

THE BLACK SASH

DIE SWART SERP

National Conference Issue



LAYING SOUND FOUNDATIONS

Address to the Black Sash National Conference

By EULALIE STOTT

Retiring National President

WE meet at the beginning of what will probably be a very difficult five years. Those of us who realise that our privileged white society cannot indefinitely maintain its position of supremacy, are naturally apprehensive of what will happen now that the Nationalist Party has again become the Government of the country, with the support of a majority of the electorate.

White Opposition

The English-speaking section is beginning to realise that the days when it was politically powerful, are over. As a political force on its own, it cannot achieve anything. The same remarks might also be made of the white opposition generally. It is clear that the present parliamentary system which enables half the white electorate to send 105 members to Parliament, while the other half is only represented by 56, does not make parliamentary changes easy or likely. The 1½ million coloured members of our society are represented by a mere four "unrepresentative" members, while the vast mass of our people, the Africans, are voiceless in Parliament. We must understand that the Government will not change the electoral system with its loaded vote. This fact, together with the Government's determination to ignore the wishes of the mass of the disenfranchised people and its denial to them of basic human rights, should make us all remember that in the preamble to the Declaration of Human Rights, the warning is given that if the rights incorporated in the Declaration are not guaranteed to the people, they will, as a last resort, have recourse to revolution.

Since the Black Sash earnestly requires that the changes it wishes to see should be brought about peacefully by orthodox and orderly methods, it must naturally be fundamentally opposed to, and view with distress, the possibility of change only by unorthodox methods.

At the same time, the Government, if it makes change by orthodox methods impossible, cannot escape the responsibility for provoking unconstitutional action.

In view of the ban on the main African political organisations and the fact that those Africans with widely different points of view, who came together this year to discuss Africans' problems, have been convicted in a court of law of furthering the aims of a banned organisation, it is clear that it is going to be difficult for any new African organisation to emerge. While the Government obviously considers this will make control easier, it can also present a grave danger.

Daily Frustrations

The daily frustrations which Africans suffer as a result of the laws which largely hamper their advancement, together with the anti-Black feeling shown by most Whites, continue to exacerbate Africans' feelings and to increase the resentment and bitterness they feel towards the Government and white people generally. Without any responsible organisation or leaders to guide them, this anger may well manifest itself in sporadic outbreaks of violence as has happened throughout history elsewhere. Yet most white opponents of the Government declare themselves powerless to alter this, as indeed they seem to be.

It was evident in the middle of 1961 that many white people, who stated that a radical change of policy was necessary if non-Whites were not to resort in increasing measure to illegal or even violent activities, were not prepared to do anything at all to assist those they considered were being wrongly oppressed. They sat back and talked in terms of non-white demonstrations and economic pressures bringing about the changes they desired. But if there is one thing that the May demonstrations and the overseas boycott have shown us, it is surely that in the present context today, there is as little chance of changing the Government through

non-white demonstrations and overseas pressure, as through the existing electoral system.

While it is certainly time that we were all prepared to treat our non-white neighbours as we ourselves wish to be treated, nobody knows just how much time there is to effect change, and we should continue as of old taking time and care to lay good, strong, sound foundations for the future. I do not believe that the talk of time running out should make us feel compelled to take hasty action, nor do I feel we should be driven to despair because all is lost, or to inactivity because of our apparent powerlessness to bring about change.

It is a sad reflection on our society that although politics is on everyone's lips, most do nothing more than pay lip service to the things they believe in. When South Africa was at war with an enemy thousands of miles from its borders, people throughout the length and breadth of the country were prepared almost daily to sacrifice their time and money to beat the forces of evil which it was considered threatened to overwhelm our liberties, but now,

when the forces of injustice exist within our own borders, fewer people are prepared to come forward to make the sacrifices which must be made to uphold those freedoms for which we fought.

The white people who sit back and wait for others to make the sacrifices would do well to realise that if non-Whites on their own have to bring about their salvation, there will be little reason for them to feel well-disposed towards white people afterwards. So we must realise that the clouds on the political horizon, which Mrs. Petersen referred to in her presidential address last year, have increased; and when one looks at them and forecasts a storm, it should be remembered that this does not mean one wants a storm, but merely that a storm seems likely.

Change in our country is inevitable sooner or later. If it is to be a change for the better, it is essential that we try to avoid a repetition of the Algerian situation. We on our own may not be able to bring about change, but we can ensure that when change comes there are sufficient numbers of Whites and non-Whites who respect



At the Black Sash conference in East London: Mrs. E. Stott (former National President), Mrs. A. Pirie (Chairman, Cape Eastern Branch), Mrs. M. Petersen (former National Vice - President) and Mrs. D. Curry (Chairman, Border Region).

—Courtesy Evening Post.

SOUND FOUNDATIONS—Continued

and trust each other, to make a multi-racial Government possible.

One of the tragedies in our country is the divisions that exist between the many opposition parties and groups—white and non-white. The result is that at present amongst them there is not one existing opposition group that could produce a suitable alternative Government, truly representative of all the people.

Since only a Government that guarantees basic rights and liberties to all can expect to establish a peaceable and stable society when the present Government goes, I consider that the Black Sash should do all it can in the coming years to persuade people openly to support a policy which will uphold the rights and liberties of every citizen, and that it should do what it can to act as a catalyst in bringing together all people who share this aim.

Much in Common

We will need to introduce more and more white people to non-Whites in order that they may realise the non-Whites' point of view and find how much they have in common.

This will be an immensely difficult task, because it is apparent that the Government is banning just about every articulate non-White. We must however, continue our efforts to organise multi-racial discussion groups, conferences, etc.

Another thing the Black Sash needs to do is to find ways of combating the effects of Government propaganda which results in people, even in the opposition camp, widely believing such untruths as, for example, that a reference book is nothing more than a white person's identity card or passport. How to do this, when most people do not think for themselves, and do not have the facts on which to base their views, is one of our most difficult tasks.

In the Sash, I believe, we may have to face three problems. One is the dearth of people in our organisation willing and able to undertake

This magazine, as the official journal of the Black Sash, carries authoritative articles on the activities of the Sash. The organisation does not, however, necessarily endorse the views expressed by contributors.

Cartoons in this issue by courtesy of the "Cape Times".
Cover Cartoon by courtesy of "Die Weekblad".

SHARING RESPONSIBILITY

AT the close of her presidential address Mrs. Stott reminded members that those who sat on committees shared with the Chairman the responsibility for all activities undertaken. It was of the utmost importance that committee members should give their earnest attention to such activities in the realisation that they could be held responsible.

In conclusion, Mrs. Stott said: "It appears that in future we may have to get permission from the relevant City Councils to hold stands in the streets of towns. It seems that if a group of people come together in order to stand against a particular Bill, it means that they have come together for a common purpose and therefore constitute a meeting, which may not take place without permission."

the activities we have decided should be carried out; another is that some people within our organisation feel that their time may be better spent working for their political party; a third problem may be caused by members allowing their party political differences to be brought into the Sash.

Members will realise that the Black Sash is constituted to uphold people's rights and liberties and to do all it can to assist in getting these rights and liberties respected, and that within the Sash one is fortunate in having only to consider what people's rights are and what methods should be used in order to have them upheld. We stand on principle, and therefore are lucky in not having to consider expediency.

Members of the Black Sash should understand that people may legitimately differ in their opinion of which party is able best to supplant the present Government or to effect the necessary changes, and that fellow members of the Black Sash should not have their integrity questioned because of the political party they see fit to support. Inside the Sash we do not deal with party politics, but *outside* the Sash, everyone must clearly be entitled to advocate support for her own point of view. It seems to me greatly lacking in tolerance to think that because a person does not belong to the same political party as oneself, that person is wrong and her sincerity should be

suspect. This indicates not only intolerance, but lack of respect for parliamentary democracy which by its very nature depends upon the existence of different political parties. The Black Sash should surely encourage people to think for themselves and respect the rights of others to hold a point of view different from their own.

I foresee the time when once more some political leaders will try to weaken, if not break, the Sash as an organisation. After all, they would not be human if they did not wish to have devoted to their cause the time and money available from their members. In addition, in the white field, it is immeasurably safer to be a member of a large parliamentary opposition that is concerning itself mainly with work in the white electoral field. In the coming years, small pressure groups working with non-Whites can expect to come more and more into conflict with authority, but on the other hand I think political parties would do well to remember that when this Government goes—as I am sure it will—it will be very difficult for any other white Government at its outset to have the confidence of non-Whites. Those of us who have worked with non-white leaders know how very suspect or discredited almost every white leader is in non-white circles.

Greatest Asset

So many non-Whites feel that white people only "say" the things they do because they are afraid of black nationalism. They fear that if the white opposition were in power, it would itself devise clever ways of keeping the mass of the people without rights and liberties. From a hard-headed point of view, therefore, I think political parties would do well to realise that one of the greatest assets they can have is a large number of Black Sash members throughout the country, who are known to have been working hard with non-Whites in their darkest hours.

It is constantly stated by people that we have failed to make any impact on the white electorate, and I think it is necessary for us to examine the statement to see if it is true.

It is clear to me that there has been a significant change in the attitude of the white electorate in the last six years. Since for a very large part of that time the Black Sash was one of the few groups in the field advocating that

NEW NATIONAL PRESIDENT

Mrs. Jean Sinclair of Johannesburg, a founder of the Black Sash, was elected National President at the recent conference in East London.



all people's rights should be safeguarded, it seems reasonable to consider that we have played a significant part in bringing about this change of attitude amongst a certain section. Who knows whether, if we had spent the same amount of effort, time and money in Nationalist areas, we would not have had a similar impact!

At election time, people inevitably become more concerned with political matters, while at other times it is very difficult to evoke any response and active interest in politics from the electorate. As we all know, the Black Sash reduces its activities at election times, in order to let its members work for the party of their choice. In the five years ahead, people will once again fall into their usual apathy and it will require a great deal of ingenuity to get them to come to meetings to hear what they need to know regarding the views of non-Whites and the effects on them of present legislation.

Also, one may take it that the non-white opposition groups will have further inroads made on their liberties and that they will suffer increased hardships. Such help as we can give, I believe should be readily available.

I am perpetually astonished by members who say to me: "There is nothing for us to do." I can assure you that for those who are really anxious to help, there is plenty to do. The fact that we are not better known is due entirely to the fact that we do not do all the things we should.

HIGHLIGHTS OF CONFERENCE

EAST LONDON was the venue of the 1961 Black Sash Annual National Conference. The hosts were Border region, and delegates were warmly received, even to the extent of bowls of spring flowers and welcoming notes.

During the conference itself we were relieved of all cares by the "universal aunts". Evenings were deliberately left free, except for the second night of conference when we were entertained at a delightful cocktail party in Mrs. Deena Streek's home where members of the various regions were able to get to know each other.

After Mrs. E. Stott had delivered her presidential address (reported in this issue) the conference opened, and Southern Transvaal, which will in future be known as the Transvaal Region, was elected the new Headquarters Region. Mrs. Jean Sinclair, a founder of the Sash, is the incoming president. Conference offered its loyalty and good wishes to the new Executive, and the retiring president, Mrs. Stott, paid warm tribute to the members of the former Headquarters Executive, all of whom, she said, had uncomplainingly shouldered more than was expected of them.

Setting the Pace

Mrs. Stott claimed, modestly, that her own task as president had not been onerous—a sentiment belied by the evidence at conference of the fantastic pace she has set in tours of the regions and innumerable other activities. Border expressed the appreciation of conference for these tours, and even the treasurer agreed that what they had cost had been money well spent.

Mrs. Dora Hill told conference Professor Geyser's story that Afrikaner Nationalism was about to have a baby. "And I'm sorry to tell you," said Professor Geyser, "that the baby will be born black." Mrs. Nettie Davidoff confessed that she had been afraid of nothing during the past few years except her own chairman—a sentiment endorsed by all of us who have known the tyranny of chairs!

Debate on resolutions reached a very high standard, and regional reports told a familiar

story of hard work by the few, steadily declining membership, apathy (on the part of our own members as well as the public), and strong prejudice against the Sash in some regions. On the other hand there had been a genuine and warm response from people who had been helped by the Sash. In the members who remain in our ranks there is a steady resolve to carry on, although none of us is deceived about possible future hardships.

Mammoth Memoranda

Reports from the smaller regions showed that they had done as well as the larger regions, in spite of greater difficulties.

Transvaal region (formerly Southern Transvaal) overawed the conference by the mammoth memoranda compiled by its members. An ambitious future project is a book detailing the achievements of the Sash. Will members please respond to Mrs. Sinclair's appeal for anecdotes to provide the lighter side of the book?

Mrs. Dora Hill asked for more correspondence between the regions concerning their activities, and more detailed information on lectures and meetings. This would also greatly help Mrs. Dorothy Grant, who is now the editor of the magazine.

Interesting debates took place on the Sash's attitude to racial discrimination, the need for a new national convention, Bantu education and the important subject of opening membership of the Sash to all races. It was evident that delegates had examined this particular subject with the greatest care, and that if open membership had been considered a matter of principle few would have voted against it. Most of the regions thought, however, that the strength of the Sash still lay in the fact that, as a white group, it was able to exert moral pressure with no axe to grind. The debate continued for three hours, and it was then decided to postpone further discussion until the next national conference. Border region, which sponsored the resolution, agreed that no vote should be taken this year.

We realised during the debate on Bantu Education that we are not fully *au fait* with all

BLACK SASH

vs.

RADIO SOUTH AFRICA

The Press joins in

THE ejection of the S.A.B.C. news representative from the Black Sash National Conference in East London was prominently reported in most of the main newspapers in South Africa. (See the report on Conference in this issue.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* quoted a Sash member in Johannesburg as saying, "This is good news. As a public service the S.A.B.C. should not be allowed to function as a political weapon."

In a leading article the newspaper said: "The Black Sash movement has done well to ban representatives from the S.A.B.C. to its meetings . . ."

Government Mouthpiece

"The S.A.B.C. has become the mouthpiece of the Government and the more that Nationalist leaders and their Press try to explain this away, the clearer it becomes that the S.A.B.C. has been taken over for the specific purpose of countering the standpoint of the English-language Press.

"The Prime Minister has spoken about the freedom of speech in relation to the radio system. His argument is false. There is no free speech on the radio in the sense that different points of view are presented impartially. There is only one 'line' — the Government 'line'."

Die Transvaler, reporting what had happened at the Sash conference, said that the Black Sash movement which claimed to be non-political and opposed to any form of discrimination, had actually applied it in practice.

The *Cape Times* also opposed the action taken and commented:

"We trust the report that the Black Sash had banned Radio South Africa reporters from its

"Friends,
countrymen,
patriots . . ."



meeting reflected only a state of temporary annoyance among this group of women who have fought so many rounds for liberty in South Africa. If, however, banning the reporters of the radio services, or any reporter for that matter, is being adopted as a policy, then we hope the Black Sash reverses that policy immediately. No matter what Radio South Africa may have done to outrage the ideals of freedom of information in the Republic, that cannot constitute any kind of reason for breaching Press freedom yet again. We believe that the Black Sash is fighting to preserve the freedom of the Press just as much as any other democratic organisation in the country is, and would not want to decrease it even to demonstrate its indignation. That kind of banning and barring can safely be left to the Nationalists."

In reply to this, the Cape Western Region issued the following statement, which was published under prominent headlines:

"We regret that the barring of the S.A.B.C. representative from our conference should have been interpreted as an interference with the freedom of the Press.

"The Black Sash does not consider that the S.A.B.C. is in the same category as the Press. The S.A.B.C. is a service to which all listeners, whatever their political sympathies, contribute financially.

"In the opinion of the Black Sash, therefore, the S.A.B.C. should not be used to represent only the Government point of view.

the implications of the Act. We hope to remedy this. Regions will be asked to investigate the effects of the Act in local areas. Delegates were reminded of Professor Z. K. Matthews' article "The Education of the African" in "The Road Ahead." In addition there are two articles in the Black Sash booklet "Education for Isolation" dealing with Bantu Education and vernacular tuition.

Southern Transvaal was congratulated on making the greatest strides in organising conferences on the need for a new National Convention. Those who took part in the debate proved that they were fully conversant with constitutional problems.

Members will be glad to hear that they no longer need to rack their brains for a design for a goodwill badge. In the words of Mrs. Mary Stoy "the Sash already has a goodwill badge of its own." Other projects which were dropped were slogans and theme songs and investigations into the electoral laws.

The membership subscription has been raised to two rand per annum, which will include the magazine.

Difficult Husbands

Natal Midlands feared that Sash activities were becoming so diffuse that the energy and identity of the Sash might be lost, but, after hearing the impressive regional reports, it was evident that the very nature of our work, and the diversity of activities which stems from the wide field covered by Sash aims, makes it difficult to confine those activities. This region, however, has found a sure way of dealing with difficult husbands. "Ask Mrs. Stott to stay with you," was the advice of Mrs. Betty Lund.

Compulsory reading for difficult husbands is the excellent booklet produced by Mrs. Wendy Jackson of Border Region, "The Sash and You", which gives the reasons why women should join the Sash.

No Sash conference is complete without drama. This year there were a few. One concerned the S.A.B.C. when a representative suddenly arrived on the scene with a request to broadcast proceedings at conference. Mrs. Stott replied that she was flattered. Some delegates mistook her mild sarcasm, and heated remarks were made from the floor. Finally the S.A.B.C. reporter was asked to leave. "When there is a free Radio



Mrs. Dora Hill (left) and Mrs. Nettie Davidoff, both of Johannesburg, are the new vice-presidents of the Black Sash.

South Africa you will be welcome," said Mrs. Stott. The representative accepted our invitation to tea, however, and it is to his credit that he remained amiable throughout the proceedings.

The Press took opposing sides about this matter. The *Transvaler* accused us of discrimination, the *Rand Daily Mail* congratulated us; the *Cape Times* rebuked us. Sashers may draw their own conclusions by reading the report which appears in this issue of the magazine. Whether the Sash was right or wrong in dismissing the S.A.B.C. reporter, the fact remains that it was a spontaneous expression of anger that the S.A.B.C., or Radio South Africa, is being turned into a Nationalist propaganda machine.

Probably few remember the prophetic book "When Smuts Goes" by Keppel-Jones. In it we were shown that one of the last rungs the Nationalist government would have to climb in its ascent, or perhaps one should say descent, into totalitarianism, would be control over the national broadcasting system. Is there any doubt that this stage has already been reached?

To many the most gratifying experience of conference was the ability of delegates to argue objectively, and to respect the other point of view, despite frayed nerves, differences of temperament and end-of-the-year fatigue. If, for some, there must be compromise or defeat, neither the affection in which we hold each other, nor the unity of the Sash, has been impaired.

"When newspapers print inaccurate reports, or misrepresent a case, the public is given the opportunity to correct the position in the same newspaper. The S.A.B.C., as far as we can see, does not allow talks which correct misrepresentations or damaging omissions.

"The facts of our case are these: that as the S.A.B.C. had decided recently to stop using reports from the United Nations available through independent ordinary news channels and had instead decided to use only reports emanating from Mr. Eric Louw, we drew an ironical parallel by adopting the following resolution:

That a similar procedure be adopted at this conference as Radio South Africa adopts in giving the U.N. reports, and that the chairman of this conference be appointed our news representative.

"We regarded the request of the S.A.B.C. to attend our 6th national conference as an opportunity to show our disapproval of being deprived of the independent broadcasting services which we consider we are entitled to expect from Radio S.A.

"We wish to make it clear that representatives from the local Nationalist and Opposition newspapers attended the opening of the conference at our invitation and that no attempt was made to question or to influence their reports.

"Any other newspaper reporter attending would have been similarly welcomed.

"The Black Sash, far from banning representatives of groups who are diametrically opposed to it, has gone to great pains over the years to persuade them not only to attend our conferences, but also to participate in our brains trusts and Press parties and to report on our activities."

The English Press

In the *Daily Dispatch*, which splashed the headline **BLACK SASH BARS THE S.A.B.C.** on its front page, a letter appeared from G. K. van Brackhuizen alleging that "slanting and distorting news items" was the policy of all the English language newspapers in South Africa. The letter continued:

"The Black Sash allege that there is no representative Opposition in the Republic of South Africa. This is rather a bold statement. What has the Black Sash to offer? The official Opposition at least opens its door at their national conferences and everyone is welcome to listen and

accept or reject its future policy. What does the Black Sash do? They go into closed sessions and no members of the public are allowed. Are they ashamed of their policy or do they want to hide their message from the public?

"They advocate treating their non-white neighbours as themselves. What have they done for them? Yes, they have helped political agitators to find bail, etc. — but what guarantee have they that these same agitators will not slit their throats together with others at some time in the future? The Black Sash say mete out better treatment to the non-Whites — but they must practise what they preach. I defy any of the delegates to prove that they pay their domestic servants a living



Mrs. Mary Stoy collecting signatures for the Black Sash petition. On the first day of the campaign in Cape Town, a Sash member was questioned by the police.

SASH vs. RADIO S.A.—Continued

wage. They only receive a mere pittance in comparison to what their husbands earn.

"I say NO to the Black Sash. Give us a more popular message, one which has or embraces a more clear-cut policy, not that of continual besmirchment of Government policies when no alternative solution is forthcoming.

"My hat off to the one-third of the delegates who deemed it fit to allow the S.A.B.C. representative in their midst. They felt that they had nothing to hide or be ashamed of."

Mrs. Daphne Curry, Regional chairman, replied to this letter and advised the writer to replace his hat.

"The one-third to whom he took off his hat voted as they did on the grounds that any news, albeit distorted, which advertises the Black Sash, is better than no news, leading to the assumption that the Sash is dead. The Black Sash is not dead. The Sash is alive and its aim is to ensure

that there is a sufficient number of Whites and non-Whites with mutual respect and trust to work out a policy guaranteeing basic rights and liberties to all."

Further publicity for the Black Sash protest against the use of the S.A.B.C. as a propaganda instrument was given by the *Sunday Times* and other newspapers when Mrs. Jean Sinclair, National President, announced that the Sash would organise a nation-wide petition, if possible in co-operation with other bodies.

It was subsequently reported in several newspapers that the Sash had been refused permission from Port Elizabeth businessmen in Main Street to put petition tables outside their shops. The reports quoted Mrs. Alison Pirie, chairman of Cape Eastern Region, as saying: "I think they are afraid their business interests might suffer. We have reached a sorry state of affairs in this country when fear seems to have become the over-riding factor in people's lives."

Press Statement from the Sash Conference :

CONSIDERATION of the past year's work, and plans for the future, revealed the Black Sash's continued efforts to improve race relations through public and informal meetings of all races.

The first category included brains trusts, lectures, films and multi-racial forums. The second category comprised more informal contacts. Regions reported holding regular discussion groups, the subjects ranging from civics, education, race relations, to those of particular interest to women. These were juvenile delinquency, teenage problems, and low wages, together with the ever-spiralling cost of living.

In addition, the Black Sash continued trying to assist the victims of unjust laws by providing bail for Pass-Law offenders, and advice on the multiplicity of problems resulting from apartheid laws.

The bridges thus established are considered invaluable for future race relations in South Africa.

The conference further decided that the Black Sash, in its efforts to work for justice for all South Africans, categorically rejects discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed. It will work to change the attitudes of mind which are governed by prejudice and fear.

The Black Sash is, and always has been, a body of women voters pledged to fight against wrongs brought about by voters, and having as its driving force a sense of personal responsibility.

If it were considered that the aims of the movement would be better served by changing the whole character of the Black Sash through opening the membership to men and non-voters, it would not hesitate to do so.

As non-white political organisations know, the Black Sash, as in the past, is always willing to co-operate on matters of common interest on a basis of complete equality.

The policy of the S.A.B.C., from its inception, was to provide entertainment and objective news and comment. Broadcasting is recognised as the most powerful publicity agent in the country. The Black Sash condemns the change in policy which has converted Radio South Africa into an instrument for Government propaganda. This gradual and insidious change is now so blatant that the time has come for the public forcefully to express its disapproval.

Delegates appreciate that there are difficult years ahead, but are determined to continue by all constitutional means their fight against the Verwoerd Government.



FEAR and FREEDOM

By JOAN O'CALLAGHAN, M.A.(Psy.), M.A.O.T.(Eng.)

Member of the International Association of Analytical Psychologists



WE hear a great deal about freedom these days, especially the loss of freedom. Freedom in education, freedom of the press, freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech—all are being curtailed. Even freedom of thought seems to be in jeopardy, with the increasing difficulty of obtaining unbiased material and the increase of indoctrination through the insidious use of juxtaposition and emphasis.

We used to wonder how it was that Germany gave up its democratic freedom to Hitler's dictatorship, and we found reasons in "the Prussian temperament" and the hardships following the first world war. But, though some South African voters may have a similar temperament, few can be said to suffer hardship. The fact is that the Hitler regime was no more than the most acute and spectacular outbreak of a disease that is spreading over the world.

Fear of Effort

How is this widespread curtailment of personal liberties possible in a world that purports to hold personal liberty among the highest values? Are there universal causes that have a bearing on the situation in South Africa and on the increasing number of votes in favour of a government that is fast becoming a dictatorship?

The truth is that while consciously we love freedom and all it stands for, unconsciously we fear it. We fear it because we fear effort and we fear isolation, and these fears are closely interlinked.

Without doubt, in this age, life has become more exhausting than ever before without neces-

sarily being more productive. One is constantly bombarded with sights, sounds and situations that produce a nervous, though usually unconscious, response, the effect of which is not realised unless one is released from some or other of the causes for a while. There is an almost uncanny sense of rest, for example, in staying a week or so in Venice—a town with absolutely no wheeled traffic.

There are, of course, many other sources of strain in modern life besides the constant semi-conscious ones of excessive sensory bombardment. The result is that an inner weariness and resignation has become a characteristic of the age.

Capacity for Liberty

The liberty of the nation is founded on the capacity for liberty of the individual. To maintain this capacity needs constant vigilance and constant effort.

The right to express our thoughts means something only if we are able to have thoughts of our own. This is difficult. Facts are poured out on us from the cradle to the grave in an unending torrent. These are arranged, as often as not, in ready-made thought and behaviour patterns, and labelled good or bad. We learn to think, feel and will what we are supposed to think, feel and will, whether by the family, the cultural group or the nation. We thus come to regard large assemblies of ideas as indivisible, unalterable units, to be accepted or rejected, often with little or no awareness of the components that form these units. Of such are "Democracy," "Nationalism," "Black Africa," and "The South African way of life."

Individual thinking is further hampered and befogged by our cultural habit of labelling serious issues "problems," as if they had one "correct" answer like a sum or a crossword puzzle, and of implying that these "problems"

FEAR AND FREEDOM—Continued

are too difficult for the individual to grasp. On the contrary, many of the basic issues of individual and social life are very simple and concerned with elementary principles that nearly all can understand.

There is no need to point out how this lazy, effortless way of thinking in large, predigested dollops limits freedom. But there is a more compelling reason than laziness to make us cling to it.

Fear of Isolation

We are all of us torn between love of the familiar and of the unfamiliar, between security and adventure, dependence and independence, conformity and individuality. Only with difficulty do we achieve a stable balance between them. When life seems especially insecure and hazardous we cling more closely to the stable elements in it. When these are few, we tend to build illusory ones. When life is humdrum we seek change and adventure, even the illusory adventure of horror films and space fiction.

The average life today is both humdrum and insecure. Modern society has freed itself from all the bonds that once gave both meaning and security to life. Nobody now "knows his place" because he has no place to know. He is individually free (if he is white) to climb the heights or slide into the depths. No guilds, no rôles, no class distinction hold him up or keep him down. If he wants to know how to behave in a given social circumstance he must learn individually by observation, trial and error. No book of etiquette will tell him, yet if he does not conform to the non-conformity of the particular group, he will be classed an upstart, a "square" or "not one of the boys."

The need to belong is basic, and rejection by one's fellows the supreme disaster. Only when one's membership of an adequate group is secure can one afford to be individual and even eccentric. But now when belonging, in almost every sphere, depends largely on conformity—and conformity to shifting norms—it takes great courage to assert one's freedom to be different.

The organic growth of personality is possible only on the condition of supreme respect for the peculiarities of others, whereas our age has come

to be shot through with "us and them" situations, the essence of which is either contempt or patronage. By this means the individual is made powerless and insecure as never before, and seeks to redress the balance by identifying himself with a well established and powerful group.

From this group he will accept his ideas and attitudes, and he will be persuaded to leave it only when he feels the group itself to be on the verge of insecurity and powerlessness. For this reason, in all groups, and especially in political groups, success begets success, and should such a group succeed in identifying itself with some transcendent symbol or concept, its magnetic power is almost irresistible.

For example, when opposition to Hitler's government was weakened and finally abolished Hitler became identified with "Germany," and fighting him implied shutting oneself out from the community of Germans. The average man cannot stand the sense of isolation this entails and it takes considerable mental effort to withstand the psychological effect of being dubbed un-German or un-South African as the case may be.

Eternal Vigilance

Dr. Verwoerd is a psychologist. He is fully aware of the deep human fear of rejection by the group, and of the blanket effect on thought that group identification brings. He knows, too, that to deride the thought patterns and remove the symbols and identification marks of opposing groups will undermine their power and reduce their value as a refuge against personal insecurity.

It is up to us to make our beliefs our own through knowledge and independent judgment and to have the courage of our convictions, however personal. Not only within the nation, but within each individual "the price of freedom is eternal vigilance."

The greatest glory of freeborn people is to transmit that freedom to their children.—William Havard.

Ex-Chief Lutuli

By OWEN WILLIAMS

JUST before he became president-general of the now-banned African National Congress in 1952, Albert John Lutuli answered an ultimatum from the Government to resign from Congress or be dismissed from his chieftainship in these words:

"Who will deny that 30 years of my life have been spent knocking in vain — patiently, moderately and modestly, at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation?"

"The past 30 years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all. It is with this background and a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress, I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner."

In these words "Chief," as he is affectionately known to his followers, explained why he had to lead an organisation which at that time was dedicated to open, but passive, defiance of the law.

Passive Resistance

When he was dismissed from his chieftainship Mr. Lutuli issued another statement that was remarkable for its clarity and courage.

"With a full sense of responsibility and a clear conviction I have decided to remain in the struggle for extending democratic rights and responsibilities to all members of the South African community," he said. "I have embraced the non-violent passive resistance technique in fighting for freedom because I am convinced it is the only non-revolutionary, legitimate and humane way that could be used by people denied, as we are, effective and constitutional means to further our aspirations. The wisdom or foolishness of this decision I place in the hands of the Almighty."



Mr. and Mrs. Albert Lutuli

—Courtesy Natal Mercury

"What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death. I only pray . . . that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true union, in form and spirit, of all the communities in the land."

Mr. Lutuli did not imagine that the future held a Nobel Peace Prize in store for him. But some of the hardships he foresaw did come to him. He was arrested in December, 1956, on a charge of high treason and confined for a short time in the Johannesburg Fort. In 1960 he burnt his pass and was imprisoned under the emergency regulations.

When, nearly a year later, on the instructions of the Attorney-General, he was released, he said: "It is with mixed feelings that I received the news of my release; the truth is that I would be happier to see the whole thing through with my comrades."

At 63, Albert John Lutuli is a comparatively elderly man. He is said to suffer from dangerously high blood pressure. Of middle height, with

LUTULI—Continued

grizzled hair, he is earnest, dignified, eloquent and possesses great personal charm.

His ban expired in 1959. For a short time before it was reimposed, he made a great impact on many white people when he addressed public meetings in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Many who went through curiosity to see this strange creature, a man who by his position was the leading "black agitator" in South Africa, were won over by his manifest sincerity and clear reasoning.

White audiences were impressed by his insistence on the rights of the white man, his unflinching pleas for justice for *all* racial groups, and his subsequent opposition to the more radical Pan-African Congress.

A Signal Honour

THE Black Sash National Conference congratulated ex-Chief Lutuli on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize—"a signal honour given for the first time to a South African." The statement issued said:

"We are delighted that the Government have granted him a passport to receive the award in person. However, we deprecate the belittling remarks made by Radio South Africa and by the Hon. Mr. De Klerk in announcing the Government's decision; remarks not only about Mr. Lutuli, but also about those who made the award.

"The Black Sash remembers with gratitude his efforts through the years to find a solution to our problems by non-violent methods and through co-operation between the races. He is truly a man of peace."

In a letter to the *Cape Argus* applauding the award to Mr. Lutuli, Mrs. E. Stott said:

"We are constantly aware of how tragic it is that his banning largely prevents his own people benefiting from his wise and moderate leadership and makes it impossible for White South Africans to know him and understand the reasonableness of his cause."

A brief sketch of his life, spent in patient obscurity until 1952, reveals his uncompromising character.

He was educated in the mission station in the Groutville reserve, governed by Christian tradition and the hierarchical Zulu society. He went from the mission school to Adams College, the American mission high school, where he remained to teach, his particular interest being Zulu history and literature. In this period he worked for the advancement of the African teacher.

While at Adams College he was approached by the elders of his tribe to become their chief. It took him two years to decide to leave the larger and financially more remunerative life of the teacher to revert to the hierarchy, the squabbles and the difficulties which would be implicit in the chieftainship.

Eventually he decided that his duty lay in accepting the chieftainship, and for 17 years he was absorbed in the parochial affairs of Groutville. During this period he became the adviser and right-hand man of the Zulu Paramount Chief, Mshiyeni.

The Cape African vote disappeared in 1935. In 1946, with reservations, Mr. Lutuli joined the Natives' Representative Council. Shortly afterwards he left, being in agreement with the view of Prof. Z. K. Matthews that it was simply a "toy telephone." In the same year he joined the African National Congress.

He visited India as a delegate to the World Council of Churches, and the United States, where he travelled through the country as guest lecturer of the American Mission Board.

In 1952, determined that its action should be non-violent, he supported the defiance campaign. In that same year, defying the ultimatum from the Government, he was dismissed from his post as Chief.

Those were the series of events that have led a man who now describes himself as a peasant farmer to the Great Hall of the University of Oslo, from his place of banishment and the Johannesburg Gaol to the royal banquet of King Olav of Norway.

Mankind which is always in rebellion against the prophets, nevertheless ends by applauding them heartily.—George N. Shuster.

Why we are calling for A NATIONAL CONVENTION

Memorandum by Southern Transvaal Region tabled at the 1961 Black Sash National Conference.

IN all forms of democracy, though there may be variation in franchise systems, there is one basic principle. This principle is that there shall be peaceful means, through the ballot box and regular elections, of changing the government as soon as the majority of the people who have to obey that government are dissatisfied enough to want a change.

Between elections there must be freedom of speech, of press, and of association, to discuss, plan and persuade in order to bring about that change.

South African Constitution, 1910

Our Constitution, accepted by the National Convention of 1910, has been called democratic as far as Whites are concerned, because there was fairly widely-based representation of Whites, although no universal adult franchise (women had no vote), and there were some franchise qualifications for men until 1931. As far as the whole population was concerned, however, it was not a democracy at all, since only one small section of the population was adequately enfranchised.

Paternalistic and colonialist attitudes were, however, fairly generally accepted at the time, and due to the lack of industrial and political development of most of our non-white peoples at that time, the constitution worked comparatively peacefully. There has, however, always been dissatisfaction, although not very loudly voiced, among the people who had to obey laws in whose making they had no effective say.

The flexibility of our constitution meant that if the voters had wanted it, there was ample opportunity for South Africa to have developed into a real democracy. Laws could have been passed to widen the voting rights to include all South Africans, as was done in 1930 to enfran-

chise white women. (Unfortunately, the reason behind that generosity was to lessen the value of the Coloured vote, which remained for men only.)

The liberal Cape Colony had hoped that its policy of granting representation to Africans and Coloureds would spread to the north. Instead, the supporters of white supremacy systematically diminished the say of non-Whites in Government, even to the extent of wrenching the constitution completely out of its intended shape in order to force the Coloured voters off the common roll.

That, of course, was where the Black Sash came in, full of indignation at the trickery, which had ignored the intention of the entrenched clauses and found a legal loophole to make our constitution even less representative of our people. We still hoped then that if we respected this machinery of government ("eerbiedig" is a good word), it could be made to serve our aim to produce "good government."

No Safeguards

Why now this *complete change* in our policy, which says "Justice demands a National Convention" with the object of drawing up a new constitution? The reason is our realisation that while there was opportunity for improving our democracy, there were no safeguards against the greed of the ruling group. The policy of white supremacy of our leaders, and the selfish complacency of the white voters, has fossilised our government until it is useless in a modern, industrial state in a world that no longer tolerates paternalism and colonialism. The real value of the democratic process, namely, the opportunity it provides for peaceful change through the ballot box, thus ensuring the consent of the governed, does not function in our present political set-up.

(Continued overleaf)

NATIONAL CONVENTION—Continued

We abused the flexibility of a constitution under which our country could have developed with changing times, and we moved *backwards* towards government by force and *away* from government by representation and agreement.

The most restrictive and oppressive laws which are passed by our rulers do *not* affect the people who have the vote; in fact, they are designed to keep the voters in a favoured position of privilege, earned by virtue of having a white skin. The official opposition, being white, has therefore no real incentive to get rid of a government which tries to entrench white supremacy.

What then can the dissatisfied non-white South Africans do, the vast majority of South Africans, to bring about change? Effective political organisation, strikes, passive resistance, protest demonstrations, offering themselves for arrest, burning passbooks, all these things are made illegal and are put down by force. This causes race hatred, leads to bloodshed, disrupts normal life, and destroys confidence in our economic future. Only at the end of this miserable and wasteful process is the white voter affected, and only then does he begin to think about the disadvantages of government policy because it affects his pocket.

This stupidly indirect method of having to show up an inadequate government by violence, strikes and so on, and by economic collapse,

must be changed, and the machinery of an efficient parliamentary democracy must be installed.

But the only big opposition party, the United Party, has made absolutely no promises that, if it should get into power, it will widen the franchise sufficiently to give our non-white South Africans an effective say in government. Nor has the United Party much hope of success, since the rules of a free election are already being ignored by the Government, as the S.A.B.C. and the education system are being used unscrupulously to instil Nationalist attitudes into white voters.

Is there then any good reason for throwing all one's energies into an election* which offers no hope for future peaceful change, whichever way the result goes?

The small political parties which do advocate real increase in suffrage can and will use the election to get across their policies to a very small group of voters, persuading them that it is far-sighted and enlightened self-interest to establish a real democracy, as well as being right and just.

There is, however, *no time* for this slow process of education to bear fruit, because, on the one

* This memorandum was compiled prior to the recent general election.

A Demand that will become Irresistible

WE are dealing here with a demand so basically simple, so eminently reasonable and so obviously essential that it must in time become irresistible . . . Unless we are to erupt in violence and to end in chaos, this is clearly an essential demand in the present crisis in which we find ourselves . . . Our demand is that people should come together and talk and agree to draw up a new democratic constitution. When they do so, it must be at talks representative of the whole nation, and their decisions must be binding on the whole nation. We come with no prior demands about what should be embodied in the new Constitution, though most of us know what we want; all we ask is that we hammer out

by common agreement, a solution to the problems which confront us all.

The demand for a convention must become a powerful force backed by the overwhelming majority of our nation. There is a further advantage: what we are presenting is an idea, and ideas are indestructible. They are impervious to bans. And although Dr. Verwoerd must in time try to ban this idea, as he has banned people and organisations, he is wasting his time. The idea will endure, will persist and will grow into a mighty force.

—Mr. Dennis Brutus, in an address to the Cape Provincial Consultative Conference organised by the S.A. Convention Movement, 14th October, 1961.



WHAT'S THE USE OF TRYING?

By EVELYN WEST

"Aikona! Is not anti - Semitism. Is new kind of job reservation — who can vote for who in Houghton."

A PERENNIAL question comes up at the Cape Western All Branches meeting, and possibly in other regions. "The members of my branch want to know what the Sash is doing. They like taking part in stands and demonstrations, but they feel that a great deal of the Sash's work could be done by other organisations."

The answer to this question, and to another like it: "We're not getting anywhere — what's the use of trying?" should be apparent to any Sasher who reads her magazine, or attends her branch meeting, even if she cannot be present at the corporate monthly meeting and work her way, with the regional committee, through an agenda that ranges from A to Z with sub-sections to several of the items.

Members fresh from the East London Conference and the scores whose work in the Sash is as much a part of them as their breathing need no reminding of what the Sash is and why it should continue its work, but the following points may be useful for the discouraged.

Let us look at our aims — it might be an idea to read them at regular intervals at branch meetings:

1. To conduct propaganda, enlist support and aid for the observance of
 - (a) political morality and the principles of Parliamentary democracy within the Republic of South Africa;
 - (b) civil rights and liberties.
2. The political education and enlightenment of citizens of South Africa, and other persons.
3. The doing of all such things and the carrying out of all such activities as may further the objects of the organisation.

This is a wide field which is well covered by the sort of portfolios usually to be found in a regional council — press and propoganda, education, demonstrations, Parliamentary sub-committees, vigilance sub-committees, and so on. Work

hand, the Broederbond is rapidly stifling freedom, and on the other hand, our non-white South Africans are being driven to desperation by enforced apartheid, and our economy is being destroyed.

What can thinking people do for their country to try to avoid catastrophe?

1. Accept that our Constitution does not fit our country.
2. Persuade an overwhelming number of South Africans to make insistent demands on the Government to call a National Convention with sovereign powers, truly representative of all the people, which shall devise and adopt a new constitution to allow for peaceful change through the ballot-box, while safeguarding individual rights.
3. Organise consultation now at all levels between people of all races with this end in view.
4. Form liaison between all bodies pledged to carry on until this goal is reached.
5. Refuse to be depressed or diverted from this work by election results, no matter how disappointing or encouraging, since the election results in a small section of our population are no indication of public opinion on a national scale.
6. Start now to make thorough preparation for this National Convention, so that when the government (the present or the next) does call it, we shall know that people of all races have been thinking deeply about the new constitution, which justice and common sense demand for South Africa.

WHAT'S THE USE—Continued

that might be considered welfare work (bail funds, food and money collected for Africans in locations during the emergency, help for the families of detainees and banished persons) should be seen rather as assistance for the victims of discriminatory legislation and well within the scope of the Sash. But wherever we are required to help in matters of a "welfare" nature, requests are referred to the organisations that exist for such work.

Impressive List

It has been interesting to look through the magazine since the beginning of 1959 (I could not go back to 1956) to see what subjects have been dealt with apart from specific Sash news, statements and commentaries on parliamentary sessions. There have been articles on the constitution of the various political parties, poverty (in several issues), reference books for African women, the fight for the rights of the Coloured community, University apartheid, Group Areas (in several issues dealing with various areas), Cato Manor, Sabra, the Conscience Clause, Prof. L. M. Thompson's plea for a new constitution for South Africa, the pass laws (again and again — and a special issue which, the Press said, alone would have justified our existence), reports on Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Kenya, the Congo and Nigeria, farm labour, conditions in the locations in Wellington (Western Cape) and Kirkwood and Bontrug (Port Elizabeth), Christian National Education, and later the special education issue, the Archbishop's Conference leading to the Union Day march of the ten thousand, the function of a Provincial Council, the Sash in the magistrates' courts, the rights of a citizen, the essence of the Commonwealth, the franchise, qualified or for all, censorship and press control, the new education bill, African leaders, library apartheid, housing for Africans, race prejudice, the Coloured Convention at Malmesbury, the Censorship Bill . . .

We may add to this impressive list the brains trusts, the tours, the sorties into Nationalist strongholds, the tape recordings, the public lectures, the petitions, the work with organizations on other fronts, and the gradual building of a trained body of women and of a corporate strength among us.

In her article "A Year of Decline" September 1961) Mrs. Muriel Fisher asked if we could sink further than a list of horrors ranging from the denying of elementary human rights to millions on the ground of colour alone to the deporting of a bishop. We *have* sunk lower. The Prime Minister has stated that by the South African nation he means the *white* population; Lutuli's Nobel award has been stigmatised as a political trick on the part of the *uitlanders*; and attention, in an appallingly familiar pattern, is being given to the way the Jewish community votes in South Africa.

If we choose to remain in this country, we have a clear duty to face the hard grind of constant vigilance against being conditioned; we have to question, to protest, publicly and privately, again and again.

At present we live in uneasy peace. Let us systematically destroy prejudice and meet across the colour bar, traditional or imposed, on every possible occasion in order to make our multi-racial society, which is a reality, something to

Reply Positive

A BLACK SASH member, on being accused by an antagonist of absorbing all her ideas from the English Press, replied: "Not at all! I get my ideas from Jesus Christ."

be rejoiced in or, on the lowest level, accepted. By doing this we shall be building values, which, once they become a part of us, are not vulnerable to assault.

Two years ago the *Cape Argus*, in a leading article, said: "Because it is founded on moral assertion, [the Black Sash] has moved to the positive creation of values. It does not seek political office or strive for power, although every member may have strong personal views and political party affiliations. It stands as a continuing assertion that that which is morally wrong cannot in the end be politically right. From this fundamental principle flows the type of constructive activity, mainly on behalf of the voteless and under-privileged, in which the organisation is now so busily and fruitfully engaged."

Fruitful or not, this is our work — and our privilege.

What it Means to be Banished

SOUTH AFRICA'S SIBERIANS

By **FIELDWORKER**

THE word "ban" has crept into the everyday language of South Africa. It is a sign of the times in which we live. But how many of us really understand what is meant by *banishment*? How many of us know that the State President may order any African to leave his domicile and be removed to another place until he is once again permitted to leave?

It is far-reaching, this power to uproot a man from his family, from his house and his friends, to take him thousands of miles away to an unknown destination. There are no preliminaries, no warning; the police appear with an order, a piece of paper which changes one's whole life, and one is just told to go.

If you refuse to go voluntarily, you are clapped into handcuffs and taken just the same. There is no appeal. You can ask questions afterwards, when you eventually find out that you *may* ask why you have been banished. But no one tells you that you can ask. In any case, asking "Why?" is just a bitter farce, for invariably the Minister comes back with the same reply, "It is not in the public interest to disclose all the reasons . . ."

Died in Exile

Only Africans are threatened under this scandalous, vicious Native Administration Act No. 39 of 1927. Indians, Coloureds and Whites are not so threatened—not yet. But it is no mere threat to Africans, for the Act has already been used against 116 people during the past twelve years; more than 40 are still in exile, some have already been in exile for more than eight years; 11 have died in exile; 41 have been released—most of them on "probation" with the threat of rebanishment hanging over their heads. Six are still missing and cannot be traced. The Minister has not disclosed their whereabouts. A few have



Two men in exile: Chief Maci (left) and Chief Miya.

fled this unkind country and are struggling for existence in other lands.

It is true, of course, that there is nothing to prevent the families from visiting their men, except that there is no money even for food and education, let alone for travelling thousands of miles. The Minister talks glibly in Parliament about families being able to go to their men, but in practice it doesn't happen. Anxious wives have been told that they must be prepared to remain permanently with their exiled husbands if they are to be taken to them. It appears to be a one-way ticket.

This weapon of banishment is cruel, unjust. There is no semblance of a trial or any possibility of defence. One and all, the banished men say today, "What did I do to be banished? Why did I have no trial if I did something wrong?" The answer is clear. The banished were not brought to trial—*because the Authorities could prove no case against these men.*

From time to time the shocking, desolate plight of the men in the camps at Frenchdale or Driefontein is brought to the public notice, through the Press. Heads are shaken and some individuals are stirred by shame and pity and

SOUTH AFRICA'S SIBERIANS—Continued

offer personal help. Then the ripple on the sea of apathy dies away and all is still again. The banished are again forgotten by all save a few.

Little is known of some of the other exiles who are not herded in camps, but scattered far and wide in the remotest parts of our land, in the tip of the Northern Transvaal, in the furthest corner of Zululand. With wicked ingenuity, the Zulu is flung into a Sesuto-speaking area; the man from Zeerust will be sent to King William's Town, or to Gollel, so that even the language is strange and must be learnt. Employment is offered; as a labourer one may earn from R6 to R10 a month—top wage after several years! But sometimes there isn't employment for weeks, months, and then there may or may not be "allowances" which are one Rand in cash and rations, supposed to represent R3 worth of food. Study of rations provided invites the comment that prices in the country must be *very* high, if this is all that can be had for R3! However, reports show that usually the banished people do not even get these allowances when they are unemployed. They exist for weeks on end on the kindness of those amongst whom they have been dumped.

Despair and Desolation

The stories of the banished men are tragic tales of despair and desolation, yet infused with an unbelievable dignity and courage. Whoever has managed to see the banished people comes back with the same comment on their amazing endurance. But some of these stories are only now becoming known, as facts emerge from visits and letters. Nor are visits easy, for these men are not free; they are under strict surveillance, though perhaps not actually guarded, and there is also always the danger of victimisation. Visits from friends are frequently followed by visits from detectives. With an indefinite period of banishment, who knows whether it may not be prolonged?

Perhaps the most shameful story of all is that of the Matlala Reserve. Eight years ago, 20 men and three women were banished from Matlala Reserve; five have already died in exile. Little is known of how they died, but reports of their condition suggest that they probably died of



"When we get White liquor, will we be allowed to say 'Cheers', or do you think Maree will insist on 'Sakabona' or something?"

poverty and neglect. Only two of the 23 ever returned to Matlala—both to die within a month. The remaining 18 are scattered all over this land; some are struggling in destitution in Zululand, where two have already died, others are working on Trust farms in the Transkei, or in the Northern Transvaal. One is already an old age pensioner. Oh, yes, he gets his pension now, all of R4.75 every *two* months! And he gets nothing else, except what friends send him. Yet this man fought in East Africa in the 1914-18 War. "I saw Mount Kilimanjaro," he says. Today he is a very old and sick man, but he is still not allowed to go home.

And what of the families of the banished? They are destitute. Sometimes they are not even allowed to plough, and the new Bantu Authorities chiefs have been known to take their land away, burn down or confiscate their huts. Children grow up without education, because there is no money for school fees or clothes. When the families are not allowed to plough they must live on the charity of friends and relations. Stark poverty is their lot, with little hope of future improvement. Even when the banished—some of them—are eventually allowed to go home,

they find ruin and destitution, and must start again — with nothing. And all for no crime, for if crime there were they would have been tried by the Courts.

Three men have been banished from Sekhukhuniland. One was banished for three years, then graciously allowed to return home — only to be banished again, for no given reason, back to the very place where he had already lived out three lonely, unhappy years. What sort of refined torture is this, to return a man to his family after three years and take him away again, back to the horror of banishment? Yet there is worse even than this. The other two men were convicted in the Sekhukhuniland land trials a few years ago and served their sentences. *But, on leaving the gaol they were served with banishment orders, and taken straight from the gaol to a remote part of Zululand, without being allowed to go home to see their families.*

They Want to go Home

The Minister says that the banished people are not held in prison conditions. They are not prisoners, says he. But when one of these banished Sekhukhuni men was visited recently, friends were not allowed to speak to him in his own language without every word being translated into Zulu for the benefit of the three Zulu policemen who remained throughout the visit.

Sometimes these banished men live in exquisitely beautiful surroundings, among waterfalls, mountain streams, luxuriant bush country, or maybe beside the blue Indian ocean. But the greenest of willow trees, the loveliness of the low veld cannot ease the ache in the heart of a man for his home and children. "I want to see my children," they write sadly. "I want to go home."

Many readers of this article may feel that they would like to do something practical about the tragic situation disclosed. Further information may be obtained from The Secretary, Human Rights Welfare Committee, P.O. Box 10876, Johannesburg and P.O. Box 59, Claremont, Cape Town.

GOODWILL BRIDGES

Lady Packer opens Fête

LADY JOY PACKER, opening the Cape Western region of the Black Sash annual fete on 4th November, described the Sash as a continual irritant to the conscience of our over-privileged society.

"Repressive laws that might have slipped by as far as we were concerned were brought to our notice with all their ugly implications."

While Dr. Verwoerd was raising his granite wall higher every day, the Sash was doing the opposite by building "goodwill bridges" between the races.

"I would go so far as to say that one day, when the storm breaks, the rest of us may depend on those bridges for our survival."

The Sash had also shown itself eager to create greater understanding and harmony between English- and Afrikaans-speaking people.

It was also pressing for a government-sponsored multi-racial national congress at which leaders of all groups could put forward their points of view towards a solution to our problems.

Lady Packer said "legalized apartheid" was the ugly feather in the peacock's tail.

Degrading Distinctions

Foreigners to Cape Town were instantly struck by the degrading distinction of one entrance for Whites and one for non-Whites. How could anyone explain this away as being essential to separate development?

It must seem to the foreigner that the South African believes that if he joins the same queue, and sits next to a non-White in the bus, tram or taxi, he is risking some sort of infection. Yet at home, our most precious heritage, our children, were left in the care of non-white nannies. There is no reasonable explanation for such inconsistencies. If we, in our turn, were isolated from the rest of the world, it was no more than a richly deserved dose of our own medicine.

Lady Packer pointed out that attention was drawn by the Sash to the "heart-rending" implementation of the Group Areas Act. No man's home was his castle here while those in authority

GOODWILL BRIDGES—Continued

were at their business of separating the races for their own good. This "cruelty in operation" could be seen at Claremont, Cape, and in neighbouring suburbs.

The "absurd and sinful" practice of job reservation was condemned by Lady Packer, who said that the non-White would have to clear out of his own country to make his mark abroad if he wished to soar higher than the authorities saw fit. And then, of course, he would have to obtain a passport!

In conclusion Lady Packer said the Sash was an important moral force, at first a symbol, but later during the emergency an active friend of all in trouble. The Sash showed judgment and tolerance.

"The Sash can only exercise its full moral influence for good when we can say that we trust its judgment. This it is steadily teaching us to do."

Sashers in Action

EAST LONDON LOCATION

ON a tour of the African location at East London, members of the Black Sash learnt much of interest.

A party of members and visitors was conducted by two municipal officials through the location shebeens and shanty area where the first stop was made. The following statistics were given for this area;

- One plot 50 ft. x 50 ft. — 20 to 30 persons;
- One acre — 900 persons;
- One stand pipe tap per 40-60 persons;
- One lavatory pan per 70-120 persons;
- One room per 6-8 persons.

The party was driven through the various municipal housing schemes to the European-type dwellings erected by the more well-to-do Africans. There is much to be said for people who are prepared to erect houses on land that is only leasehold.

The community centre and a school were visited and it was noted that apart from English and Afrikaans lessons, all instruction is in Xhosa. The obvious result of this is the confining of all Africans in S.A. strictly to ethnic grouping. Since this is carried right through the universities, the

The Sikades

RECENTLY Mrs. Curry and Mrs. Grainger from Queenstown visited the Lady Grey Native Reserve to see how Mr. and Mrs. Sikade, the family whose story was told in the March edition of the Black Sash magazine, were getting on. Mr. Sikade had found a job in a road gang, and was earning R12 per month. Mrs. Sikade was finding the change from poverty in the city to near starvation in the reserve very difficult to bear. Pauline's health appeared very much better and she was delighted that Mrs. Curry had remembered her promise to see her again.

groups remain completely isolated and unable to communicate freely with one another.

The excellent swimming bath donated by Rotary was inspected but members were startled to find that children were expected to pay 3d. to swim in it.

An inspection of the library showed a great need for books and the view was expressed that the Sash might make an appeal for books and periodicals to fill the empty shelves.

A house in the Extension was open for inspection and gave a clear indication that the Africans are not addicted to squalor given a chance of decent living conditions! The temporary emergency housing scheme at present under construction was viewed and an inspection made of that part which had been occupied for some two to three months. The improved conditions had raised the standard of cleanliness. While concern was expressed at the cramming of five persons into a one-roomed dwelling, it was clear that they were vastly superior to the tattered "kitchens" of shanty town. The statistics given for this area are:

180 persons per acre; 20 per lavatory pan; 12 per stand pipe tap. These show what a considerable alleviation of living conditions has been achieved by the emergency scheme.

We shall never have more time. We have, and have always had, all the time there is.—Arnold Bennett.

JUDGES and POLITICIANS

By LESLIE BLACKWELL

THE announcement that Mr. Henry Fagan, ex-Chief Justice of the Union, is to receive from the United Party the gift of a Senatorship in Natal, brings into sharp relief the tendency of retired Judges in this country to mingle in, if not actively to return to politics.

Such a thing could not happen in England. In that country, upon the foundation of whose legal system our own was mainly built, and whose traditions we inherit, very few Judges are appointed from the ranks of politicians, and I have never heard of a Judge who, after retirement, has entered political life. A favoured few enter the House of Lords as Law Lords, but even these do not take part in party politics. Up to quite recently there was no retiring age for English Judges; now it is 75 for new entrants to the Bench. Those already there can remain as long as they are able to carry out the duties of their office, and some have done so until the late eighties, and even up to 90. One of my most cherished recollections is that of meeting Lord Halsbury at a great dinner in London in 1918. He was then 96, and had, until quite recently, been sitting in big cases in the House of Lords.

Retiring Age

In South Africa the retiring age for Judges is 70, and their pension is, by any standards, a meagre one. This retirement provision has provided a large crop of retired Judges, still active and vigorous, and much disinclined to face the boredom of retirement. Judge Krause of the Transvaal, who lived for twenty years to draw his pension, never actually returned to political life, but he took a prominent part in many aspects of public life, specialising in Prison Reform. Judge Feetham of Natal, now in his eighties, was a leader in the campaign against the Nationalist Government's plans — alas ultimately successful — to circumvent the Union Constitution in order to remove the Coloured voters at the Cape from the common roll; in that campaign he was vigorously seconded by ex-Chief Justice Centlivres.

Centlivres was never a party politician, but since his retirement from the Chief Justiceship, he has shown himself to be an outstanding leader of liberal thought and an outspoken critic of the present Government's policies in regard to non-European South Africa. A generation earlier two other retired Appeal Court Judges, Sir James Rose-Innes and Sir William Solomon, were prominent in pointing out the dangers of the policy behind the Hertzog Native Bills. How right they both were!

Henry Fagan

Henry Fagan has had an interesting history. He was always, in my political days, considered as a pattern of orthodoxy, both in the Nationalist Party and as an elder of the Dutch Reformed Church. Hertzog made him Minister of Native Affairs in the Fusion Ministry in 1938. When the split came over the war issue in 1939, Fagan followed Hertzog into the political wilderness, as loyalty to his leader bound him to do. In 1943 the Smuts Government raised him to the Cape Bench, and in 1946 the same Government appointed him to the Chairmanship of a Commission on Native Laws.

That Commission created something of a sensation by declaring roundly that any idea of sending our Native urban population, or even a large part of it, back to the Reserves was impractical. That report still today provides part of the answer to the policy of Bantustan.

Fagan's progress on the Bench was rapid. He reached the Court of Appeal in 1950, became Chief Justice in 1957, and retired two years ago at the age of 70.

Soon after retirement he showed the way his thoughts were turning by writing a small book, "Our Responsibility," which evoked extreme interest for the liberality of its views, coming as they did from an ex-Nationalist leader. This year, when Japie Basson hived off from the Nationalist Party to form his own National Union, he was able to induce Fagan to accept its leadership. As part of a bargain with the United Party for the recently held General

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REPORTS ON A YEAR'S ACTIVITY

DEDICATED members of the Black Sash lost none of their spirit in the protracted struggle against the many aspects of repressive legislation that afflict the non-white citizens of South Africa.

The Black Sash was severely handicapped this year by the plethora of elections which absorbed the energies of members.

The following reports show, however, that the Regions in spite of serious difficulties, made significant headway in the plan of action laid down by the 1960 Black Sash National Conference.

CAPE WESTERN

THE most important work this year has lain in efforts to hold a Multi-Racial Conference and/or a new National Convention truly representative of all the races.

Efforts were continued to focus the attention of the public on the differences between reference books and identity cards and the real hardships caused by the pass law system. The fight against Group Areas was intensified owing to the fact that large areas were proclaimed in the Cape Western area during the year, and proposals regarding others have been published.

National Convention

Members assisted in organising and supporting the meeting called to protest against the ban on the Coloured Convention Conference held in the Rondebosch Town Hall on Monday, July 10th, 1961, attended by at least 600 people.

When the Coloured leaders decided to form a larger group to assist in bringing about support for the idea of having a new National Convention called by the Government, Mrs. Stott was elected to a Provincial Consultative Conference Committee which met on October 14th.

A Cape Provincial Continuation Committee was elected to pursue the matter, and Mrs. Stott was included as a member.

Group Areas

Four meetings on Group Areas were attended by large audiences. A petition was signed by 800

Somerset West residents asking the Group Areas Board not to move the Coloured residents of the town.

Another meeting was held in Rondebosch to help the people affected by the Black River proclamation. Dr. Van der Ross was the speaker. At a gathering in the home of Mrs. Mary Birt, a petition was launched.

Brains Trust

A brains trust was held in Sea Point on "The Road Ahead."

Pass Laws

A meeting on pass laws at Green Point was very poorly attended in spite of a panel of good speakers.

Advice Office (formerly called Bail Fund Office)

The Athlone Office has been open from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m., Monday, Wednesday and Friday throughout the year. Volunteers to work in this office are urgently needed.

Wellington Branch has done much to assist Africans in the Boland.

Demonstrations

In Cape Western ten demonstrations were held between March and May, one against Group Areas, another against provisions of the General Laws Amendment Bill; there was a token stand with a poster reading "Justice demands a National Convention of all Races"; and seven stands took place in city and country areas enumerating all the legislation opposed by the Sash, starting with a poster "Help to Right these Wrongs."

Tours of Regions

In the Lowveld Region Mrs. Stott spoke at four branch meetings. Cape Eastern was visited in April. During May Mrs. Stott went to Johannesburg where she attended an executive committee meeting and a meeting of all members. She also met representatives of Natal Coastal and Natal Midlands Regions. In July Mrs. Stott did a week's tour of Cape Eastern Region and held meetings at Addo, Port Elizabeth, Adelaide, Salem, Grahamstown, Cradock and Graaff-Reinet. She spent a day visiting King William's Town and Peddie and spoke to officials there.

Interviews

Towards the end of 1960 Mrs. Stott and Mrs. Sinclair spent two hours with Mr. de Wet Nel and his adviser, Mr. Smuts, pleading for revision of the Eiselen Line policy and its resultant break-up of African homes. Although this request was refused outright, Mr. Nel said he would arrange for better co-ordination between heads of Bantu Authorities. Later Mrs. Stott saw officials in Cape Town.

Early in 1961 Mrs. Stott and Mrs. Stoy interviewed the Town Clerk regarding the City Council's ban on non-white shows in the Muizenberg Pavilion. They also interviewed Mr. Day, Secretary to the High Commissioner for Rhodesia and Nyasaland, concerning the plight of foreign Africans in South Africa. Later Mrs. Stoy interviewed Sir John Maud, High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, on the same subject.

Mrs. Stott had an interview with the Divisional Council re the plight of Africans living at Grassy Park who were ordered to move from decent brick buildings to plots of sand at Nyanga. Eventually Mrs. Stott obtained financial assistance to build eight homes for those people affected who were allowed to live with their families.

Propaganda

The Region ceased producing its own leaflets and relied on the magazine instead. In addition, newspaper publicity was procured for specific cases of hardship suffered through various apartheid laws. One of the most successful was that of Mr. Sikade (Kleinbooi). This story appeared in the *Cape Argus* magazine section under the title "Endorsed Out." Some twenty Sash statements appeared prominently in the local Press. A journalist made a short newsreel of work in the Bail Fund Office.

Ad Hoc and Other Committees

(a) Archbishop's Conference

Meetings were held throughout the year. A call by the Hon. Mr. Justice Centlivres for a new National Convention was published with names of prominent signatories. The sub-committee on Poverty plans to hold a conference on Poverty early in 1962.

(b) S.E.R.F.

This committee has become a branch of Defence and Aid, which deals with legal aid, bail and assistance for families of those arrested for

political offences. The welfare work of S.E.R.F. was taken over by the Society of Friends.

(c) Defence and Aid

Four Sash members are permanently working as individuals on this committee, which the Sash helped to establish.

(d) Anti-Group Areas

This committee wound up its activities, but the Black Sash will carry on the work.

(e) C.A.T.A.P.A.W.

This committee was dissolved.

(f) Council of Education

Regular meetings of the Council of Education, formed September, 1960, have taken place. A public meeting in the City Hall was organised on February 6th at which Professor McMillan and Professor Bruwer spoke. A memorandum on the Education Bill was sent to the Select Committee by the Council of Education and a separate one by the Black Sash. Petition forms asking the Government to withdraw the Education Bill were circulated to all members and the forms with 6,999 signatures were handed to M.P.s for submission to the Minister of Education.

Library Apartheid

A letter was sent to the Administrator asking for an interview to discuss library apartheid. This was not granted. Petition forms against library apartheid were given to members who returned the forms with 960 signatures.

Langa Courts

Until May 1961 volunteers sat at the Langa courts regularly but after that it was decided that these women could be more usefully employed on case work at the Advice Office, or elsewhere.

Legal Aid for Africans

Through Mr. Dichmont legal aid, *pro amico*, may be obtained for any cases involving removal of human rights, i.e. pass law cases. Defence and Aid has dealt with many such cases. Thanks are recorded to Mr. Dichmont and his panel of lawyers.

SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL

SOUTHERN Transvaal Region's programme for 1961 was a full one, despite the fact that it did not cover all the activities suggested for the year at the national conference.

Lectures, Brains Trusts, etc.

A **Brains Trust** was held in March, with Mr. Philip Birkinshaw as question-master. The subject was "Education—What Should be its Aims?" Efforts to obtain a Nationalist speaker, or even a speaker in favour of Christian National Education, were unsuccessful.

The **Education Conference** held at Witwatersrand University in February was attended by many of our members and tape-recordings of all the speeches will become available. For many months Branches have used the recording of Professor Pistorius' outstanding introductory address, four tapes of which are now in circulation.

Indian Education in the Transvaal was the subject of an interesting talk at the February general meeting by Mrs. A. M. Cachalia, and the Teaching of History in Transvaal Schools was dealt with by Miss Eleanor Hawarden at the June general meeting.

At a multi-racial forum held in April, Mr. G. M. Pitje dealt with the **Pass Laws** and their effects on the African people. The only members of the audience in favour of influx control were two members of the Johannesburg City Council, who were nevertheless obliged to admit that it was morally indefensible.

Mrs. Cachalia spoke on **Group Areas** in August and gave an account of the effects of the Act on Indians; later Mrs. Hill gave a similar address.

The Need for Constitutional Reform

Mr. Donald Molteno's recorded talk has been constantly in demand throughout the year for Branch and "tea-party" meetings.

Contacts

The Multi-Racial Forum was the first major effort of the year to establish contacts between the races, and it was hoped that the talks on "Johannesburg—a Multi-Racial City" would be the first of a series. The tremendous organisation entailed, however, makes it virtually impossible to organise on any scale without the assistance of a wider group.

The Region has, however, been able to continue with the Experiment in Consultation launched last year by Mrs. Morris. With the help of Mrs. Fleischman, and a small sub-committee, Mrs.

Morris has started a series of fortnightly get-togethers with a group of African women.

The last three meetings have been devoted to discussion of municipal affairs. Mrs. Kathleen Mitchell gave an address on "How Our City is Run"; Mr. Patrick Lewis, Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee of the City Council, addressed the last meeting on African housing in the Johannesburg townships.

The meetings are held in an office in the city, for the convenience of the African women. The atmosphere is informal and friendly and the Black Sash women have been delighted with the response from the African women.

Defence and Aid Fund

There is a possibility that this Fund will have to close down its welfare section owing to lack of funds, and the Black Sash women who are doing the work feel that this would be a tragedy. The families receiving aid would be destitute if the assistance, however inadequate, were to cease; at the same time the confidence that has been built up between Whites and non-Whites would be lost.

Federation of S.A. Women's Congress

Three members attended this Congress in August as representatives of the Black Sash. Following a discussion on African housing, alleged evictions for non-payment of rent are being investigated by a special sub-committee of the Region.

Fact-Finding

Several members visited the Municipal Non-European Affairs Department in Johannesburg, and were shown the ramifications of the **Pass Laws and Influx Control**. They were also taken on a bus tour of the South-Western Native Townships.

Two members went to see Mr. O'Brien, a magistrate, to discuss his reported statement that **Identity Cards and Reference Books** were exactly the same, but obtained little satisfaction from the interview. Subsequently, they wrote detailing the differences between the two documents. No reply has been received to the letter.

Most of the investigation into **Group Areas** is being carried out by branches in Rustenburg, Pretoria and Witbank, where Group Area proposals are under consideration. **Rustenburg** obtained signatures to a petition against the removal of the Indians. In **Pretoria** representa-

tives of the Black Sash were invited to give evidence before the Group Areas Board. In **Witbank** members are attending Municipal Council meetings to find out what is proposed in connection with the removal of the Indians.

Two members of North-Western Group have been attending **Fordsburg** Court regularly. During the Alexandra removals visits were paid to **Wynberg** Court by members of the Committee.

An excellent memorandum on **Library Facilities** has been drawn up by Mrs. Emery of Bryanston.

Following a report that large quantities of **milk products** were being exported at a loss, letters were written to the Dairy Control Board, the Secretary for Health, and S.A.N.T.A., asking that these foodstuffs be kept in the country and sold at a loss to our undernourished people in the townships.

After the **Family Life Year Conference** in Pretoria, Miss Anna Marais, who represented the Black Sash, wrote to the Afrikaans Press pointing out the hollowness of the admirable sentiments regarding family life expressed by the all-white delegates, in the light of the disruption caused by the white man's laws in the family life of the Africans.

She also wrote to Dr. Nicol, who had presided at the Conference, and was Chairman of the Continuing Committee, asking what the attitude was to the proposal made in Witbank that Indian children over the age of 16 should obtain permits to reside with their parents.

Demonstrations

The **Protest March** held in March, against South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, was the biggest demonstration of the year. In May, a demonstration calling for a **National Convention** was held on the steps of the City Hall.

The following week a series of stands was held each evening at the peak hour, groups of four to eight women standing at the exits from the city.

Publicity

Since the protest march, there has been much better publicity in the local Press. Reports of activities have appeared from time to time, official letters from the Black Sash have been published in full, satisfactory interviews with the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Star*, and an article on the multi-racial consultations, headed

"Experiment in Multi-Racial Consultations," was asked for and published by the *Star*.

Programme of Action

One of our most important tasks is to work towards a **National Convention**, and a good deal of work has been done in that direction.

The Region started to organise a **Courtesy Campaign** several months ago, through the initiative of Waverley Group, but it is now giving its full support to the much wider campaign which is being launched in Johannesburg at the present time.

NATAL COASTAL

THE Region has had a difficult and discouraging year in many ways, but things are looking brighter in that the members of the disbanded Durban and Highway Branches who attend meetings are finding them interesting and are becoming enthusiastic. Attendance at meetings steadily increases and it is hoped that Durban and Highway may soon start up on their own again. In the meantime, the Pinetown/Westville Branch has formed a Group which is doing the Regional work and holding members together.

Association with Other Organisations

Members regularly attend meetings of the multi-racial **Association of Durban Women**.

Members have also assisted the **Natal Education Vigilance Association**, and recently manned tables for a week in Durban to distribute pamphlets and enrol new members. Unfortunately the drive was not a success owing to the apathy of the general public.

Members are still supporting the **Institute of Race Relations** in efforts to obtain enfranchisement of non-Whites in local government. To date all attempts have been unsuccessful.

Other Activities

A stand with posters was held in protest against the zoning of Cato Manor as a white area.

At an All Branches Meeting in February, 1961, Mrs. O'Callaghan, of the Natal Mildands Region, gave an informative talk on the vocation of the Black Sash.

Towards the end of 1960 the Region sponsored a symposium organised by Mrs. Hill to celebrate

the Centenary of the arrival of the Indians in Natal.

Councillor Higginson addressed a meeting sponsored by **Durban Branch** on "Indian Housing" and showed a film taken by the Durban City Health Department to illustrate his talk.

Many members attended a meeting addressed by Miss Munro arranged under the auspices of N.E.V.A. Here the idea of a petition against the Education Bill, which was already circulating in the Transvaal, was mooted. Sash members played a significant part in organising the petition in Durban, Queensburgh and Westville.

Several members served on the committee for the relief of detainees. When the State of Emergency ended, the Detainees' Fund was closed, but the committee was reconstituted into a local branch of the "Defence and Aid"—a body set up to assist in legal expenses and the care of families in cases involving civil rights and liberties.

Durban Branch wrote many letters to the Press protesting against the tapping of the Durban Municipal telephones, and on various other matters during the year.

Mrs. Herries Baird continues as a one-woman Branch at **Umzinto** but she has no compunction in making other people work, and was responsible for collecting eighteen pages of signatures for the Education Bill Protest Petition.

Pinetown/Westville Branch has been able to help the Region considerably with donations.

Regular monthly meetings were held at which Mrs. Adams, the branch Parliamentary Officer, delivered comprehensive papers on events in South Africa and reactions abroad, leading to lively discussion. The chairman was a delegate to the Natal Convention.

Since deciding to carry on the work of the Natal Coastal Region alone, the Pinetown/Westville Branch has been most active.

A Courtesy Campaign is going ahead in quiet personal efforts. Several members wrote to the newspapers urging the Durban City Council to erect bus shelters for non-Whites in areas where they were most needed. This matter was passed at a Council meeting and it is hoped that shelters will be erected soon. A letter was sent to the Council advocating higher wages for its non-white employees and this, too, was passed.

Members regularly attend meetings of the Durban City Council.

Mrs. F. A. E. Powell, J.P., the original "Prisoners' Friend", who has worked in and around the Durban Magistrates' Courts for 31 years, was invited to speak at the July meeting. Mrs. Powell did not feel that anything would be accomplished by two women sitting in one of the Courts. To give her practical assistance in her valuable work, several members have arranged to drive her when she has to visit the gaol, etc., as she is no longer able to drive herself.

Thirty-six members attended the August meeting to which had been invited members of the Indian Women's Cultural Group. Nine of them came and members had a chance to talk to them during tea. Thereafter Mrs. Mayat spoke on "Comparative Religion," which held the audience enthralled for over an hour. Later the Political Review was read to enable guests to join in the discussion. It was revealing to hear their views on the new Minister of Indian Affairs, and of the new Indian University on Salisbury Island.

Members were told that a certain history book prescribed by the Province and used by the Durban Indian Girls' High School, contained views expressed in words which were offensive and hurtful to the Indian community. The Chairman asked our Indian guests to find out how many of their schools were using this book, and it was decided to ask N.E.V.A. to go into the matter also.

NATAL MIDLANDS

THE Regional Chairman, accompanied by Mrs. O'Callaghan, made a tour of the Region in June. Mrs. O'Callaghan gave talks on "The Role of the Sash" in an attempt to stimulate interest in the branches.

Natal Convention

Natal Midlands was represented at the Convention by Mrs. S. Johnson, Regional Chairman, and six delegates. Pietermaritzburg Branch members manned registration and information tables each day and sold meal tickets. Mrs. Corrigan and Mrs. Strauss were hard-working members of the Convention Organisation Committee.

Lectures and Brains Trusts

In May **Pietermaritzburg Branch** held a Brains Trust on Race Integration. Mr. McQuarrie was question-master and the team consisted of Mrs. Dyer, Mr. Appollos, Mr. Berthoud, Mr. M. G. Naidoo and Mr. Jordan Ngubane.

Howick Branch supported a meeting of parents addressed by Miss Munroe on the Education Advisory Bill, sold 20 copies of *Education for Isolation* and later collected signatures for the petition against this Bill.

Kokstad Group arranged a house meeting to play the tape recording of Prof. McMillan's talk, made at an All Branches meeting towards the end of 1960, on the Education Advisory Council Bill. This resulted in a public meeting addressed by Dr. McConkey on the Education Bill and despite bad weather there was a fair attendance. From this an Education Vigilance Committee was formed.

At the July meeting of the **Matatiele Branch** members listened to the recording of a talk by Mrs. Sylvia Nel on Education. This record has been played to friends as has the record on Human Rights by Prof. Pistorius.

Contacts

Each month a multi-racial tea party is held by the Pietermaritzburg Branch. These take place at the homes of members. On two occasions the party has been invited to the homes of non-Whites. All these events have been happy and successful.

Mrs. O'Callaghan and Miss Friday represented the Pietermaritzburg Branch at a conference held by Durban Indian Ratepayers on the Municipal Franchise.

Youth meetings have been held once every three months by the Pietermaritzburg Branch. A group of young people of all races was taken on one occasion to a Symposium at the University, and given coffee and sandwiches afterwards. The second meeting was held at Mrs. Hey's home, where entertainment was provided.

Fact Finding

Of 2,000 copies of a leaflet on the **Pass Laws**, 400 have been sent to Southern Transvaal Region and the rest will be used in the Region during the coming year.

The Indian Community in Maritzburg organised a successful mass protest and prayer meeting

against **Group Areas**. The Chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Branch, Mrs. O'Callaghan, represented the Sash and was one of the speakers. Members of the Pietermaritzburg Branch attended a City Council meeting at which the Council's attitude to Group Areas was debated. The Branch was represented at the opening session of the Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress held in March, 1961.

Demonstrations

Pietermaritzburg Branch did a ten-hour vigil with posters against Group Areas in March. They also held four stands on four successive days in May, two of which were against the General Laws Amendment Bill. A stand against the Censorship Bill was held in June.

Propaganda

A letter was written to the S.A.B.C. commenting on the onesidedness of a large part of news broadcasts on the English transmission. Several letters by the Chairman of the Pietermaritzburg Branch were published in local newspapers.

The theme of education was chosen for a series of house meetings to culminate in a brains trust. Accordingly, three house meetings were arranged, the first with Mrs. W. A. D. Russell as the speaker on Secondary Education, the second at which Prof. McMillan, head of the Faculty of Education at Natal University, spoke on University Education, and the third at which Mr. Basil Oscroft, ex-Inspector of Bantu Schools, spoke on Bantu Education. These meetings have been highly successful and it is hoped to arrange a Brains Trust early in the new year.

Branch Activities

Individual members of **Ixopo Group** are trying to further Sash aims to "Build bridges across the colour bar" wherever possible and to educate members of the voting public towards greater political awareness.

Kokstad Group report that after the unfortunate bus accident experienced by the troupe of "African Follies" Sash members collected clothes and magazines for those in hospital. They were visited there by Mrs. Phillips.

Pietermaritzburg Branch is represented on the newly-formed Human Rights Committee by Miss Friday and on the Group Areas Resistance Committee and the Action Committee for Freedom of Education by Mrs. O'Callaghan.

The Sash in Pietermaritzburg has gained stature from the work it has done on these various committees. It is particularly noticeable that the Indian Community has a high regard for the work of Sash.

CAPE EASTERN

A TOUR of the Region was undertaken by the National President in July. For a week she addressed two public meetings a day. Mrs. Stott's visit was the highlight of the year and members who heard her were inspired to greater efforts by her splendid example.

Propaganda

The recording of Mrs. Sylvia Nel's lecture on education has been used extensively in town and country branches and has been lent to other organisations. Branches find that these recordings of speeches are most useful and have asked that more be made available.

Activities

Bontrug Survey: At the beginning of the year members of the P.E. and Addo Branches did a survey of living conditions among the African people in the Bontrug location. This survey, together with reports, was sent to the Minister of Bantu Affairs, the Native Commissioner in King William's Town and other officials. This has been fully reported in previous issues of the magazine. Mrs. Stott interviewed a number of officials regarding the conditions in this location.

Multi-Racial Tea-Parties: A most successful venture of the P.E. and Walmer members has been the holding of multi-racial tea-parties. About 30 women of all races attend, giving all the opportunity of discussing various social problems. There are talks at each party on subjects like "Bantu Customs" by Mrs. Jolobe, a member of the African community. Invitations to these tea-parties are much sought after.

Institute of Race Relations: Co-operation has continued on a number of new projects—the next being a conference on wages, early in the new year.

Education Advisory Council Bill Petition: The Eastern Cape Branches all took part in the collection of 2,320 signatures for the petition against the Education Advisory Council Bill.

Press Statements: Statements protesting against the Group Areas, pistol clubs for women, and

the exclusion of Africans from Family Year celebrations, were made to the Press. An article written by Mrs. Levey on "Hardships caused by Pass Laws" was published in the *Evening Post*.

Native Commissioner's Courts: Mrs. Pirie attended a morning session of the Native Commissioner's Court during the period of the mass arrests prior to the Republican celebrations.

S.A. Convention Movement: The first conference of the Eastern Province Region of the S.A. Convention Movement was held in Port Elizabeth in October. A number of Black Sash women attended the Conference and Mrs. Pirie was elected to the Regional Committee.

Newsletter: It was decided at the Regional Conference that, in addition to the usual letters to Branch Chairmen, a monthly newsletter be sent to all members informing them of the activities of the Regional Council and other Regions.

Speakers: Mr. B. B. Ramjee addressed the Regional Conference on the Group Areas Act.

Pass Laws: Mrs. Pirie addressed three Church Women's Organisations on the Pass Laws and the Catholic Women's Association on "Poverty."

BORDER

THIS year Border has had to face a drop in membership, but those who remain are determined supporters and firmly convinced that the work undertaken by the Sash is essential. Some small successes have been achieved, and the Border is hopeful that enthusiasm will spread.

Activities

In East London regularly monthly meetings have been held on various subjects. Guest speakers dealt with the Natal Education Conference, the day-to-day living in the Indian communities, Municipalities and how they work.

A multi-racial discussion evening of an informal nature was held at the home of one of the East London members. This proved so interesting that requests were made for more discussions.

Queenstown Branch invited two African teachers to address the members and fourteen interested non-members. They spoke on Bantu juvenile delinquency and in the course of their talk discussed municipal beer-halls; the lack of schools and crèches; the difficulties in which African teachers worked; the lack of jobs for those who had achieved an education; and the

over-riding question of the terrible poverty of the vast majority of African families. After this meeting the local location superintendent was approached with a view to visiting the night school and location.

Protests

A protest was made to the East London City Council and the Group Areas Board in Port Elizabeth against the proposed re-zoning of Milner Estate housing scheme for Coloured people. It is at present a sub-economic estate for under-privileged White people, and the protest was based, not only on the enormous expense to which the Council would be put to replace the housing, but also because the Council had provided proportionately more amenities for under-privileged Coloureds than Whites. This does not, however, alter the serious Coloured housing situation in our city.

Pass Laws

Cases have been investigated with some success in East London. Members also investigated without success an individual case under the Group Areas Act. A sub-committee has been organised to go into pass law offences to see what can be done in alleviation.

The members in **Idutywa** are taking an active part in the local Christmas carnival which will

EDITOR'S NOTE

THIS is the last issue of *The Black Sash* to be published under the editorship of Mrs. Desirée Berman. Henceforth the magazine will be administered by the new headquarters region — Transvaal, and the editor will be Mrs. Dorothy Grant.

The retiring editor thanks all those who have so generously supported her during the past three years and wishes her successor good luck in an eminently worthwhile task.

bring all sections of the community together in a full day's enjoyment of sports and competitions, plus singing by African school children.

Border Bulletin

The Bulletin has been sent out in two special editions. The first of these, entitled "The Black Sash and You" and "What We Have Done" was issued in response to repeated requests at our Regional Conference last year for some form of written answer to questions repeatedly asked by prospective members. The second edition dealt with the Border resolution submitted this year to National Conference regarding Sash membership.

JUDGES AND POLITICIANS

—Continued from page 23

Election, Basson is now ensconced in the safe U.P. seat of Bezuidenhout, and Fagan will receive a Senatorship. Fagan, still active at 72, took his share in the recent electoral campaign, and stood up to Nationalist heckling, often abuse, like a seasoned warrior. I feel sure that the Senate will be the richer for his presence.

This by no means exhausts the list of Judges who have been unable to resist the lure of political life. F. W. Beyers, always an intense Nationalist, set the fashion about 25 years ago, when, within a few months of his retirement from the Appeal Court, he stood for a Free State constituency, but without success.

Tielman Roos, it will be remembered, stepped down from the Appellate Division in 1932, hoping to head a new Coalition Government which would lead South Africa out of the then pre-

vailing economic doldrums. But his venture failed and he returned to practice at the Bar, dying a few years later a sadly disappointed man. Both Beyers and Roos were politicians first and Judges second.

This is not to suggest that while on the Bench our Judges are politicians; on the contrary they are sedulous to avoid any appearance of mingling in politics. They regard their function as strictly non-political. Sometimes an interest in political matters is inescapable. Every five years, for instance, a panel of three Judges has to redelimit South Africa into electoral divisions. Sometimes, though happily rarely, a Judge is appointed to a Commission whose functions are of a political nature, as happens in other countries as well. But I am happy to say that "the Judge is stronger than the politician." This means that, even if a man has been a controversial party politician, he forgets his politics when he goes on the Bench.

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