

# THE BLACK SASH DIE SWART SERP

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PASS LAWS

BANNINGS

GROUP AREAS

PRESS CENSORSHIP

BUREAUCRACY

CONTROL OF EDUCATION

TRIBAL COLLEGES

JOB RESERVATION

BANISHMENTS



*Ons wens ons lesers  
'n Gelukkige Kersfees  
en 'n Geseënde Nuwejaar toe.*

*We wish our readers  
a Merry Christmas  
and a Happy New Year.*

## NEW DEALS

**M**ANY of us have cherished the hope that in the calmer atmosphere following the ending of the state of emergency and the referendum campaign a new deal for the non-white people of South Africa would emerge. These hopes have been strengthened by the demands for changes in apartheid policy that have issued from many quarters, including some that are sympathetic towards Afrikaner nationalism. It has recently become clear, however, that if any changes are to come about they will not be won without a determined struggle, because the Prime Minister has resolutely set his face against any concessions.

The expressions of disappointment that followed Dr. Verwoerd's announcement that on no account could Coloured people be permitted to enter Parliament suggest a lack of understanding of the character of the man himself and the nature of the philosophy that he holds. Verwoerdian apartheid is a rigorous, internally consistent system. There is no room within its framework for new deals, because in his view it itself is the best of all possible deals. The Prime Minister believes that if the system be weakened at any point its entire dissolution is only a matter of time.

At the same time the government believes that it can play its cards to better advantage. As far as the urban African is concerned, there is evidence of a desire to make apartheid work more smoothly. The Prime Minister said a few months ago that senior government officials would be posted in every large urban area to keep in touch with Bantu leaders and recognised Bantu authorities; this would ensure that the aspirations and needs of the urban Bantu population would always receive sufficient attention. He added that there would also be

## NUWE BEDELINGS

**B**AIE van ons het die hoop gekoester dat daar nuwe bedelings vir die nie-blanke bevolking van Suid-Afrika sou ontstaan in die meer besadigde atmosfeer wat op die beëindiging van die noodtoestand en die referendum gevolg het. Hierdie hoop is versterk deur die eise vir veranderinge in die apartheidsbeleid wat uit baie bronne ontstaan het, sommige waarvan simpatiek gesind is teenoor die Afrikaner nasionalisme. Dit het egter onlangs duidelik geword dat as daar enige veranderinge moet wees, dit nie sonder 'n harde stryd gewen sal word nie, want die Eerste Minister het hom teen enige toegewings verset.

Die teleurstelling wat uitgespreek is ná Dr. Verwoerd se aankondiging dat Kleurlinge onder geen omstandighede in die parlement toegelaat kan word nie, is aanduiding van 'n onvermoë om die karakter van die man self en die aard van sy filosofie te begryp. Die Verwoerd-apartheid is 'n strenge stelsel wat binne sy eie omvang konsekwent is. Binne die raamwerk van hierdie begrip is daar geen plek vir nuwe bedelings nie, want na Dr. Verwoerd se mening is dit reeds die beste van alle moontlike bedelings. Die Eerste Minister glo dat as die stelsel op enige punt verswak sou word, dit slegs 'n saak van tyd sou wees voordat die hele stelsel ontbind.

Hierby voel die regering dat sy kaarte tot groter voordeel gebruik kan word. Wat die stedelike naturel betref, is daar blyke van 'n begeerte om apartheid meer glad te laat werk. Die Eerste Minister het 'n paar maande gelede gesê dat senior staatsamptenare in elke groot stedelike gebied geplaas sou word om in verbinding met Bantoe-leiers en erkende Bantoe-owerhede te bly; dit sou dan verseker dat die aspirasies en die benodighede van die stede-

visits from Commissioners-General, that greater participation by urban Bantu in local government was receiving attention, and that efforts would be made to eliminate grievances. Since that statement was made the enforcement of reference books for African women has been postponed, and steps have been taken to establish closer liaison between the police and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development.

A draft Bill has also been drawn up to amend and consolidate the laws relating to the urban African. It was intended to be confidential, but such an important matter could not be kept secret. One of the objects of this Bill appears to be a thoroughly objectionable provision for stricter control over local authorities in order to ensure that government policy is implemented. And there is no sign of a change in the policy of enforced apartheid itself. The Government is still under the delusion that "the aspirations and the needs of the urban Bantu" can be satisfied by administering apartheid more skilfully.

Support for the idea of a new deal for the Coloured people has been mounting in the Cape. Various proposals indicating a change of attitude towards the Coloured people have been put forward by individual Nationalists and a special committee was appointed by Dr. Dönges, leader of the Cape Nationalists, to review party policy as it applies to the Coloured people.

Some Nationalists entertain the crude idea that by making concessions to the Coloured

like Bantoe-bevolking altyd toereikende aandag geniet. Hy het bygevoeg dat daar ook besoeke deur Kommissarisse-generaal sou wees, dat aandag geskenk word aan groter deelneming deur stedelike Bantoes aan plaaslike beheer-maatreëls, en dat daar probeer sou word om griewe uit die weg te ruim. Sedert hierdie aankondiging is die handhawing van bewysboeke vir Naturellevrou uitgestel, en stappe is gedoen om nouer samewerking tussen die Polisie en die Departement van Bantoe-administrasie en -ontwikkeling te verkry.

'n Wetsontwerp is ook opgestel om die wette met betrekking op die stedelike naturel te wysig en konsolideer. Die bedoeling was om dit geheim te hou, maar so 'n belangrike saak kon nie geheim gehou word nie. Een van die doelstellings van die Wetsontwerp is skynbaar 'n uiters afskuwelike bepaling vir strenger beheer oor plaaslike owerhede ten einde te verseker dat regeringsbeleid gehandhaaf word. En daar is geen aanduiding van 'n verandering in die beleid van verpligte apartheid self nie. Die Regering verkeer nog onder die indruk dat „die aspirasies en benodighede van die Bantoes” tevrede gestel kan word deur apartheid meer vaardig te administreer.

Ondersteuning vir die gedagte van 'n nuwe bedeling vir die Kleurlinge het in Kaapland toegeneem. Verskeie voorstelle wat 'n veranderde houding aandui is deur individuele Nasionaliste gedoen en 'n spesiale komitee is opgestel deur dr. Dönges, leier van die Kaapse Nasionaliste, om die Party se politiek in hersiening te neem soos dit die Kleurlinge raak.

Sommige Nasionaliste het die primitiewe gedagte dat deur toegewings vir die Kleurlinge aan te bied, laasgenoemde in die laer gebring kan word as bondgenote teen die Naturelle; en hierdie sienswyse is ongelukkig nie tot regeringsondersteuners beperk nie. Daar is egter 'n aantal opregte „nuwe bedelings”-

This magazine, as the official journal of the Black Sash, carries authoritative articles on the activities of the Sash. The leading article adheres broadly to the policies of the organization, but the Central Executive does not necessarily endorse the views expressed by contributors.

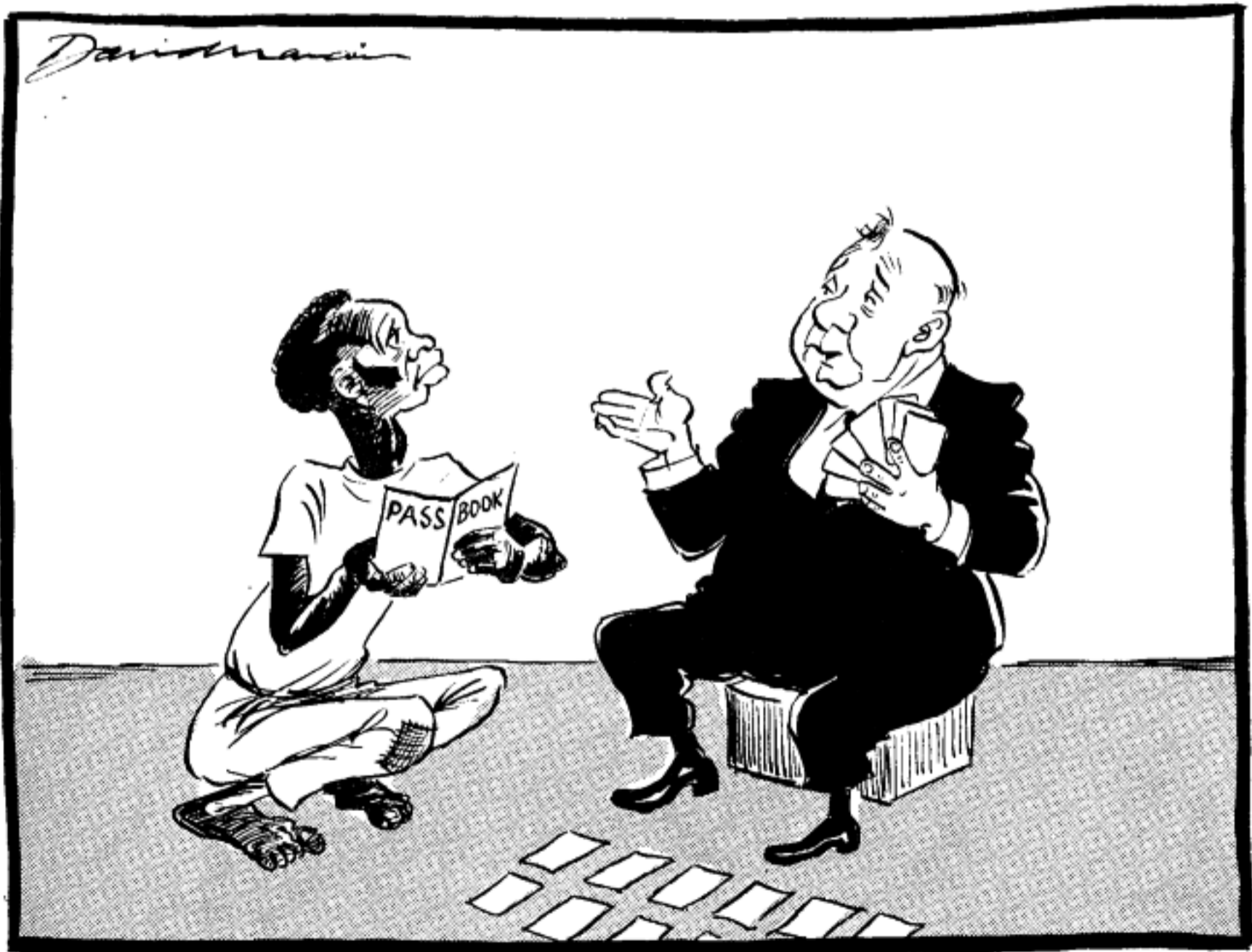
people they can be brought into the white laager as allies against the Africans, and this viewpoint is unfortunately not confined to Government supporters. There are, however, a number of genuine new-deal Nationalists who are motivated by entirely praiseworthy considerations.

Whatever the motivation, the Prime Minister was not in favour of this talk of new deals. He appointed a Cabinet Committee with himself as chairman to consider the matter and announced that there would be no concessions.

Nasionaliste wat deur volkome lofwaardige beweegredes beweeg word.

Maar wat die beweegredes ook al was, was die Eerste Minister nie ten gunste van hierdie gepraat van nuwe bedelings nie. Hy het 'n Komitee van Ministers aangestel, waarvan hy self as voorsitter opgetree het, om die saak te oorweeg; en hy het aangekondig dat daar geen toegewings sou wees nie.

Die belangrike vraag wat nou op beantwoording wag, is dit: Sal die Nasionaliste wat 'n nuwe bedeling as wenslik beskou opstaan en 'n stryd daarom voer? Ons hoop hulle sal dit doen.



**“What’s all this about a new deal? I’ve just dealt.”—Cape Times.**



The important question that now awaits an answer is whether Nationalists who favour a new deal will stand up and fight for it. We hope that they will.

Some critics dismiss with scorn all talk of new deals coming from Nationalists on the ground that they are insincere and in any event do not go far enough. White South Africa has run out of time, they say, for a gradual repentance; poverty, hardship and deep resentment of the indignities imposed by apartheid have become intolerable to the African people. The Black Sash is grimly aware of the dangerous possibilities that the future holds, but does not believe that it is futile to work for a change of attitude among the majority of the white people, or to urge the advocates of a new deal — even if it is only for the Coloured people, and however inadequate it may be — to intensify their campaign. Nationalists who see the need for reform carry a grave responsibility because among all the people of South Africa they are the most favourably placed to achieve results.

What can we do to hasten the advance along the road to better government? It is essential, in the first place, to keep on demonstrating to the white community as a whole the injustice of present policy. White people must be made to feel what it is like to be evicted from one's home, to lose one's job or to be forcibly separated from one's family. Secondly, we must bring about closer contact between the numerous groups of which our country is composed. We must bring together people of different races, of different language groups, of varying political outlook, because this is the best way to dissolve prejudices and create a better understanding of South Africa's real needs. The work may not be spectacular, the results may often be disappointing, but it is an essential task if a genuine new deal for all our people is to be peacefully achieved.

Sommige kritici sien met ongelowige veragting op alle sprake van nuwe bedelings wat van die Nasionaliste afkomstig is omdat hulle glo dat dit onopreg is, en buitendien nie ver genoeg strek nie. Blanke Suid-Afrika het nie meer tyd vir 'n langsame berou nie, sê hulle; armoede, ontberinge en apartheid het vir die Naturelle-bevolking ondraaglik geword. Die Swart Serp is ontsettend bewus van die gevaarlike moontlikhede wat die toekoms inhou; maar die Serp glo nie dat dit nutteloos is om na 'n veranderde houding onder die meerderheid van die blankes te strewen nie, of om die bepleiters van 'n nuwe bedeling — al is dit net vir die Kleurlinge, en hoe ontoereikend dit ook al mag wees — aan te moedig om hul veldtog te versterk. Daar rus 'n groot verantwoordelijkheid op nasionaliste wat kan insien dat 'n verandering nodig is, want van al die mense in Suid-Afrika is hulle in die beste posisie om resultate te verkry.

Wat kan ons doen om die vooruitgang tot beter regering te bespoedig? Dit is in die eerste plek nodig om daarmee vol te hou om die Blanke bevolking as geheel te wys op die onregverdigheid van die huidige beleid. Ons moet Blankes laat besef hoe dit voel om van jou huis uitgesit te word, om jou werk te verloor of om met dwang van jou gesin afgesonder te word. Tweedens moet ons nouer verbinding teweegbring tussen die verskeie groepe waaruit ons land bestaan. Ons moet mense van verskillende rasse, verskillende taalgroepe en verskillende politieke sienswyse bymekaar bring, omdat dit die beste manier is om vooroordeel uit te skakel en 'n beter begrip van Suid-Afrika te werklike benodigdhede te kry. Die werk is miskien nie skouspelagtig nie, en die resultaat kan soms teleurstellend wees; maar dit is 'n onontbeerlike taak as 'n egte nuwe bedeling vir ons hele bevolking op vreedsame wyse verkry moet word.

# GROUNDNS FOR HOPE

*A year of great political importance lies ahead*

Keynote address to the Black Sash National Conference

By **MOLLY PETERSEN**  
*Retiring National President*

**S**OUTH AFRICA has, during this last year, passed through sad and difficult times and the Sash, because it did not hesitate to carry on with what it conceived to be its duty, was closely involved both in the political complications arising from the state of emergency, and in the heartbreaking human tragedies which resulted from the massed African protest against pass laws and inadequate wages.

There are still menacing clouds on the political horizon. In spite of the lifting of the emergency, Opposition parties have been unable to persuade the Government to modify its policy and there is no hope that they will be able to defeat the Government, either singly or together, in the foreseeable future, unless a considerable change can be brought about in the thinking of the electorate. The need for the Sash, therefore, to help bring about such a change, is more urgent and imperative than ever before, and efforts to bring it about must be stepped up, however tired and exhausted we are after five years of unremitting campaigning. We simply must not fail to give of our utmost in this endeavour during the coming year, which will, by all portents, be a crucial one in the history of the country.

## Abortive Protests

When we turn our attention to the non-white situation, we have to recognise that although the African protests against the pass system did bring home to Whites a greater awareness of the injustices which Africans suffer and the resentment which they feel, they were abortive in so far as they did not obtain from the Government any significant concession to African demands. Instead the pass law system is being used more vigorously than ever to endorse Africans out of the towns where they come to seek for work; to control where they shall live,



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“ . . . to build  
a better South  
Africa.”

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and to prevent African women from living with their husbands.

As if this were not enough, the Government has chosen this moment to announce that the carrying of reference books will be made compulsory for African women. True, the date on which it is to be made compulsory has been changed from the 1st of December to coincide with the date on which it will be compulsory for white people to carry identity cards, but this will not soothe African feelings. White people who are, for the most part, lamentably ignorant of the difference between the identity card, which white people will have to carry, and the reference books which Africans have to carry, may consider that Africans are only being asked to do the same thing that white people are asked to do, and that therefore Africans have no cause for complaint. Africans, however, who know only too well, to their own bitter cost and humiliation, the vast difference between an identity card and a reference book, will in no way be placated by the knowledge that white people are having to carry identity cards.

It requires very little imagination to realise the seething bitterness and frustration which must be filling the hearts of millions of Africans, at the blank refusal of the Government to either consider their most reasonable representations, or to be moved to any kind of modification by massed demonstrations of African antipathy to laws which they had no hand in making.

During the referendum campaign, Dr. Verwoerd promised that once there was a republic there would be a great change for the better in race relations, but almost immediately after the result of the referendum had been made known, he announced in a public speech that there would be no change

in the Government's apartheid policy. Yet, unless there is a change, there can be no improvement in race relations in this country: instead, we must march forward to some catastrophic upheaval.

Against the sombre prospect of the events of the past year, coupled with the announcement by Dr. Verwoerd that there would be no change in Nationalist apartheid policy, can any light be seen, any cause for hope be found?

I think there can.

When I opened our conference last year, I referred to the advent of the Progressive Party, which at that time had just been formed, as a sign that the ideals and ideas for which the Sash had striven so hard, were at last beginning to make an impact on the thinking of South Africans. In the twelve months that have elapsed since then, we have seen the Progressive Party grow rapidly in strength and influence.

## Shed Prejudices

The voice of the Progressives has been added to those of other opposition parties and groups in asking for a revision of the present racial policies in this country, and in explaining to the public how there is a moral obligation upon all South Africans to shed their prejudices and to refuse to allow present race discriminations, which bring untold hardship, misery and injustice to our non-white fellow South Africans, to be continued.

As a result of this addition to the groups pleading for radical political reforms, the idea that some sort of reform is urgently necessary is reaching an ever-widening number of people and there are signs that it is making a definite impact on the thinking of increasing numbers of South Africans.

*Here the President mentioned the co-operation received from the Press and went on to say:*

Another, to my mind, even more encouraging ray of hope comes from the enlightened statements made by leading Nationalists since the referendum and by the apparent willingness of influential white men from all political parties to sink party political loyalties and to get together to discuss what they now recognise to be the most fundamental and urgent of all South Africa's problems, the race problem.

It still remains to be seen whether these tentative efforts to come together will result in anything worthwhile, but I believe that the Sash is in a unique position to help make them worthwhile and that one of its major efforts in the coming year must be to nurse and help to bring to maturity this embryonic effort for South Africans to get together to find a way out of the difficult racial impasse into which we, as a nation, have got ourselves.

For years the Sash has worked with little but the light of its own faith in the fundamental value of preserving human rights and liberties to cheer it on its way. Those who so willingly have dedicated themselves to the work of the Sash have been looked on askance by their own friends and sometimes even by their own husbands. They have been laughed at as being hopelessly visionary, a silly band of crusading women who should be devoting their time and attention to their homes and children and not meddling in politics. They have, while fighting a never-ending battle against the very sort of totalitarianism which is one of the hallmarks of communism, even been accused of being communistic.

Worse still, they have, by implication, been accused by members of Parliament and by some members of the public of being in part responsible for African unrest. The argument goes that by the protests the Sash makes against the unjust laws which are inflicted on Africans, it encourages Africans to feel they are being unjustly treated. Africans, however, do not need anyone to tell them how unjust the laws are and the Sash is of the opinion that it is the knowledge that there are groups of people, such as the Sash, who are prepared to work with them and for them for a repeal of these laws, which is responsible for the fact that there are Africans who still have faith in the humanity and sense of justice of white people.

In the face of the many difficulties which confront women in the Sash, many faint hearts have dropped by the wayside, but a surprising number have remained to carry on the work with undiminished faith.

## Reap Some Reward

The Black Sash is about to reap some reward for its unremitting labours of the past five years. Influential people who were once either openly antagonistic to the Sash, or coldly sceptical of its value, are recognising that the Sash was right in its attitude. More than that, they are beginning to accept that the Sash is not the secret weapon or stooge of any political party and that its approach to politics is as objective as is humanly possible. I do not think it would be too much to say that there is a rapidly growing recognition that the Sash has been and is playing a very useful and responsible role in South African political life.

Because of this, the Sash, together with other non-party groups such as the Institute of Race Relations and SABRA, is one of the best placed bodies in the country to help to bring about a rapprochement between all political groups and to help weld together into some effective form, the emerging recognition by people of widely divergent political opinions, that



something must be done to get a revision of present race policies.

At a time like this, when our country is in a torment of bitterness, fear and resentment, it should be remembered by the Black Sash that no effort to mitigate the political deadlock or to right the intolerable injustices we see all around us, is ever wasted. Even should there be violent reactions by those who are so oppressed by the present unjust laws, that violence is bound to be tempered and modified to some degree by the goodwill established by right and just action on the part of some Whites now. Let us bear in mind, therefore, that even if we are unable to prevent the unpleasant consequences resulting from the present Government's policy of oppression, we can do a great deal to mitigate the severity of these consequences.

I see a year of tremendous political importance lying ahead for South Africa. I do not think it is in any way a wild guess to say that perhaps this is the last year in which it will be possible to find a solution to South Africa's race problems round the conference table. The Black Sash realises full well just how fast the sands of time are running out, and therefore on it lies a tremendous responsibility to try to bring about and to help make fruitful some form of round table conference between leading members of all political parties and groups.

The political scene is in a state of flux. If what emerges is wrought into something of real value—and the Black Sash must strain every nerve to see that this happens—then we may truly be able to build a better South Africa for all our peoples. If not, a dark, dangerous and unforeseeable future lies ahead for all of us.

## *The Chairman's Review*

FACED WITH unprecedented difficulties, the Sash rose magnificently to face the challenge created by the State of Emergency. At a time when the rule of law had been suspended and it was left to senior officers in the Special Branch to decide whether an action was dangerous to the State or not, Black Sash women set about helping those who were suffering as a result of having protested against laws which both they and the Sash believe to be unjust. . . .

In every Region, except Lowveld where there has been little scope for such activity, the Black Sash has been busy doing what it can to help the families of political detainees and to help those detainees, who asked for it, to obtain legal aid. . . .

Because the protests by Africans which began on 21st March shook many White South Africans out of their political lethargy, the Sash was offered a better opportunity than it had ever had before to get across to the man in the street the real nature of the pass laws and the incredible hardships and humiliations they inflict on Africans. Several Regions perceived at once the opportunity which was being offered and immediately got busy organising pass law meetings. When public meetings seemed unwise, these were organised in drawing rooms and by private invitation.

Much of the C.E. work has been concerned with educating the public and its own members regarding



Delegates from many parts attended the national conference in Cape Town—here, from left, are Mrs. A. Pirie (Cape Eastern), Mrs. D. Currie (Border) and Mrs. S. M. Johnson (Natal Midlands).

### CHAIRMAN'S REVIEW—continued

all aspects of pass laws. Mrs. Stott has been on two tours, during the emergency, the first to Natal Midlands and the second to Border, and in each case she visited every Branch in each Region to tell them about pass laws and to keep them up to date with what the Sash was doing and could do in this field.

I went to Beaufort West, where I found a tragic ignorance not only of pass laws, but of what was happening in Beaufort West itself as a result of pass laws, but the members there are very keen and were deeply stirred when they came face to face with what was happening.

I also visited Natal Coastal and spoke to the remaining Branches in that Region. Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Walker from Southern Transvaal very kindly went to Lowveld, but were unfortunately not able to speak to all the Branches in that Region. The C.E. regard this as most unfortunate as this Region is the one

which is most out of touch with Sash work. . . .

One fact which has emerged most clearly from these tours is that Branches, however remote they are from a big town or from the inspiration which can be provided from attending the meetings of the Regional Committee, if they have even as much as one dedicated worker, are doing great work for the Sash. The C.E. is more convinced than ever that where there is a true *will* to do something constructive, something gets done, and I would like to express the gratitude and admiration which the C.E. feels to all those Branch workers who have patiently carried on, in the highways and byways of South Africa, the work of the Sash. The Sash is what it is today as much as a result of their unremitting and often apparently unrewarding work as it is to the better known efforts of Regional leaders.

Undoubtedly, the most outstanding achievement of the C.E. during the year was the publication of the book, "South Africa—The Road Ahead", conceived

## COMMENTS FROM THE PRESS

### THE BLACK SASHERS ARE REALLY CLUED UP . . .

So said Ronald Fisher in a report in *Post* of 13th November.

"I went along for a sundowner with the gentle ladies of the Black Sash in the Peninsula the other night," he writes. "But—and make no mistake about it—some of these good ladies are quite fiery; others surprisingly militant in their political outlook.

"I don't mean they'd start a national uprising overnight. But these housewives have the country's situation—politically—pretty well sewn up . . .

"These Sashers—spear-headed by Eulalie Stott and Molly Petersen—are all extremely sincere. And they are DOING something."

### Bridges of Trust

THE Black Sash has done much to build bridges of inter-racial trust that are sorely needed, said Gerald Shaw in a leader page review published by the *Cape Argus* on 9th November.

"It is in its unremitting campaign to mobilize public opinion against the destruction of family life that the Black Sash has performed its greatest task.

"The promptings of conscience can be disturbing—but they are always salutary.

"As an important voice in White South Africa's

conscience, the Black Sash has a valuable role to play in public life."

In a leading article the *Argus* commented:

"The political struggle is constantly before us but it is these devoted women who keep reminding the nation that there is also a moral struggle. 'Endorsing out,' for example, may have its political justifications but the separating of families, the shattering of homes and the reduction of respectable citizens to homeless nomads in their own country offend all morality. . . .

"The Cape can take pride in the fact that so many of its women are in the front ranks of the one organized, non-party, non-partisan moral assertion being made in the nation's public life. They have made of the black sash not only a sign of mourning but also a band of hope, because moral assertion has been carried, as it must be carried, into the field of practical application and effort.

"The members do not content themselves with bemoaning broken homes and indignantly denouncing the dispersal of families. They strive to defend their rights, to feed, clothe and assist mothers and children. This is something that, when the final records come to be written, will be set down in honour not simply to an organization but to South African womanhood. . . .

"The Black Sash puts forward no Bill of Rights but it has come to stand for justice and mercy. It is the women's creative contribution and a light shining forth bravely where the darkness is deepest."



and compiled by Mrs. H. Spottiswoode, who also did all the business arrangements concerning its publication. . . .

A feature of this year's work has been a series of pilot activities undertaken by the C.E. to see if they offered a possible new field or method of action. The first of these were social evenings to which were invited leading Nationalists and non-Nationalists of the business and professional world, to discuss what could be done to ease the present race tensions in South Africa . . .

The second very successful pilot venture was a Brains Trust on Constitutional Reform undertaken in the strong Nationalist constituency of Moorreesburg, 70 miles from Cape Town. This was arranged with even more than her usual brilliance of concept and attention to detail by Mrs. Stott, and was an unqualified success.

## New Opportunities

It is the hope of the C.E. that now that it has been proved that such meetings can be held, other Regions will try to carry out both these ideas in their own regions, openly in the name of the Black Sash. . . .

In conclusion, I would like to say that although there has been a further drop in membership, it has in no way militated against the influence which the Sash has had in the political field. I think it would even be fair to say that in no previous year has the Sash made a greater impression among South Africans of all races than it has this year. This has, of course, in part been due to the foundations so well and patiently laid through past years and in part to the peculiar opportunities which this year has provided, of which the Sash has made good use.

We may well be entering this next year at a turning point in the history of the Sash. It may — in fact I believe it will — open up new opportunities for the Sash to become recognised as a responsible body whose opinion should be considered: a body whose motives need not therefore be suspect and a body of efficient workers with wide contacts which can be very useful in any effort to gain co-operation across the boundaries of party and group politics.

As this recognition gains ground, and it must gain ground if we go forward in the same objective way we have always done in the past, I believe that we shall attract more members. I say this because it is my considered opinion that there are three main reasons why we lose old members and do not replace them with new ones:

- The first is fear. People believe it is dangerous to protest against what the Government is doing.
- The second is prejudice. People do not want any kind of political change that will entail non-Whites

having a share of political responsibility, but as more and more people see the writing on the wall and swing to the Black Sash point of view, these two hindrances to membership will fall away and the time may come when it will even be fashionable again to belong to the Sash.

- The third reason why I believe we do not attract new members is that because of the sort of stigma that has been attached to the name "Black Sash" we have to conduct many of our most rewarding activities incognito. This results in people being quite unaware that the Sash is a dynamic, live organisation with a finger in a hundred pies and not just a group of women who, from time to time, stand around holding placards and draped in black sashes.

If we were able, without defeating our own ends, to act in our own name on all occasions, I believe we would attract new members of the right sort and I believe the time is no longer far distant when our name, instead of frightening people away, will be a draw.

Let us go forward, therefore, into the new year, aware and ready to face the difficulties and even dangers which may await us, but drawing new hope from a realisation that there are bright rifts in the clouds that darken the fair skies of our country.

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## IMPRESSIONS OF CONFERENCE

by HILDEGARDE SPOTTISWOODE

WHEN the conference opened, Cape Town very regrettably turned on a period of unseasonably intense heat, but the Prince's Hotel at Claremont provided us with comfortable chairs and peaceful surroundings. It was a great pleasure for us to see the many familiar faces as well as some unfamiliar ones — it is always revitalising to meet Sashers new to conference.

After Mrs. Petersen's stimulating opening address little time was lost in settling down to business, and it soon became evident that the Sash is more dynamic than ever before. The year behind us has been one of particular difficulties but the Sash has met them successfully. Reports from all Regions regarding assistance to the families of detainees, investigations into farm and convict labour, attendances at Native Commissioner's Courts, and active

## CONFERENCE—continued

work among those affected by the Pass Laws, prove the value of the practical work undertaken by the Sash.

Through first-hand experience we are able to make public the evil effects of discriminatory laws upon the large majority of our citizens, and of major significance is the contact made between Whites and non-Whites. In Cape Western a particular effort is being made to bring home to supporters of the Government the facts of the hardships suffered by the non-Whites.

In her summing-up, the chairman said it was evident from the regional reports that the Sash was doing work that no other organization was able to do; it was establishing bridges between people of varying political outlook and it should continue to exist even when the present Government went out of power.

On the first night of conference, Mr. Maurice Broughton, editor of the *Cape Argus*, and Mr. Patrick Duncan, editor of *Contact*, informally addressed a small audience of Sashers and their friends on "Political Trends and Developments."

## Notice to Quit

"Notice to Quit," a film on Group Areas, was shown on the third night. It caused a minor sensation. The most telling observation came from a young man who told us that the film had left him "swearing softly under his breath." We predict that this film will do much to convince the unconverted. Before the film a party was given where delegates met members of the Press. We were sumptuously fed by the "Rondebosch Ladies" and were glad of

### **SOUTH AFRICA: THE ROAD AHEAD**

Compiled by  
**HILDEGARDE SPOTTISWOODE**

★ ★ ★

The first edition of this book was sold out in September. A second edition is now available.

★ ★ ★

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*An ideal Christmas present.*

this opportunity to thank the Press for the magnificent support they give to the Sash.

One of the highlights of the conference was the account of the new venture, "Experiment in Consultation," started by Southern Transvaal. In Johannesburg a group of White and non-White women met on three occasions to discuss Income and Employment, Parents and Children, and Education and Leisure. This is something all Sash branches could do, and in so doing could reap a rich reward in warmth of human contact and understanding.

Another highlight was Mrs. Stott's concise analysis of trends in political thought, and of the fears and mistrusts that beset most groups in South Africa. Here the Sash can do much to break down the barriers between groups. In the discussion that followed there emerged once more the fact that the Sash is in agreement on matters of principle, but has its inevitable differences on the methods by which it can best achieve its aims. But it is just these varying approaches to our problems that make us what we are—a living organisation.

During conference the fate of the Central Executive was debated. It was difficult for those sitting at the top table to refrain from loud cheers of relief when it was unanimously decided that the C.E. should be abolished in favour of a Headquarters Region. Cape Western is to be the new headquarters.

## Bonds of Friendship

Mrs. E. Stott was elected national president of the Sash—an honour she richly deserves. To Mrs. Molly Petersen, the retiring president, now national vice-president, we owe gratitude for her term of wise leadership.

On the last morning of conference a glazed look came over most of us, induced perhaps by the labours of the past three days, perhaps by the heat, but mostly I think by the inevitable "amendments to the Constitution" without which no Sash conference seems to be complete. We lolled in our chairs and kicked off our shoes under the tables. But fortunately some new resolutions, left to be dealt with "if we had time," brought us to life again and caused some good-humoured though strong differences of opinion.

All of us, I believe, left the 1960 conference with firmer bonds of friendship, renewed admiration of the initiative and hard work of others and, in the words of a press statement, a greater determination to "continue to work—as we have for the past three years—for a constitution that will safeguard the basic rights and liberties of all South Africans and make inviolate the rule of law."



# THE CONGO AND NIGERIA

## *A Study in Contrast*

*The mess in the Congo shows how dangerous it is to give these people responsibility.*

*Of course when Nigeria gets independence in October it will go the same way as the Congo.*

**H**OW OFTEN have expressions of opinion such as these been heard in South Africa during the past few months! The disregard of the histories of the two countries which they display is serious, because the false analogies which are drawn with our own racial problems may adversely affect our efforts to solve them.

It was said a generation ago that the Europeans in South Africa were a colonial power comparable at that time with Britain, France, Belgium or Portugal, with one great difference — that our colonial peoples were within our boundaries instead of at a comfortable distance outside them. While such a comparison may be disputed in some quarters it has enough validity to warrant a brief comparison of the policies adopted by the different powers.

The avowed aim of Britain and France, at least from the beginning of the present century, was to bring their African colonies to a state of self-government within the shortest reasonable time.

### *Training Africans*

The Belgians, however, considered that political development should not be regarded as the primary aim but rather as one that would follow economic development in the course of time. Consequently they trained Africans to be competent artisans but very little else. Only fifteen Belgian Congo Africans have been awarded university degrees in Europe, while to the hundreds of Nigerians who have done so must now be added the growing stream who are taking London University degrees at Ibadan University.

It was only in 1900 that an arbitrarily defined chunk of Africa was named Nigeria and became a classic example of "indirect rule" — a system originated by Lord Lugard under which indigenous social organizations were used to carry out the functions of

the central (British colonial) government. In 1922 came the first big step along the road from indirect rule to independence. A Legislative Council was created with an official majority but with nineteen unofficial members; of these, ten were Africans, including four who were elected. In 1946 the Legislative Council was given an African majority, as were the three newly created Regional Houses of Assembly. The present federal constitution dates in broad outlines from 1954.

At the lower levels of government the old system of indirect rule steadily grew into a modern system of democratic administration. The bodies through which this was achieved were legion: village, town and district councils, divisional and provincial education

— by —

### **HUGH SPOTTISWOODE**

*The writer spent 25 years in the Colonial Administrative Service, Nigeria. For the last few years of his service, he was Secretary for Development, Western Region.*

committees, provincial development committees, the cocoa advisory committee, the cotton marketing board and many more. The Councils were part of the machinery of Native administration — the tools of indirect rule but with limited legislative powers of their own — and were composed entirely of chiefs and councillors, acting at first under the supervision of white administrative officers. The other bodies were creations of the central government and at first they had a majority of Europeans, mostly civil servants but with a fair sprinkling of bank managers, commercial agents, and (in the case of educational bodies) missionaries. As time went on African majorities became the rule, and even the practice of having a civil servant as chairman was abandoned.

Membership of these public bodies changed periodically, so an increasing number of people obtained first-hand knowledge of the techniques and the difficulties of modern administration, including financial control and the need to employ experts with technical "know-how". This did much to still the incipient cry: "Throw out the white man, we can do it just as well". It also intensified the demand for higher education. Most important of all, it created a reservoir of

## THE CONGO AND NIGERIA—continued

persons from whom members of the higher legislative and executive bodies of an independent Nigeria could be recruited.

It was inevitable that at first the choice of Africans was limited to the small class who had adopted European ways of life. With the rapid expansion of secondary education, however, the net was thrown wider and it brought in some of the "bad boys" and "agitators", many of whom have developed into useful citizens. Banning them would not have had the same effect.

In the Belgian Congo there was little more school education than was needed to meet the needs of the ruling power, and no thought was given to training for self-government until 1959, by which time it was too late. It must not be forgotten, however, that forty years ago it was commonplace to speak of two hundred years as the minimum time necessary to bring African colonies to responsible self-government, and

it may be argued that if history had allowed this period of time the slow Belgian method would in the end have proved the wiser. For it must not be assumed that everything in the Nigerian garden, where the growth of many of the plants has been forced, will be for ever lovely; personal and tribal jealousies are inevitable; the country is poor in minerals and in soil fertility; the average standard of education is still low; and the incidence of bribery in all walks of life equally high. But in spite of a shortage of qualified Nigerians to fill the top posts there will be no general breakdown in administration, and there is no reason to expect any deterioration in race relations, which are now probably better than they have even been.

The short reply to the criticisms quoted at the beginning of this article is therefore: it is dangerous not to train Africans for responsibility, and equally dangerous not to confer responsibility upon those able to shoulder it. Nigeria will *not* go the way of the Belgian Congo.



"Well, anyway, OUR end's all right."



# CENSORSHIP AND PRESS CONTROL

*New steps towards dictatorship*

THE threat of tighter censorship has been hanging over our heads ever since the present Government came to power. Until now, they have nibbled away at freedom of opinion and expression by making wider use of existing censorship laws (there are no fewer than 21 of these on our Statute books) and adding restrictive provisions to several new laws.

In the coming session of Parliament, South Africa will move closer to dictatorship if the Censorship Bill is passed. This measure, entitled "Publications and Entertainments Bill," was introduced last April and referred to a Select Committee for inquiry and report, with power to bring up a new Bill.

The Select Committee was unable to complete its task because of the early end of the session but will be reappointed when Parliament reassembles in January.

## *The Disciplined Republic*

It is a well-known fact that the Government have a strong desire to control the reading matter of the public. The declared aim of the Nationalist Party is to establish a Christian-National Republic *with the strongest emphasis upon the effective disciplining of the people.*

The Nationalists firmly believe that the State should decide what the public should and should not read. In the debates on the Censorship Bill we are likely to hear a great deal about obscene publications. But pornography is not the main target of this Bill. We must take care not to be fooled by the puritan protestations of the politicians. We should keep our eye on the main target, which is political censorship.

The Nats. want to clamp down on those who hold and express political views which they detest. They want to suppress the publication of anti-apartheid news and views; they want to prevent the dissemination of "subversive" doctrines, such as those embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights; they want the power to block the transmission of critical reports.

The Censorship Bill provides the means to this end. It empowers the authorities to apply a strict censorship over all reading matter and entertainment, both imported and locally-produced.

Significantly, it embraces the press as well as all other publications. Significantly for two reasons—firstly because the Press Commission, appointed in

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By **ALEX HEPPLÉ**

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1950, has not yet reported, secondly, because the Nationalists have been persistently demanding drastic action to curb the "English" press, which they look upon as one of their worst enemies.

The Bill provides that all books and publications must be approved by a Publications Board, consisting of a chairman and at least ten members, all appointed by the Minister. Naturally, the Minister will take the greatest care to select the right people for this job.

If the Bill becomes law, it will be a criminal offence to print or publish any book or periodical without the prior permission of the Board. The Board can prohibit "the manufacture, printing, publishing, distribution, display, exhibition, sale or offering or keeping for sale" of any book, periodical, pamphlet, poster, writing, drawing, picture, photograph, painting, statue, record, etc., which in the opinion of the Board is undesirable or on any ground objectionable.

This means that this Board of the Minister's choosing will be the sole judge of what books and magazines South Africans should be allowed to read and what paintings and pictures they should be allowed to see. These connoisseurs will select our culture for us. They will be the controllers of our intellectual life.

Any author, publisher or other person who is dissatisfied with a decision of the Publications Board can appeal to an Appeal Board. Here again, the members are appointed by the Minister. The chairman must be a man with legal qualifications. He

## **CENSORSHIP—continued**

will be assisted by not less than four other members "appointed by virtue of their knowledge or experience of matters pertaining to art or literature or any other matters incidental to the appeal." The more one reflects upon this qualification, the more meaningless it becomes.

All decisions by the Appeal Board are final. No decision or steps taken by either the Publications Board or the Appeal Board can be tested or reviewed by any court of law.

## **Press Control**

The Board has no power to ban newspapers, but the press gets special censorship treatment. The Bill makes it a criminal offence to print, publish, distribute or sell "any undesirable newspaper," and proceeds to define an "undesirable newspaper."

This definition says that a newspaper is undesirable if it, or any part of it, "prejudicially affects the safety of the State; can have the effect of disturbing the peace or good order, prejudicing the general welfare, being offensive to decency, giving offence to the religious convictions of any section of the inhabitants of the Union, bringing any section of the inhabitants into ridicule or contempt, harming relations between sections of the inhabitants, promoting crime, discloses details of evidence given in legal proceedings regarding indecent acts, adultery or impotence . . . or is otherwise on any ground objectionable."

This definition is so wide that newspapers will find it virtually impossible to cover the news adequately without committing a crime. Sub-editors and lawyers will have to go over every item with a fine tooth comb to make sure that not even the most innocent reports or articles fall foul of these indefinite offences.

The last phrase alone—"or is otherwise on any ground objectionable"—exposes all newspapers to prosecution on the complaint of any narrow-minded or malicious person. Judging from the constant stream of abuse against the English-language press by Nationalist politicians, this sweeping definition would be used constantly to drag critical newspapers into court. Political reporting would become a dangerous hazard.

Worse than the criminal prosecutions would be the intimidation. The mere existence of a law of this kind would compel newspapers to impose a strict censorship themselves. As it is, the press now has to operate under the menace of the existing 20 or more censorship laws.

The very nature of the Publications and Entertainments Bill would force the press to err on the side

of over-caution, rather than take risks. The result would be that South Africans would be served doctored news. They would not be told many things that they ought to be told. The free exchange of opinions, which is so essential to the health of a democratic society, would no longer be permitted.

To succeed in their drive to the disciplined, Christian-National Republic, the Nationalists must control the press. A free press thwarts them beyond patience. Action would have been taken long ago, were it not for the fear of damaging repercussions. One is the curb on their own press, which they wish to avoid, and another is a new outburst of worldwide censure against South Africa.

All the Government are now waiting for is the yellow light from non-Nationalists. If the Government can persuade the opposition that some form of censorship is necessary they will be willing to risk overseas criticism and find a way to protect their own press. Dr. Verwoerd has made no bones about it. In his radio broadcast after the referendum he threatened us with censorship when he said, "We cannot allow the Republic and the future welfare of the nation to be ruined by sensation-mongering, incitement or the besmirching of our country's name or that of its leaders."

As the Nats. alone will be the judges of what constitutes sensation-mongering, incitement and besmirching, we can guess what Dr. Verwoerd was aiming at.

## **Emergency Powers**

The State of Emergency showed what the Government are after. The emergency powers indicated the form of censorship they would like to make a permanent institution in South Africa.

The draconic powers assumed by the Cabinet last March, by use of the Public Safety Act, enabled them to decree that the publication of "subversive statements" was a crime, punishable by a fine of

### **CENSORSHIP AND PRESS CONTROL IN SOUTH AFRICA**

By

**ALEX HEPPLÉ**

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“If only the press would be quiet nobody would know about you!”—*Contact*.

£500 and five years in jail. The definition of “subversive statement” was so wide that the International Press Institute was prompted to comment, in an article entitled “South Africa: A Press in Chains,” that regulations couched in such sweeping terms “constitute a serious threat to the free and responsible reporting of actual events.”

Using these emergency powers, the authorities raided the premises of several newspapers and closed down two weeklies, *New Age* and *Torch*. Later, the editor of the Liberal weekly *Contact*, Mr. Patrick Duncan, and his business manager were prosecuted for publishing subversive literature, alleged to be contained in two issues of this paper. The editor of the Port Elizabeth daily, the *Evening Post*, Mr. John Sutherland, was also brought before the courts on a charge of publishing “subversive statements” during the emergency.

The S.A. Society of Journalists expressed concern at other prosecutions of journalists and publishers. They referred specifically to the cases of Mr. Parkes of the *Rand Daily Mail* and Mr. Duncan of *Contact*, who were sent to prison for refusing to disclose sources of information to the police. Mr. Parkes was released after a few hours but Mr. Duncan was held in prison for three weeks before the police released him, saying that they had obtained the required information elsewhere.

Like all Select Committees, the one which will deal with the Publications and Entertainments Bill will have a majority of Government members. In view of the strong views of the Nationalists on the question of press control, it is likely that some members will feel that the Bill does not go far enough.

They may decide that control should be exercised through a Press Commissioner, as suggested by Dr. Carel de Wet, M.P., who has described the English-language press as “the country’s worst agitator.” Or they may prefer to wait for suggestions from the Press Commission, which has been busy investigating the press for ten years and has so far cost the country about £80,000.

The Select Committee may even prefer the “Undesirable Publications Bill” drafted by the Commission of Enquiry in Regard to Undesirable Publications (the Cronje Commission), which submitted its report in October, 1956. This Bill provides for the compulsory registration of newspaper publishers and distributors, and for censorship enforced by severe penalties, including the blacklisting of editors, withdrawal of licences and fines of £1,000 as well as imprisonment for five years.

### Who wants Censorship?

There was been no public demand for an extension of censorship in South Africa. Only intolerant Nationalist politicians, who hate having their policies censured by critical journalists, are seeking to limit the freedom of the press.

These men, who seek to dictate to us in regard to every aspect of our lives, must be resisted. If there is to be any hope whatsoever for democratic discussion in South Africa, it is essential that public criticism of politicians, political parties and Government should be maintained. Political censorship of any kind has no place in a free society.

### **DR. HERTZOG DEEPLY CONCERNED**

REGARDING press censorship, Dr. Albert Hertzog has said that the success of democracy depends on the ability of the people to judge fairly, justly and reasonably on all matters of common concern. This was possible only if the information on which the people formed its judgment was in itself correct, fair and reasonable.

“South Africa’s good name, her general welfare, and the interests of every section of our people have suffered so badly as a result of abuse by some journalists, both South African and foreign, and by part of the press in this country of their trusted and responsible positions, that serious-minded people cannot help feeling deeply concerned about the present state of affairs. Something has to be done. What exactly, I am not in a position to suggest. Nobody likes press censorship, and the newspapers least of all. They can easily remedy the situation. Why don’t they?”

## THE NEW EDUCATION BILL

# A WARNING TO PARENTS

**A**RE parents going to resist or tamely submit to the "Education Bill," which is expected to be introduced into Parliament during the coming session? The Black Sash awaits the answer with anxiety, for there is very little time left in which to protest.

The provisions and the implications of the Bill in its present form were analysed in the special issue of our magazine *Education for Isolation* and nobody who has read the magazine should be under any illusions about the fate of education in South Africa should the Bill become law.

The Black Sash, through brains-trusts, lectures, pamphlets, letters and articles in the press, has campaigned strenuously in all Regions to warn parents that the Bill, despite its innocuous title and official denials, paves the way to rigid State control of all schools receiving a government subsidy, and possibly to the introduction of Christian National Education principles.

### Not Consulted

It should be noted that no Teachers' Associations or University Education Departments were consulted about the contents of the Bill when it was introduced into Parliament last year. The teachers of South Africa (and they include supporters of the Government) through their Federal Council have unanimously rejected the Bill in its present form.

### **THE FÜHRER SPEAKS**

**W**E will take away their children. These we will train and educate to become new Germans. We will not permit them to lapse into the old way of thinking but will give them thorough training. We will take them when they are 10 years old and bring them up in the spirit of the community until they are 18. They shall not escape us. They will join the Party, the S.A., the S.S., or other formations, or go into factories or offices. Later they will do two years of military service. Who shall dare say that such training will not produce a nation?—*Adolf Hitler.*

Mrs. Sylvia Nell, founder of the Home and School Council in Johannesburg, speaking recently in Cape Town at one of her many lectures organised by the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash, said that in terms of personal freedom the Education Bill was one of the most dangerous Bills that had been set before the country. After this meeting the audience elected a committee which later was called The Cape Council of Education. Its main aim is to analyse and examine all developments within the field of education in the Cape Province and the Union, with the object of ensuring the establishment and maintenance of a sound and progressive system of education.

### Demand Information

In an article in the *Cape Times* on 15th November, 1960, the Council commented on the Bill as follows: "That it is the intention to interfere with the minutest detail of provincial educational activities, can be inferred from sub-clauses (3) and (4) of Clause 4, which empowers the Minister, after consultation with the Administrator concerned, to appoint three-man committees, one member of which shall be a member of the Council and be chairman of the committee to carry out such investigations at any school as the Minister in writing may direct, in connection with any matter affecting the basic principles of education. The committee shall have the right of access to the school and may demand documents, information and assistance from the school authorities in connection with its investigation.

"Such powers are normally only given to Commissions appointed by Parliament or the police.

"It has been shown that the Bill places powers in the hands of the Minister, which, however good his intentions, he should not possess in relation to any function of the state, let alone one as vital to the welfare of the nation as education.

"It is therefore hoped that every voter and every parent will bring pressure to bear upon his Member of Parliament, whatever his political affiliations may be, to have the dangerous clauses removed from the Bill before it again comes before Parliament. This is a vitally important matter entirely divorced from party politics."



# SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL'S EXPERIMENT IN CONSULTATION

SASHERS  
IN ACTION

OUR "experiment in consultation" is an effort to provide one small bridge for consultation between African and white women in the urban areas, and envisages a series of regular, organised discussion groups dealing with everyday subjects of interest to women in general.

The first conference was arranged for September/October, and was held in three sessions, two afternoon sessions, which were attended by 30 women, and one all-day session for general discussion, which was open to all. This was attended by about 50 women. At all three sessions attendance was equally composed of African and white women. Those taking part in the discussions were professional women, nurses, teachers, clerical workers, housewives and mothers. Nobody was asked to come as the representative of any organisation—all were individuals, and free to speak as they chose.

The women were divided into three discussion groups, and the subjects discussed were:

**Income and Employment** (working mothers, standards of living, cost of living, etc).

**Parents and Children** (old age, courting problems, adolescence, citizen or delinquent?).

**Education** (for what? This included best use of talents, use of leisure, etc.).

## Army of Citizens

THERE is an army of ordinary citizens who have challenged the abuses by personal action, such as the Black Sashers, a body of women who have fought with leonine courage and a delightful forthrightness. By their constant attendance in the courts where the pass cases were tried they slowed down the pace from some rattle-trap seconds to a decent period where they was at least time for justice to be done, and they often succeeded in compelling the court to do it.—*Rebecca West, in the Sunday Times, 15th April, 1960.*

The first day was spent in getting to know one another, and discussing the given subjects; the second in compiling papers co-ordinating the results of the discussions; and on the third day the groups came together, the prepared papers were read, and general discussion followed.

The atmosphere was warm and friendly—discussions were quite informal, nobody was afraid to speak, and all were eager to put their points of view.

The chairman of the group dealing with Income and Employment, Mrs. Mzaidume, was excellent in keeping members to the point and encouraging them all to speak. This group produced a minimum basic budget which worked out at £35 per month and included only the bare essentials—one item was £2 10s. per month for travelling expenses for only one member of the family.

## Parents and Children

Dr. Norris took the chair of the group discussing Parents and Children. The African women are as worried as the Whites about the problem of delinquency, particularly among teenagers, and they also have their ducktails. Those children attending schools can do so for only three hours a day, in a class of 70 to 80. For the rest of the time, there is nothing for them to do, apart from a few social centres.

At the end of the conference, the organiser, Mrs. Morris, was presented with a bouquet from the African women as a token of their gratitude. Their appreciation of her efforts to provide them with an opportunity of meeting sympathetic white women was overwhelming. She has since received a number of letters of congratulation, saying how interested the writers had been, and how much they would like to be included in future discussion groups.

Mrs. Morris received invaluable help in organising this venture from Mrs. Phyllis Mzaidume, and Mrs. Anne Welsh.

We feel that the white women learned—among other things—that the African women, because of the restrictions on their lives, have to cope with problems that we, in the enjoyment of our freedom of movement, do not dream of—a very salutary lesson even for women as well disposed as our members; and that the African women, in their turn,

### CONSULTATION—Continued

learned that all women, whatever their colour and background, have similar family and domestic problems.

For the benefit of other Regions who might wish to experiment in consultation, the following suggestions are offered:

1. It is important to set a subject and provide a list of questions for each group, to start them on their way. Each group chose its own leader, and a secretary to make notes.
2. The groups should not be too large.
3. It is essential to hold more than one meeting, in order to build up the talks. Two would be

sufficient, but the series of three worked out very satisfactorily.

4. It is a good idea to approach in advance one or two prominent African women who could suggest themes for discussion and invite other African women who could attend.
5. Preliminary work and planning must be undertaken. In this case, oneed circular letters were sent out, and individual letters were afterwards sent to the African women who had indicated that they were interested. Replies were received from all, and those who were not able to take part expressed regret. Most of the white participants were telephoned.

Reviewer of *Education for Isolation* asks:

## EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

THE GOODWILL, skill and energy of the women of the Black Sash are an asset to South Africa. Another special issue of their magazine has just appeared, this time called *Education for Isolation* (2s.). It shows these qualities of theirs. The twenty-odd articles, pictures and quotes are solid material, well presented. One piece, "Jabulani!", about a farm school, is a little gem. Others, like Mrs. McCormick's on text-books, are as good, though serious and factual. There are quotations that should not be forgotten, like Verwoerd in the 1953 parliament: "When I have control of Native education I will reform it so that Natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them."

The main attack, on Christian National Education, leads the editor to ask parents to work for "the establishment of schools in which children of both language groups are given the opportunity to know each other". The word "official" after "both" would repair the error, but is this what the Black Sash wants? Or have they also left "White" out after "which"? The sentence illustrates the weakness of the publication, of the Black Sash itself and of the many valuable organizations of similar qualities who are concerned about South Africa. This is the weakness:—

- They only know what they DON'T want. In this case — no Bantu Education, no C.N.E., no salary differentiation between Coloured and White teachers, no pro-White bias in text-books, no centralization, and many more noes.
- But they don't know what they want instead, or how to get it if they did know. At the

recent National Conference on Education in Durban, the most consistent attack was on ignorance, on retardation, on retribalization, on illiteracy, but no one could, or dared, say how they were to be replaced.

- They can only be replaced in a new South Africa, which Liberals believe can only be built on liberalism and democracy. People of goodwill who belong to and work in organizations like the Black Sash must make up their minds whether they agree or disagree.
- *Contact* welcomes their excellent latest issue, *Education for Isolation*, and urges them to face the question: If not for isolation, then education for what?

—*Contact*, 10th September, 1960.

### "A Little Masterpiece"

I'VE ALWAYS respected the Ladies of the Black Sash for making such a good job of being White South Africa's conscience.

But today I sweep off my tasteful Homberg in a particularly low and elegant bow to these ladies — their special issue of "The Black Sash" entitled "Education for Isolation" is a little masterpiece.

Get it, friends, and you have the whole truth about Separate Education ("No mixing in language, culture, religion or race") in a nutshell. What's more — they give you both sides of the picture.

—*Post*, 11th September, 1960.



## A REPORTER VISITS CAPE WESTERN'S BAIL FUND OFFICE

*The following article is published with acknowledgements to the "Cape Argus."*

**T**O a dingy room not far from Langa, furnished with a wooden bench and up-turned tomato boxes, a stream of men and women came. They brought stories of hardships and sometimes they went away with lighter hearts.

Then, in the past few weeks, the stream suddenly became a flood—and few callers went away happy.

The room, on the Klipfontein Road, Athlone, is a temporary office of the Black Sash.

And the callers? They are the men and women of Langa and Nyanga whose lives have been shattered by a drastic tightening up of the pass laws in the Cape Peninsula.

Mothers must take their children and leave their husbands. Sons must leave their fathers. Families are being scattered.

The Black Sash has, in the past, often been able to help people in this plight by intervening with the authorities on their behalf.

Officials have sometimes overlooked technicalities and applied the influx control laws in a humane fashion. Now the regulations are being applied strictly according to the letter of the law.

### Endorsed Out

Calling at the Black Sash office one day this week, I found a group of men and women waiting. Some of the men were Transkei peasants, expressions of bewilderment on their faces.

There was a young mother, baby strapped to her back. Through an interpreter I heard her story.

The mother, Lizzie, lives in a Nyanga shanty with Matthew, a power station worker. They have three children, Beauty (4), Abednego (2) and Kenneth (three months).

Matthew came to Cape Town from Lady Frere in 1941—he is a fully-fledged "city man." In terms of the pass laws—the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 as amended—he qualifies as a permanent resident of the Peninsula. He has worked here for more than 15 years.

Lizzie and Matthew have been together since 1952 and they have been happy. Life for them has had its ups and downs. Once Lizzie took the children

and went home to her mother—but Matthew followed her and brought her back. Somehow, they never got around to getting married.

This year they started thinking about it. A date was set and the banns called. They were to get married next month. Then it happened. Down came a rubber stamp on Lizzie's reference book—she was "endorsed out."

Lizzie is one of a multitude of Native men and women who must leave the Peninsula. Like so many others, she has nowhere to go. She does not qualify as a permanent resident as she has not lived in Cape Town long enough. But she must leave Cape Town—if she stays she will be arrested.

### Nowhere to go

I looked round the room. Xhosa "clicks" punctuated the low buzz of conversation which came from the waiting men and women. Sitting alone, was a Native youth, his head bowed.

"That's Norman," said a Black Sash worker. "He has to leave his father and his brother and sisters in Cape Town and go back to the reserve. His mother is dead. Norman was born in Cape Town. His mother died when he was six and so he was sent to the reserves to be cared for by an aunt. He came to Cape Town to work as soon as he was old enough. But he has not worked here long enough to qualify."

Through the interpreter I spoke to Norman.

"Why must I leave my father?" he asked. "It is right that I should be with him. He is a very old man. I have nowhere to go."

Meanwhile, Lizzie had told her story to the Black Sash workers and left with a letter to the Native Commissioner—appealing for a "reprieve."

But there is nothing the Black Sash can do for Norman. He will have to leave Cape Town. If he does not he will go to prison.

**O** LORD GOD, When thou givest to thy servant to endeavour any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning but the continuing of the same until it be thoroughly finished, which yieldeth the true glory.—*Sir Francis Drake's prayer.*

# *Black Sash Wins Support for* **Protests against Group Areas Proposals**

THE GROUP AREAS ACT hit our town for the second time\* when yet another area was advertised as a proposed area for the white group. The Group Areas Liaison Committee, of which the chairman and secretary are Sash members, again went into action and organised individual objections. Three more bodies joined the Committee, adding strength to the opposition. This time, the Town Council also opposed the advertised proposals. "D" Day for objections was the 3rd October — only 21 days are given to lodge representations — and it was not easy to complete the campaign in time. We often had to work late into the night.

## **Further Blow**

During this very busy period, a further blow was struck. It seems that the Government is determined to upset the racial harmony and peace that have existed in this multi-racial town for over a hundred years, and create friction where none has existed before. The Town Council had applied for permission to re-site the African location, Luyolo, a much needed and long overdue project. They intended to build a new township with housing for all, recreational facilities, all amenities and plenty of room for expansion without encroaching on the "buffer strips" required by law. The Africans are fully in favour of this scheme according to a referendum taken by the Advisory Board, but the Government has refused permission on the grounds that Government policy must be carried out, and all African housing in the Peninsula must be centralised at Langa or Nyanga. It appears that there is a determined effort to create urban Bantustans. The African population is about 1,600, the majority

\*In February, 1959, the Group Areas Board advertised drastic proposals for zoning the town which, if implemented, would uproot the Indians and most of the Coloured people from the town and set them down miles away on top of the mountain at Dido Valley.

A Group Areas Liaison Committee was formed and there were vigorous objections to the advertised proposals. Thereafter the Simonstown Sashers took over and two petitions — one signed by over 1,000 residents and another signed by almost every shopkeeper in the town — were sent to the Group Areas Board. A very large sum of money was then collected from citizens of all races to brief eminent Counsel to put the case at a public enquiry held in August, 1959, for all who had sent in objections. A report of this appeared in the September, 1959, issue of "The Black Sash Magazine". At the enquiry no one came forward in favour of zoning Simonstown. The Town Council proposed alternative plans believing that they were forced to do so, but admitted under cross-examination that they were unwilling to do this.

of whom have known no other home since the turn of the century, and yet these contented people must be uprooted from their familiar surroundings and dispersed among strangers, which does not seem a very wise way to foster better relations. Living 27 miles or more away from their work will entail being absent from their homes for about 15 hours a day and, with their wages already below the bread-line, they will have to pay the added cost of rail fares, which can only mean less food for their families, with all the attendant evils of exhaustion added.

Their health here is relatively good; one reason may be that fish, the protein lacking in most African diets, is often available at cheap prices. But we believe that a greater contributory factor is that the people live here happily, with their families, most of them in houses which *they own and have built themselves* on sites leased from the Municipality, surrounded by friends and relations, so that it is more of a village than a location. It is significant that during the "emergency" no cordon was placed round Luyolo.

## **Economic Impact**

Apart from the great hardship this removal would cause the Africans, the economic impact on the town would be disastrous; ten shops would probably have to close down as it is reckoned that about £100,000 to £200,000 is spent here annually by Africans. Added to this, the cost to the town of the first threatened Group Areas proposals — before this latest advertisement — was assessed by the Town Clerk at the public enquiry to be about a quarter of a million pounds. This money would have to be found by the town, that is, the ratepayers. The final result of all this compulsory uprooting of law-abiding citizens would be a deathblow to commerce, and a ghost town would result.

The Branch sent a strong letter of protest to *The Argus*, and then found itself in the pleasant though unusual position of being commended in open meeting of the Council! The Chamber of Commerce has since called a public meeting of protest and a deputation will be sent to the Minister by the Town Council, headed by our M.P., and, we hope, supported by a petition of responsible citizens and neighbouring municipalities.

The Branch hoped for a quiet time after all this, but it was not to be. Beach Apartheid has reared its ugly head here, and the Administrator says that



A keenly interested audience saw "Notice to Quit", a documentary film on the effects of the Group Areas Act in the Cape Peninsula, at Claremont last month. Helping the organizer, Mrs. E. Stott (right) were (from left) Mrs. C. E. W. Henderson, Mrs. F. Robb and Mrs. J. Sinclair.

—Photo Hausmann.

non-Whites, who have customarily used four beaches—a natural segregation having grown up over the years—are to be allowed only one beach in the whole area. This beach is virtually unusable for various reasons. The swimming-pool that was built in the sea in 1937 by the Municipality exclusively for non-Whites from the town and up the line, must also be given up to Whites, and the Council's proposed alternative site for a new and larger pool to replace the old one must now become a "buffer strip". The Council is, however, negotiating with the Administrator for the buffer strip to be narrowed to enable the new pool to be built.

This Branch is still involved in the heartbreaking aftermath of the Emergency by being "Red Cross Field Workers" and paying out the weekly packets to ex-detainees and their families in Luyolo. All those working in the Dockyard were discharged on the date of arrest, although no charges were brought against them, and some had worked there for 25 to 30 years. Our local M.P. approached the Minister at our request to ask for their re-instatement. The Minister's reply was that they could not be re-instated in their previous jobs, nor given others in the Dockyard, because it was Government policy to replace all African labour with Coloured labour. The Minister further stated that the Africans had forfeited their right to the gratuities owing to them because they had absented themselves from work without leave. A few wise men had taken the gratuities owing to them at the time of the take-over from Britain, but others

had carried theirs forward. We are not letting the matter rest here.

It becomes increasingly difficult to face all these sorely tried citizens of ours and hold our heads up—the shame of white legislation is a burden indeed—and yet the work we try to do to help them, while achieving so little practically, does much to create better understanding and friendship between all races in our small town. We realise more than ever how necessary it is to continue to protest at every attempted removal of basic rights from any of our people—each time we lose a little of our own freedom and much of our self-respect—and one of the most obvious lessons learnt by our members is that freedom is indivisible.

What we try to build up, the Government tries to pull down. Enforced apartheid is a tragic thing for so many people of South Africa, and an evil which can bring nothing but bitterness, misery and frustration in its wake. It is, perhaps, only when one meets it daily at very close quarters that the full implications of all its horrors become evident. The glaring need for all who have the vote and therefore the means to effect changes in legislation, is to understand just one simple fact—that, whatever the colour of one's skin, a happy, contented family life, with an assured future, a home of one's own and a job of one's own choosing in a place of one's own choice, are still the fundamentally vital and driving interests of every man and woman.

B. D. W.





**"This is not a house, this is bush!" Aged William Rens (above) derisively indicates his new "home" at Bontrug. Like hundreds of other Africans he was moved from one of the established locations by the Municipality. At the old location, Malmation, he had "a large house of wood and mud". But this house of wood and sacking—given him by a friend—lets in the wind and rain.**

—Evening Post.

## Primitive Conditions at Bontrug

**L**AST year (1959) the Addo Branch of the Black Sash fought against the removal of Africans from settled locations in Kirkwood to Bontrug, a bare hillside far from the town..

No housing had been provided for them, and they had to exist in primitive and insanitary conditions. A site rent of 10/- per month made life virtually impossible for many of the pensioners, who receive £1 per month. At Kirkwood location they had paid a rent of only 2/6d. per month. The Sash was successful in halting the removals, and a report of their efforts appeared in the August 1959 issue of *THE BLACK SASH*.

Later the Municipality again dumped Africans on the bare hillside. Farmers, Kirkwood residents and the Press joined the Sash in a pitched battle with the local Native Affairs Department, a report of which appeared in the February 1960 issue of *THE BLACK SASH*.

As a result of photographs and articles in *The*

*Evening Post* exposing the dire poverty of the people. The Ford Motor Company generously offered a load of car packing cases per day for as long as the Municipality cared to collect it. Only two loads were taken by the Municipality. The wood was unloaded at Bontrug but not distributed, and there the matter ended.

An unofficial committee was then formed to put the facts before the public. Appeals were made to the Minister concerned, the Member of Parliament for Kirkwood, the Leader of the Opposition, and Mrs. Margaret Ballinger. Letters were sent to the Department of Bantu Affairs in King William's Town informing them of the lack of educational facilities, and to the Department of Health in Uitenhage pointing out that the time, money and energy spent in fighting tuberculosis was wasted because of the appalling conditions in which T.B. patients were forced to live. It was also suggested that a sample of the water from the reservoir should be tested, since it was known to be brack, and it was reported that many of the inhabitants were suffering from diarrhoea

or dysentery. The chief magistrate of Uitenhage was approached in an advisory capacity. He was most sympathetic and in turn approached the Chief Native Commissioner in King William's Town. Within two weeks an official had been sent to investigate conditions in Bontrug.

Nevertheless, with the exception of Mrs. Ballinger, there was little positive reaction to our representations. Feeling very ineffectual, two members of the committee again visited Bontrug. They found that the number of lean-to shacks had increased and there was an impression of permanency. Fences had been erected and the people had built mud and wattle houses. But in spite of the acres of vacant hillside these were huddled together within a few yards of each other. Herein lay another misfortune — Bontrug had still not been surveyed. It appeared that the Town Council was unable to apply for a government loan until the survey had been completed.

In the meantime the people were trying to improve their living conditions on the sites where they had been dumped. To build their huts they had acquired reeds or wood, and carted earth and water — the water probably at considerable cost to those who did not own donkey-carts and water drums. Although at the present rate of progress they may live in these houses for years, in the end they may be forced to pull them down and move once again, when the survey is completed and the sites allocated.

The unfortunate inhabitants of Bontrug are a long way from the town. There is no place where they may collect firewood, and the Municipality is unable to make firewood available. There is no suitable land for grazing and those who own donkeys have been told they may not let them drink from the reservoir as there is not sufficient water. The river is about five miles off and the donkeys suffer badly from lack of water. The Town Council is said to be very upset about this unhappy state of affairs, but "can do nothing".

ROSEMARY M. ELLIOT.

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## A Detainee's Thanks

ON his release from prison an African detainee wrote to Mrs. E. Stott expressing appreciation as an individual of the work done by the Black Sash. He said:

"When our people were utterly confused by diabolical forces of oppression, hunger and strife, the Black Sash proved its worthiness by its humanitarian deeds, and that proved beyond doubt that there are people amongst the Whites who are true friends of ours. . . .

"I think the time is not far off when those who think alike shall work together . . . on the basis of complete equality."

## Influx Control

# THE STORY OF SAM AND ANNIE

THIS IS THE STORY of Sam and Annie. On the 20th July, Sam came to the Black Sash to ask us to help him find a job. We found his reference book was not in order — he had been doing odd jobs for 18 months and no employer had signed his book.

In May he had been arrested presumably because he was out of work, but on the 21st July he had been released, given a rail warrant to Fort Beaufort, and ordered to return there immediately.

But Sam had a house in "Site and Service" — he has a wife and two baby daughters and has lived in Port Elizabeth for twelve years. Sam is not very clever and his brain could not grasp the idea that the authorities had the power to send him back to his small home town, when he had committed no crime, and had not lived there for twelve years. So Sam stayed on in Port Elizabeth.

## He Ran Away

We took legal opinion on his case: we wanted to know if there was any chance of his being given a new permit to seek work. The lawyer was dubious, but referred us to the Labour Bureau. It is my impression that a second chance is never given at this office — I may be wrong. I do not know what they said to Sam after I left him there (with the assurance that they would "fix him up"). I know I left there with a feeling of uneasiness.

Two days later came a message from Sam's wife, Annie. "Please, madam, get my husband's reference book. He is so frightened to be without it that he has run away!"

I returned to the Labour Bureau. The authorities had worked fast. They had checked Sam's rent card and found that he had not paid since he went to prison. His wife had been served with an ejection order to leave her house immediately. The authorities were looking for him and his reference book had been sent to the Native Commissioner.

I do not like to think of what might have happened to Sam at this juncture had he been on his own, struggling to disentangle the problems facing him. Already he was frightened and bewildered. He had been in prison for six weeks and out of work three more, so there was no money.

As a special favour the Native Commissioner now sent Sam's reference book on to the magistrate at





In accordance with a National Conference decision, the Central Executive of the Black Sash has been replaced by a Headquarters Region, initially Cape Western. In this picture of the former Central Executive are, from left, Mesdames E. Stott (now national president), M. Petersen (former president, now vice-president), H. Spottiswoode (former vice-president), D. Berman (editor), B. Willis (treasurer) and F. Snitcher.

### SAM AND ANNIE—continued

Fort Beaufort. A member of the Black Sash wrote to the magistrate about the book. Without our interest Sam might have had to start from the beginning applying for a new one. It was not explained to me when, where and how Sam would have had this complicated procedure explained to him. Possibly the instructions would have been on his next prison release form, for I am willing to bet that Sam would have found himself back in prison.

Members of the Sash were able to help his wife move her furniture in the cruelly short time given. They were able to raise the train fares for Annie and the children from the Emergency Fund. On 10th August, a sad little family caught the train to Fort Beaufort. They must forget about the life they had been leading in the place of their choice and learn to fit into a completely new community where it is decreed that they shall live.

Sam and Annie's case we know about at first hand. How many thousands of Sams and Annies have been dealt with in the same manner—only perhaps more harshly because no one bothered about them?

Act II of this drama opens three weeks later. A series of pathetic letters have arrived from Fort

Beaufort from Sam and Annie. Here are a few paragraphs from them:

"I am still well under the breath of Fort Beaufort, but oh! madam it is too hard for me here at this country. Sam did get his book, but he is not working yet, the jobs is too scarce here." Later—"Please, please answer your poor Annie at this little town of Fort Beaufort, I don't stay nice here and want to come back to P.E. Please help me madam, it it no good at this place, no work for Sam or me." Later from Sam this: "I am thanking madam for the money you gave us for train fares, I can't talk about how poor am I in this town and Annie is complaining for starvation. There is no work at this place and no rain falling. Goodbye, madam answer please."

There is nothing in the law to stop Annie and her two children from returning to Annie's parents' home in Port Elizabeth, for she was born there. She is married to Sam only by Native law which is not recognised in European law.

The last act of the play has still to be written, but nothing suggests that any of the characters have a hope of "living happily ever after".

PEGGY LEVEY.



# A MOMENTOUS YEAR

## *What Regions and Branches have been doing*

**I**N a year more difficult than usual most of the Regions rose magnificently to the occasion and increased their activities, but falling membership continues to be a problem.

However, the recent revival of a branch in Idutywa, Border region, is very encouraging. It is some consolation that those who remained in the Sash form the hard core of active workers; the women who have left during the last few years were, for the most part, inactive. But if we are not to lose our workers through sheer exhaustion we will have to persuade women who have not yet taken an active role in the affairs of our country, to help us.

Natal Coastal is pessimistic about its future, while Lowveld's report indicates that there is a considerable lack of interest in this Region. Also there is open antagonism to the Sash, which is making it difficult for the Region to function.

Cape Eastern and Border report, encouragingly, that for the first time in many months new members have signed on. Those who join at this stage may well prove to be among the keenest members.

Southern Transvaal believes that a carefully planned national recruiting drive would bring in many new and valuable members.

### Magazine

Hand in hand with falling membership goes reduced circulation of the magazine. In the past year the circulation has dropped by 700, in spite of the generosity of several Regions which take many more copies than they require, for re-sale or distribution. Southern Transvaal is notable in this respect—so is Cape Eastern which takes more than double the number of required copies. Lowveld distributes magazines free as propaganda, but reports that in this area prior to the emergency the Region was receiving adverse criticism of the magazine and that "it is impossible to sell, except to members, any publication bearing the name of the Black Sash." All members of Orange Free State Region are subscribers, and there are a few outside subscribers, but it is difficult to sell magazines in Bloemfontein.

However, Border has embarked on a circulation campaign and sells an extra 50 copies per month. According to this Region there is a demand for the magazine and many more copies could be sold if only there were more volunteers to sell it in the streets or even in their own homes.

Natal Midlands is the only Region in which the circulation has been increased. Cape Western, which has kept its circulation steady, generously gave a £100 guarantee towards any loss sustained by *Education for Isolation*.

### Demonstrations

There has been an increasing emphasis in the Sash on a more positive approach, with the result that silent demonstrations are held less frequently. Orange Free State, Border and Lowveld held no demonstrations at all. Cape Eastern held one against the Pass Laws only.

Local demonstrations took place against The Union Education Advisory Council Bill, in Southern Transvaal; the Banning of the P.A.C. and the A.N.C., in Cape Western; The Group Areas Act and the Native Laws Amendment Act, in Natal Coastal.

Natal Midlands held weekly vigils in Pietermaritzburg throughout the emergency. The Howick branch changed the date daily on a poster to remind the public of how long it had been in a state of emergency. Additional demonstrations were held against detainees being apprehended at 2 a.m.; Group Areas; banning of meetings; and a "composite stand" for freedom of speech, provincial control of education, independent laws and a referendum to include all races.

National demonstrations were held against the Pass Laws and the Referendum Bill. As the latter was held while the country was bound by emergency regulations, the Sash in Southern Transvaal complied with the law by arranging two stands of eleven women each at two different points. It maintained that number in relays for two hours. In Cape Western a similar plan was adopted. It was at this stand that the names and photographs of several of the women were taken by the police, and their placards confiscated. Questions were asked in the House and there was loud laughter when it was admitted that "no photographs had come out owing to a defect in the camera."

An impromptu demonstration was carried out by Southern Transvaal when the United Party was "sashed" in the City Council as a spontaneous gesture of disapproval of what was considered to be a flagrant restriction on the freedom of speech. The Nationalist group had put forward a resolution demanding the application of apartheid in the City

## MOMENTOUS YEAR—continued

Hall in terms of the Separate Amenities Act. Only one member of the United Party was allowed to speak after Councillor Cuyler (Nat.) had spoken to this motion; further discussion was curtailed by the application of a "guillotine" measure, despite the protests of Progressives and Nationalists, and the resolution was put to the vote and heavily defeated.

Black Sash members left the public gallery in protest when the closure was applied, as they felt that not only had the Nationalists been deprived of their full right to put their case, but other Councillors had been deprived of reasonable opportunity to attack or support them. Members voiced their protests to the Councillors and then formed up in two lines on the steps of the City Hall, in the usual Black Sash manner. Although they were without their sashes, the gesture was identified in the press as a Black Sash demonstration.

In consequence of a National Conference decision, the Black Sash did not participate in any Union Day "celebrations." However three Regions took part in Dedication Services.

## Propaganda

The emphasis this year was on the Pass Laws and Education. Southern Transvaal and Natal Coastal produced valuable material, most helpful to other Regions. Extracts from the Southern Transvaal memorandum on Pass Laws appeared in our August, 1960, issue. The special issues of our magazine on Passes and Education were used to the best advantage by all Regions.

Natal Midlands sold 50 copies of "South Africa—The Road Ahead." The Region recommends visits from Mrs. Stott as an excellent means of infusing new life into flagging spirits. Border Region endorses this, and asks for more.

A quarterly bulletin containing a precis of all Sash Regional activities was produced by Border. Cape Western issued a quarterly newsletter to its members, and is experimenting with a scheme to focus attention on current injustices by means of cartoons or illustrated stories in the press.

The chairman of Cape Eastern addressed church organisations on Pass Laws. Pamphlets were widely distributed with the result that requests have been made to the Sash to provide speakers on the subject.

In the Orange Free State, Mrs. H. O'Connor, chairman of the Region, addressed various organisations on the "Education Bill." She also wrote an article in *The Friend* on the Bill, reprints of which were sent to about 40 societies.

## Lectures and Brains Trusts

All Regions were active in organising meetings aimed at keeping members and the public informed. Brains Trusts and Symposiums attracted large audiences. Most of these were reported in previous issues of our magazine. The bigger Regions were able to hold more frequent meetings of this nature than the smaller Regions, which have difficulty in finding speakers. This is to some extent overcome by the use of long-playing records, which have proved a blessing. The record by Professor Pistorius on Human Rights is by far the most popular of the collection.

Natal Midlands, Natal Coastal and Border provided an interesting and varied selection of lectures, but it is reported sadly by several Regions that lectures are poorly attended. Nevertheless Lowveld attracted over 200 people when Dr. Kenneth Fryer of Witwatersrand University spoke on the Education Bill and The Publications and Entertainments Bill.

The Waverley branch of Southern Transvaal has found an excellent method of sugar-coating the educational pill. The Young People's Quiz Evenings given by them are so popular that they have become a regular feature of the branch's activities.

Cape Western was extremely fortunate that Mrs. Sylvia Nell was able to accept an invitation to speak in Cape Town on the "Education Bill." The indefatigable Mrs. Nell delivered eight lectures in five days. At one of these, several of the audience were so inspired that they formed a new committee which later became The Cape Council of Education.

A brains trust in Moorreesburg on Constitutional Reform was organised single-handedly by Mrs. E. Stott.

Apart from the routine work involved in Branch Meetings, Regional and National Conferences, fund-raising and the many other activities already noted, the main work of the Sash this year was concentrated on:

- Group Areas.
- Investigations into the effects of pass laws.
- Help for detainees and their dependants during and after the emergency.
- The formation of gatherings at which women of all races could meet each other.
- The registration of voters and work during the referendum.
- The arousing of opposition to the Union Education Advisory Council Bill to be debated in Parliament.

More explicit details of some of these activities are given on the following pages.

## CAPE WESTERN

SEVERAL deputations and interviews took place during the year with the editors of leading newspapers and departmental officials.

The work done during the emergency was reported in our August, 1960, issue. The emergency is over, but the effects linger on, and the State of Emergency Relief Fund (S.E.R.F.) continues to deal with the problems of maintenance of the families of convicted men and legal aid, hire purchase commitments and so on. Relief work is carried on by all branches in the country districts.

Mrs. Mary Stoy has been the driving force behind the Relief Committees and the Region is grateful to her and her workers.

### **Bail Fund Office**

In the Bail Fund Office, too, Mrs. Stoy has proved her strength. Since the emergency the office has been busier than ever and it is becoming increasingly difficult to help the unfortunate Africans in their troubles with the Pass Laws. A press report of this work appears elsewhere.

### **Group Areas**

The Simonstown branch has been extremely active in opposition to the proposals for Group Areas in their town. A full report of their work appears elsewhere.

## CAPE EASTERN

### **Relief to Detainees' Dependants**

DURING the emergency relief to detainees' dependants was the most important activity in the Eastern Cape. Money, food and clothing were collected and distributed. Members of the Sash did "jail duty" on two days every week outside the Port

Elizabeth jail in order to help those both inside and outside the prison. The work done by the Sash during this most trying time earned respect from the public in Port Elizabeth, from the press and even from the Special Branch. Special tribute should be paid not only to town members for the magnificent job they did, but also to the country members for helping to supply funds and the farm produce to carry on this work.

Grahamstown branch did equally well in helping the families which were affected in their area.

### **Group Areas**

The Walmer branch, together with ratepayers' associations and Church organisations, helped to organise a petition against the proposed implementation of the Group Areas Act in Fairview Township. A tremendous amount of work has been put into this including a door-to-door canvass of every householder in Walmer, Fairview and Newton Park. The work has not yet been completed but more than 2,000 signatures have already been obtained.

## BORDER

THE main work has been in detainee relief organisation. The Sash in this area has borne the brunt of this task, and is still at it, handing out food and rent money to the dependants of sentenced detainees.

One of the most remarkable features of this work is the surprise of non-Whites that there are white women interested enough to care. Critics suggested that "these people would be only too happy to accept charity, and do nothing to help themselves." On the contrary it is the dependants who terminated assistance immediately they found other means of support.

A report from the Region states:

"On the pass law question we have managed to sort out a few problems—have saved at least a couple

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## *"International Family" sends a Donation*

NINE people in England, who described themselves as an "international family," have sent the Black Sash a donation of £5 10s.

Two couples in the "family" come from Nigeria, one man from Sierra Leone, one from Aden, and one from China; two are English.

"We know that there are people in the world and especially in South Africa at this time who find it hard to believe that a family like ours can exist and find happiness," they write. "But we do both, and because we have been so blessed ourselves, we would like to spread a little of the peace and com-

panionship we have found, out into the world beyond ourselves and the friends we have collected. To any who may be suffering from loneliness, poverty, illness, injustice or fear, or any other unhappiness, we would like to send our sympathy and love as your brothers and sisters in the great human family of the world."

This international group sends its blessing to "all who are striving for goodwill and racial harmony." They had been told of the Black Sash in South Africa and the good work it was doing. "We will remember you," the letter concluded.



of Africans from imprisonment or endorsement out of the area. We feel we could do so much more if we only knew about the innumerable cases that do crop up. Here we are probably partly to blame as we have not yet been able to organise a roster to visit the Bantu Commissioner's courts—but again the snag crops up—who will do it? Our workers are always from the same solid core—and they certainly have not time for everything.

"We also set in motion enquiries which resulted in a man who had been banished for eight years being suddenly sent home to his place of birth in the Transkei without any reason being given for his sentence having been lifted.

"A Coloured man was threatened with the closing of his business through the Group Areas, but as a result of our intervention, and help we obtained from a local M.P., he has now been given a two-year permit to carry on his business."

### NATAL COASTAL

MEMBERS took an active part in establishing the Natal Education Vigilance Association. For six days tables were manned to recruit members.

They helped in raising funds to combat malnutrition. The Sash is represented on the committee of the Malnutrition Fund.

The Institute of Race Relations is supported in its endeavours to obtain enfranchisement of non-Whites in local government.

After the Cato Manor riots a society was formed known as the Association of Durban Women, at which women of all races gather together to discuss the problems of their communities.

### NATAL MIDLANDS

BOTH Howick and Mooi River branches are investigating zoning of Group Areas. Howick branch successfully appealed to the local Town Board to rescind a regulation stating "that 75% of the audience at any political meeting held in the local Hall must be White."

The Pietermaritzburg branch threw its full weight into the Emergency Welfare Fund established in the area. The police and the chief magistrate were approached in an attempt to modify a clause in the Emergency Regulations permitting arrest without charge or trial.

Multi-racial tea-parties are held by the Pietermaritzburg branch every month. Mrs. D. Bundhoo, one of the guests, commented: "The women of this country are destined to play a very important role in the making of a better South Africa and the lead given in our city by a few women is most welcome and very encouraging."

### ORANGE FREE STATE

IN co-operation with the Red Cross and the World Council of Churches, the Sash helped to alleviate the lot of detainees and their families during and after their release. The Region helped to feed about one thousand indigent African children.

### SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL

UNDOUBTEDLY the honours go to Southern Transvaal for the endurance and initiative it has shown in the year's activities.

Their work in helping the homeless people in demolished Sophiatown was reported in our August, 1960, issue. At that time the situation appeared to be hopeless but the story had a happy ending, for Sophiatown has now been completely cleared of its unhappy squatters.

This was due to the persistence of Mrs. Jean Sinclair, in trying to persuade the authorities to assume responsibility, and her refusal to be daunted. Once responsible individuals were confronted with the stark realities of human misery the tangle of red tape was speedily severed.

Many of the illegal residents of Sophiatown were "foreign Natives," i.e., Africans who were born outside South Africa. These people entered the Union years ago, when it was legal for them to do so, but they no longer have the right to remain here. Their plight led the Sash to investigate the position of "foreign Natives" in the Union, but nothing could be done for them, beyond drawing the matter to the attention of the Nyasaland and Rhodesian authorities.

A disturbing feature of the investigations was that the old enemy, induced farm labour, appeared to be still applied to "foreign Natives," although Mr. de Wet Nel had suspended the scheme in the case of Africans born in the Union.

A full report of work in connection with the farm labour scheme appeared in our November, 1959, issue.

#### **Attendance at Court**

The attendance of Sashers at the Native Commissioners Courts, reports of which appeared in the August, 1960, issue had an appreciable effect upon the conduct of court officials. More time is spent on individual cases and a more humane attitude is shown by officials towards the victims of pass laws.

Rustenburg and Pretoria branches are keeping a watching brief on proposals for or attempts at the implementation of Group Areas, and investigations have been made by Pretoria branch into the fate of young African children who were rounded up by the police at Pretoria market.

A brief account of work during the emergency appeared in our August, 1960, issue but the full story is yet to be told of endless trips to and from Vereeniging to give immediate relief to the Sharpeville victims, the frustrations when members were prevented from entering the location to take in supplies, the large sums of money, food and clothing collected and distributed, and the regular attendances at the Defence and Aid Office and the Red Cross distribution depot.

The Defence and Aid Fund established during the emergency is still operating under temporary permit and is doing valuable work to help ex-detainees and their families. As usual much of the hard work behind the scenes has been undertaken by Sash women.

The important investigations undertaken by Southern Transvaal show that the pass laws lead to irregular and inhuman conduct, and it is a great encouragement to know that an increasing number

of white people are beginning to realise the evil effects of this system.

Mrs. Doreen Rankin is to be congratulated on her hard work in connection with the establishment of the Education Vigilance Committee which seeks the withdrawal of objectionable text books from school syllabuses and to arouse opposition to the Education Bill. In the short period of its existence the committee has distributed quantities of propaganda including tape recordings of the Natal conference on education and held innumerable public and private meetings. At present it is working on an education charter, and a conference on education to be held in the Transvaal next year. The theme of the conference will be, "What is wrong with Education in the Transvaal?"

A new venture, "Experiment in Consultation," is likely to be of great significance in the future, not only to Sashers, but to all South Africans.

An account of the experiment appears in this magazine.

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