. Davis, 196, Main Rd., Walmer, Port Elizabeth.

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

GRAHAMSTOWN BRANCH:

Chairman: Mrs. B. Davenport, 2, Harri-smith Street, Grahamstown. Tel. 2774.

Secretary: Mrs. R. van Wyk Smith, 24, Market Street, Grahamstown. Tel. 3076.

CAPE WESTERN

Chairman: Mrs. B. Wilkes, Nunsacre, Capri Road, St. James, C.P.

Secretary: Mrs. M. D. Barker, "Cambria", Woodbine Lane, Rondebosch, C.P.

Treasurer: Mrs. J. Morris, 37a Albion Hill, Main Road, Newlands, C.P.

Office: (for correspondence): 109 Rosco Building, 105, Main Road, Claremont, Cape. Tel. 66-827.

NATAL COASTAL

Chairman: Mrs. D. Patrick, Two Oaks, 31, Hospital Road, Hillcrest, Natal. Tel. 7-8421.

Secretary: Mrs. E. Mathews, 21, Alexander Drive, Winston Park, Natal.

Treasurer: Mrs. E. Langley, 11 High-bury Court, Ridge Road, Durban, Natal. Tel. 88-1063.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Chairman: Mrs. M. Dyer, 8, Christie Road, Pietermaritzburg.

Secretary: Mrs. M. Corrigan, 306, Alexandra Road, Pietermaritzburg. Tel. 23749.

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

TRANSVAAL

Chairman: Mrs. B. Cluver, 21a Argyle Street, Waverley, Johannesburg. Tel. 40-1306.

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

Treasurer: Mrs. P. Kirkwood.

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

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

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

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

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

Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

MET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land. Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf van onderlinge 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.