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- THE MORAL ISSUES OF
THE 1966 ELECTION
- THE CHRISTIAN VIEW
OF JUSTICE
- BRIEFING FOR
SOCIAL ACTION
- THE BLACK SASH AND
CIVIL LIBERTIES
- EVERYBODY'S GUIDE
TO THE PASS LAWS

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

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THE MORAL ISSUES OF THE 1966 ELECTION

DR. VERWOERD has announced the date of the 1966 South African General Election: on March 30 the White electorate will go to the polls to elect a new government. Never has an election been more important; never have the issues at stake been more clear; but seldom has an electorate been less interested or more muddled about the important factors on which it is called upon to make decisions.

South Africa cannot exclude itself from the rapid change which has been taking place all over the world throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This has, in the main, been concerned with the equalizing of privilege between the upper and the working classes in homogeneous societies. The process of change continues today, but those who now seek to satisfy their aspirations are people of colour, both citizens in multiracial societies and the new emergent and underdeveloped states in Africa and Asia.

New ideas and aspirations

The old standards, traditions and familiar patterns are no longer acceptable to the vast majority of people and are being discarded for new ideas and new aspirations. The desire of the haves to maintain their privilege and the status quo manifests itself in fear, fear of change, fear of being submerged, fear that the have-nots, once in possession of political or economic power will use that power to destroy their inherited position of superiority, of generations of education, of a tradition of privilege and of possession of worldly goods.

This is particularly true in South Africa, where by tradition the White people have had all the power, political and economic, for the last three hundred years. They have dominated and controlled the lives of the non-Whites, have used their labour and kept the Coloured people, the Africans and the Indians in a state of inferiority and subjection. It is for this reason, this tradition and this policy, that South Africa has become the object of bitter criticism and pressures from the outside world. It is because of our failure to respect human dignity, here among our own non-White citizens, that the world in general and the Africans and Asians in particular are so bitterly resentful of Apartheid.

Respect for human dignity

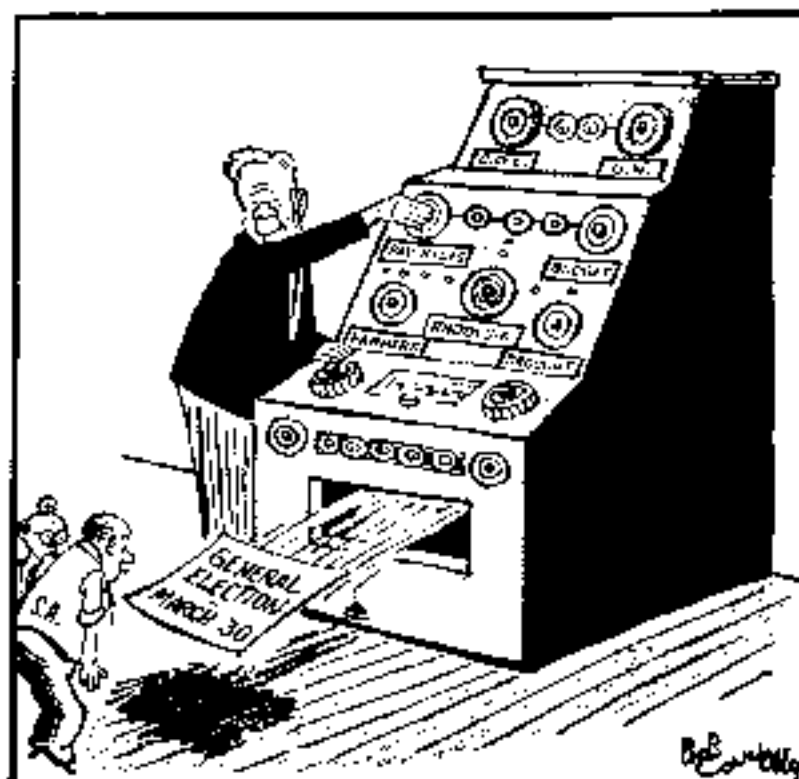
The Most Revd. Archbishop Denis E. Hurley, in his Presidential address to the Institute of

Race Relations, stressed the fact that respect for human dignity is THE important concept of our times. He said "It is a value indispensable to the peaceful development of South Africa", and "if you claim anything for yourself in the name of human dignity you cannot very well refuse it to others who share that dignity with you."

Respect for human dignity, along with respect for other Christian and Western values, does not appear to be an essential ingredient in the body politic in South Africa today, and we agree with Archbishop Hurley when he emphasizes the need for a moral revolution.

Vital issues

The vital issues facing each one of us on March 30 are these: Is it morally justifiable to deny people civil rights and liberties in the place where they live and spend their working lives? Is it



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morally right to prevent a man from developing his potential, his skills and his abilities and thus from improving his standard of living commensurate with his achievements? Is there any moral basis for denying any man the right to sell his labour to whom he chooses? Are there any moral grounds for preserving certain categories of work for the members of a particular racial group? Is it moral to assault a man's dignity by refusing his right to associate with people of another colour, whether in a Church, at a concert, on a golf course, in a rugby team or at a bazaar? Is there any justification for insulting the dignity of a man or a woman in this way when one is only too happy to associate with him in one's kitchen or to entrust to her the care of one's children? Can any Christian consent to a policy which separates a wife from her husband or a child from its parents? In fact, can any policy which is morally wrong be politically right?

Separate development, separate freedom or Apartheid — call it what you will — enshrines all these deprivations of human rights in legislation. Two-thirds of the African population live and work in the White areas, so that despite the promise of independence and freedom in the so-called homelands, millions of Africans live out their lives in the service of the White man in the urban and rural areas. For them there is little consolation in a promise of political and economic rights in a country virtually devoid of economic opportunity, to which they have never been or where they are unlikely ever to live.

Facts must be faced

Separate development under these circumstances does not seem to us to have a moral basis. If true partition, as distinct from separate development, were contemplated, there could be no objection on moral grounds. But partition clearly is not envisaged, neither is it realistic. This being so, the facts as they are must be faced and a just solution found for the peaceful and happy development of South Africa.

We believe this to be possible and we believe, with Archbishop Hurley, that White South Africans must return to moral standards and values in their attitudes to their fellow men. We respect the dignity of the human person because, as John Donne said, we are all of mankind. We believe that the future happiness of us all depends on mutual trust and forbearance. We believe that justice, liberty and opportunity are the birth-right of man and that if this belief were universally accepted no man would have anything to fear.

We trust the electorate will ponder these things and that on March 30 it will put aside self-interest and emotional considerations and vote according to the dictates of conscience and in accordance with Christian duty.

AN HONOUR FOR MRS. NELL GREEN

THE BLACK SASH is delighted with the news of the award of the M.B.E. to Nell Green, one of our Vice-Presidents. In the New Year's Honours, Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II was graciously pleased to make Mrs. Nell Green an ordinary member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire for her services in Swaziland.

Some four years ago Nell went to live in Swaziland. A week after her arrival there she attended a meeting at which a decision was taken to form a committee to further education and community development. Because of the high illiteracy rate among Africans, this committee decided that its first object was to reduce the high percentage of illiteracy among adults.

With her usual enthusiasm, Nell devoted her life to this admirable project, first serving on the Committee as secretary and later as Chairman. This work was done voluntarily by people of all groups, who set to work to raise funds. They produced books necessary to teach adult Africans to read and write under the guidance of the Bureau for Literacy and Literature in Johannesburg. The work increased and flourished and the achievement to date is 200 literate people, 800 more still in classes, with the interest steadily growing.

We give our warm congratulations to Nell. We are proud and happy that she should have received this honour which was so well deserved.

The Christian View of Justice

By the VERY REV. E. L. KING

Dean of St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town

(Address to the Civil Rights League)

ONLY when I settled down to the subject given me for this address today did I realize what I had taken on. I soon found myself confronted with material which could have been developed in a dozen lectures which could have developed the Christian view on the economic order, the political order of state (developed perhaps historically) the international order, the whole social order, the concept of a just war — there seemed no end to what could be talked about. So I ask you to forgive me if I have inevitably to make general statements and leave whole fields untouched. Inevitably too, I speak as a Christian, and that will include certain suppositions that some of you may not accept — but as I am speaking of a Christian view of justice I have to make certain suppositions, and I willingly do so as I am speaking to you as a committed Christian and on a subject that has deeply concerned Church thinkers from St. Augustine (and beyond him) to Emil Brunner and Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

The Justice of God

My thoughts to you then will be set upon a background of the Justice of God. The Bible and Church teach that God is just, and that He has laid down certain principles, precepts and commandments to which He requires obedience. This is clear from the Old Testament: 'I am the Eternal, I love justice . . .' (Isaiah) and from Psalm 89: 'Thy throne rests upon equity and justice'. So in the New Testament Christ is called 'The Just'. Man is the child of God, come in some form from His Creative Hand who bears and sustains the world and wills it to have that perfection proper to its nature.

It is because it is seen with the context of God's love for man that justice is of prime importance to Christians — not because it can be set up as a principle apart for the Christian Faith. It is true that there have been (and are) secular principles of justice which stand outside Christianity and are of a high moral order. But I am speaking to you, I remind you, as a Christian who believes that without this background justice becomes very easily a matter of human law without any ultimate standard to which it can be referred. Let me elaborate this a little.

Man an end in himself

Justice is based on the principle that the individual person has inalienable rights, and this means that man must be treated as an end in himself, and not merely as a means to something else. Such a man's rights do not exist in isolation from his fellows, and they cannot therefore extend to 'rights' which would harm the rights of other men. Many non-Christians will accept such a basis for justice (i.e. man as a being of inalienable rights, an end in himself) even though

I believe it is difficult (or impossible) to defend it except on Christian principles. To accept the truth that man is to be treated as an end in himself means that he is considered in himself as having some ultimate value, which again must presuppose a value which outlasts his temporary life on this earth. If a man has no future and no eternal life, there is no reason why he should not be treated as a means to all kinds of ends which do not concern him personally — such as the good of unborn generations, to which he might be sacrificed without any moral scruples so long as the betterment of others was secured. On this basis it was possible to justify the extermination of millions of Jews during the War on the grounds that it brought benefit to the German people, and this appears to be what Hitler believed. So, too, the Communist State in practice adopts a theory that the only morally compulsive principle is the good of the Communist Party — an attitude which has resulted in the death and persecution of millions of innocent persons.

The only practical moral obstacle to such doctrine and behaviour is this principle that man in himself has an ultimate value which must not be denied. And the Christian says that if man has got ultimate value it is because God created and redeemed him.

"Give every man his due"

With this as background, I take the definition of St. Thomas Aquinas as my starting point. Justice, according to St. Thomas is "a steady and unchanging will to give every man his due". Passages from the Scriptures form the explicit basis for this: 'Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, even so do to them' and 'Render to all their due tribute to whom tribute is due;

custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour. Owe no man anything, but love one another'.

Justice in books of Christian moral theology is generally divided into three parts (1) *General Justice* — which is what the individual owes to the community; (2) *Distributive Justice* — which deals with the duties owed by the State to the individual; (3) *Commutative Justice* — which is concerned with the duties of one individual to another individual in society.

For our purpose we will be concerned almost entirely with the first two, i.e. with the reciprocal duties of the individual and the state or community. Let us for a moment consider what the State is.

The creation of order and law

A State can be considered as 'God-given' and necessary in the order of creation because it is a necessary outward expression of the fundamental need of men to live together in societies, and in so far as the State is the most comprehensive of all institutions, including all others, it is doubtless a necessity lying in the God-created nature of man. So we certainly cannot agree with those who think that the State is something which is intrinsically evil.

Now the *essence* of the State is not justice, but power. This is self-evident. Even the unjust State is still a State, but the impotent State ceases to be a state. Wherever the will of the human being is subjected to a unified will transcending and commanding him, wherever that will can impose itself unconditionally upon him, the State exists whether the will that commands with unqualified power is just or unjust. The State *must exist* as a condition of social human living, and even if the power in the State is exercised by a complete despot, devoid of any intention of justice, this is to be preferred to a state of anarchy. A certain order of peace, however brutal, is established in which it is possible — just *possible* — for the humane, the spiritual justice to flourish.

This is the first stage of political justice, which at least eliminates the anarchy of intolerable chaos and discord. The second stage appears when the despot or tyrant realizes (as he must) that he cannot rule in the long run without transforming the capricious dictates of his personal will into a generally valid law. By proclaiming LAW, henceforth binding on all, he creates the next stage of order. Even though the LAW springs from no intention of justice, but merely from the lust for power, it has inevitably a certain rudimentary justice about it. For example, everybody is from henceforth subject to the one law. The despot has at least set some limit

on his own arbitrariness. Hence it is not, as Pascal thought, stupidity, but right feeling that the plain man has a *certain* sense of satisfaction at being treated according to the law even though that law, in substance, be extremely unjust. At least one is not handed over to the wanton decisions of a simple will.

The primary right of man

The third stage comes in the difference between 'just' and 'unjust' law. *Just law*, as distinguished from unjust law, is that which *embodies the human rights of the individual* in the State as a child of God. In, then, the Christian view of what is *just*, there are certain rights of man which are his, certain things which are inescapably due to him. The primary right of man is the right to physical freedom. *It runs counter to the order of creation* that man, on whom God *bestowed* not only freedom to turn towards Him, but also freedom to do His Service, should not have the free use of his body and limbs. It is notable that one of the first formulations of the rights of man is called the *Habeas Corpus Act*. It is a guarantee of the personal, physical freedom of an Englishman in so far as the State can only imprison him in quite definite and prescribed circumstances. It is the awful delusion of the totalitarian state that its subjects belong to it body and soul. By the divine law of creation, *man* belongs to no man and to no system. Above all, of course, a human being can never lawfully become the property of another human being. In the same way, by the divine law of creation man was given the right to own property. The man who has nothing at his disposal cannot act freely. The man who treads on strange ground and touches strange property at every movement he makes is not a free man. *Collective ownership* can never replace the value (and *right*) of private property in terms of freedom and justice. 'It is just as easy to be a slave of the State' says Brunner 'as a slave of a single master. When the State is sole owner, and I am not an owner at all, even though the State be a democracy in every other respect, I am a slave of the State'.

The right to adequate development

Further, the primal rights of man in a just society include the right to obtain a livelihood, for man was not only created to work — he has a right to work. There is, however, a further primal right established by creation — namely every human being's right to an adequate development. Every child has the right to a healthy childhood, to an education befitting his dignity as a human being and to the normal development of his powers. We regard it as an unnatural and unjustifiable interference with God's order of creation if a native custom cripples a child's feet. In the same way, every interference with a child's healthy growth, physical and mental, which 'cripples' it is an injustice against it. When

it comes into the world the child brings with it certain rights which *no State, no Society, no family* may withhold from it. A 'law' or an ordering of society that does so is, to that extent and in that way, an *unjust law*. The Roman 'patria potestas' which allowed a father to kill, expose or sell his child was an *unjust law* however much the Romans, in their blindness, may have regarded it as just. The right to *grow* is a primal right. We understand the primal rights of man as being due to men in *all* circumstances, and hence may *never* be withheld from him by the community. Without these rights man is not man in the full sense of the word.

Now if we are to judge from the Declaration of Human Rights, subscribed to by all members of the United Nations, we must believe that the fact that man, as such, has these primal rights has been generally accepted. But unhappily the actual behaviour of governments within their own territories rarely accords with the splendid principles to which they profess allegiance in international bodies.

The Christian duty to obey the law

I turn now to the question as to what is Christian attitude towards unjust laws. It is no easy task to measure up to Christian standards and it may be said that no system of law does so in all respects, and the first point to be made is that there is a general duty to obey the law, and Christian writers in the New Testament constantly emphasize this point. The Christian convert in the early days of Christianity was instructed that 'he owes obedience to the constituted authorities and should make it a matter of conscience to keep the law and pay his taxes'. Luther and Zwingli and St. Thomas Aquinas all took this view. It is thoroughly consistent with the whole Christian tradition.

A Christian, however, is not called upon to obey in *all* circumstances *all* laws irrespective of their nature and content, *for the general duty to obey the law is only one of a number of duties*. There are other duties besides this; there are moral duties and duties relating to matters of faith. If different duties are in conflict with one another, a Christian (and indeed anyone) is faced with the necessity of making a choice between them. It is clear from the teaching of Christ that he expects just such a choice to be inevitable from time to time. If the particular law falls within the province of Caesar then even if it is imperfect it has to be obeyed. But it is also the consistent teaching of the Bible that if a secular law seeks to regulate matters vital to faith then a Christian must choose to fulfil the obligation of faith in preference to the legal one.

Conflicting duties

The instance in the Acts of the Apostles (4, 1-22) shows clearly the nature of the conflict in

which a Christian must choose to fulfil a higher obligation. Peter and John had been ordered by legal authority not to speak or teach in the name of Jesus. 'Is it right in God's eyes for us to obey you rather than God? Judge for yourselves. We cannot possibly give up speaking of things we have seen and heard.'

Reference might also be made in the Old Testament to Shadrach, Meshak and Abednego who obeyed and administered the pagan law of Babylon except the law that they should worship the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up. So, too, in the Roman Empire Christians who were under a legal obligation to worship the emperors continued to worship God and disobeyed the law.

Professor Dodd speaks of 'that accepted pattern of teaching which insists that there are limits beyond which a higher allegiance claims him (i.e. the Christian): he must be loyal at all costs to his faith, and prepared to endure persecution with inflexible determination and fortitude'.

When it is that there is a *direct conflict* between an obligation of State law and an obligation of faith, there are a number of courses open to a Christian. A Christian may, according to circumstances, avoid the secular law, ignore it, suffer it, or take such steps as are available to reform it. One thing is certain and that is that if a Christian feels impelled by his conscience to disobey State Law he must be prepared to take the consequences of doing so.

A difficult moral choice

Let us try to pinpoint these very difficult matters by looking at the problem — has the individual Christian, or Christians, in what is believed to be the name of justice, the right to defy the law, or to rebel against the established order? We might note in passing that although Calvin enjoined obedience to unjust rulers he seems to have done so in the conviction that God would overthrow them. This seems to have been an optimistic judgement. Certainly he later came to believe that in some circumstances there can be a right to resist by force.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English moral teachers were so afraid of sedition, that for the most part they exaggerated the duty of citizens to obey the king without question, and the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings buttressed such views. It is quite impossible to maintain such an outlook in the twentieth century — but there are difficult moral choices to be made in considering if and when rebellion is justified morally against the ruling power. Since the end of the Second World War Egypt, Cyprus, Asia and Africa have provided such problems in an acute form.

It is a certain fact that justice cannot be maintained without order, although there is perhaps a strong tendency on the part of those who want to maintain the *status quo* to argue that order is all-important. The result can be that those who are groaning under injustices which demand political remedies are prevented from obtaining redress, or what they conceive to be their rights. *Cyprus* here presents a good example. The vast majority of Cypriots wanted, or appeared to want, union with Greece. The British Government refused to grant it to them, or the kind of self-government of an independent kind that they wanted. The Cypriots therefore rebelled and by armed rebellion they secured most of the aims for which they were hoping. The British attitude held that it was all-important to keep order, and it was on this ground that they resisted the rebellion. By eventually granting independence to the Cypriots (under pressure) they have implicitly admitted that they were justified. Yet to any outside observer, and certainly to the Cypriots before the rebellion, it appeared hopeless to expect the British Government to grant such requests unless they were *forced* to do so. Did the Cypriots have a right to rebel? What is the moral principle involved?

Applying the moral principle

It would seem to me that when an appeal to order is used by those in control to deny changes which are indispensable to justice, resistance may be justified: The injustice which is being imposed is being imposed by force. If there is no other remedy it seems that an appeal to force is justified, *so long as the evil created by the use of force is not disproportionate to the evil which it is desired to put right.* Yet in practice this principle is almost impossible to apply. There is no definite standard which can be used in such affairs. It is certainly morally intolerable that a whole people, or a majority of people, should be condemned to permanent tyranny merely on the grounds that order must be maintained. On the other hand rebellion causes great evils and suffering. How far could a Christian support a movement which aims to achieve its end by violence which will probably involve the death of innocent people? If it is permissible for a Christian to bear arms in a 'just war' (the traditional teaching of the Christian Church) is he permitted to bear arms in a just *rebellion*? If it is morally acceptable to resist aggression by force, is it not equally acceptable to resist tyranny by force?

Report of the British Council of Churches

This matter has been thoroughly and, I believe, responsibly dealt with in the Report of the British Council of Churches called 'The Future of South Africa'. One of the reasons why the report comes out definitely against military or prophylactic interference in South Africa is that

there is absolutely no guarantee that the last state would not be worse than the first, and the disorder and general misery would fail to achieve what it set out to do. Knowing the indecisions, pre-occupations and perfidies of most modern states that seems to me to be true. But the Report takes its stand on higher ground than this. It says (page 77) amid the shrill political voices already calling for violent action, that Christian witness is that violence can only beget violence, and that reconciliation cannot lie along that road . . . the first duty of the Church is to remind both protagonists that they are under judgement, that violence introduces a never-ending recession, of which neither justice nor love can be the outcome.

Charges as old as Christianity

Christ was the member of an occupied country when the duty of patriotic Jews was to get rid of the Roman yoke. But it is clear that He had nothing to do with political agitation — his witness was of a different kind. Nevertheless, it is not without significance that he was condemned to death on political charges; and the authorities responsible for government and authority can easily mistake Christian witness for something political, because the influence of that witness undermines the basis on which their rule rests. So it may be that unflinchingly preaching the equality before God of all men in South Africa today can be considered to be subversive. The charges that such teaching and its implications encourage elements that want to overthrow the government by force are as old as Christianity itself. If governments say this sort of thing one wonders if they have not ceased to have the moral authority to govern at all.

South Africa today, like other countries, has laws which are both just and unjust, in their varying degrees. One might think in passing of laws which seem to withdraw from the cognizance of the courts cases which should — in justice — be brought before them, and the powers granted to the State to detain persons in prison without bringing them to trial. In recent years the notorious 'Church Clause' which gave a Minister of State the power to exclude African Christians from Christian services in certain areas is another example.

To conclude then — to the Christian, man is a child of God and that is his undeniable protection. Anything which injures or inhibits his full development in that glorious and destined role must be suspect. In this imperfect world it is difficult for law to be unfailingly just or to take full and proper account of Man whose ultimate destiny lies outside this world. But there — we believe — is his destiny: the rights he

(Continued at foot of page 8)

BRIEFING FOR SOCIAL ACTION

PROFESSOR W. D. HAMMOND-TOOKE

of Rhodes University

(Address to the Christian Council)

I HAVE CALLED my talk "Briefing for Social Action", with its military overtones, for a good reason. Social action in this land of ours is not only a war against poverty, ignorance and disease; it also demands, on occasion, considerable courage — particularly when it is misrepresented as something sinister. In a sense one feels one is fighting on two fronts: the objective social evils that appear so intractable, and the forces of prejudice, intolerance and suspicion, which so often make action difficult. Also, I am not, tonight, going to deal with social action as such; there are many better qualified than I to do so. What I want to do is something more basic — to examine the basis of our approach to the underprivileged, to re-assess our attitudes. We must get our priorities straight.

I am addressing myself to a Christian audience. Our very presence here tonight bears witness to the fact that we believe that Christianity is not merely a pre-occupation with our relationship to God—although this is by far the most important factor—but that it also involves a deep concern with our fellow man. To us the "social gospel" is not one of reproach but reflects a deep conviction that love of God can only be fully expressed through love of man. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Prejudice and paternalism

And there is a more compelling *practical* reason why this should be so. Without this loving concern our Christian witness and social action will be quite ineffective: for, particularly in South Africa today, our lack of *caritas* has been one of the main stumbling blocks to the extension of the Kingdom. It is a melancholy fact that Christianity has not made the progress that it should after over 150 years of missionary endeavour. And one of the main reasons has been the arrogance and pride of White Christians. What I want to do tonight is to examine the basis of this prejudice of ours in terms of its historical and sociological origins — to put it under the microscope so that we can see it in clear perspective — if I may mix my metaphors! When I have done that I want to stress, with all the emphasis at my command, the absolute necessity of freeing our minds, not only of prejudice but of its often unconscious fellow-traveller, paternalism, *before* we can initiate effective social action.

Now what I have to say may seem naive — even unnecessary to an audience such as this. And yet I believe that it bears emphasizing. Prejudice is a deeply insidious thing. And it is not confined to members of the Afrikaans churches. The recent appointment of an African

to the archdeaconry of the Grahamstown Cathedral caused threatened resignations among certain office-bearers in a country parish. I myself have to be fighting it constantly. And its continued presence represents an explosive and dangerous element in our social life. Whether we believe that the ultimate solution of our problems lies in a non-racial society or in separate development makes no difference. Neither can succeed while there is arrogance and the belittling of the other man.

The roots of colour prejudice

Fundamentally our problem in this country is one of colour prejudice. All of us born here are infected by it — we absorb the attitudes as we learn the other aspects of our culture, so, like them, they are unquestioned. The roots of colour prejudice lie deep in South African history — although it is an interesting fact that originally colour was not as important as religion. In the early days at the Cape baptism automatically freed a slave.

As the Colony expanded, a growing divergence of outlook developed between cosmopolitan Cape Town and the country folks. These latter developed a strict and most rigorous way of life, a classless society with a common code and ideology deeply rooted in the Calvinism of the 17th Century. The doctrine of predestination and the elect led them to regard membership of their own religious group as an exclusive privilege which separated them by a great gulf from those who did not share it.

If this was so with Whites of other religious persuasions, how much more did it incline the *trekboer* to dominate the out-group which surrounded him — the Bushman and the Bantu.

They were heathen and barbarian. Differences in colour coincided exactly with differences in

creed and custom. The values of the French Revolution have never penetrated the Platteland. As you know, missionary attempts were (and are) looked upon with suspicion, as a threat to the exclusiveness of the group. We all know how this attitude has spread throughout South Africa, defeating all along the line the old Cape liberal tradition, until today most White South Africans, no matter what their language group, tacitly support the policy of separation. Many of us, in our heart of hearts, while outwardly opposing Nationalist policy, believe that the races should be kept separate: that somehow, given the frailties of human nature, harmonious, friction-free interaction is impossible. And they point, rightly, to the difficulties experienced even in America, where everything seemingly favours co-operation between Negro and White. This is the Plain Man's, the Natural Man's argument. What are we to say to it?

In God's own image

Let us look briefly at the origins of race prejudice. Is it something built into human nature? And, more explicitly, what has been the attitude of the Christian church to race relations; what should be our attitudes as Christians?

To take the last point first, Christianity ascribes complete unity to human nature, from beginning to end. To me, as an anthropologist, the great gap between man and the anthropoid apes — man's self-awareness, rational thought processes, his ability to make moral judgements — lies in the introduction of a new factor in the animal world — the human mind. As C. S. Lewis says in his book "Miracles":

"(Human minds) do not come from nowhere. Each has come into Nature from Supernature: each has its taproot in an eternal, self-existent rational Being, whom we call God. Each is an offshoot, or spearhead, or an incursion of that Supernatural reality into Nature".

In this sense then, in the possession of a mind, God made us in His own image, and, as anthropology has shown, in essentials the same in all races. There is no primitive, pre-logical mentality as some early writers suggested. The reason why many non-western peoples come to different conclusions about things than we do is not because their minds work differently, not because of faulty logic, but because their reasoning proceeds from different assumptions — as when an African explains the cause of sickness not to the chance attack of a germ but to the deliberate machinations of a witch. Anthropologists have shown that, given the premisses, witch beliefs are perfectly logical. Human minds, then, are fragments of the mind of God. Do we dare deny their essential unity and equality?

The unity and dignity of all men

Now, if man's nature is one, *human dignity* is likewise the same in all men. If all men possess the essential attribute of God (however much attenuated) it is the greatest sin to hold any human being lightly in esteem — to reject, despise, humiliate. This is the point made by Huddleston in his book. Steward's rebuttal in which he pointed out, quite correctly, the many material benefits the Whites had brought to the African, completely missed the point. It was against the subtle dehumanizing of the African that Huddleston was inveighing.

And Christianity is based on this concept — the unity and dignity of all men. It is stressed time and again in the Scriptures. Wherever the word "redemption" occurs it is explicitly promised to all. Ephesians tells us that the middle wall of partition has been broken down between Jew and Gentile, and in a memorable allegory Peter was chided for his racialism and warned not to count unclean that which God had cleansed. His profession to Cornelius should be pondered on by us all: "But God hath shewed me that I should not call any man common or unclean" (Acts 10,28). Race is no longer relevant. And, in parenthesis, the much-quoted curse of Ham to be a hewer of wood and drawer of water was a curse imposed by Noah and not by God.

Christianity came into being in a Graeco-Roman world, within the multi-racial Roman Empire. The *Pax Romana* applied to all within its boundaries and the glory of the early church was its transcendence of ethnic boundaries. The Fathers of the church loved to emphasize this miracle of Christian unity which embraced so many different men and peoples. St. John Chrysostom exults:

"He who is in Rome knows that the Indians are very members of the same body. What society can be compared with this? And all have one head, which is Christ . . ."

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF JUSTICE

(Continued from page 6)

has from God in the order of creation, rights which are removed or proscribed at the peril of States, who also — whether they know it or not — are there to serve God.

States will finally fade away, their necessary work done — Man passes on and through them, just or unjust, to that company, society and order when each man is known and loved and rewarded for what he is, and where God is all in all.

Non-racial society

And later, when Christendom became involved in wars against Moors, Islam, Turks, and the wars of the Teutonic Knights against the Balts and Slavs, it is a striking fact that no race sentiment entered into any of these struggles. The division was on faith. The Moors were not thought of as Arabs but as Unbelievers. Up to the 15th century it is true to say that Western society was non-racial. One of the great fathers of the Faith, St. Augustine of Hippo, was a north African Berber.

This then was the attitude of Christendom until the voyages of discovery. The Spanish and Portuguese explorers came into contact with American Indians and Africans, inferior in culture and as fighters, but this led to no conclusions about racial superiority; there was no idea of a perpetual servile status. On the contrary conversion to Christianity was sought with enthusiasm, and this transformation was believed to make the Africans the human equals of all Christians.

Economic exploitation

What changed this easy-going attitude to men of different race was the development of capitalism and the profit-motive. The new lands discovered in America provided ideal opportunities for economic exploitation and the native inhabitants were too few and too recalcitrant to make good labourers. And thus, in c. 1510, the first negro slaves were landed in the New World, and trading stations were set up all along the West African coast to meet the rapidly accelerating demand.

At first the slave owners and dealers rationalized the system by saying that the slaves were war captives or condemned criminals, but as time went on and there was increased knowledge of the harsh and inhuman conditions on the plantations, new justifications had to be offered. At first they argued on economic grounds: that slavery was necessary for the national economy, and then, as the humanitarian attack was pressed, the ingenious theory was propounded that the Negroes were sub-human and incapable of moral feeling. This amounted to a deliberate attempt to depersonalize a whole group of human beings, to reduce them to mere articles of commerce or economic 'utilities'.

Race prejudice a comparatively new element

The point I want to stress is that race relations are intimately connected with a type of social and economic system. Far from racial differences having always been regarded as vital, as an essential element of human society and built into human nature, there is much evi-

dence to show that it is a comparatively new element in Western society. It is instructive to note that Catholic countries have always been less racialistic than the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic. Among them the Church, which constantly inhibited the capitalist spirit, stressed the old Christian idea of the equality of believers. Another reason is that Catholic Spain and Portugal first came into contact with coloured people in the shape of the highly civilized Moors, whereas the English, Dutch and German met non-Whites first as defeated peoples of much lower culture. Hence the equation of colour with barbarism.

Now to me all this is instructive. It places race prejudice fairly in perspective. Undoubtedly there are other factors — economic, sexual, even psychological — which underlie it, but it is salutary to remember how recent the phenomenon is in the history of Western civilization, and how closely tied to the type of society.

A New Deal

And now we come to my main point. If race discrimination is a product of social forces and not intrinsic to man; moreover, if it is a comparatively recent development in Western society, surely it is not an *absolute*, an *immutable given*, around which the Church must somehow or other 'arrange' its witness?

What I am going to say may be criticized as unrealistic and naive but I want to place before you what I believe are the standards we should adopt if we take Christianity seriously.

Harmonious and prejudice-free co-existence in South Africa today is extremely difficult. The whole social system seems to be against it. From the point of view of the Natural Man it seems impossible for people of different colours and cultures to live together amicably. But we are called upon to be Christians, followers of Christ, directed not to be conformers to this world, mere puppets of the social structure, but transformed messengers of a New Deal — a new hope for the warring nations of man. And if we as Christians do not know the answer of how mankind can live in peace and amity, who does?

One of the most distinctive aspects of the Christian way of life is its attitude to reality. The faith of the Christian is not a passive rejection of life, a pessimistic withdrawal, an absorption into an anonymous Nirvana, but a vital reaffirmation of life, a rising to meet a challenge, an overcoming. It is essentially activist, outgoing, transforming. Its early professors were uncomfortable people: they turned the world upside down. The difficulties of the world are to be overcome, and we are promised the grace to overcome them. The point is that true Christian-

ity is not defeatist — for that would be to deny the power that has been promised — and any denial of the power of Christ to solve all problems, even the intractable problems of human relations, is in essence a denial of Christ.

We must get our attitudes right

How does all this affect us? First of all, as Christians it is essential that we must get our attitudes right before embarking on social action. We must root out the devils of arrogance, exclusiveness and superiority, in our lives. But we must go further than that. We must be constantly on the watch for paternalistic attitudes: the attitude of a superior being doling out largess, of "father knows best". Our good deeds must stem, not from a desire to be respectable,

to salve our consciences, or because all the best people are involved in social work, but from a deep Christian concern and involvement.

And we must not expect gratitude. It is difficult to receive benefits at the hand of another. As Dr. Anthony Barker writes:

"It is a great weakness in us that we seek reassurance for ourselves in asking gratitude from those we are privileged to help. St. Vincent de Paul used to advise his flock of devoted helpers: 'When you go out to do good to the poor, beg them to forgive you'."

This then is our briefing. May it aid and inspire us to more extensive and effective social action.

Does He Deserve This Treatment?

By BARRY STREEK

(Re-printed from the *Rand Daily Mail*)

THE other day I was reminded of the insensitivity that prevails in South Africa, when I was travelling from East London to Durban by air.

In the back row of seats, a young African was leaving his country for good. I did not know his surname or Christian name; I just knew him as "Lyttleton".

Formerly a bright student at Fort Hare, he committed the indiscretion of asking questions about the administration of the tribal college. This resulted in his removal in 1961. Lyttleton had already obtained a B.A. degree at Fort Hare.

He then tried to enter one of the other universities in South Africa; but there was no hope. No university would (or could) accept him.

In a truly "liberalistic, unpatriotic" fashion Nusas obtained a scholarship for him at London University to study economics and political science for three years. It was worth R4,000.

Passport

Now he needed a passport, but it seemed almost impossible. Whenever the Department of Interior was asked why it was taking so long, he was invariably told that the application was "under consideration".

Eventually, he applied for a one-way exit permit, which was granted. Perhaps he could never have hoped to get a passport because he was detained under the 90-day clause, and was subsequently found guilty under some A.N.C. or P.A.C. charge. He was given a 12-month sentence, 11 months of which was suspended.

My mother, who as a leading member of the Black Sash in East London had tried to help him, introduced him to me at the airport. One could see the clash of loyalties. He was excited at the prospect of going to an open university to further his education, and to see London. But on the other hand at the airport to see him off were his parents, relations and friends (suitably segregated of course). Would he ever see them again, and if so, when? He was leaving his country for good — well, for the time being at least.

Goodbye

At Durban, where I got off, I stopped at Lyttleton's seat — he appeared to be staying on for the break — and said goodbye. I am not sure if he had been crying or not, but he looked very sad, and very nervous. (Would the Special Branch be at Jan Smuts?).

Why must a keen young man be forced to leave his country permanently in order to further his education? As a Xhosa-speaking person, he would have been an ideal civil servant in the Ciskei or the Transkei.

But apart from the waste of talent, think of the human side — a young man separated from his family through the cruelty and stupidity of apartheid. Yet this is called a Christian country.

Lyttleton told an East London newspaperman that he hoped the Government would allow him to re-enter the country so that he could be of service to his people, especially as there had been a serious drain of educated Africans in recent years. Is he a patriot and does he deserve this churlish treatment?

THE BLACK SASH AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

By MARGARET ROBERTS

(Vice-Chairman of Cape Western Region)

THE PROMOTION and protection of civil liberties may truly be said to be the essential objective of the Black Sash — the objective which pervades and informs all its work and activities.

There are, of course, other organizations in South African which share this objective in greater or lesser degree. Thank God for them! But they are all too few and too weak in numbers and influence in a society in which an insane obsession with the essentially barbarous herd instinct of race takes general precedence over reverence for the sanctity of individual human personality. I shall return to this fatal dichotomy, but for the moment I would explain that in view of the existence of other bodies concerned with civil liberties, what must necessarily be of interest about the Black Sash is *how* it came to adopt the objective I have mentioned and the *methods* whereby it seeks to further it.

For it was not with that general objective in view — at all events consciously — that the Black Sash originated. It was as a result of experience and of study that it arrived at its present position. But it originated as a spontaneous movement among the enfranchised women of South Africa, of opposition and protest against the Government's betrayal of the spirit of the Act of Union in seeking, by a shabby technical device, to destroy the safeguard for the Cape Coloured franchise, without which South Africa as a state would never have been called into existence in 1910.

Shabby story

I have, of course, no intention of recalling that whole shabby story. It is — or should be — familiar to you all. I merely pause to remind you that the *one* justification advanced by the authors of this rape of rights was that the century-old Coloured franchise, that had been exercised always with a responsibility at least not inferior to the White, was a menace to the security of the State. Since this has been a justification for every act of tyranny perpetrated since, I would point out that, as infallibly demonstrated by this notorious instance, *all* it means, in the mouths of those who use it, is that it is a threat to the racist doctrines of the Nationalist party.

But the victory of the powers of darkness through the Senate Act trick taught us a far more important lesson than recognition of the Nationalist joker of "the security of the State". It taught us that in public affairs far more than appeals to the conscience of power-seeking politicians was needed to safeguard good government and public morality. But what was it that was needed? To discover that seemed to us to be our next task.

Self-education

Most of our members — even many of our leaders — were unversed in public affairs. We

were perhaps naive in many respects. So we did the obvious thing. We set to work to educate ourselves by arranging lectures for our members — and for interested members of the public — by politicians, political scientists, jurists etc.; by arranging 'brains trusts' at which differing viewpoints could be debated, by holding symposiums on varied aspects of selected public questions.

And thus gradually emerged the policy and objectives of the Black Sash as they are today. We realized that the vague spirit of goodwill and desire for co-operation that underlay the original formulation of the Act of Union was no adequate safeguard for a free and just society in South Africa. More particularly was this so in that the National Convention of 1908/9 had included members of the White 20% of the people to the exclusion of all members of the non-White 80%. The result had been not only the exclusion of all the latter from the franchise, outside the Cape, and the placing of even the Cape Non-White franchise at the mercy of the White minority; but that no safeguards of any kind for the civil liberties of the non-White majority had been provided.

And civil liberties, we realized, involved far more than political or public rights—or even such elementary ones as freedom of conscience, speech, and association, which at the present time have for the Non-White majority long since been ruthlessly trodden underfoot by a government representative merely of a bare majority of the White minority. But they also embraced the most elementary rights of the individual in the determination of his or her private affairs. They involved, in the words of the United States Supreme Court, "not only the right of a citizen to be free from the mere physical restraint of his person . . . but . . . the right . . . to be free in the enjoyment of all his faculties, to be free to use them in all lawful ways, to live and work where he will; . . . to pursue any livelihood or

occupation . . . the privilege . . . of acquiring, holding or selling property . . ." And they involved the "equal protection of the laws" guaranteeing these rights, irrespective of race or colour, sex or religion. And further, in order to be effective as such protection, such laws should not be subject to alteration even by Parliament itself, however composed, and the Courts should be under the duty to ignore any Act of Parliament that purported to infringe those basic liberties of the individual.

Results of original Union Constitution

For what did we find to have been the result of the original Union Constitution, with its almost exclusively White franchise and its omnipotent sovereign Parliament? Every one of these elementary public and private rights had been violated. Adverse discrimination against Non-Whites was rife both in denial of rights exercised by Whites and in expenditure of public funds to which all contributed according to their capacities. Non-White residences and businesses were confined to limited urban and rural ghettos. African movement and employment were limited to the convenience of White employers or landlords, so that the men were forced by law to labour hundreds of miles away from their wives and families. Millions were denied *by law* all opportunity to perform the humblest skilled or administrative or clerical tasks on racial grounds, irrespective of the merit of the individual.

Quite obviously laws such as these could not be enforced against *any* people or in *any* circumstances without a monstrous machine of police control and bureaucratic inspection and supervision, involving thousands of minor jacks-in-office, with terrifying arbitrary powers over the most intimate details of the private lives of their victims, and subject to the daily temptation of extortion and bribery.

Man-made poverty

Nor could such a system result in anything but grinding poverty for the Non-White peoples. Poverty we know is in evidence in many societies and is the lot, unfortunately, of the large majority of the human race. But in our times, in the great industrial societies of the West, it has progressively been mitigated, and to some extent in some countries even eliminated. That the vast natural resources of South Africa place us in the ranks of the favoured few lands in which a successful onslaught on the evils of poverty is possible seems to be acknowledged on all sides by those competent to judge.

That our wide-spread poverty is man-made is thus objectively demonstrated, and it is indeed inevitable in a state whose laws are shaped with the purpose and effect of shackling the productive and creative powers of 80% of its people, thereby restricting the growth of the national

income. The results of this policy are reflected in the twin facts that some 500,000 male Africans, representing an African population of at least two million when their dependants are taken into account, are unemployed, while on the other hand there is a wide and growing gap in the national skilled labour requirements.

The effect of all this is of course clear enough. It is to strangle the nascent Non-White middle class; for as experience all over the world has shown, it is a middle class, with its capacity for intelligent leadership, its bargaining potential as an indispensable factor in the productive process, its natural social cohesiveness and the resolution with which it pursues its aspirations to improvement, which makes it quite impossible to maintain the race or nation to which it belongs in a state of helotry.

Realization

It was the progressive realization of all these factors at work in our national life that led the Black Sash from a position of mere protest against the betrayal of the compact of Union to active concern with civil liberties, and thence to the problems of poverty, migrant labour and the destruction of African family life, each step leading inexorably to the next, and forcing us either to take it or shrink away from problems too formidable to be faced with faith and courage, and to blind our eyes to a national future too terrifying to contemplate.

Unless those forces now rampant in White South Africa are curbed they will destroy our country. Nor naturally, is the remedy to transfer them from White to Black hands. One aspect of the long-term danger to which I referred earlier is precisely this. Only power can check and balance power. In our view that checking power must be the power of the *law*, embodied in a Constitution that will guarantee civil liberties, economic opportunity and legal equality to White and Non-White alike. But unless this is achieved in time — that is, before we are involved in a mortal racial conflict — its achievement will recede into the realms of fantasy and impossibility.

It can be achieved only by a reformed constitution in the framing of which White and Non-White alike have a share. Such constitution must protect the rights of *all* — and put the law above the law-makers. I could sum up this last necessity by remarking that from the viewpoint of the unhappy man-in-the-street, whether in Accra or Cape Town, the trouble with Dr. Nkrumah is the same as with Dr. Verwoerd; they both have sovereign parliaments in which an electoral majority can do what it likes with civil rights.

For years now the Black Sash has propagated the ideas I have referred to among White South Africans. For years we have sought to demonstrate to the Non-Whites our belief in a truly multi-racial South Africa by assisting them in

(Continued on page 18)

Everybody's Guide to the Pass Laws

THIS PAMPHLET has been produced to try to present the laws and regulations which govern the day-to-day life of Africans in the urban areas in a comprehensible form. We hope that it will be of use to both employers and employees and to the thousands of people who have to live their lives by these laws.

It should be noted that this summary has been drawn up in Johannesburg and some of the minor regulations and details may differ in other towns.

We have found that many people are finding themselves in trouble because of regulations they did not comply with in the past.

We wish to stress the following:—

EVERY AFRICAN SHOULD KEEP IN HIS POSSESSION ALL DOCUMENTS HE HAS EVER HAD: SUCH THINGS AS BIRTH CERTIFICATES, BAPTISMAL CERTIFICATES, SCHOOL CERTIFICATES, REFERENCES, HOUSING PERMITS, HOSPITAL AND CLINIC CARDS, PRISON DISCHARGE PAPERS, RENT RECEIPTS AND DEATH AND BURIAL CERTIFICATES.

These papers may well be needed at some time to prove his or her right to be in an area, and some are irreplaceable.

Definitions

A **PRESCRIBED AREA** is one which has been declared prescribed in the Government Gazette, and in practice means any area which is considered to be a White area, but where a large number of Africans live and work.

SECTION 10 of the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 26/1945 is the most important clause in all legislation affecting Africans. On it depends a person's right to come, work and remain in a prescribed area.

Notes to Africans

1. You must never write anything in your Reference book or remove anything. You should carry it with you always.
2. You should obtain a visitor's permit if you wish to stay in any area other than the one you are entitled to be in for more than 72 hours.
3. If you should go home on holiday from a prescribed area you should not stay away for more than 364 days. If you do, you may not be allowed to return.
4. If you live in a township with your family you should see that you and your wife, and your children, parents and any relatives in your care are on your housing permit.
5. If you are sending your children out of the area to school you should take them to the superintendent in the area in which you live and explain that they are domiciled with you but are going away to school and will be returning for their holidays and will wish to be registered in your area when they have to take their reference books.
6. If you have rent troubles, arrangements can sometimes be made with township superintendents and welfare officers and employers.

Notes to Employers

1. A new male employee should be registered to work for you at once and the E. Card returned, within 3 days. A small registration fee is payable on registration and thereafter a fee of 25 cents monthly for each male employee.
2. You should sign his reference book every month before the 7th of the month and again in the correct column when you discharge him.
3. When you discharge an employee the card you were given on registering him should be sent in at once. If you do not do this he may be unable to be registered in a new job.
4. The procedure for women employees is the same except that you need not sign the reference book every month but only on employment and discharge.
No monthly "pass" fee is payable.
If you wish to employ more than one living-in servant you must apply for a permit for each employee except the one permissible by law. A permit in Johannesburg costs 50 cents per employee in excess of one.
5. If you are moving from one area to another and wish to take your employees with you, you should discuss this with them. You should realize that you will have to register them at the new address and that by moving them out of the area you may be making it impossible for them to return permanently. **FEW EMPLOYERS REALIZE THE GRAVITY OF THIS.** Permission to register them in a new area may be refused by the authorities.
6. You can help an employee enormously by going with him to the local offices if he is in difficulties. Much distress is caused by misunderstandings which would not arise if help were to be given from the beginning.
7. If you take your employee away on holiday you should take him/her to the local police station when you arrive to obtain a temporary permit, otherwise he/she may be arrested.
8. **LEAVE.** Before an African employee goes on leave you should endorse his reference book with your signature, the address to which the employee is going and the date of his return.

Reference Books

These are compulsory for all African males or females turning 16.

In practice, persons at boarding schools are sometimes issued with what they call "school papers" and persons in prisons are apparently not issued with books until discharged.

How to read a Reference Book — Men

The front or back page of the book will have the following information: Finger prints, photograph, identity number, name, group and tribe.

SECTION A. States the address where he is permanently resident. Contains spaces for efflux and influx control and registration endorsements. (See * below.)

SECTION B. Deals with his employment. (See * below.)

SECTION C. This section is stamped every time he pays his Union and (where applicable) hospital tax.

SECTION D. This section is stamped every time he pays, if called upon to do so, a Bantu Authorities Tax.

SECTION E. For additional particulars.

***SECTION A.** When Africans qualify to remain in an urban area or prescribed area in terms of provisions (a) or (b) of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act, Section A of their reference books is endorsed
"Resident of in terms of Section 10 (1) (a) or (b)".

***SECTION B.** *Workseekers.* If an unemployed African qualifies to be registered as a workseeker, the employment officer will tell him of suitable vacancies or allow him to seek work for himself. An appropriate entry will be made in his reference book, such as
"Registered as a workseeker at the labour bureau at" or
"Permitted to proceed to for the purposes of taking up employment with under attested contract of service."

How to read a Reference Book — Women

The front or back page will have the following information: Identity card bearing photograph and stating identity number, name, group, tribe and citizenship (if she is not a South African citizen).

SECTION A. Contains space for efflux and influx endorsements, and, if she is subject to native law and custom, her parent's or guardian's consent for leaving home for the purpose of working or residing in a district away from her home.

SECTION B. For her employer's name and address, date of engagement and discharge, and signature of employer. This section need not be signed monthly unless her employer so wishes.

SECTION C. For additional particulars, e.g. concessions in respect of curfew regulations or Native Law and customs.

SECTION D. Gives personal particulars, the district where she is ordinarily resident, her marital status, name of husband, parent or guardian, his identity number and his domiciliary address.

Making application for a reference book

When a person applies for a book he is usually sent for a domiciliary check to the Township where he states he lives. If he does in fact live legally there and is on a housing permit he is put down (in the C Section of his book) as a resident of the area for tax purposes, with a note (the letters F.P. and a date two years ahead), indicating that in two years time he will be 18 and due to pay poll tax. His book is stamped on issue: "to report to the local pass office before (such and such a date)." The registering officer then stamps his permit in the A section of his book.

If proof of birth is needed an affidavit may be sworn and an application made for a late birth certificate.

Reference books were introduced for men in 1953 after the passing of the "Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act" No. 67 of 1952. Before that date men carried a service contract.

Reference books for women have been compulsory from 1st February 1963.

A woman wishing a work permit who is not qualified under Section 10 (see below) to be in the area, must prove that she entered the area before 10th March 1959 and has remained there since that date, when permits for women became obligatory in Johannesburg.

An African who is under 16 years of age and who wishes to obtain work must get an Identity Certificate from a Bantu Affairs Commissioner or magistrate in the area where his parent or guardian lives. This certificate must indicate the consent of the latter.

Notes on the Natives (Urban Areas)

Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945

(as amended by Bantu Laws Amendment Act No. 42 of 1964)

SECTION 10 states that:—

No African may remain for more than 72 hours in a prescribed area without a permit

UNLESS

10 (1) a. He or she was born there and has lived there continuously; he/she then qualifies for a 10 (1) permit, issued by the Municipal Non-European Affairs Department;

OR

10 (1) b. He/she has been fifteen years continuously there or ten years with one employer and has not been convicted of a crime rating more than R100 fine or more than six months jail;

OR

10 (1) c. He/she is the wife, son under 18 or unmarried daughter ordinarily living with a 10 (1) a. or 10 (1) b. permitted person and came here lawfully;

OR

10 (1) d. He/she has permission from the Labour Bureau to be there on special permission of some particular sort.

BUT

SECTION 29 states that:—

Any African male between 16 and 65 or female between 15 and 60 must be employed unless they are bone fide housewives or scholars, otherwise they might be listed as "idle or undesirable" and sent away. A person hitherto permitted under Section 10 to remain, forfeits his rights if convicted under Section 29 (Act 42/64 Section 61, 29 (15) (b).

HOWEVER

10 (1) a. or b. permitted persons, unless convicted under Section 29, cannot be sent away

without the consent of the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

All persons having a job BUT told to leave the area may appeal to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

FOREIGN AFRICANS. Africans born outside the borders of South Africa or South West Africa must surrender their Identity documents and Reference Books in favour of Passports before 31st December, 1965. New Regulations are making it very difficult for these people to remain in South Africa.

RETURNING FROM LEAVE. An African may return to a prescribed area after an absence of not more than 12 months to the same employer, or if there is a vacancy for him, to another employer IF the Bantu Affairs Commissioner has no objection.

Endorsements Out

The Reference Book is stamped "Not permitted to remain or to take up employment in", which is usually followed by a second stamp: "To report to D.L.B. (District Labour Bureau) (name of district) before (a certain date, which is usually three days hence, but may be a shorter period)". These stamps are usually inserted at the Registering Office.

APPEALS. If there are grounds for appeal against the endorsement out the appeal should be made to the local Appeals Officer with all the available proof of the person concerned having been in the area for the necessary time.

If an appeal is turned down, and if there is reason to believe that important facts were not presented when the appeal was heard a person can ask to have the appeal re-opened. The request should be made to the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner within 72 hours if possible.

WOMEN. (a) *Workseekers.* These must prove that they have been in the prescribed area lawfully since permits to remain became obligatory for women, and have lived there continuously since that date. When the proofs have been assembled, the woman should take them to the local authority's Non-European Affairs Department.

(b) *Wives.* Wives frequently get endorsed out when the couple apply for a house. They must have entered the area legally, and qualify under Section 10, or their husbands must qualify under Section 10.

How to get permission to enter a prescribed area as a contract worker

If an appeal is unsuccessful the applicant must

return to his home and should he have the offer of employment he must take a letter from the employer to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in his home area, requesting permission to leave the area to take up employment with the specified employer.

At the same time the employer must make application for permission to employ the man/woman, to the local authority in the area where the employer lives or has the vacancy. The African must remain at home until the Bantu Commissioner in his home area has been advised by the Bantu Commissioner in the prescribed area that the African may take up the employment.

Only Africans over 20 years of age are eligible to come to a prescribed area for employment.

Young persons leaving school

1. A youth whose parents live in a prescribed area may perhaps not qualify to live there also, for following reasons:

(a) Because he was not born there or if was born there has not lived there continuously since then.

While he is under 18 he might claim under Section 19 (1) to be ordinarily resident with his parents. Parents should make sure that all children are on their housing permits, and, if these children go away to school, that they return for holidays, and that the Superintendent knows this.

If the youth is endorsed out and if proof can be assembled authenticating his belonging to the family that is legally established in the area, an appeal may be made with all proof attached to the Non-European Affairs Department of the local authority.

If an appeal fails and he is over 20 he can be applied for as a contract worker.

(b) Not born in the area but living with parents while at school there.

The youth in question, born elsewhere, will have come to join his parents now legally resident in the prescribed area, under a scholar's permit. If he is under 18 when he finishes school he should at once get an offer of work and ask whether he may be transferred from the scholar to the work category.

If the youth is over 18 but under 20 it is nearly impossible to have his position rectified, unless it can be proved that he is necessary to the support of the family (legally living in the area but for some reason temporarily unable to support themselves).

The Black Sash Honours a Distinguished Member

AT A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING of the Black Sash held in Johannesburg on the 8th December, the National President, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, presented Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., with a white-gold Black Sash badge as a token of admiration and gratitude from the whole of the Black Sash. The presentation was made in recognition of Mrs. Suzman's outstanding contribution to the cause of justice in South Africa.

An honoured guest at the meeting was Professor Robert Birley, the eminent educationalist, who afterwards gave an address on Bantu Education.

In making the presentation, Mrs. Sinclair paid tribute to Mrs. Suzman's qualities of courage and integrity, and her remarkable performance in Parliament as the sole representative of her Party, and, indeed, of liberal thought in South Africa. Dr. Birley echoed her words, and spoke of Mrs. Suzman as the foremost woman Parliamentarian of the western world.

In thanking the Black Sash for the honour paid to her, and replying to the remarks of Mrs. Sinclair and Dr. Birley, Mrs. Suzman said that although she was supposed never to be at a loss, on such occasions she always was.

Expressing civilized thought

She felt she was too often spoken of as a brave and lonely fighter, but she did not think of herself as such. She thought of herself simply as expressing civilized thought in South Africa, and she did not feel for one moment that she was alone in doing so. She believed that there were

thousands upon thousands of people in South Africa who agreed with every word she uttered in Parliament, and therefore she never felt alone.

"It is not a case of courage, I assure you", she said. "I have the position there to speak, and I am given speaking time. I must say that the Speaker of the House is extremely generous to me in this respect.

"It does not require courage, but it does require a certain amount of stamina and a trained mind. I have that stamina, and I am fortunate in possessing a trained mind by virtue of past experience in the academic world. Perhaps more than anything else, I have the encouragement of people like yourselves, and never feel alone for that reason.

"As I say, I know that when I speak I don't speak on my own behalf at all. I speak on behalf of thousands of civilized people in South Africa who hate injustice, who want to see a different form of living established in South



The National President, Mrs. Sinclair, pins on the white-gold Black Sash badge presented to Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., in recognition of her outstanding contribution to the cause of justice in South Africa.

Africa, who cannot bear to see large numbers of people suffering injustices without any recourse to the law.

"Your own stand this morning outside the University again epitomizes the sort of thing all of us feel, whether or not we agree with the people upon whose behalf we are standing. That is quite irrelevant. We stand for the principle, and this is terribly important.

Only one direction

"We have all felt very frustrated and discouraged at times in South African when we seem to be fighting a losing battle. Mrs. Sinclair says we have no success — I do not believe this is so; I believe it is just that we are discouraged at the present time, because the climate of opinion seems to be against us, and discouraging things happen not only in South Africa but beyond our borders.

"But I think as time goes on, and more and more people realize the consequences of race discrimination and the disastrous effects of White supremacy *per se* in South Africa and elsewhere, more and more people are going to realize that there is only one direction for intelligent people to take when they happen to live in a multi-racial country — and that is to take all the population along by consent; to grant liberties, and certainly to grant opportunities to every single person in the country, irrespective of colour, to make full use of his natural abilities, productivity and responsibility towards government in the country in which he lives."

Most stirring times in South Africa

Mrs. Suzman admitted that she, too, very often felt discouraged — especially after listening to some of the debates in Parliament! But these were only temporary moods of frustration — she felt that all of us, in a way, were privileged to be living in South Africa at this time, to be able to contribute our small portion towards the fight for freedom and justice in our country.

"I think we live in most stirring times in South Africa, and I believe that all of us are doing a practical job — all of us in this room, and thousands of people not here today. We are all, in a tiny measure, contributing towards that fight. And as long as we go on doing it, I believe that what we do is worthwhile.

"The most soul-destroying thing one can do in South Africa today is to live here and do nothing about the situation — to enjoy the flesh pots that are here for all of us, and do absolutely nothing about the basic injustice around us."

Spearhead of re-education

"I had a very interesting chat with Dr. Birley a couple of years ago," continued Mrs. Suzman. "He had given an address to the Institute of Race Relations about the position in Germany after the fall of the Nazi regime, and the education and the re-establishment of norms in that

country. As you may know, Dr. Birley played a very large part in this work.

"I asked him, 'How did you re-educate all the young Nazis who had grown up under this regime, who had had all their school life under the Nazis?' I was thinking, of course, of the parallel in South Africa, where we now have a whole generation of voters who have been born, educated and have come to adulthood under the Nationalist Party regime — how does one ever undo the tremendous educative force of laws aimed at racial discrimination?"

"And he said that the task was made easier by the fact — indeed it could only be accomplished *because* of the fact — that throughout the Nazi regime there had been a few people who had withstood the whole indoctrination, had withstood the direction of thought of the Nazi government. These people had been vocal, and they had survived the regime. And because they survived, and were in Germany when the Nazis fell, they were able to be used as tremendous foci of thought, as the spearhead of the re-education that took place in Germany.

"So if we do nothing else, by working throughout this regime, by talking against it throughout its undoubtedly limited existence — for it *will not* go on for ever — by surviving until the regime is brought to an end, we will have served a purpose. We will be there for the focal point, for the bridge that can be rebuilt between other sections of the community and ourselves.

Greatest achievement

"If I may end on a sort of mutual admiration note, I really do appreciate everything the Black Sash has done. I am not talking now of the Advice Office work, which I think is brilliant — the sustained efforts in Cape Town, here and elsewhere. But I think your greatest achievement has been your efforts in attempting now, already, to re-educate the public of South Africa to the truth and the facts of life in this country.

"I would like to congratulate all of you on everything you have done, and to wish you well for the future."

The Black Sash and Civil Liberties

(Continued from page 12)

the practical assertion of such legal rights as are left to them, helping to sort out the difficulties of the victims of unjust laws, and trying to keep alive what is left of Non-White confidence in White integrity.

You may think that "the struggle naught avail-eth". And you may prove right. It may be that "blood, sweat and tears" alone will teach White South Africa what it can learn no other way. But then it will be too late. Nor is that fearful possibility any excuse for our generation to shirk their plain duty to do what in them lies to avoid it. That is the mission and the message of the Black Sash.

A Letter to the Editor

The Background to Rhodesia's U.D.I.

The writer of this letter was born in South Africa, but lived in Rhodesia for eight years. She is still a Rhodesian citizen.

AMIDST ALL THE JUBILATION of the general White population in South Africa over Rhodesia's declaration of independence it seems necessary to attempt to correct the wrong impression created by news and comment broadcast by the S.A.B.C., and by public statements made by Sir de Villiers Graaff here, by Mr. Ian Smith in Rhodesia and by others.

Rhodesia has been a self-governing colony since 1923, and the power which Britain has wielded over her affairs has been limited to the ability to refuse to ratify an act of her Parliament dealing with African or external affairs. It has in fact never been exercised. Rhodesia enjoyed the tremendous advantages of protection at the United Nations against outside interference, a task which Britain fulfilled with determination and unswervingly.

"Partnership"

When the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was created there was a great deal of opposition from the Northern territories on the grounds that it would bring them under the influence of the comparatively large White Settler population in S. Rhodesia, and so delay their enfranchisement and independence. To counteract this, "partnership" was put forward as one of the basic lines along which Federation would operate, and the word was in common use for some years. Unfortunately little was done to implement it. White politicians constantly talked about it but it was never really tried. The economic position of the African population improved during the years Federation lasted and there were a great number of schools, clinics, hospitals, roads and opportunities for employment established and enlarged, but politically and socially nothing at all was accomplished in S. Rhodesia except where African agitation caused the White population to retreat a step or two. Some enlightened White leaders tried to implement partnership with results which are well known. Mr. Garfield Todd lost the leadership of his party and was pushed into the political wilderness. Sir Edgar Whitehead dared to fight an election on the issue of the Land Apportionment Act and was soundly defeated. It must be stressed that contrary to the much repeated statement that partnership failed *it was never really tried.*

During and after the break-up of Federation, Sir Roy Welensky, whose outstanding attribute is his honesty, gave vent to his bitterness in many public speeches. He felt that the British Government had let his Government down very

badly and, rightly or wrongly, his indignation and disgust created the climate of opinion amongst the electorate which has allowed Mr. Smith to lead his country into an act of rebellion which would have been unthinkable three years ago.

The 1961 Constitution

The 1961 Constitution for S. Rhodesia was originally accepted by all sections of the population including the African Nationalists, who unfortunately rejected it soon afterwards and refused to register as voters even although many would have been able to do so. This has meant that it has failed to operate as was hoped. The African Nationalists felt that their enfranchisement depended on the rate at which the Government was prepared to pay for education and that it could be delayed for many years. They also very much resented the fact that the Land Apportionment Act was not removed. The majority of the White population accepted the new Constitution but had certain reservations, feeling that the rate of African advancement would be too rapid. Nevertheless the Constitution did provide certain safeguards in that Britain had the power to prevent any retrogression and the 15 B-Roll seats could not be removed legally by an act of the Rhodesian parliament alone.

Mr. Smith and the Rhodesian Front used this fact as an electioneering appeal to the White Electorate, and there is no doubt in my mind that independence was desired largely so that the S.R. Government would be able to tamper with the Constitution to the detriment of the African population. This view is borne out by the terms of the so-called 1965 Constitution which puts complete power into the hands of "the Officer administering the Government."

Mr. Wilson and his Government have done all in their power to avert the present catastrophe and it is difficult to see how they could have acted otherwise. The majority of the White population of Rhodesia have allowed themselves to be carried on a vast wave of emotion into this situation but it must be remembered that the majority of the Rhodesian *people* are *not* in favour of

independence on these terms. I would remind Sir de Villiers Graaff and the S.A.B.C. that the majority of the South African people do not support the Smith Government's move either. It would be as well to remind ourselves that the general rejoicing amongst the White population is shared only by the powers that be in the communist world and by the extremist black racists who think that the creation of a chaotic situation is the swiftest and surest way to achieve their ends.

On all counts the declaration of independence has been a colossal mistake and a tragic and irresponsible action. To plunge a country which was just recovering from the economic effects of the break-up of Federation into uncertainty and doubt, and quite possibly poverty and chaos is not a matter for congratulation and for jubilation. We in South Africa should be praying that reason will prevail and that the situation will not escalate into something which involves us all in tragedy.

SHEENA DUNCAN.

HAS THE MEANING OF WORDS BEEN CHANGED?

(A letter to the Rand Daily Mail)

THE Minister of Education, Senator De Klerk, says Johannesburg's new Afrikaans university would have one major task — to uproot the "destructive forces" of liberalism, communism and humanism.

I have seen words similar to these before, but suddenly I could not believe the evidence of my own eyes. Could it be possible that a responsible member of the Government, and the Minister of Education at that, could seriously make such a statement and expect that it should be taken seriously? Even worse, could it be possible that it was taken seriously?

Words are the tools for making ideas intelligible to others. It is necessary that those whose business it is to convey ideas should use words correctly.

Desperation

In muddled desperation I turned to the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary which told me that "humanism" is "the quality of being human; devotion to human interests. Any system of thought or action which is concerned with merely human interests or with those of the human race in general."

"Human" is described as being "of, belonging to, or characteristic of man." Not satisfied with

this, I turned to Kritzinger and Steyn's "Skoolwoordeboek." Here the Afrikaans words for "humanism" were given as "humanisme; menslikheid." "Menslikheid" is then described as "humanity, human nature."

The Minister cannot possibly mean that the humanism of South Africans must be uprooted, for this would imply that we must not be human, that we must not be "of man as opposed to other animals or to God" (Pocket Oxford Dictionary), that we must not be concerned with merely human interests or with those of the human race in general.

Or are South Africans to view themselves as beings apart, as a species divorced from the rest of mankind? Is this a misuse of language, or does the Minister mean what he says?

"Liberalism" is described as "the holding of liberal opinions in politics or theology."

According to the dictionary, "Liberal" meant, originally, "those arts or sciences that were worthy of a free man." Later "of conditions, pursuits, etc., becoming of a free man."

Now, among other things, "Liberal" has come to mean "free from narrow prejudice; open-minded; favourable to changes and reforms tending in the direction of democracy."

Contradiction

Perhaps in this instance the Minister really does mean what he says, but as the whole concept of Western civilization is based upon the concept of democracy, and as we South Africans claim to be upholding "Western" civilization, there is an obvious contradiction here. Are we to uproot the basis of Western civilization in this country?

I have no objection whatsoever to uprooting communism. I, too, consider it to be a "destructive force." But I object most strenuously to the unholy wedlock into which humanism and liberalism have been forced with communism, and I believe that it is high time they were divorced.

I believe that when we are told that humanism and liberalism are destructive forces, we should understand clearly what is being said — that we are to cease to be "men" and that we are to cease to be "open-minded and free from narrow prejudice."

Senator de Klerk, and all other Government spokesmen, must understand that we give words their conventional meaning. If these spokesmen mean to imply something other than what we find it hard to believe they are implying, then they must use words with greater precision. They owe it to themselves and to their audiences.

JOYCE HARRIS.

ANOTHER YEAR OF HARD WORK

REPORTS FROM BLACK SASH REGIONS AND BRANCHES

ALTHOUGH there seems to have been a swing to the right among the Whites of South Africa, there is no feeling of despondency in the Black Sash. Reports from the various Regions at the eleventh Annual National Conference held in Port Elizabeth in October told the usual story of hard and dedicated work, and although some Regions have had a very difficult year, on the whole we have been greatly encouraged by increasing support from the Press, and the acquisition of a number of new and active members.

Moreover, more of our members are showing a willingness to take office, thus enabling those who have carried the burden of leadership for many years to take a rest, or releasing them for other work — and, after all, a change is said to be as good as a holiday!

HEADQUARTERS

HEADQUARTERS and Transvaal Region have been particularly lucky in this respect. Several members who had been inactive for various reasons have returned to active work, and we have gained some valuable new members, including some very keen younger women. The Black Sash seems to have entered into a more settled period: the existing membership is stable, and women who now seek to join us do so because they understand what we are doing and wish to take part in the work. The infusion of new blood has come at the right time, for after four years as Headquarters the Region has been suffering badly from the drain on personnel of having to provide both national and regional office-bearers.

There will be no holiday or change for our National President. At the National Conference, *Mrs. Jean Sinclair* was elected to this office

for the fifth year in succession. There were no other nominations — it seems impossible to imagine anyone else as President as long as Headquarters remains in the Transvaal and *Mrs. Sinclair* is able and willing to do the work. One of the founders of the movement, she has remained an inspiration to the Black Sash, for three years as National Chairman, then as Southern Transvaal Regional Chairman, and now as National President.

Mrs. Bobbie Cluver was again elected Vice-President, but she has been relieved of the second burden she carried so efficiently last year — the arduous dual office of National and Regional Secretary. The second Vice-President is *Mrs. Nell Green*, who has returned to South Africa — and active service in the Black Sash — after four years in Swaziland. This is *Mrs. Green's* second spell as a National Vice-President, and she was



HEADQUARTERS DELEGATES TO THE ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN PORT ELIZABETH. L. to R. Mesdames Hill, Green, Sinclair, Cluver.

the very first Secretary of the Black Sash — then known as the Women's Defence of the Constitution League — and presented the petition against the Senate Act to the Governor-General.

After a year's break *Mrs. Bobbie Johnston* has again taken on the job of National and Regional Secretary. She has spent her year's "rest" on various regional sub-committees, where her organizing ability has been of great assistance.

Mrs. Dora Hill, a former Vice-President, has taken on the job of National Treasurer by way of a change, but she is first taking a short holiday in order to marry off two daughters. During her leave of absence, *Mrs. Bertha Beinashowitz* is Acting National Treasurer.

After four years as Editor of the Black Sash magazine, *Mrs. Dorothy Grant* will relinquish the position with the publication of this issue, and is taking six months' leave of absence. The new Editor will be *Mrs. Sheena Duncan*, one of our keen younger members.

Mrs. Duncan joined the Black Sash at the very beginning, but soon afterwards went to Rhodesia to live, and remained there for eight years. She kept in close touch with South African and Black Sash affairs, however — how could she do otherwise, being the daughter of *Mrs. Jean Sinclair*? Since her return to Johannesburg she has rejoined, and last year convened the very successful Publicity and Propaganda Sub-Committee. She is also a regular worker in the Johannesburg Advice Office.



Mrs. Sheena Duncan
the new
Magazine Editor

Publicity and Propaganda

During the year statements on the following subjects were circulated to the Regions and through them sent to the newspapers in each area: Inroads on personal liberty; the Government's defence policy; Race Classification; the raid on the Athlone Advice Office; an article on Family Day in South Africa; and, during the National Conference, a statement on the banning of *Mrs. Jean Hill*.

Letters to the local newspapers covered the following subjects: A reply to *Mr. Neame's* statement that the Black Sash is not a political organization; the banning of *Professor Roux*; a reply to *Mr. Fouche's* speech at Dingaanstad;

the banning of *Mr. David Craighead*; 180-Day detention of State witnesses; the "Homeless Servant" Act; the endorsing out of African wives at Welkom; congratulations on *Mr. Robinson's* article on "Liberalism" (which appeared subsequently in the Black Sash magazine); the banning of *Coloured teachers* from political parties; the "Heyman affair"; the S.A.B.C. "Snoektown Calling" programme.

In her own capacity, *Mrs. Sinclair* has written innumerable letters to the Press on every issue that comes within the orbit of Black Sash work. These letters not only keep our name before the public, but, we hope, also put a rational point of view before a public which has become sadly muddled in its thinking.

BORDER REGION

UNLIKE most of the other Regions, which have gained new members during the year, Border has been unlucky enough to lose several old and valued members, and has carried on under great difficulties. *Mrs. Daphne Curry*, the founder of the Region and its dynamic leader for many years, has been unable to undertake much active work as she now has a full-time business post. *Mrs. Deena Streek*, her second-in-command, has been overseas for six months, and two other staunch and hard-working committee members have moved to other parts of the country.

For the major part of the year, the remaining committee members did their best to keep the little band going, three of them dividing the work of Acting Chairman and Secretary between them and each taking four-month stints at each job. Now that *Mrs. Streek* is back, however, she has bravely taken on the dual duties of *Chairman and Secretary* with *Mrs. Curry* as Vice-Chairman and guide and counsellor, and *Mrs. Babette Spargo* as Treasurer.

Only *Mrs. Curry* was able to attend the National Conference as a delegate, but happily she was supported for part of the time by *Mrs. Gillian Litchfield*, a former Border Committee member who now lives in Grahamstown.

We congratulate the Region on carrying on in the face of such difficulties.

Advice Office

The office was faithfully opened three times a week until circumstances forced our members to close down.

South Africa Foundation

An approach was made to the South Africa Foundation, without success, unfortunately, to see if members of the Black Sash could interview, or at least meet, visitors to South Africa.

General Meetings

During the year, several general meetings were held to keep interest in the Black Sash alive.

One held last March deserves special mention, as Mrs. Eleanor Lewin (*Eleanor Hawarden*) of Johannesburg gave a most interesting and stimulating address.

Mrs. Lewin emphasized the need to keep preaching to the converted, a point often missed; and with this point in mind our East London members' main aim in 1965/66 will be a simple one — to keep the flag flying!

CAPE EASTERN REGION

WHEN Mrs. Alison Pirie, the founder and for many years the leader of Cape Eastern Region, left Port Elizabeth, it was a sad loss which the Region felt very deeply. But new leaders came forward, and the Region is now as vigorous and full of vitality as ever, as delegates to the recent National Conference can testify.

Mrs. Peggy Levey, who has been Regional Chairman for nearly three years, is a wise and dedicated leader. She is ably and staunchly supported by Mrs. Diana Davis, Secretary, and Mrs. Anne Bolton, Treasurer.

"Recalled to life"

The best single item of news is that the Grahamstown Branch has been revived: the Chairman, Mrs. Wyndham Kelly, attended Conference as an alternate delegate, and there were several observers. This gives the Region three Branches, the other two being at Addo and Alexandria, with Mrs. Bengough and Mrs. Gardiner the respective Chairwomen.

How Grahamstown was "raised from the dead" is an interesting story. The new principal of Diocesan School for Girls, who has recently come from England, wished to know more about the Black Sash, and invited the organization to address the pupils. The meeting was not a compulsory parade, but over a hundred girls turned up to hear the speakers, listened with rapt attention and asked many questions. Four Regional Council members were the speakers, and they were accompanied by two members from Addo.

On the same day another meeting was arranged by Mrs. Wyndham Kelly, and the same speakers addressed a group of about eight women who were interested in Sash activities. They agreed to call an inaugural meeting in September and to send observers to the National Conference.

After supper, the Black Sash representatives gave a "repeat performance" for a group of about twenty Anglican Church women called together by the Dean of Grahamstown. Three successful meetings in one day!

Advice Office

A sad news item is that the Advice Office was obliged to close down because sufficient helpers could not be found to do the work. Interested members continue to work for the Christian Council Office.

Stands and Demonstrations

Last year the Region had great difficulty in obtaining permission to hold a protest stand against 90-day detention, but after much argument with the City Council and the police they managed to organize a stand. There were no incidents.

In May, the Region applied for permission to stage a Birthday stand. It was given and the demonstration accordingly organized.

Twenty minutes after the commencement of the stand, two members of the Special Branch approached the Chairman and demanded to see the permit. When produced, it was confiscated. This action was illegal.

Later, the Special Branch wrote to the City Council complaining that the Black Sash stand had been held under false pretences. This was learnt through a newspaper report, but our members did not seek elucidation from either the Special Branch or the City Council. There were no repercussions.

"Survey of Race Relations"

Two members of the Regional Council sit on the Regional Council of the Institute of Race Relations, and they are trying to arouse more enthusiasm for the Institute's factual information. Accordingly, the Black Sash General Meeting for August was devoted to the study of "Survey of Race Relations in South Africa for 1964." Seven members prepared summaries of sections of the book and read them to the meeting. The meeting was poorly attended but the experiment was successful and will be repeated.

Meetings

The Region has held ten Council meetings during the year, and six General Meetings. *Advocate Gordon Davis* addressed one of the General Meetings, and at two of the others tapes by *Professor Monica Wilson* and *Mrs. Jessie Hertslet* were played.

Other Activities

The Region has formed a small discussion group of six African and six European women who meet once a month.

Members of the Region sent Christmas parcels and mid-year food parcels to nine banished men in the area.

Two Regional Council members attended a session of the *Beach Apartheid Commission*. They were appalled at the greed and selfishness displayed by the White delegates. Prior to the meeting, the Cape Eastern Black Sash wrote a letter to the Commission pleading for a fair deal for the non-White community.

CAPE WESTERN REGION

AT A REGIONAL MEETING held soon after the National Conference, *Mrs. Barbara Wilks*, who has been Secretary for some years, became the new Regional Chairman in succession to *Mrs. Peggy Roberts*. The new Secretary is *Mrs. A. I. Aitchison*, and *Mrs. Barbara Willis* continues to look after the Region's finances, with *Mrs. Marie Green* as Assistant Treasurer.

"Legal Now, Unjust Forever"

The need for protest which called the Black Sash into being ten years ago has become more urgent and demanding with the years. To remind the public of the laws which are "legal now, unjust forever", the Region staged a novel demonstration. A lorry displaying this slogan was driven through Cape Town and the suburbs for two days in February, with posters enumerating the injustices: Pass Laws, Job Reservation, Enforced Group Areas, Separate Representation, Closed Universities, withholding of African freehold property rights, breaking of African homes through Migrant Labour, banning and banishment without trial, Enforced Apartheid at public entertainment.

Group Areas

At the beginning of the year, many Black Sash members were involved in protests against the proposed Group Areas in Kalk Bay, Simon's Town, Frasierdale and Kommetje. Official representations on behalf of the Black Sash were made at various Public Enquiries held before the Group Areas Board. Full stories of what was done by our members appeared in a previous issue of the Magazine.

Mrs. Stott gave to an All Branches meeting a most interesting talk on the difficulties experienced by those affected by the Group Areas restrictions. Many of these people suffer unnecessary financial loss, in addition to losing their homes, because of their ignorance of the proper way to set about selling their property. At her instigation, a committee was formed with the object of giving advice to the bewildered.

Further protests by the Black Sash were levelled at Compulsory Segregation on Beaches, and members attended several public hearings before the Board. As citizens of Cape Town, Black Sash members manned tables in the streets, at which signatures were collected for a mass protest; and *Somerset West Branch* held a stand to express their disapproval.

Proclamation 26

This new law brings some of the worst rigours of apartheid into public entertainment and sport, and causes endless unnecessary hardship and ill-feeling. Great concern over its effects was expressed on all sides, and a Protest Meeting called

by the Black Sash on 26th April was excellently attended. Thoughtful and stirring speeches by prominent Capetonians were effectively noticed by the Press. Tape recordings were made and are being widely used by Branches and other Regions. The address by the South African poet, *Uys Krige*, was published in the August/October issue of our Magazine.

Protest Stands

A stand against the *Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill* was held on May 14th.

Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. These Bills were felt to be so devastating in their effects that about 50 members of the Black Sash took part in a lunch-hour stand in protest. In addition, together with other organizations the Black Sash was represented officially at a lunch-hour meeting arranged on June 14th by the Progressive Party.

"All Branches" Meetings

These meetings are now being held in the Christ Church Hall in Kenilworth, and a speaker is usually invited, as members find the talks educative and stimulating. During the year, the following addresses were heard: *Mr. A. Delius*—Summit meetings in Africa against the general background of Chinese infiltration; *Mrs. E. Stott*—An account of a visit to the Transkei; *Mr. D. Molteno*—The new Group Areas Proclamation; *Mr. G. Gordon*—The loss of liberty, both actual and potential, suffered by Whites as well as non-Whites as a result of the legislation of recent years; *Mrs. E. Stott*—The difficulties of people affected by Group Areas legislation; *Dr. Davenport*—"The Historical Origins of South Africa's Ideological Differences".

Statements and Letters

During the year, letters and statements were sent to the Press on the following subjects: A reply to *Mr. de Wet Nel's* speech at *M'bukwene*, in which he accused those who blamed the Government for the break-up of African family life of wilful and hostile inaccuracy; on the proposed removal of Coloured people from Simon's Town and Kalk Bay; on the suspension of the 90-day Clause; on the prohibiting of *Professor Simons* from lecturing and writing; on *Beach Apartheid*; on segregation in *Sport and Entertainment*; on the banning of *Mr. Zackon*; against the *Official Secrets and Police Amendment Bill*; against the closing of the *Orpheum* and *Gaiety* cinemas hitherto attended by Coloured people in Claremont and Wynberg; a statement on the raiding of the *Athlone Advice Office*, which appeared with a statement from the Cape Western Chairman of the Institute of Race Relations (jointly responsible with the Black Sash for the Advice Office), a statement on the return of papers seized by the police; a letter by the Director of the Advice

Office, congratulating the *Cape Times* on a series of articles on the everyday life of *Cape Town Africans*, and showing the relevance of Athlone Advice Office work to a previous article by *Professor Lewin* on government hostility to legal aid for Africans; a letter criticizing the Minister of Defence's speech claiming that it was necessary "to overstep the rule of law . . . to save South Africa".

The Athlone Advice Office

Work has become more and more difficult because of restricting regulations, both written and unwritten, but in spite of this a surprising number of people have been helped and the office is filled every day with those seeking advice on their problems.

Security Police raided the Office on July 7th. When the papers they took were returned, the Advice Office made a press statement to inform the public of what the police had already been told by our legal representative — that we had been advised that these documents "were unlawfully seized and appropriate remedy in the courts would, if necessary, be sought."

The return of every single paper made such action unnecessary.

By comparison of official figures for "endorsing out" with our own for attendance at the Advice Office, it would seem that at least a quarter of the men and women endorsed out of the Municipal and Divisional Council areas call at the Advice Office.

Mrs. Noel Robb continues to direct the Advice Office, with *Mrs. Shirley Parkes* as organizer.

NATAL COASTAL REGION

A FEW YEARS AGO, when *Mrs. Marjorie Scott* and other early leaders left Natal, the Natal Coastal Region was in danger of collapse. But thanks to the Westville Branch and *Mrs. Doris Wallace*, who came forward to take control, the Region survived, and is to-day a flourishing and vigorous section of the Black Sash.

Mrs. Wallace is the Regional Chairman, with *Mrs. Ventress* and *Mrs. Clarke* as Vice-Chairwomen. *Mrs. Mary Grice*, another of our able younger women, is the Secretary, and *Mrs. Hayes* the Treasurer.

Demonstrations

A stand was held on the 25th May to mark our Tenth Anniversary. A poster made note of the ten years, and ten further posters drew attention to the worst of the changes in our laws.

On the 18th June a stand was held to commemorate the signing of *Magna Carta*, contrasting this Act with the present-day legislation in our country. It was a bitterly cold day with a howling gale and torrential rain, but 12 brave souls



Demonstration in Durban to protest against the banning of Mrs. Jean Hill.

turned out. As if for encouragement, just for the hour of the demonstration, the rain eased off!

In October, a stand was held in Durban to protest against the banning of *Mrs. Jean Hill*, a foundation member of the Black Sash in Natal.

Tenth Anniversary

A party held in the lovely Hillcrest garden of *Mrs. E. Matthews* was very well attended and greatly enjoyed. A resumé of the history of the Black Sash was given by *Mrs. Susan Francis*, last year's Regional Chairman.

The party was held a week before the birthday, but on the actual anniversary day, 25th May, the monthly General Meeting was held. This was an open meeting, and a most interesting address was given by *Professor Gleason*, visiting Professor of History from U.S.A.

Advice Office

In February, the Region reluctantly closed their Advice Office. In view of the small numbers attending, its existence was not felt to be justified. The reason for this small attendance seemed to be threefold: at that time there was full employment in Durban, women are not yet being endorsed out, and the attitude of the Influx Control officials is so sympathetic that few Africans actually endorsed out have any hope of establishing their right to stay.

The few cases from the Advice Office were referred to the Institute of Race Relations, but by May, as it was found that the numbers coming for advice were increasing, the Region decided to re-open their Office in a much smaller way.

Brains Trust

In August, the Region held a Brains Trust in Caxton Hall. Our National President, *Mrs. Jean Sinclair*, and *Mrs. Peggy Roberts*, then Cape Western Regional Chairman, came to Durban for the night. Other speakers in the Panel were the Archbishop of Durban, the *Very Rev. Denis Hurlep*; *Mr. Geoffrey Horton*, lecturer in History at Natal University; and two members of the Nationalist Party — *Mr. V. Volker, M.P.C.*, and *Mr. Gert Claassen, M.P.C.* The Question Master was *Mr. Ray Leon, Q.C.*

The subject was "Apartheid — right or wrong?" The questions were excellently chosen and the debate was of a very high standard. The hall was completely packed with a very attentive audience, including a handful of Nationalists who had turned out to support their speakers. A very friendly atmosphere prevailed throughout the debate, and during the tea which followed.

Meetings

During the year, the Region held ten General Meetings, eight of which were open meetings. Visiting speakers included *Mrs. Violet Padyachee* who spoke on "The effect on the Indian family of Job Reservation"; *Mr. D. C. Grice* of the Institute of Race Relations, who spoke on "the situation created in Natal by the Government's Separate Development policy", illustrating his talk with maps; *Mrs. Zuleikah Mayat* who gave an account of her recent trip to India and Pakistan, illustrating her talk with slides; and *Professor Gleason* who intrigued his audience with a scholarly talk entitled "Russia Then and Now".

Four members of Natal Coastal Region are also members of the *Indian Women's Cultural Group*, forming a link between the Black Sash and the women of the large Indian community.

NATAL MIDLANDS REGION

THE VIGOROUS CHAIRMAN of this Region for the past year has been *Miss Iris Friday*, who took over from *Mrs. Maimie Corrigan*, the Regional leader for many years. *Mrs. Corrigan* is enjoying a "rest" as a member of the Committee. The Vice-Chairman is *Mrs. Marie Dyer*, the Secretary *Mrs. Gwen Phillips*, and *Mrs. Joy Hey* is the Treasurer.

The Region now has only one Branch, in *Pietermaritzburg*, but there are groups of members in *Mooi River*, *Kokstad*, *Howick*, *Ixopo*, *Himeville/Underberg*, and a representative at *Matatiele* who is a member of *Pietermaritzburg* Branch.

Meetings

Regular Committee and General Meetings have been held during the year, and several special meetings.

The *Pietermaritzburg* Branch sponsored a public protest meeting at *Edendale* to protest against the banning of *Mr. Selby Maimang*.

A Public Meeting, with three guest speakers, was held to mark the *tenth birthday* of the Black Sash.

A House Meeting held at the close of last year's National Conference was addressed by *Mrs. Noel Robb* of Cape Western Region, on the work of the Athlone Advice Office. A tape recording of this meeting has been used extensively by Black Sash Branches and various Church organizations.

The Region arranged a meeting at which *Dr. Edgar Brookes* addressed the N.C.W. on "African Wages and the Bread Line".

Tenth Birthday Celebrations

The Public Meeting referred to above, which was held in the Supper Room of the City Hall, proved a great success. The three speakers were *Dr. Edgar Brookes*, on "The Black Sash"; *Mr. Colin Webb* on "The Official Secrets Amendment Bill", and *Mr. Jacques Berthoud* on "Apartheid in Entertainment". A tape recording of these three speeches has been circulated widely, and not only in Black Sash circles.

After the meeting the speakers and other guests were entertained to tea. A birthday cake decorated with a small figure wearing a Black Sash, and the motto "For Evil to Succeed . . .", received much comment.

Two effective demonstrations were held during peak hours. A 30-foot banner, bearing the words, "Against these we have stood — Legal Now, Immoral Forever", was held over posters listing legislation against which we have protested over the past ten years. The stands were well supported by *Pietermaritzburg* members and attracted a good deal of attention. A picture appeared in the "Natal Mercury", and the "Natal Witness" wrote a leading article on the Black Sash.

Co-operation with other organizations

The Black Sash attended a Protest Meeting and joined in a demonstration organized by NUSAS against the banning of *Mr. John Aitchison*.

The Black Sash, the Progressive Party and the Liberal Party combined to obtain signatures of prominent people to a statement protesting against and condemning the Suppression of Communism Amendment Act and the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act. The "Sunday Times" published this in a prominent position on July 7th.

Demonstrations

Members gave encouraging support to demonstrations, of which 15 were held during the year. In addition to regular protests against *Bannings*,

House Arrests and Banishments, the Region demonstrated on *Human Rights Day*, and on *Family Day*; against the *90-day Clause*, the *Official Secrets Amendment Bill*, the *Criminal Law Amendment Bill*; and held a demonstration calling for a Judicial Inquiry into *prison conditions* in South Africa. Demonstrations are *invariably attended by the Special Branch*. Permission from the Town Clerk is necessary.

Other Activities

Multi-racial Tea Parties have been arranged irregularly, and with rather disappointing results, despite repeated and varied efforts. As the Region believe the bridging of the colour line to be an important function, they are determined to go on trying and other methods of approach are being tried.

Press Statements have been made on the bannings of Mr. Selby Maimang, Mr. Saul Bastomsky, Mr. David Craighead and Mr. C. Thuis, Mr. John Aitchison, Mr. C. Shabalala, Mr. Enoch Mguni and Mr. M. Ndhlovu. Other statements were made on *Family Day* and *S.A. Prisons Conditions*.

The National President's statement on the *Suppression of Communism Amendment Act* and the *Criminal Procedure Amendment Act* was printed in the local newspapers.

TRANSVAAL REGION

AT the Annual General Meeting held in June, Mrs. Dora Hill resigned as Chairman of the Region, after many strenuous years of office. It was her wise and practical approach that guided the Region through some difficult decisions, and it is good to know that as she is now a Vice-Chairman her indispensable services are still available to the Region.

Mrs. Jeanette Carlson was elected Regional Chairman in her stead, and she has already shown that she possesses qualities of tact and discretion, as well as much organizational ability and an alert and vigorous mind. The other two Vice-Chairmen are Mrs. Pam Duncan, a recent acquisition from Natal Coastal Region, and Mrs. Jeanette Davidoff, who has been able to resume Black Sash activity after many months of ill-health. We will all be glad to see her restored to full health and vigour as we need her energy and drive.

Mrs. Bobbie Johnston is once again the Region's capable Secretary, and Mrs. Kay Gaynor continues to look after the finances in her quiet and efficient way.

Mrs. Margaret Kirk and Mrs. Henrietta Radale continue to run the office, and both have additional duties in the Advice Office, Mrs. Kirk as Secretary and Mrs. Radale as interpreter. The

Region depends more than we can say on these two efficient and charming people.

Sub-Committees

The Region has been operating on a basis of sub-committees, whose convenors report back to the Regional Committee. The Advice Office Committee, the Planning Committee and the Magazine Committee were already in existence, with Mesdames Sinclair, Davidoff and Grant, respectively, convening them. New sub-committees formed during the year were: Publicity and Propaganda (Mrs. Sheena Duncan); Membership (Mrs. Dora Hill); Fund-raising (Mrs. Pam Duncan); Demonstrations (Mrs. Sinclair).

A number of new members have been enrolled, and some of these have been co-opted onto Sub-committees. The general committee is now able to streamline its methods of planning and implementation.

Demonstrations

During the year, demonstrations were held against the *90-day clause*, until the clause was suspended; *Banning, House Arrest and Banishment*; the *banning of mixed audiences* at the Rand Easter Show; the *Separate Representation of Voters Bill*; *prison conditions* in South Africa. A *birthday demonstration* was held on the 26th May, and a stand commemorating the 750th anniversary of *Magna Carta* was mounted on the 10th June. On the 8th December, a demonstration was held to protest against the *banning of Mrs. Jean Hill*.

Throughout the year there was a good attendance of members at demonstrations, and generally one or two non-members participated.

Press

The Region has maintained most successful Press relations throughout the year. A Black Sash statement on the *suspension of the 90-day clause* was published by the "Rand Daily Mail", who also published a lengthy illustrated article on the *Transvaal Advice Office*. An article by Mrs. Jean Sinclair on "*Family Day*" was given prominence.

Professor G. H. L. Le May wrote an article on the Black Sash which was published in the "Star" on our birthday. Sub-leaders appeared in both the "Star" and the "Rand Daily Mail" at the time of our tenth anniversary.

A constant campaign of letters to the press has been carried out, mostly organized by the Publicity and Propaganda Sub-Committee.

General Meetings

The Region has held a series of very successful open General Meetings with the following speakers: Professor Le May on "Liberalism";

BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

HEADQUARTERS

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

National Vice-Presidents: Mrs. M. W. Cluver, 21A, Argyle Street, Waverley, Johannesburg. Tel. 40-1306. Mrs. N. Green, The Garden Inn, Cradock Avenue, Rosebank, Johannesburg.

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

National Treasurer: Mrs. D. Hill, 41, The Valley Road, Parktown, Johannesburg. Tel. 41-1832.

Magazine Editor: Mrs. D. Grant, 149, Queen Street, Kensington, Johannesburg. Tel. 25-1260.

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

BORDER

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

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

CAPE EASTERN

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

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

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

CAPE WESTERN

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

Secretary: Mrs. A. I. Aitchison, Brooklyn, Talana Road, Claremont. Tel. 77-3276.

Treasurer: Mrs. B. D. Willis, Boulders House, Simon's Town. Tel. 86-6182.

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

NATAL COASTAL

Chairman: Mrs. D. Wallace, 14 Northcliff Avenue, Westville. Tel. 8-5412.

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

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

NATAL MIDLANDS

Chairman: Miss I. Friday, 320 Loop Street, Pietermaritzburg. Telephone 2-3784.

Secretary: Mrs. G. Phillips, 29 Granton Mews, Howick Road, Pietermaritzburg.

Treasurer: Mrs. J. Hey, Oriel Road, Town Hill, Pietermaritzburg.

TRANSVAAL

Chairman: Mrs. J. Carlson, 13, African Street, Oaklands, Johannesburg. Tel. 728-1492.

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

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

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

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

All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by J. Sinclair and E. D. Grant, both of 37 Harvard Bldgs., Joubert Street, Johannesburg.

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OBITUARY

DR. MARTHA STEWART WEBB

DR. MARTHA STEWART WEBB, who died in Johannesburg in November, was a foundation member of the Black Sash and a staunch member of Waverley Branch, where she did a great deal of hard and useful work.

Dr. Webb qualified in medicine in Belfast, Ireland, just before the first world war, and her first job was to accompany Mrs. St. Clair Stobart's hospital unit to Serbia. She was involved in the famous retreat from Serbia, and was awarded the Order of Saint Sava by the Serbian Government. In 1916 she served in the army in Salonica.

For a time, before coming to this country in 1920, she was consulting officer at a children's hospital in the East End of London.

Dr. Webb and her husband settled in Johannesburg in 1922, and she practised until 1935. She worked for some time at one of the municipal clinics in Orlando.

She was in her eighties when she died, but kept up her work in the Black Sash until shortly before her death.

She will be sadly missed.

Mr. Alan Paton on "Hofmeyr"; Professor Robert Birley on "Race Prejudice in U.K.", and Mrs. Eleanor Lewin on "Race Prejudice in Education."

Mrs. Sinclair and Mrs. Cluver addressed a meeting at *Witbank* on June 1st, and a special Committee Meeting was held in *Rustenburg* in May.

Saturday Club

The club continues to hold regular meetings, and it is pleasing to report that the level of discussions has changed noticeably. Participants now contribute on a personal and individual basis, instead of as members of different racial groups. They see each other as individuals, and although there are differences in cultural backgrounds, they find they have the same feelings about many things.

This type of group is one way of keeping a warm and personal contact across the colour line and can only lead to happier relationships.

Newsletter

A monthly newsletter is sent out to all members. In this way members are kept informed

of activities in the region, and in touch with current affairs.

Advice Office

The Advice Office work provides the most constructive outlet for practical work in the Region, and a number of our members assist regularly. *Mrs. Sinclair* directs the work of this Office in addition to all her other duties, and is becoming a mine of information about the intricacies of all the laws and regulations that restrict the lives and movements of the Africans.

The problems that are brought to the Office for solution are many and varied, some of them, on the surface, the ordinary problems that beset human beings from day to day — housing problems, employment problems, workmen's compensation and pension problems, tax problems, etc. Yet none of them in fact is "ordinary", because every facet of the African's life is complicated by laws which apply only to him.

Our members find the work intensely interesting, heart-warming, heart-breaking — heart-warming because they feel they are doing something to establish goodwill and friendship across the colour-line; heart-breaking because often there is nothing they can do to help those who come to them for help.

Tenth Birthday Party

One of the highlights of the year was our tenth anniversary party, which was a tremendous success. We were truly delighted to see that our numerous guests were some of those people whose opinion and support we value most highly. Not least among these were the many "Black Sash husbands and sons" — daughters, of course, automatically become members as soon as they are of age to do so. The very striking birthday cakes were iced by a Black Sash son, and several others helped to serve the guests.

The party gave us all a thrill — it was something indeed to have survived our ten years to tell the tale. For those of us who have been in the Black Sash since its inception it seemed like looking back after a lifetime and not the relatively short ten years. We have changed in this period. The conviction that many of the more naive among us had that we were going to change the political situation has, alas, disappeared, and a good deal of the excitement and lightheartedness of these early days is gone. What remains is our conviction that we are right, and our determination to continue to stand for the principles in which we believe. If anything, we are more sure today than we were ten years ago, and the events of these years have only served to strengthen our belief, that what we stand for is what South Africa needs.

Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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